

THE LITERACY PRACTICE AND RELIGIOUS PROSELYTIZING IN NINETEENTH CENTURY INDONESIA: A Study on the Kitabs of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i Kalisalak

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Abstract: There weren't many scholars who studied the history of Indonesian literacy practices, even though the written sources were available abundantly. The existed studies from many scholars less concerned about the relationship between literacy practice and religious proselytizing (da'wa) in Indonesia. Whereas, both of them are closely related in Indonesia literacy practices, especially in Indonesia's pre-contemporary era. This study aims to emphasize the relation between literacy practices and Islamic da'wa through KH. Ahmad Rifai works. He was a prolific Muslim scholar in the 19th century who wrote many religious books and countered colonialism. This study reviewed Ahmad Rifai books through a new literacy practice perspective. The argument of this study is the literacy practices had a tight relation with Islamic proselytizing in Indonesian history. The literacy practice for da'wa often considers the locality in culture. Therefore, the form of literacy practice that emerges is a form of literacy that considers local languages and writings, which in this case is the Javanese language and the Pegon script. This paper gives a contribution to the discussion between accommodative da'wa and literacy practices.

Keywords: *Islamic da'wa; literacy practice; Ahmad Rifa'i Kalisalak; kitab*

Abstrak: Sejarah praktik literasi Indonesia belum banyak diperbincangkan oleh para sarjana, padahal sumber-sumber tertulis untuk merekonstruksinya melimpah. Selain itu, kajian para sarjana kurang memperhatikan kaitan antara praktik literasi dengan penyebaran (dakwah) agama di Indonesia, padahal keduanya saling terkait dalam sejarah praktik literasi Indonesia, khususnya sebelum masa kemerdekaan (kontemporer). Kajian ini berupaya menunjukkan keterkaitan antara praktik literasi dengan dakwah agama Islam melalui telaah atas kitab-kitab karya KH. Ahmad Rifa'i Kalisalak, seorang ulama prolifik abad ke-19 yang menghasilkan banyak karya tulis keagamaan dan menentang kolonialisme. Kajian ini dilakukan terhadap kitab-kitab sang pengarang dengan menerapkan perspektif kajian literasi baru. Kajian ini berargumen bahwa praktik literasi dalam sejarah Indonesia memiliki keterkaitan dengan penyebaran agama, termasuk agama Islam. Praktik literasi ini terwujud karena ada kepentingan dakwah untuk penyebaran ajaran Islam. Praktik literasi yang ditujukan untuk dakwah sering mempertimbangkan lokalitas yang dituju dalam dakwah. Oleh karena itu, bentuk praktik literasi yang muncul adalah bentuk literasi yang mempertimbangkan bahasa dan tulisan lokal, yang dalam kasus ini adalah bahasa Jawa dan aksara Pegon. Kajian ini memberikan kontribusi atas diskusi tentang dakwah akomodatif melalui praktik literasi.

Kata Kunci: *Dakwah Islam; praktik literasi; Ahmad Rifa'i Kalisalak; kitab*

A. Introduction

The transmission of religions throughout Indonesia has been associated with the cultural dissemination of certain society. Such situation can be traced back in the texts that have accompanied the dissemination or the da'wa of certain religions in Indonesia. This situation has been reflected in the concept of "Sanskrit Cosmopolis," as having proposed by Pollock,¹ which states that Sanskrit plays a vital role in disseminating the religions originated from India, namely Hinduism and Buddhism. Based on the concept, it can be clearly asserted that the age of Hinduism and Buddhism in Indonesia has given birth to numerous literary and religious works that have been inspired from the Sanskrit, which has also brought about the Hinduism faith from Indonesia as having been found in the epos of Mahabharata and Ramayana. Then, the concept of "Sanskrit Cosmopolis" was developed by Ricci² into what people know as "Arabic Cosmopolis," which defines that Islam has entered its dissemination through a network of literature in Arab, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, including Indonesia.

The network of religious literature actually implies the presence of literacy practice (a practice that has been related to texts) which has taken place in the Indonesian society. Such literacy practice has been encouraged by the belief toward certain religion. To put it simply, the practice of literacy encourages the formation of intensification on the religious dissemination (proliferation/da'wa) within the society. The practice of literacy itself takes the form of vernacularisation (a process of copying, writing, and translating texts) on the religious teachings. In the context of Islamism, the dissemination/the da'wa of the Islamic teachings took place orally at the beginning through the lecture by the Islamism preachers. However, at one point of time there was a need to use the religious texts that could be used as the references in disseminating and teaching Islam. In addition, for the part of the royal families, there should be religious guidelines that became the foundation for the formulation of the societal norms³. Therefore, it can be stated that there has been a relation between the practice of literacy and the proliferation or the da'wa of Islam within the history of Indonesia.

