

**SUNDANESE SĪRAH IN INDONESIA ARCHIPELAGO:  
A Contribution of R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat  
Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w.***

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**ABSTRACT**

*The article aims to analyze the influence of Sundanese culture in a book of sīrah or biography of Muhammad. This study focuses on R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w.* (1941), analyzed using hermeneutics. It is a Sundanese translation of Dinet and Sliman's *The Life of Mohammad* (1918) which inserted twenty-seven French realist painting illustrations. Wiranatakoesoema did not only translate the book into Sundanese, but also added the great narratives in the form of Sundanese metrical poetry or dangding. The life of Muhammad was described into a Sundanese character like the personality of Sundanese noble. This research shows that Sundanese culture held great influence on Wiranatakoesoema's narration of Muhammad's life. Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat* reflects the influence of Sundanese culture which represents the author as a Sundanese people. It is one of contributions of Sundanese culture and literature in narrating the same story of sīrah in various language of the world.*

**Keywords:** Wiranatakoesoema, Sundanese, sīrah, dangding

**INTRODUCTION**

There are many works on biography of the Prophet Muhammad (*sīrah*) which was written by many scholars. It is not only written by Muslims, but also non-Muslims. The Arabic *sīrah* began about two centuries after Muhammad's death. It usually called as a hagiography of traditionalist work with a lot of adulation to the prophet. However, it is very different with some Western revisionist scholars who consider *sīrah* polemically in crisis (Schoeler, 2011: xi; 2003: 21). They rejected Arab biographical sources, because it is considered as Muslims product which are not just idealize their prophet, but also decorated with salvation history. Hence, it can be considered as close to the literary subject than historical research. However, another scholars accept Arab biographical sources, although we could find many contradictions on it. They argue that the narrative was transmitted accurately (Sirry, 2015: 220-22).

There are many Western scholars who wrote biography of Muhammad

based on non-Muslims sources in the early nineteenth century. The figure of Muhammad was not to be viewed with sympathy as indicated in works of William Muir (1894) and D.S. Margoliouth (1905). Although some Western scholars seem had the sympathy, such as Thomas Carlyle (1841) and Michael Hart (1978), but the reaction among Muslims against Western view on Muhammad emerge in some Muslim countries. The rise of writing on biography of Muhammad among Muslims, especially in Pakistan and Egypt since the late nineteenth century is also triggered by the negative view of Western scholars (Wessels, 2006: 7).

One of the Muhammad's biographies, which published in the polemical climate in West was *La Vie de Mohammed* by Étienne Dinet (1861-1929) and Sliman ben Ibrahim. This book was published during World War I in French and then translated into English (Dinet and Sliman, 1918b; 1990). Dinet and Sliman's *The Life of Mohammad* attempted to show the greatness of Muhammad's life for European readers. Roded describes the book as product of a fascinating social and cultural interchange that developed over three decades between the Frenchman and Algerian life. Dinet, a famous French painter, inserted many illustrations of painting about the life of Algerian Muslims, where Sliman lived. Dinet at the same time felt a spiritual journey of an orientalist painter who converted into a Muslim and changed his name, Nasreddine, in 1913 (Roded, 2002: 325-59).

Dinet and Sliman's *The Life of Mohammad* then has inspired a Sundanese aristocratic, R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema (1888-1965) who translated the book into Dutch and Sundanese in 1941 (Dinet & Ibrahim, MCMXL/1940). He translated and adapted Dinet and Sliman's book into Sundanese partly written in the form of metrical poetry or *dangding*, *Riwajat Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w.* (Wiranatakoesoema, 1941).

*Dangding* or *guguritan* (Javanese: *geguritan*, *sekar macapat*) is a Sundanese poetry which composed by using rules of metrum (*pupuh*). It also become lyrics in the Sundanese song or *tembang* (Rusyana & Raksanagara, 1980: 1; Rosidi, 2011: 17). The interchange culture of French and Algeria in Dinet and Sliman's *The Life of Mohammad* then enriched by Wiranatakoesoema through Sundanese cultural narratives in his *Riwajat*. The book of *Riwajat* has an important role to connected both French and Algeria cultures with Sundanese nature. His work reflects the narrative biography of Muhammad which is not only harmonize the teachings of Islam into Sundanese literature, but also connected with other two cultural wealth of the world: Europe and Africa. It is a blend work of diverse cultures which are bounded in the same great story of Muhammad.

This study is important not only to shows how Sundanese people write a *sīrah* in his language, but also interpret it into the realm of their own cultures. The life of Muhammad is imagined into an atmosphere of friendly personification like the personality of Sundanese noble or *ménak* in Priangan (Lubis, 1998: 82). The paper will explains how the work of Muhammad's biography can be connected further to other regions in the world and then accepted creatively through the richness of their cultures. Dinet and Sliman described it in both French and Algeria cultures, while Wiranatakoesoema narrated the story within Southeast Asia culture, using Sundanese literature as its container. It is an important contribution of Islamic culture in Indonesia archipelago joining with other cultures in the world.

### **SĪRAH IN EAST AND WEST SCHOLARSHIP**

Muhammad who was believed as a Prophet by Muslims has become a main figure in Islam. His important position has invited many opinions, views and assessments since seventh century until now. Muhammad has always been a center of attention presumably since Western scholars interested against a society who they called as "the orient" where Muslims are part of the first magnitude.

In early historiography of Islam, Ibn Ishaq (d. 767) was considered as one of scholars who has compiled many stories of *sīrah*. The work of Ibn Ishaq which was written more than a century after Muhammad's death is regarded as the earliest biography. His work can be read by us based on a good turn of a historian of Egypt, Ibn Hisham (d. 833), who has edited and loaded it in his work, *Sīrah al-Nabawiya*. He compiled many oldest works of *sīrah* on his work completely (Ibn Hisham, n.d. ; Guillaume, 1955; Horovitz, 2002; Azra, 1993: 47-52).

Although Ibn Hisham's *Sīrah* was criticized for its biased political interests and personal myth idealization of Muhammad, the book has used as the main reference by thousands writer of *sīrah*, both Muslims and non-Muslims. The search for the historical Muhammad has produced many biographies of Muhammad in various languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Urdu, Malay, English, French, Dutch, Chinese and some other Eastern languages, including Javanese and Sundanese. The narrative story was also varied, between prose and poetry, or sometimes even decorated with illustrations (Schimmel, 1991: 22).

Jeffery already made some approach categories of *sīrah*: critical, psychological, sociological, mythological, apologetic and mystical (Jeffrey, 1926: 327-48). The study of biography of Muhammad tend to be very critical at the beginning

of Orientalism in the West. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the Arab material source began to be used by Western scholars through Latin translation, but generally still written with an attitude of “hostility” (Anees & Athar, 1986: xvii). This is the first period of Western criticism over Muhammad. In the nineteenth century, some Western scholars tried to be fair to apply the method of historical criticism to refer to the Arab material source, such as Ibn Hisham’s *Sīrah*. There are some scholars in this period, such as Gustav Weil, Caussin de Perceval and Wüstenfeld. Weil is regarded as a pioneer of historical-critical method to write a biography of Muhammad. But one of the most important works in this era is written by Muir.

Muir’s *Life of Mahomet* (1923) which published in four volumes from 1856 to 1861 showed a peak period of critical approach in the West. Compared to similar work which published in the nineteenth century, *Life of Mahomet* received significant attention and republished continually until the early twentieth century. Muir is a British Colonial Officer who lives in India. Muir does not only enjoy the allegation that Muhammad drew inspiration from “devil,” but also adopted previous scientific criticism of a psychological doctor, Sprenger, who said that Muhammad’s prophetic experiences associated with his “epilepsy” disease (Ernst, 2003: 22).

