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A SUNDANESE STORY OF HAJJ IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD: HAJI HASAN MUSTAPA’S DANGDING ON THE PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA

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Abstract

The paper discusses a Sundanese story of hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca during the Dutch colonial period. It was expressed in the form of Sundanese metrical verse which was called dangding or guguritan. The author of the dangding was Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930). He is one greatest Sundanese poets as he wrote more than 10 thousand cantos on Sufism from 1900-1902. He went to Mecca three times (1860-1862, 1869-1873, 1880-1885). One of his hajj stories was Kinanti Munggah Haji. Mustapa told about the hajj journey route, his experiences of suffering, and he also provided an interpretation of inner meaning of hajj according to the Sufi perspective. The paper uses an intertextual approach with an analysis of social history and Sufism. It shows that hajj in the colonial period was very difficult. In addition to the storm in the sea, the pilgrims found other difficulties in the Holy Land. However, Mustapa assumed that the meaning of hajj was not only the hajj ritual physically but also the inner-side of feeling (alaming rasa). Hajj will led to the true happiness. Beware if your hajj is just a physical matter. It can be nothing. The paper tries to confirm both van Dijk and Chambert-Loir’s works on other Sundanese stories of hajj such as Raden Panji Nagara, Moehammad-Hoesen, and R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema. Mustapa’s interpretation of the mystical meaning of hajj shows his peculiarities as a sufi. His willingness to endure some difficulties in the journey is not just associated with his internal feeling in the sense of spiritual life, but also his satisfaction to join in what Habermas called as a "public space" where Muslims could create a community without being constrained by Colonial rule.

Keywords: story, hajj, dangding, Sundanese, sufism
Abstrak


Kata kunci: cerita perjalanan, haji, dangding, Sunda, tasawuf

Introduction

It is an obligation for every Muslim to perform hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca once in their lifetime. The hajj is an important spiritual journey which not only relates with their efforts of drawing closer to God, but also to sociologically respecting pilgrimages by other Muslims after they return from the Holy Land. The pilgrims have significant roles, because their status and power increase after they return from the pilgrimage to society (Barnard, 2009: 65). According to Azra, the hajj also has an important role in the formation of Islamic intellectual networks throughout the archipelago which connects Haramain (Mecca and Medina) (Azra 2004: 8).
Southeast Asia is one of Muslim areas that is far from the Haramain. Pilgrims must consider the cost of traveling to the Holy Land. This is a spiritual journey that is expensive, especially before the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. In the colonial period of the nineteenth century, the hajj in the Southeast Asian was not only an individual phenomenon, but also involved the shipping company regulated by the Dutch government. There were increasing numbers of pilgrims, and their ability to pay the cost was determined by “non-Muslim” powers (Vredenbregt, 1962: 130-131). According to Geertz, the expensive cost required for hajj, led to socio-economic consequences that were closely related to the Weberian element in Islamic ethics (Geertz, 1956: 144-145).

One of the pilgrims who performed the hajj at the end of the nineteenth century was Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930). He was one of greatest Sundanese poets with more ten thousand stanzas of Sundanese Sufi danding and a number of ethnographic works of Sundanese customs (Rosidi, 1989: vii; Moestapa, 1913). His name is perpetuated as one of street names in the east area of Bandung. Mustapa performed hajj three times (1860-1862, 1869-1873, 1880-1885) when he was a child, adolescent and adult (Jahroni, 1999: 15). Like hundreds of hajj Muslim stories in the archipelago, Mustapa also wrote about his hajj experience. He wrote his hajj story in the form of dangding or guguritan, a Sundanese metrical poetry which can be sung. His hajj story revealed what is called as an internal feeling as well as social process in the form of emotional involvement and religious enthusiasm in taking the longest journey to a place that is full of God’s blessing (Tagliacozzo, 2013: 8). Mustapa described his hajj route and any difficulties that occurred when he performed hajj. This demonstrated the image of socio-religious history of the archipelago, especially relating with the hajj story at the end of the nineteenth century.

The hajj story of Mustapa is an important study relating his experience that it is expressed in the form of Sundanese metical poetry (dangding or guguritan, Javanese: sekar macapat). It is a poetry that can be sung and accompanied by stringed instrument, kecapi. Mustapa’s dangding of hajj should be regarded as one of the important parts of his hajj story and his spiritual experience. This is different from other Sundanese hajj stories that generally used
sociological-anthropological narratives, such as the work of R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema (1888-1965) (van Dijk, 1997: 119). According to Mustapa, performing *hajj* was not only related to his personal experience individually, but also to his satisfaction when joining what Habermas called a "public space" where Muslims could create community without being bounded by the colonial rule.

**Sundanese Story on *Hajj***

There is no information about when and how the Sundanese people started to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca in the beginning. This does not mean that there were no Sundanese people who performed the *hajj* in the beginning of Islamisation of West Java, because according to the manuscript of *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari* which was written in the 14th century, there was a Sundanese named Haji Purwa (Sundanese: the first *hajj*). He was a Sundanese who was a descendant of a Galuh ruler and converted to Islam after trading with India for many years. He is regarded as the first of Sundanese to have performed the *Hajj* in 1337 (Ekadjati, 1984: 88-89). However, there is no information about the experience of Haji Purwa when he lived in Mecca.

However, the presence of a later publication of *Naik Haji Masa Silam* (2013) by Chambert-Loir et al. has an important contribution that reveals the Sundanese *hajj* experience. This book contained a collection of the Malay story of *hajj* experiences in the archipelago from 1482-1964. There are at least four Malay stories about the Sundanese *hajj* experiences:

First the story about Sunan Gunung Jati and Maulana Hasanuddin, who performed *hajj* in 1520, was mentioned in the manuscript of *Sajarah Banten* (the history of Banten) and *Hikayat Hasanuddin* (the story of Hasanuddin) which was written in the 17th century (Chambert-Loir, 2013: 157-168).

The second story was about Raden Demang Panji Nagara, a Sundanese nobleman (*menak*) from Sumedang who performed *hajj* in 1852-1854. His *hajj* experience was written in the Jawi script that is stored in the National Library of Indonesia (PNRI) in code MI. 158. Panji Nagara went to Mecca accompanied by 24 Sundanese pilgrims along the way of Tomo to Cirebon. The route of his journey was written clearly (Chambert-Loir, 2013: 369-383).
Third, there is a copy of the Boekoe Woelang Hadji (the book of hajj learning) by Raden Moehammad-Hoesen, Hoofd Panghoeloe of Tanah Krawang. This book was written by Raden Poerawidjaja. This manuscript was partly written in the form of sha’ir. According to Suryadi, this manuscript was written in 1873 and now is stored in the UB Leiden with code Or. 5567 (Suryadi, 2013: 413-434; Suryadi, 2012: 13-14). The manuscript provides some advice for those who want to perform the hajj, especially in order to prepare to learn religious teachings and the pillars of hajj.

The fourth story is about the experiences of Dalem Haji of R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema (1888-1965). He was a regent of Bandung who performed the hajj in 1924. His book on hajj experience is considered the most complete story on hajj. The book was written in Malay, then translated into Dutch and Sundanese. According to Chambert-Loir, Wiranatakoesoema’s book of an hajj story should be regarded as the first complete writing of a true story of the hajj experience in the archipelago. Compared to other accounts of hajj which mostly contain the route and the principal of hajj normatively, Wiranatakoesoema’s book contains his complete experiences of hajj. He described the departure of hajj, various conditions on the ship, the term of “Haji Singapura” (the pilgrims who only sails until Singapore), the quarantine of the pilgrims, the story of the deceiver in Mecca, and others (Chambert-Loir, 2013: 551; van Dijk, 1997: 79-120).

Chambert-Loir unfortunately does not include the other story of Sundanese hajj which was written in the regional language, Sundanese. He believed in the information, which was expressed by Ajip Rosidi, that other stories about Sundanese hajj experiences were not known, as well as Javanese and Bugis (Chambert-Loir, 2013: 3). He published the inventory of Malay-Indonesian hajj stories until 1964.

