STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 7, Number 3, 2000

ISLAM IN INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY:
ASSESSING IMPACTS OF ISLAMIC REVIVALISM DURING THE SOEHARTO ERA
Azyumardi Azra

AL-'ARABIYYAH AND *BASA SUNDA*: IDEOLOGIES OF TRANSLATION
AND INTERPRETATION AMONG THE MUSLIMS OF WEST JAVA
Benjamin G. Zimmer

IN SEARCH OF IDENTITY:
THE CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC COMMUNITIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA
Noorhaidi Hasan

ISSN 0215-0492

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 7, no. 3, 2000

STUDIA ISLAMIKA *(ISSN 0215-0492) is a journal published quarterly by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM), IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta (STT DEPPEN No. 129/SK/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976) and sponsored by the Department of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.*

STUDIA ISLAMIKA *has been accredited by The Ministry of National Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal.*

Benjamin G. Zimmer

Al-'Arabiyyah and *Basa Sunda*: Ideologies of Translation and Interpretation among the Muslims of West Java

Abstraksi: *Dalam keyakinan orang Islam, al-Quran adalah wahyu Tuhan yang diturunkan secara literal kepada Nabi Muhammad Saw. dalam bahasa Arab. Setiap kata yang terdapat dalam al-Quran diyakini sebagai kata-kata Tuhan sendiri. Persoalannya, tidak semua orang Islam memahami bahasa Arab, yang sebenarnya menjadi prasyarat untuk dapat menangkap pesan-pesan universal al-Quran tersebut. Oleh karenanya, wajar kalau sebagian dari mereka kemudian memilih terjemahan sebagai suatu jalan keluar, meskipun hal itu menimbulkan pertanyaan baru seperti: apakah terjemahan tersebut masih bisa disebut kata-kata Tuhan? Apakah makna universal yang dikandungnya masih bisa dijamin 'keasliannya'?*

Bisa tidaknya al-Quran diterjemahkan, menjadi isu yang hangat diperdebatkan para ulama Islam. Ketidaksepakatan ini menjadi salah satu sebab penting kenapa terjemahan al-Quran ke dalam bahasa non-Arab baru muncul belakangan. Kalaupun terjemahan itu akhirnya muncul, beberapa persoalan menyeruak. Misalnya, sejauh mana bahasa al-Quran bisa 'didomestikasi' dan seberapa besar jarak antara al-Quran dan bahasa lokal tersebut bisa dijembatani? Bagaimana metodologi penafsiran lokal digunakan dalam menangkap arti al-Quran? Bagaimana kekuatan penafsiran ini didistribusikan dalam berbagai ruang dan waktu?

Artikel ini berusaha mendiskusikan pertanyaan-pertanyaan tersebut de ngan memilih basa *Sunda sebagai studi kasus. Paling tidak ada dua pertimbangan penting atas pilihan bahasa Sunda ini. Pertama, karena selama ini bahasa Sunda belum mendapat perhatian yang memadai dalam kajian (pulau) Jawa, dan kedua, karena suku Sunda memiliki alur sejarah tersendiri yang berbeda dengan suku lainnya yang ada di Jawa.*

*Salah satu asumsi dasar artikel ini adalah bahwa bahasa tidak pernah lahir dari, dan tidak pernah masuk ke, wilayah kosong (*vacuum*). Di balik*

*bahasa selalu ada muatan ideologis, yang merupakan produk dari masyarakat pemakainya. Ketika dua bahasa saling bertemu, pertemuan dua ideologi pun terjadi. Terjemahan, dan juga interpretasi, merupakan salah satu medium di mana dua ideologi saling memasuki. Dalam proses saling memberi penjelasan antarbahasa (*cross-linguistic "interillumination*) inilah bahasa Arab memasuki bahasa Sunda dan demikian pula sebaliknya.*

*Meminjam kerangka yang dikemukakan oleh Charles Ferguson, penulis artikel ini menjelaskan dinamika internal bahasa Arab, bagaimana bahasa Arab fasih (*fuṣḥâ*) yang menjadi bahasa al-Qur'an berhadapan dengan bahasa Arab umum (*'âmiyah*), bahasa yang dipakai kebanyakan masyarakat. Sebagai bahasa yang lebih baik, lebih indah, lebih pas untuk mengemukakan fikiran-fikiran penting, bahasa Arab fasih memiliki kekuatan ideologi lebih besar dan, karena itu —apalagi dengan al-Quran di baliknya—menempatkan bahasa Arab umum dalam posisi lemah.Ketika al-Quran, dengan bahasa Arab fasihnya, memasuki masyarakat non- Arab, posisi bahasa Arab umum digantikan oleh posisi bahasa lokal sebagai fihak yang diintervensi. Sebagai halnya dengan bahasa Arab umum, bahasa lokal dianggap lebih rendah dan, karena itu, tidak bisa dipakai untuk memuat kebenaran wahyu.*

Yang lebih kompleks lagi, dalam kasus Jawa, bahasa Arab bukanlah kekuatan bahasa asing pertama yang memasuki pulau ini. Sejak milenium pertama Masehi, bahasa Sanskrit sudah terlebih dahulu tersebar. Orang-orang Jawa, bahkan akhirnya orang-orang Sunda, mengidentikkan bahasa ini dengan kemajuan dan ketinggian budaya. Bahasa lokal mereka dikembangkan dengan menggunakan Sanskrit sebagai bahasa ideal. Ketika bahasa Arab al-Quran memasuki Jawa, dia harus berhadapan dengan realitas ini.

Alasan ini pula, antara lain, yang menyebabkan gerakan terjemahan —khutbah dan kajian tafsir— berjalan tersendat di masyarakat Sunda. Walaupun pada tahun 1920-an khutbah-khutbah di Jawa Tengah dan Jawa Timur sudah ada yang disampaikan dalam bahasa Jawa, di Jawa Barat ada semacam kesepakatan di kalangan penghulu untuk tetap menggunakan bahasa Arab. Baru pada pertengahan abad ke-20 peta ini berubah banyak.

Pada abad ke-19, kajian al-Quran di pesantren-pesantren berbahasa Sunda umumnya disampaikan melalui bahasa Jawa. Selain karena keinginan untuk mempertahankan tradisi Wali Songo dan memelihara barakah, bahasa Jawa masih dipakai karena bahasa ini, menurut orang Sunda yang menggunakannya, relatif lebih mudah untuk hafalan.

Selain menggambarkan kompleksitas tarik-menarik antara bahasa Jawa dan Sunda vis-à-vis *al-Quran, artikel ini juga berusaha menjelaskan realitas lain yang ada di baliknya, seperti ideologi, pembebasan diri dari dominasi, dan penegakkan jati diri.*

Benjamin G. Zimmer

Al-'Arabiyyah and *Basa Sunda*: Ideologies of Translation and Interpretation among the Muslims of West Java

خلاصة: من البديهيات لدى كل مسلم أن القرآن الكريم وحي إلهي أنزل بنصه العربي على محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم، وكل حرف في القرآن من كلام الله، والمشكلة أنه ليس كل مسلم يستطيع أن يفهم اللغة العربية وهي شرط أساسي لفهم القرآن واستيعاب هدايته، ولذلك كان من الطبيعي أن يلجأ بعض المسلمين إلى الترجمة، على الرغم مما يكتنف ذلك من سؤال جديد مفاده هل الترجمة مازالت تحتفظ بالوضع الإلهي للقرآن من حيث كونه كلام الله؟ وهل بقيت المعاني المأخوذة من الترجمة محتفظة بأصالتها؟

لقد كانت قضية جواز ترجمة القرآن وعدمه مثار جدل بين العلماء، وكان الاختلاف في ذلك السبب الرئيسي الكامن وراء ترجمة القرآن إلى لغة غير عربية يأتي متأخرا، بل إنه حتى في ظهور الترجمة نفسها أسئلة كثيرة منها إلى أي مدى يمكن "إخضاع" القرآن إلى لغة محلية وكيف يمكن التقليل من المسافة بين القرآن نفسه وهذه اللغات المحلية، وما هو منهج التفسير الذي يمكن استخدامه محليا لاستيعاب معاني القرآن؟ وإلى أي مدى كان هذا التفسير صالحا من حيث الزمان والمكان؟

تحاول هذه المقالة أن تناقش تلك الأسئلة من خلال دراسة موضوع اللغة السندوية (Sunda) ؛ وهناك عاملان على الأقل لهذا الاختيار:

أولهما لأن اللغة السندوية لم تلق من اهتمام الباحثين في جاوه ما تستحقه؛

وثانيهما أن قبيلة السندا لها مسار تاريخي فريد يختلف عن القبائل الأخرى في جاوه؛ وخير مثال على ذلك أن الالتزام الإسلامي بجاوه الغربية أقوى مما في المناطق الأخرى،

فليس من المناسب تطبيق نظرية جيرتز (Geertz) التي تقسم المسلمين إلى المسلمين بالالتزام (Santri) والمسلمين بالاسم فقط (Abangan) في جاوه الغربية.

وكان الافتراض الرئيسي لهذا البحث هو أن اللغة أية لغة لم تكن تنشأ عن ولا تندمج في فراغ، فوراء اللغة تكمن دائما أبعاد إيديولوجية من إنتاج المجتمع الذي يؤيدها، فمهما التقت لغتان فلا يمكن تجنب التقاء إيديولوجيتين، فالترجمة والتفسير كذلك وسيلة تتداخل فيها بين الإيديولوجيتين، وفي سبيل هذا التبيين بين اللغتين بعضها بعضا دخلت اللغة العربية في اللغة السندوية وبالعكس.

وعلى حد تعبير شارلس فيرغسون (Charles Ferguson) يوضح صاحب المقالة ديناميكية اللغة العربية، كيف أصبحت اللغة العربية الفصحى لغة القرآن التي تواجه اللغة العامية التي يستخدمها أكثر العوام؛ ولكونها لغة أفضل وأجمل وأليق بعرض الأفكار الهامة فإن للغة العربية الفصحى إمكانية أن تحمل إيديولوجية أكبر، ولذلك فإنها —علاوة على ما لها من فضل القرآن— تضع اللغة العامية في مكان أقل أهمية.

وعندما دخل القرآن بلغته العربية الفصحى في مجتمع غير عربي تبدلت مكانة اللغة العامية باللغة المحلية، وهي لكونها في مستوى اللغة العامية فهي أقل شأنا وفي مكانة أدنى لا يجوز استخدمها لحمل حقائق الوحي الإلهي.