In addition to Muir, Margoliouth (1858-1940) also deserve to be mentioned. He published *Muhammad and the Rise of Islam* in 1905. Some scholars consider that he tries to give a respectful attitude than other Orientalist, but at the same time he keeps a distance from apologetic view on Muhammad (Roded, 2009: 44-45). However, some other scholars assume Margoliouth have a skeptical attitude towards Muhammad, especially relating personal revelation (Ali, 1997: 401; Buaben, 1996). Both works of Muir and Margoliouth tend to prove Said’s argument concerning Orientalism. He said that Orientalist scholars become agent who involved in helping the conquest of Europeans to other nations. The image of Eastern nations, especially the Muslim countries, are actually designed to streamline the domination of Europeans (Said, 1978).

The European Orientalist works that are considered skeptical toward Muhammad then trigger many reactions among Muslims. In India and Pakistan, for example, *sīrah* movement began in the late nineteenth century published in English and Urdu. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in 1870 began to respond to the work of Muir (Roded, 2009: 44). Sybli Nu’mani, Sulaiman Nadwi, Syed Ameer Ali (1955) and many more scholars has published their works in the fifty years between the death of Ahmad Khan and the end of World War II. Other works that depicted modern explanation of *sīrah* also were written in Persian by Rahnema, *Pavambar: The Messengen*, during

his exile (Schimmel, 1991: 306-8). In Egypt, since the 1930s appears many apologetic works that emphasizing the advantages of Muhammad both as a man and prophet, such as Taha Husain (1933), 'Abbas Mahmud al-'Aqqad (1942), 'Abdurrahman al-Syarqawi (1962), Nagib Mahfouz (1967) and the most popular works of Muhammad Husayn Haykal, *Hayat Muhammad* (1965). The work of Haykal is considered more better work than others because it was written with a critical history approach of impartial sources (Wessels, 2006: 264; Smith, 1983). Muslim authors presumably feels very close to Muhammad when they live in a pressured state and perhaps imitate his persistence against the crisis situation. The work of Dinet and Sliman which published in 1918 was written in such a polemical situation. The adaptation of the work by Wiranatakoesoema reflects his response to the West concerning the life of Muhammad.

The contact between West and East on the biography of Muhammad continues until now. After the 1980s, there are many popular and serious academic book of *sīrah* which positively written by non-Muslims and Muslims who are living in America and Europe. The attention to Islam and Muhammad's life actually has not subsided even after the terrorist attacks in 9/11, 2001. Although a handful of Westerners of Arab descent ironically looked bad image of Muhammad with the argument of the terrorist attack, as shown by Ibn Warraq (2000) and Ali Sina (2008). These are emotional perspective works, tendentious and tend to be less valuable academic.

There are many publications of scholars who have embraced Islam or descendants of Muslims and even agnostics which discuss the figure of Muhammad from many perspectives, such as historical, textual, sociological, political, psychological, philosophical, humanist, and so forth. The authors also come from various backgrounds, such as Protestant missionaries, European Orientalists, modernist India and Egypt, American, including preachers, scholars, followers of Islam phobia, journalists, academics and new-age followers. Khalidi (2009: x) chronologically has classified the works into ten depictions of Muhammad, that is in the Qur'an, hadith, classical *sīrah*, *adab*, Shia biography, Sufi literature, and *sīrah* in canonical era, the era of mid-last to modern and contemporary biographies. However, compared to Khalidi's categories, Mirza's analysis (2011: 160) tend to be more substantive in mapping out these works. He mapped it into many categories, such as biographies which written by Muslim academics and apologists (Montgomery Watt [1953, 1956, 1988], Martin Lings [1983], Seyyed Hossein Nasr [1995], MA Salahi [1995], Sa'id Ramadan Al-Buthi [1995], Muhammad Al-Ghazali [1998], Mustafa Al-Siba'ie [2003], Tariq Ramadan [2007], Omid Safi [2009], Kecia Ali [2014]); a

non-Muslim narrative which tends sympathy (Martin Forward [1997], Karen Armstrong [1992, 2006], Barnaby Rogerson [2003] and Lesley Hazleton [2013]); polemical scholars who has sharp analysis (Robert Spencer, 2007); a dramatization of literature (Deepak Chopra, 2010); as well as the approach of revisionist which read critically the source of text (Michael Cook [1983], Patricia Crone [1987], Herbert Berg [2003], Fred Donner [2010], Andreas Goerke [2015]). The countless number of publications that summarize the story of the life of Muhammad, written by Muslims and non-Muslims were also circulating in various parts of the Islamic world (Motzki ed., 2000).

In Indonesia Archipelago, the narratives of Muhammad at first were spread into Malay archipelago and rendered into Malay language in the form of *hikayat*. Some *hikayats* were scribed based upon the Arabic *sīrah*, but are embellished with incidents created by their narrators. They were translated also into other provincial languages, such as Javanese, Acehnese, Sundanese, and Bugis (Hamid, 1981: 132). The publications of *sīrah* in Indonesia modern period generally circulating a translation of *sīrah* literature which written by the *sīrah* authors from Pakistan, Arab and Europe, such as Ameer Ali, Haykal, Al-Ghazali, Al-Buthi, Syariati, Amir Ali, Mahdi Rizquallah Ahmad, Abdullah Najib Salim, Hazleton, Armstrong, Watt, Ramadan, Lings and others. Some authors tried to construct their own version of *sīrah*. The works of Moenawar Chalil (1908-1961), *Kelengkapan Tarich Nabi Muhammad SAW*, published since 1936, would be considered the most complete *sīrah* work in Indonesia (Hamim, 1996: 26-56). Other works are composed by Arifin Abbas (1964), Al-Hamid Al-Husaini (1989), Fuad Hashem (1989), Jalaluddin Rakhmat (2009), M. Quraish Shihab (2011) and Ajid Thohir (2014). Meanwhile, it is unknown how much of the literature of *sīrah* in local language in Indonesia. However, it seems only Wiranatakoesoema who uses the biography of Muhammad in European language as his source to write a Sundanese *sīrah*.

As noted above, there are many studies of *sīrah* Muhammad, both in East and West, which had an impact on modern Muslim life until today. This study is significant to make close ties between Islamic studies in the West and Islamic world, including Indonesia. Muhammad become a historical figure, normative and even imaginative, both for supporters and followers as well as repellents and oppositions.

#### **DINET, SLIMAN AND WIRANATAKOESOEMA**

*Riwayat Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w.* cannot be separated from three main figures. Dinet and Sliman as the first author in French and English, and Wiranatakoesoema as a translator into Dutch and Sundanese. It is important

to explain three figures who has influenced the book of *Riwajat* with their cultures.

Dinet or Alphonso Étienne Dinet was known as a French Orientalist painter who has paint beautiful nature of Sahara desert in Algeria, North Africa. For many Algerians, Dinet was regarded as a Frenchman who brought Algeria national icon through his paintings. His ability was acquired after he studied at several art schools in Paris. He traveled to desert of Algeria firstly in 1884. Dinet awed the beauty of Sahara desert in Bou Saada and then pour it into his paintings. He then studied Arabic at the Oriental Language School in Paris. His guide is an Algerian descent, Sliman ben Ibrahim, who began to accompany him for some time and produce some works together (<http://blouinartinfo.com>, accessed 25/06/2016).

The relationship between Dinet and Sliman is elusive. There is a little information that can be known about Sliman. He was a son of the owner of hotel where Dinet stay in Bou Saada. He is described as a religious young people. In 1894, Dinet invited Sliman to Paris. Sliman has married for three times during his accompanying with Dinet. Whereas Dinet is believed never married. Despite the tendency to regard Dinet's relationship with Sliman as homosexual, Dinet's extant paintings do not appear homoerotic (Roded, 2002: 341).

