

# THE ONGOING “MYSTIC SYNTHESIS” (A PRELIMINARY SKETCH ON *PANANYAAN* IN SUNDANESE-PRIANGAN CULTURE)

**Asep Nahrul Musadad**

State Islamic University (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta  
crhapsodia@gmail.com

## **Abstrak**

*Masyarakat Sunda pedesaan secara umum mengenal sosok “pananyaan” sebagai orang yang memiliki kemampuan untuk menyingkap dunia gaib dan memberikan solusi untuk berbagai permasalahan yang ditanyakan kepada mereka. Dalam istilah yang lebih Islami, ia juga dikenal dengan “ahli hikmah”. Keberadaan “pananyaan” merefleksikan adanya sebuah akulturasi budaya yang menjadi sebuah momentum bagi kemunculan sintesis mistik antara ajaran Islam dan kearifan lokal Sunda. Fenomena “pananyaan” dan perkembangannya dari masa ke masa merupakan salah satu kata kunci dalam melacak proses sintesis tersebut. Diawali dengan uraian pengantar terkait “pananyaan” dalam budaya Sunda, tulisan ini mencoba melacak beberapa aspek akulturatif yang membentuknya setelah bersentuhan dengan “ahli hikmah”. Untuk tujuan tersebut, penulis meneliti tiga orang “pananyaan” yang mewakili generasi dan kecenderungan yang berbeda dan pada saat yang sama juga merepresentasikan perkembangan fenomena “pananyaan” itu sendiri. Dalam hal ini, beberapa ritual “pananyaan” dan mantra-mantra yang mereka gunakan memang merefleksikan adanya sintesis mistik tersebut. Selain itu, kelanjutan dari beberapa fase sebelumnya juga terlihat sampai saat ini dalam direksi yang lebih “puritan”.*

**Kata Kunci:** *pananyaan, ahli hikmah, akulturasi, sintesis mistik*

## **Abstract**

*The rural Sundanese commonly recognize what so-called “pananyaan” (literary means “who is asked or the place/someone to ask”) as someone who has ability to reveal the world of unseen and give advices on all problem brought to him. In the more*

*Islamic sense, he is also called "Ahli Hikmah". The existence of "Pananyaan" has shown the presence of an acculturation, in which the mystic synthesis appeared between Islamic spectrum and Sundanese local genius. The case of "pananyaan" within its depelovement is one of the keyword to trace that synthesis phase of mystic intersection. Start on preiminary sketch on "pananyaan" in Sundanese local custom, this paper aims to explore the acculturation domains in "pananyaan" after the emergence of lately established "ahli hikmah". To do so, i examine three "pananyaan" from different generation, those who represented the different fashion in the ongoing depelovement. In this case, some of "pananyaan" rituals and their magical spells used by these elderly people had, in turn, reflected the traces of that mystic synthesis. Recently, the continuation of what had going on before is still taking place until recent times in more puritanical direction.*

**Keywords:** *pananyaan, ahli hikmah, acculturation, mystic synthesis*

## **A. Introduction**

In addition to the study of the network of Malay-Indonesian ulama as the major element contributing to the Islamization in Sunda region (West Java), an area of study that needs further exploration is the indigenous culture that reflects an articulation effort of Islamic spectrum. The former has gained more attention, whereas the later is often neglected.<sup>1</sup> The "fine grain" of actual practice is the major reference to the history of Islamization in the Archipelago.

The Sundanese Islam – and Indonesian Islam in general – is an exponent of a creative hybrid in which Islamic spectrum and numerous local customs interact each other. One of the earliest Islamic legacy is mystical insight as well as magical powers. The transition from mystical Hindu-Buddhism to mystical Islam was thus presumably eased by conceptual continuities.<sup>2</sup> Mystical Islamic teachers, perhaps claiming supernatural powers, seem a more plausible agent of conversion in Javanese court circles, which

had long been familiar with the mystical speculations of Hinduism and Buddhism.<sup>3</sup> Islam would first gained adherents along the *pasisir* (northern littoral). However, started from the reign of Sultan Agung (1613-1646 AD.) of Mataram Islam, the first major reconciliation took place and the intensification of Islam in Java began to arise. This is what Ricklefs called as “the mystic synthesis”, in which the “acceptance” of an array of local spiritual forces was one of its major characteristic.<sup>4</sup>

In Sundanese context, the “mystic synthesis” seem to be embodied in the indigenous local custom which creatively incorporated with Islamic account, namely the existence of *pananyaan* (in polite word: *patarosan*), someone who has ability to reveal the world of unseen in a lot of terms and give advice on all problems brought to him. In contrast to the other articulation efforts of Islam, the phenomenon of *pananyaan* is quite unique. In addition to acculturation elements within, it is still regarded as an indigenous “living culture”, especially to the rural Sundanese as local identity. After the intensification and massive Islamization in Sundanese-speaking area,<sup>5</sup> the term was coloured by the initiation of lately established *ahli hikmah*. Both *pananyaan* and *ahli hikmah*, are denoting the same esoteric fashion which contain the occult dimension<sup>6</sup> of Sundanese culture.

This paper aims to explore the reception of Sundanese people regarding the Islamic values in the light of occult term. Providing the context, it will focus on the role of *pananyaan* in Sundanese culture which, in turn, has become the primordial custom. The reconciliatory moments between Islamic expressions and Sundanese occultism, would be observed, especially, as represented in their incantation or magical spell (*mantra*). Using ethnographic method,<sup>7</sup> the scope of this research is limited to *pananyaan* of Sundanese-Priangan culture<sup>8</sup> and particularly Kawalu village in Kota Tasikmalaya.<sup>9</sup> In spite of accepting modernity, it was regarded as one of the most “occult” place<sup>10</sup> in Tasikmalaya. Its people indigenously regard the extrasensory experiences as the sacred and otherworldly forces that have vital significance for their life.

## B. On *Pananyaan*: Some Introductory Remarks

### 1. The Nature of *Pananyaan*

The word originated from *nanya* (*naros*/to ask); requesting for an answer from the others about something, *pananya* means a question.<sup>11</sup> The word then produces other derivated meanings with “ask” as the core. The word *nanyaan* for example, is used when a man proposed (ask) a marriage to a women.<sup>12</sup> There was also the word *pananyaan*. The rural Sundanese commonly recognise what so-called *pananyaan* (literary means “who is asked” or the place/someone to ask), – as it has already been used until today – as someone who has ability to reveal the world of unseen (*nu gaib*) in a lot of terms and give some advices on all problems brought to him.

