

SUNDANESE SUFI LITERATURE AND LOCAL ISLAMIC IDENTITY:

A Contribution of Haji Hasan Mustapa's *Dangding*

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Abstract

In many scholarly discussions, the network of Malay-Indonesian ulama has gained important attention as it is maintained as the major element contributing to the process of Islamization in Sunda region (West Java), whereas the articulation of Islam in the lights of the indigenization efforts of Islam is often neglected. The article discusses dangding as one of Sundanese metrical verses by a renown Sundanese poet, Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930). It is argued that dangding of Mustapa demonstrates a type of dialogue between sufism and Sundanese culture. Through his dangding, Mustapa successfully brought Islamic mysticism into Sundanese minds. The main focus of this study is to emphasize the significances of the position of Mustapa's dangding in the light of network of Islamic scholars in the archipelago and of the contribution of Sundanese mystical dangding to the local literacy traditions and to the making of Sundanese-Islamic identity.

[Pendekatan jaringan ulama Melayu-Indonesia selalu mendominasi banyak kajian Islamisasi di wilayah Sunda (Jawa Barat), sementara artikulasi Islam dalam artian pribumisasi Islam di wilayah tersebut kerap kali dikesampingkan. Artikel ini membahas dangding sebagai salah satu bentuk sastra Sunda, khususnya yang ditulis oleh Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930). Penulis berpendapat bahwa dangding tersebut merupakan salah satu ekspresi budaya yang mengakulturasikan tasawwuf dalam konteks masyarakat Sunda. Artikel ini mengulas signifikansi dangding yang

dikreasi oleh Haji Hasan Mustapa dalam konteks jaringan keserjanaan Muslim di Indonesia dan kontribusi dangding dalam pembentukan identitas Islam Sunda.]

Keywords: *dangding*, Sufi literature, Sundanese

A. Introduction

Religious literature has an important position among categories of classical literature in the archipelago. The significance of religious literature is not only due to the availability of numbers of Islamic literary texts produced by *ulama*, but also its roles and contributions in developing language and literature of the archipelago.¹ The growing tradition of Sufi literature cannot be separated from the contributions of Sufis in developing the Islamic intellectual tradition, including tradition of Sufi literature in the archipelago on the one hand² and as a medium of Islamic scholarships.³ Nevertheless, attention to Sundanese Sufi literature seems to be neglected. If we compared to the study of Malay or Javanese Sufi literature, study on Sundanese-Sufi literature is still limited, not to mention absent.⁴

The following discussion is on Sundanese-Sufi literature composed by Haji Hasan Mustapa, a prolific writer and a famous Sundanese Sufi who composed more than 10,000 stanzas of Sufi *dangding*.⁵ Through his

¹ Liaw Yock Fang, *Sejarah Kesusasteraan Melayu Klasik* (Jakarta: YOI, 1991), p. 380; V.I. Braginsky, *Yang Indah, Berfaedah dan Kamal: Sejarah Sastra Melayu dalam Abad 7-19*, trans. Hersri Setiawan (Jakarta: INIS, 1998), p. 435.

² A.H. Johns, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1961, p. 10-23; A.H. Johns, "Sufism in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 1995, p. 169-183.

³ Oman Fathurahman, *Tarekat Shattariyah di Minangkabau* (Jakarta: Prenada Media, EFEO, PPIM, KITLV, 2008), p. 17.

⁴ For the study of Malay Sufi literature especially Hamzah Fansuri's works, see Syed Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970); V.I. Braginsky, "Some remarks on the structure of the Syair Perahu by Hamzah Fansuri," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 131 (1975), No. 4, Leiden, 407-426.

⁵ Ajip Rosidi, "Menjejaki Karya-karya Haji Hasan Mustapa", Ahmad Rifa'i Hassan (ed.), *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia Telaah atas Karya-Karya Klasik* (Bandung:

dangding, Mustapa develops images and symbols that are familiar among Sundanese, in addition to Sundanese folklores, such as Sangkuriang, Ciung Wanara, Sunan Ambu, Prabu Siliwangi, Ratu Galuh, Dayang Sumbi and Mundinglaya Di Kusumah. He places these folklores within the Islamic mysticism tradition. To do so, Mustapa tried to make some sort of “*ijtihad* culture” on the basis that Islamic identity in this region must be rooted in the minds of Sundanese. As Bowen suggests, the great Sufi tradition through Mustapa’s poetry has filtered down to the little peasant religious tradition and articulated in a local Sufi literature.⁶ Thus, Wessing’s thesis that Islam in Sunda region simply provides complementary contexts with *adat* (customary) cannot be fully maintained. His thesis tends to maintain Islam-*adat*, *kuncén-paraji* (custodian-traditional midwife), *ajengan-ketua kampung* (religious scholar-chairman of the village), in dichotomous ways.⁷ Meanwhile, in Mustapa’s *dangding*, the relationship between customs and Islam tends to be harmonious as *adat* is maintained as far as it can be reconciled with Islam. Therefore, his *dangding* works are better to be perceived as local Islamic identity, to follow many anthropologists who work on the relationship between *adat* and Islam such as Woodward, Nur Syam, Pranowo, and Muhaimin.⁸ This Islamic expression is far from the assumption of syncretism, dichotomy, and superficiality, as assumed by Geertz, Mulder, and Beatty.⁹

This paper focuses on Mustapa’s *dangding* within the framework of Sundanese Sufi literature and his contribution to the construction of

Mizan, 1992), p. 84.

⁶ John R. Bowen, “Islamic Transformations: from Sufi Poetry to Gayo Ritual,” Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers (eds.), *Indonesian Religions in Transition* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), p. 113-35; Martin van Bruinessen, “Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia,” *Die Welt des Islams* 38.2 (1998), p. 203.

⁷ Robert Wessing, *Cosmology and Social Behavior in A West Javanese Settlement* (Diss. the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1974), p. 286.

