

Indigenization of Islam and Local Culture in Manuscript of the *Wawacan Nabi Medal*

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Abstract

As one of the regions with a long history of cultural and religious interaction, the Sundanese people have developed a distinctive literacy tradition in accommodating the influence of Islam. Local texts produced during the Islamization period reflect the creative ways in which communities contextualized new teachings within their cultural worldview. This study examines the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* (WNM) manuscript as a significant expression of the indigenization of Islam in the Sundanese region. Written in Sundanese and structured in *pupuh*, the text narrates the life cycle of the Prophet Muhammad while integrating local cultural elements such as language, social values, religious practices, and artistic forms familiar to Sundanese audiences. The research employs a descriptive qualitative approach using philological and sociocultural methods to understand how Islamic teachings were adapted through the *wawacan* tradition. The primary source is the WNM manuscript from the collection of Muhammad Supyandi in Jampang Kulon, written in *Pegon* and containing several *pupuh*. Data were collected through manuscript inventory, transliteration, and content analysis to identify cultural expressions and Islamic values within the text. The philological work applies the standard manuscript method, using the Supyandi copy as the base manuscript due to its completeness and textual stability, supported by diplomatic transcription, limited normalization, and documentation of significant variants in a critical apparatus. The findings show that WNM represents a harmonious synthesis between Islamic teachings and Sundanese cultural identity. The prophetic narrative is reshaped into poetic form and endowed with ritual meaning, allowing Islam to be internalized not as an external force but as a tradition deeply rooted in local sensibilities. Through this process, WNM stands as a clear example of the successful indigenization of Islam in the cultural landscape of the archipelago.

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INTRODUCTION

Islam in the archipelago developed not through ideological confrontation or political conquest, but through a process of dialogue, adaptation, and integration with the previously established local culture (Razaq, 2025). This process produces a distinctive face of Islam, which is a grounded and cultural Islam. Abdurrahman Wahid introduced the term *Pribumisasi Islam* (Islamic Indigenization) to describe this phenomenon, an effort to instill Islamic values without having to erase local traditions, by adapting them to the socio-cultural context of Indonesian society (Wahid, 2006). In Wahid's view, indigenization of Islam does not mean changing Islamic teachings to suit local culture, but contextualizing the teachings so that they can be accepted and live in the local culture.

This process can be traced through cultural paths such as art, literature, and traditional rituals. Scholars and spreaders of Islam in the archipelago since the 15th century have used a lot of sufistic and cultural approaches in their da'wah (Azra, 2006). Through art forms such as puppetry, poetry, *hikayat*, and *wawacan*, they instill Islamic values into the existing cultural structure. This approach is not only effective in terms of social communication, but also shows the ability of Islam to adapt to the reality of local culture (Ricklefs, 2012).

Among the various regions in the archipelago, the Sundanese Tatars provide an interesting example. Before the arrival of Islam, the Sundanese people had a strong value system and cosmology, rooted in the belief in harmony between humans, nature, and the *Sang Hyang Tunggal*. This tradition is internalized in daily life, in language, traditional ceremonies, and spoken arts such as *pantun*, *kawih*, and *wawacan*. Islam then came to be present in this cultural landscape not as a foreign power, but as a teaching that enriched these local values (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). The acculturation that occurred gave birth to a distinctive religious expression, namely Islam that is polite, full of symbols, and respects the balance of the cosmos.

One of the concrete forms of acculturation is seen in the Sundanese Islamic literary tradition called *wawacan*. The *wawacan* genre is a work of narrative poetry in Sundanese that uses *metrum* or *pupuh* (such as Asmarandana, Kinanti, and Dangdanggula) (Koko, 1983). Historically, *wawacan* functioned as a means of entertainment, moral education, and Islamic da'wah (Fakhrurozi & Putri, 2019). This tradition is a medium to instill Islamic values through the language of local aesthetics and is very popular with nobles and *ustāz* in Sundanese-speaking areas (Moriyama, 2017). The reading of the discourse is usually carried out in various social events such as weddings, circumcision, *tingkeban*, and earth wishes. Through this art of speech, the Sundanese people get to know religious stories and Islamic moral teachings in a fun and communicative form.

One of the *wawacan* manuscripts that has important value is the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* (hereinafter abbreviated as WNM). This manuscript tells the story of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, but with Sundanese language, symbols, and social structure. WNM was found in the Jampang Kulon area, Sukabumi, and is still recited in various traditional rituals. The text is composed in the form of *pupuh* with the *Pegon* script, indicating the strong influence of Islam in the literacy system of Sundanese people in the 18th to 19th centuries (Suherman, 2019).

In WNM, the story of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad is depicted through typical Sundanese imagery: the appearance of light from the sky, the sound of white birds, and supernatural events that mark the arrival of a great man. The character of Siti Aminah is called "Dewi Aminah," describing the way the Sundanese people understand chastity through a feminine concept that is synonymous with the protector of life, such as the figure of Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Sri in Sundanese mythology (Holil, 2020). The use of this kind of local idiom is not intended to synthesize Islamic teachings, but rather to bridge religious understanding with widely known cultural symbols.

Furthermore, the social structure in WNM depicts the Arab world in the framework of the Sundanese kingdom, complete with the figures of kings, *patihs*, and *mantra* (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). This shows that the author of the manuscript used a social system familiar to the Sundanese people to depict prophetic stories, so that the teachings of Islam could be more easily understood. In such traditions, Islam is not presented as a hegemonic force, but is internalized into local values peacefully.

Research on the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* (WNM) is urgent because this manuscript is a primary source that is prone to damage and loss, so immediate philological efforts are needed to save the original text and its important variants before the historical traces disappear. In addition, scientific studies on WNM are still very limited; most previous research only alluded to discourse in general without analyzing WNM as a specific representation of the process of Islamic privatization in Sundanese Tatars. In fact, this manuscript contains concrete evidence of how Sundanese symbols, values, and social structures are used to present prophetic stories culturally, so it is important to enrich the theory of acculturation and the concept of Islamic privatization as initiated by Abdurrahman Wahid.

Not only that, ancient manuscripts as local wisdom store information that is very useful for human life (Haerudin & Koswara, 2019; Suherman et al., 2021). Cultural results from ancient manuscripts which are local wisdom have become the identity of the Sundanese people (Haerudin & Koswara, 2019). The manuscript is in the form of the written tradition of the ancestors, which contains knowledge from various scientific fields, such as health science (manuscripts that talk about medicines), literary science both fiction and non-fiction, manuscripts about history or origins,

manuscripts about religion (manuscripts that discuss *fiqh*, monotheism, history of the prophet, Sufism, hadith, *tarekat*) and others (Nurdin, 2015).

