

## **Jama'ah Rifa'iyah: From Radicalism to Indonesian Islamic Fundamentalism**

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### **Abstract**

The Rifa'iyah Jama'ah is one of the Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia founded by Kiai Ahmad Rifa'i who seems to have disappeared from circulation because of the views handed down from the days of the Dutch colonial administration, that this group or teachings were heretical and opposed to more ulama moderate against the Netherlands. The purpose of this article is to find out the movements and teachings of the Raifa'iyah Jama'ah which are considered by some to be radical, and exclusivist organizations, but over time the Rifa'iyah congregation becomes a more lenient fundamentalist organization towards the government as an effort of existence organization to be accepted by the Indonesian people in general and not be considered a radical and heretical organization by the wider community. This research is library research. This study found three main findings that the teachings and political thought of Kiai Rifa'i focused on three things: first, the Dutch colonial government was Kafir, and it was haram to be followed because it was oppressing the people. Secondly, the traditional bureaucrats, including the princes and ulemas who collaborated with the Dutch, were Dutch accomplices and they were wicked. Third, the practice of religion must not be mixed with the beliefs of the ancestors, which are considered heretical and polytheistic. Of course, such teachings were considered very dangerous by the Dutch. So on May 15, 1859, he was arrested and then exiled to Ambon, Maluku. Ten years in Ambon, he was moved to Sulawesi until he died in 1869. He was buried in the Kyai Mojo tomb complex, on a hill about one km from Kampung Jawa Tondano, Minahasa, Manado, North Sulawesi.

Keyword: Fundamentalism, Jama'ah Rifa'iyah, Radicalism

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Rifa'iyah is the name of an Islamic organization that is taken from the name of an ulama 'at the same time a national hero of Indonesia in the 19th century, namely KH. Ahmad Rifa'i. Judging from its history, Rifa'iyah is a religious movement that is quite old in Indonesia (Arifiyanti, Untari, & Wardana, 2018). He appeared since the Dutch colonial era, even the founder also took the fight against the colonial power. As a result of his anti-colonial attitude, KH. Ahmad Rifa'i was banished to Manado and Ambon (Abd Kadir, 2015). Today, the teachings of Rifa'iyah or commonly called Tarajumah have spread in various regions in Indonesia. The distribution of Rifa'iyah has been carried out since the KH. Ahmad Rifa'i and passed on by his followers across generations. From this process, the Rifa'iyah community was formed. The most Rifa'iyah communities are in Java, especially in Central Java. In Kendal, for example, many followers of KH. Ahmad Rifa' who became a scholar' and played an important role in the process of spreading the teachings to date. In this regency, there are already around four Islamic boarding schools which are the basis of Rifa'iyah and still exist in spreading teachings. As one of the Rifa'iyah community bases, Kendal certainly

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has its historical process and deserves to be explored further about the Islamic religious organization Rifa'iyah.

The Rifa'iyah Jama'ah is one of the Islamic organizations in Indonesia founded by Kiai Ahmad Rifa'i who seems to have disappeared from circulation because of the view handed down from the Dutch colonial era, that this group or teachings were heretical and opposed to more ulama moderate to the Netherlands, some even consider this organization to be radical (Suki, 2018).

A similar study by Nurani (2017) who took the theme of the Study of the Book of Tabyin Al-Islah by K.H.A. Rifa'i Kalisalak produced his struggle (Kiai Ahmad Rifa'i) in opposing colonialism which was done not through weapons but intellectuals, Nasrudin (2015) also took the theme of (Kiai Ahmad Rifa'i), namely the Teachings of Sufism in Literature of the Book " Ri'ayah Al-Himmah "The work of Sheikh Ahmad Rifa'i that produced the book of Ri'ayah al-hikmah shows the influence of Sufism of Imam al-Ghazali in Ihya' Ulum al-Din. The teachings of Sufism propagated by Ahmad Rifa'i with a style that is in line with shari'a and (Nurlaila, 2012) with the theme of Da'wah activities of Ahmad Rifa'i Arief through Islamic Boarding School Daar El Qolam Gintung Jayanti Tangerang (1968-1997) produced that the activities of the Da'wah Activities Kh Ahmad Rifa'i Arief Through Islamic Boarding School Daar El Qolam Gintung Jayanti Tangerang (1968-1997) the preaching of KH Ahmad Rifa'i Arief is done by Oral Da'wah, Da'wah Bil-Qolam, and Da'wah El-Qolam. The researcher himself conducted a study that looked at the organization's journey from organizations that some people considered to be a radical organization until now becoming a fundamentalist organization in Indonesia to form an organizational structure for the story of this organization to the present. In the previous research, the majority discussed the normative thinking of the Rifa'i kiyai and there was no mention of the dynamics of history, movements, and gait of the Rifa'iyah congregation in Indonesia.