Dinet then decided to move and settle in Bou Saada in 1904. His house is not too far from Sliman's house. In 1908, through a private letter to Sliman, Dinet finally convert to Islam in 1913 and changed his name to Nasreddine Dinet. This conversion had a profound impact on his illustration works. His works become main source of scholars who interested in studying the culture of North Africa. Dinet died in France shortly after performing hajj in 1929. His body was then buried in Bou Saada. There are many works of Dinet and Sliman, such as *Antar*, *Rabia El Kouloub* or *Le Printemps des Coeurs*, *Mirages* or *Tableaux de la vie arabe*, *Khadra*, *danseuse Ouled Nail*, and *Le Desert*. The early works of Dinet are novels and illustrated books featuring the Algerian Sahara desert life, from women dancers of Nailiyya to religious scenery, from prostitutes to female nude. The beginning process of Dinet's spiritual journey is reflected in his *Mirages* which published in 1906. Sliman added the word of *bismillah* and praise for Muhammad, *shallallah 'alaih wa sallam*, at the first chapter. After converting to Islam, Dinet and Sliman then publish his latest work, *La Vie de Mohammed, Prophete D'God*, which prepared during Ramadan (July) 1916 and published in France in 1918. The work was then translated into English, *The Life of Mohammad, the Prophet of Allah* (Roded, 2002: 335-342).

In 1941, Wiranatakoesoema read Dinet and Sliman's *The Life of Mohammad*

shortly after his hajj to Mecca. He then translated it into Sundanese in the form metrical poetry, *Riwajat Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w.* His connection with Dinet and Sliman's book cannot be separated from the background of Wiranatakoesoema's life as a Muslim who was educated in European culture in Batavia. As an orphan, he entrusted to some Dutch officials, such as Adams family, Ch. Snouck Hurgronje and Hellwig. He studied at Dutch school in Batavia and learn many languages, such as Dutch, English, French and German (Rosidi, 2003: 702; Lubis, 1998: 100-285; *MooiBandoeng*, 1938: 5-6).

Wiranatakoesoema—commonly called as “Kangjeng Dalem Haji” especially after his hajj—is one of Sundanese aristocrats who grow up in a situation when Islam increasingly rooted and became the religion of *ménak* and Sundanese people. Many of them were devout Islamic worship and performing hajj. They also send their children to pesantren and wear Arab dress while celebrating the feast of Eid. Wiranatakoesoema performed hajj to Mecca in 1924 and wrote his memoirs of the hajj, *Mijn reis naar Mekka* (1925). Chambert-Loir (2013: 551) considers Wiranatakoesoema's hajj book as the first Malay story book on pilgrimage to Mecca. He bravely criticized the exploitation of pilgrims by local Arabs, of the threat of highwaymen and murderers as well as some bad people who unscrupulously sin againts the holy prescriptions (van Dijk, 1997: 79; Ricklefs, 2007: 219-20).

Wiranatakoesoema is one of Sundanese who was strongly attached to Islam. It can be seen in his struggle for an Islamic political ideals in post-independence era. This struggle is also fought by Kartosuwiryo, although eventually Wiranatakoesoema refused to join him (Formichi, 2012: 119). His commitment to Islam is also can be seen from his courage to express it in public sphere. He, for example, often sing Qur'anic verses in *kidung* form. He was known as a local official who usually opening his public speeches by singing a *kidung Fatihah*. Kanjeng Haji's articulation of Islam in the Sundanese language and by using traditional poetry (*tembang*) was impressive as well as rare. By singing the *kidung Fatihah*, which is considered *bid'a* in the eyes of many puritan Modernists, he sought to express Qur'anic meaning through a cultural form familiar to the Sundanese. Wiranatakoesoema is one of Sundanese who has efforted to understanding Islam in Sundanese taste (Bamualim, 2015: 29).

In his memoirs of the hajj, Wiranatakoesoema tells about his expertise to sing Qur'anic verses in front of a Dutch doctor whose accompanied him. The doctor has interested to his song until fall asleep. Wiranatakoesoema tells that experience as retold by Memed Sastrahadiprawira in Sundanese (Wiranatakoesoema, 1926: 14):

*Kangjeng Dalem jeung Tuan doktor Palthe nyobat pisan, tara papisah, mindeng kulem sasarengan dina dék, lamun keur meneran kacida hareudangna, hiji mangsa waktu anjeunna sasarengan deui calik jeung tuan doktor, ningalikeun béntang nu rapang di langit bari ngobrolkeun kaayaan di nagara Ruslan, di Mekah, malah teterusan carios hal kaayaan di Hindia, Kangjeng Dalem sanggues tutup cacarios tuluy ngaos patihah, dilagukeun. Tuan doktor semu resepeun pisan, mani nawar, hayang dipangaoskeun sakali deui. Pok deui Kangjeng Dalem ngaos patihah, leuwih dingeunah-ngeunah batan mimiti, ari ningali ka Tuan doktor, bet... geus ngaguhur kulem. Meureun asa dipépendé, dikawihan ku patihah!*

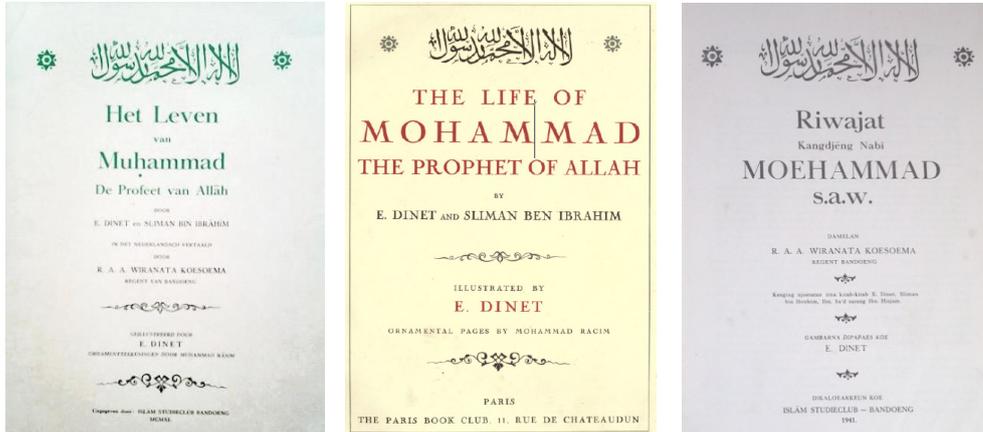
(Both Kangjeng Dalem and Mr. Dr. Palthe are very friendly, working together, and often sleep on the deck of ship when they feel very swelter. At the moment of the rest time, Kangjeng Dalem sat with Mr. doctor to see the stars that dotted in the sky. They talk about the situation in Ruslan's country, in Mecca and then continued talk about the situation in the Dutch East Indies. Kangjeng Dalem then read and sing *sura Fatihah*. Mr. doctor very like it and even bid him that he wants to be sing again. Kangjeng Dalem then read and sing again *sura Fatihah* with more melliflous than before. Kangjeng Dalem then see Mr. doctor was already asleep. He seemed to be accompanied with the singing).

Wiranatakoesoema's career as a Regent of Bandung (1920-1931, 1935-1942) who was known religious and lover of Sundanese culture, allows him to show an Islamic identity which influenced by Sundanese culture. It is not only *kidung Fatihah*, but there are several religious books of Wiranatakoesoema which also written using metrical poetry forms, such as *Riwajat Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w.* and *Soerat Al-Baqarah: Tafsir Soendadamelan Al-Hadji R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema* (1949). The latter is a translation of the Qur'an that attempts to grasp the meaning of source language through the language of metrical verse as its container (Rohmana, 2015: 439).