The urgency of this research is also evident from the function of WNM as a ritual text that is still read in several community traditions, but this practice is fading due to modernization; Documentation of its performative context is needed soon before the tradition is completely lost. *Wawacan* contains local wisdom and is a cultural heritage, especially for the Sundanese people, it is very important for the community to maintain and understand their values, regardless of the traditions of their parents (Septian, 2016). This research also contributes to the preservation of the Sundanese language, the structure of the *pupuh*, and the *Pegon* script which is increasingly rarely used, so that the results of the transliteration and digitization of WNM can be a reference for the revitalization of local literacy. More broadly, this research is relevant for strengthening religious moderation and a peaceful Islamic identity of the archipelago, because WNM presents a historical model of religious and cultural integration without conflict. An in-depth study of WNM not only saves intellectual heritage, but also enriches knowledge about local Islamic dynamics, supports cultural conservation, and provides a scientific basis for the development of cultural and educational policies in the future.

Several previous studies have highlighted the existence of Sundanese Islamic manuscripts as a manifestation of the Islamization of local culture. Undang Ahmad Darsa, Elis Suryani Nani Sumarlina, and RanggaSaptya Mohamad Permana examined the role of Sundanese manuscripts as intellectual heritage and a medium for spreading Islamic values through local religious texts (Darsa et al., 2020). The study confirms that the *Pegon* script manuscripts in the West Java region represent a synthesis between Sundanese culture and Islamic teachings that are firmly rooted in the literacy tradition of the community. Isep Bayu Arisandi also examines *wawacan* as a form of Islamic da'wah through the written tradition, showing that this kind of work contains Islamic moral values that are contextualized in the form of regional literature (Arisandi, 2022).

Another study by Nasrullah Nurdin highlights the role of religious classical texts in building the appreciation of local Islamic intellectuals (Nurdin, 2015). He emphasized that the tradition of writing regional religious texts is evidence of the existence of Islam that adapts to the local culture without losing the essence of its teachings. In the Sundanese context, Agus Suherman found that *wawacan* not only functions as a religious text, but also as a mechanism for forming the collective identity of the Sundanese Muslim community (Suherman, 2019). In addition, Munawar Holil through his study of the myth of Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Sri, explained that Sundanese people have a tendency to associate spiritual beliefs with the concept of sustainability and natural sanctity (Holil, 2020).

At the international level, A. T. Gallop's research on the Malay manuscript tradition provides an important comparative framework. Gallop shows that local manuscripts in Southeast Asia, both in Malay, Javanese, and Sundanese, are creative spaces where people process Islamic teachings into aesthetic forms and cultural symbols that they understand (Gallop, 2016). In addition to Gallop, Vladimir Braginsky in *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature* asserts that local Islamic texts in Southeast Asia do not simply copy Middle Eastern traditions, but feature processes of aestheticization, symbol localization, and theological adaptation that reflect the active interaction between Islam and indigenous cultures. Braginsky's findings show that the pattern of integration of Islamic teachings through literary narratives, local metrum, and traditional symbols is a characteristic of Southeast Asian manuscripts, so it is in line with the phenomenon found in the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* (Braginsky, 2022). These two international studies show that WNM is not only a local expression of Sundanese, but also part of a wide network of literary Islamic traditions in the Southeast Asian region that display uniqueness in combining Islamic values with cultural locality.

However, from these various studies, there is still a gap that has not been widely discussed, namely an in-depth study of the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* Lecture specifically as a representation of the privatization of Islam in Sundanese Tatars. Most of the previous research still focused on the

philological aspects or descriptions of the content of the manuscript, while the analysis of the ideological relationship between Islam and Sundanese culture in the WNM text has not been critically explored. There have also not been many studies that place WNM within the theoretical framework of Islamic privatization as initiated by Abdurrahman Wahid. In fact, this manuscript contains important elements that show the process of indigenization of Islamic teachings in local cultural symbols and practices, so it is very relevant to be reviewed from the perspective of local cultural sociology and theology.

Based on this gap, this research is important and urgent because it offers a new reading of WNM as a religious text that contains local Islamic dynamics. The analysis of this manuscript not only contributes to the study of regional philology and literature, but also broadens the understanding of how Islam interacts with the culture of the archipelago peacefully. Through this research, it is hoped that a broader understanding of how Islamic values such as monotheism, piety, and morality are translated into the form of Sundanese narratives, symbols, and social structures. In addition, this research is relevant to the context of nationality and religious moderation in Indonesia. WNM can be a learning resource to strengthen Islamic identity that is tolerant, polite, and rooted in local cultural values. In a global situation that often displays tensions between religion and culture, this research makes an important contribution to efforts to recontextualize Islam in the archipelago that is peaceful, cultural, and humanistic (M. Abdullah, 2014).

From this background, this research is directed to answer the main question of how elements of Sundanese culture are integrated in the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* manuscript, and how the manuscript represents the process of privatization of Islam in Sundanese Tatars. These two questions form the basis for analysis in the next sections that will discuss the elements of Sundanese culture in the text as well as its theological interpretation as a form of Islam that is grounded in the land of Pasundan.

METHODS

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach with philological and sociocultural methods. This approach was chosen because it is appropriate to explore the meaning and value contained in classical texts, as well as relate them to the socio-cultural context of the Sundanese people. Philology serves as the basis for studying the form and content of the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* (WNM) manuscript, while a sociocultural approach is used to understand how the text lives and functions in the environment of the society that gave birth to it (Moleong, 2013).

The main source of data in this study is the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* manuscript in the collection of Muhammad Supyandi, which was found in Dangdeur Village, Jagamukti Village, Jampang Kulon District, Sukabumi Regency, West Java. This Sundanese script is written in the Pegon script and consists of several *pupuh*s such as Asmarandana, Kinanti, Dangdanggula, and Mijil (Permadi et al., 2024). In addition to the main text, this study also uses secondary data sources in the form of the results of previous studies, literature on Sundanese culture, Islamic privatization theory, and cultural anthropology as supporting materials for interpretation.

