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The Representation of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai Kalisalak in *Repen Ripangi*

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Abstract

This study aims to discuss the meaning of Repen Ripangi as a literary narrative manuscript of Adipati Panji Suryakusuma, Regent of Semarang which was then composed in the form of macapat song by Panji Jayasubrata. By placing it in the context of social and political history in Java in the nineteenth century, the text reveals the tension between the two social elites during the colonial period in a form of narrative poetry. This research used qualitative method with representation theory. The results show that the writing of Repen Ripangi in the form of narrative poetry was not merely an aesthetic expression of the author Javanese priayi, but also a means of representation which goal is the stigmatization of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai as a kiai who brings apprehension in society. In addition, another goal of the representation in Repen Ripangi was to strengthen the penghulu as one of religious authorities in Java during the colonial period and to strengthen the defense of priayi interest within their political patrons, namely the colonial government in Java.

Keywords: macapat, patron, priayi, Repen Ripangi, representation

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Introduction

Repen Ripangi is a narrative poem with macapat metrum. It tells an open debate in Pekalongan between kiai Ahmad Arrifai Kalisalak of Batang, Central Java and Haji Pinang, Batang on numerous religious issues. The story originated from Bupati Panji Suryakusuma, the Regent of Semarang in the colonial era, which was then composed by Panji Jayasubrata. Considering the tensions between the kiai and the priayi due to various conflicts in the colonial period (Kuntowijoyo, 1998), the presence of *Repen Ripangi* is obviously influenced by the context of the tension. Hence, the writing of *Repen Ripangi* is a priayi way of interpreting the figure of the kiai, or, in the perspective of cultural production, is a representation of the kiai's behavior from the priayi point of view.

In the historical perspective, the presence of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai Kalisalak in the Islamic intellectual and social stage in the 19th century generated various perceptions. To his followers, Jamaah Rifaiyyah, the figure of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai Kalisalak is a figure of a pious and just kiai and also a fearless fighter in voicing the truth despite having to confront the colonial ruler (Amin, 1989, 1996). Thus, it is understandable that his teachings written in the books he wrote are still firmly followed by his followers until now, as seen from the use of kitab-kitab *tarajumah* as the materials of research and Quran recitation among the Jamaah Rifaiyyah (Amin, 1989, 1996; Djamil, 2001). On the other hand, the ruler of the time considered Kiai Ahmad Arrifai as merely a village kiai who only brings unrest in the society (Steenbrink, 1980). Thus, it is not surprising that his way of life ended in exile after the colonial government's court sentenced him guilty of teaching misguided teachings (Darban, 2004; Djamil, 2001; Kartodirdjo, 1973).

Undeniably, the emergence of numerous perceptions on Kiai Ahmad Arrifai Kalisalak above was influenced by Kiai Ahmad Arrifai's social intellectual and ideological attitude that he adopted in the dynamic political and social conditions in Java in the 19th century. As shown in a number of researches by many scholars (Amin, 1989, 1996; Djamil, 2001; Fahmi, 2008; Islam, 2014; Islam, 2016; Kartodirdjo, 1973). The involvement of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in the social movement confronting the colonial government in Central Java is an irrefutable historical fact. In consequence of his involvement in the social movements, he had to bear many political pressures, including dealing with the court. Kartodirdjo even stated that one of the most dramatic moments from Kiai Ahmad Arrifai resistance movement was the fact that he had to undergo trial in the open court following numerous public debates in Pekalongan (Kartodirdjo, 1973). This dramatic moment is then inspired the writing of the narrative poem entitled *Repen Ripangi*.

In contrast with the movement and thought of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai Kalisalak which have attracted the attention of scholars in the form of researches, *Repen Ripangi*, as a narrative poem recounting the figure of Kyai Ahmad Arrifai, seems to have received less attention. The form of *Repen Ripangi* as a form of a work of Javanese literature which tells about the debate of historical figure from Kalisalak, Batang, Central Java seems only to catch the attention from its existence as a source of social history in Central Java in the 19th century. So, the attention towards *Repen Ripangi* was only limited to be cited as reference on some episodes of social movements in Central Java in the 19th century, as what has been done by Kartodirdjo (1973), or merely completes a review of biography of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai Kalisalak, as what was done by Djamil (2001) and Darban (2004).

A study that focused more on *Repen Ripangi* has only been done by Kuntowijoyo (1991). In his study, Kuntowijoyo mentioned *Repen Ripangi* as *Serat Cebolek*, to trace the origin of the tensions between Islam and the bureaucracy. That is why, Kuntowijoyo in his study paired *Repen Ripangi* with *Serat Cebolek* written by Yasadipura as an effort to trace the tensions. The tendency of placing *Repen Ripangi* as a source of history was done again by van der Molen (2008). In his study which is focused on *Repen Ripangi*, van der Molen asserted that although it is a work of literature, *Repen Ripangi* is worth to be considered as a source of history.

