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Kitab kuning; Books in Arabic script used in the Pesantren milieu; Comments on a new collection in the KITLV Library

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A research project on Indonesian *ulama* gave me the opportunity to visit *pesantren* in various parts of the Archipelago and to put together a sizeable collection of books used in and around the *pesantren* – the so-called *kitab kuning*. These books are now kept as a separate collection in the KITLV library at Leiden. Taken together, this collection offers a clear overview of the texts that are used in Indonesian *pesantren* and *madrasah*, a century after L.W.C. van den Berg’s pioneering study of the Javanese (and Madurese) *pesantren* curriculum (1886). Van den Berg compiled a list of the major textbooks studied in the *pesantren* of his day on the basis of interviews with *kyai*. He mentioned fifty titles and gave some general information on each, providing short summaries of the more important ones. Most of these books are still reprinted and used in Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia today, but many other works have come into use alongside them. The present collection includes around nine hundred different titles, most of which are used as textbooks. I shall first make some general observations on these books, and on the composition of the collection. In the second part of this article I shall discuss a list of ‘most popular *kitab*’ that I compiled from other sources. All of the books listed there form part of the collection, however.

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1 Earlier versions of this article were read and commented upon by Abdurrahman Wahid, G.W.J. Drewes, J. Noorduyn and Karel Steenbrink, while numerous others helped me with pieces of information. These persons are not, of course, to be blamed for any mistakes or shortcomings, for which I bear the sole responsibility.

2 Handlists arranged alphabetically according to various classification criteria – author’s name, short title or popular appellation (as separate from the full title), subject, and language – have been prepared to offer the user easy access to and an opportunity to get an idea of the contents of this collection.
Criteria of selection and representativeness

In order to be able to judge how representative this collection is, a few words about my method of collecting will be necessary. I visited all the major publishers and toko kitab (bookshops specializing in this type of religious literature) in Jakarta, Bogor, Bandung, Purwokerto, Semarang, Surabaya, Banda Aceh, Medan, Pontianak, Banjarmasin, Amuntai, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Georgetown (Penang), Kota Bharu and Patani (Southern Thailand), and there bought all the available Islamic books in Arabic script printed in Southeast Asia. The latter two criteria may at first sight seem rather arbitrary, but I found them to be sociologically significant, as well as the most convenient ones. It is true, most toko kitab also sell limited numbers of Arabic books printed in Egypt and Lebanon (an agent representing the Lebanese publishing house Dâr al-Fikr has special shops for the sale of these books in Jakarta and Surabaya), but because of the price difference between these books and Southeast Asian editions they are bought by only a relatively small minority. They include reference works for the advanced scholar and works by modern authors which have not yet been accepted by the mainstream of Indonesian Islam. Any book for which there is a sizeable demand will sooner or later be (re)printed by one of the regional publishers.3

Similarly, the script in which a book is printed carries symbolic meaning and differentiates rather neatly between two different types of reading public. Indonesian Muslims even use different words for books in Romanized script (‘buku’) and those in Arabic script, irrespective of the language used (‘kitab’). Up until the 1960’s a well-defined line divided the Muslim community into ‘traditionalists’ and ‘modernists’ (with as their major socio-religious organizations the Nahdlatul Ulama and the Muhammadiyah respectively). The former used to study religion exclusively through kitab kuning (called kuning, ‘yellow’, after the tinted paper of books brought from the Middle East in the early twentieth century), while the latter read and wrote buku putih, ‘white’ books in Romanized Indonesian. The authors of buku putih usually rejected the greater part of the scholastic tradition in favour of a return to, and in some cases new interpretation of, the original sources – the Qur’an and the hadith. This may have contributed to the negative attitude towards buku putih that existed in the pesantren milieu for many years – in a few old-fashioned pesantren such books are still prohibited until this day. Traditionalist ulama writing books or brochures, whether in Arabic or in one of the vernacular languages, always used the Arabic script, and many of them continue to do so. Nowadays, however, the dividing line between ‘modernists’ and ‘traditionalists’ no longer is so sharp and clear, and many of the old antagonisms have worn

3 The said agent of Dâr al-Fikr has recently (early in 1988) started reprinting a few titles in Indonesia as well, under the name Dâr al-Fikr Indonesia.
off. The ‘modernists’ have generally become less radical in their rejection of tradition – significantly, there are now several Muhammadiyah pesantren offering a combination of the traditional curriculum (kitab kuning) and that of the modern school. Not only have most ‘traditionalist’ kyai, on the other hand, become more catholic in their reading, but many of them now write in Indonesian as well as in Arabic, Malay or Javanese. The Arabic script, though still the most unambiguous sign of a traditionalist orientation, is no longer a sine qua non for it. I have not therefore applied the criterion of script too rigidly, and have included in the collection under discussion a number of works in (Romanized) Indonesian which logically belong to the kitab tradition, being annotated translations of, or commentaries on, classical texts by ‘traditionalist’ ulama.

