

METRICAL VERSE AS A RULE OF QURANIC TRANSLATION Some Reflections on R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema's *Soerat Al-Baqarah* (1888–1965)¹

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Abstract

The paper aims to analyze how literary translations of the Quran can grasp the meaning of the Quran and 'subordinate' it to local poetry rules, using R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema's Soerat Al-Baqarah as the object of study. It is a Sundanese poetic translation of the Quran in the form of guguritan or dangding and as such this study is focused on the implications of canto rules to the Quranic meaning field in the translation, analyzed using intertextual studies and semantic analysis. This research shows that the use of guguritan in the translation of the Quran might cause a problem of inaccessibility of the translated meaning. There are some implications of subordination of the translation of the Quran following the rules of guguritan. This tradition affected the expansion or constriction of the meaning, which in turn caused modification within the verses (ayat) in translation, and forced the use of loan words, particularly Malay. This study is significant not merely for demonstrating a diglossic ideology on language of the Quran that has affected Sundanese literature, but also for strengthening the thesis that 'Sundanization' of the Quran was performed as a form of resistance against Islam and

¹ An earlier version of this paper, "The Qur'anic Poetry Translation and Islamic Local Identity in West Java: A Contribution of R.A.A. Wiranatakusumah's *Soerat Al-Baqarah* (1888- 1965)", was presented at the *7th International Indonesia Forum* (Bandung, 19 Aug 2014). I am grateful to Chris Woodrich for his valuable comments. As ever, I remain responsible for the arguments advanced in this paper.

Arabness through cultural impulses—especially Sundanese literature. Wiranatakoesoema's Soerat Al-Baqarah is a creative effort that should be appreciated, but it must be noted that literary language can never be completely satisfactorily compared and translated.

[Tulisan ini menjelaskan bagaimana penerjemahan al-Quran dapat mencapai makna seutuhnya dengan 'menurunkan' standarnya sesuai aturan susastra lokal, yang tersirat pada pengkajian Soerat Al-Baqarah karya R.A.A Wiranatakoesoema. Terjemahan surat ini merupakan alih bahasa dalam bentuk susastra Sunda yang disebut dengan guguritan atau dangding. Tulisan ini berfokus pada implikasi aturan pupuh pada medan makna penerjemahan al-Quran dengan menggunakan analisis intertekstual dan semantik. Dalam kajian ini menunjukkan bahwa penggunaan guguritan dalam penerjemahan al-Quran dapat menyebabkan persoalan ketidaksampaian makna terjemahan. Terdapat beberapa implikasi antara lain 'subordinasi' pada terjemahan. Hal ini disebabkan oleh perluasan atau penyempitan makna akibat modifikasi dalam penerjemahan ayat dan pemaksaan dalam peminjaman kata, khususnya Melayu. Kajian ini penting karena tidak hanya menunjukkan konsep diglosia dalam terjemahan al-Quran akibat pengaruh bahasa Sunda, tetapi juga menguatkan pendapat bahwa 'Sundanisasi' merupakan usaha resistensi terhadap Islam dan Arab melalui susastra Sunda. Karya Wiranatakoesoema layak untuk diapresiasi sebagai usaha kreatif, meskipun perlu dicatat bahwa bahasa susastra tak akan cukup memuaskan untuk dibandingkan atau diterjemahkan.]

Keywords: *guguritan*, translation of the Quran, Sundanese literature

A. Introduction

Most muslim scholars believe that miracle of the Quran (*i'jāz*) does not only consist of its internal meaning, but is also indicated through its wonderful literary structures. The literary structures of the Quran are regarded as the most perfect example of the Arabic language. Hence, Amin al-Khuli (d. 1966) called the Quran the greatest work of Arabic literature (*kitab al-'Arabiyyah al-akbar*).² These literary structures can produce meaning in the Quran in an effective way.³

² Amīn Khulī, *Manābij Tajdīd fī al-Naḥw wa-al-Balāghah wa-al-Tafsīr wa-al-Adab* (Kairo: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1978), p. 304.

³ Issa J. Boulatta, "Literary Structures of the Qur'an", in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, vol. 3, ed. by Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 192.

There are many studies on miracle of the Quran, from classic to modern, relating to its aesthetic aspect.⁴ The literary structures of the Quran, as one of main aspects, have influenced the development of Islamic literature. Hence, there are Quranic scholars who attempt to imitate the literary structures of the Quran in their translations and commentaries. They then also cite its structures in non-Arabic literary works.⁵ This has historically involved not only Muslims, but also non-Muslims. Moreover, their efforts in many cases also have invited some polemics, such as in the case of H.B. Jassin's *Bacaan Mulia*.⁶

Poetic translations of the Quran in Indonesia are not a new phenomenon. Raden Adipati Aria Moeharam Wiranatakoesoema (1888—1965), also known as Dalem Haji, who had previously written about his Hajj pilgrimage in 1924,⁷ published one *Soerat Al-Baqarab* in 1949 long before H.B. Jassin's polemical work. It is a poetic translation of the Quran in Sundanese metrical verses (*guguritan* or *dangding*), following the *pupub* rules which had earlier been used to arrange Sundanese tembang. Wiranatakoesoema's *Soerat Al-Baqarab* is not commonly read in Indonesia. This is both because it is written in Sundanese and the government and 'ulama have not been too concerned with the works of the *menak* (nobility, similar to the Javanese *priyayi*), who are considered to have not had a strong influence on the Sundanese people (particularly in the post-independence period).⁸ However, Riddell added dealing with another poetic translation after Jassin's case that Jassin has blazed a trail which subsequent translators were able to benefit from.⁹

This paper attempts to analyze Wiranatakoesoema's *Soerat Al-*

⁴ Mohamad Nur Kholis Setiawan, *Al-Qur'an Kitab Sastra Terbesar* (Yogyakarta: Elsaq Press, 2006), pp. 129–46.

⁵ Wadad Kadi and Mustansir Mir, "Literature and Qur'an", in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, vol. 3, ed. by Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 205.

⁶ Yusuf Rahmah, "The Controversy around H.B. Jassin: A Study of His al-Qur'anul-Karim Bacaan Mulia and al-Qur'an al-Karim Berwajah Puisi", in *Approaches to the Qur'an in Contemporary Indonesia*, ed. by Abdullah Saeed (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005), pp. 85–105.

⁷ Kees van Dijk, "Perjalanan Jemaah Haji Indonesia", in *Indonesia dan Haji: Empat Karangan*, ed. by Dick Douwes and N.J.G. Kaptein (Jakarta: INIS, 1997), p. 79.

⁸ Benjamin G. Zimmer, "Al-'Arabiyah and Basa Sunda: Ideologies of Translation and Interpretation among the Muslims of West Java", *Studia Islamika*, vol. 7, no. 3 (2000), p. 53.

⁹ Peter G. Riddell, "Translating the Qur'an into Indonesian Languages", *Al-Bayan: Journal of Qur'an and Hadith Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2014), p. 5.

