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“TO JOKE ABOUT GOD”: ANECDOTES OF HAJI HASAN MUSTAPA

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Abstrak

Kata Kunci:

Anekdot,
Humor, Tuhan,
Budaya Sunda,
Keganjilan

Humor adalah salah satu ciri khas orang Sunda di Jawa Barat. Ini tidak hanya terlibat dalam pembicaraan masalah keseharian, tetapi juga masalah serius dan sakral. Masalah pun dihadapi dengan santai disertai canda tawa. Hal ini, dapat dilihat dalam sosok Haji Hasan Mustapa, seorang Penghulu Besar dari Kutaraja dan Bandung pada masa kolonial Belanda. Kajian ini fokus pada 209 cerita anekdot Sunda tentang Hasan Mustapa, yang dikumpulkan oleh sekretarisnya, M. Wangsaatmaja, dalam Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng (1930) dan Boekoe Dongeng djeung Tajarita Sadjarab (1932), serta pengagumnya, Ajip Rosidi, dalam Haji Hasan Mustapa's Jeung Karya-karyana (1989). Dengan teori humor Adjidarma, yang menyebutkan adanya tiga kategori humor: superioritas, incongruity, dan ekstraksi, hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa anekdot Hasan Mustapa didominasi kategori humor keganjilan. Hal ini dapat dilihat dari ungkapan ganjil seputar ketubanan di luar kebiasaan banyak orang. Dia tidak menggunakan bahasa yang menunjukkan superioritasnya sebagai pejabat yang disegani, atau mengeluarkan ungkapan pelepasan dari berbagai ketegangan dan hambatan. Hal ini dikarenakan tingkat pengetahuan keagamaan lawan bicaranya yang umumnya rendah, sehingga jawaban Mustapa dirasakan ganjil oleh mereka. Karenanya, dapat dipahami jika dilakngan orang Sunda, Hasan Mustapa dikenal sebagai ulama eksentrik.

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Abstract

Keywords:
Anecdote,
Humor, God,
Sundanese
culture,
Disengagem
ent

Humor is one of the characteristics of the Sundanese people in West Java. This is not only reflected in their conversations about everyday matters but also in severe and sacred issues. They sometimes faced these sacred issues relaxingly and laughingly. This, for instance, can be seen in the figure of Haji Hasan Mustapa, a Great Penghulu of Kutaraja and Bandung, during the Dutch colonial period. This study focuses on the 209 Sundanese anecdotes of Haji Hasan Mustapa collected by his secretary, M. Wangsaatmaja, in Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng (1930) and Boekoe Dongeng djeung Tajarita Sadjarah (1932) and Ajip Rosidi's book, Haji Hasan Mustapa's Jeung Karya-karyana (1989). By using Adjidarma's humor theory, which mentions three categories of humor: superiority, oddness, and disengagement, the results show that the oddness humor category predominates Mustapa's anecdotes. This can be seen in his strange expressions about the nature of God that are out of the box. He did not show his superiority as a respected Dutch official or extricate himself from various tensions and obstacles. This generally relates to the low level of religious knowledge of his interlocutors. Mustapa's answers were considered weird and out of the box. Therefore, it is understandable that among the Sundanese, Mustapa is known as an eccentric ulama.

Introduction

Like other nations, Indonesian people are also known to have a sense of humor. For example, the Sundanese in West Java is known as one of the ethnic groups that cannot be separated from such tradition. This is reflected in the imaginative character in *Si Kabayan* mythology, known for his comedy. His funny stories are spread from mouth to mouth, so he is considered as Sundanese's iconic character.¹ Because of this, the Sundanese writer, Ajip Rosidi (1938-2020), states that Sundanese have always been known to have a sense of humor and were even considered good at writing funny tales.² The same thing is conveyed by Raden Aang Kusmayatna Kusumadinata (1946-2010), better known as *Kang Ibing*. He argues that humor is difficult to be separated from the traditions of the Sundanese people. The humor here is not only in a unique sense in the field of comedy but also in the aspect of humor emphasised in the story

¹ R A Kern, "Kabajan," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 97, no. 1 (1938): 425–429.

² Ajip Rosidi (Ki Tjakakak), "Panganteur" *dalam Buntut Oa Djeung Lulutjon-Lulutjon Lianna* (Bandung: Tjupumanik, 1964), 5.

of the rhyme.³

One of the Sundanese who had a very prominent sense of humor was Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930). He is better known as a *mahwal* ulama (eccentric, out of the box), a practitioner of Sufism as well as the most excellent Sundanese writer who has served as *Hoofd, Penghulu* (religious expert working in the court during colonial era) or Great *Penghulu* of Kutaraja (1893-1895) and Bandung (1896-1917). As an indigenous elite (*ménak*), he was also known to be close to the Dutch adviser, C. Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), and was very reliable in supplying information on the situation in the Dutch East Indies as material for consideration for his advice to the colonial government.⁴

However, the humorous character of Haji Hasan Mustapa has not been studied. Even though his sense of humor is related to religious issues and social criticism, which not many people dare to do, there is an assumption that humor is not allowed in Islamic tradition.⁵ His humor is reminiscent of the poet Abu Nawas (756-814) and the wise figure Nasruddin Khoja (1208-1284) in Arab.⁶ Both are widely known for their logical conclusions full of witty jokes. Their subtle criticism of the rulers did not cause anger or offence.⁷ Like these two figures, Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes reflect a typical humorous narrative which is one of the distinctive features of Sundanese Islam, both in the oral and written form, a form of religion that is relaxed and full of humor, formed by the social situation as an ulama, humanist and charismatic official. He reflects the generality of the figure of a Sundanese humanist who goes through his daily routine with various problems, but he faces all of them in a relaxed

³ Harian Umum *Pikiran Rakyat*, Minggu, 11 Juli 2004.

⁴ Jajang A Rohmana, *Informan Sunda Masa Kolonial: Surat-Surat Haji Hasan Mustapa untuk C. Snouck Hurgronje Dalam Kurun 1894-1923* (Yogyakarta: Octopus Publishing, 2018).

⁵ Jaclyn Michael, "Contemporary Muslim Comedy," in *Handbook of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Lives*, ed. R. Lukens-Bull M. Woodward (Switzerland: Springer Cham, 2021), 1.

⁶ Franz Rosenthal, *Humor in Early Islam* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2011), xii.; Idris Shah, *The Exploits of the Incomparable Mulla Nasrudin* (London: Octagon Press, 1983); Philip F. Kennedy, *Abu Nawas, A Genius of Poetry* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005).

⁷ Abdul Hadi WM, "Siapakah Maulana Nasrudin," in *Humor Sufi, Sindiran-Sindiran Lucu Nasrudin Affandi*, ed. - (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1984), 5-6.

and calm manner.⁸

Hasan Mustapa's humorous personality can be found in a collection of Sundanese anecdotes written by his secretary, M. Wangsaatmaja (d. 1962), in *Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng* (1930) and *Boekoe Dongeng jeung Sadjarah* (1932), as well as in the collection of one of his admirers, Ajip Rosidi (1938-2020), in *Haji Hasan Mustapa jeung Karya-karyana* (1989).⁹ These three are the primary available and trusted sources. Wangsaatmaja's collection of anecdotes are the results of his direct experience in interacting with Hasan Mustapa or indirect experience as others told him in 1923-1930. Hasan Mustapa's book has been collected by Ajip since 1960s and was only published in 1989. The total number of anecdotes contained in the three sources is 209 anecdotes.