#### **ON RIWAJAT KANGDJENG NABI MOEHAMMAD S.A. W.**

This work is a Sundanese biography of Muhammad which use many illustrations and some quotes of Qur'anic verse in the form of Sundanese metrical poetry or *dangding*. The author is Wiranatakoesoema and assisted by M.J. Soedjaja and M. Kd. Prawira Atmadja. He mentioned that the book is an adaptation of E. Dinet and Sliman's *The Life of Mohammad* (Wiranatakoesoema, 1941: vii). Dinet and Sliman's *The Life of Mohammad*, as already explained, is originally a translation of their book in French, *La Vie de Mohammed* (1918a). This work was firstly published during World War I as a tribute to Muslims of North

Africa who died in defending the French during that war (Dinet and Sliman, 1918b: v). Both Dinet and Sliman or Wiranatakoesoema's book inserted twenty seven illustrations from Dinet's realist paintings. The illustrations generally describe the life of Muslims in Algeria, where Sliman lived.



Wiranatakoesoema admitted that he firstly translated Dinet and Sliman's *the Life of Mohammad* into Dutch, *Het Leven van Muhammad, De Profeet van Allah*. He then translated it into Sundanese, *Riwajat Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w.* He also make a little changed to Dinet and Sliman's English work. One of his changes is the numbering of Qur'anic verse in English which changed according to Dutch *Heilige Qur'an* (Cur'anfonds, Batavia-C. 1934). The translation work of Wiranatakoesoema in Dutch and Sundanese shows his language skills.

Wiranatakoesoema is not just translate and adapt the book, but also enrich his sources with *Sīrah Ibn Hisham* and *Ibn Sa'ad* in Dutch. These are the works of classical *sīrah* which regarded as earliest sources that become main references of almost all biographies of Muhammad. However, Wiranatakoesoema might did not know that Dinet and Sliman's book is actually compiled from other sources, both classical and modern.

The polemical climate presumably be one reason for Dinet and Sliman to write *The Life of Mohammad*, primarily intended for European readers. Wiranatakoesoema reiterated the stance of both Dinet and Sliman as well as his predecessor, Thomas Carlyle, in face of what he called "the attack of enemy against Islam": *Nalungtik, nyukcruk galurna Nabi s.a.w. téh hiji kaperluan pikeun urang, sangkan ulah asa-asa, mangmang, upami tepung sareng satru, anu nyamplangkeun ageman Islam. Cawadan, pojokan atawa nyempad téh, lampah nu mubadir, sanés matak nambihan pangarti, nu puguh mah, éstu natamabuh*

*waktu!* (Wiranatakoesoema, 1941: ix). It is a phrase that indicates support argument for apologetic reason related the figure of Muhammad. This is may be part of an effort Wiranatakoesoema to also deal with Sundanese reader especially *ménak* whose tend to be skeptical about Islam and Muhammad as well as spreaded by European Orientalists and followers of Kebatinan in Java (Bamualim, 2015: 82; Mulder, 1970: 108).

If we look at the substance of story, Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat*, as well as Dinet and Sliman, used traditionalist approach that merge *sīrah* tradition in late medieval and modern period. *Sīrah* in the late middle period did not just point out about itself, but also filtered it through another explanation. This approach is drawn into the context of modern *sīrah* which colored by an apologetic argument in defense of Muhammad from attack of Western Orientalists (Khalidi, 2009: 208, 286).

However, there is one thing that distinguishes the work of Dinet and Sliman with Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat*. He partly uses metrical poetry form as an effort to narrate the biography of Muhammad which support by his colleague, M. Kd. Prawira Atmadja. Although the book did not completely use metrical forms, but the diction of Sundanese language seems very influenced by old Sundanese literary tradition especially *pantun Sunda*. It is generally uses short sentences that composed in eight syllables (*octosyllabic*) (Weintraub, 1995: 175-211). *Riwajat* is the book of 277 pages that reagrded as a local creativity in composing the story of Muhammad through Sundanese metrical poetry or *dangding* as well as Sundanese traditional song lyrics. The language of *dangding* is used to add the comprehension deeply which connect with the Sundanese heart (*malar nambahan sari, ngadamel tatali nu ngait kana sanubari*) (Wiranatakoesoema, 1941: viii). It is interesting that Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat* then followed by other Sundanese author to write similar book of Sundanese *sīrah* in the form of *dangding* (Sallam, n.d.).

The use of metrical form as a medium to narrate such story cannot be separated from the influence of *wawacan* in Sundanese literature, both fiction and non-fiction (Rusyana & Raksanagara, 1980: 95). *Wawacan*, like *macapat* in Javanese culture, usually can be sung. It can usually be accompanied by musical instruments such as flute and *kecap*. *Wawacan*, *dangding* or *guguritan* and its song of *tembang* then spread among Sundanese *ménak* since the seventeenth century. They gain Javanese influence after coming to Mataram and learn various Javanese cultures (van Zanten, 1984: 289-90; 1987: 66). *Wawacan* already used to adapt and translate many stories, legends, and historical works in Malay and Javanese. It has contributed to enrich the Islamic tradition in Indonesia archipelago (Rosidi, 2010: 31). There are so many stories of Islam

have been written using *wawacan* form, such as *Wawacan Amir Hamzah*, *Wawacan Sema'un*, *Wawacan Nabi Paras*, and others (Rosidi, 2011: 14).

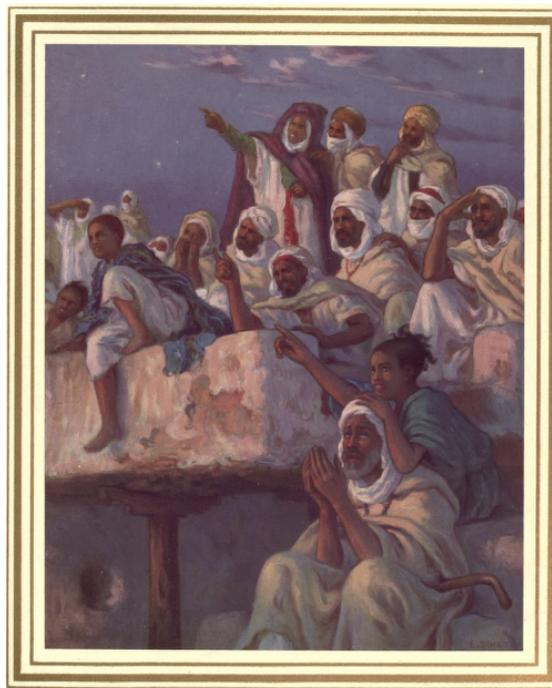
Wiranatakoesoema realized that the life of Muhammad can be a good model for Sundanese Muslim correspondence to his times (*surup kana usumna, ninggang kana mangsana*). It, therefore, becomes duty of all Muslims to explore the biography of Muhammad in order to know him in accordance with their speeches (*djadi kawadjiban sadajana Moeslim, mapaj raratan, njoektjroek galoerna Rasoeloellah s.a.w. sangkan woewoeh koekoeh, noe disaksian koe lisanna tea*) (Wiranatakoesoema, 1941: v-vi). The greatness of Muhammad is proper to have been narrated using metrical poetry form like *dangding* which arranged in a variety of metrum (*pupuh*) as a glorious literary work. The Sundanese oral tradition in the form of adaptation of literary works into *pupuh* has become reason why the biography of Muhammad has also been written with such metrical poetry.

Therefore, *Riwajat* shows the other side of interchange between West and East culture on the biography of Muhammad which drawn into Sundanese literature. It is not only an apologetic work of traditionalist scholar, but also a Sundanese book which draws the personification of Muhammad into a sublime language in West Java. Wiranatakoesoema attempts to emphasize harmonization of *rasa* (inner feeling), stories and literary language, as if in spite of the polemic climate in Europe and Java. It is an important work that expresses how the biography of Muhammad was narrated in poetic language as well as a lyrics of song which regard as a part of depth of Sundanese inner feeling. Wiranatakoesoema tried to open the way of Muhammad in order to get the deepness feeling of Sundanese people (Setiawan, 2006: 23).