⁸ Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1989); M. Bambang Pranowo, *Memahami Islam Jawa* (Jakarta: Alfabeta dan INSEF, 2009); AG. Muhaimin, *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon, Ibadat and Adat among Javanese Muslims* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2006); Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005).

⁹ Niels Mulder, *Kebatinan dan Hidup Sehari-hari Orang Jawa*, trans. Alois A. Nugroho (Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 1983); Andrew Beatty, *Varieties of Javanese Religion: An Anthropological Account* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Sundanese-Sufi, through looking at characters of Mustapa's Sufi *dangding* and its relevance to the strengthening of Sundanese Islamic identity.

B. On Mustapa: His Scholarship and Political Career

Mustapa comes from the native elite of the family tea plantation in subdistrict Cikajang, Garut. He was a student of the famous *kyai* in East Java, Khalil of Bangkalan (d. 1923), in addition of other prominent *kyais*, such as Mahfudz Termas (1868-1919), and the founder of Nahdlatul Ulama, Hashim Ash'ari (1871-1947).¹⁰ His *pesantren* background without a doubt played important roles in his inner searching as Sufi.¹¹ In addition to Javanese *pesantren* tradition, his Sufi thought however is also influenced by Sumatran Sufi of Hamzah Fansūrī, Al-Sumatrānī, Al-Raniī, and 'Abdurra'ūf Al-Jāwī, particularly as he was in Kutaraja, Aceh (1892-1895).¹² It is also said that his Sufi is also influenced by Javanese mysticism as Mustapa learnt when having a trip with Snouck Hurgronje (1887-1889/1889-1890),¹³ and by other prominent Sufi thinkers, such as Ibn 'Arabī, Al-Jilī, Al-Ghazālī, and Al-Burhānfūrī as he studied their books when Mustapa was in Mecca (1860-1862, 1869-1873, 1877-1882).¹⁴

The socio-religious situations in Sunda regions at the end of the 19th century had also impacted his Sufi thought. The emergence of modernist movement with its puritan tendency, such as Muhammadiyah (1912) and Persatuan Islam (1923), persuaded the figure to hold his Sundanese more tightly, preserving the tradition, specifically Sufi, from the modernist threats. In so doing, Mustapa composed a kind of Islamic

¹⁰ Jajat Burhanudin, *Ulama & Kekuasaan: Pergumulan Elite Muslim dalam Sejarah Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 2012), p. 113-116.

¹¹ Tini Kartini, Ningrum Djualeha, Saini K.M. dan Wahyu Wibisana, *Biografi dan Karya Pujangga Haji Hasan Mustapa* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Depdikbud Jakarta, 1985), p. 13.

¹² Ajip Rosidi, *Manusia Sunda* (Bandung: Kiblat Pustaka Utama, 2009), p. 153.

¹³ On Javanese mysticism literature, see P. J. Zoetmulder, *Manunggaling Kawula Gusti, Pantheisme dan Monisme dalam Sastra Suluk Jawa*, trans. Dick Hartoko (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1991); Simuh, *Mistik Islam Kejawaan Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsita* (Jakarta: UI-Press, 1988); S. Soeardi, *The Book of Cebolek* (Leiden: KITLV-The Hague-Martinus Nijhoof, 1975).

¹⁴ Jajang Jahroni, "The Life and Mystical Thought of Haji Hasan Mustafa (1852-1930), *Master Thesis Leiden University*, 1999, p. 24 and 41.

expression, *dangding*, which is familiar within many Sundanese.¹⁵

In Dutch colonial administration, his close acquaintance with Snouck Hurgronje led the former serving as *Hoefd Penghulu* (upper religious officer) in Aceh and Bandung.¹⁶ Furthermore, Mustapa memorised his personal experience as a friend of Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) and as *Hoefd Penghulu* through his following *dangding Pangkurangna Nya Hidayat*:

<i>Terus kikiyaian</i>	Then like a <i>kyai</i>
<i>Tujub taun geus kitu indit deui</i>	Gone again after seven years
<i>Disampeur ku Tuan Senuk</i>	Picked up by Mr. Snouck
<i>Bral atrok-atrokan</i>	Go around
<i>Ka Kajawan ka Ponorogo Madiun</i>	To Java, Ponorogo, Madiun
<i>Surakarta Adiningrat</i>	Surakarta Adiningrat
<i>Jogja Magelang basisir</i>	Yogya, Magelang, and coastal area
<i>Teu lila aya di imah</i>	No longer at home
<i>Balik deui nurutkeun pasti Kumpeni</i>	Return following <i>Kompeni</i> (Dutch)
<i>Diangkat jadi panghulu</i>	Appointed as <i>Penghulu</i>
<i>Ka Acéh ka Sumatra</i>	To Aceh, Sumatra
<i>Hanteu lila dipindah deui ka Bandung</i>	Not long moved back to Bandung
<i>Tab ieu loba saksi</i>	Its a lot of witnesses
<i>Kawantu badag jasmani</i>	Due to large body

Mustapa represents a model of native aristocrat (*santri* and *menak*) who successfully arrived at the centre of Dutch government. With his backgrounds as a *santri*, Mustapa had been selected by Dutch to assume strategic position as *Penghulu* of Priangan, and got into *menak* and colonial circles in turn.¹⁷ In other words, Mustapa's scholarship and his political career as *Hoefd Penghulu* demonstrate another form of traditional Islam's response to the colonial government. Unlike his traditionalist counterparts, Mustapa was absorbed into the colonial government and

¹⁵ James L. Peacock, *Muslim Puritans: Reformist Psychology in Southeast Asian Islam* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), p. 1; Howard M. Federspiel, *Islam and Ideology in the Emerging Indonesian State: The Persatuan Islam (Persis), 1923 to 1957* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. vii.

¹⁶ Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds* (London-New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), p. 82-84; Jajat Burhanudin, *Ulama & Kekuasaan*, p. 158.

