

***The Madhhab-Oriented Paradigm in Fiqh Instruction at Salafiyah-Style Islamic Boarding Schools in Mandailing Natal Regency and Its Relevance to the Reform of Family Law in Indonesia***

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***Abstract***

*Mandailing Natal Regency is recognized as a "santri city" in Indonesia. However, in practice, violations of family law provisions persist within the community. Furthermore, there is widespread skepticism regarding the authority of renewed Islamic Law in Indonesia compared to the classical fiqh rulings traditionally taught in Islamic boarding schools (pesantren). This study employs a descriptive qualitative approach through field research. Primary data were collected via direct interviews and questionnaires. The research focuses on analyzing fiqh instruction in Salafiyah-style Pesantren, examining the madhhab (school of thought) paradigms of teachers and students, and assessing their responses to the reforms in Indonesian Islamic Family Law. The findings conclude that the teaching method in Salafiyah-style pesantren in Mandailing Natal utilizes a classical system centered on the Shafi'iyah madhhab-oriented kitab kuning (classical texts). The adherence to a madhhab among teachers and students is notably high. In contrast, the response to reforms in Islamic Family Law is relatively low. This is attributed to the strong consistency in madhhab adherence within the Salafiyah pesantren environment, resulting in a limited relevance and responsiveness to such legal reforms.*

***Keywords:*** Paradigm, Madhhab Adherence, Pesantren, Salafiyah, Renewal.

***Abstrak.***

Kabupaten Mandailing Natal dikenal sebagai kota santri di Indonesia, namun dalam praktiknya masih terdapat pelanggaran terhadap ketentuan hukum keluarga. Selain itu, banyak yang meragukan kekuatan pembaharuan Hukum Islam di Indonesia jika dibandingkan dengan aturan fikih yang diajarkan di pesantren. Penelitian ini merupakan *field research* dengan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif. Pengumpulan data primer dilakukan melalui wawancara langsung dan penyebaran angket. Fokus penelitian ini adalah untuk menganalisis pembelajaran fikih di Pesantren Bercorak *Salafiyah*, memahami paradigma bermazhab guru dan santri, serta melihat respons mereka terhadap pembaharuan hukum keluarga di Indonesia. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa metode pengajaran di pesantren salafiyah tersebut bersifat klasikal dengan menggunakan kitab kuning yang condong bermazhab *Syafi'iyah*. Paradigma bermazhab di kalangan guru dan santri relatif tinggi. Namun, respons terhadap pembaharuan hukum keluarga Islam tergolong rendah. Hal ini disebabkan oleh tingginya konsistensi bermazhab dalam lingkungan pesantren, sehingga relevansi dengan pembaruan hukum keluarga menjadi terbatas.

***Kata kunci:*** Paradigma, Bermazhab, Pesantren, Salafiyah, Pembaruan.

## A. Introduction

Pesantren are the only Islamic educational institutions that are genuinely indigenous to Indonesia<sup>1</sup>. After a long period of deliberation, the Plenary Session of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia enacted Law Number 18 of 2019 concerning Pesantren<sup>2</sup>. This law represents the government's effort to improve and ensure the quality of national education. The enactment of Law Number 18 of 2019 marks a new chapter in the history of pesantren education in Indonesia, strengthening the position of pesantren as authoritative educational institutions without eliminating their distinctive characteristics<sup>3</sup>. Mandailing Natal Regency is known as a predominantly Muslim region and is widely recognized as a kota santri (city of Islamic students) in Indonesia. This reputation is due to the large number of pesantren found in the area, including Salafiyah (traditional) pesantren, Ashriyah (modern) pesantren, and pesantren that combine elements of both models<sup>4</sup>.

This study is directed at examining pesantren that follow the Salafiyah model. Salafiyah pesantren are defined as institutions that maintain a traditional teaching system, with instructional materials based on classical Islamic texts, commonly referred to as kitab kuning<sup>5</sup>. Based on data from the Ditpdpontren website of the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of North Sumatra, there are 194 pesantren in North Sumatra Province. Of these, 96 pesantren are located in the southern part of Tapanuli. This means that more than half of the pesantren in North Sumatra are situated in the South Tapanuli region (Tabagsel). Of the 96 pesantren, 60 are Salafiyah in orientation and 36 are Khalafiyah, with the following details:

No.	Regency/City	Number of Pesantren	Number of Santri	of Salafiyah Pesantren
1	Mandailing Natal	21	21,874	64%
2	South Tapanuli	17	3,123	62%
3	North Padang Lawas	29	7,345	60%
4	Padang Lawas	4	4,627	65%
5	Padangsidempuan City	3	1,685	50%

<sup>1</sup> M Noor Fadhiilah, H Basri Tanjung, and Fahmi Irfani, "Strategi Komunikasi Pondok Pesantren Dalam Pembinaan Karakter Santri: Studi Kasus Pondok Pesantren Miftahul-Huda Bogor," *Da'watuna: Journal of Communication and Islamic Broadcasting* 4, no. 3 (2024): 1044–62, <https://doi.org/10.47467/dawatuna.v4i3.741>.