The criterion of Arabic script has on the other hand excluded one category of texts which are otherwise quite similar to those collected. Ulama in South Sulawesi (the most prolific of whom are Yunus Maratan and Abdul Rahman Ambo Dalle) have written religious texts in Buginese for use in madrasah and schools, employing not, as did earlier generations of scholars, the Arabic but the Buginese alphabet. A good many of these works are already in the KITLV library, while there are several bibliographies of them (Departemen Agama 1981/82, 1983/84).

The collection, for several reasons, is not complete. Most publishers have very limited storage facilities, and only a fraction of the books published by them are actually available at their sales departments. When a kitab is (re)printed, almost the entire edition is immediately sent off to toko kitab throughout the country. It is only by visiting many such shops and patiently combing the shelves that one will be able to obtain at least most of the more important works from major publishers. Virtually all the works mentioned in published sources or in conversations have been acquired for the collection, some even in several editions, in various translations, or with different glosses. But some of the less important works were simply out of print and were sold out in all the shops visited.

Furthermore, there are numerous minor local publishers bringing out works of secondary importance, often by local ulama. There are not a few such works in the collection, but it is likely that many others were overlooked. In spite of these limitations, however, the collection represents a fair cross-section of the study materials used in Indonesian (and Malaysian) pesantren and madrasah, as well as of the intellectual output of Indonesian ulama.

Statistics

Out of some nine hundred different works, almost five hundred, or just over half, were written or translated by Southeast Asian ulama. Many of these Indonesian ulama wrote in Arabic: almost 100 titles, or around 10%,
Arabic works by Southeast Asians (or Arabs resident in the region). Those in Indonesian languages were, of course, all written by Southeast Asians (including some of Arab descent). If we treat translations as separate works, the collection can be said to contain:

- around 500 works in Arabic, or 55%  
- around 200 works in Malay, or 22%  
- around 120 works in Javanese, or 13%  
- around 35 works in Sundanese, or 4%  
- around 25 works in Madurese, or 2.5%  
- around 20 works in Indonesian, or 2%  
- 5 works in Achehnese, or 0.5%

These works can be roughly classified into categories according to subject matter. The major categories are:

- jurisprudence (fiqh) 20%  
- doctrine (aqidah, usul ad-din) 17%  
- traditional Arabic grammar (nahw, sarf, balagha) 12%  
- hadith collections 8%  
- mysticism (tasawwuf, tarika) 7%  
- morality (akhlq) 6%  
- collections of prayers and invocations, Islamic magic (du'a, wirid, mujarrabat) 5%  
- texts in praise of the prophets and saints (qisas al-anbiya', mawlid, manaqib, etc.) 6%

A few important changes have taken place in the content of the pesantren curriculum, changes which are only partly reflected in the above table. A century ago, the Qur'an and the traditions were rarely studied directly, but mostly in the 'processed' form of scholastic works on jurisprudence and doctrine. According to Van den Berg, only one tafsir, the Jalalayn, was studied in the pesantren, and no hadith collections at all. In this respect, a significant change has taken place in the past century. There are no less than ten different Qur'anic commentaries (in Arabic, Malay, Javanese and Indonesian) in the collection, besides straightforward translations (also called tafsir) into Javanese and Sundanese. The number of hadith compilations is even more striking. There is almost no pesantren now where hadith is not taught as a separate subject. The main emphasis in instruction remains, however, on fiqh, the Islamic science par excellence. There have been no remarkable changes in the fiqh texts studied, but the discipline of usul al-fiqh (the foundations or bases of fiqh) has been added to the curriculum of many pesantren, thereby allowing a more flexible and dynamic view of fiqh.

These and other categories of kitab kuning will be discussed in greater
detail in the second part of this article, where the most popular representatives of each are listed. But first some observations will be made on kitab publishing and major authors.