The data collection method is carried out in three main stages. First, the inventory and description of the manuscript, including the identification of origins, physical characteristics, material conditions, types of scripts, and text variants that may appear in the manuscript. Second, transliteration and translation, which is to transfer the *Pegon* script to Latin letters, then translate it into Indonesian. At this stage, diplomatic philology is used, because the research focuses on presenting texts based on the form as they are according to the single available manuscripts, without reconstructing stemma or textual variants from comparative manuscripts. The resulting text retains its original characteristics, including the choice of diction, meter, and structure of the *pupuh*. Third, content analysis, namely identifying elements of Sundanese culture and Islamic values contained in the narrative, symbols, and social structure of the text.

The data that has been collected is analyzed using an interpretive approach, with the following steps: (1) data reduction to select parts of the text relevant to the research theme, (2)

categorization based on cultural elements according to Koentjaraningrat such as religion, art, language, and social organization and (3) theoretical interpretation using Abdurrahman Wahid's concept of Islamic privatization and Clifford Geertz's cultural symbolism.

To ensure the validity of the research results, triangulation of sources and theories was carried out, namely comparing the results of the text findings with field data (the tradition of reading the discourse in Jampang Kulon) and with the theoretical framework that had been determined. Thus, this method not only places the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* as a philological object, but also as a living text that reflects the dynamic dialogue process between Islam and Sundanese culture.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Islam in the Framework of Sundanese Culture

Islam in Sundanese Tatars developed in a cultural space that was already rich in traditions, symbols, and social practices. Sundanese people have long been known to have a belief system that emphasizes harmony between humans, nature, and the transcendent. When Islam came along, it did not erase the tradition, but filled it with new values sourced from the Qur'an and Hadith. This process produces a distinctive pattern of Islam, namely Sundanese Islam or Islam which is grounded in symbols, languages, and customary practices. One of the concrete proofs of this process is the existence of the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* (WNM) manuscript, which is not only present as a religious text, but also as a cultural practice that is integrated with the social life of the community (Wahid, 2006).

The reading of WNM is an effort to strengthen the synergy of Islam and local culture (Maulani & Holil, 2022). The tradition of reading the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* Reading shows how Islam is received through cultural mechanisms. This manuscript is often read in various social rituals, such as *tingkeban* (a seven-month ceremony of pregnancy), harvests, weddings, and the celebration of the birth of a child (Suherman, 2019). In the *tingkeban* ceremony, for example, the reading of WNM is believed to provide protection for pregnant women and the babies they are carrying. The community believes that the presence of texts containing the story of the Prophet Muhammad brings spiritual power that is able to dispel danger. This belief is in line with the view of the Sundanese agrarian community that every phase of human life must be protected by rituals that bring blessings from the Almighty (Holil, 2020).

At the moment of the big harvest, WNM is read as a form of gratitude for the abundant agricultural products. This shows the close relationship between Islam and the agrarian cosmology of the Sundanese people. The presence of religious texts in agricultural rituals shows that Islam is presented not only in the mosque space, but also in the cycle of daily life. Thus, Sundanese Islam is rooted in the close interaction between religious teachings and agricultural traditions and the natural cycle (T. Abdullah, 1987).

In marriage, the reading of WNM serves as a joint prayer so that the married couple obtains happiness, safety, and pious offspring. WNM is presented not only to educate or entertain, but also to strengthen social ties among the people present. WNM is a means of da'wah that is delivered in a beautiful and meaningful way, in accordance with the aesthetics of the Sundanese people (Arisandi, 2022). In the birth of a child, this manuscript is also read with the aim of bringing blessings to newborn babies. This text is understood as a medium to connect humans with divine grace, while strengthening social solidarity through shared celebration.

This phenomenon shows that WNM does not only function as a literary work, but also as a ritual text that is integrated with people's lives. In the framework of Clifford Geertz's anthropology, this can be understood as a form of religion as a symbolic system, in which religious texts present deep meanings and direct social action (Geertz, 1973). WNM is a symbol of blessing and salvation, reading it means presenting Islamic spiritual values in the daily life of the Sundanese people. Symbols in texts such as light, white birds, or the title "Dewi Aminah" have not only a narrative meaning, but also a social-religious function that reinforces collective beliefs.

The belief that the reading of WNM brings blessings and salvation confirms the existence of a form of religious syncretism typical of Sundanese-Islam. Syncretism here does not mean the mixing of dogma, but the merging of local cultural practices with Islamic values. Before Islam came, the Sundanese people had known the ritual of *ruwatan* or *hajat bumi* which was intended to ask for safety and welfare. After Islam entered, the function was retained, but its content and orientation were Islamized through religious texts such as WNM. Islam has transformed into a religion that is familiar, integrated with culture, and acceptable to the community without conflict of values (Nurdin, 2015).

This is in line with the concept of Islamic privatization from Abdurrahman Wahid, who affirms that Islam must be grounded in the local culture without losing its substance. Islam does not exist as a hegemonic force that rejects local culture, but as a teaching that gives new meaning to existing symbols and practices (M. Abdullah, 2014). In the context of WNM, Islam is presented through Sundanese literary forms, so that people can experience religious teachings in the language and aesthetics they are familiar with. In this way, Islamic values such as monotheism, compassion, and noble morals can be accepted more easily by people who previously had rich oral traditions and rituals.

Meanwhile, from Koentjaraningrat's perspective on the elements of universal culture, the practice of reading WNM encompasses several dimensions at once. First, the religious dimension, because the text functions as a prayer and a means of getting closer to God. Second, the social dimension, because the readings are carried out collectively and strengthen community solidarity. Third, the artistic dimension, because this manuscript is read with a beautiful *pupuh* rhythm. Fourth, the language dimension, because religious messages are conveyed through Sundanese language that is easy for the community to understand. WNM became a forum for Islamic acculturation with Sundanese culture in many aspects at once (Koentjaraningrat, 1984).

Social life in Jampang Kulon still shows a strong attachment to the practice of reading discourse, including WNM. The community believes that keeping or reading these manuscripts brings rewards, erases sins, and brings protection from harm. This view shows a distinctive form of local theology, in which the religiosity of the Sundanese people is measured not only through formal worship, but also through involvement in cultural traditions that are believed to have spiritual value. The *Wawacan Nabi Medal* has a dual role, namely as a religious text that conveys the story of the Prophet Muhammad SAW and as a social media that affirms the religious identity and communal solidarity of the Sundanese people.