Kiai Ahmad Rifa'i is an important figure in Indonesia someone with genius thoughts and even many people who follow him. We are in his character.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research is qualitative research (Sugiyono, 2013), the method of collecting data using observation techniques and observation participation, as well as in-depth interviews (in-depth interview). Observation techniques are used to determine individual-level research subjects and community-level research subjects (Islamic religious groups).

All interview and observation data are recorded carefully, in as much detail as possible and collected so that they become a field note. Furthermore, all data obtained were then analyzed qualitatively. The results of the study are displayed in the form of descriptive (interpretive) analysis involving the stages of triangulation techniques. By the rules of triangulation analysis, data obtained from informants will be analyzed continuously throughout the data collection process in the field. Metode

The research method that the author uses is the method of documentation, in the sense of examining written documents, both primary and secondary. Then the results of the study were recorded on a computer as a data collection aid (Arikunto, 2013). Also, the interview method is used to convince the author in carrying out analytical work and help in drawing conclusions that the writer will do to the informant who is also a respondent in this study. The stages of the historical research method are as follows: Heuristics, Source Criticism (Verification), External Criticism, and Internal Criticism.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Get to know the figure of Sheikh Kiai Ahmad Rifa'i

Ahmad Rifa'i was born in 1786, in Tempuran Village, Kendal Regency, Central Java, Indonesia. His father was a prince in Kendal, named Muhammad bin Sujak Wijaya. In the village of Kalisalak, Batang, Central Java-Indonesia he built a religious community and began teaching religion to the students who were originally composed of children, but in further development were also visited by adults. Here he faced problems in explaining the teachings of Islam based on the Koran and what he learned in Arabic and was obtained from Acehnese scholars (Djamil, 2001). It was at this time that for almost 18 years he was engaged in da'wah activities and guided his students not to recognize the colonial government as a protest.

Even twenty years he wandered and sought the knowledge of Religion in the land of people (Mecca, Medina, and Egypt), to study, at the age of fifty-one years returned to Indonesia with his close friends (Nawawi and Kholil), by trading ship going to Indonesia. In the ship, they had the opportunity to make an agreement that they would fulfill after settling in Java. The agreement in question is to uphold amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar, translate Arabic books as media for da'wah, act fairly in expelling the Dutch colonialism and establishing educational institutions. As for the agreement, there are also assignments between the three of them with the following details:

1. Shaykh Kholil Bangkalan, compiles translated books with concentration and orientation on the subject matter of Sufism
2. Shaykh Nawawi al-Banteni, compiles translation books with an orientation to the problem of Usuluddin.
3. Shaykh Ahmad Rifa'i, compiled a book of translations oriented to the subject of fiqh.

So long journey back to the homeland, Ahmad Rifa'i arrived at his home in Kalisalak and continued his mission which was delayed (Mahmud, 2010).

The books written by Kiai Rifa'i are the most famous and considered dangerous because of the doctrine in them among other things;

### Syarih al-Iman

This book was written in 1255 H / 1840 AD in the form of prose mixed with poetry as much as 169 pages. This book talks about faith, according to its name, Syarih al-Iman, but in its narrative it focuses more on the narratives about infidels and their fate and emphasizes that Muslims should stay away from them so that they do not become followers (Djamil, 2001).

### Ri'ayah al-Himmah

This book was written in 1266 H / 1851 AD, consisting of 2 large volumes of 500 pages. As stated in the cover, he discusses three problems in Islam namely Usul, Fiqh, and Sufism oriented to the Shafi'i and Ahlussunnah madzhab as stated in other books (Djamil, 2001).

### **Bayan**

This book was written in 1256 H, in the form of nadzam consisting of 380 pages, this book discusses the provisions of people who will become teachers, but in the talk contains elements of anti-religious provocation that help the Dutch East Indies government (Djamil, 2001).

### **Tasyriha al-Muhtaj**

Kitab ini ditulis pada tahun 1266 H, terdiri atas 200 halaman dan membicarakan Fiqh Mu'amalah mulai dari masalah jual beli (bai') sampai dengan masalah barang temuan (luqatah) (Djamil, 2001).