Baqarah, and by doing so uncover how the work elaborated the semantic meaning of the Quran into the *guguritan* form. It is important to demonstrate the ideology of diglossia in the Quran and its influence on Sundanese literature. This study attempts to strengthen Zimmer's thesis on the Sundanese translation of the Quran. He stated that the translation was performed as a form of Sundanese resistance against Arabic culture and Islam through their cultural impulses, that the Sundanese people tried to subdue and subordinate the Quran into the form of *guguritan*.¹⁰ The use of *guguritan* in translating the Quran caused a problem of inaccessibility of meaning, and thus showed that inspired literary language can never be completely and satisfactorily compared and translated.¹¹

B. *Guguritan* and the Sundanese Translation of the Quran

Quranic studies historically began developing in the Sundanese regions in the early twentieth century. This occurred long after the fall of the Sundanese Kingdom in 1579, which was followed by an intensification in the Islamization of the region.¹² As with other regions in the archipelago, it can presumably not be separated from the influence of traditional *'ulama*, who generally assumed that the translation of the Quran into non-Arabic languages was forbidden, such as in the case of Ahmad Sanusi's polemics in 1930s.¹³ In addition, this was related to colonial policies which restricted the publication of religious works. The Sundanese language, as a mother tongue of the people of West Java, was more rarely used in literary tradition than Javanese, Dutch, and Malay. Hence, K.F. Holle (1829—1896), who was known as a Dutch colonial adviser, pioneered the publication of many printed Sundanese books.¹⁴ However, it also cannot be denied that there are manuscripts

¹⁰ Zimmer, "Al-'Arabiyyah and Basa Sunda", p. 53; Benedict R. O'G Anderson, "The Languages of Indonesian Politics", in *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 27.

¹¹ Fazlur Rahman, "Translating the Qur'an", *Religion & Literature*, vol. 20, no. 1 (1988), p. 24.

¹² Edi S. Ekadjati, "Sejarah Masuknya Islam ke Tatar Sunda dan Perkembangannya", in *Ngamumulé Budaya Sunda Nanjeurkeun Komara Agama* (Bandung: Perhimpunan KBPII Jawa Barat, 2006), pp. 28–9.

¹³ Jajang A. Rohmana, "Kajian Al-Qur'an di Tatar Sunda Sebuah Penelusuran Awal", *SUHUF Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Qur'an dan Budaya*, vol. 6, no. 2 (2013), pp. 197–224.

¹⁴ Mikihiro Moriyama, *Semangat Baru: Kolonialisme, Budaya Cetak, dan Kesastraan Sunda Abad ke 19*, trans. by Suryadi (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2005), p. 140.

with Sundanese-language translations of the Quran which were written in the eighteenth century, such as those found in *pesantren* in Priangan.¹⁵

The Islamization of the Sunda Region, which occurred after the fall of the Sundanese Kingdom, cannot be separated from the roles of Cirebon, Banten, and Javanese Mataram Kingdom. The Javanese influenced the Islamic tradition in West Java; this is not only visible in the manuscripts containing Javanese translations of the Quran, which can be found in this region, but also in the Javanese *pesantren* traditions which have influenced the *pesantren* traditions in Priangan. The Javanese *pesantren* tradition of *Ngapsahi* (Sundanese: *ngalogat*), for instance, can be found in West Java until now. Sundanese as a language of learning at *pesantren* was presumably latter used than Javanese.¹⁶ The Sundanese-language were generally considered to have a lower position than the Javanese in the Mataram and the Dutch colonial periods. This is what Zimmer called a diglossia between Javanese and Sundanese, in which a prestigious literary variety of a language (the H variety) is “superposed” on any vernacular dialects of the language (L varieties). The H variety is typically characterized as “somehow more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts”.¹⁷

Javanese influence in West Java can be seen in Sundanese literature, such as the *guguritan* or *dangding*. *Guguritan* (Javanese: *geguritan*) was considered to be an intellectual characteristic of the Sundanese after being influenced by Javanese culture. This was indicated by Bujangga Manik, a Sundanese noble of the Pajajaran Kingdom who traveled to Java and Bali in the sixteenth century, who was *carék Jawa* (proficient in Javanese) in his sixteenth-century manuscript.¹⁸ *Guguritan* presumably also demonstrated the ability of Sundanese to receive Javanese influences,

¹⁵ Edi S. Ekajati and Undang A. Darsa, *Jawa Barat, Koleksi Lima Lembaga* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia dan École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1999), pp. 235–6; Asep Saefullah, *Penelitian Kodikologi Naskah Keagamaan Jawa Barat: Studi Kasus Tradisi Produksi Naskah Keagamaan di Cianjur*, Executive Summary (Jakarta: Puslitbang Lektur dan Khazanah Keagamaan Kementerian Agama RI, 2009); Ervan Nurwatab, *Tafsir Alquran Nusantara Tempo Doeloe* (Jakarta: FUD Press, 2009), pp. 163–5.

¹⁶ Iip Zulkifli Yahya, “Ngalogat di Pesantren Sunda: Menghadirkan yang Dimangkirkan”, in *Sadur, Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, ed. by Henri Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2009), pp. 364–5.

¹⁷ Zimmer, “Al-ʿArabiyyah and Basa Sunda”, pp. 40–1.

¹⁸ J. Noorduyn and A. Teeuw, *Tiga Pesona Sunda Kuna*, trans. by Hawe Setiawan, Tien Wartini, and Undang Ahmad Darsa (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya dan KITLV Jakarta, 2009).

and are considered an example of Sundanese literary wealth.

Guguritan is a type of Sundanese poem which is composed in metrical verses rules, known as *pupub* rules.¹⁹ There are seventeen kinds of the *pupub*. However, there are only four kinds of *pupub* that are commonly used, namely *Kinanti* (8u-8i-8a-8i-8a-8i; it has the character of hope and expectation); *Sinom* (8a-8i-8a-8i-7i-8u-8a-8i-12a; it has the character of joy); *Asmarandana* (8i-8a-8é/o-8a-8a-8u-8a; it has the character of love); and *Dangdanggula* (10i-10a-8ē/o-7u-9i-6u-6a-7a-8a-12i; it has the character of happiness).²⁰

In addition to *guguritan* or *dangding*, which composed following *pupub* rules, there are many other forms of poetry in Sundanese literature, such as *mantra*, *pupujian*, *sawer*, and Sundanese rhymes. *Guguritan*, as well as *pupujian* and *sawer* were usually sung. *Guguritan* used to be sung in *tembang Sunda*.²¹ *Mantra* and Sundanese rhymes, meanwhile, were usually are just read. There are many kinds of songs in *Tembang Sunda*, including *papantunan*, *jejemplangan*, *rarancagan*, and *panambih*. They are used differently, depending on the kind of music, form and content of its poetry.²² *Guguritan* is usually sung in *rarancagan* style,²³ and as a Sundanese song is generally spread in oral tradition. *Guguritan* used to be sung at many rituals, such as birth rituals, baby shaving, commemorations of Shaykh ‘Abdul Qadir Jilani, etc. These rituals were attended by many people, known as *mamaos* or *beluk*.²⁴ Longer *guguritan* works were used to tell local stories (*hikayat*, romance), the religious teachings and agriculture matters. All these kinds of stories are known as *wawacan*.²⁵

¹⁹ Ma ‘mur Danasasmita, *Wacana Bahasa dan Sastra Sunda Lama* (Bandung: STSI Press Bandung, 2001), pp. 171–2.