¹⁷ Nina H. Lubis, *Kebudayaan Menak Priangan 1800-1942* (Bandung: Pusat Informasi Kebudayaan Sunda, 1998), pp. 289.

became a high rank official of the Dutch government.¹⁸

C. Mustapa's *Dangding* Peculiarities

The importance of networks of Islamic scholarship with particular attention to the significance position of Middle Eastern as the center of Islamic learning since the 15th century has been widely accepted by scholars. Later studies on this topic again reemphasise this central position, such as that of Laffan,¹⁹ Riddell,²⁰ and Fathurahman,²¹ consequently marginalising the emergence of Islamic scholarship that emerged in regions outside the Middle East and overlooking its dynamics. In addition, the above scholarly works seem to neglect what Millie called as 'the fine grain of actual practice in the local context.'

Yet these networks are usually proposed without reference to the fine grain of actual practice. They are represented without situating them in any dimension of lived experience, or the situated detail of ritual observance, or information concerning the social environments concerned. Local contexts are absent from the networks.²²

The significance of local Islamic context however can be understood not only as dynamics in terms of Islamic scholarship, but also it provides a model of social practices related to the articulation of local traditions. Some Sufi orders for example, have had to modify their teachings to be able of reformulating their positions in a changing society as Christomy demonstrated through the literary texts of Sufi narrative and *silsilah* (the intellectual genealogy) of Sufi masters Shaykh Abdul Muhyi (1640-1715) of Tarekat Shattariyah, Pamijahan.²³ Shaykh Abdul Muhyi was a follower of Syattariyah Sufi orders. He learnt the Syattariyah from 'Abdurra'uf Al-Jāwī in Aceh, and some other prominent Sufi masters in

¹⁸ Most traditionalist scholars of pesantren tend to work outside the domain of the official. See Jajat Burhanudin, *Ulama & Kekuasaan*, pp. 168-172.

¹⁹ Michael F. Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia*.

²⁰ Peter Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesia World* (London: C. Hurst & Co, 2001).

²¹ Oman Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah di Minangkabau*.

²² J.P. Millie, "Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java," (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2006), p. 193-194.

²³ Tommy Christomy, *Signs of the Wali: Narratives at the Sacred Sites in Pamijahan, West Java* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008), p. 91.

Baghdad, Mecca, and Cirebon.²⁴

In addition, Millie also points out the articulation of local Sufi literature, *Pangaosan Layang Seb* (literally means Recitation of *Layang Seb* text) and *wawacan* (narrative story in *dangding* style).²⁵ *Wawacan Layang Seb* indicates reading activity about a narratives text about a prominent Sufi founder, Shaykh Abdul Qadir Jilani. *Layang Seb* is read in ceremonies marking the Sundanese life cycle (*tali paranti*). The tradition is intended as a request (*nguningakeun maksad*) of blessing delivered by *wali* (saint) or *urang lubur*.

Sundanese Sufi literatures developed after the fall of Sundanese Kingdom in 1579 and the massive Islamisation in Sunda regions. The sultanates of Cirebon, of Banten and of Mataram played key roles in this islamisation process, therefore Sundanese literary forms, like *dangding* or *guguritan* and *wawacan*, are highly influenced by Javanese culture. As Bujangga Manik, a Sundanese nobleman who travels to Java and Bali in the 16th century, mentioned as “*bisa carék Jawa*” (speak Javanese fluently).²⁶

Dangding contains a variety of Sundanese local stories, myth, and religious narratives. It is written in metrical verses of 17 types of stanzas (*pupub*),²⁷ hummed as *macapat* in Javanese tradition. In addition, it is read in a public ceremony, such as the celebration of the newly delivered baby, commemorating seven months after the birth of baby through shaving his/her hair, and *manaqib* of Shaykh Abdul Qadir Jilani.²⁸ This ritual is popularised by a Sundanese noble (*menak*), R.H. Muhammad Musa

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39; Aliefya M. Santrie, “Martabat Alam Tujuh Karya Syaikh Abdul Muhyi,” Ahmad Rifa’i Hassan (ed.), *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia Telaah atas Karya-Karya Klasik* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), p. 111.

²⁵ J.P. Millie, *Splashed by the Saint*, pp. 189-190.

²⁶ J. Noorduyn and A. Teeuw, *Three Old Sundanese Poems* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2006).

²⁷ There are 17 metrical poetries (*pupub*): *Asmarandana, Balakbak, Dangdanggula, Durma, Gambub, Gurisa, Jurudemung, Kinanti, Ladrang, Lambang, Magatru, Maskumambang, Mijil, Pangkur, Pucung, Sinom, dan Wirangrong*. This *pupub* is expressed in literature works with the *dangding/guguritan* and *wawacan* form. Its works therefore is bonded by name, nature, character, a number of cantos (*padalisan*) in every stanzas (*pada*), a number of syllable (*guru wilangan*) in every cantos, sound of vowel in end of cantos (*guru lagu*). Ma'mur Danasasmita, *Wacana Babasa dan Sastra Sunda Lama* (Bandung: STSI Press, 2001), p. 171-172.

²⁸ Ajip Rosidi, *Mencari Sosok Manusia Sunda* (Bandung: Pustaka Jaya, 2010), p. 30-31 and 194.