### **Nazham Tasfiyah**

This book is written in the form of nadzam, containing the meaning of Fatihah which is discussed concerning the validity of one's prayer. This book is less popular among Rifa'iyah compared to other books (Djamil, 2001).

### **Abyan al-Hawaij**

This book is the largest book among other Tarajumah books consisting of 3 large volumes, respectively (the first book 555 pages, the second book 563 pages, and the third book 518 pages). Broadly speaking this book talks about Usul (religious subjects), Fiqh (Islamic law), and Sufism (Djamil, 2001).

### **Asnal Miqsad**

This book was written in 1260 H / 1844 AD, contains 600 pages, in this book, it discusses the subject which is almost the same as the books of Riayah al-Himmah and Abyan al-Hawaij namely about Usul, Fiqh, and Tasawuf (Djamil, 2001).

### **Tabyin al-Islah**

This book was written in 1264 H / 1847 AD, consisting of 220 pages specifically discussing the issue of marriage which is correct in the view of the Rifa' Kiai, this book contains an element of criticism of the implementation of marriages that occur in the hands of the community. This book found a procedure for marriage among the Rifa'yah which later invited controversy (Djamil, 2001).

This unique cleric from the coast of Central Java indeed gave birth to many writings, even though he was less popular compared to his strong friend, Kyai Nawawi from Banten. However, he is widely known, especially among the scientists of history and literature. The results of his work in the form of the book "Tarajumah" invited a very high historical and literary value. Noted historian Sartono Kartodirdjo stated Kyai Rifa'i was a very productive scholar in writing Javanese books with very high literary values. Among scientists, followers of the Rifa'iyah congregation have not yet found an agreement regarding how many works of this Kyai Ahmad Rifa'i, both in his compositions when he settled in Kalisalak or when he was exiled in Ambon. Kuntowijoyo detailed the works of Kyai Ahmad Rifa'i totaling 55 books (Amin, 1996).

### **Kiai Rifa'i Political Doctrine Against the Rifa'iyah Movement**

In the realm of political science, the study of political thought is not something new. This can be seen from the history of existing political thought, both the classical, middle and contemporary eras. Of course,

thinkers also influence and are influenced by the flow of thought in their day. Thought can be interpreted as an idea or view of an object or situation, in this case, the Rifa'i's thinking about the condition of the surrounding situation. A Kiai certainly relies more on the guidance of Religion, where his position as an elite of Religion is itself. The connection between the ideas of the Kiai Rifa'i is to be thought related to politics, that is because there are some thoughts about religiosity, indirectly related also to politics or government. Among his thoughts include (Djamil, 2001):

### **The pagan Dutch government**

In the doctrine of his protest against the Netherlands, the thought of K.H Ahmad Rifa' was based on the argument that the Dutch were infidels. Besides that, it is recommended to all members of the Rifa'iyah congregation to fight to save the world, by fighting against the infidel king. The struggle against disbelieving law and fighting with unstable war will be a great reward.

### **Traditional Bureaucrats accomplice the Dutch Government**

In addition to the doctrine of protest to the Dutch colonial government, K.H Ahmad Rifa'i also taught his protest doctrine against traditional bureaucrat officials. The doctrine of protest essentially condemns the scholars of the Ulema and Hajj who do wicked, help, and serve the kafir (Dutch) king. Although appointed as tumenggung, but that person is a hypocrite and does not have faith. Alim Ulama and the Hajjis who helped the Dutch as traditional officials were considered to be takabbur, who in the future would not be noble qadis (judges). K.H Ahmad Rifa'i in his teachings also expressed protest against the feudal nature carried out by traditional rulers. The feudal nature which he considered a reflection of oppression to the people on the one hand and devotion to the Dutch on the other hand.

he criticism was also conveyed by K.H Ahmad Rifa' in his book against priyajis who sit in office: Kebayan, lurah, regent, tumenggung and queen. The officials were considered feudal sources who insulted the people. This was experienced by K.H Ahmad Rifa' in 1835, in Kendal district. When attending a wedding reception in the district pavilion, guests including himself are required to be in the presence of the regents and priyajis. The act was considered an act of negation, and therefore against the attitude and nature of the feudal lords, he opposed it, especially the feudal lords who were instruments or agents of the Netherlands, said to be infidels, hypocrites and despised (Darban, 2004). Religious leaders, such as princes, scholars, and pilgrims, by K.H Ahmad Rifa'i, are considered as religious leaders who are misleading. They do not obey Allah's orders, do not judge by Islamic law, violate religious provisions. They are said to live in a wave of sin, namely the sins of Bid'ah, immorality and infidels because they participate and support the pagan government (the Netherlands). Therefore, anyone who is married through a religious official, his marriage is considered illegal, and children born are also considered illegal (Trilaksana & Kasdi, 2018). The condemnation manifested in his teachings was not only conveyed to his students in the pesantren but also directly carried out in public mosques (Amin, 1996).