However, as far as my analysis, there are several publications of Sundanese hajj stories, whether completed as written stories or not. The Sundanese hajj story of Hajj Hasan Mustapa for example, is regarded as an incomplete writing. He performed hajj and studied in Mecca for many years. He then expressed his hajj experience into a number of Sundanese metrical poetry written in the form of dangding. Mustapa called his piece about the hajj story as “panyambung catur babad indit ka haji” (the story which connects the chronicle of
performing *hajj*). He described his *hajj* story in the *dangding* of *Kinanti Jung Indung Turun Ngalayung* (*Kinanti*, my mother walked down when the sunset with its mauve light) (Mustapa, 1976: 61):

30 Tah ieu pasambung tjatur  
  Djeung babad indit ka hadji  
  Heug urang dibangbalikan  
  Kinanti ngoraan deui  
  Ajeuna komo ngagugudag  
  Napsu kumaha pamanggih  

This is my story,  
And the chronicle of performing *hajj*,  
Well, we will repeat it again,  
Kinanti is young again,  
It is blazing now,  
It is lust as far as I found.

There are three titles of Mustapa’s *dangding* which contain his *hajj* experience. First, *Kinanti Munggah Haji* (*Kinanti*, performing the *hajj*) or *Dumuk Batur Dumuk Gunung* (living in another home and mountain). This was written in 14 stanzas which was included in his *Aji Wiwitan Martabat Tujuh*. Second, *Pangkur Pangkurangna Nya Hidayat* which included his *Aji Wiwitan Gendingan Dangding Sunda* and was copied by Wangsaatmadja. The poetry then was published in *Gendingan Dangding Sunda Birahi Katut Wirahmana* vol. A by Jajasan Kudjang and the mystic group of Galih Pakuan. The *pangkur* consist of 103 stanzas. Third, *Kinanti Jung Indung Turun Ngalayung* which was included in the same collection as *Pangkur Pangkurangna*. However, the poetry was also published later by Yus Rusyana and Ami Raksanagara in *Puisi Guguritan Sunda* (Mustapa, t.th.; Mustapa, 1976; Rusyana dan Raksanagara, 1980).

Mustapa’s *dangding* on his *hajj* story, like most all of his *dangdings*, was written from 1900-1902. Mustapa’s *hajj* story was written over a short period of time, especially for ten thousand *dangdings* with seventy titles of Sundanese Sufi poetry. He wrote his *dangding* in *pegon* script. Part of the copies are stored in UB Leiden (Cod. Or. 7873-7879, Cod. Or. 7881-7883). Mustapa’s *dangding* was transcribed into Latin script in a stencil material. However, parts of these transcriptions have not yet been published.

In addition to the *hajj* story of Mustapa, there are several publications on Sundanese *hajj* story that have been completely transcribed, such as *Guguritan Munggah Haji* (Geger Sunten, 1995) by Yus Rusyana in the form of *dangding*, which was similar to Mustapa’s. Two other stories written in prose included *Urang Sunda Munggah Haji* (Kiblat, 2004) by Maman Manshur Syahbuddin; and
Dongéng Kuring di Tanah Suci (Pustaka Kemuncén, 2007) by Amalina Nurrohmah. Other stories of Sundanese hajj were written in the form Sundanese sha’ir or pupujian, such as the Sundanese story of hajj Moh (Imron of Leles Garut, 1940).

This study attempted to describe the hajj experience of Hajj Hasan Mustapa as it was expressed in the form of dangding. The works of Mustapa are considered significant, not only because they are based on his different hajj experiences from others, but because of his influence on another Sundanese hajj story, that of Yus Rusyana’s Guguritan Munggah Haji.

On Haji Hasan Mustapa

Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930) undoubtedly had great influence on the Islamic discourse and Sundanese literary in West Java. His interpretation of Islam, expressed in the form of ten thousand dangdings, reflected his contribution to the formation of such literacy and was based on his Islamic identity and his Sundanese culture (Rohmana, 2012: 317). Mustapa was a Sundanese poet who not only had a connection with his Islamic roots, but he also had a strong tie to his cultural background.

Mustapa, living in the system of Islamic education and culture, could not be separated from the chain of Islamic traditions formed by the intellectual network. His scholarship not only connected the Islamic intellectual network in West Java, but also the Haramain (Mecca and Medina). Since he was a child, Mustapa was educated in a pesantren. His education was enhanced by the teachings of KH. Hasan Basri from Kiarakonéng Suci and Kyai Muhammad from Cibunut Karangpawitan in Garut. Both scholars are still close to his mother's relatives (Kartini, 1985: 13; Rosidi, 1989: 48). KH. Hasan Basri (d. 1865) was a student of Kyai Mulabaruk of Sukawening. Mulabaruk was regarded as an ‘ulama’ of tafsir who sent his students into all the areas around Priangan after they had studied in Mecca and Madura (Laffan, 2011: 275-276). Meanwhile, Kyai Muhammad of Garut was mentioned as one one of the chains that connected ‘ulama of Java and Mecca. Although he mastered Arabic and Islamic jurisprudence, his main interest was Sufism (Hurgronje, 2007: 286-287).
Mustapa’s scholarship cannot be separated from the intellectual network of Nawawi al-Bantani (1813-1879). Snouck maintained that Mustapa had studied with Al-Bantani (Laffan, 2011: 149). He also studied with one of the famous pupils of Nawawi, Khalil Bangkalan (d. 1923). Nawawi was regarded as the intellectual architect of pesantren ‘ulama’ and had educated a number of leading ‘ulama in the archipelago, such as Mahfudz Tremas (1868-1919) and Hashim Asy’ari (1871-1947) (Mas’ud, 2004: 197-221). Mustapa accompanied C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) on his journey to Java (1889-1891), and served as the Hoofd Penghulu of Kotaraja Aceh (1892-1895), and then as Hoofd Penghulu of Bandung until his retirement (1895-1917) (Kartini, 1985: 16-17).

However, the significant scholarship of Mustapa undoubtedly was earned when he studied in Mecca for many years (1860-1862, 1869-1873, 1877-1882/1879-1885). He studied with many ‘ulamas, such as Syekh ‘Abdulhamid Daghistani Sarawani, Syekh ‘Ali Rahbani, Syekh ‘Umar Shami, Syekh Mustafa ‘Affifi, Sayyid Abu Bakar al-Sata Hasbullah, and ‘Abdullah Al-Zawawi (‘Abd al-Jabbar, 1403 H/1982 M; Al-Mu’allimi, 1421 H/2000 M). Some scholars, such as van Koningsveld, believed that Mustapa had met with Hurgronje first in Mecca, although other scholars, such as Rosidi and Jahroni, doubted this occurrence (van Koningveld, 1990: L-LI; Rosidi, 1989: 53-54; Jahroni, 1999: 22). Mustapa in his personal letter to Snouck, referenced his contact with Snouck in Mecca. This occurrence is explained later in this study.

Haramayn, which was regarded as the center of the Islamic intellectual network in the archipelago since the 17th century, regarded Mustapa’s performing of hajj as the creation of a significant role for him. His performing of hajj, three times, not only left a deep impression about him personally, but also allowed Mustapa to become intensely involved in the chain of Islamic intellectual network in the 19th century archipelago.

Mustapa described his hajj experience through the use of Sundanese metrical verse or dangding that was written from 1900-1902, although Mustapa’s writing was not as detailed as the work of Dalem Haji of R. A. A. Wiranatakoesoema. Dangding is one of the Sundanese literary works written in the rule of metrical verse (pupuh) and usually it is sung along with a plucked instrument, such as the
kecapi (van Zanten, 1984: 294). Over a 40 year period, Mustapa continued to share his hajj stories. Mustapa relied on his memory to support the authenticity of his personal story relayed through the Sundanese poetry. The study was significant because it revealed a deeper impression of Mustapa through his scholarship and political career. He expressed his yearning for the spiritual experience that fulfilled the hajj obligation as the fifth pillar of Islam.