This article focuses on Hasan Mustapa's anecdotal stories from these three sources. This study analyses Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes through three humor categories commonly used to evoke laughter: *superiority* or *humiliation*, *oddness* or *bissociation*, and *disengagement* or *eliminating tension*. Superiority indicates that the subject is in a superior position, while the object of laughter is degraded (underestimated). Oddity refers to understanding a situation or event in two associative contexts that do not match. The last category refers to the removal of tension or inhibition.¹⁰

The authors found that no specific research has discussed the religious humor in Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes. Many studies on Hasan Mustapa have concentrated on Sundanese literature, biography, Sufistic thoughts, and his role as a Dutch colonial informant.¹¹ His characters and

⁸ Mikihiro Moriyama, "Poet in an Islamic Community: Cultural and Social Activities of Acep Zamzam Noor in Tasikmalaya, West Java," *Studia Islamika* 22, no. 2 (2015): 269–295.

⁹ M. Wangsaatmadja, *Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng* (Bandung: Dachlan Bekti, 1930).; M. Wangsaatmadja, *Bokoe Dongeng Djeng Sadjarah Djr. Hadji Hasan Moestapa, Hoofd Panghoeloe Pansioen Bandoeng Marboem* (Bandung: TYP. Dachlan Bekti, 1932), 71-131.; Ajip Rosidi, *Haji Hasan Mustapa Jeung Karya-Karyana* (Bandung: Pustaka, 1989).

¹⁰ Seno Gumira Ajidarma, *Antara Tawa dan Bahaya: Kartun dalam Politik Humor* (Jakarta: KPG, 2012).

¹¹ Wahyu Wibisana Tini Kartini, Ningrum Djulaeha, Saini K.M., *Biografi dan Karya Pujangga Haji Hasan Mustapa* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Depdikbud Jakarta, 1985).; Rosidi, *Haji Hasan Mustapa Jeung Karya-Karyana*.; Josep CD **AL-A'RAF**– Vol. XIX, No. 2, December 2022

works have been introduced and published, especially by Ajip Rosidi.¹²

Although there are several studies that point out Sundanese humor and *bobodoran* objects, only a few has touched on Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes. For example, a study of Sundanese *bobodoran* was conducted by Wijsman on the funny story of *Si Kabayan*.¹³ Then the study by Jusuf et al. focuses on the humorous aspect of old Indonesian literature, especially in folklore.¹⁴ Other scholars emphasise aspects of humor in Sundanese books. Fadil, for example, examined the humorous aspects of the short story collection of *Ki Merebot*, by Ahmad Bakri (1917-1988)¹⁵ and Umri's study on visual aspects in Kang Ibing's *Sundanese bobodoran* style.¹⁶ In contrast, Zakia Ulhaq examines the aspects of anaphoric and cataphoric references in Sundanese jokes.¹⁷ Although this study is related to

Iskandarwassid, Ajip Rosidi, *Naskah Karya Haji Hasan Mustapa* (Bandung: Proyek Sundanologi, 1987).; Edi S. Ekadjati, *Empat Sastrawan Sunda Lama* (Jakarta: Depdikbud, 1994).; Lutfi Abas, *Prolegomena to Haji Hasan Mustapa's Mystical Cantos*, October 6 (Malaysia, 1976).; Jajang Jahroni, "The Life and Mystical Thought of Haji Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930)" (Leiden University, 1999).; Jajang A Rohmana, "Sundanese Sufi Literature and Local Islamic Identity: A Contribution of Haji Hasan Mustapa's Dangding (1852-1930)," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 50, no. 2 (2012): 303-327.; Jajang A Rohmana, "Makhtutat Kinanti [Tutur Teu Kacatur Batur]: Tasawwuf Al-'alam Al-Sundawi 'inda Al-Haj Hasan Mustapa (1852-1930)," *Studia Islamika* 20, no. 2 (2013): 325-375, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v20i2.390>; Julian Millie, "Arriving at the Point of Departing: Recent Additions to the Hasan Mustapa Legacy," ed. Ahmad Gibson Albustomi and Haji Hasan Mustapa, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 170, no. 1 (April 2023): 107-112.; Jajang A Rohmana, "Colonial Informants and the Acehnese-Dutch War," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 49, no. 143 (January 2021): 63-81.

¹² Wendy Solomon, "Text and Personality: Ajip Rosidi in Search of Haji Hasan Mustapa," *School of Oriental & African Studies* 14, no. 41 (1986): 11-27.; Haji Hasan Mustapa, *Seri Guguritan Haji Hasan Mustapa (Asmarandana Nu Kami, Kinanti Kulu-Kulu, Sinom Wawarian, Dandanggula Sirna Rasa, Sinom Barangtaning Rasa)* (Bandung: Kiblat, 2009).

¹³ Lina Maria Coster Wijsman, *Uilespiegel-Verhalen in Indonesie in Het Bezonder in de Soebandalanden* (Santpoort: C.A. Mees, 1929).; Lina Maria Coster Wijsman, *Si Kabayan: Cerita Lucu di Indonesia Terutama di Tanah Sunda* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 2008).

¹⁴ Jumsari Jusuf (dkk.), *Aspek Humor dalam Sastra Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1984).

¹⁵ Julianus Fadil, "Aspek Humor Dina Kumpulan Carpon Ki Merebot Karangan Ahmad Bakri Pikeun Bahan Pangajaran Maca Carpon di SMP Kelas VII" (Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2013).

¹⁶ Gilang Abiogi Umri, "Aplikasi Ilustrasi Komikal pada Gaya Bobodoran Sunda Kang Ibing," *Jurnal Sketsa* 2, no. 1 (2015): 38-48, <https://ejournal.bsi.ac.id/ejurnal/index.php/sketsa/article/view/419>.

¹⁷ Mohamad Zakia Ulhaq, "Analisis Anafora dan Katafora dalam Wacana Buku

Sundanese humor, it is not related to Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes. This study is different because it does not only examine the Sundanese *bobodoran* aspect but also brings it together with the relaxed and humorous Islamic aspects of a Sundanese ulama and poet.

Sundanese Humor in West Java

Etymologically, there are several words in Indonesian that show humor, anecdote, buffoonery, humorous, amused, witty, laughter, and jokes. The term humor is commonly used in various studies of antics that provoke laughter in various world cultures until it is later adopted into Indonesian.¹⁸ The word humor comes from the drug "humoral", which refers to the Latin *umor*, meaning liquid. It is said, according to the beliefs of the ancient Greeks, the human body contains a kind of sap that can determine one's emotions.¹⁹ In addition to humor, the term anecdote is also used in this paper. Apart from being a humorous story that is short, interesting, funny and impressive, it is also based on actual events.²⁰

In Sundanese, words that are often used to show antics and laughter are *bodor*, *guyon*, *heureny* dan *banyol*. The term *bodor* or *bobodoran* is generally used in art performance events, primarily through *wayang golek* performances, jokes and marriage abdication. It is defined as *grappig* (funny), *voor potsenmaker spelen* (playing the clown/joking);²¹ *a Buffoon; the man who, at any exhibition, causes merriment* (a comedian; a person who, in some performances, brings joy);²² or *jelema tukang nyieun pikaseurieun batur in panglalajoan* (a person who likes to make other people laugh at the

Banyolan Sunda" (Universitas Padjadjaran, 2013).

¹⁸ Rod A. Martin, *Psychology of Humor, An Integrative Approach* (-: Elsevier-Academic Press, 2007).

¹⁹ Peter Baofu, *The Future of Post-Human Humor: A Preface to a New Theory of Joking and Laughing* (Cambridge: International Science Publishing, 2011), 4.

²⁰ Tim Penyusun Kamus Pusat Bahasa, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa, 2008), 63.

²¹ S. Coolsma, *Soendaneesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1913), 86.