²⁰ M.A. Salmun, *Kandaga: Kasusastran Sunda* (Ganaco, 1957), pp. 50–5.

²¹ Ajip Rosidi, *Sawér Jeung Pupujian* (Kiblat Buku Utama, 2011), pp. 127–33; Hidayat Suryalaga, Nadoman Nurul Hikmah: Tema-Tema Ayat al-Qur’an (Bandung: Yayasan Nur Hidayah, 2010); Yus Rusyana, *Bagbagan Puisi Pupudjian Sunda* (Bandung: Proyek Penelitian Pantun & Folklore Sunda, 1971).

²² Wim van Zanten, “Tembang Sunda: An Ethnomusicological Study of the Cianjuran Music in West Java”, Ph.D. Dissertation (Leiden: University of Leiden, 1987), p. 66.

²³ Yus Rusyana and Ami Raksanagara, *Puisi Guguritan Sunda* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1980), p. 1.

²⁴ Ajip Rosidi, *Mencari Sosok Manusia Sunda* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2010), pp. 30–1, 194.

²⁵ Ajip Rosidi, “Perihal Puisi *Guguritan* Sunda”, *Pikiran Rakyat* (20 Jul 1983).

Guguritan generally contain a variety of themes, such as love, human behavior, culture, learning, tragedy and beauty of Sundanese nature. They are also used as a response to social problems, such as in the cases of the Cimareme tragedy or SI-Afdeeling B 1919. Mochamad Sanoesi, a Sundanese communist poet, wrote a *guguritan*, *Garut Genjlong* (Garut in turmoil), and Parikesit published *Meupeus Kenyang* (Anger with the innocent) in the Sundanese daily *Padjadjaran* in 1919.²⁶

Since the nineteenth century, Sundanese traditional literature has generally been developed by the Sundanese *menak* or noble elite. R.H. Muhammad Musa (1822—1886), the *Hoofd penghoeloe* of Limbangan Garut, was the first Sundanese writer to publish works of *wawacan*. Likewise, R.A. Bratadiwidjaja and R. Haji Abdussalam composed some *guguritan* works. R.A.A. Kusumaningrat, also known as Dalem Pancaniti, the Regent of Cianjur (1834—1863), also wrote a letter to his wife in *guguritan* form. R.A.A. Martanagara, the Regent of Bandung (1893—1918) composed *wawacan* works, *pinulang* and some chronicles or *babad*.²⁷ The most famous Sundanese poet is Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852—1930), who sent letters on religious matters to his partner, Kiai Kurdi (d. 1909) from Sukawangi Pesantren, in the form of *guguritan*.²⁸ Mustapa was known as a prolific writer and a famous Sundanese Sufi, who composed more than 10,000 stanzas of Sufi *guguritan* or *dangding* between 1900 and 1902.²⁹ Furthermore, there are Sundanese writers who composed *guguritan* before World War II, such as Kalipah Apo, Toebagus Djajadilaga, Memed Sastrahadiprawira and MA. Salmun. There are also Sundanese poets from the post-independence period until now, such as Rahmatullah Ading Affandi (RAF), Wahyu Wibisana, Apung S.W., Dedy Windyagiri, Yus Rusyana, Dyah Padmini, Etti RS and other young poets.³⁰

Guguritan works were not only known in Sundanese literary tradition, but also in Indonesian literature. Sanusi Pane, a *Pujangga Baru* poet, for instance, composed *Dangdanggula Sandyakala Ning Majapahit*

²⁶ Ajip Rosidi, *Guguritan* (Bandung: Kiblat Buku Utama, 2011), p. 17; Wendy Mukherjee, “Moh. Sanoesi’s Siti Rayati: A Nationalist Novel From West Java”, *Jurnal Melayu*, vol. 2 (2006), pp. 179–218.

²⁷ Nina H. Lubis, *Kehidupan Kaum Menak Priangan, 1800-1942* (Bandung: Pusat Informasi Kebudayaan Sunda, 1998), pp. 240–1.

²⁸ Hasan Mustapa, *Bale Bandung* (Bandung: Rahmat Cijulang, 1984).

²⁹ Ajip Rosidi (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Sunda: Alam, Manusia, dan Budaya, termasuk Budaya Cirebon dan Betawi* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2000), p. 263.

³⁰ Rosidi, *Guguritan*, p. 18.

(1932) and *Sinom Kertajaya* (1956). Likewise, Ramadan K.H. used *pupub Kinanti* in his *Priangan Si Jelita* (1956).³¹

R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema (1888—1965) composed a *guguritan* translation of the Quran, in his *Soerat Al-Baqarah* (1949). The publication of *Soerat Al-Baqarah* was assisted by R.A.A. Soeriamihardja, Regent of Purwakarta. Wiranatakoesoema had also written a work on the life of Muhammad, *Riwajat Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w* (1941). This earlier work, an adaptation of the book by French painter E. Dinet, used *guguritan* particularly in his (translated) citation of the Quran.³² Wiranatakoesoema's work then has influenced R. Hidayat Suryalaga (1941—2011), a Sundanese poet from Padjadjaran University, to composed *Saritilawah Nur Hidayah*. The most complete of poetry translation of the Quran in Sundanese.³³ The article attempted to explain Wiranatakoesoema's work on the *guguritan* of the Quran, *Soerat Al-Baqarah*. This study is important relating to the 'Sundanization' of translation of the Quran in West Java especially which used the form of *guguritan*.

C. R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema and his *Soerat Al-Baqarah*

Wiranatakoesoema was born in Bandung on 28 November 1888. His full name was Raden Adipati Aria Moeharam Wiranatakoesoema V.³⁴ Wiranatakoesoema was the son of R. Adipati Kusumahdilaga, the 9th Regent of Bandung in 1874—1893. His father died when Wiranatakoesoema was five years old, and he was then raised by his mother, R.A. Soekarsih, together with three family guardians: R. Martanagara (Regent of Bandung), R. Ardinagara (Attorney of Bandung), and Suriadiningrat (Subdistrict Chief of Cilokotot/Cimahi). They continued the legacy of Wiranatakoesoema's father.

Wiranatakoesoema studied recital of the Quran with Hadji Anwar, Chalifah of Bandung.³⁵ He then was sent to live with the family of a Dutch colonial official, to gain a Western education. He studied at the

³¹ Rusyana and Raksanagara, *Puisi Guguritan Sunda*, pp. 3—4.

³² R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema, *Riwajat Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w*. (Bandoeng: Islām Studieclub, 1941).