Through Clifford Geertz's perspective, this phenomenon can be understood as an expression of lived experience religion, not just a normative religion (Geertz, 1973). Islam is present not only in the scriptures or mosque rituals, but also in art, language, and traditional celebrations (Sumiyati et al., 2024). This is what makes Sundanese Islam an integral part of the local culture where religion is practiced, lived, and interpreted in the traditional language that is familiar to the people.

Wawacan Nabi Medal discourse represents how Islam lives in the framework of Sundanese culture. WNM shows that Islam in Sundanese Tatars is not a foreign religion, but has been grounded in social practices and local cultural symbols. The reading of this text in the ceremonies of the king, harvest, marriage, and birth shows how close the relationship between Islam and the daily life of the Sundanese people is. More than that, the belief in the blessings and salvation of the reading of this text confirms that Islam in Sunda grows through harmonious cultural paths, in accordance with the idea of Islamic privatization that emphasizes the importance of dialogue between religion and culture.

Elements of Sundanese Culture in the Manuscript of the *Wawacan Nabi Medal*

The *Wawacan Nabi Medal* (WNM) manuscript is a real representation of the process of Islamic adaptation in Sundanese culture. Through its language, symbols, and narrative structure, WNM displays how the Sundanese people interpret Islamic teachings in accordance with the local value system they adhere. The various cultural elements reflected in this text show that Islam did

not come to replace culture, but to enrich and reinterpret existing traditions. The existence of Sundanese cultural elements in the WNM manuscript is a relic of the Sundanese people who hold a variety of brilliant thoughts, ideas, ideas, religious systems, and views on life (Sumarlina et al., 2023). There are five cultural elements in the WNM manuscript, namely: language, livelihood system, social organization, religious system, and art (Rahmaniah, 2016).

Language and Social Systems

Language is the main element of culture as stated by Koentjaraningrat, because it is a means of conveying values, symbols, and social norms (Koentjaraningrat, 1990). The Sundanese language used in WNM is not only a means of communication, but also reflects the social system and hierarchical structure of society. The use of greetings such as *Kangjeng*, *Déwi*, *Raden*, *Nyai*, and *Sayyidi* shows respect for important figures and high social status. For example, the Prophet Muhammad is called *Kangjeng Nabi*, while his mother is called Dewi Aminah. The use of the term "Dewi" here is interesting because it indicates a form of acculturation with Sundanese mythology, such as the figure of Nyi Pohaci Sanghyang Sri which means goddess of fertility and protector of life (Holil, 2020).

The use of "Dewi Aminah" is not intended to change the concept of Islamic monotheism, but rather the way the Sundanese people pay tribute to women who are considered sacred and play an important role in spiritual life. The term has symbolic resonance with the concept of feminine purity in Sundanese cosmology, where women are often associated with the elements of earth, water, and mother life (Holil, 2020). In this context, WNM's narrative presents Islam through a language structure that is rooted in a sense of local culture. This form of respect through language shows the harmony between Islamic values and Sundanese customs, where politeness is the core of social and religious relations (Taufik, 2016).

The subtle and metaphorical Sundanese language also strengthens the spiritual nuances in the text. Terms such as *nurchahaya*, *manuk putih* (white bird), and *bumi ngageleger* (shaking earth) are symbols of the unification of natural elements and revelation. This symbolism affirms that language in WNM is not only a narrative tool, but also a theological instrument that connects humans with God through cultural expressions (Geertz, 1973).

Religious System and Traditional Ceremonies

In WNM, Islamic religious values are displayed in harmony with local traditions. One prominent example is the mention of the *tingkeban* ritual or salvation ceremony for seven-month pregnant women (Darsa et al., 2020). In the story of the script, Siti Aminah, the mother of the Prophet Muhammad, is depicted undergoing the ritual which is accompanied by prayers and praises to God. The Sundanese people interpret *tingkeban* as a form of gratitude for the new life that will be born, and in the context of Islamization, this event is accompanied by the reading of prayers and religious texts such as WNM (Suherman, 2019).

This tradition shows the synchronization between Islam and Sundanese agrarian customs, where spiritual and social aspects combine in one celebration of life. This ceremony reflects the theological view of the Sundanese people that salvation and blessings are obtained through the harmony between human efforts and prayer to Allah. Clifford Geertz calls this phenomenon a form of "symbolic religiosity," in which religious rituals become expressions of the moral and social values of society (Geertz, 1960).

In addition to *tingkeban*, WNM readings were also carried out in the event of the *ruwatan*, harvest, and new house salvation. All of these events have a theological and social meaning, namely asking for protection from calamity and strengthening solidarity between citizens. The existence of WNM in the midst of these events proves that Islam is accepted as an integral part of the religious system and rites of the Sundanese people (Nurdin, 2015).

Livelihood System and Agrarian Nature

WNM explicitly displays the agrarian elements that are the background of the life of the people of South Sundanese. The text mentions various natural elements and agricultural activities such as *teki* grass, sheep for *ngarit*, horses for *dijajap*, and *kaweni* fruits. Manuscript page 98 *pupuh* Dangdanggula 12th stanza.

<i>Ngala beuti jukut</i>	Harvesting grass tubers
<i>Jukut teki dikalian</i>	Grass Dug Up
<i>Jeung dongdoman</i>	and hay
<i>lajeng-lajeng diirik</i>	trampled
<i>Lajeng ditarapian</i>	then cleaned

On page 139 of the manuscript in *pupuh Kinanti*.

<i>Harita ka tegal rabul,</i>	At that time he went to the field
<i>sejena ngalian teki,</i>	About to dig a puzzle
<i>keur kitu aya soara,</i>	Suddenly a voice was heard
<i>aya nu nyeluk ti langit,</i>	Some are from the sky
<i>pokna hé sakabéh jalma,</i>	He said, O mankind
<i>supayana senang piker,</i>	To make the mind happy

The description is not just an aesthetic setting, but describes the closeness of society to nature. The agrarian world is a symbol of balance, simplicity, and hard work, all three of which are said to be values that are in line with Islamic ethics. In the view of the Sundanese people, nature is not just a resource, but part of a spiritual system that must be maintained (Nugraha et al., 2025). Islam that is present through WNM strengthens this ecological awareness by instilling the value of gratitude and responsibility for God's creation (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Philosophically, this concept is parallel to Koentjaraningrat's view that the livelihood system cannot be separated from the belief system and the moral values of society (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). The depiction of the agrarian world in WNM shows how Islam adapts to the social environment of the Sundanese people. The values of monotheism are not conveyed dogmatically, but through the language of natural symbols that are easier to understand by the peasant community.