The publishing of kitab kuning in the Archipelago

Printed books are a relative novelty in the pesantren. In Van den Berg’s time, many of the kitab in pesantren were still in manuscript form, and were copied by the santri in longhand. But it was precisely in this period that printed books from the Middle East began entering Indonesia in significant numbers, as one of the side effects of increased participation in the haj (due in turn to the arrival of the steamship). There had, by that time, been already a century of bookprinting in the Middle East, but of particular relevance for Indonesians was the establishment of a government press in Mecca in 1884, which printed not only books in Arabic but also in Malay. This latter branch of its activities was placed under the supervision of the learned Ahmad b. Muḥammad Zayn al-Ｐaṭānī⁴, who is himself also the author of several treatises (the present collection contains recent reprints of seven of them). His selection of titles was rather biased in favour of books by compatriots, and it is partly due to his activities that many works of Dā’ūd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ｐaṭānī and Muḥammad b. Ismā’il Dā’ūd al-Ｐaṭānī are still widely available in reprints of his original editions. In these and other reprints, the imprint of the original publisher has been replaced, but many of the works published by Ahmad b. M. Zayn are still recognisable by the verses that he wrote and printed by way of introductions on the title pages.⁵

This was not the very first Malay press, although it was the first one of importance. Zayn ad-Dīn as-Sumbāwī, another Jawi scholar resident in Mecca, had a short treatise lithographed as early as 1876 (Snouck Hurgronje 1889: 385), and several of Dā’ūd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ｐaṭānī’s works were printed in Bombay before the 1880s, too. Bombay was also the major source of printed (lithographed) Qur’ans entering Indonesia in the late

⁴ See Snouck Hurgronje 1889: 386-7, where also a list of the first titles printed is given.

⁵ Most of these verses are in Malay, but a few are in Arabic, though here retaining the pedestrian style of the Malay syair. An example is his verse introducing the anonymous Malay translation of Ibn ʿAtā’īllah’s Ḥikam:

Kitab inilah yang patut mengajinya * dan upamanya mas sudah diujinya
dan upama pula makanan didiang * dan yang lain itu tudung sajinya
dan upama pula buah buahan * isinya dan minyak dalam bijinya
kerana ialah yang menyampai kepada Tuhan * lagi besar pahalanya dan gajinya
dan yang dapat ilmunya dan meamalkan * orang itulah sinar dan pujian
syurga itulah kediaman yang kekal * ilmu ini pintunya dan bajinya
dan yang jahil dengandia api neraka * selar.sangat tikamnya gergajinya
ya rabbi kurniakan patuh engkau * bagi tiap tiap hamba mengajinya.
19th and early 20th centuries. The example of a Malay section with the Meccan press was soon followed by publishers in Istanbul and Cairo. It was especially Mustafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalābī of Cairo who, in the course of time, was to publish many Malay kitab. Two recent studies by Mohd. Nor bin Ngah (1980, 1983) discuss a more or less representative sample of these Malay kitab and of the world view reflected in them.

These publishing activities in the Middle East, as well as the example of British and Dutch lithograph presses, stimulated Islamic publishing efforts in the Archipelago, too. One of the pioneers there was Sayyid Usman of Batavia, that prolific ‘Arab ally of the Dutch Indies government’, many of whose simple works are still being used at present, primarily among the Betawi and Sundanese. He had a first version of his Al-qawānīn ash-sharḥyya lithographed in 1881. In 1886, at least four other booklets written by him were mentioned. Many more were to follow.

Even Sayyid Usman was not the first Islamic publisher in the Indies. The credit for this should probably be given to Kemas Haji Muhammad Azhari of Palembang, who in 1854 made his first lithograph prints of the Qur'an, calligraphed by himself. He had bought a press in Singapore a few years earlier, on his return journey from the haj, and taught himself to operate it. His Qur'ans – to which he had written a 14-page Malay-language introduction on pronunciation and mode of reading – found ready buyers.

In Singapore too, there must have been lithograph presses occasionally printing in Malay by that time, but very little is known about them as yet. In the 1880s and 1890s, there were several presses publishing Malay newspapers and occasionally books, but it remains unclear whether these latter included more than one or two small religious tracts (see Roff 1980: 44-5; Hamidy 1983; Proudfoot 1986). In 1894, the junior ruler of Riau, Muhammad Yusuf, established a printing press, the Matba'at al-Ahmadiyya, on the island of Penyengat, which in the following years printed several religious treatises by the contemporary Naqshbandi shaykh Muhammad Ṣāliḥ az-Zawawī, the spiritual preceptor of Muhammad Yusuf and his relatives (Hamidy 1983: 69; Abdullah 1985b: 3; on Zawawī, see Snouck Hurgronje 1889: 253).