³³ R. Hidayat Suryalaga, *Nurhidayah Saritilawah Basa Sunda Al Qur'an: Winangun Pupub* (Bandung: Yayasan Nur Hidayah, 1994).

³⁴ Rosidi (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Sunda*, p. 702; Lubis, *Kebidupan Kaum Ménak Priangan, 1800-1942*, pp. 100—285.

³⁵ Gunseikanbu., *Orang Indonesia yang Terkemuka di Jawa*, Reprint edition (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1986), p. 110.

ELS (1901), and then continued his education at OSVIA.³⁶ In 1904, he moved to H.B.S. or Gymnasium Willem III in Batavia, by suggestion of C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), an advisor of the Dutch colonial government. While in Batavia, Wiranatakoesoema lived at the house of Hellwig, an inspectorate official for the H.B.S. Wiranatakoesoema gained his diploma in 1910. In addition to his studies at school, he received extracurricular lesson (including French, German, and English) from Snouck every Sunday. After R. Ardinagara died, Snouck succeeded him as one of Wiranatakoesoema's guardians. Another figure who shaped Wiranatakoesoema's personality was G.J.A. Hazeu (1870—1929), Snouck's successor as advisor to the Dutch colonial government.

After completing his studies, Wiranatakoesoema was appointed as a clerk in Tanjungsari Subdistrict. In 1911, the Resident of Priangan then appointed him subdistrict chief of Cibeureum Sukapura (now Tasikmalaya), shortly after he was appointed mantri polisi in Cibadak, Sukabumi. He received another, higher position, in 1912, when he was promoted to be the Regent of Cianjur at age twenty four.³⁷ Wiranatakoesoema not only succeeded in facilitating the Sarekat Islam Congress in 1916, but also pioneered the introduction of wet rice fields in Cianjur, which increased the agricultural income of Cianjur's populace. The term of Beras Cianjur became identical with the best quality rice in West Java.

Wiranatakoesoema was later appointed Regent of Bandung for more than eighteen years, serving two non-consecutive terms (1920—1931 and 1935—1942). He also was elected as a member of Volksraad, which represented the Association of Regents. As Regent of Bandung, he was concerned with the performance arts, such as Cianjuran, degung, wayang golek, tunil, and many others. The tunil stage adaptation of the legend Lutung Kasarung was made into movie in 1926; this Loetoeng Kasaroeng was known as the first movie made in what is now Indonesia.

In the post-independence period, Wiranatakoesoema became the first Indonesian Minister of Domestic Affairs. He was also chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council during Soekarno era and wali negara of Pasundan State (1948—1950). He later became an active member of the PSII party, and was elected as a Constituent Assembly member in the election of 1955. He died on January 22, 1965.

³⁶ “Het 25-jarig jubileum van onzen Regent”, *Mooi Bandoeng*, vol. 6, no. 1 (1938), p. 5.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Wiranatakoesoema's career was brilliant. It was not only related to his position as a Sundanese aristocrat, but also his abilities and competence. He was an intelligent aristocrat who could understand many languages, including Dutch, English, French and German. Wiranatakoesoema's Malay-language work on his Hajj pilgrimage in 1924 is regarded as the first complete memoir of the Hajj experience in Indonesia.³⁸

Wiranatakoesoema who was called Kangjeng Dalem Haji is one of the *menak* who grow up in a situation when Islam became increasingly rooted in Sundanese society and had become the religion of the Sundanese aristocrats. Most of them performed the daily prayers and pilgrimage to Mecca.³⁹ Wiranatakoesoema was strongly attached to Islam. He had demonstrated an interest in realizing an Islamic political option for independent Indonesia. Kartosuwiryo (1905-1962), who founded the Darul Islam, ever decided to approach Wiranatakoesoema to suggest that they engage in a common struggle. However, Wiranatakoesoema appeared reluctant to cooperate.⁴⁰ His attachment to Islam was also can be seen from his courage to expressed in the public sphere. Wiranatakoesoema, for instance, liked to sing Quranic verses in kidung form, such as *kidung* fatihah, when opened his public speeches. In his memoir of the hajj, Wiranatakoesoema also narrated his experience to sing Quranic verse in kidung form. Palthe, a Dutch doctor who accompanied Wiranatakoesoema on the deck of ship, asked him to sing the kidung many time until he sleep.⁴¹ By singing the kidung fatihah, which is bid'a in the eyes of many puritan Modernists, Wiranatakoesoema sought to express Quranic meanings through a cultural form familiar to the Sundanese.⁴²

In addition to his intelligence, Wiranatakoesoema was also known for his productive writing. Most of his works were related to religious

³⁸ Henri Chambert-Loir (ed.), *Naik Haji di Masa Silam: Kisah-Kisah Orang Indonesia Naik Haji 1482 - 1964*, vol. 2 (Jakarta: KPG, EFEO, Forum Jakarta-Paris, Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2013), p. 551.

³⁹ Chaider S. Bamualim, "Negotiating Islamisation and Resistance: A Study of Religions, Politics and Social Change in West Java from the Early 20th Century to the Present", Ph.D. Dissertation (Leiden: University of Leiden, 2015), pp. 27–8.

⁴⁰ Chiara Formichi, *Islam and the Making of the Nation: Kartosuwiryo and Political Islam in twentieth-century Indonesia*, vol. 282 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2012), p. 119.

⁴¹ R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema, *Lalakon Kangjeng Dalem Angkat Jarab ka Mekah*, trans. by Memed Sastrahadiprawira (Bandoeng, 1926), p. 14.

⁴² Bamualim, "Negotiating Islamisation and Resistance", p. 29.

issues, including *Mijn Reis naar Mekka, naar het dagboek van den regent van Bandoeng Raden Adipati Aria Wiranatakoesoema* (1925), *Perdjalanan Saja ke Mekah* (1925), *Lalakon Kangdjeng Dalem-Bandoeng Angkat Djarah ka Mekah*, (translated by R. Memed Sastrahadiprawira; 1926), *De beteekenis der mohammedaansche feestdagen* (1931), *Choetbah Lebaran* (1937), *Moreele en geestelijke herbewapening uit Islamietisch oogpunt* (1939), *Het leven van Muhammad, de profeet van Allah* (1940), *Rivajat Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w.* (this is a Sundanese translation of his *Het leven van Muhammad* by himself; 1941), *Miraj Kangjeng Nabi Muhammad SAW, Khalwat, Islamiestische Democratie in Theorie en Praktijk* (1948), *Soerat Al-Baqarah: tafsir Soenda damelan Al-Hadjji R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema* (1949) and many others.

Soerat Al-Baqarah is a Sundanese translation of the Quran in the *guguritan* form. It was published in 1949, with assistance from R.A.A. Soeriamihardja, the Regent of Purwakarta. Wiranatakoesoema composed this work using two types of stanza (*pupub*), *Kinanti* and *Kidung*.⁴³ *Kidung* is a *pupub* which is similar to *Kinanti*. There are 286 verses (*ayat*) in *Soerat Al-Baqarah*. *Pupub Kinanti* was used to translate verses 1—20 and 67—121, while *Kidung* was used to translate verses 21—66 and 122—286. This gives a total of 521 stanzas (*Kinanti*; 111 stanzas and *Kidung*; 410 stanzas).