Unfortunately, the relation has not been much reviewed by the scholars from the domain of the religious literature, literacy history, and even da'wa whereas the sources to the relation are abundant. The catalogues of the manuscripts from the vernaculars throughout the Archipelago become a strong evidence that the treasure of literatures in Indonesia has been abundant and such treasure, in the same time, also proves that there has been a practice of literacy within the Indonesian society. In other words, the practice of literacy can be an important source for the review on the da'wa of Islam in Indonesia. In the context of the development on the da'wa of Islam and the practice of literacy throughout the Archipelago, since the entrance of Islam into Indonesia, originally the *da'i* and the clerics or the *ulama* cannot be separated from the culture of writing. The inseparability is marked by the numerous books composed by the *ulama* throughout the Archipelago. In relation to the statement, the catalogues in the Indonesian National Library show that there are approximately 931 books of ancient manuscripts on Islamism⁴. Similarly, the catalogues that have been composed by the Religion Research and Development Centre (Balai Litbang Agama) Semarang show that there have been

¹ Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2006), 262.

² Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 13; Ronit Ricci, "Islamic Literary Networks in South and Southeast Asia," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 21, no. 1 (2010): 1-28.

³ Azyumardi Azra, "Naskah Terjemahan Antarbaris: Kontribusi Kreatif Dunia Islam Melayu-Indonesia," in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan Di Indonesia Dan Malaysia*, ed. Henri Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia bekerjasama dengan École française d'Extrême-Orient, Forum Jakarta-Paris, Pusat Bahasa, dan Universitas Padjadjaran, 2009), 435-443.

⁴ T.E. Behrend, *Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara Jilid 4 Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1998).

250 manuscripts⁵ and 268 manuscripts⁶ on the similar topic. In addition, it is also found that the religious manuscripts in the eastern part of Indonesia have been composed by the local *ulama*. In this region, approximately there are 1,000 manuscripts that have been widely spread from Borneo until Papua. These manuscripts, or books, have been used by the ancient *ulama* for the interest of education and da'wa, which contains a lot of knowledge about Islam.⁷

According to Azra,⁸ in Indonesia there are three great *ulama* who have been productively in terms of da'wa through writings namely Nur al-Din al-Raniri (1068-1658), 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili (1024-1105 H/1615-1693), and Muhammad Yusuf al-Makassari (1627-1699). In addition to these figures, other *ulama* who have been productive in terms of da'wa through compositions are namely Shaykh Nawawi al-Bantani, Shaykh Salih Darat, Shaykh Arshad al-Banjari, Kyai Khalil Bangkalan, and alike. In addition, the results of a study by the Religion Research and Development Centre Semarang show the findings about the local figures who have been productively pursuing the da'wa through the composition of books. These figures are namely K.H. Muhammad Syukri Yunus, (West Nusa Tenggara), Shaykh Muhammad Nafis Al-Banjari (South Borneo), K.H.M. Hasyim Asy'ari (Tebuireng), Shaykh Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Majid (Lombok), T.G.H. Saleh Hambali (Lombok), and T.G.H. Muhammad Najmudin Maknun.⁹ There are also other figures of *ulama* who have been productively pursuing the da'wa by means or compositions.

One of the local *ulama* figure in Java who have been productively pursuing the da'wa by writing is K.H Ahmad Rifa'i (around 1786-1869 SM). He is one of the *ulama* figures who have been preaching Islam by means of literacy since the pre-Independence period or, specifically, since the period of the Dutch occupation. Many experts have reviewed K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i such as, Djamil¹⁰, Ismawati¹¹, Misbacul Islam¹², Rosyid¹³, Khamdi¹⁴ and Muftadin¹⁵ but they have paid less attention on the relationship between the practice of literacy and the da'wa (Islamic religious proselytizing) that K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i has pursued. As a result, the knowledge on the relationship becomes limited. Thus, the studies on K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i have not given any contribution to the history on the practice of religious literacy in Indonesia whereas the contribution is highly important in order to decrease the "marginalization" on the practice of indigenous literacy as having been proposed by Reid¹⁶ and Iswanto.¹⁷ Therefore, through this study, we would like to

⁵ Umi ett. all Masfiah, *Katalog Naskah Keagamaan Madura Volume 2* (Semarang: Balai Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama Semarang, 2017).