The term also genealogically has its old legacy from early 16<sup>th</sup> century *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* manuscript. It is said that the wellspring of the pleasure was basically represented in this symbolism (*siloka*) of *Dharma Pitutur*; “*the story of lake told by the swan, elephant told the story of forest, fish told everything about sea, and all about flower was told by beetle*”.<sup>13</sup> It means that someone must be careful when he wanted to do something and not to make a mistake when looking for something or someone to ask (*ulah salah gosan “nanya”*).<sup>14</sup>

The manuscript also mentioned 21 group of people who have certain skills and ultimately became the “place to ask”; *dalang* (puppet master), *paraguna* (musician), *empul* (expert of domestic games), *prepantun* (expert of pantun art), *lukis* (painter), *pandai* (blacksmith), *maranggi* (engraver), *harop catra* (chef), *pangoyok* (textile craftsman), *pratanda* (clergy), *hulujurit* (warlord), *brahmana* (priest), *janggan* (monk), *bujangga* (astrologer), *pendeta* (learned man), *raja* (king), *mangkubumi* (vizier), *puhawang* (nachoda), *citrik byapari* (mathematician), *wiku paraloka* (ascetics), and *jurubasa darmamurcaya* (interpreter).<sup>15</sup> In many ways, this range of names are representatively denoting some kind of the occupation of Sundanese people at that time.

Accordingly, the generic meaning of word *pananyaan* has its root back to the old Sundanese language (Sunda Buhun). All of these groups of people can be etymologically regarded as *pananyaan*, as “someone to ask” in a lot of different skills, ability and human needs. Although it couldn’t be confirmed about the first official technical usage of word *pananyaan*, as understood by rural

Sundanese today, the core for terminological meaning of the word has been existed since 19<sup>th</sup> century, or earlier. According to Haji Hasan Mustapa<sup>16</sup> one of the most scariest thing to Sundanese people was the fear of such destructive calamity or disaster which originated from the belief of *uga*. The word *uga* refers to the prophecy or divination of the Sundanese ancestors regarding the important change, especially related to the condition of a country.<sup>17</sup> As Sundanese people believe in the happening of *uga*, they also believe in a certain repellent – although not in the state of certainty – as an attempt to dismiss them all. Someone who has ability to do such things became the “place to ask”. In this case, Mustapa has mentioned *dukun*, *pandita*, *ulama*, *malim*, *kuncen*, and *paraji* as the “places to ask”.<sup>18</sup> To what is stated by Mustapa, the existence of the *pananyaan* (the place to ask) has originally appeared from the belief of the *uga*, which consist of a lot of mythical and occult accounts.

It is supported by Mustapa notes, those medical practices in late 19<sup>th</sup> century among rural Sundanese were in state of occult. In addition to use the traditional herbal medicine, they also went to a shaman (*dukun*) for the treatment, they were used to be requested to bring jar of water and lemongrass (*sereh*). For the more serious illness, there was also *tukang ngalokat* who possessed the higher knowledge about medicine, magical spells, and the rest of occult sciences.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, the genealogical nature of *pananyaan* is basically complex. It is proven by the variety of the “someone to ask” as it has been written in *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* and Mustapa’s reports which established the sacred and occult nature of *pananyaan*.

## 2. *Pananyaan* Today

Nevertheless, the clear distinction has eventually appeared in later times, along with the advent of newly established rationalism. Along with the advent of positivism in 19<sup>th</sup> century, the intelligibility of forces or substances go beyond facts and the laws ascertained by science was totally denied.<sup>20</sup> As the sense of mystery of existence was lost and the subject of philosophy was reduced from the study of the act of existence (*esto*) to the existent (*ens*), the reality was also divorced from the world of the Spirit.<sup>21</sup> This wave of *weltanschauung* ultimately affected today archipelago, including Sundanese speaking world and shaped their

way of perceiving reality. It is true that in the mindset of today Sundanese people, the nature of both “terrestrial world” and “heavenly bodies”, seem to be distinguished in such dichotomous way. Nevertheless, they are apparently still holding on something that is considered “irrational” as otherworldly forces, and ask the *pananyaan* in doing such a correspondence.

As mentioned earlier, Sundanese people today, recognise *pananyaan* as someone who has ability to reveal the world of unseen, relating to all human needs. In this case, they believe in double causality of things; visible and invisible “reason”. They believe in such invisible causality of all matters and ask the *pananyaan* to solve the various problems – to mention the examples – ; healing the sick, seeking a job, rediscovering the lost items, gaining rank and power in the bussiness, familiy welfare, etc. Accordingly, there are various occult knowledge which are usually possessed by a *pananyaan*; *paririmbon* (horoscope), *implengan* (prophecy), *kinasih* (spells to win affection), *singlar* (spells to expel the evil creatures), *jampe* (spells for healing), *jangjawokan* (spells for various activities), *amalan* (special Islamic prayers), and *elmu isim/wapak* (traditional Islamic telemology), etc.

The ultimate meaning of *pananyaan* today actually encompasses the significance of shaman, traditional healer, spiritual practioner, astrologer, and – in turn – Islamic priest. The worldly things are touched and shaped by heavenly determinations, even though the dichotomy between rational and irrational has been made by the “patients” themselves. It is what Christina Pratt refers as the phenomena of “the contemporary shaman”.<sup>22</sup>

### **3. *Pananyaan* and *Ajengan*: The Emergence of *Ahli Hikmah***

Something which later become the field to explore, is the contact between *pananyaan* and Islamic teaching. Along with the massive Islamization in West Java region which began in late 16<sup>th</sup> century, following the fall of Sundanese Kingdom, and reached its culmination arround 18<sup>th</sup> century when pesantren began to flourished, there were, at least, substitution and synthetic moment between Islamic teaching – which is also representing the Arabic-speaking customs – and previous Sundanese local customs.

In scholarly discussions, it has already been accepted that major element contributing to Islamization of archipelago was

esoteric form of Islamic spectrum, particularly the legacy of sufism.<sup>23</sup> However, there was another kind of Islamic esotericism which, in some ways, has distinguished itself from “regular” sufism, namely the Islamic “shamanism”,<sup>24</sup> occultism, or – as widely recognized by Sundanese people today – *ilmu hikmah*.

As stated by Federspiel, at the time of Islam’s arrival, the role of shaman (*dukun*) played the important role according to the folk of Malays. There were at least two different types of shaman at that time; the “healer” who used a vast array of herbs, potions, massage, magic formulas, and various other device, and the “sorcerer”, a foreteller of auspicious and inauspicious occasion who could also cast spells and give advice on all manner of problems brought to him. These practitioners were in place when Islam arrived.<sup>25</sup> The similar case seems to be happened in the rest of Indonesian regions where Islamic spectrum and various local customs created the hybrid cultures.