However, Wiranatakoesoema did not provide much information regarding the sources he used. He might have used some Dutch or English translations of the Quran. The translation was based on Wiranatakoesoema's earlier work, *Rivajat kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w.* (1941), which was adapted from *The Life of Mohammad* (1918), by the French painter E. Dinet and Sliman ben Ibrahim.⁴⁴ Wiranatakoesoema's use of *guguritan* in his translation of the Quran was assisted by M. Kd. Prawira Atmadja.⁴⁵

D. Translation of the Quran and *guguritan* rules

The form of *guguritan*, which was used by Wiranatakoesoema in *Soerat Al-Baqarah*, was similar to other works by Sundanese poets. This can be seen from the type and rules of stanzas (*pupub*) used and the work's

⁴³ R. Alla Danadibrata, *Kamus Basa Sunda* (Bandung: Panitia Penerbitan Kamus Basa Sunda, PT Kiblat Buku Utama, Universitas Padjadjaran, 2006).

⁴⁴ Etienne Dinet and Sliman Ben Ibrahim, *The Life of Mohammad, The Prophet of Allah* (Paris: The Paris Book Club, 1918); Ruth Roded, "Modern Gendered Illustrations of the Life of the Prophet of Allah: Étienne Dinet and Sliman Ben Ibrahim (1918)", *Arabica*, vol. 49, no. 3 (2002), pp. 325–59.

⁴⁵ Wiranatakoesoema, *Rivajat Kangdjeng Nabi Moehammad s.a.w.*, p. vii. *Al-Jāmi'ah*, Vol. 53, No. 2, 2015 M/1437 H

position as a type of Sundanese song. However, there is a major difference in *Soerat Al-Baqarah* and other *guguritan*, namely the Quranic message. *Soerat Al-Baqarah* is a translation of the Quran in the form of *guguritan*, and thus conveys the Divine Word. Hence, it not only follows *guguritan* rules, but also emphasizes the God's message to readers. Conversely, it is not only a translation (as seen in other translations of the Quran), but also poetry in the form of *guguritan*. It follows stanza rules and can be considered a Sundanese song. As such, Wiranatakoesoema's *Soerat Al-Baqarah* can be appreciated by a Quranic reciters (qari'), musicians (players of the *kecapi* and flute), singers, and Quranic commentators.⁴⁶

Soerat Al-Baqarah, as a work of *guguritan*, was written following the rules of *pupub Kinanti*. This is apparent in its number of cantos (*larik*), *guru lagu* (the scheme of ending vowels in each stanza), and *guru wilangan* (the number of syllables). Although there is some flexibility with the nature of *pupub*, *pedotan*, and the unity of cantos, *guguritan* rules are still used as a reference. Wiranatakoesoema used the *pupub Kinanti* in his translation on Surah Al-Baqarah [2]: 3, as shown by the following:

الَّذِينَ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِالْغَيْبِ وَيُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنْفِقُونَ

Pikeun ka anoe sumudjud (8u)

noe pertjaja ka noe gaib (8i)

ka Allah Maha Kawasa (8a)

noe getol salat ngabakti (8i)

sok sidkab ka noe masakat (8a)

ti ridjki pasihan Goesti (8i)⁴⁷

For those who bow down
believe in the unseen
believe in God The Almighty
who steadfast in prayer and worship
give alms to the poor people
which God has provided

The translation demonstrates that Wiranatakoesoema uses the *pupub Kinanti* rules strictly. There are six cantos in the translation. Every

⁴⁶ Iip Zulkifli Yahya, "Saritilawah Nur Hidayah, Karya Besar Miskin Apresiasi", *Pikiran Rakyat* (20 Dec 2002).

⁴⁷ R.A.A. Wiranatakoesoema, *Soerat al-Baqarah: Tafsir Soenda* (Bandoeng: Poesaka, 1949), p. 2.

canto consists of eight syllables. The stanza uses a *guru lagu* which follows the *Kinanti* rules (u-i-a-i-a-i). This translation can be sung like other *guguritan*, and the harmony of lyrics and tone must be felt when the work is sung. Therefore, translating the Quran in the form of *guguritan* was very difficult, like a puzzle. When translating, Wiranatakoesoema did not consider only his fidelity to the *guguritan* rules, but also paid attention to the harmony of the lyrics and the tone as a Sundanese song.

Translation of the Quran in the form of *guguritan* is presumably more complex than other translations of the Quran. This can be seen in both H.B. Jassin's *Bacaan Mulia* and Abdullah Yusuf Ali's *The Holy Qur'an*, both of which tend to emphasize the Holy Book's beautiful and poetic language. Jassin and Ali's translation of the Quran were not restricted by the *guguritan* rules, such as the number of cantos, syllables, or the *guru lagu*:

*(Yaitu) mereka yang beriman kepada yang gaih,
Yang mendirikan shalat,
Dan menafkahkan sebahagian dari rezeki
Yang kepadanya Kami berikan*⁴⁸

Who believe in the Unseen,
are steadfast in prayer,
and spend out of what We have provided for them⁴⁹

Both Jassin and Ali's translations only reflect the beautiful poetic language of the Quran. They do not have to consider the *guguritan* and *pupub* rules. Their translations are more free. Jassin says that his work was a poetic translation of the Quran, based on its beautiful sound, rhythm, metaphor, colors and mood. It was not a poetic translation of the Quran.⁵⁰

However, his emphasis on beautiful words in *Bacaan Mulia* was often criticized. H.B. Jassin was criticized because of discrepancies between his translation and the Arabic Quran. Oemar Bakry, Nazwar Syamsu and Siradjudin Abbas were the most serious critics of Jassin's

⁴⁸ H.B. Jassin., *Al-Qur'anul-Karim - Bacaan Mulia* (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1982), p. 2.

⁴⁹ Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust 'Ali, 2007), p. 2.

⁵⁰ H.B. Jassin and Oemar Bakry Haji, *Polemik H Oemar Bakry dengan HB Jassin tentang Al-Qur'anul Karim Bacaan Mulia* (Jakarta: Mutiara, 1979), p. 19.

Bacaan Mulia.⁵¹ Their criticisms were focused on faults in translation of verses based on Arabic structure and grammar. The polemics presumably were considered fair because Jassin and his critics have different points of view regarding the translation of the Quran. Jassin tends to emphasize the structure of the Indonesian literature, whereas Bakry for instance, is oriented towards using the structure of Arabic Quran.

It is not unexpected that fairly there are many critics of Jassin's *Bacaan Mulia*, especially on his faults in translation.⁵² It is interesting, however, that we have not found any critics of Wiranatakoesoema's *Soerat Al-Baqarab*, when the translation was limited by *guguritan* rules and thus the probability of errors, such as discrepancies of the meaning between the Arabic Quran and translation in the form *guguritan*, was higher.