Social Organization System

WNM describes the social structure with the terms *raja* (king), *patih* (minister), and *juragan* (skipper) to personify Arab figures in the story of the Prophet. In traditional Sundanese society, this feudal structure reflects a hierarchical but harmonious royal life system (Syukur, 2011). The author of WNM seems to have translated the pre-Islamic Arab social context into the Sundanese social system to make it more relevant to local readers. The word *raja* (king) is found in the WNM manuscript on page 60.

<i>Raja kagét mamananan,</i>	The king was shocked
<i>Ngadangukeun nu unjukan,</i>	Listen to reports
<i>ti abdi pangangon onta,</i>	From the camel herder's slave
<i>Kanjeng raja lajeng dangdan</i>	The king then dressed up
<i>Gura giru ka ki patih,</i>	In a hurry, he met the patih
<i>Paparéntah gancangna sadia,</i>	Commanding him, in short everything is ready
<i>balad-balad kumpul kabéh,</i>	The team gathers all
<i>Geus pinuh di alun-alun,</i>	The square is filled with
<i>Para ratu para mentri</i>	Queens and Ministers

The *patih* or prime minister is found in the following verses.

<i>Gura giru indit ka ki patih,</i>	In a hurry, he met the <i>patih</i>
<i>Paparéntah gancangna sadia,</i>	Commanding it, in short everything is ready
<i>balad-balad kumpul kabéh,</i>	The team gathers all
<i>geus pinuh di alun-alun,</i>	The square is filled with
<i>para ratu para mentri</i>	Queens and Ministers

Sayyidi (penghulu) mentioned 19 times. Repeatedly the word *sayyidi* is used to show respect.

<i>Siti Aminah ngawangsul,</i>	Siti Aminah replied
<i>nuhun pisan laksa keti,</i>	Thank you thousands
<i>abdi dilayad ku éyang,</i>	I was visited by Eyang
<i>wiréh ngajuru sim abdi,</i>	'Cause I gave birth
<i>ku abdi téh diwastaaan,</i>	I named it
<i>ieu Muhammad sayyidi,</i>	Muhammad Sayyidi

Juragan (skipper), called 4 times. On page 206 of the manuscript reads as follows.

<i>Cedok nyembah para jurit,</i>	Soldiers salute
<i>Indit sabatur-baturna,</i>	Departing with his colleagues
<i>Kocap geus daratang baé,</i>	It is said that it has arrived
<i>kabatur-baturna téa,</i>	To his friends
<i>paréntah juragan urang,</i>	Our master's command
<i>peuting ieu kudu cunduk,</i>	Tonight must arrive
<i>anu keur dipegat téa.</i>	The one who will be framed

The greetings are related to the social position that prevails in the archipelago, including the Sundanese Tatars. The presence of this system shows the public's understanding that Islam is not only a religion, but also a social system that regulates human relations with humans (Aswadi, 2012). The value of justice, wise leadership, and moral responsibility in leadership are the main messages that want to be conveyed through the kingdom structure. In this context, Islamic teachings are translated through analogies that are familiar with the social system of the Sundanese people.

Abdurrahman Wahid calls this form of adaptation "structural privatization," which is the application of Islamic values into the local social order without changing the substance of the teachings (M. Abdullah, 2014). WNM is thus not only a religious text, but also a social reflection of the Sundanese people's view of justice and leadership based on Islamic morals.

Wawacan Arts and Traditions

One of the most prominent elements of WNM is its artistic form. This manuscript is compiled in the form of *wawacan*, which is a rhythmic literary work that uses *pupuh* patterns such as Asmarandana, Kinanti, and Dangdanggula (Koko, 1983). In the Sundanese tradition, *wawacan* is a popular medium to convey moral stories, legends, and religious teachings (Hernawan et al., 2021). The reading of the *wawacan* is usually done by being sung (*maca pupuh*) using a distinctive rhythm.

This art functions as a very effective da'wah medium, because it combines elements of aesthetics and spirituality (Yunisa & Brutu, 2025). As said by Mang Koko, *pupuh* in the Sundanese tradition contains the value of moral education (*piwuruk*), which trains listeners to feel the truth through the beauty of sound and language (Koko, 1983). In the context of Islamization, this tradition is used to introduce Islamic teachings in a way that touches people's feelings.

In addition, *wawacan* plays a role in the formation of collective identity. The *wawacan* reading event is a social space where people gather, pray, and have a cultural dialogue. This

strengthens social solidarity while instilling Islamic values. In Clifford Geertz's view, art is a "cultural symbol system" that shows how religion works through local aesthetics (Geertz, 1973).

Representation of Islamic Indigenization in the Discourse of the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* (WNM)

The process of indigenization of Islam in the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* (WNM) shows the ability of the Sundanese people to interpret and absorb Islamic values through local idioms, symbols, and traditions. As stated by Abdurrahman Wahid, the privatization of Islam is not an effort to change Islam to suit the culture, but a way of placing Islam so that it can live in culture without losing the substance of its teachings (Abdullah, 2014). In the context of WNM, Islam comes with a soft face and is familiar with Sundanese culture: through subtle language, meaningful symbolism, and poetic social practices.

There are three main forms that show the representation of Islamic privatization in WNM, namely the local symbolization of Islamic teachings, the adaptation of narratives and cosmology, and the theological and social functions of the text.

Local Symbolization of Islamic Teachings

In WNM, the story of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad is depicted with a number of symbols derived from nature and local Sundanese myths. One of the most prominent symbols is the appearance of a white bird that carries baby Muhammad to the sky before being returned to his mother, Goddess Aminah (Armstrong, 2007).