Concerning Sundanese context, the Mustapa’s late 19<sup>th</sup> century reports,<sup>26</sup> reflected the confirmation for Federspiel thesis. It has provided such fairly clear picture of the occult beliefs and practices among Sundanese people along with the intensification of Islam, which in some ways representing the fine grain. Some local practitioners like *dukun*, *pandita*, *panyebor*, *paraji*, and *tukang ngalokat* were in contact *vis a vis* the lately established *ajengan*, the Islamic priest and propagator. In Sundanese context, however, the differentiation between *dukun* (shaman) – which is more identical to “sorcerer” in Federspiel classification – and traditional healer who shared the same fashion with that of *dukun*, namely the occult practices,<sup>27</sup> has lately been established in Sundanese nomenclature. Furthermore, some of traditional healer had became the specialist of certain disease such as *panyebor*, *paraji* and *tukang ngalokat*. By 19<sup>th</sup> century, Mustapa has also explained *ajengan* as a healer in a different sense with that of traditional practioners. When someone asked him to heal a certain disease, *ajengan* will simply recite some Islamic prayers (*do’a*). Accordingly, the phrase that is identical to *ajengan* is “the blessing of prayers” (*barokah do’a*).<sup>28</sup>

The word *pananyaan* today, has made a refrence to above-mentioned practioners and embodied in one contemporary fashion. Most, if not all, of today *pananyaan* are the adherent of Islam. In this case, it is important to find out the distinguishing characters between *pananyaan* and *ajengan*. As stated by Mustapa, those who

studied in pesantren – who in turn will be an *ajengan* – were respected by their vast knowledge about Islamic teachings, whereas a *pandita* – which denoting the similar meaning to *pananyaan* – was widely recognized by their traditional incantations and supernatural power.<sup>29</sup> Shortly speaking, both of *pananyaan* and *ajengan* are mainly representing two distinct dimensions; “religious cult” and “magical cult”.

Above all, the accentuation of *ajengan* was all about Islamic priesthood and indoctrination of its teachings. However, – still based on Mustapa’s 19<sup>th</sup> reports – the measurement was eventually determined by the nature of Sundanese mindset which is shaped by occultism. The double roles (religious & magical) were possessed by an *ajengan* has gained more popularity.<sup>30</sup> Here the emergence of *ahli hikmah* (magical cult), an Islamic term which indirectly representing the Arabic occultism, has found its momentum in shaping the later direction of *pananyaan*.

*Ahli hikmah* – as shown by Kawalu people – has been identical to those who expert in Islamic occultism, which is differ from that of *ajengan* in many ways. The ancient usage of the Arabic “*hikmah*” which refers to “wisdom”, lent itself to the evolution of its meaning; science, philosophy, and the others.<sup>31</sup> However, people of Kawalu simply conceive this word in the occult term as “Islamic supernatural knowledge”. This sense of meaning most likely has its legacy from some Arabic “occult” books which are studied in pesantren. We should mention, particularly, al-Buny’s *Manba’ Uṣūl al-Hikmah* from 13<sup>th</sup> century AD – one of the major *hikmah* book for advanced student in many pesantren in Tasikmalaya, in addition to *Khazinat al-Asrar*, *al-Auḡaq*, *Syams al-Ma’ārif*, *Tāj al-Mulūk*, etc. – as one of some determinations which are responsible for shaping such meaning for *hikmah*.<sup>32</sup>

*Ahli hikmah* henceforth became part of *pananyaan*’s large family and contributed as one of major determinant element. Thus, the origination of the lately established *ahli hikmah* were creatively took part. The previous “exorcist” and “occult” stuffs like *menyan* (incense derived from gum benzoin), hand-made doll (*puputrian*), lemongrass, *panglay*, *jaringau*, and the others were slowly replaced by Islamic stuff, especially the water (*cai*). Concerning spiritism, the “invoked spirit” has also Islamized; the traditional *pananyaan*

invoked (*nyambat*) the “local” spirits, whereas *ahli hikmah* invoked the spirit of Islamic saints or simply recitated some special prayers.

One of the most representative one in the fine grain of the Islamization of Sunda region was the creative hybrid in the “magical spells” used by *pananyaan* and the other “reconciliatory practices”. As *ahli hikmah* were accepted as the new member of the family, there were synthetic moments when Islamic teachings and local genius interact each other.

### C. Tracing Some Reconciliatory Moments

In this section, the scope of discussion will be limited to three *pananyaan* who live in a same village (Kawalu). Although each one has his own style, these three have represented the different fashion and generally stood for the three major classification of *pananyaan*, especially in Tasikmalaya region. The three people are Wa Enji Samji (75), A Anwar (43), and especially Ki Ade Atis (66) who represents the most “synthetic” figure. They already have their own “patients” who come from all over West Java.

#### 1. Islamic “Spiritism”

Spiritism, or communing with spirits and summoning the souls of the dead to hold converse with the living goes back to very far in the annals of human race,<sup>33</sup> especially related to shamanic world. As asserted by Christina Pratt, The shaman uses specific practices or “sacred technologies” to enter into a narrow range of altered states of consciousness. This particular range has certain qualities that allow the shaman to work in partnership with the helping spirits. These trance states are essential and fundamental for shamanic work. They enable the shaman to forge, maintain, and utilize the working relationship with spirit. The partnership between the shaman and the spirits, whether in the physical or spiritual realm, generates the power for shamanic healing and ritual.<sup>34</sup>

This state of ecstasy can also be found in Wa Enji, who is the oldest *pananyaan* among these three. In this case, he used the method of *nyambat/ngamat* or invoking spirits and let them possesses his body until he is in a trance before holding a conversation with the client concerning the problems. It has obviously reflected a continuation of previous traditional shamanic practices that widely used in Sundanese region. It has been well-

known that one of most remarkable Sundanese shamanic feature from long time was invoking ancestral spirit which is called "*elmu pamacan*". Those who possess such ability, believe that the spirit of certain ancestors were transformed into the totemic tiger souls (*macan/maung*) which domiciled in *Sancang* forest in South region of Garut and henceforth become the vassals of *Prabu Siliwangi*, the most famous King of Pajajaran Kingdom. In overcoming various problems, some traditional shamans invoked certain helping spirits to generating the power in shamanic rituals.