These promising beginnings had little follow-up. Many books and

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6 Photomechanical reprints of this Bombay Qur'an are still published in large numbers today (by Al-Mαfāris) Clearly legible with its large letters, its format is still one of the most popular in the Indonesian book market.

7 Mission- and government-sponsored printing in the Malay language (of non-Islamic materials) began on a moderate scale, in Singapore as well as the Dutch East Indies, before the middle of the century. In Singapore the Arabic script was used, and in the Indies initially mostly the Roman alphabet. See Roff 1980: 44 and Hoffmann 1979, esp. pp. 76-89.

8 On Sayyid Usman, see Snouck Hurgronje 1887b and 1894. Twelve of his numerous works (including the one reviewed in the latter article by Snouck) are still available in recent reprints published in Jakarta and Surabaya.

9 Von Dewall 1857. The author had it from hearsay that there existed a second native press in Surabaya, but I have not yet been able to verify this.
journals were published in the Archipelago in the first half of the 20th century, but very few of them were *kitab* (in the wide sense as defined above) and almost none were texts of the classical kind. West Sumatra was probably the only region where a significant number of *kitab* (by local ulama) were printed during the first decades of the century. Some of these were simple textbooks, in Malay and Arabic, for the then new *madrasah*, which were intended to replace the rather difficult classical works on Arabic grammar, doctrine and *fiqh*. Several of these books are still widely used. Others were polemical writings, used as weapons in the religious debates between *kaum muda* and *kaum tua* then raging in West Sumatra. Here as elsewhere, most of the modernists, who were by far the more productive, soon adopted the Roman script, which brought them closer to the secular nationalists but reinforced their social separation from the *kaum tua*. They did write religious textbooks, but these differed considerably in style and content from traditional *kitab*.

It was only after Indonesia's independence that *kitab* began to be printed on any serious scale there. As the present major publishers recall, before the war there were only booksellers, but no actual publishers of *kitab* in the Archipelago (the largest being Sulaymān Marī in Singapore, ʿAbdullāh bin ʿAffī in Cirebon, and Sālim bin Saʿd Naḥḥān in Surabaya, all three of them Arabs). They ordered virtually all their books – including works in Malay – from Egypt, where production was considerably cheaper than in Indonesia at the time. There was one exception, which however had only local significance: the (Malay-owned) Patani Press as well as Nahdi (Arab-owned) in southern Thailand began printing Malay *kitab* for use in the *pondok* of Patani and the contiguous Malay states in the late 1930s.

In the first half of this century, Indonesian demand for these books was still low, and the only commercially interesting *kitab* was the Qurʾan itself. Both Marī and bin ʿAffī made the first attempts to have it printed locally in the 1930s. They were later followed by Al-Maʿārif of Bandung, established late in 1948 by Muhammad bin ʿUmār Bāḥartha, a former employee of ʿAbdullāh bin ʿAffī. By mid-century, Marī had several *kitab kuning* printed as well, one of the more conspicuous of which was ʿAbd

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10. Yunus 1979, pp. 66-7, gives titles of textbooks written in the 1920s and 1930s by authors associated with Sumatera Thawalib. Several of those by Mahmud Yunus himself and by Abdul Hamid Hakim are still used in *madrasah* all over Indonesia. A four-volume *fiqh* work in Arabic by the latter author, *Al-maʿārin al-mubīn*, was also translated into Malay and is still being used in Malaysia and southern Thailand.

11. In this connection Schrieke 1921 mentions some ten books which were locally printed (at Dutch presses), in Padang, Fort De Cock (Bukittinggi) and Padang Panjang, and several journals. Other participants in the polemics published their works in Mecca and Cairo. In the 1920s and 1930s, there were more than 10 different Muslim publishers operating in various towns in West Sumatra (Sanusi Latief of Padang, personal communication).