(1822-1886), as he served as the *Hoefd Pangbulu* of Limbangan Garut and composed *dangding* works. In addition to Musa, there are other important figures in composing *dangding*, such as R.A.A. Kusumaningrat or Dalem Pancaniti, Regent of Cianjur (1834-1863) whose letters dedicated to his wife are written in *dangding* style,²⁹ the prominent Sundanese religious scholar, Mustapa, who discussed issues related to Islam with Kyai Kurdi in the form of *dangding*.³⁰ R.A.A. Martanagara, Regent of Bandung (1893-1918), is also well-known as Sundanese man of letters as he wrote *wawacan*, *piwulang* (advice), and *babad* (chronicles), in addition to R.A.A. Wiranatakusumah (1888-1965), Regent of Bandung, who compiled *Riwajat Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w.* (1941) that contains translations of some verses of the Qur'an in *dangding* form. Contemporary important Sundanese man of letters is Hidayat Suryalaga (d. 2011) who adapted the style of Quranic reading in the form of *dangding*.³¹

Works of Mustapa might be prominent examples of Sundanese Sufi literature as he wrote more than 10,000 stanzas of Sufi poems in Sundanese *pegon* script.³² These *dangding* stanzas reflect his inner searching in Sufi tradition. These works have not been transliterated and published yet until recently. Mustapa's manuscript copies are partly preserved in the Library of Leiden University (UB). Mustapa's *dangding* marked in Cod. Or. 7872-7879 based on Sundanese manuscript catalogue records with the title Faith and Mystical or in R.A. Kern collections characterized by "*over geloofsleer en mystiek*" (mystical beliefs chapter).³³ This copy is included in the catalogue of the Sundanese manuscripts of the 14th century to the 20th century. In addition to UB, Mustapa's *dangding* manuscripts are also well kept in the National Library in Jakarta. One of these is a copy of M. Wangsaatmadja's collections, Mustapa's secretary, entitled *Aji Wiwitan I-IV*. Unfortunately, this later copy is in a printed Roman script, whereas

²⁹ Nina H. Lubis, *Kebudayaan Menak Priangan 1800-1942*, p. 240-241.

³⁰ Haji Hasan Mustapa, *Balé Bandung* (Bandung: Rahmat Cijulang, 1984).

³¹ R.A.A. Wiranata Koesoema, *Riwajat Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w.* (Bandoeng: Islam Studie Club, 1941); Hidayat Suryalaga, *Nur Hidayah: Saritilawah Basa Sunda, Al-Qur'an 30 Juz Winangan Pupub* (Bandung: Yayasan Nur Hidayah, 1994).

³² Ajip Rosidi (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Sunda, Alam, Budaya, dan Manusia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2003), p. 263.

³³ Edi S. Ekadjati, *Naskah Sunda: Inventarisasi dan Pencatatan* (Bandung: Lembaga Penelitian Unpad-The Toyota Foundation, 1988), p. 213.

hand-written version of the copy has been probably lost.³⁴ Additionally, Ajip Rosidi published Mustapa's *dangding* in 1960 with the title *Dangding Djilid nu Kaopat* which contains fourteen kinds of *pupub*. Then five *pupub* in *Haji Hasan Mustapa jeung Karya-Karyana* (1989) and series of *Guguritan Haji Hasan Mustapa* (2009) edited by Ruhaliah. Furthermore Iskandarwassid and Josef C.D. (1987) also published nine *pupub* composed by Mustapa. These are preserved in the UB.

The structure of Mustapa's *dangding* has a specific style as seen from the metrical diction of *dangding* which is composed in a creative way of choosing words; An affixes-um on many unusual words for example, affixes-ing as influence of the Javanese that managed creatively, and the influence of Arabic Sufi quoted from the Qur'anic verses or *hadith* adorns his *dangding* (*iqtibās*), in addition to the structure of Mustapa's *dangding* which regularly uses opening, such as *rajab* in *carita pantun*. Mustapa's *dangding* is also renowned for the author's creativity to use diction. In *Pupub Kinanti* (8u-8a-8i-8i-8a-8i), Mustapa combines the word *kuring* (I am), *kurang* (decrease), and *kurung* (cage) repeatedly:

<i>Kuring ngawula ka kurung,</i>	I serve to the cage (the body),
<i>Kurunganana sim kuring,</i>	The cage is myself,
<i>Kuring darma dipiwarang</i>	I was just told,
<i>Dipiwarangna ku kuring,</i>	Told by me,
<i>Kuringna rumingkang kurang,</i>	My life is full shortcomings

<i>Kurangna puguh gé kuring.</i>	The lack is me.
<i>Kuring ngawula ka kurung,</i>	I serve to the cage,
<i>Kurungan pengeusi kuring,</i>	It is filled by me
<i>Kuring sagalana kurang,</i>	Lack of very thing,
<i>Kurang da puguh gé kuring,</i>	I was also lacking,
<i>Kuring sagala teu kurang,</i>	I am not any less,
<i>Sakur nu aya di kuring.</i>	Lack of everything of me

<i>Kuring ngalantung di kurung,</i>	I walk in the cage,
<i>Kurung kuring eusi kuring,</i>	My cage is filled by me,
<i>Kuring kurang batur kurang,</i>	My friends and I is lacking,
<i>Rasaning pakuring-kuring,</i>	It was mutually claim to be,
<i>Teu kurang pada teu kurang,</i>	No less equally,

³⁴ Tini Kartni et.al., *Biografi dan Karya Pujangga Haji Hasan Mustapa*, pp. 39.

Batur-batur cara kuring.

How others like me.