ويزيد الأمر تعقيدا أن اللغة العربية ليس هي اللغة الأجنبية الأولى التي دخلت جزيرة جاوه، فقد انتشرت اللغة السنسكرتية وهي تعني لغة الإله من الهند في هذه الجزيرة منذ القرن الأول المسيحي، وكان الجاويون والسندويون كذلك ينظرون إليها نظرة تقدم.

وهذا التعقيد نفسه هو الذي يكون سببا في تأخر حركة الترجمة —في خطب الجمعة وتفسير القرآن. ومن الملاحظ أنه بالرغم من أن الخطب بجاوى الوسطى وجاوى الشرقية في عام العشرينات ملقاة باللغة الجاوية إلا أن رجالهم وعلمائهم اتفقوا على إلقائها باللغة العربية. وتحول هذا الوضع في وسط العشرين.

وفي القرن التاسع عشر كانت الدراسات القرآنية في المعاهد التراثية السندوية تعرض باللغة الجاوية. إضافة إلى الرغبة في المحافظة على نظام الأولياء التسعة (Wali Songo) والتبرك به، فإن بقاء اللغة الجاوية مستخدمة في التعليم كان لسبب كونها طبقا للسندويين الذين يستخدمونها أسلس في التعليم وأسهل في الحفظ.

وبالاضافة إلى عرضها للتفاعل المعقد بين اللغة الجاوية والسندوية من ناحية في مواجهة القرآن من ناحية أخرى فإن هذه المقالة تحاول أن تكشف النقاب أيضا عن الحقائق الأخرى الكامنة وراءها مثل الايديولوجية والتحرير النفسي من الهيمنة وإثبات الذات.

> How can I love a doctrine which I do not know—may never know? The Koran is too holy to be translated into any language whatever. Here no one speaks Arabic. It is customary to read from the Koran; but what is read no one understands! To me it is a silly thing to be obliged to read something without being able to understand it.... If I wished to know and understand our religion, I should have to go to Arabia to learn the language.[2]

So writes Indonesia's pioneering emancipationist Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879-1904) as part of her famous turn-of-the-century correspondence to friends in the Netherlands. In another letter she tersely sums up her discontent with how Qur'ânic Arabic is taught in her native Java: "God—Allah—was for us a name—a word—a sound without meaning."[3] Kartini's observations are potent, especially in the context of her broader critique of the repressive social constraints among the elite Javanese *priyayi* of the late-colonial era, though in the final years of her short life she would embrace the teachings of the Qur'ân as a source of illumination in her struggle "from darkness to light."[4] Her initially dismissive attitude towards the depth of Arabic learning on Java would later be echoed by Clifford Geertz in his influential ethnography *The Religion of Java*, where he states that many of the Islamic students known as *santri* "learn to chant with great skill and artistry a beautiful language of which they have no comprehension."[5] But contrary to the claims of both Kartini and Geertz, for many centuries large numbers of *santri* in Java have approached the study of Arabic texts and their meanings with the utmost seriousness. Even among those who have not been able to "go to Arabia to learn the language" in Kartini's words, scriptural appreciation has not necessarily been limited to rote memorization and recitation. Islamic educational institutions in Java — particularly *pesantren* (traditional boarding schools) and *madrasah* (religious schools organized around a Westernized, usually state-sponsored, curriculum) — have placed enormous emphasis on the interpretive work of *tafsîr*, which involves meticulous exegesis of passages and lexical items from the Qur'ân and *ḥadîth*.[6] Though rote memorization is indeed a central element of Islamic education on Java, beginning with young children's elementary courses in *pengajian* (Qur'ânic training),[7] it is safe to say that many of Java's *santri* have historically achieved far greater comprehension in Arabic than, for instance, the Mus-

lims of Kalaodi, Tidore in eastern Indonesia, where James Baker finds only "literacy in the absence of comprehension."[8]

Kartini's view is not entirely misleading, however. The Qur'ân is indeed seen on Java as essentially untranslatable, following the cardinal injunction in many parts of the non-Arabophone Islamic world that the Qur'ân receives only interpretations in other languages, never translations, as only Arabic can completely express the revealed word of God. But rather than precluding the possibility of Arabic comprehensibility in the face of "sounds without meanings," the doctrine of Qur'ânic untranslatability raises new questions for scholars of Islamic discourse in non-Arab lands. First, to what extent does the localization and interpretation of Arabic allow the language of the Qur'ân to become "domesticated," and to what extent does it remain distant? Second, how have local interpretive methods of metalinguistic "glossing" been employed to explicate Qur'ânic Arabic word-by-word, phrase-by-phrase, or *ayat*-by-*ayat*? And lastly, how has this exegetic power been socially distributed in local hierarchies at different historical junctures and in different cultural milieux?

In this article I reflect on these questions as they relate to the Sundanese-speaking population of western Java, Indonesia's second largest ethnic group. "Sundaneseness" is to a great extent defined by vernacular usage of the local language, *basa Sunda*, which is related to but distinct from Javanese, Indonesian, and the other Austronesian languages of the region. Speakers of Sundanese currently number more than 30 million, rivaling the populations of such countries as Canada, Morocco, and Kenya (and twice the population of their erstwhile colonizers, the Netherlands), yet Western scholarly literature on "Java" has paid them scant attention.[9] Ethnographic studies of the island's Muslim communities, from Geertz's *Religion of Java* to Woodward's *Islam in Java*, have been similarly skewed towards the dominant Javanese ethnolinguistic group inhabiting central and eastern Java. The history of Islam in West Java, however, has been in many ways markedly different from the rest of the island. From the fifteenth century onwards, with the waning of the Hindu Pajajaran kingdom and the rise of the coastal Muslim sultanates of Cirebon and Banten, the Islamization of West Java has proven remarkably resilient. Dutch colonizers were alarmed by the strength of Islam in rural West Java and feared the religion's capacity to unite villag-

ers against a system of governance that exploited the province through the intense cultivation of coffee, tea, and other cash crops. Though the Dutch successfully coopted local administrative elites particularly in the Priangan highlands, rebellions led by rural Islamic leaders remained a constant source of anxiety for the colonial government (as the Priangan-based Darul Islam movement would later prove for the Soekarno government).[10] The strength of village-based Islam in West Java, with religious knowledge and power centered at the local level of the *pesantren*, may be partially attributed to Sundanese settlement patterns; the historical dispersion of the Sundanese into small villages, it has been argued, has allowed their communities to remain relatively "egalitarian" and less susceptible to authoritarian rule from above.[11]

This unique history is important to keep in mind when approaching the methods by which Sundanese Muslims read, recite, translate, and interpret Qur'ânic Arabic. Though scholars have tended to conflate the practices and perceptions of Sundanese Muslims with those in the Javanese regions to the east, many Sundanese are quick to point out their distinct affinity to Islamic devotion. One point of distinction is that there does not seem to have ever been a sharp divide, as has been noted by Geertz and others regarding Javanese Islam, between *santri* "piety" and *abangan* "syncretism."[12] In particular, the historical antipathy of the Javanese *priyayi* aristocracy to the devotional norms of the *santri* has not been characteristic of similar Sundanese elites (although to be sure the colonial-era *ménak* class of the Priangan highlands often found themselves in an ambivalent position between their own *pesantren* backgrounds and their administrative duties for a colonial government wary of village-based Islam).[13] Hence the *priyayi* disillusionment with Islamic teachings initially voiced by Kartini (and recapitulated by Geertz) would not, I believe, have been typical of Kartini's Sundanese counterparts.[14]

Still, it would be a mistake to romanticize Sundanese Muslims at any point in their history as a homogeneous mass of devout practitioners empowered by a village-based egalitarianism. Such an idealization would naturally belie the variety of practices, attitudes, and discourses evident in any Islamic community. Furthermore, terms like "egalitarianism," when facilely applied, can mask subtle negotiations of power relations and the effects of these negotiations on regimes of knowledge. This is particularly true in

the case of the Sundanese, who have throughout their history had to come to grips with a succession of powerful external sources of discursive authority: Indic and Perso-Arabic religious authority; Javanese, Dutch and Indonesian state authority; and now, increasingly, the mass-mediated authority of American popular culture. In moments of translation and interpretation, the foreign may be domesticated, but only according to culturally specific strategies of localization. Here I argue that such strategies have been deployed in an effort to harness the power of Qur'ânic Arabic by bringing Arabic "into" Sundanese and bringing Sundanese "into" Arabic, thereby creating cross-linguistic "interilluminations," to seize on an opportune term from Bakhtin.[15]

Diglossic Ideologies of Arabic

The language of the Qur'ân is never introduced into a cultural vacuum: everywhere it comes into contact with local ideas about linguistic form and function. In recent years linguistic anthropologists have approached such systems of ideas as "language ideologies,"[16] and ethnographic studies from around the world have demonstrated the immense variety of these seemingly commonsense notions about language and how it works in the world. Language ideologies often appear as completely natural – even timeless and universal – linguistic facts, but are nonetheless inevitably contingent upon specific cultural, historical, and political contexts. It should be noted that the term "ideology" is a notoriously slippery and contentious term in the social sciences, often associated with a Marxist view of ideology as a kind of mask concealing social facts, a "false consciousness" that the social scientist is obliged to dispel. But "language ideology" is not simply a mystification of "true" linguistic description, since language is in a sense always already ideologically loaded. Rather, the task of the linguistic anthropologist is to study how culturally specific construals of language's form and function are expressed both explicitly and implicitly through discursive practice. At times, differing language ideologies may interact and compete in the same linguistic community; such is often the case with the use of Qur'ânic Arabic throughout the Muslim world, when powerful language ideologies surrounding the devotional use of Arabic encounter local ideologies. This interaction between language ideologies often occurs in discourse regarding translation and interpretation, in which

participants negotiate the possibilities and limitations of one linguistic system "entering" another. Thus in order to understand how local Sundanese modes of interpretation bring *al-'Arabiyyah* into *basa Sunda* and *basa Sunda* into *al-'Arabiyyah*, it is necessary first to understand the language ideologies that have historically empowered the linguistic authority of Qur'ânic Arabic.