12. The following paragraphs are based on interviews with the doyen of *kitab* publishing, Mūḥammad bin ʿUmār Bāḥartha (who in 1948 founded and today still directs Al-Maʿārif of Bandung, the largest printing house in Indonesia), Usman bin Salim Naḥḥān of Surabaya, and several younger publishers.
ar-Ra'ūf al-Fansūrī (as-Singkili)'s Malay adaptation of the *tafsīr Jalālayn*, published in 1951. In the course of the 1950s, Al-Ma'ārif followed suit with cheap prints of commonly used *kitab*, and so did ʿAbdullāh bin ʿAfīf and various relatives of Sālim Nabhān. (Bigger and therefore more expensive works, such as the four-volume *Iḥānāt at-ṣāliḥīn* by Sayyid Bākī b. M. Shāṭṭā', which is the most recent great compendium of Shafi'i *fiqh*, have only been published locally from the 1970s on, reflecting a growing affluence in *santri* circles.) In the course of the 1960s Toha Putra of Semarang also ventured onto the *kitab* market. Later still, the publishing house Menara of Kudus joined in the competition; it was the first non-Arab publisher of this type of literature in Indonesia. Both Toha Putra and Menara have published numerous classical texts together with Javanese or Indonesian translations, as well as original works by Javanese *ulama*. In 1978, a former associate of Al-Ma'ārif established the house of Al-Ḥaramayn in Singapore, which in a matter of only a few years put out a wide range of classical Arabic texts, as well as many Malay and even a few Sundanese works. Singapore apparently was no longer an advantageous location from which to serve the Southeast Asian *kitab* market, for Al-Ḥaramayn closed shop after a few years (although its books were still to be found all over the Archipelago in 1987), and the owner established a new house, called Bungkul Indah, in Surabaya. As regards number of titles, Al-Ḥaramayn and its successor Bungkul Indah are the largest *kitab* publishers; where sheer volume of sales is concerned, however, they lag far behind Al-Ma'ārif. Another new publisher with a wide range of (exclusively Arabic) titles is Dār Iḥyā‘ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya in Surabaya.14

There are no signs yet of any strong centralization in the publishing of *kitab kuning*. Surabaya boasts the largest number of publishers; the most prominent, besides those already mentioned, are the houses of Sa'd bin Nāṣir bin Nabhān and Aḥmad bin Sa'd Nabhān; ten other members of the same family also publish *kitab*. On Java's north coast we further find publishers (besides those mentioned) in Semarang (Al-Munawwara), Pe-kalongan (Raja Murah), Cirebon (Miṣrīyya, the old establishment of ʿAbdallāh bin ʿAfīf), and Jakarta (Ash-Shāfiʿīyya and Aṭ-Ṭahiriyya, belonging to the large Betawi *pesantren* of these names, and putting out textbooks used there besides simple books by authors popular with the Betawi community). ʿArafāṭ in Bogor produces mainly works on Arabic grammar (over twenty titles). Toko Kairo in the small West Javanese town of Tasikmalaya publishes both Arabic classics and simple Sundanese *kitab*.

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13 In the first half of the twentieth century, the Netherlands Indies government levied import duties on paper but not on printed books, which gave Singapore publisher Sulaymān Marfī an edge over his competitors in the Indies. Indonesia now produces high-quality paper itself, while labour costs and overheads in Singapore are very high. Not only Al-Ḥaramayn, but also the old house of Sulaymān Marfī was closed down in the early 1980s.

14 Not to be confused with the Egyptian publishing house of the same name, with which there are no formal relations.
In Sumatra there are at present, surprisingly, no important publishers of *kitab*. The public here is served by publishers in Java, Singapore and Malaysia. Publishing in Singapore has, as was said above, declined. In Malaysia, too, *kitab* publishing is on the decline (in contrast to the publishing of modern books, where the country’s output compares favourably with that of its ten times more populous southern neighbour). Georgetown (on the island of Penang) still has three active publishers, of which Dār al-Ma‘ārif and Nahdī are the most productive. In Kota Bharu (Kelantan), the Pustaka Aman Press is very active, but it publishes mostly modern Malay books, not classics.\(^\text{15}\) There are also several publishers in Patani (Southern Thailand), the oldest of which, *Patani Press*, began publishing the works of Patani *ulama* in the late 1930s.\(^\text{16}\) At present their books do not have a distribution wider than Patani and the contiguous Malay states. One of the other publishers here, *Nahdī*, has shifted most of its activities to Penang, where the political climate is more favourable to Islamic publishing, and from where books enjoy a wider distribution.

Besides those mentioned above, there is a large number of small local publishers putting out religious tracts, brochures and books for strictly local markets.

A high proportion of the books printed by these Southeast Asian publishers are photomechanical reprints of works first published in Mecca or Cairo around the turn of the century. Many even still bear the name of the original publisher on the title page. In other cases this name has been replaced by that of the new publisher. Unrestricted borrowing continues, meanwhile. Thus it may happen that a book originally published by Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī of Cairo will appear with the name of the most recent publisher, Bungkul Indah, on its jacket and the imprint of the previous publisher, Al-Ma‘ārif, on the title page. Some cheap reprints of more recent Egyptian or Lebanese books are distinguishable from the original only by the quality of the paper and the binding – a bibliographer’s nightmare. Thus Bungkul Indah has recently brought out a series of modern works with the imprint of Beirut publisher Dār ath-Thaqāfa still on both the cover and title page.