E. Critical Notes

The translation of the Quran is one of the most important topics in Quranic studies today. Primarily, this is because the first book that many non-Arabic speakers will encounter in their attempts to understand Islam and its holy text is a translation of the Quran.⁵³ One of the translator's tasks is to convey the message of the source language effectively through the target language. The translator has to realize that a precise translation is impossible.⁵⁴ However, there are many faults of the translations, such as in the case of the 1990 edition of the Ministry of Religious Affairs's translation of the Quran. The faults generally occur in the use of effective and standard sentences.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Nazwar Syamsu, *Koreksi Terjemahan Bacaan Mulia HB Jassin* (Padang: Pustaka Saadiyah, 1978); Siradjuddin Abbas, *Sorotan atas Terjemahan Quran H.B. Jassin* (Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiyah, 1979); Jassin and Bakry, *Polemik H Oemar Bakry dengan HB Jassin tentang Al-Quranul Karim Bacaan Mulia*; H.B. Jassin, *Kontroversi al-Qur'an Berwajah Puisi* (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1995).

⁵² Moh. Zuhri, *Terjemah Puitis Al-Qur'an, Kritik Ilmu Ma'ani terhadap Al-Qur'anul Karim Bacaan Mulia Karya H.B. Jassin* (Yogyakarta: Lintang-PPs IAIN Walisongo, 2012), p. 156.

⁵³ Abdullah Saeed, *The Qur'an: An Introduction* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008), p. 119.

⁵⁴ Douglas Robinson, *Becoming a Translator: an Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Translation*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 164; J.C. Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation; An Essay in Applied Linguistics* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 93.

⁵⁵ Ismail Lubis, *Falsifikasi Terjemahan Al-Qur'an Departemen Agama 1990* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya, 2001), pp. 8–9.

In the case of *Soerat Al-Baqarah*, such faults can likewise not be avoided. This is generally a result of the limitations imposed by the rules of *guguritan*. Wiranatakoesoema realized that his poetic translation of the Quran was based on the formulated rules of Sundanese – rather than Arabic – poetry. It is certainly related to his background, as he could not understand Arabic well. Hence, he did not refer directly to the Arabic Quran. Wiranatakoesoema presumably referred to a Dutch or English translation of the Quran. There are three types of faults in his poetic translation of the Quran.

1. The Merging of *Ayat*

Wiranatakoesoema realized that his translation was limited by *guguritan* rules. He had to work as hard as possible to conform to these rules. Sometimes one *ayat* was merged into anywhere from a half a stanza to three stanzas. This depended on the length of the *ayat*. The following example demonstrates how Wiranatakoesoema used a stanza of *Kinanti* to translate two *ayat* of Al-Baqarah [2]: 5 and 6:

أُولَئِكَ عَلَىٰ هُدًى مِّن رَّبِّهِمْ وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ

Anoe kitoe lampah djoedjoer (8u)

tangtu ti Noe Maha Soetji (8i)

bagdja mareunang gandjaran (8a)

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا سَوَاءٌ عَلَيْهِمْ أُنذِرْتَهُمْ أَمْ لَمْ تُنذِرْهُمْ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ

ari djalma anoe moengkir (8i)

keukeub baé teu pertjaja (8a)

nadjan tjoekoep dipépéling (8i)⁵⁶

The above *Kinanti* translation of the Quran is merging of two *ayat*. Wiranatakoesoema presumably was forced to merge them because of the short translation. Both the fifth and sixth *ayat* have different themes. The fifth *ayat* deals with the pious, while the sixth *ayat* focuses on the unbelievers. Thus, Wiranatakoesoema appears to have ignored the different themes, those of the pious and the unbelievers.

In addition, Wiranatakoesoema's choice to translate only using the *Kinanti* meter may be one of causes of his faults. He tends to have using words and sentences. Because of this, it is understandable that

⁵⁶ Wiranatakoesoema, *Soerat al-Baqarah: Tafsir Soenda*, pp. 2–3

Wiranatakoesoema also used *Kidung*, another *pupuh*, which was freer and less restricted by the *guguritan* rules. Wiranatakoesoema's choice to use *pupuh Kidung* demonstrates his weakness, being unable to reach an appropriate compromise between the content and the *guguritan* rules. In a similar case, the later poet Hidayat Suryalaga used four kinds of *pupuh* (*Kinanti*, *Sinom*, *Asmarandana* and *Dangdanggula*) in his poetic translation of the Quran, "Saritulawah Nur Hidayah". Suryalaga realized the difficulty of translating the Quran into the *guguritan* form. It is like a puzzle, and the four *pupuh* gave him more alternatives.⁵⁷

2. Constriction and Expanding of the Meaning

In addition to merging *ayat*, Wiranatakoesoema also constricted and expanded the field of meaning to conform with *guguritan* rules. Both this constriction and expansion have not only caused a shift in meaning, but also semantically changed the text.⁵⁸ The translator presumably attempted to summarize his translation, in accordance with the number of cantos, syllables, and the *guru lagu* proscribed by *guguritan* rules. This shift of the meaning for example, can be seen in Wiranatakoesoema's translation of Al-Baqarah [2]: 20.

يَكَادُ الْبَرْقُ يُخْطِفُ أَبْصَارَهُمْ كُلَّهَا إِضْيَاءَ لَهُمْ مِشُوا فِيهِ وَإِذَا أَظْلَمَ عَلَيْهِمْ
قَامُوا وَلَوْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ لَذَهَبَ بِسَمْعِهِمْ وَأَبْصَارِهِمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ

Koe poék teu bisa madjoe
lolong teu bisa ningali
ari geus aja baranjaj
bisa madjoe leumpang deni
kitoe kawasana Toehan
torék lolong damel gampi⁵⁹

They cannot move in the darkness
Their eyes are blind, so cannot see anymore
Then there is thundering
They can move and walk again
This is the power of God
It so easy [to make them] deaf and blind

⁵⁷ Suryalaga, *Saritulawah basa Sunda Al Qur'an*, p. 14.

⁵⁸ Jos Daniel Parera, *Teori Semantik* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2004), pp. 106–7.

⁵⁹ Wiranatakoesoema, *Soerat al-Baqarah: Tafsir Soenda*, p. 6

In the above translation, Wiranatakoesoema attempts to concisely summarize his translation. This has reduced the meaning of the ayat. *Yakād al-barq yakhtaḥ abṣārahūm*, for instance, is understood as the darkness that makes hypocrites unable to move and walk, as with the blind. In addition, Wiranatakoesoema also missed the phrase *wa idhā azlam ‘alaihim qā mū*. He considered the meaning of phrase to be included in the first canto. It is also interesting that Wiranatakoesoema only translated the phrase *innallāh ‘alā kull shai’ qadīr* in three words, *kitu kawasa Toehan*.

We can compare Wiranatakoesoema’s translation with *Al-Amin* by Qamaruddin Saleh *et.al*. They tend to more faithful to the source language of the *ayat*.