⁶ Bisri Ruchani, *Katalog Naskah Keagamaan Madura Volume 1* (Semarang: Balai Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama Semarang, 2017).

⁷ Muhlis et. all Hadrawi, *Katalog 1 Naskah Keagamaan Kawasan Timur Indonesia* (Makassar: Balai Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama Makassar, 2015).

⁸ Azra Azyumardi, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2005).

⁹ Abdul Muhayya, *Kajian Kitab Karangan Ulama Lokal* (Yogyakarta: CV Bumi Intaran, 2010).

¹⁰ Abdul Djamil, *Perlawanan Kiai Desa Pemikiran Dan Gerakan Islam K.H Ahmad Rifa'i Kalisalak* (Yogyakarta: LKiS bekerja sama dengan Ilham, 2001).

¹¹ Ismawati, "Jaringan Ulama Kendal Abad Ke 19-20," *EDUKASI: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan* 3, no. 2 (2005): 42-59.

¹² M. Adib Misbacul Islam, *Puisi Perlawanan Dari Pesantren Nazam Tarekat Karya K.H. Ahmad Ar-Rifai Kalisalak* (Tangerang Selatan: Transpustaka, 2016).

¹³ Moh Rosyid, "Regerasi Jamaah Rifa'iyah Di Kudus Tahun 1968 Sampai Dengan 1998" (Universitas Islam Negeri Walisongo Semarang, 2018).

¹⁴ Muhammad Khamdi, "Gerakan Dakwah Rifaiyah," *Jurnal Dakwah* 9, no. 2 (2009): 143-162.

¹⁵ Dahrul Muftadin, "Fikih Perlawanan Kolonialisme Ahmad Rifa'i," *Jurnal Penelitian* 14, no. 2 (2017): 163-182.

¹⁶ Anthony Reid, *Asia Tenggara Dalam Kurun Niaga 1450-1680 Jilid 1: Tanah Di Bawah Angin*. (Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka OBOR, 2011).

¹⁷ Agus Iswanto, "Praktik Literasi Agama Pada Masyarakat Indonesia Tempo Dulu: Tinjauan Awal Atas Naskah-Naskah Cirebon," *Manassa Manuskripta* 8, no. 2 (2018).

reveal the relationship between the practice of literacy and the da'wa of Islam through the review toward the compositions of the books by K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i. Within the study, the focus is on how the practice of literacy by K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i has been associated with the media of Islamic da'wa.

B. Theoretical Review

Departing from the problem formulations that have been proposed in the previous section, the material object of the current study is the works of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i Kalisalak while the formal object is the perspective of the new literacy practice review. Therefore, the theoretical framework that will be reviewed is the new literacy studies. The term literacy in the current study is not the one that refers to the skills and the capacities in numerous life sectors nor the one that refers to the reading and the writing skills as having been generally comprehended by the public; instead, the term literacy in the current review refers to the activities that have been associated with the text composition in a peculiar socio-cultural context.¹⁸ Based on the peculiarity, the literacy studies can be divided into two categories namely the autonomous perspective-based literacy studies and the ideological perspective-based literacy studies. The first perspective views that literacy is a value-free tool that can be a determinant for achieving advancement, while the second perspective views that literacy is a non-neutral situation¹⁹ since every literacy is always encouraged by certain value, ideology (belief), interest, and social situation as the background.²⁰ Consequently, the approach of ideology in the literacy studies is known as the approach of literacy as a social practice.²¹

With regards to the practice of literacy,²² propose six propositions in the literacy studies as a social practice. First, literacy is most appropriately studied as a set of social actions which observation can be done through events that are mediated by texts (events of literacy). Therefore, text is an important object in the events of literacy and consequently a study on the literacy practice is also considered as a study on the texts, namely how texts are produced, discoursed, and used / benefitted in certain contexts. Second, there are different kinds of literacy in different kinds of life sectors. Third, the literacy practice is formed by social institution and power relation in which one peculiar style of literacy can be more dominant and influential than other peculiar style of literacy. Fourth, the practice of literacy is an action that has been intended to achieve certain objectives that are integral to the social objectives and the cultural behaviours. Fifth, literacy belongs to certain situations and contexts of history. Sixth, or the last one, the practice of literacy is prone to changes and the new peculiar style of literacy often appears through the process of meaningfulness and informal learning.