In the centuries after the Prophet Muhammad's revelations, Muslim theologians and grammarians elevated Qur'ânic Arabic as the model for "classical" or "literary" Arabic, called *al-fuṣḥâ* (short for *al-lughah al-'arabiyyah al-fuṣḥâ*, 'the eloquent Arabic language') or simply "the language" (*al-lughah*). In many traditional Arab societies, only a small group of religious scholars (*'ulamâ'*) are expected to have knowledge of *al-fuṣḥâ*, while the common folk (*'awwâm*) are only competent in varieties of "ordinary" spoken Arabic, known as *al-'âmiyyah*, *al-darija*, or *lahaja*.[17] Infused with Qur'ânic authority, *al-fuṣḥâ* requires specialized grammatical knowledge, while spoken varieties of Arabic are considered not just grammarless, but oftentimes not even "language" at all. The hierarchical relation between *al-fuṣḥâ* and *al-'âmiyyah* is perpetuated in Arab societies by the *madrasah* system of education, in which students are taught *adab*, linking proper behavior and language as subjects learned through careful scholarship.

The linguistic divide between *al-fuṣḥâ* and *al-'âmiyyah* has been canonically described by the sociolinguist Charles Ferguson as "diglossia."[18] In cases of diglossia, a prestigious literary variety of a language (the H variety) is "superposed" on any vernacular dialects of the language (L varieties); H and L, Ferguson claims, are strictly compartmentalized according to appropriate contexts of use. The H variety is typically characterized as "somehow more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts."[19] While the H variety is invested with immutable timelessness, L varieties are considered inconstant and unruly. In the case of Arabic, the diglossic divide of H and L is bolstered by the powerful textual authority of the Qur'ân as the holy writ of God. Linguistic anthropologists have criticized Ferguson's diglossic paradigm on many grounds. In practice, it is not a simple matter in a language such as Arabic to isolate one singular H variety that is functionally superposed over any L varieties. Any "checklist" of contexts where H and L varieties are expected to be used will never quite match actual language use. Instead of thinking of

"diglossia" as describing how a language like Arabic *is* used, it is more useful to think of it as describing local beliefs about how Arabic *should* be used—in other words, it describes one kind of Arabic language ideology.[20] The H-L hierarchy of *al-fuṣḥâ* over *al-'âmiyyah* has developed immense ideological power, a power that is reinforced every time Qur'ânic Arabic is used as holy language.

As Islamic teachings spread to non-Arabophone populations in Asia, Africa, and Europe, the powerful "H" ideology of *al-fuṣḥâ* spread as well, even though these new Muslim converts usually did not speak any "L" varieties of *al-'âmiyyah*. Instead, local vernaculars often took the structural position of L, with Qur'ânic Arabic superposed as the timeless language of divine authority. Vernaculars were put in an inferior relationship to Arabic, incapable of expressing the holy truths of the Qur'ân. Thus it was in Islam's early expansion to non-Arab regions that the doctrine of untranslatability first developed. Certainly in Muslim Southeast Asia, the doctrine of untranslatability has been central to the history of Qur'ânic literature.[21] As in other parts of the Islamic world dominated by the Shâfi'î *madhhab*, it is generally held in Indonesia that translation (*tarjamah*) of the Qur'ân results in something other than the Qur'ân; hence the term *tafsîr* (interpretation or exegesis) is frequently preferred when the Qur'ân and Sunnah are rendered into languages other than Arabic. Some Indonesian writers make a more fine-grained distinction based on Qur'ânic scholarship from the Middle East: a "close-to-the-text" word-by-word translation is called *terjemah harfiyah* (the Dutch term *letterlijk* 'literal' is also occasionally used); a "free" translation is called *terjemah tafsiriyyah*; and an extended exegetical commentary on the Qur'ân (sometimes limited to a particular topic or theme), whether in Arabic or another language, is called *tafsîr*.[22] In this article I use the term *tafsîr* broadly to refer to any cross-linguistic rendering of the Qur'ân, since for a good number of Indonesian Muslims any Qur'ânic translation, no matter how "literal," will inevitably contain the translator's worldly "interpretations" of the holy text.

Arabic Comes to Java

When Qur'ânic Arabic was introduced to the Sundanese, Javanese, and Madurese populations of Java, it was not the first powerful foreign language to arrive strengthened by a "diglossic"

ideology: Sanskrit had for centuries fulfilled that role. Since the first millennium CE, when Indian influence was first felt on Java, Sanskrit was prized as the elite literary language, even though it was never used in ordinary communication.[23] In Java's seaports, courts, and monasteries, Sanskrit knowledge was introduced via channels of learning by an educated class of scholars, authors, court-poets, and religious theorists.[24] In this way, Sanskrit became the index of civilization and refinement in Java's court cultures. Sanskritized language was a specialized scholarly register that marked the speaker or writer as properly educated in teachings from abroad. According to P. J. Zoetmulder, "the use of Sanskrit words may often have been a kind of fashion, a sign of being up to date and alive to the influence of a higher civilization, thus enhancing one's status and prestige."[25]

The strange foreign power of Sanskrit in Java was mimicked by the vernacular languages of Java. The local words for "language" – *basa* or *bahasa* – are derived from Sanskrit *bhasa*. For the Hindu-Buddhists of ancient Java, "language" had to resemble Sanskrit, the language of the gods.[26] Old Sundanese, by becoming *basa Sunda*, reflected truth and wisdom only insofar as it approximated the distant *bhasa* of Sanskrit. One Old Sundanese text gives us an indication of how the bridge between Sanskrit and Old Sundanese was once traversed. The early sixteenth-century manuscript *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian* contains a long section on directing questions to experts in various fields of knowledge, which is introduced by a Sanskritic stanza (*siloka*). The *siloka* is then followed by a short paraphrase in Old Sundanese, providing general advice on directing one's questions to the appropriate authority.[27] This formula of Sanskrit *siloka* followed by exegesis in the vernacular can also be found in Old Javanese texts dating back to the first millennium CE. Thus scribes of Old Sundanese, following established practice, constructed textual authority by invoking the sacred words of Sanskrit and then finding an appropriate interpretation in the vernacular.

Even after the fall of the major Hindu kingdoms of Java – Majapahit in the east and Pajajaran in the west – Sanskrit was looked upon as the paramount model of linguistic knowledge. Sundanese, like Javanese and Balinese, preserved a Sanskrit-based ceremonial register known as *Kawi*. To this day Sundanese Kawi is still maintained as an archaized source of linguistic power in

performances of *wayang golék*, the rod-puppet theater that tells the Hindu epic stories of the Mahabharata and Ramayana. Reflecting its lineage, Sundanese Kawi draws its vocabulary from Javanese Kawi, Middle Javanese, the Cirebon-Tegal dialect of Javanese, and Sundanese.[28] Beyond the poetic register of Kawi, Sanskrit terms eventually penetrated everyday Sundanese speech as well, chiefly through the creation of the "refined" speech style. The Sundanese speech level system (*undak-usuk basa*) developed during the height of Javanese cultural imperialism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the ascendant Mataram empire extended its domain westwards to the Sundanese homeland, especially the Priangan highlands. Priangan's *ménak* aristocrats were sent annually to the Mataram courts to receive orders and training in Javanese customs and language. The *ménak* then returned to their homeland from these missions and disseminated the Sundanese "refined" style (*basa lemes*).[29] As with Javanese, Madurese, and Balinese, the "refined" vocabulary of Sundanese consists overwhelmingly of Sanskrit or Sanskritized lexemes derived from Old and Middle Javanese, and new refined forms are created on analogy with older Sanskritic forms. Thus the use of Sanskrit (or at least Sanskrit-sounding) language became a widespread index of "*halus*" (courtly, refined) linguistic deportment.

Like Sanskrit then, Arabic arrived on Java's shores already elevated by an "H" ideology as a language of aesthetic elegance and timeless truth, a preeminent vehicle for the conveyance of traditional religious and scholarly wisdom. Two other significant points of comparison with Sanskrit should be noted here. First, Arabic was likewise never spoken widely as a language of ordinary communication but was instead transmitted chiefly through educational channels. Second, as with Sanskrit, the dissemination of Arabic in Java was eventually localized on a lexical level, with thousands of Arabic words entering the vernaculars (at times via intermediating languages such as Persian).[30] The intense lexical incorporation of Arabic into the languages of Java would seem to indicate an abiding concern with unlocking the meaning of these foreign terms, just as Sanskrit had been unlocked in an earlier era. But the historical transmission of scriptural Arabic in Java through education in *pesantren* has often been portrayed as mere rote memorization, without any concern for the meaning of the words. The reliance on memorization of Arabic, claims Benedict Anderson,

was "a sign of Java's defense against Arabic culture and its final conquest of this alien infiltration":

> The domestication of Islam and Arabic by the Javanese cultural impulse was done through the transformation of the Koran into a hermetic textbook of riddles and paradoxes. Arabic was maintained as the language of "initiation" precisely because Arabic was not understood... Islam had forbidden the continued use of Shivaitic and Tantric mantra; Java answered by turning the Koran into a book of mantra.[31]

Anderson's sweeping assertion that "Java" wreaked revenge on "alien" Arabic by turning the Qur'ân into "a hermetic textbook of riddles and paradoxes" is difficult to accept. First, he ignores the fact that much of the mystical, "riddle-like" quality of Qur'ânic exegesis on Java can be traced to long-standing Sufi traditions — especially from Persia and South Asia— that were especially powerful at the time of Java's Islamization. Sufi teachings proved an excellent fit with preexisting systems of esoteric knowledge prevailing in court circles, and for centuries religious scholars saw little conflict between Islamic and pre-Islamic mystical practices.[32] Second, he creates a false dichotomy between "true" Sanskritic traditions and "false" Arabic ones - a dichotomy perpetuated by Dutch colonial authorities with a stake in limiting the sway of Islam in the East Indies. On the contrary, the study of Arabic language and texts was of the utmost importance even to those paragons of Sanskritic learning, the colonial-era Javanese court poets, all of whom were schooled in *pesantren*.[33] I would agree, however, with one of Anderson's points, that Muslims in Java have paradoxically "domesticated" Arabic by maintaining distance from it, understanding it by recognizing that it cannot be fully understood. I now turn to how this paradox has been approached historically by Sundanese Muslims. Though we shall see certain strong resonances with the tradition of explicating Sanskrit texts as discussed above, it is nonetheless crucial to approach the interpretation of Arabic on its own terms, not as a mere elaboration on Sanskritic exegesis.