Mustapa's *dangding* also contains a form of *sisindiran* (its composition is like *pantun* Melayu) and *wawangsalan* (the cantos that invites readers to guess the meaning based on the way of word is spelled). His *dangding* also uses the last word of each stanza as the first word for the next continuously. Nevertheless, as written spontaneously, his *dangding* leaves some mistakes in the use of words and illustration and it expresses the same ideas repeatedly. This can be, however, understood as a consequence of strict rules of *dangding* and the dynamic of spiritual journey of the author.³⁵

What is important is that to read the Mustapa's *dangding* is tantamount to sing a song with additional value of spirituality.³⁶ Meij said, "*dangding* is not "exotic text" before the modern reader who is no longer concerned with the actual context of the text and creates context around the text pictured in front of him." *Dangding* is a form of oral culture, therefore it must be expressed through sound, either individually or collectively,³⁷ parallel to *mamaos* tradition (Javanese: *mamacan*).³⁸ In Sundanese culture, the practice of singing/reading *wawacan* (a long story form of *dangding*) is known as *mamaca* or *beluke*. This communal rite is performed during rituals or ceremonies related to the life cycle, such as birth ceremonies, baby shaving, *manaqib* Shaykh Abdul Qadir Jilani and others.³⁹ Despite the fact that this tradition is akin of Javanese culture,⁴⁰

³⁵ See, for instance, Mustapa's *Kinanti Tutur Teu Kacatur Batur*, Universsiteitsbibliotheek (UB) Leiden, MS. Or. 7875a, bait ke-17, Mustapa says "*Ari datna mab satubu/ / dituding samuna muni/ / ditoron lamun ngandika/ / cara babasan kiwari/ / ana ngandika jatnika/ / wa-ana fi zanni 'abdi.*" The last sentence should be *ana 'inda z'hanni 'abdi* as told by Al-Bukhari from Abu Hurairah.

³⁶ Moriyama, *Semangat Baru*, 2005, p. 57.

³⁷ Th.C. van Der Meij, *Puspakrema: A Javanese Romance from Lombok* (Leiden: CNSW Publications, 2002), p. 194.

³⁸ Ajip Rosidi, *Guguritan* (Bandung: Kiblat, 2011), pp. 18-20 and 80-87.

³⁹ Rosidi, *Mencari Sosok Manusia Sunda*, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁰ Wim van Zanten, "The Poetry of Tembang Sunda," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 140 (1984), no: 2/3, Leiden, p. 294. Kajian tentang tembang Jawa, see Bernard Arps, *Tembang in Two Traditions. Performance and Interpretation of Javanese Literature* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1992).

Sundanese have practiced the tradition as old as their existence.⁴¹ For some Sundanese artists, *dangding* has become a routine ritual to express their spiritual feelings. In short, *dangding* is a medium by which Sundanese express their entertaining arts combined with religious nuance.

D. Mustapa's *Dangding* Contributions to the Development of Sundanese Literature and the Formation of Islamic Identity

Mustapa's *dangding* is written in the transitional phase when the Dutch introduced print culture in the beginning of 19th century and gradually changed the culture of manuscript. *Dangding* as part of a Sundanese noble tradition gradually lost its dominant position. This metrical verses originally is composed and then excluded when print culture was introduced. Mikihiro notes what he described as the effect of restructures consciousness which is much more powerful than expected by the colonial and felt until today.⁴² A form of consequences is that *dangding* is becoming less-frequently composed and sung, replaced by Sundanese modern literature. It experienced dizziness, despite this uncertainty has not led to ambivalence changes as in the case *Geguritan Nengab Jimbaran* in Bali. On the one hand, Mustapa tried to keep abreast of modern Indonesian literature that had been dominated by short stories and novels, but on the other hand want to also maintain the local literature identity.⁴³ Despite *dangding* tradition was in decline during the post-war era, Mustapa's *dangding* is an exception as it significantly contributed to the making of Islamic identity, particularly as it is seen from the Arabic absorbance to the local literacy in *pegon* script which is different from the local ones (*hanacaraka* and *kaganga*).

Since the 15th century until the 17th, when the Malay Muslims

⁴¹ Andrew N. Weintraub, "Tune, Text, and The Function of Lagu in Pantun Sunda, A Sundanese Oral Narrative Tradition," *Asian Music*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Autumn, 1994-Winter, 1995), p. 175.

⁴² Mikihiro Moriyama, "Print Technology and Literacy in the Second Half of the 19th Century Sundanese Language Community of the Dutch East Indies," *Paper for 15th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Panel Media Literacy and Community Formation*, Canberra: 2004, p. 15; Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 77.

⁴³ Maya H.T. Liem, *The Turning Wheel of Time. Roda Jaman Berputar. Modernity and Writing Identity in Bali 1900-1970* (Leiden: Copy & Printshop WSD, 2003), p. 93.

began to adopt Arabic as a literary expression, Sundanese seems to retain their own peculiar characters and literary language. The language represents a strong limitation for them to deal with foreign penetrations and it forms the basis of Sundanese identity.⁴⁴ However, the Islamization introduces the effort of vernacularization. *Sadur* and translation, for example, demonstrate such vernacularizations process. Consequently, many Arabic heritages are translated and manifested in forms of local taste.⁴⁵ The manuscript of *Carita Parahiyangan* compiled at the end of the 16th century is the oldest evidence of vernacularization form.⁴⁶

In addition, Mustapa *dangding* represents a form of local literature that demonstrates Sufi experiences. This local dimension is closely related to the grand narrative of Islamic Sufism within Sundanese culture and identity. Mustapa's *dangding* embodies his mystical ideas in the form of metaphor expressions and *purwakanti* (assonance words). His poetry is more than just literature, because it is a medium of his Sufi expressions as a shell of mystical feelings. *Dangding Pangkur Pangkurangna Nya Hidayat*, for example, tells the story of Mustapa's journey when he was a child, mature until an elderly. *Pangkur* is akin of poem describing the experience of life (*lumampab*). Likewise the *Kinanti Tujur Teu Kacatur Batur, Tungtungna Ngaburun Balung, Jung Indung Turun Ngalayung, Pnyuh Ngungkung dina Kurung* tell about his spiritual quest, in addition to the *Kinanti* poem which is characterized by a sadness, hopes and expectations (*nganti*). Through *Asmarandana Tadina Aing Pidobir, Kasmaran Dening Hakeki, Al-Insanu Sirri*, and *Babalik Pikir*, Mustapa describes his longing for divine touch in his spiritual journey in accordance with the nature of *birabi* (lust in love), as with his *Asmarandana*. Mustapa also expressed the majesty of God and His teachings through his *Dangdanggula Panoraban Rasa* and *Amis Tiis Pentil Majapait*. As Shah mentions, poetry is the main medium for Sufi

⁴⁴ Anthony Reid, *Imperial Alchemy: Nationalism and Political Identity in Southeast Asia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 29.