The six propositions lay the foundation for the framework in the current review. However, due to the limited availability of both the space and the data, not all of these propositions will be used in performing the data analysis. Then, as having been previously explained, the current study strives to discuss the practice of literacy by K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i Kalisalak and its relation with the da'wa. Thus, the discussions within the current review deals with: (1) the context of da'wa by K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i that has been mediated by his text compositions; (2) the texts that have been composed; and (3) the development on the practice of literacy as a new peculiar style

¹⁸ David Barton and Mary Hamilton, "Literacy Practices," in *Situated Literacies: Theorising Reading and Writing in Context*, ed. David Barton, Mary Hamilton, and Roz Ivanic (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 7–14.

¹⁹ Brian V Street, "Introduction," in *Literacy and Development: Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. Brian V Street (New York: Routledge, 2001), 21–26.

²⁰ Lukman Solihin, *Gemar Membaca Terampil Menulis: Transformasi Gerakan Literasi Di Indonesia* (Sleman, Yogyakarta: Penerbit Tanda Baca, 2019), 27.

²¹ James Paul Gee, "The New Literacy Studies: From 'Socially Situated' to the Work of the Social," in *Situated Literacies: Reading and Writing in Context*, ed. David Barton, Mary Hamilton, and Roz Ivanic (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

²² Barton and Hamilton, "Literacy Practices."

of literacy through the process of meaningfulness and learning. The discussion on the first aspect is related to the first proposition within the theoretical framework, the discussion on the second aspect is related to the second proposition, and the discussion on the third aspect is related to the fifth proposition.

C. Methods

The study was a library research. The main source was the works of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i, while the secondary sources were the results of the studies that had been conducted toward the works of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i. In the process of the study, we observed the regions that became the basis of the development and the continuity of the Rifa'iyah Movement in the Province of Central Java namely: (1) Kendal; (2) Pekalongan; (3) Wonosobo; and (4) Pati. During the observation, we visited the Islamic boarding schools, the Representative Office of Rifa'iyah Organization, and the publications of the Rifa'iyah compositions in order to attain the documents that had been relevant to the topic of the study.

The study was conducted under several stages. In the first stage, we read the primary sources, namely the works of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i Kalisalak and the documents provided by the Rifa'iyah Organization that had been visited. Then, in the second stage we read the secondary sources, namely the results of the studies on the compositions by K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i Kalisalak. Next, in the third stage we analysed the data from both the primary and the secondary sources by means of data identification and data reduction in order to solve the problems that have been formulated. Last but not the least, in the fourth stage the researchers presented the data in the form of data analysis and narrative text.

D. Results and Discussion

1. The Da'wa by K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i in the 19th Century

Ahmad Rifa'i was born on 9 Muharram 1200 H or November 13th, 1786, in Tempuran Village, Kendal, and died on 25 Rabi'ul Awa; 1286 or June 11th, 1869.²³ He spent his entire childhood in Kaliwungu as a student to his own father. At the age of 6 years old, Ahmad Rifa'i became an orphan because his father, Muhammad Marhum, passed away. He had his royal bloodline from his grandfather, who was the headman of Landerad Kendal namely R.K.H. Abu Sujak or also known as Sutowijoyo. After the passing away of his father, little Rifa'i was raised by K.H. Asy'ari, who was his father's brother-in-law. It was through K.H. Asy'ari that Ahmad Rifa'i started to learn about religion.

According to,²⁴ the adolescence period of Kyai Rifa'i was spent inside the environment of a strong religious life because at that time Kaliwungu was known as the center of Islam development for Kendal and the surrounding regions. It was in Kaliwungu that Ahmad Rifa'i learned about the knowledge of religion such as: (1) *nahwu*; (2) *ṣaraf*; (3) *fiqh*; (4) *badi'*; (5) *bayān*; (6) *hadith*; and (7) al-Qur'an. The supportive conditions provided by the surrounding environment during the adolescence period automatically shaped the peculiar character within himself. The reason is that the influence from the surrounding environment had been quite dominant in addition to the internal characteristics.

