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The focus of this journal is to provide readers on understanding of Indonesia and International affairs related to religious literature and heritage and its present developments through publication of articles, research reports, and books reviews.

Heritage of Nusantara specializes in religious studies in the field of literature either contemporarily or classically and heritage located in Southeast Asia. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

Center for Research and Development of Religious Literature and Heritage

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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 Mungguh 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

Tulisan ini membahas tentang cerita perjalanan haji orang Sunda pada masa kolonial Belanda yang diungkapkan dalam bentuk dangding atau puisi guguritan Sunda. Penulisnya adalah Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930). Seorang bujangga Sunda terbesar yang menulis lebih dari 10 ribu bait dangding sufistik dalam rentang waktu 1900-1902. Ia pergi ke Mekah sebanyak tiga kali (1860-1862, 1869-1873, 1879-1885). Dari sekian banyak dangding yang disusunnya, terdapat beberapa dangding yang menceritakan perjalanan hajinya, salah satunya Kinanti Mungguh Haji. Kajian ini menggunakan analisis interteks dengan pendekatan sejarah sosial dan tasawuf. Terdapat beberapa hal penting yang diceritakannya, yaitu rute perjalanan haji, pengalaman berat yang dialami, dan pemaknaan batin haji secara sufistik. Tulisan ini menunjukkan bahwa haji pada masa kolonial tidak semudah sekarang. Selain perjalanan laut yang berat, jemaah haji juga harus menghadapi situasi serba sulit saat di Tanah Suci. Meski demikian, bagi Mustapa, inti ibadah haji bukan terletak pada praktek ritual jasmani (haji alam jasmani), tetapi ada pada rasa (alaming rasa, ngagolangkeun rasa). Ia akan mengantarkan pada kebahagiaan sejati. Waspadalah bila ibadah haji tidak disertai rasa, tidak berisi. Tulisan ini mengkonfirmasi kajian van Dijk dan Chambert-Loir tentang catatan perjalanan haji menak Sunda lainnya pada masa kolonial, seperti Radén Demang Panji Nagara, Moehammad-hoesen, dan R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema. Deskripsi Mustapa tentang makna sufistik haji menunjukkan kekhasan dirinya dalam hal kedalaman spiritual. Kerelaannya terhadap berbagai kesulitan pelaksanaan haji tidak sekedar terkait dengan perasaan “internal” dalam merasakan kehidupan spiritual, tetapi juga kepuasaannya untuk masuk ke sebuah “ruang publik” di mana kaum Muslim bisa membuat komunitas tanpa terikat aturan pemerintah kolonial.

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 (Vredendregt, 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 the greatest Sundanese poets with more than ten thousand stanzas of Sundanese Sufi *dangding* 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 metrical poetry (*dangding* or *guguritan*, Javanese: *sekar macapat*). It is a poetry that can be sung and accompanied by stringed instrument, *kecap*. 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 | <i>Tah ieu pasambung tjatur</i> | This is my story, |
| | <i>Djeung babad indit ka hadji</i> | And the chronicle of performing <i>hajj</i> , |
| | <i>Heug urang dibangbalikan</i> | Well, we will repeat it again, |
| | <i>Kinanti ngoraan deui</i> | Kinanti is young again, |
| | <i>Ajeuna komo ngagugudag</i> | It is blazing now, |
| | <i>Napsu kumaha pamanggih</i> | It is lust as far as I found. |

There are three titles of Mustapa's *dangding* which contain his *hajj* experience. First, *Kinanti Mungгах 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 Mungгах 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 Mungгах 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 Mungгах 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 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 'Afifi, 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 Koningsveld, 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):

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>28 <i>Geus umur dalapan taun
Arék dibawa ka haji
Dihalangan Tuan Holla
Méh méhan teu bisa indit
Majar mending ka iskola
Jeung Juragan Sukabumi</i></p> | <p>When I was eight years old,
I was invited to the <i>hajj</i>,
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.</p> |
| <p>29 <i>Tapi bapa panunuhun
Geus kitu bet meunang idin
Tah eta lantaranana
Nu matak aing pribadi
Tepi ka pupusna pisan
Nya aheun ka diri aing</i></p> | <p>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.</p> |

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 ortodoxy (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 Mustapaa 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 <i>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.</i> | Then I went again (for the second time)
when I was <i>macakal</i> ,
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. |
|--|--|