⁴⁵ A.H. Johns, "Penerjemahan Bahasa Arab ke dalam Bahasa Melayu: Sebuah Renungan," in Henri Chambert-Loir (ed.), *Sadur Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia* (Jakarta: KPG, 2009), p. 51-53.

⁴⁶ Rosidi (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Sunda*, pp. 620. Benjamin G. Zimmer, "Al-'Arabiyyah and Basa Sunda: Ideologies of Translation and Interpretation among the Muslims of West Java", *Studia Islamika*, Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies, 7 (3), p. 40.

thoughts to develop.⁴⁷ Poetry and mystical thoughts are dealing with the same problems; how to speak the unspeakable.⁴⁸ In addition, the views and messages of the *dangding* are similar to those of Arab Sufi, like Al-Hallāj, Ibn ‘Arabī, Al-Sa’dī, Ibn Farid, or Persian Sufi poetry and Turkey (Attar and Rumi).⁴⁹ Mustapa’s *dangding* is tantamount to the poems of Fansuri Hamzah and Javanese mysticism literature that demonstrate the influence of Sufi in the local nuance.⁵⁰

In other words, Mustapa’s *dangding* has contributed to the development of Sundanese literature and the formation of Islamic identity in Sunda region. His works probably exemplify the greatest of Sundanese literature achievement.⁵¹ The significance of Mustapa’s *dangding* lies on the author roles in localising Islam into Sundanese world views. In so doing, Mustapa seems to avoid the non-harmonious relationship between Islam and Sundanese culture or *adat* as assumed by Wessing as well as Geertz on Javanese culture.⁵² The *adat* then provides a domain where men and women who are not able but wish to participate in the Islamic system can find an opportunity to function as distributive centers from which they gain a measure of social recognition. Thus, *adat* and Islam provide complementary contexts in which persons may play socially significant roles.⁵³

In addition, Mustapa played significant roles in the development of Islam as expressed by people rather than the palace as Javanese poets. As the fall of the Sundanese Kingdom in 1579, Islam further took over roles of the official and became the centre of the Sundanese

⁴⁷ Idries Shah, *The Sufis* (London: The Octagon Press, 1977), p. x.

⁴⁸ Samah Selim, “Mansur al-Hallaj and the Poetry of Ecstasy,” *Journal of Arabic Literature*, Vol. 21, No. 1, March, 1990, p. 26.

⁴⁹ Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1971).

⁵⁰ Syed Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970); P. J. Zoetmulder, *Manunggaling Kawula Gusti*, p. 369; Moh. Ardani, *Al-Qur’an dan Sufisme Mangkunegara IV: Studi Serat-Serat Pivnlang* (Yogyakarta: Dana Bhakti Wakaf, 1995); S. Soebardi, *The Book of Cebolek*.

⁵¹ Setiawan, “*Dangding* Mistis Haji Hasan Mustapa,” pp. 1.

⁵² Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (London: The Free Press of Glincoe Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1960).

⁵³ Robert Wessing, *Cosmology and Social Behavior in A West Javanese Settlement*, pp. 286.

civilisation.⁵⁴ On the importance of Islam in Sundanese world views, Mustapa maintained that Sunda has become Islam before Islam came (*Sunda mah geus Islam méméh Islam*),⁵⁵ and he did not take an opposite view in regards to the relationship between *adat* and Islam.⁵⁶ Therefore, his perspective on the Islamic nature of Sundanese is against the assumption of the un-Islamic origin of Sundanese as Ekadjati mentions.⁵⁷ In addition, Sundanese tend to open and be receptive to many foreign influences.⁵⁸ External elements, like Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, are penetrated into a uniform of Sundanese culture. It is probably only Christianity that have difficulty to adapt itself into Sundanese world views, whereas other religions are easily adapted.⁵⁹ The dominant influence of Islam in Sundanese culture however is maintained by scholars, such as Millie, Christomy and Kahmad.⁶⁰ Rikin, for instance, gives the example of the

⁵⁴ J.P. Millie in a radio interview that transcript at <http://sundanese-corner.org/2011/12/06/abc-radio-to-air-sundanese-mustapa> (accessed 24 Maret 2012).

⁵⁵ Ajip Rosidi, *Pancakaki* (Bandung: Girisukti Pasaka, 1996), p. 54.

⁵⁶ Ekadjati refers to the Sundanese golden age of Prabu Siliwangi and now identified with the culture of Kanekes peoples (*Baduy*) in South Banten, whereas Ajip Rosidi maintains the absence of the so-called Sundanese identity. See, Ajip Rosidi, "Pandangan Hidup Orang Sunda Seperti Nampak dalam Peribahasa" Cik Hasan Bisri et.al., *Pergumulan Islam dengan Kebudayaan Lokal di Tatar Sunda* (Bandung: Kaki Langit, 2005), p. 3-14; Ajip Rosidi, "Islam dalam Kesenian Sunda", *Sundalana*, Jurnal Pusat Studi Sunda, No. 4, 2005; Ajip Rosidi, *Mencari Sosok Manusia Sunda*, pp. 26-37; Ganjar Kurnia, "Nuansa Islam dalam Kesenian Sunda", *Pikiran Rakyat*, October 23, 2004; Rosidi, *Pancakaki*, p. 52-53; Rosidi, "Ciri-ciri Manusia dan Kebudayaan Sunda," Ekadjati (ed.), *Masyarakat Sunda dan Kebudayaannya* (Bandung: Girisukti Pasaka, 1996), p. 125-159; Rosidi, *Mencari Sosok Manusia Sunda*, p. 188-221.