During his time in Kaliwungu, Kyai Rifa'i had been pursuing the da'wa quite frequently in Kendal and the surrounding regions, including Wonosobo where he appointed some student who inherited the spirit of Rifa'iyah Community which has been quite influential in the given region nowadays. In his da'wa, Kyai Rifa'i often condemned the Dutch Colonial Government, resulting in his arrest and imprisonment in Kendal, Pekalongan, and even Wonosobo. Around 1816, Kyai Rifa'i decided to embark on a pilgrimage and studied in Mecca. Kyai Rifa'i spent about

²³ Amin Ridlo, *Dari Syek Haji Ahmad Ar-Rifa'i Ibn Muhammad Usfita Ushuluddin, Fiqih, Tashawuf* (Wonosobo: Manba'ul Anwar Press, 2018).

²⁴ Ibid.

eight years of study in order to deepen his understanding toward the knowledge of religion that he had mastered in the hometown. During his presence in Mecca, Kyai Rifa'i studied from the well-known teachers at that time namely: (1) Shaykh Abdurrahman; (2) Shaykh Abu Ubaidah; (3) Shaykh Faqih Muhammad bin Abdul Aziz; (4) Shaykh Utsman; (5) Shaykh Utsman; (6) Shaykh Abdul Malik; and (7) Shaykh Isa al-Barawi. The students or the followers of Kyai Rifa'i also believed that he had studied for 12 years from Shaykh Ibrahim al-Bajuri²⁵ in Egypt.

Furthermore,²⁶ believes that Kyai Rifa'i had met K.H. Nawawi al-Bantani and K.H. Muhammadi Kholil from Madura during his stay in Mecca. Then often discussed about the concerning situations in their hometown especially in terms of Islamic education. As they returned to their hometown, the three *ulama* met aboard a ship and discussed how to empower the people out of their chain of ignorance. Within the discussion, they decided that they should compose holy texts by using the methods that had been in accordance with the situations of the surrounding community with the following division: (1) K.H. Nawawi should translate the content from the Book of Ushuluddin; (2) K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i should translate the content from Fikih; and (3) K.H. Kholil should translate the content from the Book of Tasawuuf. Then, the three *ulama* also agreed to embark on their own assignment, which had been defined as follows: (1) translate and compose the content of the books in their own vernaculars; (2) establish an Islamic boarding school in their hometown; and (3) pursue the Islamiyah da'wa. In addition to the agreement, it turned out that K.H. Rifai composed numerous texts as soon as he had arrived in his hometown. These compositions were not only associated to the problems of *Fikih* but also to all problems that the people might have encountered. Such association could be traced back from the compositions that had been made and well-maintained up to date.

2. The Literacy Practice

Kyai Ahmad Rifa'i is one of the local *ulama* figures who have productively composed the classical books throughout the Archipelago. It is through these compositions that Kyai Ahmad Rifa'i has performed the da'wa and the religious literacy. As having been explain at the beginning of the study, the most dominant medium of da'wa that Kyai Ahmad Rifa'i relied on is compositions. From the inventory toward the compositions by Kyai Ahmad Rifa'i,²⁷ at least 69 religious manuscripts have been found. These findings are also supported by the results of a study²⁸ on his compositions, which show that there are 69 books that have been composed and these compositions represent three domains of Islam namely *Ushuluddin*, *Fiqih*, and *Tasawuf*. At the same time, some of his compositions also mention about the presence of the Dutch Government in the land of Java namely: (1) *Abyan al-Hawa'ij*; (2) *Awalih*; (3) *Targhib*; (4) *Asn al-Miqsad*; (5) *Tafriqah*; (6) *Bayan*; (7) *Tariqat Kubra*; and (8) *Sharh al-Iman*.

The spirit of da'wa during the life of Kyai Rifa'i (1837-1857 or approximately 20 years) was devoted in the form of compositions. According to the theory of da'wa communication, as having been explained by Munir and Suhandang, Kyai Rifa'i had dominantly relied on the use of the written medium (books) in addition to the oral medium during the communication with the *mad'u* (the listeners/the readers). The da'wa by means of composition shall not be withered by the age; in fact, the composition of the books shall be used by the next generations. The transfer of knowledge by Kyai Rifa'i had left a deep impression to his students and encouraged them to establish a network of *santri*. In addition, his students were motivated to embrace their teacher as the role model (K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i) and gave birth to new compositions.