From a number of studies above, it appears that none of the studies on *Repen Ripangi* discusses the problem of representation and ideological dimensions. In fact, from the point of view of cultural production, the writing of the story of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in *Repen Ripangi* by priayi writers by itself is not a historical description of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai, but it is a representation of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in the text written by priayi. Therefore, unlike the studies that have been done by a number of scholars above, this study is intended to prove that as a literary work, *Repen Ripangi* is not merely aesthetic expressions of the author, but

also as a means of representation for the author of the kiai figure who is a common enemy for his social group. Therefore, this study is not only explored the text textually, but also contextually by looking at the ideological dimensions behind the representation process, including the accompanying colonial powers.

Method

The objective of this study is to reveal the meaning of the *Repen Ripangi* text appeared at the end of the 19th century and the representation of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in the text. The method employed in the study is qualitative method which answers questions about experience, meaning and perspective. This study collects some types of nonnumerical data to answer research question” (Christensen, 2014). Hence, the writers do not utilize numeric data or statistics model to analyse the data.

To apply the qualitative research, the data will be collected and analysed by using the theory of representation. The data collected will be analysed through descriptive analyses technique, which means, “Descriptive research focuses on describing some phenomenon, event or situation” (Christensen, 2014). Therefore, the data will be presented in the original form. Then, the writers provide additional layers of data taken from books, journal articles and thesis and present the narrative analysis of the poems. Initially, the writers read the narrative poems and explore the poem by writing explications. Then, the collected data related to Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in the text is analysed through Stuart Hall’s theory of representation. The instrument of this research is the writers themselves. The writers gather all the data by reading *Repen Ripangi* several times. After collecting the data, writer makes an analysis of the representation of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai.

Result and Discussion

The Text of *Repen Ripangi* and the Production of Meaning

As a literary text, *Repen Ripangi* existence is a cultural product that is filled with how to perceive reality. In this regard, Stuart Hall sees it that culture in essence is always related with the production of meaning carried out by a group of society. As a consequence of the diversity of the members of community groups, individuals or groups of society have different ways of understanding, interpreting and representing a reality. In this case, the object of representations or meanings can be objects, people, culture of a society, and so forth. In other words, all the things in this world can be the object of representation (Hall, 1997). In the process of representation, language plays an important role in view of its function as a link between the human and the reality around him and at the same time as forming the subject of the meaning of reality. In this context, language consisting of signs and symbols that are expressed in the form of voice, text, electronical images, music and even objects, all of these serve to represent ideas, concepts, and feelings of subject to other things (Hall, 1997).

In line with Hall’s view above, as a product of culture, the presence of *Repen Ripangi* featuring Kiai Ahmad Arrifai as an antagonist is also a form of representation of a renowned priayi historical figure who has been the opponents of the priayi. It cannot be denied, the presence of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai on the historical stage of social and intellectual Java in the 19th century did make the bureaucrats of the time to be upset due to the critical stance of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai against the colonial government and those who become the accomplices.

The Representation of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai as an Antagonist Character

The issue of colonialism that pervaded the Muslim world in general and the Archipelago in particular, has given rise to various responses from the ulama. Some accept it as a political fact that should be consented, and therefore the attitude taken is associative and accommodative

to the colonial, and some others reject it, and therefore the attitude taken is against it (Djamil, 2001).

In the context of relationship between the ulamas and the colonial authorities, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai Kalisalak was a representation of the confrontational relationship. Thus, it is not surprising that the authorities in his era whether colonial or indigenous had negative perception of him. The problem is to what extent did the authorities interpret Kiai Ahmad Arrifai Kalisalak confrontational attitude? To analyze this, therefore the text that was written by the priayi namely *Repen Ripangi* must be scrutinized.

In contrast to what is believed by his followers, in the text of *Repen Ripangi* (the citations are taken from *Serat Cebolak* (Hadisucipto & Hadisuprpta, 1981)), Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was always portrayed negatively, both in terms of personal and intellectual capacity. The negative representations can be seen at the beginning of the text *Repen Ripangi* when the speaker introduces the characters in the text. Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was described as a pilgrim who taught religion and considered to be bothersome, as can be seen from this excerpt.