**Haji Hasan Mustapa Performed the Hajj**

Mustapa performed hajj in Mecca three times. His first hajj journey occurred when he was child, about nine years old. At that time, he was invited to with his father, R. Mas Sastramanggala, who worked as the district head of Cikajang plantations. He was reportedly circumcised during this hajj. Jahroni assumed that Mustapa lived in Mecca about two years (1860-1862). Mustapa explained that his first hajj almost failed, because his departure to Mecca was almost prevented by K.F. Holle (1829-1896). He was Mustapa’s father’s employer at the plantation company and he was also an advisor to the Dutch government. Holle was known to be close to R.H. Mohammed Musa (1822-1886), a Hoofd Penghulu of Limbangan who pioneered in printing Sundanese books (Moriyama, 2005: 140). Mustapa told the story of his first hajj in dangding Kinanti Kinanti Jung Indung Turun Ngalayung (Mustapa, 1976: 61):

28  *Geus umur dalapan taun*
    *Arék dibawa ka haji*
    *Dihalangan Tuan Holla*
    *Méhméhan teu bisa indit*
    *Majar mending ka iskola*
    *Jeung Juragan Sukabumi*

When I was eight years old,
I was invited to the hajj,
But then almost prevented by Mr. Holle,
I almost could not leave,
He said that it was better to go to school,
With Juragan of Sukabumi.

29  *Tapi bapa panunuhum*
    *Geus kitu bet meunang idin*
    *Tah eta lantaranana*
    *Nu matak aing pribadi*
    *Tepi ka pupusna pisan*
    *Nyaheun ka diri aing*

But then my father asked,
And then has received permission,
So, that is the cause,
So, I my self,
Until my father died,
He was very dear to me.

Mustapa clearly described in the previous lines of his poetry the efforts of K.F. Holle to prevent his father from taking Mustapa with him to perform hajj in Mecca. Holle tended to have a negative view of
the pilgrims who were judged as the instigators of fanaticism and orthodoxy (Steenbrink, 1995: 108). The lack of support was also driven by increasingly strict colonial control of over the pilgrims due to the ‘ulama of pesantren and sufi orders and because of the uprisings that began at the beginning of the 19th century (Ricklefs, 2001: 180-181; Kartodirdjo, 1966: 161-162; Suminto, 1985: 64-66). There had been protests and resistance, among the ‘ulama and sufi orders as well as the peasant in Priangan, since the beginning of the 18th century (Iskandar, 2001: 60).

There was no information about how Mustapa’s father, as an employee, convinced his employer, Holle, to give his permission allowing Mustapa to join with the Islamic intellectual network in Mecca rather than remain and study at the Dutch school with other Sundanese noble children. I assume that it was related to Mustapa’s family background as having been santri (students of pesantren). His family tradition of attending pesantrens was a strong reason for him to choose performing the hajj and studying in Mecca rather than going to the Dutch school in Sukabumi. Mustapa, as the only child of Sastramanggala, was expected to be one of ‘ulama who continued the study of Islamic knowledge, just like his relatives. He was proud of his family (Kartini, 1985: 13).

Mustapa then shared the experiences of his second and third time of hajj in his dangding Pangkur Pangkurangna Nya Hidayat (Mustapa, 1976: 54):

58

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>58</th>
<th>Indit deui geus macakal, meunang tilu opat taun balik deui, di lembur geus taya indung, taunan kurenan, indit deui kira meunang lima taun, balik deui nyampak bapa, sataun mulih kajati.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Then I went again (for the second time) when I was macakal, After three or four years then I went home again, My mother had died at the village, After it had been years, I then went again (for the third time) for five years, Went home again while my father still alive, And a year later, he died.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Mustapa described his experiences when he performed hajj for the second time as a youngman, who was independently living alone. It was different from his first time of hajj when he was child, his second time of hajj was performed when he was quite mature.
According to Wangsaatmaja, at that time, Mustapa was around 17 years old. Mustapa called it *macakal*, it means, those who live independently and start to separate from their parents (Panitia Kamus, 1985: 296; Coolsma, 1913: 372). At that time, Mustapa was married to his first wife, Nyimas Liut, and they had one child. He stayed in Mecca about three or four years from 1869-1873 (Jahroni, 1999: 15). Mustapa was told that his mother had died when he returned to his home in Garut.

The above writing of Mustapa’s *dangding* also described his third time of *hajj* that lasted about five years, 1879-1885, when he was about 27 years old. He was accompanied by his teacher, Kyai Muhammad Garut, an ‘ulama’ who was regarded as one of the chains that connected the ‘ulama’ of Mecca and Java. In addition to mastering Arabic and Islamic jurisprudence, Muhammad Garut also studied Sufism which was his main interest (Hurgronje, 2007: 286-287). Mustapa then married Muhammad Garut’s niece (Laffan, 2011: 153).

There is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the time and age of Mustapa as to when he performed the third *hajj*. The difference is related to the question of the specific time of Mustapa and Snouck in Mecca. Snouck lived for about a year in Arabia. He arrived in Jeddah on August 28, 1884, then entered Mecca on February 22, 1885, then left Mecca on August 1885 (Witkam, 2007: 24-25; Witkam, 2012: 149-150). In comparison with Mustapa’s works, Snouck was careful about writing the details of departure time, in his daily book.

Both Rosidi and Jahroni placed the case of Mustapa’s contact with Snouck in doubt (Rosidi, 1989: 53-54; Jahroni, 1999: 22, 41). In addition to the absence of other written records, both Wangsaatmaja and Tini relied on Mustapa’s *dangding* to confirm their shared opinion. Mustapa mentioned Snouck’s return from Mecca as early as 1882, this was several years before Snouck lived in Jeddah and Mecca (1884-1885) (Kartini, 1985: 17). Mustapa described the meeting of Snouck in his *dangding Pangkur Pangkurangna Nya Hidayat* (Mustapa, 1976: 54):

59  *Terus kikiyaiat*  
*Tujuh taun geus kitu indit deui*  
Then like a kyai,  
Gone again after seven years,  
Picked up by Mr. Snouck,
Go around,
To Java, ke Ponorogo,
Madiun,
Surakarta Adiningrat
Yogyakarta, Magelang, and coastal area.

Mustapa wrote in his dangding that he became like a kyai (kikiyaian) for seven years, and then went to Java accompanied by Snouck. He became like a kyai when he arrived from Mecca and then became a Godsdienstleerat, or religious teacher, at Mesjid Agung (the Great Mosque) in Garut. According to van Ronkel, Mustapa’s journey to Java occurred from 1889-1891 (van Ronkel, 1942: 311). If we had returned seven years earlier, it would have meant that Mustapa had just arrived in Mecca around 1882. Therefore, it was not possible for Mustapa to have met with Snouck in Mecca, because Snouck lived in Arabia (Jedda and Mecca) from August 28, 1884 until August 1885.

However, the above assumption was indisputable when we read the letter of Mustapa to Snouck (Cod. Or. 8952) in 1913. Mustapa, in his letter dated on October 14, 1913, described meeting Snouck as part of his memories while both lived together in Mecca.

“...Wa bayyana thaniyan tarikh ittifaqina li asfar al-shughul wa hiya anna ittifaqna suwariyyan fi Makkah al-Mukarramah sanah 1884 thumma haqiyyan fi Bandung 12 Juli 1889 thumma safarna nahn wa iyyakum min Garut baytina ila Banyumas li ajl Kyai Nurhakim Pasir Purwokerto (7/8 Oktober 1889) thumma ibtadayna istilam ma qultum ma qultum al-daulah 15 Nopember 1885....” (Mustapa, 14 Oktober 1913).

“And the second, regarding the time of our agreement for journey activity. We agreed for a moment when in Mecca Al-Mukarramah in 1884, and it truly happened when in Bandung on July 12, 1889. Then we namely me and you left my house in Garut and went to Banyumas to met Kyai Nurhakim Pasir Purwokerto (7/8 October 1889), then we gave to him what you called as the government aid on 15 November 1885 ....”