²² Jonathan Rigg, *A Dictionary of the Sunda Language of Java* (Batavia: Lange & Co., 1862), 60.

spectacle or *tontonan*).²³

The performing arts of *bobodoran* have been used for a long time. This can be seen, for example, in the Dutch language newspaper, *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, edition of February 29 1936, which included a radio program agenda in the form of the *Bobodoran Wajang Golek* performance and scheduled to broadcast from 20.00 to midnight. In addition, the *Nieuwsgier* newspaper, which was published on Monday, September 27, 1954, also included the agenda for the Sundanese *bobodoran* event. Not only in the form of performing arts, but the term *bobodoran* has also often adorned the literary publications of books on Sundanese fairy tales, at least since the early 20th century. As recorded in the catalogue compiled by G. Ockelon (1966), of the 158 publications of Sundanese books in the 1910-1930 range covering the fields of literature, translation, and agricultural chapters, there are also books of Sundanese stories collections or fairy tales.

There are several famous Sundanese fairy tale books. Among these fairy tale books are (1) *Dongeng-Dongeng Soenda* (1910) collected by Mas Saleh and Ardiwinata, which consists of two volumes and covers fifty-four fairy tales; (2) *Pariboga: Salawe Dongeng-Dongeng Soenda* (1911) and *Roepa-Roepa Dongeng Soenda* part 1-2 (1914) compiled by C.M. Pleyte. Both contain 25 Sundanese tales and stories; (3) *Dongeng Warna-Warna* (1920) by Raden Ardiwinata contains 30 humorous stories; (4) *Pangledjar Galih: Nja eta Tiloe Poeloeb Tjarita anoe Parondok* (1921) written by Mas Sastrawiria which has 33 Sundanese fairy tales; (5) *Tiloe Dongeng Araneh* (1921) composed by L.A. Lezer which contains three Sundanese tales; (6) *Goegoejon* (1922) written by Sastrawinata and S. Goenawan which includes 76 stories; (7) *Dogdog Pangrewong* (1930) written by G.S. containing eight stories; (8) *Pitoeab Poepoerieun: Nja eta Roepa-Roepa Tjarita* (1911) by Wadi Wasta and Ardiwinata which includes 22 stories; (9) *Bodor Tri Wangsa* (1912) written by Tiloe Pal and edited by Gotama. As the title suggests, the book

²³ R.A. Danadibrata, *Kamus Basa Sunda* (Bandung: Kiblat Buku Utama, 2006), 99.

contains humorous stories with 50 short fables; (10) *Boekoe Dongeng djeung Sadjarah Djr. Hadji Hasan Moestapa: Hoofd Pangboeloe Pansioen Bandoeng Marboem* (1912) written by Wangsaatmadja. The book describes the life history of Haji Hasan Mustapa, which contains aspects of humor. This book will also be used as a source of study in this article; (11) *Goenoeng Gelenjoe: 50 Dongeng Pigoemoedjengeun* (1928) by Romans Bureau Joehana. The book is included in the funny book category, which contains 50 Sundanese fairy tales; (12) *Uilespiegel-Verhalen in Indonesie: In het Biezonder in de Soendalanden* (1929) is the result of L.M. Coster-Wijzman which was later published as a book. It contains a collection of funny tales of *Kabayan*. There is also a book entitled *Pitoeah Poepoerienn* (1911) written by Wadi Wasta and Ardiwinata and the book entitled *Pabrik Seuri dan Aki-aki Ogoan* by Gotama, which presumably belongs to that period.²⁴

In recent times, humorous Sundanese literature has also increasingly coloured the publication of Sundanese books after independence. *Cakakak* magazine, for example, publishes various humorous stories in Sundanese. Apart from that, *bobodoran* tradition is being exhibited increasingly in modern performing arts, such as *lengser* events, which often appear at weddings, sitcoms, comedy films, and stand-up comedies. The people of Bandung were also busy with the circulation of the funny story of *Cangehgar* which was often played on one of the private radio stations in Bandung. In 2008-2009, *Cangehgar* was very popular among the youth in Bandung.²⁵ Currently, on social media networks, quite a few videos have been uploaded entitled *Bobodoran Sunda* with the contents such as wayang golek performances (Si Cepot), *Cangehgar*, *léngsér*, funny tales from *Kang Ibing*, funny lectures or recitations and others. This shows that *bobodoran* has been attached and widely known by the public until now.

²⁴ G. Ockelon, *Catalogus Boekoe-Boekoe dan Madjallab-Madjallah Jang Diterbitkan Hindia Belanda dari Taheon 1870-1937* (Batavia-Amsterdam: G. Kolff and co., 1966); Hafidz Azhar, "Konsep Bobodoran Sunda dalam Buku Goenoeng Gelenjoe: 50 Dongeng Pigoemoedjengen Karya Romans Bureau Joehana" (Universitas Padjadjaran, 2019).

²⁵ Abdul Aziz dan M.F.M. Ginting, "Penyimpangan Prinsip Kerja Sama dan Prinsip Kesopanan dalam Wacana Humor Cangehgar Radio Rama FM Bandung," *JIPIS* 31, no. 1 (2022): 47–62, <https://garuda.kemdikbud.go.id/documents/detail/2602783>.

So far, humor in society has been manifested in various forms of culture, including Sundanese culture. This is inseparable from the position of humor, which has a significant function. James Danandjaja emphasises that humor entertains the hearts of listeners and storytellers in pain. Therefore, humor can channel existing inner tensions regarding inequality in societal norms. Humor has a great capacity for good if it can be awakened concerning social situations whose evils arise from taking things too seriously, such as superstitions, outdated taboos, and hatred as well as suspicion that have occurred among people.²⁶

Apart from that, Jaya Suprana also mentions the various functions of humor in the daily life of humans, including the Sundanese. Internally, he can instil an attitude of self-awareness, resilience against mental illness, and a philosophy of life so that he can be flexible in facing and overcoming various kinds of life's problems, increasing awareness and sharpening critical power, broadening the horizons of wisdom in seeking to solve problems, expanding the gate of self-readiness in receiving information from outside, increasing the potential of intuition and as a faith that has the potential to make humans aware of their own imperfections. Externally, the function of humor can also strengthen social control mechanisms, lubricant for communication between humans, which is always threatened with obstacles or distortions, efforts to instil compassion and eradicate hatred, as an element of forming and unifying opinions into the will and capacity for tolerance and solidarity and for the mechanism of counteracting and releasing destructive instincts of aggressiveness.²⁷

The explanation above shows that for a long time, the Sundanese have been close to the tradition of humor. Its humorous nature is not only seen in daily behaviour and is passed on by word of mouth but is also expressed in various artistic traditions, such as rhymes and several publications of Sundanese books since the colonial era. This shows that

²⁶ James Danandjaja, *Humor Mahasiswa* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 2010), 29-30.

²⁷ Jaya Suprana, *Humorologi* (Jakarta: Elex Media Computindo, 2013), 15-16.

humor is very close to the Sundanese, as is also reflected in the character of Hasan Mustapa.

Hasan Mustapa as a Humorous Person

This section will explain the figure of Hasan Mustapa as a humorous person living everyday life. This explanation is vital to show that Hasan Mustapa's life story is not only full of Sufistic spiritual reflections that require calm and seriousness but also a person who is relaxed, cheerful and fun in responding to various problems.