⁵⁷ Edi S. Ekadjati, *Kebudayaan Sunda Zaman Pejajaran*, Jilid 2 (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2009), cet. ke-2, p. 84; Edi S. Ekadjati, *Kebudayaan Sunda Suatu Pendekatan Sejarah*, Jilid 1 (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2009), cet. ke-3, p. 44.

⁵⁸ Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspective* (London: Pluto Press, 1995), p. 60.

⁵⁹ Koernia Atje Soejana (West Java) dkk., "Christianity In Javanese Culture And Society," Jan Sihar Arintonang and Karel Steenbrink (ed.), *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2008), p. 651-652.

⁶⁰ J.P. Millie, *Splashed by the Saint* (2006). Christomy, *Signs of the Wali* (2008); Dadang Kahmad, *Tarekat dalam Islam Spiritualitas Masyarakat Modern* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2002).

case of the tradition of circumcision for this view.⁶¹ In other words, Mustapa's contribution is very much dependent on his efforts to look beyond the boundaries of formalism and stab to the heart (*matabolang*) of religiosity and tradition.⁶² In so doing, Mustapa articulated the metaphor of Sundanese nature in the lights of Sufi tradition, such as flora and fauna to uncover his inner feelings.

Through some of his *dangding*, he uses the metaphor of animals (*buruy* [a tadpole], *manuk* [birds], *hayam-endog* [chicken and egg]) or plants (*inung* [bamboo shoot] and bamboo, *duwegan* [coconut] and *kitri* [small coconut plant], *beas* [rice] and *pare* [rice plant], *sirung* [bud] and *binih* [seeds], *aren* [sugar palm] and *caruluk*, *tongtolang* and *nangka* [jackfruit]). Through his *dangding* *Kinan Tutur teu Kacatur Batur*, Mustapa, for an example, describes the metaphor of tadpole as follow:

<i>Teu jaub ti buruy ngambul</i>	Like a tadpole that appears
<i>Bijil ti cai ka cai</i>	It floats to the surface of water
<i>Kasasar lamun misaba</i>	[you] be lost as questioning who
<i>Kasasar lamun mikir</i>	Get lost if you think
<i>Kumaha alam luarna</i>	It depends on the outside of nature
<i>Jagana baring supagi</i>	The next is tomorrow later

Buruy literally means 'tadpoles.'⁶³ It is used to demonstrate the spiritual feelings (*al-ḥāl*) when Muspata tried to understand the essence of himself. Mustapa points out that the quest is not easy. The fate of 'tadpole' which means a lot of practice and patience are in need and only those few selected *sālik* (traveler) can achieve this spiritual stage. Like a tadpole, only few tadpoles successfully transform into 'frog;' only a determined *sālik* successfully transcends the realm of *zābir* into various phases of spirituality (*maqāmāt*) and then reaches the goal of union with

⁶¹ W. Mintardja Rikin, *Peranan Sunat dalam Pola Hidup Masyarakat Sunda* (Bogor: S.N., 1994).

⁶² Asep Salahudin, "Suluk Haji Hasan Mustapa," *Pikiran Rakyat*, 18 October 2009.

⁶³ Boeroej, *larve van een kikvorsch; ook: jonge kikvorsch* (Vgl: boejoer en tje bong). See S. Coolsma, *Soendaneesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1913), p. 95.

Reality (*fanā fi al-ḥaqq*).⁶⁴ In addition, the word *buruy* as a description of the spiritual quest is maintained as *wahdat al-wujūd* in Sufi context.⁶⁵

In his other *dangding*, Mustapa uses birds as a metaphoric description of his mystical spiritual quest. This reminds us of the story of bird in a series of mystical allegory of Attar's poetry, *Mantiq Al-Tayr*. As the above tadpole story, 'bird' symbolizes the struggles to achieve the position closer to God.⁶⁶

*Suluk mah lakuning manuk,
Manuk ngaringkid jasmani,
Nyiar genah pangancikan,
Gingsir ti salah sabiji,
Rumasa jangjang sorangan,
Hiber deni hiber deni.*

Suluk was (like) behaviour of birds
Birds carry all the weight,
Looking for the comfortable living,
Changed from one,
Feel yourself have wings,
Fly to fly again.

The above animal metaphors show Mustapa's concern of Sundanese environment. The nature of Sunda, as Wittfogel (1936) said, is referred to a residence of 'hydrolic society.'⁶⁷ Because of fertile Sundanese land, Brouwer, a Catholic priest, mentions that tatar Sunda is created when God smiles.⁶⁸ Hence, Sundanese often use "water" (*cai, ci*) to name places. Mustapa uses this natural richness, beauty and diversity of the flora and fauna, as reflected through his *dangding*.

The other natural imagery and symbol that Mustapa used though his *dangding* is bamboo (*bambusa*). Through *angklung* which is made of bamboo and regarded as the original musical instrument of Priangan, Mustapa drew his peaceful harmony with God, as mentioned in his

⁶⁴ Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* (Indiana: World Wisdom, 2002), p. 21; Henry Corbyn, *Alone with the Alone, Creative Imagination in Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press. Bollingen Series XCI, 1969).

⁶⁵ Titus Burckhardt, *Introduction to Sufi Doctrine* (Indiana: World Wisdom, 2008), p. 97.

⁶⁶ Margaret Smith, *The Persian Mystic Attar* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company Inc., 1932), p. 26-28.

⁶⁷ Haryoto Kunto, *Semberbak Bunga di Bandung Raya* (Bandung: PT. Granesia, 1986), p. 87.

⁶⁸ M.A.W. Brouwer, *Perjalanan Spiritual dari Gumujeng Sunda, Eksistensi Tuban, sampai Siberia* (Jakarta: KPG, 2003), p. 1.