Mustapa clearly mentioned in his letter that he had made an agreement with Snouck, in Mecca, to travel together to the Dutch, East Indies. Finally, both realized the plan when Snouck came to the Dutch East Indies on July 12, 1889. Mustapa and Snouck went to Java to meet a number of kyai and ‘ulama’, and to record the Javanese life and folklore. Snouck chose Mustapa because he believed in Mustapa’s
depth of Islamic knowledge and his influence in the Sundanese society.

However, despite the letter by Mustapa that clearly identified his contact with Snouck in Mecca, it is also still unclear because Snouck still lived in Jeddah in 1884. Snouck stated in his diary that he started to go to Mecca on February 22, 1885. Did Mustapa and Snouck meet in Jeddah? or Mustapa mistakenly wrote in 1884 rather than 1885? This cannot be ascertained. Moreover, the letter of Mustapa was written on October 14, 1913 or about 28 years later after the actual event. Mustapa wrote the letter to Snouck at 61 years old and it may not have been easy for him to remember the exact date of the event. So, fairly, it is possible that Mustapa was not accurate regarding the time of his first contact with Snouck in Mecca.

The same error also appeared in another letter of Mustapa’s dated on September 13, 1912. Mustapa stated that he was already quite familiar with Snouck when in Mecca in 1883 (sic!). “Qad tu’arrifuna bi al-juz’ fi Makkah al-Mukarramah sanah 83 thumma ittafaqna 12 Juli fi Bandung wa la nufariq hissan aw qalban ila al-an wa safarana wa iyyakun ila Jawa ...” (Mustapa, 13 September 1912). We are actually already familiar partly in Makkah Al-Mukarramah in 1883 and we agreed on July 12 (1889) in Bandung, and we are no longer separate both our bodies and hearts until my journey with you to Java ...

We can look for other inaccuracies written by Mustapa in his letter. He stated that he met for the first time with Snouck in Mecca in 1883, however, Snouck definitely entered into Mecca on February 22, 1885. Never-the-less, the letter of Mustapa can still be used as proof of the first contact with Snouck in Mecca. We can denied that it is not merely Mustapa described the agreement with Snouck in Mecca in 1883/1884, if the event of his contact is never happened. Therefore, it is impossible that Mustapa returned from Mecca for the third time and became like kyai in Mesjid Agung of Garut less than 1885. The last return of Mustapa from Mecca in 1885 was also mentioned by Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat, who worked in the Dutch representative office in Jeddah at that time (Rosidi, 1989: 55).

How can we explain the seven years of Mustapa’s kikiyaian as mentioned by him in his dangding? We can account for this time
when Mustapa became a student as well as a teacher in Mecca. According to Snouck in his *Mekka that quotes from the writings of Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat*, Mustapa not only studied with many scholars but also taught dozens of students (Hurgronje, 2007: 287).

Therefore, the timing was too early if we perceive that 1882 was the last year Mustapa returned from Mecca as believed by Ajip Rosidi, Tini Kartini and Jahroni. We can calculate Mustapa’s *kikiyaian* when he lived in Mecca for about three years as 1885, while the remaining four years, when Mustapa arrived in Garut, becoming *kikiyaian* from the years 1885 to 1889. However, the above count of dates is just estimates because Mustapa’s *dangding*, which informed his journey to Java accompanied by Snouck, was written in 1900-1902 (Mustapa, 1913: 146). Mustapa in his writings had to remember the event of ten years ago.

Further evidence that Mustapa met with Snouck in 1884 was explained by van Koningsveld based on the letter of Snouck to the Dutch authorities on May 22, 1894. The letter of Snouck was not included into the work of Gobee-Adriaanse. Van Koningsveld stated that Snouck fully supported Mustapa concerning various accusations that were addressed to him during his position as the *Hoofd Penghulu* of Kutaraja. Snouck also admitted in his letter that he had known Mustapa for ten years since his first contact in Mecca before Mustapa returned to his homeland in 1885 (van Koningsveld, 1990: L-LI). Both the personal letters of Mustapa and Snouck would be strong evidence that Mustapa had met with Snouck during the six months of Snouck’s life in Mecca as a Moslem. It also corrects the estimated timing and dates of Wangsaatmaja, Tini Kartini, Rosidi, and Jahroni who estimated that the last return of Mustapa from Mecca was 1882.

That was the general description of the *hajj* pilgrimage of Mustapa’s three visits. Although there was some obscure informations, Mustapa’s *dangding* should be considered a successful accounting of his journey to Mecca. The following description provides an overview of Mustapa’s three *hajj* experiences.

**The Hajj Story of Haji Hasan Mustapa**

Mustapa performed the *hajj* three times, as already explained. Mustapa did not describe all of his *hajj* experiences in his *dangding*. It is understandable because the work of Mustapa’s *dangding* was
written long after his time of hajj. However, Mustapa often talked about his first time and last hajj experiences. There is little information about his second hajj experience. His first hajj was performed when Mustapa was still a child, it was described more than his third hajj that occurred when he was already mature and had been married. Mustapa reportedly met Snouck in Mecca during his last hajj. Therefore, there are many reports of Snouck and the Dutch consular officials in Jeddah, such as R. Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat (1854-1914). Those reports helped explain Mustapa’s experiences while he lived in Mecca (Laffan, 2003).

Mustapa told about his journey to the holy land for the first time and the story was written in his dangding of Pangkur Pangkurangna Nya Hidayat (Mustapa, 1976: 54):

50 Adat palayaran rasa, 
  mun ditulis béak papan béak 
  mangsi, 
  heug aing dék ganti catur, 
  baheula geus ngarasa, 
  lalayanar keur umur salapan 
  taun, 
  dibawa-bawa ku bapa, 
  basa mimiti ka haji.

   It is the tradition of the cruise 
   of sense, 
   The ink will run out, the time 
   will expire, if we write on it, 
   Well, I'll change the story, 
   I already experienced it a 
   long time ago, 
   I sailed at eight years old, 
   I was invited by my father at 
   that time, 
   That is my first time of hajj.

51 Jut turun diparancahan, 
  dijajapkeun ku indung barina 
  nangis, 
  jig agus masing rahayu, 
  nuturkeun tuang rama, 
  poma ulah lalawora mun di 
  laut, 
  ulah susah barang dahar, 
  nya diri loba nu asih.

   So, I was given many prayers 
   when I went, 
   Accompanied by my mother 
   tearfully, 
   Go on my son, may God save 
   you, 
   Follow your father, 
   Be careful when on the sea, 
   Beware do not be lazy for 
   meal, 
   So, you will be much loved.

52 Bral miang jalan Kuningan, 
  karék tepi ka Wanakereta 
  ceurik, 
  rada lanjang rieut hulu,

   Then we went through the 
   way of Kuningan, 
   I cried when arrived in 
   Wanakerta,
Mustapa told about his experiences in what he called the "palayaran rasa" (the cruise of sense) in his poetry. It is a narrative description of his spiritual experience in search for the authenticity of self within his sense or inner feeling. The works of Mustapa generally discussed Sufism from the beginning of his search for the authenticity of self until his attainment (Rohmana, 2013: 328). According to Mustapa, it was an endless journey when writing about his spiritual experiences. One of his spiritual experiences was performing the hajj. This was a physical and spiritual journey that included a sea voyage. Mustapa did not experience the deep spiritual meaning of hajj during his first hajj when he was a child. He called his hajj journey as “the cruise of his sense” after his last hajj event passed, forty years later or when he was at least fifty years old. Therefore, we have to place his dangding on hajj in the context of his spiritual maturity.

Mustapa shared that he left his mother crying before he accompanied his father. This was the image of a mother afraid for her only child, because two of Mustapa’s brothers died when they were young. Mustapa then explained his route before he arrived at the port. He passed through the Kuningan area east of West Java. He suffered dizziness and a headache when he arrived in the area of Wanakerta (the mountain of Talagabodas area). He breathed the mountain air that smelled of sulfur. He then vomited. While there, he missed his mother.