Hasan Mustapa was born in Cikajang, Garut 1852. He came from a Menak family who was very religious and enjoyed arts. A young Hasan Mustapa, apart from studying the Qur'an, was also a person who often watched various Sundanese art performances. He also lived long enough in Mecca when he was a child (1860-62), a teenager (1869-73) and an adult (1880-85). He also studied with many Sundanese ulama, then travelled around Java accompanying his best friend, C. Snouck Hurgronje, until he was appointed chief prince in Kutaraja Aceh (1893-1895) and Bandung (1895-1917).²⁸

Not many know that Hasan Mustapa's pleasant personality can be seen from how he got along and interacted with the people around him. As explained, he often showed his humorous character when interacting with Dutch officials, the Regent of Bandung R.A.A. Martanagara (1845-1926), a Kyai who was a friend of his from the Pesantren Singaparna, court judges, couriers and ordinary people who asked for his fatwas in resolving religious issues. Even in a number of his letters in Arabic with Snouck Hurgronje, Hasan Mustapa also often showed his humorous side when conveying the development of the socio-religious situation in Aceh and Bandung. Table (1) shows several examples of humor that Hasan Mustapa has spoken in various conditions:

²⁸ Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia, The Umma below the Winds* (London-New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 82-84.; Jajat Burhanudin, "Islamic Knowledge, Authority and Political Power: The 'Ulama in Colonial Indonesia'" (Leiden University, 2007), 104.

	Anecdote	Translation
Hasan Mustapa and Dutch Officials	<i>Ka kaula aya Tuan anu nyarita, pokna: "Sebetulnya agama toh sama juga." Dijawab: "Apanya? Betulnya? Atawa salabnya?" Ngajawab: "Kenapa bilang begitu?" Dijawab: "Sebab Tuan tukang ukur, tukang timbangan, tentu tahu berat entengnya sama." (Manehna) malik bari seuri: "Ah, Penghulu pinter sekali." Dijawab: "Tuan yang pintar sekali, bisa ukur sonder kerana meter, (bisa) timbang berat sonder kilo. Saya berani bilang yang saya bodoh memikul agama tidak berasa berat dan entengnya."²⁹</i>	A gentleman (Dutch official) approached me and said: "Actually (all) religions are the same anyway." Mustapa responded: "In what sense? Its truth? Or its fault?" Dutchman replied: "Why did you say that?" Mustapa replied: "Because, you....sir, the measurer, the scaler, of course, knows its light and weight." Dutchman turned around with a smile and said: "Ah, you are so smart." Mustapa replied: "Sir, you are smarter, you can measure sonder by meter, (can) measure the weight of sonder in kilos. I dare to say something that I feel stupid for carrying religion, so it doesn't feel heavy and light."
Hasan Mustapa and the Regent of Bandung	<i>Dina hiji mangsa Kangjeng Dalem ngayakeun salametan. Dina palebah ngadu'a nya saba deui atuh, tangtuna ogé Panghulu Besar. Hasan Mustapa ngadu'ana panjang pisan, dina basa Arab. Atuh sarerea namprakkeun leungeun duanana, bari henteu eureun-eureun ngucapkeun "Amin. Amin. Amin." Kaasup Kangjeng Dalem ku anjeun. Sabada bubarana, di jalan rék balik, salah saurang anu paham kana basa Arab, nyarita ka baturna: "Kacida éta mah Juragan Panghulu, nyeuksukan Kangjeng Dalem laklak dasar."³⁰</i>	One day, Kangjeng Dalem held an occasion. When praying, no one was worthy of it other than the Supreme Leader (Hasan Mustapa). His prayer was very long in Arabic. Everyone raised their hands while saying "Amen" without stopping, including Kangjeng Dalem. After finishing, on the way, when he was about to go home, one of the people who understood Arabic said to his friend: "How dare

²⁹ Wangsaatmadja, Bokoe Dongeng Djeung Sadjarah Djr. Hadji Hasan Moestapa, Hoofd Panghoeloe Pansioen Bandoeng Marhoem, 65.; Wangsaatmadja, Bokoe Dongeng Djeung Sadjarah Djr. Hadji Hasan Moestapa, Hoofd Panghoeloe Pansioen Bandoeng Marhoem, 80.; Ajip Rosidi, Haji Hasan Mustapa Jeung Karya-Karyana, 67.

³⁰ Ajip Rosidi, Haji Hasan Mustapa Jeung Karya-Karyana, 64.

		Mustapa, badmouthing Kangjeng Dalem (in his prayers)."
Hasan Mustapa and Kyai Kurdi	<i>Sakali mangsa (Ajengan) Kiai Kurdi narima surat ti Hasan Mustapa. Tapi euweuh eusian. Ngan keretas bodas baé beresih dibebekkeun. Ku waspadana sang Ajengan, surat nu mangrupa keretas bodas dibebekkeun baé téh disurahan: "Mundut bébék!" Atuh gancang baé néwak bébék, dipaparinkeun ka nu mawa surat, sanggakeuneun ka nu ngintunan serat.³¹</i>	Once upon a time, Ajengan Kiai Kurdi received a letter from Hasan Mustapa. However, there was no text content. Only a clean white paper cut into small pieces. Because of Ajengan's high level of knowledge, the letter in the form of white paper cut into small pieces was interpreted as: "Ask for a duck!" So, he immediately caught the duck and gave it to the letter carrier to give it to the letter sender.
Hasan Mustapa and courier	<i>Hasan Mustapa didenbeusan ku upas pivarangan Kangjeng Dalem dina wanci magrib meneran pisan Hasan Mustapa nuju netepan. Ari hég téh ngemban timbalan ti Kangjeng Dalem kudu naroskeun: "Dupi sétan aya sabaraha?" Hasan Mustapa: "Unjukkeun, dua kitub." Upas indit ngadeubeus ka nu nimbalan. Teu lila balik deni ngadeubeusan ka Hasan Mustapa, bari ngajukeun timbalan anyar, "Nu dua téh, mana?" Hasan Mustapa: "Hiji sétan dampal dalem, kitub. Dua, sétan upas."³²</i>	Hasan Mustapa was visited by courier from Kangjeng Dalem (Regent of Bandung, R.A.A. Martanagara) at sunset when Hasan Mustapa was praying. The courier got an assignment from Kangjeng Dalem to ask: "How many demons are there?" Hasan Mustapa: "Just answer, two." The courier then left. However, he soon returned to Hasan Mustapa and asked a new question, "Which two are those?" Hasan Mustapa: "Let's just say, a demon, Kangjeng Dalem. The second one was the courier.

Table (1): Examples of Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes

³¹ Ajip Rosidi, Haji Hasan Mustapa Jeung Karya-Karyana, 65.

³² M. Wangsaatmadja, Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng, 54.; Wangsaatmadja, Bokoe Dongeng Djeung Sadjarah Djr. Hadji Hasan Moestapa, Hoofd Panghoeloe Pansioen Bandoeng Marhoem, 107-108. Ajip Rosidi, Haji Hasan Mustapa Jeung Karya-Karyana, 67.

Some of these anecdotal examples show that Hasan Mustapa was a humorous person. His daily life could not be separated from his habit of solving various problems, which he responded to in a relaxed and funny manner. He did not hesitate to convey social criticism to those in power or face criticism directed at him in light language that invited a wry smile to his interlocutors. This is reminiscent of the popular humor done by Maulana Nasruddin Khoja. He is known as a Sufi teacher full of jokes with his logical conclusions in conveying advice to the rulers of Turkey to Bukhara.³³

Hasan Mustapa also showed the same thing, especially when dealing with authorities, such as Dutch officials and the Regent of Bandung. The anecdote story of Hasan Mustapa in coping with a courier (*upas*) commanded by Kangjeng Dalem, the Regent of Bandung, R.A.A. Martanagara, showed his courage in facing the authorities. The story of Hasan Mustapa's *bobodoran* anecdote occurred during the colonial period when all Sundanese people respected Dutch colonial officials. At that time, Kangjeng Dalem was generally respected by being glorified. No one dared to speak like Hasan Mustapa by saying that one of the demons is the Regent of Bandung. Even now, no one would dare talk to a ruler like that. Hasan Mustapa did it because the courier came to him when he was praying maghrib, so he disturbed his prayer like a demon and in the end, he had to cancel his prayer. This is the kind of humorous criticism of the authorities conveyed by Hasan Mustapa with humor that shows the depth of religious knowledge and courage in conveying humorous messages that others can easily understand. It is difficult for any Sundanese who does not smile when reading or hearing these anecdotes.