Sundanese Vernacularization of the Qur'ân

Qur'ânic translation and interpretation in Sundanese has been called "one of the most fruitful areas for Southeast Asian translation/*tafsîr* literature in recent decades."[34] But the publishing boom

in Sundanese *tafsîr* is quite a novel phenomenon. Although many Sundanese *wawacan* manuscripts from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contain stories of Muhammad, his companions, and the other prophets, translated verses of the Qur'ân did not begin to appear until the early twentieth century, and full translations decades later. The belated entrance of Sundanese translations is not entirely surprising; perhaps due the strength of the Shâfi'î *maddhab* and colonial restrictions on the printing of Islamic literature, the vernacularization of the Qur'ân was not a widespread phenomenon in *any* regional language of Indonesia before the twentieth century.[35] In the case of the Sundanese, this was compounded by the fact that their native language was not favored as a written medium by the literate elite of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most of whom preferred Javanese and eventually also Dutch and Malay. Only in the mid- to late-nineteenth century did Sundanese printed writing come into its own, with the encouragement of Karel Holle, a key colonial advisor on indigenous affairs. But even then, Sundanese translations of the Qur'ân were not widely produced. This was not due to any shortage of Sundanese scholars highly literate in Qur'ânic Arabic. For instance, D.K. Ardiwinata (1866-1947), founder of the Sundanese proto-nationalist organization Paguyuban Pasundan, wrote of his rigorous *pesantren* education in which he studied and memorized the Qur'ân daily. As was typical of Sundanese *pesantren* of that era, however, instruction was with a Javanese *tafsîr* of the Qur'ân which was memorized and only then translated orally into Sundanese.[37] I suspect that after centuries of cultural domination by the Javanese and then the Dutch, Sundanese was felt to be an insufficient vehicle for the language of the Qur'ân. Sundanese was stuck in the "L" position of the diglossic paradigm, considered unfit to express profound thoughts as a *basa/bahasa* should. Witness for instance the words of a mid-nineteenth-century regent who was surprised to hear from Karel Holle that a *penghulu* (local Muslim leader) had composed some verse in Sundanese: "That is impossible: Sundanese is not a language (*bukan bahasa*)!"[38]

Qur'ânic translation into Sundanese may be said to begin with the work of Haji Hasan Moestapa (1852-1930). But even this *pesantren*-educated poet and Sufi mystic, who spent many years in Mecca and even lectured on Qur'ânic interpretation at Masjid al-Ḥarâm, never produced a complete Sundanese translation of the

Qur'ân, only a selection of verses. Towards the end of his prodigious literary career, around 1920, Haji Hasan Moestapa selected 105 *ayat* that he considered most relevant to the Sundanese way of life and rendered them in the traditional Sundanese sung-verse form known as *dangding*.[39] In his introduction to this selection, entitled *Tafsir Qur'anul Adhimi*, he gave the following advice in his typically esoteric style:

> And surely there will be those who ask: When are these verses to be used? I reply: From your early days defer to your mother and father and promise: later upon reaching maturity, you must reevaluate your beliefs. At the proper age, follow the way of the Prophet, who was embodied as a prophet in adulthood; only at the age of forty did he achieve the position of God's Messenger who revealed religious mysteries. First this is done in Sundanese, finally in Arabic; therefore "Sundanize" Arabic to search for what is needed from Arabia, and from the Arabic language "Arabize" what is Sundanese.[40]

Beginning in the 1920s other Sundanese scholars would take up Haji Hasan Moestapa's call to "Sundanize" Arabic (*nyundakeun Arab*) and "Arabize" Sundanese (*ngarabkeun Sunda*). In a 1926 article on Islamic education, D.K. Ardiniwata encouraged Islamic schools in West Java to begin using Sundanese in addition to Arabic as a medium of instruction, in order for these schools to keep up with the progress made by government-sponsored schools.[41] During this time the traditional Arabic-language pedagogy of the *pesantren* was being reevaluated, in part influenced by the new wave of "reformist" Islamic thinking that encouraged individual interpretation of the Qur'ân (*ijtihâd*) instead of what was seen as a "blind" reliance on mediating texts inherited from previous generations. In particular, the modernist organization Muhammadiyah was quick to draw distinctions in the *santri* community between *moderen* (modern) and *kolot* (old-fashioned) adherents.[42] Mass-produced translations of the Qur'ân in the vernacular languages would soon become a sure mark of Islam in its *moderen* incarnation.

A separate but related development was the vernacularization of the *khotbah* (sermon) in Friday prayers, which for centuries on Java had been spoken only in Arabic, in strict accordance with the teachings of the Shâfi'î *madhhab*. The movement to "translate" the *khotbah* into local languages originated in Java in the 1920s, according to G. F. Pijper, who was then serving in the Office of Indigenous Affairs and would later become its Chief Adviser. At

the 1928 meeting of the *pesantren*-based organization Nahdlatul Ulama, Pijper noted, a well-known *kyai* (religious scholar) from Kudus, Central Java proposed that the *khotbah* need not be performed entirely in Arabic. Pijper then made written inquiries to *penghulu* throughout Java and found that mosques in several locations in Central and East Java were already using Javanese for the *khotbah* in the late 1920s. In the Sundanese areas of West Java, however, he found universal agreement among the chief *penghulu* that at Sundanese mosques only Arabic was being used for the *khotbah*.[43] Maintaining the Arabic-only *khotbah* was no doubt to the liking of Dutch colonial administrators, who were suspicious of reformists' calls for *ijtihâd* and worried that the *khotbah* could be used to stir up local resentment against the Dutch, especially in areas of West Java known for producing troublesome Islamic leaders capable of directing local rebellions.[44]

Nonetheless, the vernacularization of the *khotbah* proceeded quickly in the coming decades, especially after independence. A 1982 study by the provincial office of the Agency for Regional Development (Bappeda) found that of the 32,000 mosques in West Java that are used for Friday prayers, 70 percent of them perform the *khotbah* in Sundanese, with most of the remaining number using Indonesian or, in Javanese-speaking areas along the north coast, Javanese. The Arabic-only *khotbah* has never completely disappeared, however, and may even be making something of a comeback in certain rural areas of West Java. I have observed in two villages in the southern part of the Karawang regency (Pangkalan district) that proponents of the Arabic-only *khotbah*, representing the traditionalist views of *Ahlussunnah wal-Jama'ah*, have recently prevailed over those who prefer the use of Sundanese.[46] Reverting to the Arabic *khotbah* is a firm rejection of the *moderen*, as it disregards the discursive role that the Friday sermon has developed over the twentieth century as a vehicle for exhortation and oratorical skill in the vernacular, often contextualized with references to current political events on the local, national, and international levels. In traditionalist mosques, the *khatib* (preacher) is instead expected only to read from a prepared collection of Arabic texts, which are repeated verbatim from *khotbah* to *khotbah*. Meanwhile, Sundanese sermonizing in these mosques may be relegated to optional lectures (*ceramah*) or done away with entirely.

Like the reliance on the Arabic-only *khotbah*, the use of Javanese *tafsîr* in their traditional interlinear form is considered by modernist Muslims to be irredeemably *kolot*. Not surprisingly, the same traditionalist *kyai* who promote the Arabic *khotbah* in the Pangkalan region of Karawang also continue to favor the use of Javanese interlinear translations in teaching the Qur'ân and other holy texts used in the *pesantren*, despite the fact that their *santri* are almost entirely Sundanese. As noted above, nineteenth-century *pesantren* throughout the Sundanese-speaking area commonly used Javanese exegetical texts to mediate between the Arabic of the Qur'ân and the vernacular Sundanese of the *santri*.[47] It surprises many urban Sundanese Muslims to hear that a great number of rural *pesantren* north of the Priangan region continue this pedagogical practice. The use of Javanese texts in these *pesantren* can in part be attributed to the historical fact that an early center for Islamic teaching in West Java was the Javanese-speaking city of Cirebon on the province's border with Central Java.[48] The dissemination of Islamic learning from Cirebon to Sundanese regions of West Java is evident from the "Javanese speaking style" (*logat Jawa*) learned in memorization and recitation, recognizably the Cirebonese dialect of Javanese.[49] Though the medium of instruction in well-known *pesantren* located in the southern Priangan highland towns of Tasikmalaya and Garut has apparently been shifting to Sundanese (and Indonesian) over the past half century, many Sundanese *pesantren* to the north of Priangan (from Banten in the far west, to Bogor and Karawang in north-central West Java, to Cirebon in the far east of the province), continue to rely on Javanese interlinear translations of the Qur'ân and the so-called *kitab kuning* or "yellow books" that make up the traditional Arabic curriculum on *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and other topics.

In the Pangkalan district, *kyai* and *santri* interviewed at *pesantren* offer various explanations for maintaining the intermediary Javanese texts, besides the historically close connections between the Karawang and Cirebon regions. First, using the Javanese texts is seen as preserving traditions carried down by the legendary *Wali Songo* (nine Sufi apostles) who are credited with introducing Islam to Java – one of whom, Shaikh Maulana Malik Ibrahim, is said to have founded the first *pesantren* in Gresik, East Java. Second, many of the *pesantren* in the region were founded by *kyai* from central and eastern Java and continue to receive *kitab kuning*

from the leading Javanese *pesantren*; if the Javanese teaching methods were abandoned there might be no "blessing" (*barakah*) or "benefit" (*mangpaat*). Third, teachers claim that *santri* are better able to memorize Qur'ânic passages in Javanese than in Sundanese, as witnessed by the ability of many *santri* to recite the ceremonial, semiarchaic Javanese of these texts several decades after studying at *pesantren*. And lastly, many students remark that Javanese is simply more "pleasant" (*raos*) for memorization and recitation than Sundanese. These reasons accord with those given by a *kyai* quoted in a 1974 study of Pesantren Al-Falak in the Bogor regency, which also uses Javanese interlinear translations:

> Reciting in this way [with Javanese translations] has an obvious blessing (*barakah*). In Banten and other places people read *Manaqib Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jailani* [a traditional narrative recounting the life of the Qadiriyah *tarekat* founder] in Javanese. Even though those who read it might not understand it, its sacred power (*keramat*) is nonetheless instantaneous.... I don't agree that the old ways should be changed. After all, the name of the region is West Java. So we are really "Javanese" too. In Mecca we are called *Jawi*, and we recite the same way in Dâr al-'Ulûm [a *madrasah* in Mecca founded by *pesantren* leaders from Java in the 1920s].[50]

The *kyai* goes on to note glumly that the "old ways" are being overtaken by modern Sundanese translations from the Priangan region. Here we see a marked contrast in pedagogical orientation between the Priangan heartland and Sundanese regions to the north that continue to be oriented towards the old Javanese sultanates of Banten and Cirebon on the north coast, despite the linguistic divide between Javanese and Sundanese.[51]

In her analysis of how educational practices in Sundanese Islam are instrumental in the recognition of social location, Jessica Glicken offers a different explanation for the adherence to Javanese interlinear translation:

> I suggest that the *translation* into semi-archaic Javanese and the subsequent *explication* in Sundanese allows the *kyai* to resist the demystification of Arabic that would occur with direct translation into the local language, keeps him in control of a form of esoteric knowledge, and maintains the strength of the student-teacher relationship.[52]

While it is no doubt true that the mediating use of Javanese reinforces the teacher-student hierarchy and keeps the reins of linguistic knowledge of the Qur'ân firmly in the hands of the in-

structing *kyai*, this should in no way imply that the adoption of a Sundanese *tafsîr* would render Qur'ânic Arabic suddenly "demystified" for the *santri*. Much Sundanese exegetical literature from Haji Hasan Moestapa on has in fact contained a strong current of Sufi esotericism. Rather, we should look at Qur'ânic translations in Javanese and Sundanese (and, increasingly, Indonesian) as alternative mediators of discursive knowledge representing competing language ideologies. *Pesantren* leaders in Pangkalan, like the *kyai* quoted above, note that the use of Sundanese translations has been encroaching on Javanese in the nearby Bogor regency, a phenomenon they attribute to the popularity of teachings from Priangan. They therefore feel an increasing need to justify the use of Javanese interlinear translations with the reasons outlined above, implying that using unmediated Sundanese might elude the everlasting "blessing" that the *Wali Songo* first brought to Java half a millennium ago. To understand the continued strength of this seemingly anachronistic pedagogy would require a thorough examination of how channels of linguistic knowledge on Java have historically flowed via the Javanese coastal towns of Cirebon and Banten, and how these channels have been ideologically preserved in the face of the significant challenges mounted by twentieth-century Islam in its *moderen* guise.

When Sundanese writers began composing *tafsîr* in their own language in the mid-twentieth century, the shift from traditional *pesantren* texts was more than a matter of switching from Javanese to Sundanese. Just as significant was the shift in form, from interlinear translations with lexical glosses intended to be recited word-by-word by *santri*, to a "modern" printed format in which each *ayat* is given an uninterrupted Sundanese translation (with the original Arabic text printed at the beginning of each *ayat*, placed in a separate column, or not printed at all). Printed Sundanese *tafsîr* in this format began to emerge in the 1940s, both before and after Indonesia declared independence in 1945. One of the leading figures of the Priangan *ménak* world, R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoemah V (1888-1965), composed a translation of the second and longest *sûrah* of the Qur'ân, *Al-Baqarah* (The Cow).[53] Wiranatakoesoemah was considered one of the more enlightened *pamong praja* (governing bureaucrats) of the late colonial era, and was renowned as a charismatic Sundanese leader serving as *bupati* (regent) first of Cianjur (1912-20) and then of Bandung (1920-42). His local popu-

larity was greatly enhanced upon his return to Bandung from performing the *ḥajj* in 1925, when he became known as *Dalem Haji* and took to wearing Arab-style attire. During the revolutionary period against the Dutch, he was appointed by Soekarno as Minister of Home Affairs of the fledgling Indonesian Republic, yet he also managed to be elected *wali negara* (head of state) of the Dutch-sponsored federal state of West Java known as Negara Pasundan (1948-1950).[54] Wiranatakoesoemah composed his *tafsîr* with the assistance of R.A.A. Soeriamihardja, the former *bupati* of Purwakarta, who versified the work in *dangding* form. The *tafsîr* was apparently published at some time during Wiranatakoesoemah's tenure as the head of Negara Pasundan, though it is believed to have been written around 1940.[55]

Wiranatakoesoemah provides the following opening stanza for his *tafsîr* of *Al-Baqarah*:

Kalawan asma Jang Agoeng	In the name of the Supreme One
Allah noe Moerah toer Asih	Allah the Merciful the Beneficent
Aliflaamim nami soerat	Aliflaamim is the name of the *sûrah*
sareng kasebatna deui	and also it is reckoned
Albaqarah katelahna	Al-Baqarah is its common name
ajeuna bade ditafsir	Now it will be interpreted

This verse combines framing devices of the Qur'ân with those found in traditional Sundanese *wawacan* manuscripts. It begins with a Sundanese translation of the standard *basmalah* formula and then introduces the three Arabic letters (*Alif*, *Lam*, *Mim*) found at the beginning of *Al-Baqarah*. These letters have been attributed with various mystical interpretations but are indeed untranslatable, and a composer of a *tafsîr* in any language has little choice but to render these sacred letters unaltered. Yet Wiranatakoesoemah refers to these letters as the "name" (*nami*) of the *sûrah*. It is typical of Sundanese *wawacan* (as with other Indonesian manuscript traditions) that the name of the text is given in the first line; Wiranatakoesoemah applies this same logic to the *sûrah* by interpreting "Aliflaamim" as its proper title, though its "common name" is "Al-Baqarah."[56] After thus identifying the text, he authoritatively finishes the stanza with a performative statement, "Now it will be interpreted," simultaneously framing the *sûrah* and reinforcing his authorial voice as interpreter.

During roughly the same period as Wiranatakoesoemah's com-

position, the first published translations of the Qur'ân in its complete form began to emerge, when Ahmad Sanusi (1881-1950), founder of Pesantren Gunung Puyuh in Sukabumi, released *Rauḍah Al-'Irfân fî Ma'rifah Al-Qur'ân* and K.H. Muhammad Ramli published *Kur'an Tardjamah Sunda*.[57] Though Sanusi's translation was distributed to *pesantren* in the Bogor area in lithograph form, Sundanese translations would not be disseminated widely throughout West Java for another three decades. A significant burst in the publication of Sundanese *tafsîr* began in 1970, when Ramli's translation reappeared under the title *Al-Kitabul Mubin: Tafsir Al-Qur'an Basa Sunda*, printed by the Bandung-based PT Al-Ma'arif. Al-Ma'arif, which under the leadership of the Arab publisher Muhammad Baharthah was Indonesia's largest publishing house in the 1970s, sold 4 to 5 million inexpensive Qur'âns annually throughout Indonesia, mostly distributed to rural areas.[58] Ramli's translation was distributed to a significant number of the rural mosques and *madrasah* in West Java via local booksellers.[59] In 1971, CV Diponegoro, another Arab-owned publishing house based in Bandung, published a rival translation by K.H.Q. Shaleh and two collaborators, who spent six years compiling their version.[60] Several other Sundanese renderings have appeared since the 1970s, including a translation of an Indonesian *tafsîr* by the poet Sayudi and an immense thirty-volume work (one for each *juz*, or section of the Qur'ân) by Moh. E. Hasim providing word-by-word glosses and extended exegeses of each *ayat*.[61]

But no doubt the most unusual recent *tafsîr* is that composed by R. Hidayat Suryalaga (1941-), a university instructor in Sundanese literature. In 1994 Suryalaga published translations of the first, second, third, and thirtieth of the Qur'ân's thirty *juz*, and spent the following five years translating the remaining sections.[62] The work is entitled *Saritilawah Basa Sunda*, roughly translatable as "Sundanese Recitational Essence"; Suryalaga acknowledges that his work can at best capture the "essential" message of the Qur'ân since he relied on other Indonesian and Sundanese *tafsîr* rather than translating directly from the original Arabic. Furthermore, Suryalaga chose to follow the strict metrical rules of traditional *dangding* verse for this project. This is not entirely unprecedented, since both Haji Hasan Moestapa and Wiranatakoesoemah used *dangding*. What makes Suryalaga's composition unique is that he designed the *dangding* verse to be sung

in the dignified vocal style known as *tembang Sunda* or *Cianjuran*, accompanied by zither (*kacapi*) and flute (*suling*).[63] Of the seventeen *pupuh* (metrical forms) used in *dangding* verse – dictating the number of lines in a stanza, the number of syllables in a line, and the last vowel in each line – only those common to the *tembang Sunda* repertoire are used.[64] When *Saritilawah Basa Sunda* was published, it was accompanied by cassettes with selections of the verses sung in *tembang Sunda* style.

Suryalaga's conscious effort to map the holy text of the Qur'ân onto the compositional genre of *tembang Sunda* is evident from the opening verse *al-Fâtiḥah*, which is rendered into two metered stanzas (each consisting of eight lines of eight syllables) and labeled *Papatet* – referring to the opening song in a typical evening performance of *tembang Sunda*.[65] Resonances between the Qur'ân and *tembang Sunda* were further explored when, during the month of Ramadan, 1420 H. (December 1999/January 2000), the Bandung station of the state-run television service TVRI began broadcasting a regular musical program called *Nur Hidayah* (Light of Divine Guidance), named after the foundation set up to disseminate *Saritilawah Basa Sunda*. In these broadcasts, a large group of Sundanese singers and musicians in Islamic dress austerely performed the verses, interspersed with more conventional recitations in Arabic. Again emulating a typical *tembang Sunda* performance, the Qur'ânic verses were sung in the free-rhythm *mamaos* style followed by stanzas in the fixed-rhythm style of *panambih* (literally "additional" songs). The *panambih* verses, freshly composed for the television broadcast by Suryalaga and a musical arranger, were based on passages from the *ḥadîth*. The composers and performers thus made use of the standardized organizational structure of the *tembang Sunda* genre to reinforce Arabo-Islamic textual ideologies. In *tembang Sunda*, *mamaos* songs are most highly esteemed (especially *Papatet*), with *panambih* songs seen as a later development – just as in Islam the Qur'ân is the paramount set of texts (especially *Al-Fâtiḥah*), with the *ḥadîth* taking a secondary, historically posterior, role.

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of Suryalaga's work is that it has thus far attracted virtually no controversy. By way of comparison, in 1978, when the outspoken literary critic H.B. Jassin published a poetic interpretation of the Qur'ân in Indonesian under the title *Bacaan Mulia*, it elicited a furious reaction from the De-

partment of Religion and the Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI), who at refused to grant the book the official seals given to approved translations, although the work was later approved after it was scrutinized by a team of Qur'ânic scholars.[66] Then in 1992, Jassin tried to publish *Al-Qur'an Berwajah Puisi*, an edition of the Qur'ân in the original Arabic, but in a "poetic" format with calligraphy in uneven lines; the Department of Religion and MUI again rejected the work, despite Jassin's solicitation of letters of support from 200 leading Muslim scholars.[67] Granted, Suryalaga's modest local publication could not possibly have created the kind of national scandal of Jassin's high-profile work, but he was nonetheless careful to include in the beginning of each volume copies of supporting letters from the provincial branches of MUI, ICMI (Indonesian Association of Islamic Intellectuals), and the Department of Religion.