Uniquely, in spite of using the same method (*nyambat/ngamat*), in the case of Wa Enji, the invoked spirit is not those ancestral spirits anymore. According to him, the invoked spirit is one of Islamic saints (*wali*) from North Africa region called Syeh Magribi. This has representatively reflected such mystic reconciliation between local spiritual forces on one hand and Islamic features in the other hand. It also reflected one of the earliest "acceptance" of an array of local spiritual forces as one of main characteristic of Ricklef's "mystic synthesis".

## 2. Words of Power: *Pananyaan's* Magical Spells

### a. *Puisi-Mantra: The Poetry of Power*

Native Sundanese in general, – before the advent of a "paradigm shift"<sup>35</sup> – consider some words in Sundanese language to be powerful and have the significant influences. The identification of a speaker is also important. The words, uttered by those who possess a higher social and spiritual position (elderly people, *dukun*, *pandita*, lately *pananyaan*, etc) are believed to be more powerfull. The identification reflected what Michael Johnstone refers as "low magic"<sup>36</sup> and "high magic".<sup>37</sup> These special words had originally become a "living oral-literature" of Sundanese people and generally expressed in poetical form. Confirming Patrick Dunn, every culture in the world has poetry, even cultures those do not have writings, and regard their poetry to be sacred and magical. Poetry designed to produce a magical effect is called – in English – an "incantation".<sup>38</sup>

In case of Kawalu, various local incantations are well-remembered by some elderly people and certain incantations are still in use today. In time of youth, Ni Itoh (64) – an elder in Kawalu was regularly casted the following spell (*jangjawokan*) before taking a bath while patting the water repeatedly:

*jaya aing jaya cai, jaya cai jaya aing*

(my glorious is water's glorious, water's glorious is my glorious)

She got the spells from her grandfather, Aki Sarjuki (born in late 19<sup>th</sup> century and died around 60's) and believed that the spell was casted to reach the longevity and welfare of life like the water, one of major element in life, that will exist throughout the time. These incantations, which have previously become the oral literature, are what today called as "*puisi-mantra*" in the study of Sundanese modern literature. According to Yus Rusyana, there are at least six types of *puisi-mantera*:<sup>39</sup> *asihan* (spell for gaining people's affection), *jangjawokan* (spell casted in various daily activities), *ajian* (spell for invoking supernatural powers), *singlar* (spell to expel the evil), *rajah* (spell casted when starting to build a house and the others), and *jampe* (spell for healing).

However, due to its nature as the living hereditary and the difficulty – if not impossible – to confirm the first composer, the authorship of *puisi mantra*, is rather collective as living literature across generations. The spells are not spoken in vain, but specifically used in magical behavior to bring about the desired results with supernatural forces. They are casted with the aim of mastering and using the magical powers for a purpose. In addition, there are also spells that used to harm or destroy other people, such as the spells of *tukang teluh* (witches), *pipahokan*, and *pamake*.<sup>40</sup>

#### **b. Ki Ade: The "Hybrid" Magical Spells**

As asserted by Federspiel, regarding "power" as residing in religious objects and language, the traditional shamans converged with Islam in a fragmentary way, even as they had been merged with Buddhism and Hinduism in their time. Accordingly, some shamans attempted to incorporate Islamic knowledge, symbols, and prayers as part of their practice. However, it was a specialized extraction without regard to the core meaning of the religion it self and concentrated on the use of religious terms and expressions in an attempt to draw power from their use.<sup>41</sup>

In this case, Ki Ade has numerous magical spells which are used in his shamanic practices. Some of them are poetical and fully in Sundanese language, whereas the others use various Islamic expression and Quranic verses as a supplement. With regard to the language composition, it's proper to say that all of his spells

collection are indicating the “hybrid” magical spells. The way of mixturing the spells can be divided into several “creative” ways:

### 1) Pure sundanese language with Islamic content

This kind of incantation uses Sundanese language and the Islamic content within. As the common features in *puisi-mantra*, most of them are composed in poetic form as follow:

#### ***Jampe kanyeri (spell to treat the sickness )***

<i>Simpe abdi <u>simpe Alloh</u></i>	my solitary is God's solitary
<i>Dibeulit ku <u>Baginda Ali</u></i>	enlaced by lord Ali
<i>Lebur sum-sum jadi balung</i>	marrow was melt into the bones
<i>Pariket tulang jadi lengah</i>	the arrangement of bones became strong
<i>Cahlai ku cahya Tunggal</i>	by the one and only light

The content of above-incantation is about asking the recovery from illness which is represented by the disorder of the bone's arrangement. In this case, the archetypal powers invoked in the spell are absolutely Islamic; “*simpe Alloh*” and “*baginda Ali*” (the fourth caliph of *khulafa al-rasyidun*). The point of Islamization of the content is the change of the imaginary powers which are invoked in the incantation. One of the main characteristic in the Sundanese *puisi-mantra* is the invocation of such imaginary powers. As asserted by Yus Rusyana, there are two kind of invoked spirits; the good spirits such as *Prabu Siliwangi*, *Nyi Pohaci*, –and in turn – the Islamic names; *Nabi Adam*, *Nabi Muhammad*, etc, and bad spirits; *Dedemit Sipatahunan*, *Ratu Teluh ti Galunggung*, etc.<sup>42</sup>

### 2) Mixture of Sundanese language & Arabic expressions

Before starting a long trip, Ki Ade used to repeatedly casted the following spell:

<b><i>Jangjawokan sasabaan (spell for long trip)</i></b>	
<u><i>Bismillahirrohmanirrohim</i></u>	in the name of Allah

<i>Indit abdi jeung Kanjeng Nabi Ibrohim</i>	i'm going with prophet Ibrahim
<i>Leumpang abdi</i>	i'm walking ...
<i>jeung Kanjeng Nabi Muhammad</i>	with prophet Muhammad
<i>Dipayungan abdi ku Gusti Alloh</i>	i'm sheltered by Allah
<i>Dudu pujiningsun</i>	it is not my commendation
<i>pujine Kanjeng Sinuhun Yahu</i>	it is for his excellency ...
<i>Nu ngadeg di Gunung Jati</i>	who is dwelled in Gunung Jati
<i>Anggala cahyaning hurip ..</i>	as the light of the prosperity
<u><i>La ilaha illalloh ..</i></u>	There is no God but Allah

The composition of the spell consists of the compound expression of Sundanese language and Arabic expression. It is started by one of the the most common expression in Islamic tradition, namely the opener of the Qur'an (*basmalah*) and closed by the witnesseth of *tauhid* (oneness of God). Apart from this Islamic confession, the spell has also asserted another symbol concerning the totemic figure. The phrase "*nu ngadeg di Gunung Jati*" (who dwelled in *Gunung Jati*) seems to make a reference to Sunan Gunung Jati, one of the Nine Saints in Java (*Wali Songo*) who spread Islam in West Java region.