Mustapa and his father took the route from his home near the tea plantations of “Waspada” in Cikajang, the area was still under the residency of Limbangan (now it is Garut). The residency of Limbangan then changed to Garut in 1913 (Lubis, 2000: 180). Mustapa continued on the journey via Kuningan and through the...
Wanakerta area. His journey ended at the port of Cirebon. Mustapa told about the sea voyages that happened (Mustapa, 1976: 54):

53 *Sangsarana sajajalan,*  
*wantu lain balayar cara kwari,*  
*turug-turug teu jeung indung,*  
*kapal layar pal-palan,*  
*hanteu kaur laju ku balas balabuh,*  
*wantu kapal padagangan,*  
*nu manumpang teu ditolih.*

It is misery on the journey,  
Because it is different from the sail today,  
Especially it is not accompanied by my mother,  
The boat sailed thousands of kilometers (*pal*),  
It is sailed a short time, often anchored,  
Because it is a merchant ship,  
The passengers are neglected.

54 *Ngan loba nya papanggihan,*  
*singgah Rio Ménto Singapur mukim,*  
*Gedah Malaka Nalangun,*  
*Pulo Pinang Alpiyah,*  
*Sélong Adén di laut asa geus matuh,*  
*asana mah tujuh bulan,*  
*wungkul ngambangna di cai.*

But it is so many things which encountered,  
To stop in Riau, Muntok, Singapore and then lived Kedah, Malacca, Nalangun, Pulau Pinang, Alpiyah, Ceylon, Aden, I wa settled at the sea,  
About seven months, just floating on the sea water.

Mustapa told about the situation of a boat at sail. He felt miserable during his longest journey. The boat he sailed in was a merchant ship that sailed thousands of kilometers. Mustapa called it *pal-palan* to indicate the long distance of his journey (Panitia Kamus, 1985: 348). The merchant ship took a long time, about seven months, having to stop for a variety reasons: resting, reloading supplies, and adjusting the sails to the direction of the wind and weather. It is different for ships that carry only passengers. Therefore, it was understandable that merchant ship neglected the passengers’ conditions (Tantri, 2013: 123; van Dijk, 1997: 84-88).

According to the colonial report, the merchant ship was loaded with passengers and their goods so that the corridor was filled with stacks of goods placed along the alley of the ship. There was almost no place for prayer or even for loose bowels, fortunately attended to in their own shelters. The passengers were forced to take care of their own food during port stops. Part of ship officers were less supportive...
when disposing of the passenger goods (Majid, 2008: 51). As will be explained, the ship officer, captain and the ship’s crew of Mustapa’s sail boat had good attitudes.

In the early period of the *hajj* of the archipelago, the pilgrims generally did not go directly to Jeddah. The pilgrims often have alternated and sailed on different ships. They chose from three alternative embarkations: sailing ships from embarkation ports in Indonesia; sailing ships from the Malay Peninsula and departing from Singapore and Penang embarkation locations; or taking a voyage via public transport and leaving for Jeddah from Bombay or Suez (Putuhena, 2007: 155). Mustapa departed from the port of Cirebon and made a voyage on a merchant ship before he stopped and changed ships at the embarkation of Singapore.

Mustapa also mentioned several places about his route to the *hajj* in his *dangding*. He mentioned Rio (Riau), Mento (Muntok), and Singapore as places of transit. Gedah (Kedah), Melaka, and Nalangun. He also mentioned Penang, Alfiah in India and finally the sea of Selong (Ceylon) in Sri Lanka and the sea of Aden in Yaman. However, it was different from Ajip’s version of Mustapa’s *Adji Wiwitan Gendingan Dangding Sunda* which was derived from Wangsaatmadja’s transcription. There was a little different name of a place in his *hajj* route, such as *ka Rangun* (Rangoon?) for *Nalangun* and *Sabang* for *Alfiyah* (Rosidi, 1989: 45).

It is not clear which route names are correct. The names of route areas crossed by Mustapa in 1861 were similar to the *hajj* route taken by Raden Demang Panji Nagar of Sumedang nine years before the *hajj* of Mustapa (1852). Panji Nagar went to Mecca, crossing the area of Tomo and continuing on to the Port of Cirebon. He then sailed on an Arab ship, stopping in Melaka, Pulau Pinang and Aceh; moving on to Alfiah, Kaliceri and Calicut in India, crossing Hudaidah in the Red Sea and finally arriving in Jeddah (Chambert-Loir, 2013: 369). In a broader context of *hajj* in Southeast Asia, the sea route, through the Strait of Malacca, became the most commonly used route by the pilgrims of the archipelago, similar to the *hajj* journey of Abdullah Munsyi from Singapore to Mecca in 1854 (Sweeney, 2005: 299-303).
Mustapa wrote about the various situations he experienced during his life on the shore, either at the transit place or in the holy land (Mustapa, 1976: 54):  

55 *Di darat tepi ka loma,*  
*batur ulin saban singgah ganti-ganti,*  
*mimiti lipur ka indung,*  
*geus rasa kapalang,*  
*jauh teuing najan hayang kéjo indung,*  
*da moal bisa laksana,*  
*anggur lumayan nu bukti.*  

I was well known at the shore,  
Friends changed in every transit place,  
I entertained and did not miss my mother,  
It was already pointless,  
It was too far away, even though I wanted my mother’s cuisine,  
Because it was not going to happen,  
It was not bad, I accepted all situations.

56 *Harita geus boga rasa,*  
*lamun henteu milu ka bapa nya balik,*  
*meureun lila-lila matuh moal piindung pibapa,*  
*ana déné jaga mah geus hasil maksud,*  
*moal kamana nya mulang,*  
*tangtu ka bali ngajadi.*  

At the moment, I already had a feeling,  
If I do not follow my father going home,  
After long habitation, I will miss my parents,  
Although if I already succeeded in adjusting.  
There was no place for going home,  
There was certainty pointing back to the origin.

57 *Harita ngan beubeunangan,*  
*atahiat jeung patihah ti séh Mukri,*  
*jeung nyaho basa ka warung,*  
*tépi ka disunatan,*  
*da geus kudu jeung indung riung mungpulung,*  
*mulang dibawa ku bapa,*  
*tépi ka anak sahiji.*  

At that time I just got anything,  
The recitation of *Attahiyyat* and *Fatiha* from Sheikh Mukri  
And I know when in the stall,  
Until I was circumcised,  
That I must come together with my mother,  
Then going home with my father,  
Until I then have one child.
Mustapa felt that he had met many friends, who often changed, during his transit. He may have been met by a small boy who was Malay, Indian, or Arab. It was during this journey that he began to feel far away from his mother. He sometimes wanted to eat his mother’s cuisine and even though he had thought of not joining his father to return home to his homeland in the Dutch East Indies, he was torn by the fear of losing his mother and father. Hence, he joined with his father in going home. What kind of knowledge was gained by the boy of nine years old for those two years in Mecca? Mustapa mentioned that he received more than a lesson of prayers and readings the attahiyat and Surah Al-Fatihah from Sheikh Mukri. It was not clear who Mustapa meant in regards to Sheikh Mukri. There was no information provided about his identity.

In addition, Mustapa was also circumcised in Mecca before he returned to his homeland in the Dutch East Indies. The hajj, according to Sundanese people like Mustapa, was part of his rite de passage before he became an adult. The hajj, as a rite of passage, was also experienced by Mustapa’s father when he changed his name, after performing hajj, to Haji Usman. It marked the transition to a new life status which was regarded as a new spirit, in new name, from Mecca. This tradition is the same as the tradition for the Indonesian people who choose a new name when they reach an important period in their lives (Vredenbregt, 1962: 138).