It is telling that *Saritilawah Basa Sunda* so closely reflects the *tembang Sunda* genre, which has its roots in the aristocratic arts of the *ménak* in colonial cities of the Priangan heartland, particularly Cianjur and Bandung.[68] In *tembang Sunda* the Sundanese bardic style known as *pantun* was combined with Javanese *macapat* singing, introduced to the Priangan area during the Mataram era when the local elites began to orient their conception of cultural and linguistic refinement according to Javano-Sanskritic ideals. Long after the *ménak* have ceased to exist as a tangible social class, a performance style that they developed is being drawn on nostalgically to provide an alternative "H" variety in the diglossic paradigm. The *tembang Sunda* interpretation suggests that the loftiness of Qur'ânic Arabic might be simulated by an exalted style of Priangan Sundanese that seeks to recapture a lost nobility. And perhaps it is because this nobility is safely in the past that the Ministry of Religion and MUI did not see this rendition of the Qur'ân to be the same kind of threat as Jassin's. But beyond *tembang*-izing the Qur'ân, *Saritilawah Basa Sunda* also Islamizes the genre of *tembang Sunda*, the lyrics of which often convey a nostalgia for the bygone days of the pre-Islamic Pajajaran kingdom. In interviews several performers of the verses heartily endorsed this new Islamic image of *tembang Sunda*, and felt that as the most cultivated of Sundanese musical styles *tembang Sunda* was best-equipped to convey the sanctity of the Qur'ân.

Lexical Modes of Interpretation

In rather different ways, the Javanese interlinear translations of northern Sundanese *pesantren* and Suryalaga's *tembang Sunda* rendition of the Qur'ân both equate the authority of Classical Arabic with the lingering authority of a Javano-Sanskritic model of linguistic excellence. This kind of equation can be found operating not only on in the interpretation of the entire Qur'ân or selected verses; it can also occur on the lexical level, in word-by-word interpretations of Arabic loanwords. One local method of lexical interpretation in Java was developed originally for Sanskrit loanwords, known in Javanese as *kératabasa* or *jarwa dhosok* and in Sundanese as *kirata basa* or just *kirata*.[69] Usually described as "folk etymology," this technique is one way of coming to grips with the strangeness of foreign terms by breaking them down into component parts. A Kawi dictionary traces the derivation of *kérata/kirata basa* to the Sanskrit *Kirata* (used in the *Mahabharata* and elsewhere) referring to a remote hunting tribe in the mountains of India. Thus *kérata/kirata basa* has come to mean "a system of knowledge probing the origins of words through approximation, similar to the way a person meeting the Kirata tribe, not understanding their language, would try to grasp and interpret their words by all sorts of guessing."[70] In Sundanese, the word *kirata* is explained in a way that also reflexively demonstrates how the process of "*kirata*-fication" works: *dikira-kira sugan nyata* ('guessed at in the hopes of clarification').

Though this technique indeed appears at times to be no more than linguistic guesswork, A.L. Becker finds it to be a crucial "text-building" strategy in Javanese *wayang kulit* performances. More generally, he identifies this method of "etymologizing" in Javanese as "a major way of gaining knowledge—etymologizing across language families, such as from Javanese to Sanskrit, and tracing Javanese roots back to Sanskrit so that Javanese becomes a *bhasa*."[71] Thus the gap of untranslatability between Sanskrit *bhasa* and Javanese or Sundanese *basa* is bridged by tracing lexical trajectories back and forth, bringing Sanskrit into the vernaculars and the vernaculars into Sanskrit. The bridging of untranslatability between "local" and "foreign" languages has continued on with interpretations of Arabic, Dutch, and English words. Crucially, this is a two-way process, in which cross-linguistic resemblances are held to be "interilluminating."

One brief example demonstrates how lexical interpretations are used for interillumination across linguistic systems, not simply between vernaculars and foreign languages, but also between the mutual indecipherabilities of different foreign languages such as Sanskrit and Arabic. According to *wayang* lore, the king Yudistira of the Mahabharata epic is given a weapon (*senjata*) that goes by the Sanskrit name of *Kalimahosadha* or *Kalimasada*. This amulet is actually a magical book of indecipherable, esoteric writing that can be transformed into a blazing javelin, with the book's *mantras* converted to flames. The name *Kalimasada* happens to have a striking resemblance to the Arabic term *kalimah syahadah*, the Islamic profession of faith ("I profess there is no god but God and Mohammad is His messenger").[72] This seemingly chance resemblance is crucial to one of the founding myths of Islam on Java: how Yudistira is converted to Islam. Yudistira encounters Sunan Kalijaga – one of the legendary *Wali Songo* – who can read the writing of the magical book because it is in Arabic. Sunan Kalijaga explains to Yudistira that reciting the *kalimah syahadah* will allow him to enter Islam, as God has ordained.[73]

Anderson and Woodward interpret this confluence of Arabic and Sanskrit in different ways. For Anderson, the story represents how the language of the Qur'ân became nothing more than "riddles and paradoxes" when domesticated by Javanese sensibilities already attuned to Hindu and Javanist mysticism. Woodward, on the other hand, finds the story "an entirely straightforward attempt to harmonize Hindu-Javanese and Sufi-Javanese mythologies," part of a wider Islamization (or Sufi-ization) of pre-Islamic doctrines and practices.[74] As demonstrated by these conflicting interpretations (both of which may be found in Java as well), the story can be taken as a parable for either the Hinduizing of Islam or the Islamizing of Hinduism. Regardless of the interpretation, the story illustrates how local practices of lexical exegesis can provide an interillumination of the language ideologies emergent in Sanskrit and Arabic. Both Sanskrit and Arabic are rooted in "H" ideologies that hold the very words of the languages – though essentially untranslatable – to contain the keys to ultimate wisdom, like the words of Yudisitira's amulet. Thus coincidences in the sounds of words, especially one as striking as *Kalimasada/kalimah syahadah*, take on the utmost epistemological significance. An apparently "superficial" correspondence has been found by which

the two languages – and language ideologies – cast light on each other. In this way the strange, potentially conflicting, powers of both Sanskrit and Arabic seem to be harnessed simultaneously.

Sundanese *ahli kirata* (experts in *kirata* interpretation), such as the *dalangs* (puppeteers) of *wayang golék*, are constantly on-guard for such cross-linguistic correspondences. *Kirata* first developed as a method by which *dalangs* explicated Sanskrit names during their narration (*nyandra*) introducing characters and scenes, and the process has been extended to other linguistic sources, often for humorous purposes. In terms of Sundanese and Arabic, *ahli kirata* are adept at finding one in the other for purposes of edification or amusement. One popular humorous *kirata* explains the word "*korsi*" (chair) as "*cokor di sisi*." The word *cokor*, meaning "leg" or "legs," usually refers to chicken legs; the term would only be used for human legs in anger or in jest. The teller of this *kirata* humorously slaps his own legs while saying *cokor*, then indicates the sides of a chair while saying *di sisi* ('on the sides'). This is not taken as a "serious" etymology of *korsi*; the *ahli kirata* would certainly know the word's Arabic origin, as one of the most commonly recited Qur'ânic verses is *Ayat Kursi*. Another more mystical *kirata*-fication of an Arabic loanword is the explication of *jimat*, derived from Arabic '*azimat* ('amulet, written charm'): *diajĳ jeung dikemat* ("divined and treated with incantations"). The very word *Islam* is often interpreted as an acronym for the vernacularized names of the five obligatory prayer times read in sequential order: *Isa*, *Subuh*, *Lohor*, *Asar*, *Magrib*.

Ahli kirata not only find Sundanese hiding in Arabic but Arabic hiding in Sundanese. A well-known *dalang* from Karawang, R.H. Tjetjep Supriyadi, explains how *wayang golék*, though rooted in Hindu epic stories, was found to be an appropriate vehicle for Islamic teachings for the first Muslim prosyletizers in Java; this he proves by finding similar-sounding Arabic words for various *wayang* terminology.[75] For instance, he explains that one can find the meaning of the word "*dalang*" in the Arabic verb '*dalla, yadullu*,' meaning 'to point out, to guide'; the role of the *dalang* is to give guidance. Sometimes a third language can be used to draw the link between Sundanese and the Arabic of Islam. The word *golék*, for example, is given a complex etymology. The story revolves around a 15th-century Chinese Muslim named Jimbun (or Jin Bun) who, it is believed, later became known as Raden Patah,

the first ruler of the Muslim kingdom of Demak. Jimbun, the story goes, would often travel around Java with Sunan Kalijaga – the same *wali* who deciphered the *Kalimasada* amulet. Once they saw *wayang golék* being performed but did not know the name for it. But Jimbun recognized that this performance could help teach the five Pillars of Islam (*rukun Islam*) and the six Pillars of Faith (*rukun Iman*). In the dialect of southern China spoken by many Southeast Asian Chinese, 'five' is '*go*' and 'six' is '*lak*.'[76] Thus, as the *kirata* equation has it, Jimbun added together *go* and *lak* and arrived at *golék*.

Kirata explications represent a local method of lexical interpretation that can be flexibly deployed for a variety of discursive aims, from serious exegesis to sardonic wordplay. This flexibility allows for both humorous revelations of hidden meanings (as with *korsi* above) and more contemplative interilluminations across language systems. The use of *kirata* for uncovering esoteric truths behind the textual surface of individual words resonates strongly with mystical modes of Arabic interpretation associated with Sufi schools of thought introduced to Java, which meticulously analyze lexical items or even individual Arabic letters (such as the letters *Alif Lam Mim* introducing *Al-Baqarah* and other *sûrah*).[77] Furthermore, the use of interlinear translations in *pesantren* education is also lexically oriented; northern Sundanese *santri* reciting from Javanese translations are presented with passages from the Qur'ân broken down into textual units of one or more lexical items, which are then given formulaic Javanese glosses before being explicated in Sundanese.[78] These exegetical practices all serve to illustrate how Sundanese Muslims have historically confronted the enigmatic foreign power of Arabic, one word at a time.