The usual format of *kitab kuning*

Most of the classical Arabic *kitab* studied in pesantren are commentaries (*sharḥ*, Ind/Jav: *syarah*), or glosses (*ḥāshiya, hasiyah*) upon commentaries on older original texts (*matn, matan*). The printed editions of these classical works usually have the text that is commented or glossed upon printed in

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\(^{15}\) In Kelantan, the commonly used script is the Arabic not the Roman one; it is therefore less easy to distinguish *kitab* from other books here.

\(^{16}\) Detailed information on *kitab* published in Patani is to be found in Matheson and Hooker 1988.
the margin, so that both may be studied together. This has perhaps been
the cause of occasional confusions between related texts. The name Taqrîb,
for instance, is used both for the short and simple fiqh text by this name
itself and for the Fath al-qarîb, a more substantial commentary on it (Van
den Berg, in fact, believed these two works to be identical). If one asks for
the Maḥallî, a popular advanced fiqh work, one will be given the volumi-
nous super-commentary on it by Qalyûbî and ʿUmayra, which has Ma-
hallî's Kanz ar-râghibîn in a modest place in the margin, etc.

Many of the basic texts are manzûm, i.e., are written in rhymed verse
(nazm, nadham), to facilitate memorization. Perhaps the longest manzûm
text is the Alfiyya (a text on Arabic grammar, so called because it consists
of a thousand bayî). Many generations of santri have, patiently chanting,
committed this entire work to memory, along with a whole range of other
texts. Commentaries on such manzûm works commonly incorporate the
original verse in the (prose) text of the commentary, rather than placing
it separately in the margin.

A small fraction of the (Javanese, Madurese and Sundanese) translations
simply consists of word-for-word, interlinear translations - written in
obliquely, in a finer hand, under each word of the boldface Arabic text, and
therefore graphically dubbed jenggotan, 'bearded'. In most cases, how-
ever, there is in addition a freer translation and/or commentary, usually
printed on the lower half of the page. Malay translations sometimes follow
a different pattern: the Arabic text is broken up into small semantic units,
each of which is then followed by a rather literal Malay translation
between brackets. But more often the Malay translation and/or commen-
tary is printed separately, without the Arabic text.

The most common format of the classical kitab for pesantren use is just
under quarto (26 cm), and unbound. The quires (koras) are loose in
the cover, so that the santri may take out any single page that he happens to
be studying. This is another physical characteristic that seems to have
largely symbolic meaning: it makes the kitab look more classical. Kitab by
modern authors, translators or commentators are never in this format.
Many users of classical kitab are strongly attached to it, and the publishers
oblige their customers. Some even print kitab on orange-tinted ('kuning')
paper (produced especially for them by Indonesian factories) because this,
too, seems to be more 'classical' in the users' minds.

17 In some traditional pesantren in East Java, the santri ‘study’ such manzûm works by
rhythmically reciting them in unison, to the accompaniment of tambourines and the
clapping of hands - which has developed into a typically Muslim art form.
18 This is in imitation of the appearance of the santri's former handwritten textbooks: having
copied the Arabic text, they would listen to the kyai's explanations and scribble their
translations between the lines.
Popular authors of *kitab*

As might be expected, there have been no great changes in the popularity of classical authors over the past century. Virtually all *kitab* mentioned by Van den Berg are still available in Indonesia, in recent reprints. But there has been a noticeable increase in relatively recent commentaries on these works. A few authors stand out in this connection, in that numerous works by them are widely available and have become generally accepted in the *pesantren* curriculum. The most influential of them flourished in Mecca in the late 19th century.

`Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān`, the Shafi’i mufti of Mecca during Snouck Hurgronje’s stay there, is represented by seven works in this collection, and his younger contemporary `Sayyid Bakrī b. Muḥammad Ṣhaṭṭa’ ad-Dim-yāṭī` by four, that are very widely used.\(^{19}\) The most ubiquitous author, however, is the Indonesian Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Nawāwī al-Jāwī al-Bantanī (Nawawi Banten), who has twenty-two titles in the collection to his name, all of them in Arabic.\(^{20}\) Eleven of them occur in the list of most frequently used *kitab* below – in fact, he has more titles among these top hundred than any other author. Nawawi has written on virtually every aspect of Islamic learning. Most of his works are commentaries on well-known texts, explaining them in simple terms. He is perhaps best described as a popularizer of, rather than a contributor to, learned discourse.