The Danger in the Sea

In the story about his hajj route, Mustapa talked about the difficulties he experienced in the ocean when he performed hajj for the first time. It was his first experience of a voyage in a sail boat. Hence, it was not surprising that he felt it was a bad experience, especially that of being seasick (Mustapa, 1976: 55):

64 Ieu palayaran rasa,
Kalasi mah ribut lambak
anggur ngawih,
gempungan jeung batur-batur,
naék turun mapay tambang,
ari aing manumpang mabok
jeung giung,
ngan seja mihapé nyawa,

This is the cruise of sense,
When the waves noise,
sailors actually sing,
They are hanging out with
their friends,
Climbing up and down
through the mine,
I was seasick and felt
In the above poetry, Mustapa said that he felt dizzy, with vomiting, and malaise. He then gave his fate up to God. This was different from the sailors who were used to the billowing of the waves. They actually sang, hung out with their friends, as the sea was going up and down with the rolling waves. The sea-sickness experienced by Mustapa demonstrated the weakness of his physical condition and his not being accustomed to traveling in a sailboat. He welcomed the huge waves of the sea falling calm when they arrived in the Sea of Sapari. He felt a dead sea. The sea sickness and dizziness ended. It was a situation that made one feel at home, especially for those who had never sailed on the sea (Mustapa, 1976: 55):

However, the condition of the sea changed again. It was a very different situation when the sailboat passed through the sea of Ceylon and Socotra. It was a continuation of the story of the danger in the sea
that also can be found in the *hajj* journey of Abdullah Munsi in 1854. Similar stories are generally described by old men when they performed the *hajj traveling* through the sea a long time ago (Mustapa, 1976: 55):

67  *Panyana ari cilaka, ditampanan diusuman méméh indit, sumawon di tengah laut, Sélong atawa Saketra, jedur lambak powék angin hujan ribut, kapareng kapal pal-palan, mapag angin sarta miring.*  

It would be danger, be warned before leaving, where I was living in the sea, the sea of Ceylon or Socotra, huge waves, dark, wind, hurricane, the sailboat of thousands kilometers, the wind attack and slanted the sail.

68  *Satriman mah suka-suka reujeung Mendir, lunjang-linjing balawiri, nu ngaradu nu nyaratu, anggur nambahan layar, didésturan paréngkétan, agri wala pancer wala, jatri walacip palancip.*  

Satriman and Mendir are happy, Back and forth, here and there, gambling, eating, they have to add the sail, to set the destur, *parengketan,*  

*Agri wala, pancer wala,*  

*Jatri walancip palancip.*

69  *Gawénjéng téwéngkét séwa, anu hurip ngan pangarti jeung kamudi, pangaweruh dipatung, nyiar karahayuan, nu dipambríh nglaljur napsu nu hirup, lalayaran lalautan, ti basisir ka basisir.*  

*Gawénjéng téwéngkét séwa,* using their knowledge and steering, The knowledge is collected, Looking for safety, It is feared that they serve the lust, They are sailing, going out to the sea, From one coast to another coast.

70  *Sapanjang kapal balayar,*  

Throughout the sailboat are
nu dipikir ngan haluan jeung kamudi,
sieuneun sasab kasarung,
loba nu katambias,
lamun wéya ka anu dijuglug laku,
bongkar jangkar labuh jangkar,
ti basisir ka basisir.

sailing,
They thought the prow and steering,
Fear of getting lost in the sea,
There are many sailboats that were lost,
If you are playing to take the goal,
Take away and be at anchor,
From one coast to another coast.

71 Kapal congklang teuteuleuman,
lambak mancat ka kapal pating jungkiring,
lauk hiyu ting salebrut,
angin gegelebugan,
ari aing di kapal bapa ngajentul,
ngagerendeng babacaan,
qulhu jeung ayat kursi.

The sailboat moves, rises and sinks,
Huge waves spout on the sailboat,
The sharks often passing,
The huge winds are drobing,
I and my father were silent,
We prayed together,
to read qulhu and verse of kursi.

Mustapa described the situation in the sea of Ceylon or Socotra. He saw huge waves, darkness, and rain. As the rain turned into a storm, his sailboat aslant, bobbed up and down, rising and sinking. The huge waves of the Indian Ocean rolled across the boat, flooding its interior. The wind beat heavily against the sails as sharks passed along the sides. All of this added to the tense situation experienced from traveling in the sea. Mustapa and his father, Mas Sastramanggala, could only pray. Mustapa read the Qur’an, such as al-Ikhlas and the verse of kursi (QS. Al-Baqarah/2: 255). The tradition of recitation of the Qur’an was demonstrated. The Qur’an was considered important to the lives of the Sundanese people, particularly during the rite of passage (Moestapa, 1946: 38).

His experience of being in a dangerous situation at sea was very similar to the experience of Abdullah Munsyi (1796-1854) in his famous journey story, when he covered the hajj route from Singapore to Mecca in 1854:
“Huge waves back and forth from left to right, it feels like going back into the uterus of mother, all goods scattered, water spout, not anything on my mind other than death, a large sailboat seemed to be lost, it feels that huge waves more higher than the top of the ship’s mast, I hear the ship ropes are buzzing, the sail then was broken and the rope broken off ...,” Munsyi said in his story (Chambert-Loir, 2013: 393-394).

Sweeney assessed that the strained story of the hajj journey of Abdullah Munsyi was the most interesting part of his literary work. It presented the impression of an image, using words to enable one to see, hear and feel the splash of water which poured from huge hideous waves (Sweeney, 2005: 269). This type of journey story was also a fascinating part of Mustapa’s dangding.

However, in his next stanzas, Mustapa was amazed for the second time because of the crew’s attitude. Satriman and Mendir, as the crew for the sailboat, actually were gambling and eating a meal together. Whereas according to Mustapa, they should added to the sail, to strengthened the bond mines and paid serious attention to the direction of the sailboat. It is a contrast situation between Mustapa, who was sailing in a sailboat for the first time, and the crew who were very familiar and calm when faced with the situation of a sea storm. According to Mustapa, in such a situation, the fate of his sailboat not only depended on the crew’s knowledge and steering of the sailboat, but also, and no less important, on the prowess for steering and using the rudder and anchor. Prowess for steering the sailboat in order not to lose direction. The anchor was dropped, and the boat was docked and moored in coastal ports.

In another part of his poetry, Mustapa described other dangerous experiences during his first hajj journey. Once, he almost drowned to death when he falls into the sea. Secondly, he mentioned that when he arrived in Pulau Pinang on the morning after becoming seriously ill, he nearly died, but instead was miraculously saved. Mustapa told the story (Mustapa, 1976: 66):

72 Sejana meureun waluya,  May finally I survived,
tapi naha angin mah leler ku  But why the wind blew
lilir,  softly, I was conscious,
liyuh geus usumna liyuh,  The calm water has come,
ari nu kasorang,  It is the way taken,
A Sundanese Story of Hajj in the Colonial Period:

I probably do not deserve, to be saved, after anchored in Pulau Pinang, in the morning after defecating,

I almost fell into the sea, I am not helped, the boy has not adult, cannot swim, with sarong, be helped soon, then taken away, weak, naked, moved, finally saved, rescued, and I found once again.

The Danger in the Holy Land

In addition to the dangers experienced at sea, Mustapa described the difficult conditions that he endured and experienced in the desert when he arrived in Mecca. Mustapa told this story through his poetry (Mustapa, 1976: 66):

I was splashed by hot vegetables, When I stood on the side of crowd, Part of my hand is swelling, until many months, the left side of the shoulder to the elbow, I had a headache and was unconscious, It occurred when I like playing.

The third time performing haji to Mecca, bloody defecating, my body
Mustapa told how he was splashed by hot vegetables when he stood close to a crowd of people. His left hand was swollen from his shoulder to his elbow for months. His head was often dizzy and he experienced headaches and at times was unconsciousness. The facilities were very uncomfortable, as can be seen from a number of photographs made by Snouck while in Mecca in 1885 (Oostdam, 2004: 38-46). The impact of these experiences during his first hajj were understandable because he was still a child, a child who liked to play. The impact then was very different than the present day situation because pilgrims now reserve luxurious facilities around the city of Mecca, which seems like Las Vegas.