<i>eukeur kitu aya soara ngaguruh, lir upama angin jadi</i>	Suddenly there was a rumbling sound It's Like the Wind
<i>ari datangna ti luhur, nu ngaguruh méga putih nu hadir pada nyaraho. Méga maca La Ilāha Illa Allāhu Allahu Akbar pamuji Sakabeh pada ngadangu pamujina méga putih, ti luhur ka handap moro bumi Déwi Aminah anu diburu dikubeng ku méga putih barina muji ngaguruh pamujina cara tadi bumi Aminah téh témbong Lila-lila méga putih jadi lembut, cara rupa manuk putih, sor nyampeurkeun éta manuk, nyampeurkeun ka nyai déwi ting kurubut ting korosok. Barang datang sor nyampeurkeun éta manuk nyaéta ka nyai déwi, murangkalih nu dilahun, direbut ku manuk putih, dibawa ka luhur nonjol. Ber dibawa nabi ku manuk ka luhur sartana nepi ka langit, terus ka langit ping pitu Déwi Aminah ningali, ngoceak nangis ngagero.</i>	Coming from above White clouds rumbling Those present all know Mega read La Ilaha Illa Allahu Allahu Akbar is his praise All the same hearing White mega praise From top to bottom to The House of the Dewi Aminah Covered in white clouds While thundering in praise The praise is like that Aminah's house can be seen Over time the white mega shrinks Resembles a white bird He approached To the Goddess Group When the bird arrives, it approaches To the Goddess His son who is in his lap Captured by the white bird Flown to the top The Prophet was taken to heaven Up to the sky Continue to the seventh heaven Dewi Aminah see Screaming crying calling

<i>Aduh naha anak aing dibawa manuk,</i>	Oh my son was taken by a bird
<i>gusti tiwas jisim abdi,</i>	I'm in danger
<i>kameumeut dipaling manuk</i>	Lover stolen by birds
<i>Nya Gusti Allah yang widi,</i>	O Great God
<i>anak abdi téh disebrot.</i>	My son was snatched
<i>Hanteu lila datang deui éta manuk,</i>	Soon the bird returned
<i>bari mawa murangkalih,</i>	While carrying a child
<i>ka Déwi Aminah hatur,</i>	And said to Dewi Aminah
<i>ngahaturkeun murangkalih,</i>	Returning the son
<i>dirontok bari dipangkon.</i>	Stabbed and Stabbed
<i>Manuk mulang Déwi Aminah ngadangu,</i>	The bird returns home Dewi Aminah hears
<i>aya soara kakuping,</i>	Sound heard
<i>Aminah ku manéh dangu,</i>	Listen to Aminah
<i>murangkalih putera nyai</i>	This is your son
<i>rat alam dunya kasohor.</i>	Famous all over the world

This scene has a deep theological meaning, which is the symbolism of the revelation and holiness of the Prophet. The white bird in the Islamic tradition is often associated with a holy spirit or angel, while in Sundanese mythology, the white bird is considered a messenger of the god who carries a sacred message from the sky (Holil, 2020).

This symbol shows a symbolic dialogue between Islam and Sundanese culture. On the one hand, the white bird represents the meaning of *nūr* Muhammad which is a sacred prophetic light that comes from God. On the other hand, he also reflects Sundanese cosmology which views the universe as a spiritual space full of signs of divinity (Holil, 2020). Through these symbols, the writer of the manuscript did not just copy the story of the Prophet's birth, but reinterpreted it in the language of local symbols that were easy for the Sundanese people to understand.

Clifford Geertz calls this form of absorption "religious translation," which is the translation of religious symbols into cultural idioms that are already known to the public so that the spiritual message can be lived more deeply (Geertz, 1973). WNM shows that symbols in Islam are not rigid, but are able to adapt to cultural expressions without diminishing the depth of their theological meaning.

In addition to the *manuk putih* (white bird), natural symbols such as light from the sky and *bumi ngageleger* (the earth shakes) also mark the birth of the Prophet (Sukmawaty, 2025). Both symbols affirm the belief of the Sundanese people that great spiritual events are always accompanied by natural signs. In Koentjaraningrat's view, natural symbols like this are part of the religious system of agrarian societies that see a close relationship between humans, nature, and divine forces (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Thus, through the use of these local symbols, Islam is not only conveyed in the text, but also presented as a cosmic experience that is one with the universe.

Narrative and Cosmological Adaptations

The second form of the process of privatization of Islam in WNM can be seen in the way the author adapts Islamic narratives and cosmology into the framework of Sundanese culture. Characters in the story of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad were given titles such as Kangjeng Nabi, Dewi Aminah, and Sayyidi Abdullah. These titles show two things at once: respect for religious figures and the adaptation of Sundanese social structures to the Arab-Islamic world.

The pinning of "Dewi" to Siti Aminah has a special symbolic meaning. In Sundanese tradition, the title "Dewi" is used for female figures who are considered sacred and the source of life, such as Dewi Sri, the goddess of rice and fertility (Holil, 2020). By using this title, the author of the manuscript does not intend to associate with God, but rather to instill a deep respect for the

figure of the Prophet's mother in the idiom of the local culture. This is in line with the concept of mother earth in Sundanese cosmology which views women as the guardians of the harmony and purity of the world (Holil, 2020).

Meanwhile, the use of "Kangjeng" for the Prophet Muhammad serves to affirm his high spiritual status. In Sundanese culture, the greeting "Kangjeng" is usually given to highly respected figures, such as kings or professors (Darsa et al., 2020). Thus, the author of the manuscript puts the Prophet Muhammad in a position that is in accordance with the ideal leadership concept of the Sundanese society: *pamingpin nu adil jeung wijaksana* (a just and wise leader). This linguistic adaptation is an effective strategy to teach prophetic values without creating cultural distance from the reader.

Cosmology, WNM displays a syncretic but harmonious Sundanese worldview (*weltanschauung*). The story of the birth of the Prophet is accompanied by cosmic elements such as light, mountain wind, and natural sounds. All of this shows the view that nature is a witness to divine events (Samsuri, 2020). In Islamic cosmology itself, the birth of the Prophet is often accompanied by cosmic phenomena, such as light to the sky or shooting stars, so this integration does not change the theological substance, but rather enriches the way it is conveyed (Kosasih, 2022).

According to Koentjaraningrat, this kind of narrative adaptation is a manifestation of "positive syncretism," which is the mixing of two symbolic systems that produce a new balance without losing its original identity (Koentjaraningrat, 1990). In the context of WNM, syncretism is a form of cultural creativity that shows the flexibility of Islam in interacting with local traditions (Sunandar & Tomi, 2023).

Theological and Social Functions of Manuscripts

The function of the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* lecture is not only literary, but also theological and social. In the community of Jampang Kulon and its surroundings, WNM recitation is carried out in various traditional and religious ceremonies. The community believes that reading this manuscript brings blessings, erases sins, and opens the door to sustenance (Nurdin, 2015). This belief indicates that WNM has been transformed into a living sacred text, not only a literary work that is read, but practiced.