Closing Notes

Sundanese interpretations of scriptural Arabic, whether by full translations of the Qur'ân or by explication of individual lexical items, manage to incorporate powerful foreign elements into a local linguistic system. But paradoxically, this incorporation of the foreign propels Arabic away from Sundanese at the same time that it draws the two languages closer. Interpreting Arabic in Sundanese reminds the interpreter of the gap that must be traversed between the two languages, the gap of untranslatability, the gap between H and L in the diglossic paradigm. This dual

process of internal appropriation and external differentiation is comparable to James Siegel's portrayal of Javanese, which he argues "incorporates 'foreign' languages into itself," through "embodying any number of languages in order to draw boundaries around itself."[79] But the doctrine of Qur'ânic untranslatability was not simply invented by the Sundanese or Javanese in order to "draw boundaries" around their own vernaculars (à la Anderson's "defense" against "alien infiltration"). Rather, Arabic arrived already "untranslatable," due to imported ideologies that foreclosed any direct translation between H and L. In the absence of direct translatability, the localization and interpretation of Arabic has sufficed to domesticate the sublime strangeness of Arabic in carefully circumscribed ways. Simultaneously, the hierarchic divide typifying diglossia has allowed the reproduction of local Sundanese hierarchies in the division of linguistic knowledge surrounding the authoritative use of Qur'ânic Arabic. Thus, in a continual push and pull between domestication and alienation, the language ideologies mediating *basa Sunda* and *al-'Arabiyyah* have remain poised in a dialectical tension.

Endnotes

1. This paper is largely based on research conducted in Bandung, 1994-96, and in Bandung and Karawang, 1999-2000. The first research project was funded by a Fulbright Student Grant, while the second was funded by a joint fellowship from the Fulbright-Hays DDRA program and the Social Science Research Council IDRF program, with additional funding from the NSF Dissertation Improvement Award program and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Many thanks to Martin van Bruinessen, Michael Gilsenan, Nuruddin Hidayat, Nina H. Lubis, Ajip Rosidi, Tjetjep Supriyadi, Hidayat Suryalaga, and the students and faculty of IAIN Jakarta and IAIN Bandung for their comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this paper.
2. Raden Adjeng Kartini, *Letters of a Javanese Princess*, translated by Agnes Lousie Symmers (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985), p.44.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
4. Ahmad Mansur Suryanegara, "Pengaruh Al-Quran terhadap Perjuangan Kartini," in *Menemukan Sejarah: Wacana Pergerakan Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995).
5. Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 82.
6. See: Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia*, translated by Farid Wajidi (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), pp. 158-160; Howard M. Federspiel, *Kajian al-Quran di Indonesia: dari Mahmud Yunus hingga Quraish Shihab*, translated by Tajul Arifin (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), pp. 97-99; Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989) pp. 82-84. For an analysis of *hadîth* interpretation in the modern Indonesian context, see: Mark R. Woodward, "Textual Exegesis as Social Commentary: Religious Social, and Political Meanings of Indonesian Translations of Arabic Hadith Texts," *Journal of Asian Studies* 52(3) (1993): 565-583.
7. On the role of memorization among Sundanese students see: Jessica Glicken, "Sundanese Islam and the Value of *Hormat*: Control, Obedience, and Social Location in West Java," in *Indonesian Religions in Transition*, edited by Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987). For practices of memorization among Javanese students see: Sidney Jones, "Arabic Instruction and Literacy in Javanese Muslim Schools," *Prisma* 21 (1981): 71-80; and: Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition: The Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java* (Tempe, Arizona: Program for Southeast Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1999), pp. 30-31, 100-101.
8. James N. Baker, "The Presence of the Name: Reading Scripture in an Indonesian Village," in *The Ethnography of Reading*, edited by Jonathan Boyarin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 108.
9. The Sundanese population is estimated at 14 percent of the total population of Indonesia, which in July 1999 stood at more than 216 million according to the *CIA World Factbook 1999* (electronic text: http://www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/id.html).

10. On colonial rebellions in West Java, see: Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888* ('S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966); Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Protest Movements in Rural Java* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1973). On the Dar'ul Islam movement see: Karl D. Jackson, *Traditional Authority, Islam, and Rebellion: A Study of Indonesian Political Behavior* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); C. Van Dijk, *Rebellion under the Banner of Islam: The Darul Islam in Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981).
11. S.M.P. Tjondronegoro, *Social Organisation and Planned Development in Rural Java* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984).
12. The few studies on Sundanese Muslim communities have tended to rely heavily on the literature regarding Javanese Islam, hence neglecting this crucial regional distinction. See the penetrating critique of Jackson, *Op. Cit.*, in: Ruth T. McVey, "Islam Explained," *Pacific Affairs* 1981, no. 54(2) (1981), pp. 264-265. Of course, even in the Javanese case the *santri-abangan* dichotomy may be overdrawn, as critics of Geertz's *Religion of Java* have argued.
13. Nina H. Lubis, *Kehidupan Kaum Menak Priangan, 1800-1942* (Bandung: Pusat Informasi Kebudayaan Sunda, 1998), pp. 253-258.
14. For instance, the woman often proclaimed as "the Sundanese Kartini," R. Dewi Sartika (1884-1947), was active in the Sarekat Islam movement and included Qur'ânic education in the curriculum of her progressive school for girls in Bandung. See: Yan Daryono, *Sang Perintis: R. Dewi Sartika* (Bandung: Yayasan Awika/Grafitri Budi Utami, 1996).
15. Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination*, edited by Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).
16. Michael Silverstein, "Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology," in *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels*, edited by Paul R. Clyne (Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 1979), 193-247; Kathryn A Woolard and Bambi B. Schieffelin, "Language Ideology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23 (1994): 55-82; Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity, *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
17. See for instance: Brinkley Messick, *The Calligraphic State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 152-166.
18. Charles A. Ferguson, "Diglossia," in *Language and Social Context*, edited by P. Giglioli (London: Penguin, 1972).
19. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
20. Here I follow the approach of Steven C. Caton in: "Diglossia in North Yemen: A Case of Competing Linguistic Communities," *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 10(1) (1991): 143-159.
21. Howard M. Federspiel, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 97-99.
22. Yet another term, *ta'wil* or *takwil*, is sometimes used to refer to an exegesis that seeks to uncover esoteric meanings behind the surface meaning of the text. H. St. Amanah, *Pengantar Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Tafsir* (Semarang: Asy Syifa', 1993), pp. 245-261.
23. P.J. Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan: A Survey of Old Javanese Literature* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), pp. 9-10.

24. J. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1973), p. 31.
25. P.J. Zoetmulder, *Op. Cit.*, p. 12.
26. A.L. and Judith Becker, "A Musical Icon: Power and Meaning in Javanese Gamelan Music," in *Beyond Translation: Essays Toward a Modern Philology*, edited by A.L. Becker (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), p. 352.
27. Saleh Danasasmita et al., *Sewaka Darma, Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian, Amanat Galunggung: Transkripsi dan Terjemahan* (Bandung: Bagian Proyek Penelitian dan Pengkajian Kebudayaan Sunda (Sundanologi), Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1987), pp. 82-83; Bernard Arps, "How a Javanese Gentleman Put His Library in Order," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155(3) (1999), p. 419.
28. Kathy Foley, "The Sundanese Wayang Golék: The Rod Puppet Theatre of West Java" (PhD dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1979), p. 183.
29. Nina H. Lubis, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 172-192.
30. For Arabic loanwords in Sundanese and Javanese, see: H.H. Juynboll, "Vervolg van de lijst van Javaansche en Sundaneesche woorden, uit het Arabisch of het Perzisch afstammende," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 44(1) (1894): 169-200. Some 2,750 Arabic loanwords collected from Indonesian and traditional Malay sources are listed in: Russell Jones, *Arabic Loan-Words in Indonesian: A Check-List of Words of Arabic and Persian Origin in Bahasa Indonesia and Traditional Malay*, (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1978).
31. Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, "The Languages of Indonesian Politics," in *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 127.
32. M. C. Ricklefs, "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java," in *Conversion to Islam*, edited by N. Levitzion (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979); *The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java 1726-1749* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).
33. Nancy K. Florida, *Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future: History as Prophecy in Colonial Java* (Durham: Duke University Press 1995), p. 14; S. Soebardi, "Santri Religious Elements as Reflected in the Book of Tjentini," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 128 (1971): 331-349.
34. R. Michael Feener, "Notes towards the History of Qur'ânic Exegesis in Southeast Asia," *Studia Islamika* 5(3) (1998), p. 75.
35. H. Abdul Djalal H.A., *Urgensi Tafsir Maudlu'i pada Masa Kini* (Jakarta: Kalam Mulia, 1990), pp. 43-44. Translations of the Qur'ân into Malay extend back to ar-Raniri's seventeenth-century rendition, but even Malay translations were little used before the twentieth century. A. H. Johns, "Islam in the Malay World: An Explanatory Survey with Some Reference to Qur'anic Exegesis," in *Islam in Asia*, edited by R. Israeli and A.H. Johns (Jersualem: Magnes, 1984).
36. Mikihiro Moriyama, "Discovering the 'Language' and the 'Literature' of West Java: An Introduction to the Formation of Sundanese Writing in 19th Century West Java," *Tonan Ajia Kenkyu [Southeast Asian Studies]* 34(1) (1996): 151-83.

37. D.K. Ardiniwata, "Pengajaran Agama Drigama," *Wahya Jatmika* 3 (1926). Cited in: Tini Kartini, *Daeng Kanduruan Ardiwinata: Sastrawan Sunda* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, 1979), pp. 2-3.
38. K. F. Holle, "Vlugtig Berigt omtrent eenige Lontar-Handschriften, Afkomstig uit de Soendalanden, door Raden Saleh aan het Bataviaasch Genootschap van K. en W. ten geschenke gegeven, met toepassing van de inscriptien van Kwali," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 16 (1867), p. 451. Cited in: Mikihiro Moriyama, *Op. Cit.*, p. 175.
39. Ajip Rosidi, *Manusia Sunda* (Jakarta: Inti Idayu, 1984), p. 123; Ajip Rosidi, *Haji Hasan Mustapa jeung Karya-Karyana* (Bandung: Pustaka, 1989), pp. 389-433.
40. "Jeung tangtu aya nu nanyakeun: Ieu pakeeun iraha? Jawabna: Ti babaheula ngaula ka indung-bapa dijangjian: Jaga mah geus baleg, maneh kudu babalik pikir. Umur sabaraha nurutkeun Rosulullah dijasmanikeun cara jelema sawawana kanabian yuswa 40 taun, karek meunang pangkat Rosulullah nu mukakeun rasiah agama. Baheula ku basa Sunda ahirna ku basa Arab; jadi kaula nyundakeun Arab nguyang ka Arab, ngarabkeun Sunda tina basa Arab." *Ibid.*, p. 394.
41. D.K. Ardiniwata, *Op. Cit.* Cited in: Tini Kartini, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 100-101.
42. Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia, 1900-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1980), pp. 16-17.
43. G. F. Pijper, *Studiën over de Geschiedenis van de Islam in Indonesia 1900-1950* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977), pp. 48-51. Pijper notes that Muslim leaders in the East Indies may have been influenced by Turkey, where in 1926 Mustafa Kamal ruled that Turkish must be used for the *khotbah* and not Arabic. The move away from the Arabic-only *khotbah* was simultaneously occurring in British Malaya with the rise of Islamic reformism there; see: Mohd. Radzi Othman and O.K. Rahmat, *Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam: Satu Kajian di Negeri Perlis dan Hubung Kaitnya dengan Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Sains Malaysia, 1996).
44. H. Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985); Deliar Noer, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 180ff. I thank Nina H. Lubis (personal communication, 13 April 2000) for this observation. It should also be noted that even if colonial administrators preferred Arabic to Sundanese in the *khotbah*, they steadfastly refused to have the Arabic script taught in Sundanese-language schools, despite the widespread popularity of the script in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see: Mikihiro Moriyama, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 167-169). In other words, the Dutch generally considered Arabic suitable to be spoken for "ceremonial" religious purposes, but not to be widely read, written, or understood.
45. Sholihin Syaqiq, *Kumpulan Khotbah ku Basa Sunda* (Bandung: Sinar Baru Algensindo, 1986), p. 3.
46. "Traditional" rural Muslim leaders are not the only ones who have argued in favor of the Arabic-only *khotbah* in recent years. The exclusivist *Islam Jama'ah* movement, active in Jakarta and other cities in the 1970s and 1980s, not only insisted on the Arabic *khotbah* but also prohibited the use of any texts other than the Qur'ân and *ḥadîth* in their schools and mosques. See: John R. Bowen, "*Salat* in Indonesia: The Social Meanings of an Islamic