### **Marriage conducted by a Government Institution**

In the political thinking of Kiai Rifa'i, the problems related to Jurisprudence are not different from the Muslims in general, but in the matter of marriage and Friday prayer, there are differences. According to Kiai Rifa'i, it is not valid if a marriage is carried out by a financial institution under the government bureaucracy, marriages based on official marriage ceremonies held by the headman are legally haram

because the officials are not pious and unjust, and if there is a relationship in the marriage is considered adultery because it is not valid marriage then it must be repeated. Thus according to the Kiai Rifa'i, the marriage held by the prince was "invalid" and had to be repeated, because the priest's faith had been damaged because he was an accomplice to the pagan ruler. A marriage witness is required to be fair while a marriage guardian according to CCC Rifa'i must be *murshid* (a person who in his religious knowledge, is not ungodly, honest, has never committed a grave sin) (Abdullah, 2006). This view is consistent with its rejection of the government and traditional bureaucrats, a marriage is considered valid if the marriage guardian comes from Alim Adil (Djamil, 2001) and is not represented by the headman in the government bureaucracy.

### **Friday Prayers at the Government Mosque**

Likewise, concerning Friday prayers, Kiai Rifa'i believes that Friday prayers in government mosques are also haram in religion. The underlying idea is that as government officials, the headman is a person who is religiously no longer pure, and therefore does not meet the requirements to lead worship (Priyono, 1994). Besides requiring the quality of a fair and pious priest and preacher, Ahmad Rifa'i also requires that the participants of Friday prayers that make Friday prayer valid must be people who know the harmony, the mandatory requirements, the legal requirements for Friday prayers. If there is one person who does not fulfill it then the Friday prayer will be canceled. In other words, the participants of Friday prayers who become *Ahlul Jum'ah* must have enough knowledge and practice of their religion (Abdullah, 2006). The severity of the teaching about Friday prayers, which considers the Imams ineligible. This is because most imams in mosques are classified as wicked and *bid'ah* experts. Therefore the prayer is invalid. The Kiai Rifa'i stated emphatically that the priests were princes who served the Netherlands (Darban, 2004). With the ban on his followers, the pilgrims of Rifa'iyah became exclusive in social interaction.

That is the point of view among the Kiai Rifa'i which shows the attitude of anti-Dutch colonialism and reproach towards native officials and the Dutch-affiliated Muslims.

From the teachings and doctrines taken from the book written by Kiai Ahmad Rifai in the form of poetry it can be concluded that the doctrine of the Kiai Rifa'i protest focused on two things: first, the Dutch colonial government was *Kafir* because it oppressed the people. Secondly, the traditional bureaucrats, including the ruler and cleric who worked with the Dutch, were Dutch accomplices and they were wicked because they were illegitimate in carrying out marriages and becoming priests of Friday prayers.

The development of the Rifa'iyah movement has always been devoid of problems, but its followers always have independence. There are obstacles for Rifa'iyah residents to establish relationships with other socio-religious organizations because of Kiai Rifa'i's teachings. It is not surprising if here and there still appears to be a lack of interaction with other parties such as *Nahdlatul Ulama* and *Muhammadiyah* broadly. Even so, for the *Pekalongan* area, Rifa'iyah had a fairly close relationship with *Muhammadiyah* because of historical factors surrounding the conflict that occurred between Rifa'iyah and *Nahdlatul Ulama* in 1965.

The Rifa'iyah movement is always in a remote situation in the future when the controversial teachings of Kiai Rifa'i are not given new facilitation. Even though the problem of Islamic pillars, *Qada*'s prayer, Friday's issue can be made arguments that make sense, but in a position that is contrary to the generally accepted views in society, making this group still look exclusive and experience obstacles in interacting with religious organizations other. The efforts of the Rifa'iyah to build their mosque for the Friday prayers by the Rifa'iyah are often used as indicators of their exclusive attitude. Compare this with

LDII circles who also tend to make their mosques and are seen as exclusive. Even though Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama' also tend to build mosques with their respective characteristics, but their openness and intensity of relations with other parties are quite high, making it not seem exclusive.