However, the most difficult of Mustapa’s experience was performing hajj for the third time from 1879-1885. Mustapa explained that he experienced bloody defecation. His body became emaciated. He may have contacted cholera because at that time, there was an epidemic in Mecca. Mustapa then started to recover when he arrived in the Wadi Fatmah area. He no longer had bloody defecation; it was not clear what treatment Mustapa received until he while recovered from cholera.

In 1865 there was a cholera epidemic and reportedly about 15,000 people died. The cholera epidemic began because the carcasses of thousands of sacrificed animals were allowed to accumulate for a long time. The disease was passed from one caravan to another (Majid, 2008: 112). The cholera epidemic almost spread across the entire territory of Hijaz. The cholera epidemic even killed ten thousand people in Europe. In 1872 the Dutch consulate in Jeddah informed the public that four thousand people died as cholera and smallpox victims. Almost eleven years later, the consulate again informed the people that there was another cholera epidemic in Mecca. Two thousand
pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies died from cholera in 1881 (Witlox, 1997: 75).

Mustapa’s body was emaciated due to being infected by cholera. A photograph is available in KITV collection (Or. 18 097: S66 D.1.). Mustapa stands at the side of a group of unidentified Acehnese people. The photograph was taken either by ‘Abd al-Ghaffar bin 'Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi, a Meccan doctor, or by Hurgronje around 1885 (Oostdam, 2004: 93-95).

During his third hajj, Mustapa met Hurgronje for the first time; they were introduced to each other by Raden Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat (1854-1914), a Sundanese noble who worked as a translator at the Dutch consulate in Jeddah (1884-1912). Aboe Bakar contributed to the work of Snouck’s magnum opus, **Mekka**, which took specific information from the work of Aboe Bakar, *Tarajim 'Ulama al-Jawa* (Cod. Or. 7111). Mustapa and Muhammad Garut were the ‘ulama mentioned by Snouck in his *Mekka* (van Koningsveld, 1989: 121, 132; Laffan, 1999: 527-528). Unfortunately, like other informant from Snouck, Aboe Bakar was not mentioned by Snouck (van Koningsveld, 1989: 140, 258-261).

**The Spiritual Meaning of Hajj**

It is interesting that in addition to telling the story of his hajj journey, Mustapa in his danding also revealed the inner meaning of the hajj. He expressed his spiritual experience of hajj from the standpoint of achieving the authenticity of himself as a sufi. He continued the previous tradition of interpreting the hajj ritual meaning as done by earlier mystics. For example, Ibn ‘Arabi was given a spiritual moment after he performed the hajj in Mecca. Ibn ‘Arabi explained his spiritual experience in his famous work, *Futuhat al-Makkiyah*. Mustapa as a sufi was influenced by Ibn ‘Arabi and expressed his interpretation of inner meaning of the hajj in his dangding of Kinanti Munggah Haji. It was a short metrical verse that contained in his work, *Adji Wiwitan Martabat Tujuh* (Mustapa, t.th.: 37-38):

1.  
   
   Dumuk batur dumuk gunung dumuk padang dumuk cai raratan kalangkang rasa balukar di kapingburi

   (The phrase meaning: who living anywhere)
panyangka Masjidil Haram Arfah, Mina kubur Nabi seeking explanation on the shadow of sense the result exists at the end episode, the supposition, Masjidil Haram, Arafat, Mina, the tomb of the Prophet.

2. Jabal Gubes, Jabal Nur Sakurilingna pamanggih sasakala Rasulullah nuluykeun Nabi Ibrahim patapan anu sampurna panitipan munggah haji Jabal Gubes, Jabal Nur, surrounding already encountered, the origin of the Prophet, continuing of Ibrahim, it is the perfect place of asceticism, the teaching of the hajj.

3. Dijugjug sajauh-jauh nungtik bukti anu pasti tempat mustajabing du’a marek ka nu Maha Suci ari nyampak ngan bumina Ka’bah Baitullahi It is the longest journey, To examine the definite proof, The place where prayer is answered, close to the Most Holy, to see His House, Ka’bah Baitullahi.

4. Ngabrul mundur haji makbul panarimaning jasmani walatra lampahing raga eusina kuma nu tadi anu ngan babasan ka haji alam jasmani Swarm to going home, the hajj is accepted, This is physical acceptance, To express into behavior, Its reality depends on the earlier one, It just becomes the phrase: To the physical hajj.

5. ka hukum alaming rasa teu meunang gingsir sadeui da matak doraka ti rasa. Temahna nyeri di ati nu punjul di tekadna lain deui satekad-tekadna wantuning beutining pasti moal papak unggal haji To the rule of sense, cannot be changed again, because making sin at your sense, cause will make you sick at heart, who excels in his determination,
no longer just determination, certainly its source, it is not same for each pilgrim, came to Mecca with revelation (sic!) coming by themselves, they will going to the hajj.

The pure heart and peace, although at anywhere, be relegated by The Most Holy, has existed since the beginning, It is only physical realm, preceded by tears, amazed at my trace, do not get a real sense, sense of tawaf like sa’i, it is not a cultivated sense, examines my self finding.

Everything is seven, Go around for seven times, passing for seven times, to throw the jumrah for seven times, it is truly amazing, the heritage with its essence.

Then, kissing the stone, the footprint of the Prophet, near or far, it is remained that, there is the phrase of the Prophet, rahmatan (to compassionated) to who far and near from you, the eternity is exist in your sense, The perfect man have healthy heart.

Peace and perfect like that,
iraha manggihna mukti
iraha sangka di rasa
iraha sisip nya budi
iraha nya disalia
iraha teu betah ati

when do you find a pleasure,
when do you prejudice in the sense,
when do you perfect in your mind,
when do you exchanged,
when do you become uncomfortable in your heart.

10. Jauh ti bapa ti indung
    indung peuting sakuriling
    indung beurang sakalangkang
    saderek medal sapeuting
    jati puseurna sorangan
    ti margahina nya sumping
I am far from my parents,
There is evening dew around,
The midwife near like shadow,
My brother goes out overnight,
The essence is the center of my self,
from the humiliation, it comes.

11. Kurban ku domba ku
    munding
    walilat ceuk nu tibelat
    ati pakuat-pakait
    bubuhan di kalahiran
Sacrifice with sheep, buffalo,
takbiran night, said who miss it,
the heart connects each other,
It is time of birth.

12. Mustikana ngan sahadat
    pamatri nu opat tadi
    kaislaman teu mirasa
    puguh panariking pasti
    taya piladangeunana
    ladangna di jero pasti
My jewerly is only syahadat,
To reinforce the four pillars earlier,
Islam which is not pervasive in sense,
Surely, it is the pull of God,
There is no material profit,
The profit definitely is in your heart.

13. Pastina rahayu tangtung
    walagri pangeusi diri
    diri anu katalanjuran
    pokna teh henteu kudu teuing
    milampah di kaislaman
    mun urang enggeus sajati
Sure, I safe in my basic existence,
Healthy the essence of my self,
My self already existed,
I do not need it, he said.
Do not practice the Islam,
because we already have real authenticity.
14. 

Nu karitu nya karitu
nyerina meulit ka diri
lain di jaganing jaga
kiwawarina
sakiwarina taya komaran
rasa
berewit pangrujit eusi
gowang rasa kuna lima
gowangna malik di ati
gambuhing ku awang-awang
kalangkang nu taya bukti

And someone like that,
Feels pain themselves,
not on their bodies,
And at this time,
Currently, there is no sense of authority,
It is disease of abjection of essence,
Only the five senses,
just simply turn on the heart,
their greedy flow to the air,
it is the shadow which has no evidence.

Mustapa explained the inner meaning of the hajj rituals in his short Sufi poetry. According to him, all places and procession of hajj rituals cannot be separated from the process of purifying the senses and finding the essence of self. He confirmed that whenever and wherever they are, human beings have to seek the shadow of their senses. They have to look for self essence as an image of God's secret (kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan). His secret is obtained at the end of each supposition (ana ‘inda zhanni ‘abdi bi). All holy places in the ritual of hajj historically have a prophetic meaning, especially the prophet of Ibrahim and Muhammad. These are the perfect places to be trained in the spiritual experience. The spiritual experience means traveling far away to examine the definite evidence of divinity. These are the places that are close to God.