*Ki pangulu wau manganjali
Dhuh pukulun kawula miyarsa
Ing Bathang inggih wartose
Kalisalak kang dhusun
Wonten kaji amulang ngelmi
Muhammad Ripangi nama
Punika misuwur
Anyampah sagung ngulama ngelmunipun tan wonten ingkang prayogi
Sadaya sami galat (dandhanggula, stanza 6, page 198)*

Meaning:

The Kiai *penghulu*'s name is Manganjali
Pardon me master, I hear news
Supposedly said in Batang
There is a pilgrim who taught knowledge
By the name of Muhammad Rifai
He is well known
Degrading all ulama
That all their knowledge is bad
Everything is wrong

In the above quotation, the *penghulu* character named Manganjali, said Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was a pilgrim who taught theology at Batang by degrading all scholars and clerics knowledge that all were not well and wrong. Then at the other stanza, Manganjali *penghulu* said:

*Mene dadi khalifah Jeng Nabi
Nindaakan syarak Rasulullah
Aneng tanah Jawa kena
Dene ta iku sagung
Para ngulama ing tanah Jawi
Miwah pangulu padha
Sembahyang iku
During sah jumungahira
Apa dene nggone nikahahake sami
pan iku durung sah (dandhanggula, stanza 9, page 199)*

Meaning:
Now becoming the Caliphate of the Prophet
Performing the Syaria of the Prophet
In this land of Java
Thus
All ulama in Java
Including the *penghulu*
Their prayers
Their Friday prayer is not valid yet
Let alone in performing the marriage
Everything is not valid yet

In the quotation above, *penghulu* Manganjali mentioned that Kiai Ahmad Arrifai felt to be the khalifah replacing the Prophet who carried out the syariat Rasulullah. Therefore, in view of Manganjali, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai assessed all scholars, including the *penghulu*, their prayers were not valid, even the weddings they hold were also not valid yet.

From the quotation of a few verses above, it is clearly seen that Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in *Repen Ripangi* is represented as a person who claimed to be fair caliph of Prophet Muhammad, while other scholars are unfair; Kiai Ahmad Arrifai claimed that his knowledge was the truth, while the knowledge and even the prayers of other scholars were wrong, and the implementation of other clerical duties as a *penghulu* who arranged marriages was not valid. It is unfortunate that in *Repen Ripangi* there is no explanation to the reasons why Kiai Ahmad Arrifai assessed that other scholars were not true and he led the implementation of the marriage invalid.

As a consequence of the establishment of criteria fair and pious to be religious leaders who wanted to carry out duties as executor of the majority of Islamic law, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was very critical to scholars who cooperated with the colonial government. Therefore, in a number of his works, namely *Nazam Tarekat*, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai often gave sharp criticism against the cleric who approved and became part of the colonial system of government bureaucracy. In this regard, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai believed that if scholars were willing to cooperate with the colonial government that they lost their sense of justice. As a consequence of the lost of the sense of fairness, the scholars automatically did not deserve to be role model. Meanwhile, with regard to the obligation if the clerics to be pious and just, what Kiai Ahmad Arrifai stated is more related to the general prevailing criteria to anyone. In a number of his works, it is seen that there were no personal confessions from Kiai Ahmad Arrifai that he was the only one to hold the predicate of pious and just, while other scholars knowledge was not valid. Thus, based on the texts written by Kiai Ahmad Arrifai, it can be concluded that the confession of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in *Repen Ripangi* which claimed him as the only pious and just person, is a representation of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai by the author of *Repen Ripangi* which shows a counter of the priayi towards the sharp criticism of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai on the conducts of some religious figures in his time who were willing to cooperate with the colonial government.

As in connection with the story of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in *Repen Ripangi* who rejected the validity of marriage led by the *penghulu*, it seems that the story is in line with reality as admitted by his followers (Amin, 1996). However, what is not explained in *Repen Ripangi* is the background of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai's rejection of the validity of marriages performed by the *penghulu* of his time.

As defined in the literature of Islamic law, the position and duties of the *penghulu* was to implement part of Islamic law. Therefore, from the point of view of Islamic laws the tasks of the *penghulu* is a noble task. Keeping in mind how noble the work of the *penghulu* is, *penghulu* is required to have in-depth knowledge of Islamic law and also good moral qualities, which in Kiai Ahmad Arrifai words are required to be pious and fair. In addition, the position of *penghulu* is also a bureaucratic position which required the appointment from the ruling authority. In other words, the validity of the position of the *penghulu* is based on the appointment of the authorities. In the context of Java in the colonial period, the legitimacy of the post of the *penghulu* was questioned by Kiai Ahmad Arrifai as the ones who appointed the colonial government.