### **Interaction with Other Religious Groups.**

The Rifa'iyah Movement was born since Kiai Rifa'i built the Kalisalak santri community after returning from Mecca in 1841. At first, it was a small community of the first-generation santri who later became the chain of spreading the movement in various regions, especially in Central Java. Their existence is of concern to the government for two reasons:

1. Pandangan keagamaan Kiai Rifa'i yang berlawanan dengan pandangan umum umat Islam seperti masalah salat jum'at, pengulangan perkawinan, qada' salat dan rukun Islam. Pandangan seperti ini dianggap mengakibatkan keresahan sebagaimana digambarkan dalam Serat Cabolek, laporan pejabat dan reaksi tokoh-tokoh Islam pada waktu itu.
2. The religious movement of Kiai Rifa'i has a tendency towards cultural isolation with the authorities as often stated in the Tarajumah book and the attitude shown by Kiai Rifa'i himself and the students of Kalisalak. This is considered dangerous because it contains political content. As stated in the Dutch government decree (Bevelschtift) number 35 of 1859. The government uses the logic that leaving Kiai Rifa'i too long together with his community in Kalisalak will potentially spark open hostility towards the government Netherlands.

The two conditions above have implications for the separation of the Kalisalak community from the wider community, especially those that smell like traditional rulers and bureaucrats. The story of the modin coming to the Kalisalak boarding school and then being bathed with alang-alang grass shows the tendency above. Although Fiber Cabolek represents more bureaucratic cynicism towards ulama such as Kiai Rifa'i, it at least reflects the conflict between the two religious groups, namely the ulema around the authorities and the community built by Kiai Rifa'i in Kalisalak. In addition to the Fiber Cabolek and reports of government officials, Kiai Rifa'i himself often makes statements that contain the creation of distance between the community he has built with other people such as the phrase 'Alim' is just as the opposite of 'Alim fasiq

Namun demikian, tidak selamanya komunitas lain mengalami konflik dengan komunitas Kalisalak. Ada tendensi yang menganggap Kiai Rifa'i sebagai pemimpin yang amat menentukan sejarah umat Islam Jawa di masa depan atau paling tidak memberikan apresiasi terhadap pemikiran dan gerakan agamanya. Ahmad Ngisa, seorang yang dianggap sebagai seorang pemimpin gerakan mesianis pada tahun 1871 meramalkan akan datangnya Pangeran Erutjakra disertai dengan bala tentaranya untuk mengusir penguasa asing. Setelah mereka terusir, akan muncul tiga penguasa yaitu Penguasa dari Majapahit, penguasa Pajajaran dan penguasa Kalisalak (Pekalongan). Beberapa riwayat dari kalangan Rifa'iyah menyatakan bahwa setelah pulang dari Mekkah, Kiai Rifa'i pindah ke wilayah yang sama sekali asing dan masih berupa hutan belantara (Kalisalak), namun berkat kegigihan dan kebenaran ajaran yang disampaikannya, ia berhasil menarik simpati dari orang-orang sekeliling dan kemudian menjadi santrinya.

Kiai Rifa'i's relationship with other religious communities at that time had a similarity with the phenomenon of Kiai Ahmad Mutamakkin from Tuban who was considered to teach heresy (ie mystical teachings) so that he was ostracized by the scholars of the community and even threatened with death by the Mangkurat government. Both also have a similarity in opposing power and therefore both face an alliance between the ruler and the ulema. If Kiai Rifa'i and his students face an alliance of the Dutch ruling

with the ulema, then Kiai Mutamakkin faces an alliance of the ruling Sunan Mangkurat with the ulema (especially the coastal clerics).

If in the end, Kiai Mutamakkin survived Pakubuwana II and subsequently became an important figure who was considered to have supernatural advantages, then this was not the case with Kiai Rifa'i. In addition to successfully building a community that later became a diffuser of his views in various regions, some regarded him as a leader of heresy based on the controversy of his views as explained above. Kiai Rifa'i faces two forces that have different interests, namely rulers who do not want to be disturbed by political stability by extreme leaders such as Kiai Rifa'i. On the other hand, the ulema feel disturbed by their religious views by the controversial Kiai Rifa'. If the government uses Article 47 of the government regulation (Regeering Reglement) to exile Kiai Rifa'i to Ambon, the ulema consider the Friday issue, the repetition of marriage as an issue to corner him as was done by the Hajj Pinang in a debate with Kiai Rifa'i in Pekalongan mosque.