## **CULTURAL INTERCHANGE BETWEEN FRANCE, ALGERIA AND SUNDA**

As an adaptation book, Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat*, cannot be separated from the influences of Dinet and Sliman's *the Life of Mohammad*. Dinet's illustration of Algerian Muslim life in the late nineteenth century which was inserted in *Riwajat* shows the influence of Dinet and Sliman. In their both early works in French and English, *La Vie de Mohammed* and *The Life of Mohammad*, the illustrations of Dinet's painting are inserted into their book based on the perception of Europeans against Algerian Muslim culture. However, Dinet's illustrations in Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat* has more complex meaning of cultural interchange. There are various cultural connections between French painting illustrations on Algerian Muslim life and Sundanese narration in the form of *dangding*.

Dinet's realist painting has become an important source of inspiration that brings realism and empathy to an area which usually tend to be quiet. This is an innovation of art which influence over early style painting of French Orientalist in the twentieth century. Dinet's painting can be interpreted as a cultural interchange of French Orientalist tradition when looking at the life of Algerian Muslim which then narrated by Wiranatakoesoema into Sundanese literary form. Following painting reflects an impression on complexity of the cultural interchange of France and Algeria:



The illustrations is described by the information that “*Para Moe'min naringali roe'jat dina sasih Romadon*” (The believers was doing *ru'yat* or to see a new moon during Ramadan) (Wiranatakoesoema, 1941: 92). The Illustrations is the work of Dinet when he records the daily lives of Muslims in Sahara desert in Bou Saada, Algeria. This is place where Sliman lived. Dinet recorded the daily life of Muslims in welcoming Ramadan. It is usually called as *ru'yat* which mean to see a new moon in the sky.

Dinet's paintings generally tend to realist style with an emphasis on exotic romanticism as the tradition of oriental painting in France at the time. He did not want to create a transformation style of painting through the picture of other oriental regions. He want to capture the life as it is through the soul of its subjects. He attempts to capture the variety of African people face in Algeria. Although there are many painters criticized his traditional style, Dinet give a new perspective to the Orientalist painting which is not just focused on the exotic value. His painting, therefore, can be regarded as an ethnographic

character and try to imitate the real life. The uniqueness of Dinet's painting has formed the subjects into a constant genre.

It is interesting that both Dinet and Sliman's *the Life of Mohammad* and Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat*, has inserted the illustrations of Dinet's painting to reinforce reader's imagination toward the biography of Muhammad. He pulled the illustrations into the story of Muslims migration from Mecca (*hijra*) and were greeted by another Muslims in Yathrib (Medina). This event usually perceived with an Arabic popular song, such as *thala' al-badru 'alaina* (the full moon already appeared to us). The background of the illustration which shows a *ru'yat* activity in Algeria actually is no longer important for Sundanese readers, more than the imagination when companions of Muhammad await and welcome their Prophet gloriously. Wiranatakoesoema even added the dramatization of *hijra* by quoting the Arabic song, *thala' al-badru 'alaina* which is translated into *dangding* form of *Kinanti*. This is an interesting story of how Wiranatakoesoema drew the story and Arabic song in seventh century into his imaginaton as a Sundanese who lived in the beginning of twentieth century and sing a traditional song in the form of *dangding* and *kidung* (Wiranatakoesoema, 1941: 96).

*Dina latar soehoenan, noe katelah zawijatoe'l chidr, reuteum awewe,  
kolot boedak anoe biasana mah, arang langka tembong ka loear.  
Tempatna dihalangan koe lalangse, djeung perhiasan noe aralus.  
Loehoereunana istri-istri noe keur meudjeuhna roemadja poetri,  
papakean paginding-ginding, lir manoek mojan keur meberkeun  
djangdjang. Maranehna bareng ngawih, sorana angin-anginan,  
ngahormat anoe keur ngalangkoeng.*

(There are women, parents and children who rarely went out of their house on top of the roof was called *zawiyatul khidr*. It is a barrier and fine jewelry in this place. There is a girl who wore nice clothes on that place like sunbathing birds to unfold its wings. They sing together, their voices carried by the wind, it is a song of praise toward Muhammad who just came and away).

Sinom	Translation:
<i>"Boelan poernama goemebyar, Tjahjana saboedeur boemi, Ngoengkoelan loehoereun oerang, Njerelek madjoe ka langit, Bentang anoe ting karetip, Katingalna pada soedjoed, Ngahormat boelan noe mabra, Perlambang ratoening peuting, Anoe djolna lebah Thanijjatoe'l Wada'.</i>	The full moon has shone, Its light shine earth, spread above us, go forward into the sky, twinkle of stars, seemed to bow, gave the salute to the shining moon, symbol of the ruler of night, who come from <i>tsaniyatul wada'</i>

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<i>Lolobana toemarima, Kedal kaboengahan ati, Kasanggakeun ka Pangeran, Goesti Allah welas asih, Moegi-moegi kersa nampi, Panoehoen oerang saestoe, Doeh gamparan Rasoeloellah, Oetoesan Noe Maha Sutji, Dikersakeun ngaraksa abdi sadaja.</i>	Most of them already accepted, express their happy, thanks to God, Gusti Allah the Most Compassionate, may would accepted, our apologize, O my Lord, the Messenger of Allah, The Messenger of the Most Holy, May Thou wish for protect all of us.
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<i>Papantjen anoe dicandak, Pikeun kawadjiban abdi, Ditampi koe sadajana, Satia milampah wadjib, Dilakonan siang wengi, Bade toehoe ka piwoeroek, Moal moengpang ka dawoehan, Dilakonan lahir batin, Sadajana pada Iman ka gamparan.</i>	Any tasks which was taken, for my duty, are accepted by all of us, performed all of religious obligations, performed every day, be obedient to His teachings, would not disobey His sayings, performed by heart, everyone believe to my Lord.
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The purpose of maintaining Dinet's illustrations in his *Riwajat*, according to Wiranatakoesoema, in addition to serve its beauty to the reader, it is also to add his description, describe core message, and evokes in love with Muhammad. The painting illustrations is believed can strengthen the description about the life of Muhammad as well as attract the core messages to be delivered into the picture. It is what Dinet and Sliman called that "we hope to have succeeded in evoking a few lights and shadows" (Dinet and Sliman, 1918b: ix).

However, it is interesting that Dinet and Sliman's *The Life of Mohammad* was considered as the attractive work, neo-traditionalist and beautiful with a depiction of dramatic depiction about the life of Muhammad and his followers. While Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat* has added the attractiveness of the book which is not only beautiful, but also made an impression when sung like a Sundanese *tembang*. It is a form of local creativity in adapting the complexity of *sīrah* which used Arab sources, then written and circulated in European languages with Muslim Algeria illustrations, and finally is adapted into Sundanese metrical poetry.

Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat* is not a complete biography of Muhammad. It just tells the important events of *sīrah*. It shows his modesty that is not tell the complex matter, but still related to previous book of *sīrah* which using visual images and textual explanation. Dinet, Sliman and Wiranatakoesoema also teach that the true Islamic principles which is believed by Muslims, either in

Europe, Africa or Asia, do not against image of human but forbid depictions of Muhammad visually. The figure of Muhammad in any form of image will never be accurate and disturbing for Muslims. Various reactions, therefore, will emerge among Muslims anywhere in the world which related to a visual representation of Muhammad in the form of paintings and caricatures. The case of a brutal attack to the newspaper office of Charlie Hebdo in France recently, for example, at least cannot separated from the case of Muhammad's caricatures.