Hasan Mustapa's source of anecdotal stories

This section will explain the sources of Hasan Mustapa's anecdotal stories collected by his admirers and the distribution of anecdotal themes. This explanation is essential in showing that the anecdote has a historical

³³ WM Abdul Hadi, "Siapakah Maulana Nasrudin.", 5.

basis because it comes from reports constructed based on the experiences of historical witnesses that were collected and retold by Hasan Mustapa's admirers. Table (2) shows three sources of Hasan Mustapa's anecdotal stories that have been circulating in Sundanese society so far:

No	Collector	Books	Total Anecdote
1.	M. Wangsaatmaja	<i>Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng</i> (1930)	56
2.	M. Wangsaatmaja	<i>Boekoe Dongeng jeung Sadjarah</i> (1932)	92
3.	Ajip Rosidi	<i>Haji Hasan Mustapa jeung Karya-karyana</i> (1989)	61
	Total		209

Table (2): Sources and number of Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes

Table (2) shows three sources of Hasan Mustapa's anecdotal books. First, *Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng* (1930) written by Wangsaatmaja, Hasan Mustapa's secretary and published by Dachlan Bekti Bandoeng. This 75-page book was the first publication containing Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes, compiled around Ramadan 1348 H or February 1930. The spelling still uses the Ophuisen spelling (oe for u). On the cover of the book there is a statement "njaeta kapoedjian galih-pakoean ka marhoem djr. Hadji Hasan Moestapa Hoofdpanghoeloe pansioen Bandoeng (Galih Pakuan's tribute to the late Tuan Haji Hasan Mustapa, Penghulu of Bandung retirement). Galih Pakuan is the name of Hasan Mustapa admirers organisation consisting of Bandung menak figures, such as Wangsaatmaja, R. Prawirasoetignja, Nata, Odjoh, Engkos, Ama Bratakusuma and others. There is also a photo of Hasan Mustapa at 61 on the book's cover. At the bottom is an explanation that this book was collected and written by W.A. (Wangsaatmaja), which is printed for kaoman (his class). There is also a quote from Hasan Mustapa "Kabeh oge HAK mah seungseurikeuneun oerang doenja" (all rights will become the laughingstock of the people all over the world).

In the introductory part, Wangsaatmaja stated that the preparation of this book was intended to "leave parts" (*ngagehan*) for later generations

so that there is assumption that one had diligently collected Hasan Mustapa's essays. Even though it cannot be ensured that in 400 years, there will be a figure like Hasan Mustapa, as he admits. According to Wangsaatmaja, this book is a trace of the contents of Hasan Mustapa's inner experiences (*patilasan tapak pangeusi*), who later referred to himself as Bagawan Sirnadirasa (Begawan separates himself at the feeling) *bartosna anoe moepoesti moesti sirnaning galih ngabening di koen Taxoen*, meaning that what is special to the heart that separates yourself and be alone so that nothing disturbs you in nature *kun fayakun* (64). *Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng* is divided into several sections (articles), article (1) concerning the biography of Hasan Mustapa; article (2) regarding personality, daily life and works; article (3) concerning letters sent and received; and article (4) involving anecdotes and humor, with the total of 56 pieces. It can be seen that the anecdotes in this book were collected and compiled by Wangsaatmaja.³⁴

Second, *Boekoe Dongeng djeung Sadjarah* Djr. Hadji Hasan Moestapa (1932). This book is Wangsaatmaja's second book which contains Hasan Mustapa's anecdotal stories and published by the same publisher, *Dachlan Bekti Bandoeng*. The spelling still uses the *Ophuisen* spelling (oe for u). Considering its content and thickness, which reach 121 pages, this book is a development of the previously published book *Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng*. The difference is that most of this book is composed of metrical poetry. The *Mendakna* Committee published this book to commemorate one year after Hasan Mustapa's death on December 30, 1930. This committee was chaired by D.K. Ardiwinata, a Sundanese writer known as the author of the Sundanese first novel, *Baruang ka nu Ngarora*. Therefore, in this edition, there is a preface from Ardiwinata.

In his preface, Ardiwinata said that, at first, many people protested why he wanted to become the committee chairman. This was related to Hasan Mustapa's beliefs, which at that time were considered *mahimal* (out of the box), even though Ardiwinata was a member of the Islamic

³⁴ M. Wangsaatmadja, *Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng*.

Consensus with the views of *abl al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah*, an organisation founded to compete with the renewal movement in Bandung in the 1930s, one of which was the Islamic Union (Persis). Ardiwinata explained that his involvement was solely because he appreciated his high knowledge of the Sundanese language, Sundanese customs and sharpness of heart. Ardiwinata, who was also a Sundanese writer, greatly admired the nobility of Hasan Mustapa's knowledge in an essay in the form of *dangding* poetry, which he says was written by a Sundanese poet. He felt he had to learn a lot and kept remembering Hasan Mustapa's services.³⁵

Furthermore, this book contains several sections that are generally arranged as *dangding* poetry in various metrum (Kinanti, Sinom, Asmarandana and Dangdanggula). In the beginning, there are four stanzas of Wangsaatmaja's introductory poem. Then it continued with Chapter (1), which contains a poem about Hasan Mustapa's ancestors copied from Hasan Mustapa's own composition; Chapter (2) regarding birth to death; Chapter (3) about the impressions of his admirers, the number of children, his daily life, stories while studying in Mecca, works, students, personal letters, and anecdotal stories about him, with the total of 92 pieces. Some anecdotes are repeated from *Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng* with changes in sentence redaction.³⁶

Third, the book *Haji Hasan Mustapa jeung Karya-karyan* written by Ajip Rosidi and published by Pustaka Bandung in 1989. Ajip is known as a Sundanese writer and humanist. The anecdotal stories in this book were the result from Ajip's retelling of sources from two of Wangsaatmaja's books published much earlier, *Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng* and *Boekoe Dongeng djeung Sadjarab*. Not all anecdotal stories were retold by Ajip. However, Ajip also later added several other stories he had obtained from several members of Galih Pakuan and the editor of the *Parahiangan* magazine,

³⁵ M. Wangsaatmadja, *Bokoe Dongeng Djeung Sadjarab Djr. Hadji Hasan Moestapa, Hoofd Panghoeloe Pansioen Bandoeng Marboem*, 5-7.

³⁶ M. Wangsaatmadja, *Bokoe Dongeng Djeung Sadjarab Djr. Hadji Hasan Moestapa, Hoofd Panghoeloe Pansioen Bandoeng Marboem*, 71-131..

whom he managed to meet around the 1960s. Unlike the style of the two previous books, Ajip provides flowing illustrations, so his anecdotes seemed so alive. This book was then widely spread among readers of the past. This anecdote marked the popularity of Hasan Mustapa, who is known as a humorous official. The number of stories contained in Ajip's book is 61 pieces.³⁷

Considering the time signature, the three anecdotal sources for Hasan Mustapa were written after he died in 1930. Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng was written by Wangsaatmaja in the same year. Meanwhile, Boekoe Dongeng was written about two years later. As for *Hasan Mustapa jeung Karya-karyana* was published in 1989, although Ajip had collected anecdotal material since the 1960s. This shows that the anecdotes were collected by Wangsaatmaja as a result of direct visions or told by Hasan Mustapa when he accompanied him since 1923. At that time, Hasan Mustapa had retired from the position of *Hoofd*, *Penghulu* of Bandung in 1917. However, the contents of the anecdotes he told were related to the events experienced by Hasan Mustapa a long time ago.