### 3) Mixture of Sundanese language & special Qur'anic verses

As mentioned earlier, in addition to the so-called "white magic" that widely practised by *pananyaan*, it is true that there were people who were practicing the so-called black art by weaving malevolent spells which then widely known as the "black magic". There are also spells that used to harm other people, such as the spells of *tukang teluh* or *sihir* (witches, withcraft).

In the context of the intersection between *pananyaan*'s magical spells and Islamic account, there is such unique interpretation concerning "the malevolent spells" and "the black

magic". According to Ki Ade, the nature of all of magical sciences has actually a neutral status. Due to the absence of clear standard between "white" and "black" spells, the measurement is eventually back to the intention (*pamaksadan*) of the spell caster. In this case, the emergence of the "black" Quranic incantations can be explained. There are some Islamic expressions and Quranic verses that used as supplements for the "malovelent" spell to harm people. To the contrary, there are also several withcraft practices which actually have a good purpose.

This kind of "paradoxal" incantation also become one of Ki Ade's spells repository. The following spell is casted to taking over people; either to do bad thing or the good purpose:

### Spell to taking over people, either to harm or something else

<u>Munirun</u> ..	illuminating ...
<u>Basyirun</u> .. <u>Nadzirun</u> ..	giving good news ...
	warning people
<u>Hadarol maut, pakola lahum mutu</u>	in fear of death, God said to them: Die!
<i>Dina arah-arah opat jihat</i>	on the four directions
<i>Malaikat Jibril, Mikail</i>	angel <i>Jibril, Mikail,</i>
<i>Isrofil, Izra'il</i>	<i>Israfil</i> and <i>Izrail</i>
<i>Robbi Gusti, Abdi Gusti</i>	o my Lord,
<i>Nyanggakeun si ...</i>	i hand over (name of targeted person)
<i>La ilaha Illaloh</i>	there is no God but Allah

In above magical spell, the special pieces of Qur'anic verses are used as supplement for the "black" incantation. Moreover, the Islamic portion seems to dominate all the spells composition. The spell is opened by three separated words (*munir, basyir, nadzir*) which is seemingly reflected *Q.S. al-Ahzab: 45-46*. The next section was clearly referred to *QS. al-Baqarah: 243*. The chosen pieces is the "cruel" phrase; *in fear of death, God said to them: Die!* This has indicated the consciousness of the suitability of the meaning.

#### 4) The “sundanized” Qur’anic verse

The last way of mixturing the spell is linguistically the most syncretic and complicated one. As shown in the following *singlar surat an-nas*, the spell maker has “sundanized” the Qur’anic pieces both in the word and meaning:

##### **The Original QS. al-Nas**

*Qul a'ūzu birobbinnās*      say, i seek refuge with the Lord of  
people

*Malikinnās*      the King of people (Arabic)

##### **Singlar Surat an-Nās**

*Kul a'udu birobbinnās*      say, i seek refuge with the Lord of  
people

*Malik .. !*      back ! (turned into Sundanese)

This spell is known as the high-level *singlar* (spell to expel the evil) and *pamulang* (spell to remove and return another magical power). The word “*malik*” in “*malikinnas*” verse, which is originally Arabic, means “the king”. Due to the exact phonetic similarity, the Arabic *malik* turned into Sundanese “*malik*”, which is the imperative word of “back”. First and foremost, this domesticated spell is casted to remove and return another magical power, especially the black magic such as *teluh* (witchcraft). By casting the spell, all of black magic will be returned to the sender and all of magical power will be removed and returned to its origin. Besides, the spell is also known as the “repellent” of *aji halimun* (spells to be invisible of the eye-sight), to turn the user back to be visible.

#### c. Why are The Words Powerfull?

First and foremost, the occult practices as shown by *pananyaan* involved such “mediumistic phenomena”. In this case, they believed in natural relation between word and world. The wedding of both has ultimately brought something into being. Linguists such as J.L. Austin, classified the “verbal act” like those above-magical spells as *performative utterances* which is a part of doing something.<sup>43</sup> It is a phrase that doing something and makes some changes of the world at the moment of its being said. It is not a report of an event, but the event itself.<sup>44</sup>

The search for how magical spells work is still enigmatic. Confirming Mudge, the influence of subconscious forces stimulated by suggestion is the main forces for all occultists and those who believe in them.<sup>45</sup> Performative utterances are therefore said to have “illocutionary force”, which simply means that the power of the words is not in its interpretation or its being that carried out by another person, but in the words themselves.<sup>46</sup>

For that reason, many *pananyaan* including Ki Ade are not possessed a proper knowledge about the science of Arabic phonology (*makharijul huruf*). According to original Arabic pattern, most of *pananyaan*'s Arabic speeches might be totally wrong. But the case seems to be different, due to the arbitrary aspect of word. In the context of the meeting of diverse cultures, it is a collection of sounds upon which people have all agreed to refer to certain object or idea. In magical spells, *pananyaan* make a link between word and idea.

Based on Ki Ade's explanation, what called “the subconscious forces stimulated by suggestion” – in Mudge's term – is equivalently comparable to the faith (*kayakinan*) or the attitude of expectancy. It is true that the spell's composition is ultimately very important in making the efficacy, but above all, he stated that all of magical spells, whether it is Arabic (*amalan*), Sundanese, Javanese, or even Indian-Sanskrit incantation, are mainly depend on the faith (*kayakinan*) and the qualified power possessed by the casters. He stated that sometimes, the result of *amalan* or Arabic spells is not better than the efficacy of local incantations due to the unqualified caster.

#### **d. A Anwar: The Origination of New Direction?**

The case of A Anwar, who is the youngest one among these three, no traditional incantations are to be found. Moreover, the previous shamanic features such as invoking spirits had already been abandoned. The practices, however, have generally become Islamic. He leads a *majelis dzikir* held at home and uses the special Islamic prayers for the purpose of his practices in overcoming various problems brought to him. In a sense, he is more to *ahli hikmah* and *ajengan* rather than traditional shaman. Nevertheless, it still defend its local identity, beside water (*cai*) as the main device, some kind of herbs are still used for healing some diseases and the “exorcism” practices, for example, is quite distinct from that of

*ruqyah* method, which is represented the so-called prophetic and “pure” Islamic practice in the prespective of puritanist muslims.