Furthermore, there is some difficulties to distinguish when Dinet and Sliman took turns writing their books in terms of the description. It is different with the illustrations which completely created by Dinet (Roded, 2002: 327-35). While the *Riwajat*, we believe that Wiranatakoesoema has important role in composing the biography of Muhammad in the form of metrical poetry which assisted by M.Kd. Prawira Atmadja. However, Dinet's illustrations also cannot be ignored in the *Riwajat*. The illustrations display an Orientalist visual language for Sliman and Wiranatakoesoema which expressed by Dinet. Although the story of both *the Life of Mohammad* and *Riwajat* were originally derived from the Arabic sources which read by Sliman to Dinet and then composed by Wiranatakoesoema into metrical poetry form.

The writing of Muhammad's biography that filled with illustrations actually is not new phenomenon. Schimmel noted that there is an interesting story in Turkish, Darir's *Sirat-i Nabi* or *Siyar al-Nabi*, uses many miniatures illustrations which prepared by the Sultan of Ottoman, Murad III. *Sirat-I Nabi* was written in 1388 and punctuated by Turkish and Arabic poetry (Schimmel, 1991: 22). In the context of the biography of Muhammad as Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat*, there is a Turkish poet, Necip Fazil Kısakurek, who also composed sixty three poems of Muhammad's life, *Es-Selam*, which written in prison in 1972. It shows that for the man of letters, the expression of love to their Prophet can be composed in the form of prose and poetry. It is not only praises on personal greatness like Muhammad, but also expressed by narrating his biography story.

### **RIWAJAT AND SUNDANESE CULTURE**

It is interesting that Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat* expressed the influence of Sundanese cultural aspect within the biography of Muhammad. This cannot be found in Dinet and Sliman's *the Life of Mohammad* which addressed to European readers. It can draw the biography of Muhammad seemed to be closed to daily life of Sundanese in Priangan. According to Gadamer's theory of hermeneutics, the author's understanding as a user of language is influenced by his fusion horizon of the hermeneutics situation, such as tradition, culture and

life experience (Gadamer, 2004: 364). Therefore, *Riwajat* cannot be separated from the influence of Sundanese culture and literature. It can be seen in the use of language levels, metrical poetry form, description of Sundanese nature and sufi terms in defining the prophethood of Muhammad.

### 1. Sundanese speech levels

Language as the main feature of ethnicity represents the culture. It expressed, formed and symbolized the reality of culture (Moriyama, 2005: 13; Rahyono, 2009: 77). Language became a symbol articulation of Sundanese values and way of life (Warnaen et.al., 1987). Therefore, when it is used to narrate the biography of Muhammad, Sundanese language will formed Sundanese cultural imagination in all plot of the story. We can say that the story of Muhammad then to be presented in an atmosphere of Sundanese daily life. It is something different when using the structure of European languages, such as French or English, as can be read in the work of Dinet and Sliman.

There are multiple aspects of structure of Sundanese language in *Riwajat*. It reinforce Sundanese cultural values, such as speech levels form or *undak usuk basa* (between smooth and wild talk), proverbs, phrases and special sentences (*kecap-kecapan*), terms, affirmation words and others. Wiranatakoesoema, for example, attempts to draw the situation of Muhammad's life into narration of Sundanese. He used the word of Siti Khadijah, *garwa* (wife), *teh*, *atuh*, *rama* (father), and a few other of affirmation words in structure of Sundanese language in order to be more Sundaneseness (*nyunda*). It is interesting that if we read another Sundanese story of prophet, we can also find some Sundanese peculiarities words of prophet names, such as *Enuh* for Nuh, *Elut* for Lut and others (Rusyana, 2008: 10). The author has placed him self appropriate for his inner sense as a story flavor of Sundanese. It is different from Dinet and Sliman's *the Life of Mohammad* which written in the background of European language and culture. We can compare it in the following sentence that Wiranatakoesoema and also Dinet and Sliman has described a situation shortly after Muhammad received his first revelation and then met Khadijah and her family:

*Sasumping-sumping ka bumi, Nabi s.a.w. ngabujeng garwana Siti Khadijah, bluk nyuuh kana lahunanana, salirana ngeleper saperti nu keur muriang nirisan, "Geuwat simbutan! Geuwat simbutan!" Réncang-réncangna rabul maruru, ngalingkung anjeunna bari nyimbutan, dugi ka lelerna. Siti Khadija kagét, pok tumaros: "Ku naon rama Qasim téh, atuh? Abdi teh ngajurungan sababara urang, sina mapagkeun, tapi*

*maranéhna warangsul deui, teu tepang sareng gamparan; ditéang ka Hira teu aya; dipilari ka mana-mana luareun kota, teu mendak béja-béja acan* (Wiranatakoesoema, 1941: 28).

When the Prophet crossed the threshold of his house, he rushed to Khadijah, hiding his face in her lap and trembling as if in a fit of ague, as he cried : “Cover me up, Cover me up.” His servants flocked busily round him, keeping him enwrapped until his emotion had subsided. Khadijah, much upset, questioned him. “O Father of Qasim, where wert thou? By Allah, what befell thee ? I sent some of my servants to meet thee, but they came back without having met thee, either at Hira, or on the outskirts of the city (Dinet & Sliman, 1918b: 25).

If we compare two of the sentences in the context of the speech levels, Wiranatakoesoema uses the sentences of respectful and smooth (*lemes*) toward Muhammad. He did not use the wild talk levels (*loma*). He, for instance, uses the word *sumping* (to come), *bujeng* (to go), *salirana* (his body), *rencang* (friend), *gamparan* (thou), and others. The speech levels of smooth usually spread among Sundanese *ménak* (Rosidi, 1987: 19-24); Anderson, n.d.: 107). This speech levels originally came from the tradition of Javanese Mataram which was settled by the Dutch ethical policy for the indigenous people of Sunda (Gunardi & Wijaya, 1997: 55-59).

In addition to speech levels, if we read the narration of Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat*, there are also something feels like being present in an atmosphere of Sundanese daily life in Priangan. Wiranatakoesoema presumably ignored the source language of English book in Dinet and Sliman's *the Life of Mohammad*. He freely translated the book into Sundanese language structures which very familiar in his daily life. He, for example, uses the word of “Siti” (Arabic: *sayyidati*, her majesty) for Khadijah which means a Sundanese predicate reverence especially for Muhammad's wives which also used by other ethnic groups in Indonesia. Wiranatakoesoema also use the phrase “*Kunaon rama Qasim teh, atuh?*”(O Father of Qasim, where wert thou?). It is used to show the importance of putting the situation on a daily dialogue of Sundanese people who cannot be separated from affirmation words (*teh, atuh, mah*, etc.). Wiranatakoesoema also did not use the word of “Abu Qasim,” but “*rama Qasim*” (the father of Qasim). It shows his strong awareness of the context of Sundanese situation. The awareness of the context of the Sundanese culture then make Wiranatakoesoema to uses a number of terms which commonly used in social structure of Sundanese people, such as *santana* and *ménak* (Sundanese noble). He, for instance, called the first fifteen companions of Muhammad who converted to Islam are come from the *santana* of Quraysh.

He also called an event when Muhammad chose to serve the *ménak* of Quraish than his friend who was blind (Wiranatakoesoema, 1941: 40, 50). Both words of *santana* and *ménak* mean the Sundanese noble who has a privilege and elite position in social structure of Sundanese people in the Dutch colonial period in Priangan.

## 2. Dangding as biographical narrative and translation of the Qur'an

*Dangding* is a kind of Sundanese metrical poetry which composed in various metrum rules (*pupuh*) (Danasasmita, 2001: 171-172). It is a strict rule which include the rules sum of cantos, sum of syllable, end of every cantos, the cantos character, *pedotan* and the unification of cantos. There are four of seventeen types of metrum which commonly used in Sundanese tradisional song, namely *Kinanti*, *Sinom*, *Asmarandana*, and *Dangdanggula* (Salmun, 1958: 50-55). These metrum usually performed with Sundanese traditional song in accompaniment of musical instruments such as *kecap* and flute (van Zanten, 1987: 66).

Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat* partly interspersed the biography of Muhammad with metrical poetry. It is a story of greatness life of Muhammad in poetry language. Wiranatakoesoema chose a particular narrative that according to his assessment is eligible for metrical poetry form. Following poetry is part the story of *Isra' Mi'raj* which took place shortly after "years of sadness." This was marked by the death of Muhammad's wife, Khadija, and his uncle, Abu Talib. This is a popular theme which is paya lot of attention of other Sundanese writers (Moestapa, 1927). Wiranatakoesoema (1941: 74) tells us the story using the metrum of *Sinom*:

<i>Sinom</i>	Translation:
<i>Ari sategesna Isra',</i>	Actually the Isra',
<i>angkat dina djero peuting,</i>	is departing at night,
<i>djeung deui hartina Mi'radj,</i>	and the meaning of Mi'raj,
<i>titihan taradje gaib,</i>	is ascending the unseen stairs,
<i>anoe didampal koe Nabi,</i>	which ascended by the Prophet,
<i>nalika angkat ka loehoer,</i>	when go up to the sky,
<i>ngambah langit toedjoeh pangkat,</i>	go up to seven levels of heaven,
<i>ngadeuheus ka Maha Soetji,</i>	facing the Most Holy,
<i>reh andjeunna diselir koe noe Kawasa.</i>	because he was chosen by the Almighty.

<p>“Maha Soetji Hak ta’ala, noe ditibankeun ka Nabi, Moehammadoe’l Rasoeloellah, njaba di djero sapeuting, ti Masjidil’l Haram indit, ka Masjidil’l Akso tjoendoek, Kami geus noeroenkeun Rahmat, ka wewengkon doea Masjid, tanda Kami sing njata ka maranehna.”</p>	<p>The Most Holy of Allah Ta’ala, which bestowed on the Prophet, Muhammad Rasulullah, traveling at night, go away from Masjidil Haram, to Masjidil Aqsa, We’ve send down the mercy, In the area of two mosques, It is Our clear sign for them.</p>
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It is not only the narrative story of the life of Muhammad, Wiranatakoesoema also translated the quote all of Qur’anic verses in the middle of the story by using Sundanese metrical poetry. There are about 94 verses which quoted in *Riwajat* using five types of metrum as a container of translation (*Kinanti*, *Sinom*, *Asmarandana*, *Magatru* and *Kidung*). This translation reminds us to another work of Wiranatakoesoema, *Soerat Al-Baqarah* (n.d.) and *Nur Hidayah* (1994) written by R. Hidayat Suryalaga (1941-2011) which entirely composed with metrical poetry form. Following Qur’anic verses is an example of translation of Wiranatakoesoema (1941: 41) which using Sundanese metrical poetry in narrating the life of Muhammad:

(يا أَيُّهَا الْمُدَّثِّرُ ﴿١﴾ فُؤْم فَأَنْذِرْ (المدثر: ١-٢)

وَأَنْذِرْ عَشِيرَتَكَ الْأَقْرَبِينَ ﴿٢﴾ وَخُفِضْ جَنَاحَكَ لِمَنِ اتَّبَعَكَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﴿٣﴾ فَإِنْ عَصَوْكَ فَقُلْ إِنَّي بِرَبِّيَ إِيمًا تَعْمَلُونَ ﴿٤﴾ وَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى الْعَزِيزِ الرَّحِيمِ (الشعراء: ٢١٤-٢١٧)

<i>Kinanti</i>	Translation:
<p>He, andika noe disimboet, Waktoe toeroen Wahjoe Kami, Oelah talangke leleda, Geura hoedang masing gasik, Djeung boeroe-boeroe bedjaan, Sakabeh anoe maroemin.</p>	<p>O you who cloaked, when send Our revelations, do not be lazy and sluggish, wake up, and quickly tell, to all who believe.</p>
<p>Reudjeung koe andika koedoe, Bedjaan sakabeh ahli, Ahli anoe landes pisan, Djeung tembongkeun ati salim, Ka noe geus banget pertjaja, Ka Allah ta’ala tauhid.</p>	<p>And you should, tell all the family, your close family, and show a peaceful heart, to who has believed, tawheed of Allah Ta’ala.</p>

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<i>Lamun ahli henteu noeroet,          Baha ka parentah Kami,          Pek koe andika bedjaan,          Kami moal njisikoedi,          Moal noeroetan andika,          Njembah anoe lain-lain.</i>	If your family doos not obey, refuse Our orders, be inform to them, We will not interfere, will not follow you, to worship the others.
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<i>Hate andika sing peroeh,          Dibarengan tekad gilig,          Ati sing tegep soemerah,          Masrahkeun karoedet ati,          Jang Agoeng noe mikawelas,          Salamina welas asih.</i>	Your heart must be subdued, with strong determination, your heart must be confident and fatefully, fatefully your worry, The Most Great and Compassionated, compassion forever.
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Wiranatakoesoema inserted some Qur'anic verses which contains the story of Muhammad when began to preach his family and relatives openly after preaching in secret. These two verses are translated using metrical poetry form of *Kinanti* that has certain rules in its stanza: six cantos, eight syllables, and the letters of "u-i-a-i-a-i" in each of the end of vowel.

This a kind form of metrical poetry reveals what is called by Schimmel as a feeling which is equally experienced by most poets and writers who praises to the Prophet in many poems. However, at the same time, everyone felt that it is almost impossible to be fair into his greatness, or to describe his handsomeness and tenderness in the right words (Schimmel, 1991: 239).

### 3. Sundanese nature

In addition to the language of poetry metrical form, Wiranatakoesoema did not realize has added his impressions as a Sundanese into *Riwajat* through a natural description of desert and mountain which influenced by Priangan nature. Although its narration is the situation in Arabian desert and mountain, but some of the natural it then influenced by his experience when live in Priangan mountain range. We can read how Wiranatakoesoema (1941: 28) tell the story of "*halimoen di puntjak pasir dan tjai iboen tingkaretip njangkroeng dina dangdaoenan*" (the foggy mountain and the dew is glistening on leaves). This is a picture which almost impossible to see around the Arabian desert.

<i>Kinanti</i>	Translation:
<i>Meleng salebeting kalboe, Ngantengkeun tatali Goesti, Loes-les leungit dadangoean, Kalindih tingali batin, Lalampahan noe kasorang, Etjes ebreh katingali.</i>	The sloppy in the heart, focuses on the ropes of God, hearing loss, defeated by inner vision, an adventure which undertaken, it is very clearly visible.
<i>Tjalik dina loehoer goenoeng, Teu weleh ngahoedang sari, Soegema djeung toemaninah, Di lebak Sagara keusik, Tegalna antjal-antjalan, Kahalangan pasir-pasir.</i>	Sitting on top of the mountain, always evoke the kindness, be happy and comfortable, in the valley of sand, dry field is far, having tied by hills.
<i>Aja sora ngagoeloedoeg, Sihoreng aweuhan angin, Anoe nioep goeha-goeha, Poentjak pasir noe ngadjegir, Katingal majakpak bodas, Katoeroeban indoeng peuting.</i>	There was a roaring sound, It was an echo of wind, which blew caves, towering the top of hill, visible all-white, having tied by dark cloud.
<i>Goenoeng siga miloe bingoeng, Pasir siga ngiring sedih, Njaksian noe nandang brangta, Andekak neutaup ka langit, Lenjep ngabandoengan alam, Meleng lahir reudjeung batin.</i>	Mountain look like confused, hill look like sad, witness who has concerned, sat looking at the sky, feel and watch the nature, careless his outer and inner feelings
<i>Halimoen noe ngahoejoengkoeng, Noe njimboetan poentjak pasir, Siga njingraj koe balebat, Totondena padjar sidik, Noengtoet leungit lalaoenan, Ti wetan tjahaja bidjil.</i>	The fog which unusual, covering the top of hill, as disappeared by the morning light, its sign is when daybreak arrived, disappear slowly, from the east, then light come.
<i>Bentang-bentang geus saroesoep, Tjai iboen ting karetip, Njangkroeng dina dangdaoenan, Siga permata bidoeri, Lila-lila toeloej moesna, Koe tjahaja poe kalindih.</i>	The stars have been hiding, shimmering dew, glistening on leaves, like jewels of biduri, disappeared slowly, by sunlight.