From the theological side, WNM functions as a means of gentle da'wah (cultural da'wah). Islamic messages are conveyed poetically and symbolically, so that they are more easily accepted by the community (Suherman, 2019). With the form of the sung *pupuh*, Islamic teachings are present not in the form of doctrine, but in the form of aesthetic experiences. In the framework of Islamic privatization, this kind of method reflects the principle of humanistic da'wah that adapts the language of religion to the "cultural sense" of the community (Wahid, 2006).

From the social side, WNM reading is a place to strengthen togetherness. The tradition of *maca wawacan* is carried out collectively, where residents sit together, take turns reading, and sharing food after the event (Arisandi, 2022). In this atmosphere, Islamic teachings about ukhuwah, togetherness, and gratitude are practiced directly. Clifford Geertz defines this kind of practice as "lived religion," that is, a form of religion that is embodied in social and cultural activities, not just in normative teachings (Geertz, 1960).

Through its dual functions, namely spiritual and social, WNM shows how Islam becomes a unifying force in the life of the Sundanese people. Da'wah is not done through confrontation, but through harmony and aesthetics (Muhibuddin & Uyuni, 2025). In line with Abdurrahman Wahid's thinking, this kind of strategy is the core of Islam's privatization, which is to present Islam that is friendly to local traditions, as well as Islamizing cultural values that are in accordance with the principles of monotheism (Abdullah, 2014).

Cultural and Theological Significance of the Prophet's Speech

The *Wawacan Nabi Medal* (WNM) manuscript is a historical representation of Islam's success in instilling spiritual and moral values through cultural channels in Sundanese Tatars. He is proof that Islam in the archipelago does not develop through confrontation or cultural homogenization, but through a process of adaptation and subtle dialogue between religious teachings and local traditions (Muasmara & Ajmain, 2020). Through language, symbols, and distinctive art forms, WNM emphasizes that Islam is able to take strong roots without erasing the cultural roots that have lived in Sundanese society.

As explained by Abdurrahman Wahid, the success of Islam in Indonesia lies precisely in its ability to negotiate with local traditions (Abdullah, 2014). According to Wahid in Ngainun Naim's research, Islam came not to erase culture, but to fill it with Islamic values (Naim, 2017). In this context, WNM can be read as a concrete form of Islamic privatization, which is the process of internalizing Islamic teachings into the Sundanese cultural system. Islam is translated in the language of the people's sense through *pupuh*, natural symbols, and religious figures that are close to local cosmology.

From a cultural perspective, this script displays the typical character of Sundanese society that is gentle, polite, and aesthetically pleasing. The rhythmic form of *wawacan* shows that the Sundanese people understand religious teachings not only through rational reason, but also through aesthetic experience. As stated by Clifford Geertz, religious symbols and rituals serve to "establish an atmosphere of meaning" that allows its adherents to feel God's presence in daily life (Geertz, 1973). In this case, the reading of the WNM that is sung is not only a literary activity, but also a religious act that affirms the spirituality of the community.

WNM's strength lies in its ability to bridge two worlds: the universal revelation of Islam and the particular Sundanese culture. Through the union of the two, an Islamic model was formed that was not rigid, but had a local face and a universal spirit. The story of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad is depicted not with dogmatic language, but with the beauty of symbols and narratives that are in accordance with the agrarian worldview of the Sundanese people. This process confirms that Islam in Sundanese Tatars does not exist as a political institution or a structural force, but as a cultural force that lives in the collective consciousness of society.

This phenomenon is in line with Koentjaraningrat's view of the function of culture as a value system that regulates human relations with the environment and others (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). In WNM, Islamic values such as gratitude, justice, compassion, and moderation are not conveyed dogmatically, but are attached to the existing cultural system. Thus, Islam functions as the soul of culture, not as a substitute for culture itself (Syarifah & Wahyudi, 2016).

The existence of WNM also shows the way the Sundanese people construct theology in the local context. The concepts of divinity and prophethood in this text are not only interpreted metaphysically, but also ethically and socially. The figure of the Prophet Muhammad is described as a gentle, compassionate figure, and brings light to human life. This kind of narrative reflects popular theology, where Islam is understood as a religion of compassion (*rahmah*) that is close to the values of mutual compassion, mutual hoining, mutual nurture which are the three moral principles that are the foundation of the life of the Sundanese people (Darsa et al., 2020).

The privatization of Islam reflected in WNM not only touches the cultural realm, but also shapes social ethics. Through this text, people learn that religion is not just a formal ritual, but a social behavior that spreads goodness and balance (Yudi Arianto & Rinwanto, 2019). Islam is a source of value for the moral formation of society without having to impose a certain form of culture (Hermawan, 2020).

From the anthropological side, WNM also shows a dynamic value syncretization process. Koentjaraningrat calls this phenomenon a form of "cultural assimilation," in which two belief systems influence each other and give birth to a new system that is more harmonious (Koentjaraningrat, 1990). However, in contrast to syncretism in the sense of mixing dogma, in the case of WNM this process is more appropriately called "symbolic assimilation", which is the

absorption of local cultural elements as a medium of Islamic da'wah (Mukhlisin et al., 2018). Figures such as Dewi Aminah and the symbol of the white bird are not a form of theological deviation, but the result of translating sacred meanings into cultural idioms.

Clifford Geertz asserts that the success of a religion in the cultural context is not measured by its ability to replace the old system, but by its ability to give new meaning to existing symbols (Geertz, 1960). Through this perspective, the white bird in WNM is no longer just a local myth, but a theological symbol that is Islamized. In other words, Islam does not come to destroy old symbols, but to give a new spirit that is in line with the value of monotheism.

In addition to its theological meaning, WNM has great social significance. The reading of this manuscript is a collective space for the community to strengthen solidarity and spirituality together. In the ceremony of *tingkeban*, *selamatan*, and *ruwatan bumi*, the reading of WNM becomes a medium of social communication between individuals, society, and God (Suherman, 2019). In this atmosphere, the community not only heard the story of the Prophet, but also affirmed their identity as Sundanese Muslims.