The procedures of the appointment of *penghulu* which was done with the appointment by the colonial government becomes a problem to Kiai Ahmad Arrifai. In line with this, in *Nazam Tarekat* page 467-468 (Islam, 2014), Kiai Ahmad Arrifai mentioned:

*Galib alim amréh ing raja negara ngangkat
Dadi khalifah rasulullah dihatat
Iku rusak adilé gedhé maksiat
Sebab nuli anut ing haramé adat*

Meaning:

The pious and victorious wants the king of the country to appoint them
To be the desired Caliph of the Prophet
His fairness is harmed as the sin is large
As he followed the unlawful custom

in the above quotation, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai considered that the desire of the pious people to be appointed by the king of a state as a caliphate is a serious form of immorality and also harm the sense of justice. The desire will cause the pious man to perform unlawful habits. It is interesting to note that according to Kiai Ahmad Arrifai, the appointment of the pious by the state led to the loss of the of the pious man's sense of justice. As a consequence of the death of the sense of justice of the pious person, the position he held as a *penghulu* or kadi and its legal product itself becomes invalid. Therefore, it is not surprising that Kiai Ahmad Arrifai does not recognize the validity of marriages performed by the *penghulu* in his time. (Steenbrink, 1980).

Looking at the background for Kiai Ahmad Arrifai's rejection to the validity of marriages performed by the *penghulu* above, the representation of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai by the priayi author in *Repen Ripangi* regarding these issues are not different from the issue of the representation of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in *Repen Ripangi* that claims to be the only person who is fair, meaning that the narrative is a form of representation by the priayi author towards Kiai Ahmad Arrifai who was very negative in representing the *penghulu* in his time. Moreover, the narrative about Kiai Ahmad Arrifai who rejected the validity of marriages performed by *penghulu* without explaining the background of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai's rejection to the validity of the marriage is an attempt by the priayi author to represent Kiai Ahmad Arrifai as an arrogant scholar in assessing other scholars who worked as *penghulu*.

The extremely negative representation of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai by the scholars above becomes increasingly apparent in the continuation of the story in the narrative *Repen Ripangi*. With a very harsh expression, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was described as the ghost and devil, as seen in the following verses:

Yutura gurureka

*Si syetan ing Kalisalak
Iya iku iblis katon
Den age mreng prapta
Sun kucirane pisan
Iblis ing salugunipun
Si Ripangi Kalisalak (asmaradana, stanza 23, page 205)*

Meaning:

Tell your teacher
The Kalisalak satan
He is a visible demon
Quick fetch him
I will braid his head
As he is the demon
Rifai Kalisalak

The quotation above shows how severe and harsh the criticism of Haji Pinang against Kiai Haji Ahmad Arrifai were. Various terms related to satan were even used several times to describe Kiai Ahmad Arrifai, such as *the satan servant, the satan devotee, a kind of devil* (Asmaradana stanza 24), *a demon, even the king of demon* (Sinom, stanza 40). Even in the open debate by Kiai Ahmad Arrifai, Haji Pinang casted harsh words to Kiai Ahmad Arrifai again such as *apostasy* (sinom stanza 6), *presumptuous, arrogant and usilan* (sinom stanza 15), *envy, ignorant, dir* (pride), *falsehood, cidreng bumi, treasonous* (sinom stanza 22). The numerous vices were spoken from the lips of Haji Pinang addressed to Kiai Ahmad Arrifai.

*Kang Kaji Pinang asenggrang
Jer sira aneh pribadi
Murka cendhala deksura
Driya tekabur kibir
Amrih keh ngguron
Alarisa dodolanmu
Nggonmu ngerenah kasab
Wong ningkah kurban tuwin
Lan sidekah aja liyan nampanana (sinom stanza 16)*

Meaning:

Haji Pinang scolded him
Because you are truly odd
Voracious, bad hearted, manner less
Proud of oneself, arrogant and presumptuous
So that many will take you as their teacher
To make your goods in demand
Your efforts to get a job
People getting married, pray and
Give alms should not be received by someone else
By way of instigation

*Saenmu pitung onjotan
Delapmu nem pal persegi
Nyerungusmu pitung epal*

*mung sirikmu dadi kaji
Yen aja dadi kaji
Pantesmu ngemis neng warung
Ngedhepi bangsat minggat
Kang mentas oleh ngutil*

Meaning:

Your shameless attitude for seven generation
Your greediness is seven pal square
Your enjoyment for trivial thing is seven kilometers long
A pity you become a pilgrim
You are more suitable to beg in front of a shop
Facing a running criminal
Who had just taken something quietly
Unfortunately, you became a pilgrim.
If you are not a pilgrim, you are more suitable to beg
Along the shops, or to face a running criminal
Or a criminal who had just stolen something (sinom stanza 18)

The quotation above shows how harsh and offensive the criticisms towards Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in *Repen Ripangi* were. However, looking at how harsh and offensive Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in denouncing the priayi and the *penghulu* were, the harshness and offensiveness of the condemnation of the priayi writer against Kiai Ahmad Arrifai, where he represented Kiai Ahmad Arrifai as Satan or the devil of Kalisalak, commensurate with the attitude shown by Kiai Ahmad Arrifai. What distinguishes the two offensive expressions is that the language used in the offensive expressions by Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was addressed to sinners, such as the expressions wicked and unjust, while the language used in the offensive expressions in *Repen Ripangi* was directed at the source of sinful acts, such as Satan and the devil.