*Méh-méhan éta gelap téh nyamber panénjo maranéhna, saban-saban éta kilat nyaangan bral maranéhna laleumpang, tapi upama reup poek deui reg maranéhna ngarandeg. Upama Allah ngersakeun, tanwandé dileungitkeun pangdéngé katut panénjo maranéhna téh. Saéstuna Allah Maha Kawasa kana sagala perkara.*⁶⁰

In addition to the constriction of meaning, Wiranatakoesoema’s conforming with the *guguritan* rules has also led to an expansion of meaning. There are many adding words was used in the translation, which are different than the source language. For instance, he has added the phrase *tjaang méncrang katingali* (bright and visible) and *ngobrol ngetjewis* (to talk) in the following translation of *Al-Baqarah* [2]: 77-78; it is not found in the source language.

أَوَلَا يَعْلَمُونَ أَنَّ اللَّهَ يَعْلَمُ مَا يُسِرُّونَ وَمَا يُعْلِنُونَ (٧٧)

*Maraneh koe njabo njoetjoed
jén Goesti Allah tingali
kana sagala perkara
nadjan noe diboeni-boeni
anoé témbong soemawonna
tjaang méntjrang katingali*

You know certainly
that God the most knowledgable
all matters
though they are hidden

⁶⁰ Qamaruddin Shaleh, Aminah Abdullah Dahlan, and Yus Rusamsi (trans.), *Al-Amin: al-Qur’an Tarjamah Sunda* (Bandung: Diponegoro, 1971), p. 15.

even though sometimes appear
They appear bright

وَمِنْهُمْ أُمِّيُونَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ الْكِتَابَ إِلَّا أَمَانِيَّ وَإِنْ هُمْ إِلَّا يَظُنُّونَ (٧٨)

*Antara manéh geus tangtōe
aja anoe benteu ngarti
teu pabam eusina Qur'an
ngan woengkoel ngobrol ngetjewis
barina nerangkeumana
ngan koe kira-kira badis.⁶¹*

Someone of you, indeed
there are who did not understood
did not understood the Quran
just talked
when (you) attempt to explain
It is just a sort of explanation

We can compare the above translation with that in *Al-Qur'an Miwab Tarjamahna dina Basa Sunda*, published by provincial government in conjunction with the West Java office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The latter translation is more faithful to the ayat than Wiranatakoesoema's *Soerat Al-Baqarah*.

Naha maranéhna benteu nyaboeun, yén saéstuna Allah Nu Maha Uninga kana sagala anu ku maranéhna dirabasiakeun jeung nu ku maranéhna diébréhkeun?

Ti antara maranéhna aya ogé anu ummi tur teu nyaraboeun pisan kana eusina éta kitab kajaba saukur meunang ngira-ngira, bari maranéhna téh ngandelkeun sangkaan wungkul.⁶²

Wiranatakoesoema presumably has chosen to be more faithful to *guguritan* rules than the meaning of the *ayat* in the source of language. This is a consequence of his quite difficult choice between a faithful translation from the source language and a beautiful translation following on *guguritan* rules. This cases demonstrate that Wiranatakoesoema did not faithfully translate from the source language. Hence, we can understand

⁶¹ Wiranatakoesoema, *Soerat al-Baqarah: Tafsir Soenda*, p. 32.

⁶² LPTQ Propinsi Jawa Barat (tran.), *Al-Qur'an Miwab Tarjamahna Dina Bahasa Sunda* (Bandung: Pemprov Jabar, MUI, LPTQ, Kanwil Depag, 2002), p. 21.

that Wiranatakoesoema preferred call his translation in *Soerat Al-Baqarah* – as a tafsir, rather than translation. In the beginning of his *guguritan Soerat Al-Baqarah*, he states:

*Kalawan asma Jang Agoeng
Allah Noe Moerah toer Asib
Aliflaamim nami soerat
sareng kasebatna deni
Albaqarah katelahna
ajeuna badé ditafsir*⁶³

In the name of God the Most Great
Allah the Merciful and Compassionate
Aliflamim is a name of surah
and it is also called
as Albaqarah
now would be interpreted

The term of *tafsir* is preferable over translation, because the Quran cannot be translated precisely into any language without some interpretations.⁶⁴ This argument has been considered a reason to reject the translation of the Quran into non-Arabic languages, particularly in Egypt and Indonesia.⁶⁵ In West Java, Ahmad Sanusi's *tafsir* and translation of the Quran was rejected in 1934. He published a commentary on the Quran in Malay, *Tamsjijatoel-Moeslimin*.⁶⁶ Wiranatakoesoema presumably realized that his *Soerat Al-Baqarah* was no longer a translation, but *tafsir*. It was not considered pure *tafsir*, which is similar to commentary or detailed interpretation. Rather, *Soerat Al-Baqarah* can be considered a *tafsiriyyah* translation, not *harfiyyah* (literal translation).⁶⁷ The literal translation is generally considered to be more difficult than a *tafsiriyyah* one. Thus, it can be understood that Wiranatakoesoema chose to complete a *tafsiriyyah*

⁶³ Wiranatakoesoema, *Soerat al-Baqarah: Tafsir Soenda*, p. 1.

⁶⁴ Zimmer, "Al-'Arabiyah and Basa Sunda", p. 36.

⁶⁵ Moch Nur Ichwan, "Differing Responses to an Ahmadi Translation and Exegesis: the Holy Qur'an in Egypt and Indonesian", *Archipel*, vol. 62, no. 1 (2001), pp. 143–61.

⁶⁶ Dadang Darmawan, "Ortodoksi Tafsir: Respons Ulama terhadap Tafsir Tamsjijatoel - Moeslimien karya K.H.Ahmad Sanoesi", Ph.D. Dissertation (Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2012).

⁶⁷ Mannā' al-Qaṭṭān, *Mabāḥiṭh fi 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Bayrūt: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1976), pp. 313–4.

translation through his *Soerat Al-Baqarah*.

3. *Loan Words*

Together with merging *ayat* and constricting and expanding meanings, Wiranatakoesoema used loan words from other languages, especially Malay. It would have been difficult if he used only Sundanese words in his translation of the Quran. The Malay word *Toeban* ("God"), for instance, had to be used because the end of vowel is (a). In *Al-Baqarah* [2]: 20, he did not use the Sundanese word "Gusti" because the end of vowel is (i).