In performing the da'wa to the *santri*, K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i made use of the religious literacy by reading his compositions that had been written in the Arabic-Javanese Pegon language; some of these compositions were Javanese poems or *nadham Jawa* while the rest of the compositions

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Bisri Ruchani, *Laporan Penelitian Kandungan Kitab Fikih Taisir Karya K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i Dan Interpretasi Kiai Santri* (Semarang, 2012).

²⁸ (Djamil, 2001:xxv)

were proses. In his exile, K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i wrote his new composition in Malay in accordance with the surrounding vernacular. The previous composition was an important Javanese masterpiece and this masterpiece was a translation of *fiqh* composition by Taftazani, a teacher of Prince Diponegoro, from the Book of Sirat al-Mustaqim ar-Raniri dated 1805. Ahmad Rifa'i had been productively composing texts since 1255 H/.1840 M and it is predicted that there are approximately 56 compositions about *ushul*, *fiqh*, and *tasawuf*.²⁹ Based on a note by PD Rifa'iyah Wonosobo, the number of compositions made by Kyai Rifa'i is 73 texts of books. For the interest of the transfer of knowledge and the da'wa of Islam, these compositions of Kyai Rifa'i are copied and disseminated by his students so that the tradition of literacy, both in terms of writing the books and in terms of reading the book, will always be preserved up to date. The copying process itself is performed by directly writing the composition and by using certain machine (technology).

3. The Development of Da'wa and Literacy Practice within the Rifa'iyah Community in the 20th Century

After Kyai Rifa'i passed away, the da'wa of Islam was continued by his students. The reinforcement of the mastery on the religious literacy by his students can be identified from the strong network of *kyai* and *santri* within the Rifa'iyah Community. The network of Rifa'iyah *kyai* and *santri* has been spread accross several regions in the Province of Central Java, which is the basis of the community. Indeed, the network of *kyai* and *santri* under the guidance of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i, as having been reviewed by Abdul Djamil and Ismawati, has been well-established in terms of book teaching as well as education and da'wa development within the Islamic boarding school. Then, in Pati it is found that Kyai Rifa'i had inherited down his knowledge to Kyai Maufura, K.H. Sulaiman, and K.H. Abdul Ghofur. Furthermore, Kyai Maufura and K.H. Sulaiman appointed a student named K.H. Abdul Manan (Rejosari, Purwodadi) and K.H. Abdul Manan inherited his knowledge to K.H. Djazuli (Sundoluhur Pati). K.H. Djazuli appointed four students namely Kyai Abdul Wahab, Kiai Abu Bakar, Kiai Subakir, and Kiai Asnawi. Still in relation to these lines, Kyai Fasidin appointed two students namely Kyai Abdul Wahab and Kyai Sungkoro. On the other hand, Kyai Asnawi appointed a student named Kyai Muh. Sajuri. Last but not the least, Kiai Badjuri (Kreteg, Weleri, Kendal) appointed three students namely K.H. Zuhri (Sundoluhur, Pati), Kyai Yahya Rais, and Kyai Safari.³⁰

The network of *kyai* or *ulama* and Santri under the guidance of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i is also found in Pekalongan. In this region, Kyai Rifai appointed two students namely K.H. Abdul Qohar and K.H. Bajuri. At the same time, Kyai Rifai also appointed other students namely Kyai Ilham, Kyai Imam Basari, and Kyai Nasihun. Kyai Nasihun later appointed two students namely K.H. Abidin and K.H. Ma'ruf. Then, the network of Kyai Bajuri and Kyai Nasihun also appointed another student named K.H. Syadzirin. At the same time, the network of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i is also found in the Regency of Batang. The students of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i in the Regency of Batang were namely Kyai Ilham and Kyai Maufura. Through the network of Kyai Ilham, two students, namely Kyai Imam Basari and Kyai Imam Hadi, were appointed as the students while through the network of Kyai Imam Basari two students, namely Kyai Musatri and Kyai Muthabi'ah, were appointed as the students. Last but not the least, through the network of Kyai Imam Hadi three students were appointed namely Kyai Darwis, Kyai Moh. Soleh, and Kyai Juwahir and through the network of Kyai Moh. Soleh a student was appointed namely Kyai Rahudi.³¹

Next, the network of Kyai Ahmad Rifa'i is also established in Kendal. In this region, K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i appointed three students namely Kyai Muhsin, Kyai Muh. Tuba, and K.H. Abdul Qohar. Later, Kyai Muhsin (who turned out to be the son-in-law of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i) appointed a student named Kyai Said and Kyai Said inherited his knowledge to three students namely Kyai

²⁹ Ahmad Syadzirin Amin, *Mengenal Ajaran Tarajjumah Syaikh H. Ahmad Rifa'i* (Pekalongan: Yayasan Al-Insap, 1898).