<sup>2</sup> Wakhidah Kurniawati and Muhammad Isa Anshory, "Pendidikan Pesantren Di Zaman Teknologi Antara Tradisi Dan Modernitas," *Tsaqofah* 4, no. 1 (2024): 640–54, <https://doi.org/10.58578/tsaqofah.v4i1.2548>.

<sup>3</sup> Muhammad Naufal Azmi, Hamsi Mansur, and Agus Hadi Utama, "Potensi Pemanfaatan Virtual Reality Sebagai Media Pembelajaran Di Era Digital," *Jurnal Dimensi Pendidikan Dan Pembelajaran* 12, no. 1 (2024): 211–26.

<sup>4</sup> Asrul Hamid et al., "Development of Sharia Based Local Wisdom Business at Society of Mandailing Natal," *LAA MAISYIR : Jurnal Ekonomi Islam* 9, no. 1 (2022): 51–68, <https://doi.org/10.24252/lamaisyir.v9i1.29413>.

<sup>5</sup> Ali Nasith, "The Role of Kyai's Charismatic Leadership in Mitigating Religious Intolerance and Radicalism in Pesantren," *International Journal of Social Science and Religion (IJSSR)* 5, no. 2 (2024): 203–30, <https://doi.org/10.53639/ijssr.v5i2.238>.

Among the Salafiyah-oriented pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency are Pesantren Mustafawiyah Purba Baru, Pesantren Darul Ikhlas, Pesantren Al-Mandili in Panyabungan, Pesantren Darul Ulum in Muara Mais, Pesantren Darul Hadis Siabu, Pesantren Darul Azhar in Jambur, Pesantren Abinnur in Mumpang, and others.

In its development, the process of fiqh learning in pesantren has undergone many changes or adjustments in response to the needs and demands of the times. However, the curriculum applied continues to rely on references from turath (classical) texts, commonly known as kitab kuning<sup>6</sup>. Among the fiqh books used at the advanced level are Al-Bajuri by Shaykh Ibrahim, Hasyiyah al-Syarqawi by Zakariya al-Ansari, Fath al-Mu‘in by Shaykh Zainuddin bin ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Malibari, and I‘anah al-Talibin by Abu Bakr Syatha al-Dimyathi<sup>7</sup>.

In the practice of religious life, particularly the application of fiqh within society in Mandailing Natal Regency, especially in rural areas, religious practices tend to be fiqh-centric, as taught by teachers and preachers who are alumni of Salafiyah pesantren residing in the region. Ironically, based on the author’s interview with a judge of the Panyabungan Religious Court, despite the large number of students and alumni of pesantren who have studied fiqh especially fiqh munakahat—there are still many people in the community who are unaware of regulations resulting from the renewal of Islamic law in Indonesia. For example, cases of unregistered marriages, divorces conducted outside the Religious Court, elopement justified by Mandailing customary law (marlonjong), and other practices that differ from the prevailing marriage regulations in Indonesia are still commonly found in the Tabagsel region (Abdul Aziz, interview with a Judge of the Panyabungan Religious Court, August 22, 2022).

The researcher assumes that these anomalies in society occur because Salafiyah-oriented pesantren, where the majority of students study fiqh based on turath texts (kitab kuning), emphasize a fiqh-centric approach. As explained in a journal article, the fiqh teaching method at Pesantren Mustafawiyah Purba Baru is characterized by the use of classical fiqh references (turath) and a strong tendency toward the Shafi‘i school of law.

Based on these considerations, the author is interested in examining this phenomenon to obtain an accurate picture of: (1) how fiqh learning is conducted in Salafiyah-oriented pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency; (2) the paradigm of madhhab adherence among teachers and students in fiqh learning at Salafiyah-oriented pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency; and (3)

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<sup>6</sup> D Mahdany et al., “The Influence of Al-Ghazali’s Sufistic Thought on Pesantren Education Practices in Indonesia,” *At-Taqqaddum* 17, no. 1 (2025): 78–89, <https://doi.org/10.21580/at.v17i1.28575>.