The negative representations towards Kiai Ahmad Arrifai by the priayi author in the text *Repen Ripangi* does not stop at the beginning of the text narrative, but can also be found as in the core part of the story, in the part that describe the open debate between Kiai Ahmad Arrifai and Haji Pinang. The open debate shows negative representations of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai by using the metaphor of a losing quail (Asmaradana, stanza 20) and a cunning and useless rooster (sinom, stanza 41). In the debate, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was described, among other things, of not knowing the legal basis for his rejection to the validity of the Jumatan (Friday prayer) and marriage which was led by clerics and *penghulu*. He is described as a cleric without intellectual capacity, who does not know the reference books for the matters that became the main topic of public debate. In the debate witnessed by ulama, a mosque preacher (*khatib*), *modin*, students of *pesantren* (*santri*), and the scholars (*priayi*), Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was described as follows:

*Dangu denya wawan ngelmi
Yen menggah puyuh tarungan
Asuat sinaut gantos
Ki Ripangi antuk ngambah
Nulya ciningir kena
Dadya jengkeng tarungipun
Bicaranya pan kasoran* (asmaradana, stanza 27, page 220)

Meaning:

For a long time they debated on the case
Like quails fighting
grabbing one another
Ki Rifai had a chance
But he got punched
In the end he fought squalling
In the debate he lost
If compared to a rooster,
Haji Rifa'i, towards anak mas Haji,
Pinang was no match for him,
In a bet of an open fight one or
Even four, no one wants to or
able to beat him,
Haji Rifa'i the no good crafty rooster. (Sinom stanza, 41)

In the quotation above, the debate between Kiai Ahmad Arrifai and Haji Pinang which was witnessed by many people from various circles was compared to a fight of two quails and two roosters. Both grabbing and attacking, and finally Kiai Ahmad Arrifai got hit and lost. The interesting thing is that in the above quotation, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was shown as the loser, while the winner in the open debate is *penghulu* Haji Pinang. In such situation, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai is depicted as completely defenseless against attacks from the words of the *penghulu* Haji Pinang.

In contrast to the depiction of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in negative ways, both in terms of character and physical feature, even as a loser who had to admit defeat, Haji Pinang in *Repen Ripangi* was portrayed as a hero. Haji Pinang is described as a young cleric and scholar who mastered many books, as seen in the following quotation:

Wantu ngulama taruni
Wantering tyas tur waskita
Sembada kawignyan wasis
Ing kitab wus binangkit
Dhasar putra ngulama gung
Dupi miyarsa jawab
Kaji Ripangi tan yekti
Krura mangkrak bangun kautamanira (sinom, stanza 1, page 221)

Meaning:

It was mentioned Mas Haji Pinang
Indeed a young ulama
Hard hearted and had clairvoyant abilities
Responsible an mastering
The books he really understand
Let alone he is the son of a great ulama
Hearing a wrong answer from Ki Rifai
So he became furious and his virtuous

The quotation above shows that the *penghulu* Haji Pinang in *Repen Ripangi* represented by the author as a young cleric who has clairvoyant abilities, mastered many religious books, and the son of a great scholar, a positive representation by the priayi author.

Therefore, the question is why does the priayi author positively represent the *penghulu*?

In terms of the context of social history in Java in the 19th century, a positive representation of the *penghulu* by the priayi author above is not surprising considering the close relationship between priayi and the *penghulu* at the time in terms of administrative and ideologically.

In the context of Islamic history of Java, the *penghulu* had been present long before the Dutch total colonization of Java. However, in line with the total political domination of the Dutch government after the Java war, there had been many changes in terms of the position and the role played by the social elites. Since the control of the Dutch government in Java, conspicuous changes associated with *penghulu* and *kapangulon* can be seen from the appointment process of the *penghulu* itself in the bureaucratic system of the colonial government. If previously the authority to appoint the *penghulu* was in the hands of the regent or the head of the traditional Javanese government, then after the Dutch became the ruling authority the authority was switched into the hands of the colonial government. In this context, the regents could merely make recommendations then forwarded to the resident, and then to the governor general with a copy to the director of justisi (Isma'il, 1997). As the implication of the appointment procedure of the *penghulu* as such, control over the *penghulu* themselves is also automatically shifted from the traditional authority to the colonial government (Hisyam, 2001).