#### D. Closing Remarks: The Ongoing “Mystic Syntesis”

In sequence, A Anwar (43) is the youngest one among the three, whereas Wa Enji (75) is the oldest and Ki Ade (66) on the middle position. Not only reflecting the age, it is also representing the cultural progress of *pananyaan* as living phenomena. In the case of both Wa Enji and Ki Ade, the intersection was interchangeably more “syncretic” For “puritanist muslim”, the invoking spirits and some “hybrid” magical spells are representing the ambiguity in the standard of “muslim identity”. However, the synthetic moment has necessarily been a part of the acculturation, as well as the “rejection” stage.

With the advent of modern medical knowledge and techniques offering effective cures, along with education that stressed a “rational world”, the usefulness of the shaman declined.<sup>47</sup> It is true that the occult practices as widely used in 19<sup>th</sup> century was slowly abandoned and the clear distinction between rational and irrational has already been established. However, in the case of Kawalu and rural Sundanese in general, the living phenomena of *pananyaan* has represented the very nature of Sundanese way of life. In addition to modern devices, the role of *pananyaan* for healing and other purposes still remains relevant. In Sundanese medical nomenclature for example, the word “*kampung*” (literary means village) refers to *pananyaan* or *ajengan* as “alternative” healer aside from doctor.

Within Islam, the modernist Muslim began to “purify” religion and shun those practices connected with animism in particular, and shamans became a target of their preaching.<sup>48</sup> Along with the wave of modernity, this direction and movement seem to come on the scene. There are some reason to describe this preference and trend direction. First and foremost, the role of Islamic institution is obviously took part. In this case, another representative person, Ajengan Akik (60) should be mentioned as the Islamic propagator (*da'i*) who held the public Islamic teaching (*pangaosan* and massive Qur'anic teaching) in Kawalu started since c. 1980. The ongoing Islamic preaching held by Mang Akik has ultimately shaped a new direction of *pananyaan*. In the case of A Anwar, the new kind of muslim *pananyaan* has just emerged.

Nevertheless, in case of Kawalu, which represented the “traditionalist” muslim, the existence of *pananyaan* still represented the reconciliatory phenomenon without the presence such clash of culture and each one went their track.

However, it seem perfectly clear that the legacy of “mystic synthesis” is continue to live as represented by the living phenomena of *pananyaan* and its manifest depelovement across generation. Although the distinction between rational-irrational and explainable-unexplainable, as the ultimate result of modernity, has already been established in the mind of Sundanese people, however, the need for the sacred and “other-worldly” forces still has a special place in their mind.

## Endnotes:

---

<sup>1</sup> As stated by Julian P. Millieu, one of the neglected area in the study of Islamization in the archipelago is the absence of local context. They are represented without situating them in any dimension of lived experience. See Jajang A. Rohmana, “Sundanese Sufi Literature and Local Islamic Identity: A Contribution of Haji Hasan Mustapa’s *Dangding*”, in *Journal al-Jami’ah*, vol. 50, no. 2, p. 308

<sup>2</sup> See M. C. Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese Society: Islamic and Other Visions (c. 1830- 1930)*, (Singapore: NUS Press, 2007), p. 3

<sup>3</sup> M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, (Palgrave, 2001), p. 6

<sup>4</sup> See M. C. Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese Society*, ..., p. 3

<sup>5</sup> The intensification of Islam in Sunda region begun after the fall of Sunda Kingdom in 1579. The sultanates of Cirebon, Banten, and Mataram played the key roles in this process of Islamization. Between 1521 and 1705, the influence of Javanese culture flows into Sundanese region along with the massive Islamization. See Iip D Yahya, “Dari Galunggung ke Tasikmalaya”, in *Historia Soekapoera*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2013, p. 10

<sup>6</sup> The term “occult” remains suspect in many circles. Occultism stands for (1) the area of human experience (now called extrasensory perception or ESP) that goes beyond five sense, (2) the philosophical conclusions drawn from consideration of such experiences, and (3) social structures created by people who have had extrasensory experiences, who attempt to produce and cultivate them, and who believe in their vital significance for human life. See J. Gordon Melton, “Introduction”, in J. Gordon Melton (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Occultism and Parapsychology*, (New York: Gale Group, 2001), p. vii

<sup>7</sup> According to James Spradley, ethnography is the work of describing a culture. The central aim of ethnography is to understand another way of life from

---

the native point of view. See James P. Spradley, *Participant Observation*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Wilson, 1980). p. 3

<sup>8</sup> The mapping of Sundanese local culture can be hypothetically divided into four major variants: (1) *Sunda Buhun* (*Sunda Wiwitan*, *Kanekes*) people, who still exclusively hold the Sundanese primordial way of life in South Banten and Sukabumi. (2) *Sunda Priangan* or *Parahyangan* culture which has been influenced by Javanese-Mataram Sultan Agung culture, including the region of Bandung, Cianjur, Sumedang, Garut, Tasikmalaya and Ciamis. (3) *Sunda Pakaleran* which has spread over Karawang and Subang. (4) The culture of *Pakidulan* (the southernmost part throughout Sunda region). Jakob Soemarjo, *Simbol-Simbol Artefak Budaya Sunda*, (Bandung: Kelir, 2003), p. 301-302

<sup>9</sup> A city in southeastern part of West Java, Indonesia. The city was previously a part of Tasikmalaya regency (*kabupaten Tasikmalaya*). The history of Tasikmalaya goes back to Galunggung as one of the spiritual centre of Sundanese Kingdom before Pajajaran era with Queen Batari Hyang (12th century) as the sacred figure. After the intensification of Islam in Sunda region, the center was moved to Pamijahan with Syekh Abdul Muhyi (17th century) as the sacred saint. Afterwards, the Islamic centre spread out over the pesantrens. See Iip D. Yahya, "Dari Galunggung ke Tasikmalaya", in *Historia Soekapoera...*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 8

<sup>10</sup> Tasikmalaya people recognise several places as being the most occult, comparing to the others, such as Kawalu, Pancatengah, villages located nearby mount Galunggung (Singaparna, Cigalontang, Cihanjuang, etc.), and villages in southernmost part of Tasikmalaya (*urang kidul*), such as Pamijahan, Karangnunggal, Cikalong, etc.