<sup>7</sup> Taufikin Taufikin, “Redefining Islamic Pedagogy: A Transformative Approach to 21st-Century Education in Indonesian Pesantren,” *Maharot: Journal of Islamic Education* 9, no. 1 (2025): 1, <https://doi.org/10.28944/maharot.v9i1.2033>.

the views of teachers and students in Salafiyah pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency in responding to the renewal of Islamic family law in Indonesia.

The scope of the problem concerning fiqh learning in this study includes how fiqh is taught in Salafiyah-oriented pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency, covering learning objectives, teaching materials, and methods used in fiqh instruction<sup>8</sup>. The paradigm of madhhab adherence referred to in this study concerns the attitudes of teachers and students, including consistency in religious practice and opinions regarding adherence to a particular madhhab in fiqh learning, as well as the views of fiqh teachers and students in responding to the renewal of Islamic family law in Indonesia.

The Salafiyah pesantren referred to in this study are pesantren that maintain a traditional teaching system, with instructional materials based on classical texts, commonly known as kitab kuning. In this research, the researcher selected several Salafiyah pesantren by considering a minimum student population of 500 students.

## B. Research Method

This study is a field research design employing a descriptive qualitative approach<sup>9</sup>. The approach used in this research is an empirical approach to make normative assessments of the empirical data obtained by observing and considering actual conditions<sup>10</sup>. In this study, the author seeks to understand how madhhab-based fiqh learning is implemented in Salafiyah-oriented Islamic boarding schools (pesantren), viewed from the paradigms of both opinions and practical religious practices (amaliyah) related to madhhab adherence among teachers and students in these Salafiyah pesantren, as well as how teachers and students perceive and respond to the renewal of Islamic law<sup>11</sup>. For this research, data sources are divided into two categories: primary and secondary data. The primary data consist of direct interviews, the distribution of questionnaires, and observations carried out through direct examination of matters related to madhhab-based fiqh learning in Salafiyah pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Muhamad Ari, Sulaiman Dorloh, and Shuhairimi Abdullah, "A Systematic Literature Review of Islamic Boarding School ( Pesantren ) Education in Indonesia ( 2014-2024 ) Islamic Boarding Schools Are Indonesian-Based Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions . 1 Islamic Boarding Schools Are among the Most Ancient," *Tribakti* 35 (2024): 161–80, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.33367/tribakti.v35i2.5330> E-ISSN.

<sup>9</sup> He In Cheong et al., "Secondary Qualitative Research Methodology Using Online Data within the Context of Social Sciences," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 22 (2023): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069231180160>.

<sup>10</sup> Hannah Snyder, "Literature Review as a Research Methodology: An Overview and Guidelines," *Journal of Business Research* 104, no. August (2021): 333–39, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2019.07.039>.

<sup>11</sup> Daulat Saragi, Osbert Sinaga, and Nelson Tarigan, "Application of Artistic Research Models To Improve the Variety of Research and the Quality of Student'S Thesis in the Department of Fine Arts Fbs Unimed," *Proceeding ISLAE 2021 The 3th International Seminar on of Language, Art, and Literature Education*, 2021, 79–88.

<sup>12</sup> Ahmad Fauzi and Ika Wahyu Pradipta, "Research Methods and Data Analysis Techniques in Education Articles Published by Indonesian Biology Educational Journals," *JPBI (Jurnal Pendidikan Biologi Indonesia)* 4, no. 2 (2018): 123–34, <https://doi.org/10.22219/jpbi.v4i2.5889>.

The details of the questions include inquiries into fiqh instruction in Salafiyah pesantren, such as: (a) the process of fiqh learning in each pesantren; (b) the teaching materials used in fiqh instruction; (c) the methods and instructional patterns applied in fiqh learning; and other related aspects. In examining the responses of fiqh teachers and students to the renewal of Islamic family law, the researcher developed a table of questions containing issues such as: the minimum age requirement of 19 years for prospective spouses; the obligation to register marriages; permission for polygamy; the requirement that divorce be legally valid only when conducted through the Religious Court; the expansion of grounds for khul‘; the requirement that ruju‘ (reconciliation) obtain the wife’s consent; joint marital property; substitute heirs; mandatory bequests (wasiat wajibah) for adopted children; attempted murder as a barrier to inheritance; agreements inconsistent with classical fiqh mawarith; the classification of parental gifts to children as inheritance; and other related matters.