Ritual," *Man (N.S.)* 24(4) (1989), p. 607.

47. This was also the case in Madurese-speaking areas on the island of Madura and in East Java. See: Martin van Bruinessen, *Op. Cit.*, p. 144.
48. The Islamization of West Java no doubt began centuries before the founding of the Cirebon sultanate in 1479, likely via Muslim traders at the port cities of Banten and Sunda Kelapa. See: Ahmad Mansur Suryanegara, "Masuk dan Meluasnya Agama Islam di Jawa Barat," in *Menemukan Sejarah: Wacana Pergerakan Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995). Nonetheless, Cirebon was vital for the subsequent development of the *pesantren* system throughout the region. For instance, the oldest active *pesantren* in West Java, Cirebon's Pesantren Buntet (founded in 1750), has been influential in the spread of new *tarekat* (Sufi brotherhoods) in West Java. See: A.G. Muhaimin, "Pesantren, Tarekat, dan Teka-Teki Hodgson: Potret Buntet dalam Perspektif Transmisi dan Pelestarian Islam di Jawa," in *Pesantren Masa Depan: Wacana Pemerdayaan dan Transformasi Pesantren*, edited by Marzuki Wahid, Suwendi, and Saefuddin Zuhri (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1999).
49. Ayatrohaèdi, *Bahasa Sunda di Daerah Cirebon* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1985), p. 96. Javanese as spoken in Cirebon (as well as in the nearby Central Javanese regions of Tegal and Banyumas) is most readily identified by the pronunciation of the letter '*a*'. In Standard Javanese, orthographic '*a*' is usually pronounced as [*a*], but in word-final position and in any preceding open syllables it is pronounced closer to the sound [*o*]. Cirebon Javanese, like Sundanese and Malay, lacks this allophonic variation.
50. Sudjoko Prasodjo et al., *Profil Pesantren: Laporan Hasil Penelitian Pesantren Al-Falak dan Delapan Pesantren Lain di Bogor* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1975), p 48.
51. In this regard, it is significant that Priangan represents the "prestige dialect" of Sundanese, distinct from the less prestigious northern dialects of Banten, Bogor-Karawang, and Cirebon. See: Bernd Nothofer, *Dialektgeographische Untersuchungen in West-Java und im westlichen Zentral-Java* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1980); Ayatrohaèdi, *Op. Cit.*
52. Jessica Glicken, *Op. Cit.*, p. 252.
53. R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoemah, *Soerat Al-Baqarah, Tafsir Soenda Damelan Al-Hadj R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema, Didangding ku R.A.A. Soeriamihardja* (Bandoeng: Pusaka, n.d. [ca. 1949?]).
54. Nina H. Lubis, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 281-289; Robert B. Cribb, "Jakarta in the Indonesian Revolution, 1945-49" (Doctoral dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1984), pp. 244-247.
55. During the same period Wiranatakoesomah also composed a *riwayat* (biography) of the Prophet Muhammad that contained selected Qur'ânic verses in *dangding* form. See: R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema, *Riwayat Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w.* (Bandoeng: Islam Studieclub, 1941).
56. A typical opening line in the classical *wawacan* style is that of *Carita Parahiyangan*, written in 1518: "Ndeh nihan Carita Parahiyangan." ("Now this is the Story of Parahiyangan.") Atja and Saleh Danasasmita, *Carita Parahiyangan: Transkripsi, Terjemahan dan Catatan* (Bandung: Proyek Pengembangan Permuseuman Jawa Barat, 1981). Compare also Maier's analysis of the first line of *Hikayat Hang Tuah* in: H.M.J. Maier, "Tales of Hang Tuah: In Search of Wisdom and Good Behavior," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-*,

Land- en Volkenkunde 155(3) (1999): 342-361.

57. Mohammad Iskandar, "Kyai Haji Ajengan Ahmad Sanusi: Tokoh Kyai Tradisional Jawa Barat," *Pesantren* 22(2) (1993): 71-86; Martin van Bruinessen, *Op. Cit.*, p. 159; E.M. Uhlenbeck, *A Critical Survey of Studies on the Languages of Java and Madura* ('S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1964), p. 19.
58. Ajip Rosidi, "Masagung, Pa Ema, jeung M. Baharthah," in *Cupumanik Astagina* (Jakarta: Girimukti Pasaka, 1997), p. 154.
59. Marwan Baharthah, personal communication, February, 8, 2000.
60. K.H.Q. Saleh et al., *Al-Amin al-Qur'an Tarjamah Sunda* (Bandung: Diponegoro, 1999).
61. H. Usep Romli H.M., "Penyair Sayudi: 'Hirup Mah Kudu Maju,'" *Pikiran Rakyat*, 15 April 2000, p. 6; Moh. E. Hasim, *Ayat Suci Lenyepaneun*, 30 vols. (Bandung: Pustaka, 1989-1990).
62. R. Hidayat Suryalaga, *Saritilawah Basa Sunda al-Qur'an.* Juz I, II, III, and XXX (Bandung: Yayasan Nur Hidayah, 1994). As of this writing the complete translation of all thirty *juz* has yet to be published.
63. Indeed, *tembang Sunda* is virtually the only modern Sundanese compositional form that still relies on *dangding* verse. See: Wim van Zanten, *Sundanese Music in the Cianjuran Style* (Leiden: KITLV, 1989).
64. The four *pupuh* meters used are *Asmarandana*, *Dangdanggula*, *Kinanti*, and *Sinom*. By contrast, Wiranatakoesoemah's *dangding* version of *Al-Baqarah* uses *Kinanti* as well as the freer *Kidung* form. According to Suryalaga, Wiranatakoesoemah's use of these meters shows that his composition was intended for a mass audience, since their format (eight syllables per line, six lines per stanza) was widely known for vocalizing Sundanese verses based on the Javanese *macapat* style (R. Hidayat Suryalaga, personal communication, 28 April 2000).
65. Sean Williams, "The Urbanization of *Tembang Sunda*: An Aristocratic Musical Genre of West Java, Indonesia" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1990), pp. 77-79, 155.
66. Howard M. Federspiel, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 264-267; Feener, *Op. Cit.*, p. 63.
67. H. B. Jassin, *Kontroversi al-Qur'an Berwajah Puisi* (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1995); Feener, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 63-64.
68. Nina H. Lubis, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 238-247.
69. On Sundanese *kirata* see: Benjamin G. Zimmer, "Unpacking the Word: The Ethnolexicological Art of Sundanese *Kirata*" (MA thesis, University of Chicago, 1998); Ajip Rosidi, "Metoda Kirata Basa," in *Pembinaan Minat Baca, Bahasa dan Sastera* (Surabaya: PT Bina Ilmu, 1983). On its Javanese equivalent see: A.L. Becker, "Text-Building, Epistemology, and Aesthetics in Javanese Shadow Theatre," in *The Imagination of Reality: Essays in Southeast Asian Coherence Systems*, edited by A.L. Becker and A.A. Yengoyan (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1979), pp. 236-239; Ward Keeler, *Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 250-253.
70. L. Mardiwarsito, *Kamus Jawa Kuna-Indonesia* (Flores: Nusa Indah, 1990), p. 285.
71. A.L. Becker, *Op. Cit.*; A.L. and Judith Becker, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 351-352.
72. J. Gonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 259; Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 126-

127.

73. Mark R. Woodward *Op. Cit.*, p. 222.
74. Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 126-127; Woodward, *Op. Cit.*, p. 222. Woodward assumes that *Kalimasada* is actually derived from Arabic *kalimah syahadah*, as the conversion story would imply, but the evidence of J. Gonda, *Op. Cit.*, p. 259 clearly points to the Sanskrit origins of the term.
75. R.H. Tjetjep Supriyadi, personal communication, February, 24, 2000.
76. Note that terms for cardinal numbers such as *go* and *lak* are among the few Chinese loanwords (besides food terms) widely known by non-Chinese Indonesians. See: Yuan Zhi Kong, "A Study of Chinese Loanwords (from South Fujian Dialects) in the Malay and Indonesian Languages," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 143(4) (1987): 452-67.
77. Mark R. Woodward, *Op. Cit.*, p. 84.
78. Sudjoko Prasodjo et al., *Op. Cit.*, p. 46; Jessica Glicken, *Op. Cit.*, p. 252. For a more general view of lexically oriented approaches to Qur'ânic pedagogy in Indonesia, see: H. Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Hidakarya Agung, 1996), pp. 46-48.
79. James T. Siegel, *Solo in the New Order: Language and Hierarchy in an Indonesian City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 301. Another useful comparison in this respect is to early Spanish missionization in the Philippines, where missionaries spoke in Tagalog with certain Castilian religious terms untranslated, terms that Tagalog speakers then manipulated in order to attenuate the "shock of Castilian." See: Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).

Benjamin G. Zimmer *is Ph.D. Candidate in Linguistic Anthropology at the Department of Anthropology, the University of Chicago.*