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 kikiyaian*
Tujuh taun geus kitu indit
deui

Then like a kyai,
Gone again after seven years,
Picked up by Mr. Snouck,

<i>Disampeur ku Tuan Senuk</i>	Go around,
<i>Bral atrok-atrokan</i>	To Java, ke Ponorogo,
<i>Ka Kajawan ka Ponorogo</i>	Madiun,
<i>Madiun</i>	Surakarta Adiningrat
<i>Surakarta Adiningrat</i>	Yogyakarta, Magelang, and
<i>Jogja Magelang basisir</i>	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 haqiqiyyan 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'unah 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 hissana aw qalban ila al-an wa safarana wa iyyakum 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 deny 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 informatios, 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):

- | | |
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| <p>50 <i>Adat palayaran rasa,
mun ditulis béak papan béak mangsi,
heug aing dék ganti catur,
baheula geus ngarasa,
lalayaran keur umur salapan taun,
dibawa-bawa ku bapa,
basa mimiti ka haji.</i></p> | <p>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 <i>hajj</i>.</p> |
| <p>51 <i>Jut turun diparancangan,
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.</i></p> | <p>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.</p> |
| <p>52 <i>Bral miang jalan Kuningan,
karék tepi ka Wanakereta ceurik,
rada lanjang rieut hulu,</i></p> | <p>Then we went through the way of Kuningan,
I cried when arrived in Wanakerta,</p> |

*ngambeu bau warirang,
utah uger ras ka lembur ras
ka indung,
diakeup diarupahan,
bapa ogé lengas-lengis.*

Rather dizziness and
headache,
I smelled sulfur,
Then vomited and I
remembered my hometown
and my mother,
When I was embraced and
entertained,
My father also sobbed.

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
kiwari,
turug-turug teu jeung indung,
kapal layar pal-palan,
hanteu kaur laju ku balas
balabuh,
wantu kapal padagangan,
nu manumpang teu ditilih.* 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 Alfiah (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 Nagara of Sumedang nine years before the *hajj* of Mustapa (1852). Panji Nagara 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,
tepi ka disunatan,
da geus kudu jeung indung
riung mungpulang,
mulang dibawa ku bapa,
tepi 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 (Vredendregt, 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 | <i>Ieu palayaran rasa,</i> | This is the cruise of sense, |
| | <i>Kalasi mah ribut lambak</i> | When the waves noise, |
| | <i>anggur ngawih,</i> | sailors actually sing, |
| | <i>gempungan jeung batur-batur,</i> | They are hanging out with |
| | <i>naék turun mapay tambang,</i> | their friends, |
| | <i>ari aing manumpang mabok</i> | Climbing up and down |
| | <i>jeung giung,</i> | through the mine, |
| | <i>ngan seja mihapé nyawa,</i> | I was seasick and felt |

ngan illahi jeung illahi.

uncomfortable,
I felt merely fate fully,
Only saying O God, O God.

65 *Hé Allah Gusti kaula,
lamun nya kuring utah ieu
gering,
panyakit di tengah laut,
hayang engké di darat,
mo balangsak kajabana tina
giung,
mun gering lantaran dosa,
da kuring mah budak leutik.*

O God, my Lord,
If I vomit and am sick,
Because the diseases in the
sea,
it is different from the land
later,
Not miserable and dizzy,
If I am sick because of my
sin,
I'm just a little boy.

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):

66 *Geus tengah beuki biasa,
barang tepi taksiran laut
Sapari,
laut leler leungit lanjung,
taya sakara-kara,
geus bumetah sapanjang aing
di laut,
hanteu nyorang pancabaya,
kajaba anu kapanggih.*

Then I used to sail in the
sea,
Until the sea of Sapari,
It is a dead sea, no more
dizziness,
It did not take long time,
It has been feel at home in
the sea,
No longer disturbance,
Other than have been found.