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The questionnaire used in this study was designed to collect data on whether respondents accept the renewal of Islamic law. Each question item provided alternative answers: (a) Yes, (b) No, and (c) Do not know. Respondents who chose “do not know” or did not provide an answer were categorized as respondents who do not accept the renewal of Islamic law. Respondents were also given the opportunity to add notes or explanations regarding their chosen answers if necessary<sup>13</sup>. If significant inconsistencies were found in the questionnaire responses, follow-up confirmation was conducted with the respondents to clarify their answers<sup>14</sup>. All responses obtained were processed by calculating totals and percentages to determine the level and degree of consistency and acceptance of the renewal of Islamic law.

<sup>13</sup> Rosanna Cole, “Inter-Rater Reliability Methods in Qualitative Case Study Research,” *Sociological Methods and Research* 53, no. 4 (2024): 1944–75, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00491241231156971>.

<sup>14</sup> Loraine Busetto, Wolfgang Wick, and Christoph Gumbinger, “How to Use and Assess Qualitative Research Methods,” *Neurological Research and Practice* 2, no. 1 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1186/s42466-020-00059-z>.

## C. Result and Discussion

### 1. Brief Profile of Salafiyah-Oriented Islamic Boarding Schools (Pesantren)

This research is directed at examining pesantren that adopt the Salafiyah model. Salafiyah pesantren are defined as a group of Islamic boarding schools that maintain a traditional teaching system, with instructional materials based on classical texts, commonly referred to as kitab kuning. Based on data from the Ditpdpontren website of the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of North Sumatra, there are 194 pesantren in North Sumatra Province. Of this number, 96 pesantren are located in the southern part of Tapanuli. This means that more than half of the pesantren in North Sumatra are situated in the South Tapanuli region (Tabagsel). Of these 96 pesantren, 60 are Salafiyah-oriented and 36 are Khalafiyah-oriented.

Among the Salafiyah-oriented pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency are Pesantren Mustafawiyah Purba Baru, Pesantren Darul Ikhlas, Pesantren Al-Mandili in Panyabungan, Pesantren Darul Ulum in Muara Mais, Pesantren Darul Hadis Siabu, Pesantren Darul Azhar in Jambur, Pesantren Abinnur in Mumpang, and others.

Among the many Salafiyah pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency, the most well-known and largest is Pondok Pesantren Musthafawiyah Purba Baru, which was founded by Shaykh Musthafa Husain in 1912 CE. Shaykh Musthafa Husain was born in Tano Bato Kayulaut, Mandailing Natal, North Sumatra, in 1303 Hijri or 1886 CE.

From 2003 until the present, the leadership of Pondok Pesantren Musthafawiyah Purba Baru has been continued by the grandson of Shaykh Musthafa Husain, who is the son of H. Abdullah Musthafa Nasution. He has followed in his father's footsteps by striving to continue the development of Pondok Pesantren Musthafawiyah Purba Baru in all areas. The initial development focused on improving the welfare of teachers and students as well as existing facilities and infrastructure. He has led this pesantren since 2003 to the present. During this period, students studying at this pesantren have come from all provinces in Sumatra, parts of Java, Timor, and even from neighboring countries such as Malaysia and Saudi Arabia. Based on the author's interview with one of the teachers at Pesantren Musthafawiyah and information obtained from the Ditpontren website of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Mandailing Natal Regency, the total number of male and female students at Pondok Pesantren Musthafawiyah currently reaches 14,300.

## 2. Fiqh Learning in Salafiyah-Oriented Pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency

### a. General Objectives of Fiqh Learning

In general, the objectives of fiqh learning implemented in Salafiyah-oriented pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency refer to a single madhhab basis, namely the Shafi'i school of fiqh. In addition, the target of fiqh learning for a particular text is mastery of that fiqh book so that it can be applied in the religious life of the individual and the surrounding community.