³⁰ Djamil, *Perlawanan Kiai Desa Pemikiran Dan Gerakan Islam K.H Ahmad Rifa'i Kalisalak*.

³¹ Ibid.

Fadoli, Kyai Ngarip, and Kyai Hasan Arjo. Furthermore, Kyai Fadoli appointed two students namely Kyai Zainuddin and K.H. Sa'ud while Kyai Ngarip appointed two students, namely K.H. Ali Munawi and K.H. Fathone, and Kyai Hasan Arjo appointed a student named Kyai Mashuri. Still in relation to these lines, Kyai Muh. Tuba appointed a student named Kyai Idris and Kyai Idris later appointed two students namely Kyai Amin and Kyai Hasan Badri, who appointed a student named Kyai Hasan Badri. On the other hand, K.H. Abdul Qohar appointed K.H. Badjuri as his students and K.H. Badjuri appointed Kyai Sukheri as his student. Last but not the least, Kyai Sukheri appointed a student named Kyai Fadlullah, Kyai Fadlullah appointed two students named Kyai Ali Masschun and Kyai M. Ali.³²

The network of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i is also found in Jakarta, Cirebon, and Indramayu in addition to the Province of Central Java. In Jakarta, the students of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i were K.H. Ilham and Kyai Hadis. Then, Kyai Ilham appointed Kyai Busro as his student and Kyai Busro later appointed Kyai Syafi'i as his student. On the other Hand, Kyai Hadis appointed Kyai Basyari as his student; later, Kyari Basari appointed Kyai Mahfudoh as his student and eventually Kyai Mahfudoh appointed Kyai Todlan and Kyai Akmal. In relation to the network in Jakarta, the student of K.H. Ahmad Rifai in the network of Cirebon and Indramayu was Kyai Idris. Then, Kyai Idris appointed Kyai Muharrar (Arjawinangun, Cirebon) as his student. Kyai Muharrar later appointed Kyai Mawardi (Arjawinangun, Cirebon) as his student and eventually Kyai Mawardi appointed Kyai Ahkamuddin Halali. On another occasion, Kyai Idris also appointed another student namely Kyai Sukawera (Indramayu) and Kyai Abu Hanifah (Sukawera, Indramayu). At the same time, Kyai Idris also appointed another student namely Kyai Kuat (Cidempat, Jakarta). It was from Kyai Burawi, Kyai Kuat, and Kyai Abu Hanifah that the teachings of Rifa'iyah has been passed from to the students or the members of Rifa'iyah Community.³³

Returning to the Province of Central Java, the network of *ulama* and *santri* in Wonosobo consists of Shaykh Abu Hasan Thoyib Kalibening, Shaykh Abdul Hadi Dalangan, Shaykh Abu Manshur Ngadisalam, Shaykh Abdul Hamid Karangsambo, Shaykh Abdul Aziz Tempursari, and Shaykh Abu Hasan (Kepil). The successors of Rifa'iyah movement have not only been found in Java but also in other islands, namely H. Abdurrohim Rifa'i Tondano (the Chief of Shuro Council PW Rifa'iyah North Celebes) and K.H. Muhammad Syahroni [Karawang].³⁴