<sup>11</sup> R. Satjadibrata, *Kamus Basa Sunda*, (Jakarta: Kiblat, 2005), p. 382

<sup>12</sup> R. Satjadibrata, *Kamus Basa Sunda*, ..., p. 382, Lembaga Basa dan Sastra Sunda, *Kamus Umum Basa Sunda*, (Bandung: Tarate, 1975), p. 54

<sup>13</sup> Atja and Saleh Danasasmita, *Sanghyang Siskandang Karesian; Naskah Sunda Kuno 1518 Masehi*, ..., p. 13, 39

<sup>14</sup> Atja and Saleh Danasasmita, *Sanghyang Siskandang Karesian; Naskah Sunda Kuno 1518 Masehi*, ..., p. 13, 39

<sup>15</sup> Atja and Saleh Danasasmita, *Sanghyang Siskandang Karesian; Naskah Sunda Kuno 1518 Masehi*, ..., p. 13-, 39-43

<sup>16</sup> In 1913, Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930), a renown Sundanese poet and native aristocrat. has published a book which originated from his research on Sundanese cultures in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This book has been translated into Indonesian in 1998. R.H. Hasan Mustapa, *Adat Istiadat Sunda*, trans. M. Astrawijaya, (Bandung: Penerbit Alumnii, 1998)

<sup>17</sup> Lembaga Basa & Sastra Sunda, *Kamus Umum Basa Sunda*, ..., p. 54

<sup>18</sup> Based on Astrawijaya's translate, the Indonesian version of the Mustapa's statement is "tempat bertanya"/"place to ask" (*tempat tatanya*). Meanwhile, i haven't been able to find the original Sundanese version. It doesn't rule out the possibility that Mustapa used the word *pananyaan* when identifying these group of people. R.H. Hasan Mustapa, *Adat Istiadat Sunda*, trans. M. Astrawijaya, ..., p. 177

---

<sup>19</sup> R.H. Hasan Mustapa, *Adat Istiadat Sunda*, trans. M. Astrawijaya, ..., p. 177

<sup>20</sup> Donald M. Borchert (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (Farmington: Thomson Gale, 2006), vol. 8, p. 710

<sup>21</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Knowledge and The Sacred*, (New York: New York University Press, 1989), p. 124

<sup>22</sup> Today shamans who help people with professional concern involving careers, succes, and recognition, while in the past, their primary role was healing and hunting. Christina Pratt, *Encyclopedia of Shamanism*, (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group Inc., 2007), vol. 2, p. xv

<sup>23</sup> Since the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and especially in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>, sufism which represented the Islamic esotericism has always played important role in the history, religion and culture of the archipelago. The mentality of sufi proved to be the most compatible to the mentality of the people in that Malay-Indonesia world. The spirit of tolerance that was common in schools of of Ibn Arabi for example, provided the easier way for the Islamization of the archipelago. It doesn't mean to deflect major religious doctrines, but rather considering for such traditional symbols which was common to the native listeners. See V.I. Braginsky, *Tasawuf dan Sastera Melayu: Kajian Teks-Teks*, (Jakarta: RUL, 1993), p. xi-xii

<sup>24</sup> As preffered by Christina Pratt, shamanism – relating to religion – is a “practical” application of the potential in mystical states of ecstasy. Traditionally, the shaman was available to meet the healing needs of individuals and gained information from the spirit world through divination. See Christina Pratt, *Encyclopedia of Shamanism*, ..., vol. 2, p. xii

<sup>25</sup> Howard M. Federspiel, *Sultans, Shamans, and Saints; Islam and Muslims in Southeast Asia*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai Press, 2007), p. 69-70

<sup>26</sup> R.H. Hasan Mustapa, *Adat Istiadat Sunda*, trans. M. Astrawijaya, ..., p. 180

<sup>27</sup> Both *dukun* and *panyebor* for example, are similarly used magical formulas and local incantations. However, the *dukun* was recognized by their special ability to invoke the ancestral spirits, either good or bad, and gained the otherworldly informations from them.

<sup>28</sup> R.H. Hasan Mustapa, *Adat Istiadat Sunda*, trans. M. Astrawijaya, ..., p.180

<sup>29</sup> R.H. Hasan Mustapa, *Adat Istiadat Sunda*, trans. M. Astrawijaya, ..., p. 180

<sup>30</sup> In this moment of substitution, the Arabic occultism began to flow into Sundanese speaking area – especially through the hand of Javanese – and creatively grasped by Sundanese muslim. The popular example for this acculturation is the emergence of “*aji saepi*” (*saepi angin, banyu, geni*, etc.), “*aji kulhu*” (*kulhu geni, kulhu derga agung, kulhu sungsang*, etc), “*hijib*” (*hijib nawawi, syadzili, akbar*, etc.), and “*hirz*” (*hirz yamani*, etc.) which are considered as high-level Islamic supernatural powers possessed by *ajengan* which originated from muslim saints (*auliya*). According to Mustapa, those who posseses such knowledge, had gained more popularity (*masyhur*) among rural

Sundanese at that time. See R.H. Hasan Mustapa, *Adat Istiadat Sunda*, trans. Maryati Astrawijaya, ..., p. 215

<sup>31</sup> A. M. Goichon, "Hikma", in B. Lewis, et al. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Islam*, (Leiden: Brill, 1986), vol. 3, p. 377

<sup>32</sup> The title itself is reflecting the framework of occultism; *The Source of Hikmah; major four treatises on 'ilm al-hikmah concerning the science of the secret of letters (al-'ulūm al-ḥarfīyyah), telestomology (al-wifqīyyah), special prayers (al-da'awat), and the others.*

<sup>33</sup> Spiritism is the science of spirit in all its phases. It implies the science of all things of spirit. It has a copious literature punctuated by such startling terms as "telopsis", "telepathy", "teloteropathy", "zoo-magnetic forces", "telekensis", and many other fine words invented by many psychical researchers. Dean W. R. Harris, *Essays in Occultism, Spiritism and Demonology*, (London: B. Herder Book co. 1919), p. 106

<sup>34</sup> Christina Pratt, *Encyclopedia of Shamanism*, ..., vol. 2, p. xxxiv

<sup>35</sup> A lately paradigm in which the occult beliefs, especially regarding the use of local "incantation", were henceforth generally left behind. Although it's too difficult to demarcate, based on my field informations, in case of Kawalu for example, i prefer 50's until 70's as the last period of the occult belief. Nowadays, with *kampung adat* and certain people (elder, *pananyaan*, *paraji*, etc.) as the exception, local incantation is not used anymore in daily life