Another commentator, comparable to Nawawi Banten in scope and popularity, is the earlier Egyptian author `Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī` (or Bayjūrī, d. 1277/1861)\(^{21}\), several of whose works were already widely used in Van den Berg’s time. The collection includes six works by him, on *fiqh*, doctrine and logic.

Besides Nawawi, several other southeast Asian authors have acquired a lasting place in the *pesantren* or *madrasah* curriculum. An earlier, very prolific author is the said `Dāʿūd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Patanāī` (d. ca. 1845), who also wrote on a wide variety of subjects, and always in Malay.\(^{22}\) I found fourteen of his works in recent reprints. They are widely used in Patani, Malaysia and parts of Sumatra. The major works of his contemporaries Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī and ʿAbd as-Ṣamad al-Pālimbānī (who wrote in Malay, too) are also regularly reprinted. Another author of

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\(^{19}\) On Daḥlān, see Snouck Hurgronje 1887a, al-ʿAttās 1979, II: 700-12; on Sayyid Bakrī and his major work *Fānat al-jālibīn*, Snouck Hurgronje 1889: 253, 259-60.


\(^{21}\) A short biographical sketch of Bājūrī, who was *shaykh al-islām* of Cairo, is given in Snouck Hurgronje’s *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. II, p. 417; an extensive discussion of his widely used work on *fiqh* is found in Snouck Hurgronje 1899.

\(^{22}\) His biographer Abdullah (1987: 45-6), mentions 38 works by him, several of which seem to have gone lost, however.
Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu

currently still popular Malay works is the said Sayyid Usman (ʿUthmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAquīl b. Yahyā al-ʿAlawī).

An important Javanese author of the late 19th century is Saleh Darat (Ṣāliḥ b. ʿUmar as-Samarānī, d. 1321/1903). He wrote commentaries (in Javanese) on several important works of fiqh, doctrine and tasawwuf. K.H. Mahfudz of Termas (Maḥfūz b. ʿAbdallāh at-Tarmasī), who lived and taught in Mecca around the turn of the century (he died in 1919), wrote a few highly regarded works (in Arabic) on fiqh and the science of hadīth. Another highly respected ʿālim is the late K.H. ʿĪṣān b. Muḥammad Daḥlān of Jampes, Kediri, who wrote (in Arabic) a much admired commentary on Ghazālī’s Minhāj al-ʿabīdīn, entitled Sirāj at-tālibīn. The names of all these authors (except Kyai Mahfudz) occur in the list of most popular kitab below.

A more recent, and highly prolific Javanese author is Bisri Mustofa of Rembang (Bishrī Muṣṭafā ar-Rambānī), represented in the collection by over twenty works, including a three-volume tafsīr (a translation of rather than commentary on the Qurʿān). Miṣbaḥ b. Zayn al-Muṣṭafā of Bangilan, Ahmad Subki Masyhadi of Pekalongan and Asrori Ahmad of Wonosari translated numerous classical texts into Javanese; the first moreover wrote a voluminous Javanese tafsīr. Other productive Javanese authors include Kyai Muslih of Mranggen (Muṣliḥ b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Marāqī, d. 1986), who wrote several treatises on his tarīqa, the Qadīriyya wa Naqshbandīyya, and related matters, and ʿĀḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Qandāfī of Kendal, who wrote various treatises on doctrine and religious obligations, as well as texts of more practical use (methods of daʿwa, NU affairs).

In the 19th century, pesantren in Madura and West Java did not use their own regional languages but had Javanese as medium: when Arabic texts were translated here it was into Javanese. This, too, has changed, and there are now kitab kuning in Madurese and Sundanese as well. ʿAbd al-Majīd Tamīm of Pamekasan translated over ten books into Madurese, covering almost all branches of learning. There is a wider range of Sundanese kitab, and more of them are original works rather than simply translations. Three Sundanese authors stand out in the collection: Ahmad Ṣanūsī of Sukabumi (founder of the organization Al Ittiḥadiyatul Islamiyah, which merged into the Persatuan Ummat Islam in 1952) wrote a translation/tafsīr of the Qurʿān, Rād Maʿmūn Nawāwī b. Rād Anwar various edifying booklets, and the great ʿālim and poet ʿAbdallāh b. Nūḥ of Bogor Sufi pious works, based on Ghazālī. Besides their books, there are numerous simple booklets in

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23 See Danuwijoto 1977. Most of Saleh’s major works (Danuwijoto lists 12) are now out of print and could not be obtained.