Kinanti Tuttur teu Kacatur Batur.⁶⁹

<i>Puguh angklung ngadu angklung,</i>	It is obviously <i>angklung</i> with <i>angklung</i>
<i>Bisa uni teu jeung awi,</i>	Send beautiful [sound], with bamboo
<i>Balukarna lalamunan,</i>	The reason is his fantasy
<i>Mun hiji misah ti hiji,</i>	If one is separated from another,
<i>Ngan kari pada capétang,</i>	Merely good speak
<i>Ngawayangeun abdi Gusti.</i>	As playing a God servant with <i>wayang</i>

However, *angklung* would not deliver a nice sounds should it meets *awi* (just bamboo). Mustapa described *awi* as a barrier to God. His metaphor of *angklung* and *awi* should be understood within the context of *wahdat al-wujūd*. It is a metaphorical descriptions of his human (*nasūt*) and divinity aspects (*labūt*). *Suluk* is a journey of *nasūt* to search *labūt*; from *awi* to *angklung*.⁷⁰

In addition, through his *dangding*, Mustapa also expressed the folk tales which are mentioned as Sundanese mystical treasures (*pasulukan*). He framed these Sundanese folks with the Sufi teachings. Mustapa, for example, explained his experience as a Sundanese in receiving a variety of mystical spiritual riches, from Sundanese, Javanese and Islam. This journey is expressed in *Asmarandana Hariring nu Hudang Gering* (8a-8o-8i-8a-8a-8u-8a):

<i>Jangkarna jati walagri,</i>	The anchors is a true sense,
<i>Wahya kasampurna,</i>	Happiness and perfectioness,
<i>Kaperong bawatna bohong,</i>	Its performance looks like falsehood,
<i>Disulukan disindir,</i>	Said to be a traveler and by allusion
<i>Bukaen di pawekasan,</i>	To be opened at the end of the day,
<i>Munggah pasulukan Bandung,</i>	It pasulukan Bandung,
<i>Kacarita Sangkuriang.</i>	The story of Sangkuriang.

<i>Rarangan tepi ka jangji</i>	Prohibition came to the appointment
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⁶⁹ *Angklung* is a musical instrument made of bamboos, cut off at the ends, like the pipes of the organ, and being strung together in a frame, are shook to elicit their tones. Jonathan Rigg, *A Dictionary of the Sunda Language of Java* (Batavia: Lange & Co., 1862); *Angkloeng, naam van een muziek-instrument (en wel een schudinstrument), vervaardigd van bamboepijpen*, S. Coolsma, Soendaneesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek, p. 28; Henry Spiller, *Gamelan, The Traditional Sound of Sunda* (California: ABC-CLIO, 2004), p. 137-140.

⁷⁰ Jahroni, "The Life and Mystical Thought of Haji Hasan Mustafa," pp. 62-63.

*Sangkuriang kabeurangan,
Mun teu kitu lain bobong,
Siloka bagbagan nyawa,
Pakeeun urang jatnika,
Gunung Tangkuban Parahu,
Geus aya ti bababeula.*

Sangkuriang is late in the morning,
Then not instead of lying,
A metaphor of soul,
Nobleman have to use this
The mouth Tangkuban Parahu,
Formerly there

*Palayaranana mukti,
Pasulukan di Pasundan,
Anjing bagong anjing bagong,
Turunan jeung turunan,
Kumaha bujanggana,
Pasulukan di Galunggung,
Gumelar di Pajajaran.*

Making a voyage happiness
Pasulukan in Pasundan,
Dog and pig, dog and pig,
The descent with the descent,
How the poet is,
Pasulukan in Galunggung,
Appears in Pajajaran.

*Pajajaran Siliwangi,
Pasulukan papantunan,
Basisiran paparabon,
Kakapalan lalautan,
Leuleuweungan gugunungan,
Pasulukan jaman bubun,
Kajawan ku pawayangan.*

Pajajaran Siliwangi,
Pasulukan and playing pantun,
Playing a boat at the coastal,
A boat and sea
Forest and mountain,
Pasulukan at long time ago,
Javanized by *wayang*.

*Pawayangan mun ditulis,
Ku kaula béak kertas,
Kalab ka saat kamangsén,
Datang agama drigama,
Babaran para anbiya,
Pangpunjulna Kangjeng Rasul,*

Wayang story when it is written,
By me, it (will) run out of papers,
Until the ink dried,
Religion is coming and *darigama*,
Explanations of the prophets,
And the most excellent is *Kangjeng
Rasul* (Muhammad),
Which the richness of his *pasulukan*.

Jembar pasulukanana.

*Pasulukan bumi langit,
Béak Sunda béak Jawa,
Néngténgkeun di kajajatén,
Jajatén para anbiya,
Datang para anliya,
Pasulukan beuki dumuk,
Siloka tambah nonggérak.*

Pasulukan of the earth and sky,
Sunda and Java has finished,
Removing the ability,
The ability of the prophets,
Then the saints (*wali*) come
Pasulukan more comfortable
A symbol more real.

The above stanzas tell a story of Sundanese journey in receiving a variety of mystical spiritual riches. Stories of *Sangkeuriang*, of *Pasulukan (Amanat) Galunggung*, of *Prabu Siliwangi*, and *wayang* are considered as sacred. These different stories are described as the shifting episodes of Sundanese's quest for self-perfection (*siloka bagbagan nyawa*). Its peak is in Islamic mysticism. It is essential to strengthen the relationship between human being (*kuring, kaula, aing*) with God (*Gusti, Pangeran*).

E. Conclusion

The above discussion demonstrates Sufi scholarship in the lights of local perspective. Mustapa's *dangding* is a form of Sufi scholarship that has contributed to the process of indigenization of Islam and the making of Sundanese Muslim identity. The significance of Mustapa's *dangding* lies in its form which reflects the actual condition of Sundanese nature and its close connection to Sundanese world views. Mustapa represents not only as a religious teacher, one of elites in the Dutch colonial circle, but also as a Sufi whose works are important to notice, particularly in contemporary situation where Islam is heading to the other way around rather than 'localising Islam.'

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