Although the transfer of authority to appoint the *penghulu* from the regent to the colonial government showed a weakening power of the regent, but the appointment procedure requires a recommendation from the *penghulu* regent that by itself makes the position of the *penghulu* still subordinate to the power of regents. Moreover, in its development, the extraction of the *penghulu* into the Dutch colonial administration system also had an impact on the change of lifestyle of the *penghulu* and their families. The extraction of the *penghulu* to become civil servant of the colonial government was bringing its own social prestige that makes their lifestyle in some way tend to follow the lifestyle of the West (Isma'il, 1997). Although the position was related with religious duties, the *penghulu* was a bureaucratic position, the appointment of which was done through the recommendation of the Regent and determination led to the decision by the colonial government. Therefore, it is not surprising that the *penghulu* has a closeness with the civil *pradja* of priayi because both appointed by the colonial government. Thus, in view of the establishment of the post of the *penghulu* of the colonial government, the position of headman administratively falls under two authorities: the resident as government officials and regents as a colonial and native officials (Hisyam, 2001).

It is not surprising that due to the close relation of the priayi and the *penghulu*, the priayi author of *Repen Ripangi* represents *penghulu* positively and considering that both traditional bureaucrats has similar position in the sense that they are both under the colonial government and had to face the resistance of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai Kalisalak.

Different from Haji Pinang, in the debate Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was recounted as follows:

Mengko paran jawabira
Prakara jumuwah iki
Soale pangulu batang
Sumaur kaji ripangi
Tan bisa jawab mangkin
Margi kitab maksih kantun
Ragi kasupen kula

Kaji pinang mojar wengis
Jare ngaku alim adil tur sampurna (Sinom, stanza 7, page 222-223)

Meaning:

Then what do you have to say
Regarding the jumat
The reason *penghulu* Batang
Haji Rifai answered:
I am unable to answer it right now
Because my books are left at home
I seemed to forget back then
Haji Pinang answered ruthlessly
You claim to be pious, fair and perfect

The quotation above portrayed that Kiai Ahmad Arrifai could not answer Haji Pinang's question with the reason that he could not recall the information and his book was left at home. If we compare with the intellectual journey Kiai Ahmad Arrifai had gone through starting from studying the syaria law since little in the *Pesantren* of Kaliwungu, then continuing his study in the Holy land for 8 years, and considering his intellectual achievements of writing 53 books of tarajumah encompassing aqidah, syariat dan tasawuf, the story is clearly a negative representation Kiai Ahmad Arrifai by the priayi author. Thus, the representation is another effort in representing Kiai Ahmad Arrifai contrary with the historical reality in which Kiai had the qualified intellectual capacity in mastering shari'a.

The efforts to negatively represent Kiai Ahmad ar-Rifa'i in *Repen Ripangi* increasingly feels stronger when in the part of the debate, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai is positioned as the loser who was subdued before the *penghulu* Haji Pinang. Furthermore, the position of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in *Repen Ripangi* as a loser further aggravated when in the subsequent stanzas, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was recounted to be the one who must be "reIslamized" through the recitation of the testimony of faith (shahada). In this case *Repen Ripangi* explains:

Heh tuwan Kaji Ripangi
Wus mufakat ngulami
Pamanggih tuwan kang luput
Rinencanan ing syetan
Wajibe ndika semangkin
Inggih kedah anganyaraken shahada (sinom, stanza 34, page 230)

Meaning:

Hey tuan Haji Rifai
The ulama has agreed
Your answer is wrong
Because you have been harmed by the plan and tempted by satan
Now your obligation
Is to recite the shahada

The quotation above clearly shows that Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was not merely regarded as a loser who lost and who was wrong, but indirectly also considered to have been come out of Islam. Therefore, in the above quotation, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai is required to read the shahada to be a Muslim again.

It is interesting to note that the representation in the quotation above as a person who had gone out of Islam and had to recite the shahada again to be a Muslim clearly related

to harsh criticism of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai towards the *priayi* and *penghulu* which lead to infidelity. Although when attacking the two social elites groups, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai did not accuse certain *priayi* or *penghulu* as being infidel. His accusations was more directed to their acts and attitude in willingly cooperate with the colonial government. Meanwhile the counter representation against kiai accusations of infidelity, in which there was accusations of leaving Islam and had to recite the shahada was clearly aimed at Kiai Ahmad Arrifai.

As a consequence of the defeat in the debate against Haji Pinang, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai accepted the demand. In this regard, it is recounted in *Repen Ripangi* as follows:

Ki Ripangi tur sandika
Gya maca kalimah kalih
Sakelangkung ajrihira (sinom. stanza 35, page 230)

Meaning:

Ki Rifai expressed willingness
 He soon recited the shahada
 He seemed to be very scared

From the historical point of view, the depiction of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai as a loser and as someone who even had to accept the obligation to recite the shahada again as recounted above seems inept, keeping in mind the courage of Ahmad Arrifai in resisting the colonial government and its apparatus, including the *penghulu* and *priayi*. Thus, the various negative representations of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in the text *Repen Ripangi* is automatically inseparable from the author's position as a part of *priayi* in the colonial government.