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 Munsyi 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,
ditampunan 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 dipambrih ngalajur napsu
nu hirup,
lalayanan 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

<p><i>nu dipikir ngan haluan jeung kamudi, sieuneun sasab kasarung, loba nu katambias, lamun wéya ka anu dijugjug laku, bongkar jangkar labuh jangkar, ti basisir ka basisir.</i></p>	<p>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.</p>
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|---|--|
| <p>71 <i>Kapal congklang
teuteuleuman,
lambak mancat ka kapal
pating jungkiring,
lauk hiyu ting salebrut,
angin gegelebukan,
ari aing di kapal bapa
ngajentul,
ngagerendeng babacaan,
qulhu jeung ayat kursi.</i></p> | <p>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 <i>qulhu</i> and verse of
<i>kursi</i>.</p> |
|---|--|

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-Ikhlâs 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	<i>Sejana meureun waluya,</i>	May finally I survived,
	<i>tapi naha angin mah leler ku</i>	But why the wind blew
	<i>lilir,</i>	softly, I was conscious,
	<i>liyuh geus usumna liyuh,</i>	The calm water has come,
	<i>ari nu kasorang,</i>	It is the way taken,

*aing dinu teu pantes hanteu
rahayu,
geus eureun di Pulo Pinang,
isuk-isuk entas ngising.*

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

73 *Ragrag ka laut méhméhan,
teu katulung budak tacan
temah wadi,
teu bisa ngojay jeung sarung,
geuwat dikarojayan,
hanjat leuleus ditaranjang
dipapangku,
salamat ditarulungan,
jeung manggih sakali deui.*

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):

74 *Kaséblok angeun ngagolak,
eukeur cicing di sisi nu
balawiri,
leungeun sabeulah
melendung,
tepi ka mulan-mulan,
nu ti kénca ti taktak nepi ka
siku,
lenglengan jeung
kapowékan,
eukeur-eukeur resep ulin.*

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.

75 *Katilu kali ka Mekkah,
ngising getih kari awak
ngajangjawing,*

The third time performing
hajj to Mecca,
bloody defecating, my body

*arék naék ka sakeduk,
ku bapa ditangisan,
barang tepi ka Wadipatmah
mah hirup,
eureun tjam mamayuna,
sajajalan pulang balik.*

emaciated,
when I ride *sukduq* (the
camel back)
my father cried,
when I arrived in Wadi
Fatmah, I recovered,
the bloody defecating already
stoped,
the way is round trip.

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 unconscious. 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 Mungguh 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 batur dumuk gunung*
dumuk padang dumuk cai *dumuk padang dumuk cai*
raratan kalangkang rasa (The phrase meaning: who
balukar di kapingburi 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 mungгах 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 *haji*.
3. *Dijugjug sa jauh-jauh
nungtik bukti anu pasti
tempat mustajabing du'a
marek ka nu Maha Suci
ari nyampak ngan bumina
Ka'bah Baetullahi*
- 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 *haji* 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 *haji*.
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,

- Daratang ka Mekah ku
wahyu
bawa pribadi
rek mungguh haji* 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*.
6. *Ati nu mulus rahayu
najan di mana di mendi
ditiisan suci nya suci
geus ti bahareulana
ngan kami alam jasmani
kapiheulaan cimata
waas kana urut aing
milampah tacan mirasa
rasa tawaf asa sa'i
lain ngagolangkeun rasa
nungtik papanggih an diri* 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.
7. *Sagala tujuh jeung tujuh
nguriling tujuh kuriling
ngaliwat tujuh liwatan
balang jumroh tujuh kali
moal enya samanea
patilasan jeung pangeusi* 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.
8. *Nyusul batu nyium batu
tapak dampal Kangjeng Nabi
dalit kitu jauh kitu
walatraning kangjeng Nabi
rahmatan
kanu anggang kanu dalit
kalanggeungan di pangrasa
nu mulus walagri ati* 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.
9. *Rahayu mulus di kitu* 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
sakalanggang
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 jewelry 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.

- | | |
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| <p>14. <i>Nu karitu nya karitu
nyerina meulit ka diri
lain di jaganing jaga
kiwawarina
sakiwarina taya komaran
rasa
berewit pangrujit eusi
gowang rasa kunu lima
gowangna malik di ati
gambuhing ku awang-awang
kalangkang nu taya bukti</i></p> | <p>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.</p> |
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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 Mungгах 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 mungguh 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 position 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

hajj. 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 remembrance 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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Source: Arabic Letters from Bandung (Correspondence with Snouck Hurgronje), 1911-1923, Cod. Or. 8952, March 9, 1920. UB Leiden University.

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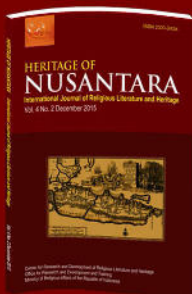
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