Wiranatakoesoema describes the daily life of Muhammad in Arabian desert and rocky hills. He adds his narrative with Arabian nature which captured as a Sundanese through metrical poetry of *Kinanti*. Wiranatakoesoema would imagine the atmosphere of Arabian desert life, especially when he witnessed the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1924, or about twenty-five years before he published the book of *Riwajat*. However, his imagination of the desert nature presumably would no longer be accurate, because it is influenced by his perspective as a Sundanese who live in the beautiful mountains of Priangan.

It is interesting that the case also can be found in Javanese literature from seventeenth century. The queen of Java, Ratu Pakubuwana, for example, wrote some Javanese Islamic texts which appropriated by Javanese culture and situation. She narrated the hijra of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina which identical to that of a situation in the Java palace. She described that Medina is an inhabited forest by wild animals and noxious snake as there is in Java (Ricklefs, 1998: 78-9). Therefore, *Riwajat* and other Islamic texts in Indonesia archipelago presumably attempt to put Islam and Muhammad in the heart of their cultures.

#### 4. Sundanese Sufi terms

One of peculiarities of Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat* is its tendency to give a mystical interpretation of the spiritual experience of Muhammad. Wiranatakoesoema drew spiritual experience of current prophetic revelation into sufi experience. He, for example, uses of the term of *fana'* (fusion of self), *ma'rifat* (gnosis), *tajalli* (manifestation of self), *maqam* (spiritual station) and others. It is very different with Dinet and Sliman's *the Life of Mohammad* which did not use those sufi terms (1918b: 23). It presumably was influenced by Abduh's thought on mysticism in *Al-Manar* which used as one of Dinet and Sliman's references. Following narration shows how Wiranatakoesoema (1941: 30) expresses the sufi terms in the context of the experience of Muhammad when he received the first revelation.

*Dina waktoe Ma'rifat tea tinangtoe ngarandapan fana' (roeksak), Rasa lahir goemoeloeng djadi hidji djeung rasa batin, soemerah, toemamprak, ngarasa teu daja teu oepaja; tadjali djeung noe dipoehit, nindak kana Makam Soetji, soetjining soetji.*

This contemplation is as a crucible in which melt nascent emotive feelings and thoughts, issuing there from in a state of extraordinary purity.

Wiranatakoesoema uses the term of *ma'rifat, fana', tajalli, maqam* as generally found in sufi traditions. This is different from Dinet and Sliman who just mentioned in terms of spiritual experience generally. Wiranatakoesoema (1941: 76) also shows his mystical tendencies in other metrical poems in *Riwajat*:

<i>Kinanti</i>	Translation:
<i>Wates eta Nabi Rasoel, Ngagem andelan pribadi, Angkat nJORANG hidjab-hidjab, Hidjabna lalangse gaib, Gaiboellah noe disedja, KATOENGGALAN MAHA SOETJI.</i>	The limit of Prophet and Messenger, is embrace personal belief, to go through the veils, The veil isthe unseen barrier, Gaibullah(The Unseen of Allah) as a purpose, His Oneness of The Most Holy.
<i>Moeka hidjab noe panoetoep, Pertela GAIBING GOESTI, Moal kahontal koe akal, Moal kabestikoe harti, Leungit daja jeung oepaja, Sirna RASA dina BATIN.</i>	To open the last veil, to explain the unseen of God, Who unreachable by reason, does not overtaken by reason, lost power and effort, lost the inner feeling.
<i>Panca lahir moal metoe, Pangaroehna moal nepi, Soerem koe SINAR NOE MOELJA, Ladjeng ANOE MAHA SOETJI, Moeka BASIROH Moehammad, Tingalina anoe batin.</i>	The five senses is not efficacious, Its influences are not be achieved, It blighted by Majesty's light, Then The Most Holy, Opened the vision of Muhammad, Saw it with your inner feeling.
<i>Pangasihna MAHA LOEHOENG, Anoe toemiba ka Nabi, Meredih salalamina, Oelah lepot-lepot eling, Marengan ANOE OENINGA, Saniskara oesik malik.</i>	The affection of The Most Sublime, that fall to the Prophet, He prays forever, Do not stop put in mind, Accompanying the Most Knowing, of everything which was moving.

Wiranatakoesoema uses the sentences of *katunggalan Maha Sutji, sirna rasa dina batin* and *basiroh Muhammad*. These are some terms which familiar among the researcher of Sundanese sufism terms, especially the sufi teachings of Hasan Haji Mustapa (1852-1930), a Sundanese greatest writer who write more ten thousand *dangdings*. His description on Sundanese sufi terms may be strongly influenced by Mustapa's experiences in exploring the teachings of Sufism, whose his works are called by Wiranatakoesoema as foot step of searches spiritual residue (*tapak tangan bangkarak rasa*). Wiranatakoesoema

so admire the works of Mustapa as seen from his introduction in Mustapa's book which published by the Komite Mendakna in 1927 (Wiranatakoesoema, 1937: iv). This shows that his background on the sufism is very important in adapting a *sīrah* work like Dinet and Sliman's *the Life of Mohammad* into his *Riwajat*.

Therefore, it can be concluded that Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat* was attempts to provide a strong Sundanese color for its reader. Although his book is derived from Dinet and Sliman's work which set in France and Algeria background, but it was able to give a touch of locality in accordance with the mind of Sundanese readers. Wiranatakoesoema carefully inserts the Sundanese cultural nuances through the use of Sundanese speech levels, metrical poetry form, Priangan nature and sufi terms. These efforts are an important part of his creative contribution to the knowledge of *sīrah* which growing in the tradition of Islamic scholarship in Indonesia archipelago.

#### CLOSING REMARKS

This study shows that the work of biography of Muhammad was influenced by various cultures. It affects the way of authors to use their language and literature. Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat* reflects the influence of diverse cultures which not only represent him self as a Sundanese, but also both cultures of France and Algeria as the main source of his adaptation. Wiranatakoesoema presents the same story of Muhammad in the form of three different cultures: French, Algeria and Sunda. Dinet brought the story into French culture, where he began his spiritual journey to an exotic place of Muslim in Algeria accompanied with Sliman. Both cultures of France and Algeria in Dinet and Sliman's *the Life of Mohammad* then enriched by Wiranatakoesoema in his *Riwajat*. He inserted many nuances of Southeast Asian culture through the language of *dangding* or Sundanese metrical poetry. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to say that Wiranatakoesoema's *Riwajat* reflects the biography of Muhammad which does not only harmonize the Islamic teachings about the greatness of Muhammad's life into Sundanese literature, but also connected three cultural wealths of the world: Europe, Africa and Asia. This is the story of the biography of Muhammad that reaches far into other regions of the world and then accepted creatively by the richness of the author's culture. It shows a strong cultural urge to make Islam and Muhammad as a source of inspiration for Sundanese culture. *Riwajat* was able to show a contribution of Sundanese local culture in Indonesia archipelago in narrating the same *sīrah* and joined with other cultures in the world.

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