As the member of the traditional bureaucrats, the *priayi* were also the social group which became part of the colonial government's administration system. Not much different with the *penghulu*, the existence of the *priayi* can be traced long before the rule of the colonial government in Java. At the same time of the fall of the region of *Pasisir* (Kartodirdjo et al., 1987) Java in 1746 to the hands of the Dutch, three regions which encompasses *Pasisir* region were made into the jurisdictional region of the VOC. As a consequence, the regents who were formerly under the rule of the Mataram kingdom inevitably became under the rule of the VOC. Nevertheless, the regents still possessed a strong position as the local ruler of the VOC (Kartodirdjo et al., 1987). Besides that, the families of the regents were acknowledged as aristocrats and the only social group which had the authority to fill governmental positions in their respective region (Kartodirdjo et al., 1987).

In the 19th century, when the Dutch colonial government took over the rule of VOC, regions which were previously became the jurisdictional regions of VOC were made into administrative areas of the Dutch colonial government (Kartodirdjo et al., 1987). Nevertheless, the social positions owned by the families of the regents and their families were kept as before. The changes with regard to the positions of the regents occurred in the era of the reign of Daendels, and in this context, the regents were stated as staff of the kingdom who received fixed salary. Thus, the regents were incorporated into the administrative system of the colonial government which carry out its obligations under the order of supervision of the colonial officials (Kartodirdjo et al., 1987).

As a consequence of being staff in the colonial government, it is not surprising that the bureaucrats accommodated more to the interest of the colonial government than to the interest of the people at large. In the eyes of the people, the position of the bureaucrats were not much different than an extension of the colonial government in exploiting the people (Darban, 2004).

Representation and Colonial Power

All the representations of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in *Repen Ripangi* which are very negatively written by the priayi author above clearly cannot be separated from the social ideology position of the priayi author before the colonial government. As traditional bureaucrats who were appointed and were given *privillege* from the colonial government it is the obligation of the priayi to work for the interest of their masters. Consequently, when their masters were in the confrontational position with the Kiai, then it is not surprising that the priayi took sides to their masters. In the position of being under the control of the colonial government it was impossible for subordinates dare to cofront the masters.

Considering the relationship between the priayi and the colonial government and the psychological burden as the suobordinates of the government, it is not surprising that in *Repen Ripangi* there are a lot of negative representations of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai, the one who opposed the colonial government, and it also contain flattery and praises to the colonial ruler, as can be seen in the following quotation:

*Kuneng wau unduripun
Warnenen tuwan kontrolir
Lamres saking kabupatyan
Datan kawarna ing margi
Laju mring loji ratanya
Njujug kantor sekretaris* (Kinanti, stanza 1, page 251)

Meaning:

It is from the return
of Mr Kontrolir Lamres
from the county hall
The journey was not narrated
Hurriedly get on his carriage
To thge secretary office

*Kang dadya residhenipun
Tuwan Van de Pul linuwih
Ambek santa sadu budya
Agung palamarteng dasih
Misuwur liya negara
Adil tur alus ing budi* (Kinanti, stanza 2, page 251)

The one who become the residen
Mr. Van de Poel
Smart
Kind and patient
Caring
To his subordinates
Renowned abroad
Fair and cultivated

The quotation of the two verses above, clearly shows how the priayi writer represented the officials of the colonial government positively. If previously, the priayi writer represented Kiai Ahmad Arrifai as a bad figure, both in terms of physical and conduct, then the above quotation shows that the officials of the colonial government were depicted positively, both in terms of physical appearance and behaviour. Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was depicted as a rude,

ignorant and arrogant, even as satan and devil, while in the above quotation, the officials of the colonial government were depicted as kind, fair, patient and according to the priayi writer, the positive traits of the Dutch Residents made them famous all around.

In the historical context, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai movement seems to have always raised the discourse of justice to be confronted with socio-political issues in his era. Therefore, it is not surprising if Kiai Ahmad Arrifai always accused the opponent of being unfair or unjust. Thus, the attribution of fairness by priayi authors to the colonial government officials mentioned above by itself is a counter-representation of the idea of justice that had been carried out by Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in his movement against the colonial government and the social order he created, an idea that craved the appearance of *alim adil* non-messinistic in the history of the social protest movement in Java in the 19th century (Islam, 2016).