*Koe poék teu bisa madjoe
lolong teu bisa ningali
ari geus aja baranjaj
bisa madjoe leumpang deui
kaitoe kawasana Toeban
torék lolong damel gampil*⁶⁸

They cannot move in the darkness
Their eyes is blind, so cannot see anymore
Then there is thundering
They can move and walk again
This is the power of God
It so easy to deaf and blind

The word *Toeban* ("God") is a Malay word. As a Sundanese aristocrat who understood many languages, Wiranatakoesoema tried to adjust his translation to use words ending in the vowel (a). Therefore, he chose *Toeban*, not *Gusti*. This demonstrates that the Malay loan words were considered more appropriate alternative for his translation than Sundanese terms (such as *Gusti*). Thus, Wiranatakoesoema again showed conformity to *guguritan* rules as his main principal in the translation. Wiranatakoesoema used many Malay words, such as banjir darah (flood of blood, see number 30), warna kuning (yellow, 69), taheen (year, 96), Djabrail (Gibrail, 97), masdjid and masigit (mosque, 114), etc. All of these words were used to conform with the required vowel sounds required by the *canto*.⁶⁹ In addition, Wiranatakoesoema often used different

⁶⁸ Wiranatakoesoema, *Soerat al-Baqarah: Tafsir Soenda*, p. 6.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 29, 42, 50.

translations for the same word. The word *budan*, for instance, was translated as *pitudub* ('guidance') *jujur* ('honest') or *kabadéan* ('kindness') (see number 16), *panuhun* ('request') (97), *panuntun* ('guide') (159), and many others. See, for instance, the following translations of QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 2, 5 and 6:

*Ieu Kitab langkung agoeng
Radjaning Kitab noe leuwih
teu mangmang teu asa-asa
pitoedoeh pikeun Moeslimin
anoé taqwa ka Pangéran
noe sieun kabendon Goesti*

This Book is greater
The Great Book
there is no hesitation on it
It is guidance for Muslims
who has a piety of God
has fear hated by God

*Anoe kitoe lampah djoedjoer
tangtu ti Noe Maha Soetji
bagdja mareunang gandjaran*

That is honest
from the Most Holy
rewarded happily

*ari djalma anoé moengkir
keukeub baé teu pertjaja
nadjan tjoekoep dipépéling*⁷⁰

Meanwhile, man who refuses
He has not believed
though he was reminded

In addition to using loan words, Wiranatakoesoema used the denotative meanings of Sundanese words. He realized that the message of the *ayat* is very clear, and as such there are no metaphorical terms in *Soerat Al-Baqarah*. Wiranatakoesoema seems to have difficulty using poetic language, including the word repetition at the end and beginning

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3

of cantos. This is different than sufi *dangding* by Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852—1930), who is considered to be the Sundanese language's greatest poet and composed more than ten thousand stanzas of *guguritan* or *dangding*. Mustapa's *guguritan* are considered to be the most incredible Sundanese works.⁷¹

Finally, it is important to note that Wiranatakoesoema's *guguritan*, the *Soerat Al-Baqarah*, contributed not only to the development of Quranic studies in the archipelago, but also to the formation of Islamic identity in West Java. His work can be considered a pioneering translation of the Quran in the form of *guguritan*. Wiranatakoesoema has influenced other poets to compose translation of the Quran in a similar manner to his *Soerat Al-Baqarah*. Hidayat Suryalaga's *Saritilawah Nur Hidayah* (1994), for instance, is influenced by Wiranatakoesoema's work.⁷²

Hence, Wiranatakoesoema's work is recognized as having an important contribution in affirming the harmonious relationship between Islam and Sundanese local culture. His translation of the Quran in the form of *guguritan* enriches the treasures of local Islam. It converges and penetrates the Islamic values into the inner dimensions of Sundanese culture. The minds of the Sundanese are drawn and interpreted in the shadow of Islamic spirituality.

Between the 15th and 17th centuries, when the Malay Muslims began to adopt Arabic as a literary language, the Sundanese tended to retain their own character and literary language. Their language represented a strong limitation for them in maintaining penetration of foreign elements, and it formed the basis of identity feelings.⁷³ However, Islamization influenced the efforts towards vernacularization. *Sadur* and translation for example, show that vernacularization is a processing of ideas in accordance with the language and local culture. Finally, many Arabic words have become entrenched in the regional language.⁷⁴

Wiranatakoesoema, as a *menak* and poet, accommodated the

⁷¹ Ajip Rosidi, *Haji Hasan Mustapa Jeung Karya-Karyana* (Bandung: Pustaka, 1989), pp. 87–245; Jajang A. Rohmana, "Sundanese Sufi Literature and Local Islamic Identity: A Contribution of Haji Hasan Mustapa's *Dangding*", *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 50, no. 2 (2012), p. 315.

⁷² Suryalaga, *Saritilawah basa Sunda Al Qur'an*.

⁷³ A.J.S. Reid, *Imperial Alchemy Nationalism and Political Identity in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 29.

⁷⁴ A.H. Johns, "Penerjemahan Bahasa Arab ke dalam Bahasa Melayu: Sebuah Renungan", in *Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia*, ed. by Henri Chambert-Loir (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2009), pp. 51–3.

Sundanese traditions as an integral part of his faith, without losing his cultural roots. His position as a Sundanese aristocrat made it easy for him to obtain Islamic knowledge, especially regarding Quranic studies. His Sundanese cultural roots became an important means of his expression of Islam, as God borrowed Arabic cultural to accommodate the Quranic ideas. He expressed that the Islamic religion need not be wholly Arab, but that Sundanese culture could mirror the heart's religious experiences.

Guguritan is a form of local literature that has been used for local-language translations of the Quran. The translation in the form *guguritan* cannot be separated from the grand narrative of Islamic knowledge, especially Quranic studies. Wiranatakoesoema's *Soerat Al-Baqarah*, as a work of literature work, expressed his religious experiences in appreciating the Holy Quran. If seen from the larger context of tafsir discourse, Wiranatakoesoema's *Soerat Al-Baqarah* presumably represents an expression of local Quranic scholarship, that is expressed with a sense of Sundanese language and literature. His composition of poems are not different from H.B. Jassin's *Bacaan Mulia*, Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali's *The Holy Qur'an, Text and Translation*, A.J. Arberry's *The Koran Interpreted*, Muhammed Marmaduke Pickthall's *The Glorious Meaning of the Holy Qur'an*, and many others. Thus, Wiranatakoesoema's *Soerat Al-Baqarah* expressed the same beautiful feelings regarding the Quran, in Wiranatakoesoema's regional language.

F. Concluding Remarks

Based on the above analysis, it was clearly not easy to translate the Quran into the *guguritan* form. There are some translations which tend to be errors. This occurred because the *guguritan* rules limited the possible number of cantos and syllables, as well as the pattern of ending vowels available to the translator. The *guguritan* rules – part of Sundanese song rules – are essentially aimed to making a beautiful sound and tone (*murwakanti*). Indeed, *guguritan* can usually be accompanied by musical instruments such as flute and *kecapi*. Every *guguritan* can be sung, included *Soerat Al-Baqarah*. It can be said that the *guguritan* rules have led to subordination in the translation of the Quran. The use of *guguritan* for the translation of the Quran may have also caused a problem of inaccessibility of meaning. Thus, it can be concluded that literary language cannot be fully compared and translated.

However, the poetic translations of religious works, such as those

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by Wiranatakoesoema and H.B. Jassin, have to be studied continuously. These translators attempted to appreciate the beautiful literary nature of the Quran and imitated it in their languages. Wiranatakoesoema's *Soerat Al-Baqarah* imitated it in Sundanese literary genre, *guguritan*, and as such his work should be appreciated as an attempt to disseminate the Quranic message within Sundanese society.

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