### b. Teaching Materials Used

Based on the data, it was found that Salafiyah-oriented pesantren use standard fiqh textbooks adopted from older pesantren, such as Pesantren Mustafawiyah Purba Baru. Since most founders of pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency are alumni of Pesantren Mustafawiyah Purba Baru, it is not surprising that the fiqh learning process in Salafiyah pesantren in other parts of South Tapanuli follows the same standards of teaching materials as those applied at Pesantren Mustafawiyah Purba Baru. The standard fiqh books referred to include:

### c. *Fath al-Mu'in* by Zainuddin al-Malibari

- 1) *Fath al-Qarib* by Abu 'Abdillah Muhammad bin Qasim al-Ghazi
- 2) *Fath al-Wahhab* by Zakariya al-Ansari
- 3) *I'alah al-Thalibin* by Sayyid Bakri bin Muhammad Syatha al-Dimyathi
- 4) *Hasyiyah al-Bajuri* by Shaykh Ibrahim al-Bajuri
- 5) *Syarah Sittin* by Ahmad bin Hamzah al-Ramli
- 6) *Minhaj al-Thalibin* by Imam al-Nawawi
- 7) *Fiqh Wadhih* by Mahmud Yunus

The fiqh learning system in Salafiyah-oriented pesantren is conducted in classrooms and small study groups. Fiqh instruction using specific fiqh texts is carried out in stages, beginning from the Tsanawiyah level to the Aliyah level. From data on the fiqh learning process in several pesantren, the methodological steps of the bandongan method can be summarized as follows: the ustadz instructs students to open a particular page of the fiqh book to be studied, then reads aloud, translates literally, and explains the content. The students follow along in their own fiqh books, adding meanings to words or sentences they do not understand. After completing the reading, translation, and explanation of a particular page or chapter, the ustadz asks the students to reread the sentences or paragraphs from the page that has been explained. The students read in turns until the entire page has been read.

### 3. Madhhab Paradigm in Salafiyah-Oriented Pesantren Education in Mandailing Natal Regency

#### a. Teachers' Conceptions of Madhhab

Based on interviews with several ustadz who teach fiqh in Salafiyah-oriented pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency, the following views were identified:

- 1) A madhhab is the result of scholars' *ijtihad*. From various evidences they studied, they formulated opinions that are attributed to the respective mujtahid. The recognized madhhabs in Islam are those of Abu Hanifah, Malik, al-Shafi'i, and Ahmad ibn Hanbal, which are comprehensive and systematically documented. (Fiqh teacher from Pesantren Mustafawiyah Purba Baru)
- 2) A madhhab is understood as the opinions of the imams of the madhhabs, all of which are derived from the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). (Fiqh teacher from Pesantren al-Ikhlās, Panyabungan)
- 3) A madhhab is interpreted as the opinions of the imam of the madhhab. (Fiqh teacher from Pesantren Abinnur, Mumpang)
- 4) A madhhab is a collection of the thoughts of an imam of a madhhab in determining legal rulings. (Fiqh teacher from Pesantren Darul Hadis, Siabu)

#### b. Teachers' Attitudes Toward Madhhab

- 1) Adherence to a madhhab is a necessity; without a madhhab, confusion and doubt in religious practice may arise, since few people reach the level of a mujtahid. Although adhering to the Shafi'i madhhab, knowledge of other madhhab opinions is also required as alternative solutions to fiqh issues encountered.
- 2) In fiqh learning, opinions of other madhhab imams are sometimes mentioned, but these opinions are ultimately reinforced by the views of the adopted madhhab, primarily the Shafi'i madhhab.
- 3) Adherence to a madhhab must be consistent, and *talfiq* is not permitted. In a continuous series of related acts of worship, all practices must follow a single madhhab to avoid *talfiq*.
- 4) All madhhab understandings are considered valid because they were formulated by imams who met the criteria of mujtahids. However, the madhhab adhered to is the Shafi'i madhhab. There is currently no intention to teach fiqh from other madhhabs because Shafi'i fiqh itself has not yet been fully mastered.

Students' responses toward madhhab reflect their level of understanding of the lessons, particularly fiqh. Among students in these pesantren, a madhhab is understood

as a collection of scholarly opinions, especially those of the imam of their adopted madhhab. Differences of opinion among madhhabs are considered natural because madhhab opinions are zhanni rather than qat'i. Therefore, adherence to a single madhhab is recommended to obtain clear guidance and to avoid talfiq.

#### **4. Views of Teachers and Students in Salafiyah Pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency on the Renewal of Islamic Family Law in Indonesia**

Based on the results and analysis of data obtained through direct interviews and questionnaires distributed to fiqh teachers in Salafiyah-oriented pesantren, teachers' responses to the renewal of marriage law in Indonesia can be categorized into several groups:

First, those who firmly reject the provisions contained in the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) as fiqh, accepting them only as statutory regulations that must be obeyed as citizens. Teachers holding this view argue that KHI articles not derived from classical fiqh function merely as administrative guidelines and do not determine the legal validity of matters related to marriage. Thus, marriage, divorce, reconciliation, and polygamy that fulfill fiqh requirements are considered valid according to Islamic law but lack legal force.