In addition, from the three sources of Hasan Mustapa's anecdotal stories, when compared, the number of anecdotes in Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng are all republished in Boekoe Dongeng, so the total number of anecdotes from the two books is actually 92 as contained in Boekoe Dongeng. Meanwhile, if Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng and Boekoe Dongeng are compared with Haji Hasan Mustapa's book by Ajip, there are 28 similar anecdotes. Thus, as a whole, the total number of Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes based on these three sources is 125 anecdotes, mainly related to religious themes, such as about Allah, Satan, prayer and praying, compared to everyday ethical issues, social criticism and non-religious issues, such as matters of marriage, housing problems and rental housing.

Due to his position as the Great *Penghulu* of Bandung in charge of religious matters, Hasan Mustapa's anecdotal stories are primarily related

³⁷ Ajip Rosidi, *Haji Hasan Mustapa Jeung Karya-Karyana*, 62-84.

to issues of Islamic teachings. For his admirers, his courage in touching on religious issues made his anecdotes loved. However, some people are still determining if they dare to do so because it is related to religion, which is considered sacred. Sundanese Muslims are generally very careful when talking about religion, especially if they approach jokingly and humorously it. The following section will analyse the categories of Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes from the perspective of humor theory.

Hasan Mustapa's Anecdote Category

According to Adjidarma's theory of humor, several categories can be used to analyse a story or humorous message. These categories can be used as patterns to convey humorous messages to others. There are at least three humor categories: superiority or contempt, oddness or bissociation and disengagement or eliminating tension.³⁸ Superiority indicates that the subject is in a superior position, while the object of laughter is degraded (underestimated). Meanwhile, oddness refers to understanding a situation or event in two associative contexts that do not match. The last category refers to the removal of tension or inhibition. The following is an example of the three categories of humor in Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes::

Superiority

This category uses expressions that show the subject's superiority over others. Superiority indicates that laughter is in a superior position, while the object of laughter is degraded (underestimated). Here, laughter is a 'sudden triumph' of self-victory from the dishonour felt by others. The expression can be in the form of ridicule or contempt for the interlocutor that shows familiarity to provoke laughter from the reader or audience. It is shown in Table (3):

<i>Aya jelema kolot tumaros ka anjeunna: "Dupi ngaleuent bir, yaktosna halal atanapi haram?" Divalon: "Na ari silaing ngaji teh, kakara nepi"</i>	Some parents asked him (Hasan Mustapa): "Is drinking beer halal or haram?" Answered: "Why do you recite only the chapter on food, even though you are old?"
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³⁸ Sena Gumira Ajidarma, *Antara Tawa dan Bahaya: Kartun dalam Politik Humor*, 28-29.

<p><i>kana lelebokenn wungkul, sakuu geus kakolotan teh?” Nu naros teh, tanya laju ngaduakalian, kawasna isineun.</i>³⁹</p>	<p>The questioner didn't ask the question again, and he seemed embarrassed.</p>
<p><i>Hiji kiai ingeteun bae ka anjeunna, boga pibutangkeun f200 keur waktu di Mekah. Ti dieu tanya wani nagih, ti ditu tanya mayar. Tuluy ngadenbensan, dipariksa: “Bagea kiai, aya naon?” “Eta wireh gamparan kapungkur waktos di Mekah nambut artos ti jisim abdi.” Dawuhanana: “Enya. Geus kitu kumaha?” “Tab eta teh mangga bae, nyanggakeun.” Saurna: “Ari kiai, najan tanya disanggakeun ge, moal dibayar.”</i>⁴⁰</p>	<p>A kyai recently remembered that Hasan Mustapa owed him f200 while in Mecca. He didn't dare to ask, Hasan Mustapa also didn't want to pay. Then, he faced Hasan Mustapa. He said: “Welcome kyai; what's wrong?” “This is because you used to borrow money from me when you were in Mecca.” He said: “Yes. Then, how?” Yes, go ahead, whatever.” He said “Kiai, although I say whatever, I will not pay it.”</p>
<p><i>Anjeunna nampi serat ti sala sabiji putuna, basana: “Manawi aya sih pivelas, abdi nyuhunkeun dipasihan anu-anu-anuuu wireh bade lebaran. Ana diwalon ku anjeunna pondok pisan: “Sih aya, ngan pivelasna euwenh.”</i>⁴¹</p>	<p>Hasan Mustapa received a letter from one of his grandchildren. He said: “If there is <i>sih pivelas</i> (affection), I beg for so-and-so because Eid is about to come.” Mustapa answered him very shortly: “<i>Sih</i> is there, but only <i>pivelas</i>.”</p>

Table (3): Examples of Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes in the superiority humor category

The anecdotal quotes in the table (3) show Hasan Mustapa's superiority over his interlocutors. He feels superior, so he easily answers others with disparaging language. This is reflected in his words: “Why do

39 M. Wangsaatmadja, *Bokoe Dongeng Djeung Sadjarah Djr. Hadji Hasan Moestapa, Hoofd Panghoeloe Pansioen Bandoeng Marhoem*, 78.

40 M. Wangsaatmadja, *Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng*, 61-62.

41 M. Wangsaatmadja, *Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng*, 70.

you recite the Qur'an until the chapter on food only, even though you are already old?" A brave answer even though it was conveyed to a man older than himself. That was the answer to kyai who wanted to collect his debt. Instead of letting the kyai asked his money, Mustapa handed over the debt to himself. The same thing happened when his grandson asked him for money. Hasan Mustapa played the Sundanese vocabulary. Hasan Mustapa's three answers left his interlocutor speechless. Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes like these can make the readers laugh because of his superior position in front of his opponents that drives the readers to smile and laugh.

Oddness

Oddness or bissociation is understanding a situation or event in two incompatible associative contexts. This category shows if humor tends to bring an odd resolution to reveal two situations that will not occur simultaneously. Here, humor is created from a conflict between expectations and what arises from a joke. This oddity is in the form of humor in sudden circumstances and surprises. It happens when a person realises later that what he feels is humor and only laughs after thinking it over and finding it funny. Hasan Mustapa uses expressions that seem illogical at first glance or makes parables that are out of box for most people. This then sounds funny to the listeners and the audiences. This is, for example, shown in Table (4):

<p><i>Aya aki-aki, ka uninga sok remen ngadenbeusan, mewok di juru, ngadengekeun Anjeunna sasauran. Hiji mangsa dipariksa: "Bapa, geus papanggih jeung Rabul alamin?" Aki-aki: "Sumubun tanya acan, kaulan." "Ben, karunya," saurna. "Ayeuna mah kieu. Pegat bae tanya di parapatan!" Aki-aki ngahuleng, bari tuluy reg di parapatan. Reret ka kaler, brul! Aya nu tuluy ngulon, nu ngetan, nu ngidul,</i></p>	<p>Some grandfathers often encountered him in a corner, listening to Hasan Mustapa speech, once asked (by Hasan Mustapa): "Father, have you met God Rabbul 'Alamin?" The grandfather replied: "Not yet, sir." "Wow, poor," said Hasan Mustapa. "Now here it is. Just look at the crossroads."</p>
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<p><i>samaksudna, saniatna. Reret ka kulon, brul! Reret ka wetan nyakit, ka kidul nyakit.</i> <i>Aki-aki nyakakak bari mulang:</i> <i>“Manaboreng rabul soteh jelema mah saalam-alamna.”⁴²</i></p>	<p>The grandfather was silent, then arrived at the crossroad. He glanced to the north, the rabul people (came together), and then there were those to the west, east, and south, each having their own goals and intentions. He then flew west, east, and south. The grandfather suddenly laughed while going home: “Apparently, rabul means that people came together from each realm.”</p>
<p><i>Anjeunna ditaros ku hiji jalma: “Dupi Allah téh siga saba?”</i> <i>Gancang ngawaler, “Ari silaing geus nénjo kangjeng?”</i> <i>Nu tanya: “Parantos.”</i> <i>Hasan Mustapa: “Geus nénjo Kangjeng Tuan Besar?”</i> <i>Nu tanya: “Parantos.”</i> <i>Hasan Mustapa: “Tab séd saeutik ti éta.”⁴³</i></p>	<p>He was asked by someone: “How does God look like?” He answered quickly: “Have you seen Kangjeng?” replied: “Yes” Hasan Mustapa: “Have you seen Kangjeng Tuan Besar?” replied: “Yes” Hasan Mustapa: “Yes, slightly different from that.”</p>
<p><i>Aya nu naros: “Dupi Allah Ta’ala kungsi ka dunya?”</i> <i>Saurna: “Kungsi, tapi ngan salongok.”</i> <i>...?⁴⁴</i></p>	<p>Someone asked: “Has Allah Ta’ala ever been to the world?” The answer: “Once, but only glimpsed once.”</p>