<sup>36</sup> Sometimes called "natural magic". It was widely practiced in the Middle Age, and still in some parts of the world. It combines the arts of withcraft, spellcraft, hexcraft, which utilize herbs, amulets, and other simple objects along with incantations to bring about the desired results. Michael Johnstone, *The Ultimate Encyclopedia of Spell*, (London: Capella, 2006), p. 27

<sup>37</sup> Performed to bring about union with the divine. The powers of nature, conceived of as being either angelic or satanic, are controlled in conjunction with spirits, using words and the names of sacred gods. Michael Johnstone, *The Ultimate Encyclopedia of Spell*, ..., p. 27

<sup>38</sup> Patrick Dunn, *Magic, Power, Language, Symbol: A Magician's Exploration on Linguistic*, (Minnesota: Llewellyn Publication, 2008), p. 47

<sup>39</sup> Yus Rusyana, et al. *Ensiklopedi Sastra Sunda*, (Jakarta: Depdikbud, 1997), p. 3, 109

<sup>40</sup> Yus Rusyana, et al. *Ensiklopedi Sastra Sunda*, ..., p. 109

<sup>41</sup> Howard M. Federspiel, *Sultans, Shamans, and Saints; Islam and Muslims in Southeast Asia*, ..., p. 245

<sup>42</sup> Yus Rusyana, et al. *Ensiklopedi Sastra Sunda*, ..., p. 109

<sup>43</sup> Concerning the use of language, Austin distinguishes what he calls "performative" from what he calls "constative" utterance. The paradigm case of constative utterance is a descriptive utterance, or a statement. He initially identifies a constative as an utterance which states a fact and is true or false. In addition, there are utterances that grammatically constructed along the same line as a statement of a fact and yet are importantly different from such statement. The utterance is, or is part of the doing of something which wouldn't normally count as saying something. Bob Hale and Crispin Wright (ed.), *Blackwell*

---

*Companion to The Philosophy of Language*. (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publisher, 1998), p. 64

<sup>44</sup> Patrick Dunn, *Magic, Power, Language, Symbol*, ..., p. 48-49

<sup>45</sup> E. Leidgh Mudge, "Occultism: Old and New", in *The Biblical World Journal*, vol. 54, no. 3, 1920, p. 291-292

<sup>46</sup> Patrick Dunn, *Magic, Power, Language, Symbol*, ..., p. 49

<sup>47</sup> Howard M. Federspiel, *Sultans, Shamans, and Saints: Islam and Muslims in Southeast Asia*, ..., p. 245

<sup>48</sup> Howard M. Federspiel, *Sultans, Shamans, and Saints: Islam and Muslims in Southeast Asia*, ..., p. 245

## REFERENCES

- Atja and Saleh Danasasmita. *Sanghyang Siskandang Karesian; Naskah Sunda Kuno 1518 Masehi*. Bandung: Proyek Permuseuman Jawa Barat. 1981
- Borchert, Donald M. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Farmington: Thomson Gale. 2006
- Braginsky, V.I. *Tasawuf dan Sastra Melayu: Kajian Teks-Teks*. Jakarta: RUL. 1993
- al-Būny, Abū al-‘Abbās. *Manba’ Uṣūl al- Ḥikmah*. Dār al-Jīl li al-Nasyr wa al-Tauzī’. 1999
- Dunn, Patrick. *Magic, Power, Language, Symbol: A Magician's Exploration on Linguistic*. Minnesota: Llwellyn Publication. 2008
- Federspiel, Howard M. *Sultans, Shamans, and Saints; Islam and Muslims in Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawai Press. 2007
- Gunawan, Aditia. "Membaca Teks Sunda Kuna *Sanghyang Sasana Maha Guru*", paper presented in Konferensi Internasional Budaya Sunda II, Desember 2011

- 
- Hale, Bob and Crispin Wright (ed.) *Blackwell Companion to The Philosophy of Language*. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publisher. 1998
- Harris, Dean W. R. *Essays in Occultism, Spiritism and Demonology*. London: B. Herder Book co. 1919
- Johnstone, Michael. *The Ultimate Encyclopedia of Spell*. London: Capella. 2006
- Koentjaraningrat. *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Djambatan. 2005
- Lembaga Basa dan Sastra Sunda. *Kamus Umum Basa Sunda*. Bandung: Tarate. 1975
- Lewis, B. et al. (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Leiden: Brill. 1986
- Melton, J. Gordon (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Occultism and Parapsychology*. New York: Gale Group. 2001
- Mudge, E. Leidgh. "Occultism: Old and New", in *Journal of The Biblical World*. vol. 54. no. 3. 1920
- Mustapa, R.H. Hasan. *Adat Istiadat Sunda*, trans. M. Astrawijaya. Bandung: Penerbit Alumni. 1998
- Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. *Knowledge and The Sacred*. New York: State University of New York Press. 1989
- Pratt, Christina. *Encyclopedia of Shamanism*. New York: The Rosen Publishing Group Inc. 2007
- Ricklefs, M. C. *A History of Modern Indonesia*. Palgrave and Stanford University Press. 2001
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Polarising Javanese Society: Islamic and Other Visions (c. 1830-1930)*. Singapore: NUS Press. 2007
- Rohmana, Jajang A. "Memahami Al-Qur'an Dengan Kearifan Budaya Lokal", in *Journl of Qur'an and Hadits Studies*, no. 1. vol. 3. 2014
-

---

“Sundanese Sufi Literature and Local Islamic Identity: A Contribution of Haji Hasan Mustapa’s *Dangding*”, in *Journal al-Jami’ah*. vol. 50. no. 2. 2013

Rusyana, Yus. *et al. Ensiklopedi Sastra Sunda*. Jakarta: Depdikbud. 1997

Satjadibrata, R. *Kamus Basa Sunda*. Jakarta: Kiblat. 2005

Soemarjo, Jakob. *Simbol-Simbol Artefak Budaya Sunda*. Bandung: Kelir. 2003

Spradley, James P. *Participant Observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1980

Yahya, Iip D. “Dari Galunggung ke Tasikmalaya”, in *Historia Soekapoera*. vol. 1. no. 1. 2013

**Interview:**

Interview with Wa Enji Samji (75), Ki Ade (66), and A Anwar (43), Kawalu, Tasikmalaya, West Java, c. 2014-2015.

Interview with Nini Itoh, 64 years old, Kawalu, Tasikmalaya, West Java, September 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> 2015.

Interview with Aki Idin, 76 years old, Kawalu, Tasikmalaya, West Java, March 12<sup>th</sup> 2015.

Interview with Aki Amir, (1935-2015), Kawalu, Tasikmalaya, West Java, March 2014.