Second, those who adopt an ambivalent stance. Some teachers cannot firmly state that the renewal of Islamic law in the KHI constitutes fiqh in its true sense, due to insufficient knowledge, particularly regarding the historical background and function of the KHI. However, they also do not explicitly reject it. They acknowledge that the KHI is not fiqh as applied in Indonesia but recognize that it is good, rational, and complementary to fiqh provisions on marriage.

From this explanation, it can be emphasized that most teachers and instructors in Salafiyah-oriented pesantren tend to adopt an ambivalent attitude toward accepting the renewal of Islamic law in the KHI. This is evident from questionnaire responses and direct interviews. When asked whether the KHI constitutes a new form of fiqh applicable in Indonesia, and whether unregistered marriages, underage marriages, or polygamy without permission from the Religious Court are legally valid, most teachers responded that such practices are "legally valid" but violate marriage law. The reasons frequently given include the absence of clear textual evidence indicating that the KHI represents new fiqh governing the validity of marriage-related matters, as well as fear of committing sin by making such claims.

Among Salafiyah-oriented pesantren, there is generally strong consistency in madhhab adherence. They believe that matters of munakahat are similar to acts of

worship, having been definitively addressed by earlier scholars without the need for renewal or addition. Consequently, regulations in the KHI that are not found in classical madhhab fiqh are considered obligations only in the context of being good citizens. The KHI is viewed as an administrative guideline for Muslim marriages in Indonesia rather than as a determinant of legal validity.

The relevance of the madhhab paradigm among Salafiyah-oriented pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency can be summarized as a strong tendency toward consistent adherence to a particular madhhab in fiqh learning. The level of consistency, particularly adherence to the Shafi'i madhhab, is relatively high. In the view of fiqh teachers in Salafiyah pesantren, madhhab-based fiqh is regarded as authentic teaching. All provisions found in madhhab fiqh opinions are believed to be correct because they are based on textual evidence. Consequently, fiqh is understood as final and well-established, leaving no room for renewal. Any renewal differing from madhhab fiqh is not accepted as Islamic legal provision.

The author concludes that the consequence of this madhhab paradigm in fiqh learning in Salafiyah-oriented pesantren in Mandailing Natal Regency is closely related to the acceptance of Islamic legal reform, particularly marriage regulations in the Compilation of Islamic Law. The high level of madhhab consistency results in low acceptance of marriage law reforms that differ from the provisions contained in the classical fiqh texts studied in pesantren.

Similarly, reforms of Islamic law in the form of reinterpretation or reformulation are even more difficult to accept as legal provisions because they are perceived as lacking a basis in classical texts or any recognized madhhab opinion. This rejection is also due to limited knowledge of Islamic legal reform, as fiqh learning in pesantren refers exclusively to classical madhhab fiqh texts and does not include the study of contemporary developments in Islamic law, such as Islamic legal products applied and enforced in Indonesia. In other words, because fiqh learning and understanding strictly adhere to Shafi'i madhhab fiqh, it becomes difficult for teachers and students in Salafiyah-oriented pesantren to accept Islamic legal reforms, even when the benefits of the new legal provisions are clear and serve as solutions to societal problems, such as marriage registration, divorce before the Religious Court, and the requirement of court permission for polygamy.

#### D. Conclusion

Based on the explanations and discussions presented in the previous chapters, several conclusions can be drawn. First, several Salafiyah-oriented pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) in Mandailing Natal Regency employ classical teaching methods in fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) instruction, using traditional *kitab kuning* (yellow books) that predominantly follow the Shafi'i madhhab. In percentage terms, the level of madhhab consistency among teachers and students in these pesantren is relatively high. Second, based on the attitudes of fiqh teachers toward madhhab adherence, two positions can be identified: one of strict adherence to a single madhhab without denying the existence of others, and another that tolerates the use of more than one madhhab. Third, the acceptance of Islamic family law reform among teachers and students in Salafiyah pesantren in this region is relatively low. This low level of acceptance is attributed to the strong internalization of classical fiqh provisions and madhhab doctrine, as well as limited knowledge of the reforms in family law. Fourth, the high level of madhhab consistency among teachers and students corresponds with a relatively low level of acceptance of Islamic family law reform.

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