In the post-Kiai Rifa'i exile to Ambon, the relationship between the Rifa'iyah and other religious communities was often colored by tensions with a cause that was not much different from the tensions that emerged during Kiai Rifa'i's life. However, these tensions are casuistic as happened in Pekalongan and Demak. In Pekalongan tensions occurred with the Nahdlatul Ulama community which was triggered by the implementation of Friday prayers by Rifa'iyah residents in the village of Meduri in Tirto sub-district in 1965. In the conflict situation with the Nahdlatul Ulama in Pekalongan, Muhammadiyah protected the Rifa'iyah as reflected in the defense of a person in Tirto in 1965. The figure was named Sutjimerdiko at the Madura case settlement meeting above. Therefore, sometimes there are still expressions of hostility towards the Rifa'iyah group now and are a legacy from the past that cannot be lost. In Pekalongan there are still often expressions that the Rifa'iyah people who die will become a wild boar.

Different from Pekalongan and Demak. The Wonosobo and Temanggung regions show a fairly positive reciprocal relationship with religious groups such as Nahdlatul Ulama. In the Wonosobo region where many Rifa'iyah followers were evenly distributed in various sub-district areas, there was no conflict since the most developed period, namely the pioneering period by a Rifa'iyah leader named Mbah Hadis from the Karangsambo region. During the development of Rifa'iyah after independence, the figure of Rifa'iyah in Wonosobo and Temanggung could be found concurrently as a manager of Nahdlatul Ulama. Kiai Yahmin from Sambeg (Wonosobo) and Kiai Solichin from Tretep Subdistrict (Temanggung) are administrators of the Nahdlatul Ulama Suriah as well as his position as Kiai Rifa'iyah. This is made possible by ideological factors that lead to a similarity in the way of religion to follow the tradition of Ahlussunnah Waljama'ah

If the Pekalongan and Demak regions show conflict tendencies as explained above, basically it is caused by other factors outside the ideology, namely the case of returning Nahdlatul Ulama membership cards by Rifa'iyah residents before the 1955 Election in Pekalongan in addition to the coastal culture which since the time of the development of Islamization has an orthodox tendency compared to the interior. Compare with the fact that the coastal elements of the local elements are less visible compared to the interior where Islam often appears clad with local traditions (Javanese)

## CONCLUSION

In addition to the revivalism and reform movement Jama'ah Rifa'iyah, it also developed as a political movement protesting against the power of traditional bureaucrats and colonial bureaucrats. Government systems tend to be secular, and coincidentally held by the Dutch colonials are considered pagan governments and must be resisted further. For the pilgrims of the Rifa'iyah government, traditional

bureaucrats, because it then becomes a traditional bureaucratic tool that is used as a colonial tool is also considered infidel and flask, then it is not entitled to carry out religious ceremonies such as becoming an imam and marrying off. Because the control of the authorities in the nineteenth century was still too strong in the face of the Jama'ah Rifa'yah protest movement, the movement could be temporarily quelled. The KH Ahmad Rifa' I was exiled to Ambon, accusing him of causing chaos and division among the people, especially Muslims. For the time being the rifa'iyah movement, which at first moved very aggressively towards other Muslims, then died out and almost disappeared from the surface. The rifa'iyah scholars changed their movements from aggressive - radicals to soft movements and peace. Islamic boarding schools in Rifa'iyah and their congregation groups approached the surrounding Muslim community. In social activities, residents of Rifa'iyah mingle and cooperate with the community. However, what is still maintained is its characteristic is still isolation in terms of prayer in the congregation. By holding a soft and peaceful movement, the pilgrims of Rifa'yah succeeded in maintaining their lives even though there was no unity of coordination in the movement. Each group of pilgrims and Islamic boarding schools stand autonomously under the leadership of a capable Rifa'iyah cleric.

Jamah Rifa'iyah is an Islamic organization whose life has exceeded a century, with 168 years. This proves that the figure of KH Ahmad Rifa' I as the founding cleric, was considered the leader of Fair and was therefore obeyed by his followers and glorified his fatwas. The charismatic bond of KH Amad Rifa' I and his Tarajumah books, is the key that can answer that the Rifa'iyah Jama'ah remains alive until the present year 2018.

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