Table (4): Examples of Hasan Mustapa’s anecdotes in the odd humor category

The anecdotal quotation above shows something strange in how Hasan Mustapa answers his interlocutors. Hasan Mustapa uses expressions that seem illogical at first glance or make up parables that are out of the box for most people. Hasan Mustapa's answer to an old man

42 M. Wangsaatmadja, Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng, 52.

43 Ajip Rosidi, Haji Hasan Mustapa Jeung Karya-Karyana, 62.; Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng: Aya nu wantar, geus naros kieu ka anjeunna: “Naon buktina Wujudullah?” Saur anjeunna: “Aeh-aeh! Na hayang nyaho?” Piunjukna: “Kantenan.” Dawuhanana: “Sid saeutik bae euy, gedean ti Tuan Besar” (Ada yang berani bertanya begini padanya (Hasan Mustapa): “Apa buktinya wujudullah (wujud Allah)?” Hasan Mustapa berkata: “Eh eh eh! Apa ingin tahu?” Jawabnya: “Tentu saja.” Katanya: “Sid sedikit saja, lebih besar dari Tuan Besar”) M. Wangsaatmadja, Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng, 72.

44 M. Wangsaatmadja, Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng, 67.

about God Rabbul 'Alamin at the crossroad showed something strange and odd. Initially, the grandfather just followed it, and he finally understood Hasan Mustapa's intention, that it turned out that rabbul meant people coming from each (direction) of their realm. The same goes for the question of proof of the existence of Allah. Hasan Mustapa "Just a little bigger than Tuan Besar." This shows Hasan Mustapa's bravery over Dutch officials. The same thing happened when stating that God has been to the world but only glanced once. He answered lightly because he was dealing with people who asked questions he was not supposed to ask.

Disengagement

The last category refers to the removal of tension or inhibition. This can arise from some lie or deception. This category is used to remove obstacles in the conversation, solve difficulties faced by other parties or silence them. Here, the trigger for laughter is obtained from being free from a pressure that previously dominated. The humor of detachment expresses the taboo, such as reducing fears about death and sex. Hasan Mustapa often uses his reasoning to solve problems that others find difficult. This is, for example, shown in Table (5):

<p><i>Kangjeng Dalem isuk-isuk angkat ka makam, ari mulih nyimpang ka bumi Anjeunna. Sanggeus calik, sasauran: "Pangulu, ari cek beja mah, jelema teh asalna monyet, nya?"</i></p> <p><i>Saur Anjeunna: "Sumubun, leres. Da saumur ge, abdi dalem mah, can mendek jalma sampurna. Mangga sanaos dampal dalem oge, naha parantos ngaraos sampurna?"</i></p> <p><i>"His, ari Panghulu, puguh wae acan mah."⁴⁵</i></p>	<p>Kangjeng Dalem went to the cemetery in the morning. When he went home, he stopped by Hasan Mustapa's house. After sitting down, Kangjeng Dalem said: "Penghulu, they say humans come from monkeys, right?"</p> <p>Replied: "Yes, that's right. Because, in your whole life, Abdi Dalem has never found a perfect person, even including you, the Majesty. Do you feel perfect?"</p> <p>"Of course not."</p>
<p><i>"Kang Pangulu!" cek hiji Tuan. "Pangomongankeun Aom, supaya daekeun ka H.B.S."</i></p> <p><i>Saurna: "Ab, cumah."</i></p>	<p>"Penghulu!" said one of the misters. "Please advise Aom to go to HBS." He said: "It's useless."</p> <p>"Why?"</p>

⁴⁵ M. Wangsaatmadja, Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng, 50-51..

<p><i>"Cumah kumaha?"</i> <i>"Cumah cek akang mah." Geura kieu:</i> <i>"beug diomongan; daek bae. Bus sakola,</i> <i>jadiii Dalem. Nitaah, web."</i> <i>Tuan gumujeng.</i>⁴⁶</p>	<p>"It's useless. If I advise him to go to school, he will become Abdi Dalem. And his job is just giving an order." The mister smiled.</p>
<p><i>Hiji sakitan ngaranna Haji Mustapa meunang hukuman.</i> <i>Tuan President ngabanyolan ka anjeunna. "Tuan Pangulu! (bari nunjuk ka sakitan), Haji Mustapa!</i> <i>Gancang bae kasurti ku Anjeunna:</i> <i>"Wah, tidak ada Hasannya tuan!"</i> <i>Tuan President gumujeng bari nyaur:</i> <i>"Nanti kalau ada Hasan Mustapa, tentu bilang tidak ada bajinya."</i>⁴⁷</p>	<p>A defendant named Haji Mustapa was sentenced. Mr. President (Landrat) asked Hasan Mustapa to joke. "Penghulu! (while pointing at the accused), Haji Mustapa! Quickly, Hasan Mustapa understood: "Well, there is no Hasan in his name, sir!" Mr. President smiled as he said: "Later, if there is Hasan Mustapa, you will say there is no "Haji."</p>

Table (5): Examples of Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes in the disengagement humor category

The example in Table (5) shows that Hasan Mustapa gave answers to the interlocutor's questions to eliminate tension or obstacles. He tries to relieve the barriers in the conversation, solve the difficulties the other person faces or silence him. For example, when Abdi Dalem asked for their opinion on the news that humans came from monkeys, Hasan Mustapa replied casually that this was true because he had never met a perfect person. This was later confirmed by Abdi Dalem. Likewise, with the request of a mister to advise his son to enter HBS school. Hasan Mustapa replied that it was useless because later, when he finished school, he would become an Abdi Dalem, and his job could only be to give orders. The mister smiled. The same thing happened when Haji Mustapa's name was similar to a defendant; Hasan Mustapa answered by saying his name without "Hasan". Here, Hasan Mustapa is often seen using his reasoning to solve problems directed at him and which others find difficult.

⁴⁶ M. Wangsaatmadja, Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng, 52.

⁴⁷ M. Wangsaatmadja, Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng, 69..

Hasan Mustapa uses these three categories of humor in his anecdotes as part of how to interact with his interlocutors so that his interlocutors smile bitterly and are speechless. This, of course, cannot be separated from Hasan Mustapa's social position, who has charisma and is respected by anyone who interacts with him. After all, he is known as an ulama who studied and taught for dozens of years in Mecca and later became Head of the Penghulu Kutaraja and Bandung, so the anecdotes that emerge must be read in the context of his incredible charisma and prestige in the eyes of his interlocutors, such as Dutch lords, regents, courtiers, kyai, couriers, his own grandchildren and others. In the theory of genetic structuralism, literary works are seen more in their sociological aspects than their intrinsic elements. This aspect of the sociology of literature analyses the structural relationship between literary texts, world vision and history. The story of Hasan Mustapa's anecdote cannot be separated from the sociological aspect that underlies the emergence of the anecdote.