In addition to show positive representations to the colonial government officials, the flattery and praise by the priayi author by itself shows the mentality of the native officials who became the subordinates of the colonial government officials. The mentality of subordinates who want to serve their masters are more visible in the continuation of the story of the report of the secretary to the resident about the motives of the subpena to Kiai Ahmad Arrifai to be tried in an open debate with Haji Pinang as told in the following stanza:

*Wus kathah janma maguru
Dhumateng Kaji Ripangi
Pra sami saekapraya
Tan ajrih dhateng priayi
Karya samanging negara
Yen dadya kraman lir nguni*

Meaning:
Had been a student
of Haji Rifai
They are determined
Not afraid of the priayi
Thus, it is upsetting the country
Should there be uprising like in the past

The quotation above shows that the secretary reported to the Resident that Kiai Ahmad Arrifai has many followers who are not afraid of the priayi thus endangering the state. Moreover, according to the secretary, Kiai Ahmad Arrifai and his followers is feared to commit rebellion against the government. Thus, based on excerpts story secretary's report to the resident, we can conclude that Kiai Ahmad Arrifai and his followers in the eyes of the priayi and the colonial government was dangerous and had the potential to carry out rebellion, a concern for the threat against the interests of the priayi and his masters, namely the officer the colonial government.

It is important to note that concerns over the potential uprising which may be driven by Kiai Ahmad Arrifai as reported by the secretary of the resident in the text excerpts of *Repen Ripangi* above indirectly was a general concern among the colonial government in Java in the 19th century to the potential of the scholars in threatening the stability of colonial rule. Nancy Florida illustrates that such concerns appear to be based on the bitter experience of the colonial government on the emergence of the resistance movement of the students and priayi Java under the leadership of Prince Diponegoro in the Java War in 1825-1830 that killed 200 thousand people and 15,000 Java colonial army (Florida, 1997). Therefore, according to Florida, in addressing potential resistance of the students, in addition to political and

economic strategy, the colonial government used tactics such as the creation of the attitude of dependency culture priayi against the Dutch colonial government and at the same time separating priayi Java from Islamic fanatics (Florida, 1997).

The flattery and praise to the colonial officials and the concerns of the priayis on Kiai Ahmad Arrifai and his followers movement stated in the quotation verses above shows that the writing of *Repen Ripangi* text was not just an counter representaton effort of the priayi author against the negative representations towards the colonial rulers and its officials, but also shows the mentality of the priayi author towards the occupier by serving the interests of the colonial government officials. In situations like this, whatever the colonial government officials do will be assessed positively by the local subordinates, while the opposing party as personified in the figure of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai was assessed negatively.

Considering the writing of *Repen Ripangi* which took place after the exile Kiai Ahmad Arrifai outside Java, while his followers were still practicing his teachings even until today, a variety of negative representation of the Kiai Ahmad Arrifai by author priayi mentioned above do not seem addressed solely to the person Kiai Ahmad Arrifai, but also aimed to develop negative perceptions of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai in the eyes of his followers on the one hand and students as a whole. Thus, the efforts to give negative representations of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai also indirectly was an effort to stigmatize against those who dare to resist the colonial government.

Conclusion

The textual and contextual analysis of *Repen Ripangi* shows that this narrative poem portrays contradictory representations of two figures through an open debate. It negatively represents Kiai Ahmad Arrifai as a religious figure who was unsettling the community. The intellectual capacity of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai who was able to write Islamic religious books in large numbers is represented as a fool who did not understand religion, and then became a loser in an open debate with *penghulu* Haji Pinang. In contrast, *penghulu* Haji Pinang is represented positively as a scholar who mastered religious knowledge and won the debate. These representations were an attempt by a priayi author to confirm the *penghulu* religious authority in colonial era which had previously been opposed by Kiai Ahmad Arrifai through his rejection of the legality of marriage held by *penghulu*. As part of the priayi class, the author of *Repen Ripangi* seems to see the debate between Kiai Ahmad Arrifai and *penghulu* Haji Pinang not only as a matter of religion, but also as a matter of politics. Therefore, it is not surprising that priayi authors represent colonial officials as good and fair officials. In addition, the motive for reporting Kiai Ahmad Arrifai to the colonial government after the open debate seemed to be explicitly based on political security considerations; in this case Kiai Ahmad Arrifai and his many followers were suspected to carry out a rebellion. It became the reason for the colonial government to break the Kiai Ahmad Arrifai resistance movement.

The negative representations of Kiai Ahmad Arrifai on the one hand and positive representations of his opponents on the other in *Repen Ripangi*'s text cannot be separated from the attitude of priayis in the socio-political dynamics in Java during the colonial period. Thus, the writing of the *Repen Ripangi* was a representation of the relationship of priayis with the colonial government as its patron on the one hand, and with its kiai opponents on the other, a relationship that establishes the interests of the patron, and represses the opponent. In such a situation, *Repen Ripangi* has represented one fragment of the socio-political dynamics in Java at certain periods in the course of its history.

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