This attachment between texts and social practices is what makes WNM a living text. It does not stop at the pages of the manuscript, but becomes part of the social and spiritual action of society. As explained by Nasrullah Nurdin, local religious manuscripts in Indonesia function as "binding the identity and spirituality" of traditional Muslim societies (Nurdin, 2015). In this context, WNM acts as a connecting medium between the past and the present, between local traditions and universal Islamic values.

Historically, the existence of WNM has also strengthened the idea of Nusantara Islam, a concept that emphasizes the importance of cultural approaches in understanding Indonesian Islam. According to this concept, Islam does not stand outside culture, but becomes an integral part of the process of forming people's identities (Bizawie, 2016). WNM shows how Islamic values such as *rahmatan lil 'ālamīn* are embodied in peaceful, beautiful, and humanist forms of culture. Islam does not exist in the form of uniformity, but in a dialogue full of love and appreciation for local culture.

In this framework, the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* is not only a literary text, but also a document of civilization. He retained knowledge of how the Sundanese people interpreted revelation and how they affirmed Islam without losing their cultural roots. Thus, WNM is proof that Islam in the archipelago grows through cultural channels, not structural. Islam spreads through language, symbols, and art, not through political power or conquest (Lestari & Yunita, 2025).

The cultural and theological significance of WNM also provides important lessons for the study of Islam and culture in Indonesia. First, that religion in the archipelago is contextual and plural in that it lives in the midst of various local value systems. Second, that Islam has a high adaptive capacity that is able to dialogue with traditions without losing identity. Third, that local culture is not a threat to religious purity, but rather a space where religion finds its relevance.

Through the reading of the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* Speech, we can understand Islam not only as a belief system, but as a living cultural tradition. Islam in the hands of the Sundanese people has become a friendly, aesthetic, and meaningful religion. As Abdurrahman Wahid emphasized, the duty of Muslims is to "make Islam a blessing for the culture in which it lives" (Wahid, 2006). In this context, WNM is a real example of how revelation is translated in the language of culture, and how culture becomes a bridge to deeper spiritual understanding.

This research has significant theoretical and practical implications for manuscript studies in Indonesia as well as in a global context. Theoretically, research on the *Wawacan Nabi Medal* (WNM) strengthens the understanding that the process of privatization of Islam does not only take place in social practice, but is also clearly recorded in the text. By showing how language, symbols, social structures, and local aesthetics are applied in the writing of prophetic stories, this research enriches the theory of acculturation and contributes to the anthropological study of texts that see manuscripts as spaces for cultural negotiation. These findings also broaden the international discourse on vernacular Islam and lived Islam, while providing a new perspective in global Islamic studies on how Islamic teachings adapt to cultures without losing their substance. On the

methodological side, this study emphasizes the importance of a philological approach that is integrated with sociocultural analysis, thus offering a new paradigm for the study of Nusantara manuscripts that focuses not only on the edition of the text, but also on the context of life, social function, and its performative dynamics.

Practically, this research supports efforts to preserve manuscripts through documentation, digitization, and revitalization of the *Wawacan* tradition which is beginning to be threatened by social changes. The research findings can be used for curriculum development in the fields of philology, regional literature, Islamic history of the archipelago, and cultural anthropology, thus enriching teaching materials with concrete examples of cultural and religious integration in the form of local texts. In addition, the methodological approach used can be used as a model for other manuscript research in Indonesia, especially in combining textual analysis with ethnographic observations of surviving traditions. In a global context, this research contributes to the study of world Islamic manuscripts by showing the peculiarities of the Sundanese literacy tradition as part of a plural network of Islamic civilization. In addition, the practical implications of this research are also relevant for efforts to strengthen religious moderation and national cultural policies, because WNM shows that the integration of Islam and local culture can give birth to a form of religion that is peaceful, inclusive, and grounded.

CONCLUSION

The *Wawacan Nabi Medal* (WNM) proves that Islam in Sundanese Tatars grew through a culture path that is peaceful, flexible, and firmly rooted in local traditions. Islam does not exist as a political or structural force, but as a value system internalized through language, art, and cultural symbols. Through the form of rhythmic *wawacan*, the Sundanese people present an aesthetic religious understanding in which Islamic teachings are combined with local language, taste, and manners without losing the substance of monotheism. In this context, WNM is concrete evidence of the success of the indigenization of Islam as initiated by Abdurrahman Wahid, namely an effort to instill Islamic values in culture without changing its essence. Anthropologically, WNM shows the integration of Sundanese cultural elements as explained by Koentjaraningra, namely language, religion, art, social system, and outlook on life. The refined Sundanese language, hierarchical social system, and agrarian cosmology became a forum for the appreciation of Islamic values. Symbols such as the *manuk putih* 'white bird' and the *Dewi Aminah* show the creative efforts of the community in interpreting prophetic teachings through local idioms. Through the reading and inheritance of this manuscript in various traditional rituals, Islam appears as a social and spiritual force that revives the collective consciousness of the Sundanese people about the meaning of divinity, humanity, and the balance of nature. The *Wawacan Nabi Medal* discourse is not only of philological value, but also theological and cultural. It is an important document for the understanding of Islam in the archipelago, namely an inclusive, humanist, and contextual Islam. This manuscript delves into the relationship between revelation and culture, which gives rise to a form of religion that is gentle, courteous, and fundamentally grounded. Islam, as presented in WNM, is not aimed at supplanting culture but rather at guiding it toward noble human values. This encapsulates the essence of Islam in the Sunda region: spiritual, aesthetic, and intricately woven into the lives of its people. Nevertheless, this study recognizes several limitations worth noting. First, the philological analysis relies solely on a single manuscript, which constrains the findings and prevents a broader reconstruction of text variants or the history of WNM's copying. Second, the examination of the performative context is limited to observations in Jampang Kulon, thus failing to capture the diversity of reading traditions in other Sundanese regions. Third, the research predominantly emphasizes cultural and theological aspects, leaving historical dimensions, networks of writers and copyists, and the dynamics of manuscript production unexplored in depth. These limitations create opportunities for future research. Subsequent studies should aim to locate comparative manuscripts to compile critical editions and gain a deeper understanding of the textual development of WNM. Furthermore, broader ethnographic research on the tradition of reading

wawacan is vital for examining variations in practice and shifts in meaning within contemporary society. Interdisciplinary approaches such as digital humanities, analysis of *pupuh* meter, or in-depth symbolic studies can also enhance our understanding of WNM's role in the development of Sundanese Islam and contribute to a more comprehensive exploration of Islam in the archipelago.

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