In addition, considering the three humor categories, Hasan Mustapa's 209 anecdotes generally use oddness or bissociative humor. Table (6) shows the categories of Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes from the theory of humor:

No	Books	Total Anecdotes	Category		
			Superiority	Odness	Disengagement
1.	<i>Boekoe Singa-Bandoeng</i> (1930)	56	5	32	19
2.	<i>Boekoe Dongeng jeung Sadjarah</i> (1932)	92	17	63	12
3.	<i>Haji Hasan Mustapa jeung Karya-karyana</i> (1989)	61	4	53	4
		209	26	148	35

Table (6): Category of Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes from the theory of humor

Table (6) shows that Hasan Mustapa mostly makes odd and, at first glance, illogical expressions or makes parables that are out of the ordinary for many people. He did not use language that showed his superiority as a *Pengbulu* with a high enough position in society, nor did he discharge himself from various tensions and psychological barriers when communicating. This shows that Hasan Mustapa relies more on the strength of logical arguments that make sense to him, even though to his interlocutors, it feels strange and odd. This is related to the level of religious knowledge of his interlocutor, so Hasan Mustapa's answer is considered strange because it is beyond common sense. Therefore, it is understandable if then Hasan Mustapa is referred to as a mahiwal ulama (eccentric, out of the box).

The number of categories of odd humor that Hasan Mustapa did was in accordance with the ordinary conditions of the interlocutor he faced. In the case of the question about the appearance of God, for example, Hasan Mustapa's answer was in the form of anecdote. At the first glance, he seemed to compare God to humans even though Hasan Mustapa was following the mind of the person asking the question, who had the notion that God could be resembled. Because the questioner uses the question word: *jiga saha* (like what?), in fact, in Islamic doctrine, God is *mukhalafah li al-hawadits* (He is different from His creatures). Hasan Mustapa showed a sense of humor in approaching religion so that the questioner understood quickly because the questioner also showed a way of asking questions that invited a smile like a child. He seemed to be joking about religion in front of his questioner.

In the book *Patakonan jeung Answerna*, Hasan Mustapa emphasises how he advises others: *Ari mapatahan teh kudu luyu jeung alamna jalma anu dipapatahan. Lamun alamna budak, papatahan cara ka budak; Lamun alamna pidunya tudubkeun jalan kauntungan ceuk manebna*⁴⁸ (giving advice must be in accordance with the nature of the person being given advice. If he is a

⁴⁸ Haji Hasan Mustapa, *Patakonan Jeung Jawabna* (Jakarta: Dunia Pustaka Jaya, 1984).

child, then advise him in a childish way; if his intention is seeking worldly things, then guide him on the way to profit). Therefore, for Hasan Mustapa, the question posed by the questioner above is considered to be still alive in the realm of children because he asked in a childish way. Therefore, Hasan Mustapa answered in a childish way who didn't know about the attributes of God. This shows that in terms of genetic structuralism, literary works such as Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes are more influenced by the sociological aspect when the anecdotes appear so that they are dominated by the odd category.

This Sundanese *bobodoran* anecdote of Hasan Mustapa reflects more than just the Sundanese sense of humor. He expressed his sense of humor by touching on Islamic aspects, which some people consider *taboo*. There is a belief that humor is then kept away from religion. The nature of humor is full of laughter and is often accused of being an activity that can kill the heart. However, this does not apply to Hasan Mustapa. There seems to be the courage to touch the Islamic world, which is known to be serious and black and white with a humorous and relaxed approach. As a Sufi and a religious leader during the colonial period, the spiritual realm of Islam was deeper and more enjoyable. His critical thinking and humor in front of Dutch officials, such as the Head of Landrat and the Regent or Kangjeng Dalem Bandung, are not much different from the story of Nasruddin Hoja and Abu Nawas in the Middle East. He is not only strong in mastering spiritual powers but also in conveying his Islamic insights to authorities and society in a humorous and relaxed manner.

Among Galih Pakuan association, a group of his admirers, Hasan Mustapa's anecdote was repeated until it was finally spread from mouth to mouth. His anecdotes describe his pleasant, intelligent, sharp personality in assessing the human soul and his breadth of knowledge about religion and life. D.K. Ardiwinata, a Sundanese writer, judged him with the expression: "*Kagungan bakat iasa gancang ngajawab kana pertanyaan batur, iasa numpes bujab-bujab batur kalawan anu gampang pisan; jeung upama anjeunna mariksa ka batur, tara babari pijawabeunana.*" (Having the talent to answer

people's questions quickly, turn off other people's arguments easily, and vice versa if he asks other people, it is not easy to answer).⁴⁹ Because of this, Hasan Mustapa is known for his excellent speech; it is difficult for others to argue with him. Not a few Dutch misters liked his way of thinking and opinions. However, some people felt reluctant and worried about delivering a question to him as they would be cornered. Because of these excellencies, he later became known as an intelligent person. According to Wangsaatmadja, when he was in Mecca, he was also known as a "smart Javanese," which meant a smart person from Southeast Asia. For this reason, Snouck Hurgronje and other Dutch officials relied heavily on him to access information about Sundanese customs and the various events that occurred in Aceh and Bandung.

On the other hand, the position of Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes from a cultural perspective can also be viewed based on funny tales that developed in different societies in the Malay Archipelago and other parts of the world. Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes are similar to stories in the Middle East, such as the hilarious and witty Abu Nawas and Nasrudin Khoja as Sufi characters who depict funny stories and are both real figures. However, Hasan Mustapa's anecdote cannot be separated from the imaginative figure in *Si Kabayan's* mythology, which is stored in the collective memory of Sundanese people as a witty figure told orally. Later, a funny figure also appeared in the figure of Si Cepot in a wayang golek performance that entertained Sundanese people.

As there is a close relation between humor and culture, humor is considered part of the culture itself. Just as Abu Nawas and Nasruddin Khoja reflected an Arab-Islamic cultural background, Hasan Mustapa was also formed in an Islamic-Sundanese environment. This is slightly different from the mythological figures *Si Kabayan* and *Si Cepot*, who experienced cultural adaptation into art forms influenced by Islam. On the other hand, the relationship between humor and religion reflects the

⁴⁹ M. Wangsaatmadja, *Bokoe Dongeng Djeung Sadjarah Djir. Hadji Hasan Moestapa, Hoofid Panghoeloe Pansioen Bandoeng Marboem*, 5-7.

religious expression of Sundanese people, who are relaxed and playful amid the religious phenomenon of Islam, which is mostly too serious among the religious elite.

Conclusion

This study focuses on the anecdotes of Penghulu Haji Hasan Mustapa. The results of this study confirm that Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes show a relationship between the intrinsic elements of the story and social facts through the world and the historical visions or views he experienced. As a Sundanese, he cannot be separated from his character as a Sundanese who likes humor. The stories told by his admirers shows the relationship between the stories' structure and its historical reality, which is also full of humor. Even though he is known as an ulama, his style of conveying religion cannot be separated from his character as a humorous Sundanese. A personal combination that dares to give advice and religious messages in a relaxed and fun way, not relying on emotion and anger. This is the experience of Sundanese ulama in making fun of religion with humor. This study also reveals that the odd humor category dominates Hasan Mustapa's anecdotes, compared to the superiority and detachment categories. His anecdotes are marked by strange expressions about divinity that are unusual for many people. This is related to the level of religious knowledge of the interlocutors, who are generally ordinary people, so Hasan Mustapa's answers are considered odd to them because they are considered unusual.

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