It is based on the network of *kyai* and *santri* Rifa'iyah that the movement of literacy for disseminating and teaching the books of Tarajumah Kyai Rifa'i has been inherited and well-preserved up to date. The books composed by Kyai Rifa'i, most of which have been in handwritings, are re-written and copied for the interest of the education and the da'wa for the Rifa'iyah community in specific and the Moslem people in general, both in Java and in other regions throughout Indonesia. Then, the Islamic boarding schools through the Province of Central Java that inherit the spirit of da'wa on Islam and the books composed by Kyai Rifa'i are the Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School and the Asy-Syafi'iyah Islamic Boarding School (Pati). The books of Kyai Rifa'i are also taught in the Mosque of Baitul Muttaqin Pekalongan. In this mosque, there is a collection of 48 books by Kyai Rifa'i and these books are also taught in the Islamic boarding school within the mosque. In addition, the same collection is also taught in the Insaf Islamic Boarding School Pekalongan, the Basori Islamic Boarding School Pekalongan, the Asma'un Islamic Boarding School Pekalongan, the Khamdani Islamic Boarding School Batang, the Talun Boarding School Pati, the Man'baul Anwar Islamic Boarding School Wonosobo, the Fathur Qodir Islamic Boarding School Kendal, the Cepoko Mosque Kendal, the At-Taqwa Mosque, the Raudlatul Muttaqin Islamic Boarding School Kendal, the Kyai Ridwan Islamic Boarding School Kendal, and the Dalangan Islamic Boarding School Wonosobo and alike.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ PD Rifa'iyah Wonosobo, *Rancangan Keputusan Mukhtamar Rifa'iyah IX* (Wonosobo, 2018).

The development of literacy and da'wa by the successors of Kyai Rifa'i is not only found in the Islamic boarding schools but also in the formal schools. At least, there are 4 *Madrasah Diniyah*, 8 *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah*, and 2 *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* that teach the literacy by Kyai Rifa'i.³⁵ Therefore, it can be safely concluded that the movement of da'wa and literacy by Kyai Rifa'i (19th Century) has been continuously developed and maintained by the successors. In addition, it can also be safely concluded that the *dakwah bil al qalam* (da'wa by means of composition) within the establishment of Islamic boarding schools and madrasahs throughout many regions in Indonesia is also found in the practice of teaching and education.

E. Conclusion

Based on the above discussions, in we can conclude that the practice of literacy in Indonesia has been related with the religious proselytizing, including Islam. Such practice of literacy can be achieved because the literacy practice aims at the da'wa of Islam with adjustment to the targeted locality (*mad'u*). Therefore, the form of literacy practice that has appeared is the one that pays attention to the local language and composition, in this case the Javanese language and the Pegon script.

During his life (the 19th Century), the da'wa of Kyai Rifa'i has put more emphasis on the aspects of book (*kitab*) known as the Book of Tarajumah with the total number between 69 books and 73 books. These masterpieces by K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i has developed both in terms of deeds (*amaliyah*) and in terms of dissemination for the interest of da'wa and education. The works of K.H. Ahmad Rifa'i has been spread across Batang, Kendal, Pekalongan, Wonosobo, Pati, Cirebon, and even Ambon where Kyai Rifa'i passed away.

Within its development, the movement of da'wa and literacy by Kyai Rifa'i and his successors in the 20th Century has shown a slight change in the literacy form. Indeed, the literacy masterpiece by Kyai Rifa'i from his era until today is manifested in numerous forms. The earliest form of literacy is the handwriting by Kyai Rifa'i himself. Unfortunately, the Books of Tarajumah that had been originally composed by Kyai Rifa'i with his own handwritings were taken away by the VOC. Despite the taking over, several books that have originally been written by Kyai Rifa'i are still found in Sepuran, Karang Sambo, Wonosobo. Then, in order to preserve the Books of Tarajumah, the students of Kyai Rifa'i copied all of them with total number of 69 books; in fact, according to the notes by PD Rifa'iyah Wonosobo the total number of the copy is 73 books. In addition to being copied manually by using handwriting for the interest of da'wa and education (teaching) to the students or the *santri* in the Rifa'iyah Islamic boarding schools, these books are also copied by using machines and later the copies of these books are binded. In addition, the practice of literacy is also performed by using *nadzam* (oral praise) prior to the conduct of prayer or while waiting for the imam to lead the prayer. In fact, almost all Books of Tarajuma contain the compositions about Ushuluddin, Fiqih, and Tasawuuf. The students of K.H. Rifa'i have also preserved the intellectual traditions such as the ones that have been modeled by Kyai Hasan Dimejo. All of the books composed by Kyai Rifa'i are written in the inscription of Arab Pegon in order to ease the members of Rifa'iyah Community outside Java to understand their content. In Java alone, the contents of these books are translated into Javanese and Indonesian language. This initiative is so important that the teachings of Kyai Rifa'i can be read, understood, and practiced by the community throughout the nation.

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³⁵ Nahar Nahrawi, *Potensi Lembaga Sosial Keagamaan Seri IV Gerakan Rifaiyah* (Semarang, 1982).

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