Mustapa then criticized anyone who performed hajj for physical gain or to earn respect or gifts from the others, such as the cloth, title, and status. He called it “the physical hajj.” He said that the correct hajj is to gain a sense of the internal meaning of hajj. However, the quality of a spiritual sense and the hajj experience are not same. The perfection of a spiritual sense in the hajj will be marked by the purity of the heart like their origins were in the beginning. However, Mustapa then modestly admitted that his hajj experience was not reached in his sense yet. He had not been able to process (ngagolangkeun) his sense and find his self essence.

According to Mustapa, the hajj ritual is an incredible moment. It does not merely trace of the prophet shrine (patilasan), but it is also
accompanied by the teaching of the self essence. The hajj ritual teaches the value of immortality in the sense. It is perfectness of the heart. All essences are centered in themselves. Be careful if your Islamic rituals are not fulfilling your senses. The senses mostly fail because the heart gives chase to material and physical profit. At the end of his poetry, Mustapa reminded the readers that he had already reached his main goal of perfecting the self essence. He felt peace in his heart to stand on his existence in the perfectness of self essence. However, it does not mean that if you have reached the self essence, then you do not need to practice Islamic teachings or shari’a. Because if you do not practice Islamic teachings, it will bring pain to your self. You will not be sick in your body, but you will be sick in your sense, in your heart. You will lose the sense of authority and be filled with abjection disease in your inner feeling.

Mustapa’s spiritual expression noted in his dangding was rarely found in other Sundanese stories of hajj, or maybe in hajj stories in the archipelago. The Guguritan Munggah Haji of Yus Rusyana for example, does not give an interpretation of the sense and internal meaning to the hajj ritual. Rusyana generally wrote his dangding of hajj which expressed his prayer and daily experience when he lived in Mecca and Medina (Rusyana, 1995: 10, 21, 26, 69). Despite Rusyana’s dangding of hajj, he also used multiple diverse types of metrics (pupuh), such as kinanti, sinom, asmarandana, dangdanggula and others. Rusyana used these various metrics to maintain the compatibility between the nature of pupuh and its message.

The internal meaning of hajj in Mustapa’s dangding then reminds us of the previous sufi expressions for the hajj ritual, especially those of the great master sufis, such as Hallaj, Junayd, Ibn 'Arabi, Rumi, Ibn al-Farid, and others. The hajj rituals, according to sufis, are the central point of the spiritual journey in the search for self-perfection and to be close to God. Mekah is not just a place where Sufis meet and join together, but where many of them were blessed with revelation and illuminations (Schimmel, 1975: 107).

However, it is important to note that although Mustapa emphasized the inner meaning of the hajj, it does not mean that he ignored the principals of Islamic teaching, especially shari’ah. Sufism should not be regarded as representative of a movement that freed itself from the legal prescriptions of Islam, no longer caring for
religion and infidelity. Sufi became almost an equivalent to being a “free thinker” with many Europeans (Schimmel, 1975: 106).

In the previous metrical poetry and a number of other poems, Mustapa actually believed that the pilgrimage as well as shalat, zakat, and the fasting during Ramadan could be the path to return to the origin of his essence. His hajj journey, like other Sufis who went to Mecca many times, cannot be separated from his efforts to train for the Sufi spiritual attainment. His expression of spiritual experience in the form of ten thousand stanzas of Sundanese dangding was written shortly after his hajj journey. Therefore, he called all rituals of the shari'a as “jimat.” It was a symbol of the significant teachings that should always be kept. Mustapa said: *Pribadi mulus rahayu/hayu ulin hayu bakti/baktina sambeang zakat/puasana munggah haji/jimat kula hade mawat/tarikan batinna pasti* (My self is safe perfectly/ let's play, let's be devoted/the devotion of shalat, zakat/fasting, hajj/it is my jimat, my good character/pull of inner sense, absolutely) (Iskandarwassid, 1987: 158, 204).

His writings proved that the mystical thoughts of Mustapa should not be considered as heterodoxy teaching or as deviated from the principal teaching of Islam, as alleged by Sayyid 'Uthman. Sayyid 'Uthman accused Mustapa, in his posion pen letter, of ignoring the Islamic legal prescriptions. Uthman called Mustapa the “Evil of Bandung” (Kaptein, 2014: 191-192). It was a wrong accusation, because Mustapa’s mystical thoughts should not be separated from the chain of reconciliatory Sufism network in the archipelago. Mustapa then wrote his protest to Sayyid ‘Uthman in his *Injaz al-Wa’d fi Itfa’ al-Ra’d* (Or. 7205) (Rosidi, 1989: 434). Many scholars do not understand this important position of Mustapa. Hence, compared to his anecdotes, Mustapa’s dangding tended to be ignored even though it was evidence of his continuity in the reconciliatory Sufism in the archipelago. Some scholars considered Mustapa’s dangding to be very elusive and thus could lead to misunderstandings (Rosidi, 1983: 56-57; Millie, 2014: 110-111).

**Closing Remarks**

The hajj experience of Mustapa should be added to some parts of the Sundanese story of the hajj in the archipelago. There are many hajj stories that have not been studied, especially the Sundanese stories of
Mustapa represents a Sundanese poet who expressed the story of his pilgrimage to Mecca using his Sufism perspective and the Sundanese literature in the form of dangding. He attempted to integrate the tradition of hajj story writing into the richness of Sundanese culture and literature. Mustapa presumably continued the tradition of previous sufis, like Ibn ‘Arabi, Rumi and others, who expressed his spiritual experience of hajj in the form of poetry. It was a creative interpretation of an Islamic spiritual tradition that revealed the local cultural treasures of the archipelago.

It is interesting that, for anyone who writes his hajj experience, the hajj story writing is not only a rememberance of the pilgrims time when they were devoted to worship, but also a reminder to them about the time they joined together with millions of Muslims around the world. The tradition of hajj has been continued and changed for every era. In the colonial period, when the hajj journey was a long and difficult journey. It was also a time when the pilgrims lived in Mecca longer. They met and studied the Islamic knowledge with many sheikhs and ‘ulamas in Mecca. They joined a Muslim community that Habermas called a "public space" where Muslims created a community without being bound by colonial rule. The pilgrim community then had an important role in shaping the chain of the Islamic intellectual network in the arcipelago.

The hajj and umrah is easier now than it was in the past. We do not know whether the faster journey in terms of time and luxurious facilities, what Sardar called surrounded by steel buildings like Disneyland and Las Vegas, will deepen or strengthen the attainment of the hajj spiritual meaning (Sardar, 2014). However, we can see the continuity and change in the rituals of Muslims by Mustapa’s hajj story writing. It should be an important documentation of the history of Muslim traditions from different aspects and perspectives. It is one of the most important religious rituals in the world that will constantly attract attention in the future.

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مجلة دولية لبحث المؤلفات والتراث الديني
السنة الرابعة، العدد 2، 2015

رئيس التحرير:
خير القواد يوسف

مدير التحرير:
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هيئة التحرير:
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مرجعات الكتب:

تقرير افريت افريتارا للبحث في المؤلفات الدينية سواء كانت مصورة قديمة، والتراث الديني الواقع، في جمعية يارا ومجلس العلماء المتخصصين في هذا المجال.

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http://jurnallektur.kemenag.go.id/index.php/heritage
نوسانتارا
مجلة دولية لبحث التراث والتراث الديني
السنة الرابعة، العدد 2، 2015
SERTIFIKAT
Nomor: 707/Akred/P2MI-LIPI/10/2015

Akreditasi Majalah Ilmiah

Kutipan Keputusan Kepala Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia
Nomor 1215/E/2015 Tanggal 30 Oktober 2015

ISSN : 2303-243X
Redaksi : Center for Research and Development of Religious Literature and Heritage,
Ministry of Religious Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia,
Gedung Kementerian Agama RI, Lt. 18, Jl. M.H. Thamrin No. 6, Jakarta Pusat

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