24 K.H. Mahfudz has the reputation among present-day kyai of having been one of the most learned Javanese ulama ever. He was the highly respected teacher of several of NU’s founding ulama (including Hasyim Asy’ari). Little has been written about his life; there are short notes on this in ‘Abbas 1975: 460 and ‘Abd al-Jabbar 1385/1965-6:321-2.
Sundanese for use in the lower pesantren grades, published by the book-
store Toko Kairo in Tasikmalaya.

Of the Minangkabau authors, whose polemics at the beginning of this
century have drawn some attention (Schrieke 1921), almost no works are
still found in print. Even the once influential Ahmad Khatib seems hardly
to be read any more; only two of his works were found in print, and even
these are not generally available. Two other Minangkabau authors, how-
ever, Mahmud Yunus and Abdul Hamid Hakim, have attained the ranks
of the top hundred, and are well represented in the collection. Both have
written numerous textbooks, in Malay and Arabic, for use in madrasah,
and several of these are very widely used, also in pesantren.25

The top 100 in pesantren literature

The present collection represents the most complete overview to date of
literature used in and around the pesantren and madrasah. But it cannot,
of course, by itself tell us which works are the most frequently used, at
which levels, and where. The curriculum of the madrasah, especially those
owned or subsidized by the state, is more or less standardized, and is not
as strongly oriented towards the classics as that of the pesantren. The
collection contains a fair number of modern books written for Egyptian
madrasah, which are also used in similar Indonesian institutions, besides
books especially written by Indonesian authors, in simple Arabic.

Pesantren differ from madrasah in, among other things, lack of uniform-
ity in the curriculum.26 Many kyai are specialized in one particular branch
of learning, or even one particular text (see Zarkasyi 1985 for examples).
Many santri for this reason move from one pesantren to another in order
to study a certain range of texts thoroughly. No single pesantren offers a
‘representative’ curriculum all by itself. We have to take a number of
pesantren together in order to establish with which works the average santri
is confronted in the course of his studies.

I have the strong impression (based on what I found to be in stock in
toko kitab in the various regions) that the ‘average’ curriculum in Sumatra,
Kalimantan and on the mainland still differs to some extent from that in
Java. Kitab originally written in Malay, by such ulama as M. Arshad al-
Banjarî, Dâ’ûd bin ‘Abdallâh al-Patânî and ‘Abd aš-Šamad al-Pâlimbânî,
long had, and to some extent still have, precedence over the classical
Arabic works and their 19th-century Arabic commentaries which constitute
the bulk of the Javanese curriculum. The establishment all over

25 On Mahmud Yunus, who was the first Indonesian graduate of Egypt’s Dâr al-ulûm and
a passionate educationalist, see Taufik Abdullah 1971: 141-2, 151-4, 213-4, and Yunus
1979, passim; on Abdul Hamid Hakim, see Latief 1981: 199-208.

26 For the differences between these institutions of Islamic education, see Steenbrink 1974;
remarks on the curriculum of both are to be found in Yunus 1979, passim.
Sumatra and Kalimantan, from the 1920s on, of pondok pesantren on the Javanese model and madrasah of the West Sumatran type has resulted, however, in the gradual displacement of these Malay kitab by standard Arabic works.

Van den Berg’s study (1886), although dated, still represents the most detailed survey of kitab commonly used in Javanese pesantren. There are a few more recent surveys claiming a degree of generality, but these are still far from satisfactory. We learn more, in fact, from an anecdotic autobiography such as that of K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri (who was NU’s minister of religion under Guided Democracy), with the glimpses it affords of the texts the author read or had read to him in the pesantren, of the way in which these were studied and of the impact they had on him (Zuhri 1974: esp. 30-43, 1987:30-32, 95-105, 120-130). But there now exist a good number of monographs on individual pesantren, most of which contain shorter or longer lists of the texts studied there. These lists, compiled by different researchers, vary in length and quality, and none of them is complete. Well-known works are undoubtedly overrepresented in them, at the expense of less popular texts which are equally studied. Taken together, however, they give a reasonable indication of which are the most frequently used kitab at present. I have added to these a small number of similar lists compiled by Indonesian researchers in the course of a recent research project on the Indonesian ulama, and thus collected data on a total of 42 pesantren, of which 18 are in East Java, 12 in Central and 9 in West Java, and 3 in South Kalimantan. I have also added some data on Sumatra, although these are not really comparable because they do not relate to individual but to four idealized, ‘average’ pesantren. They come from two aggregate lists of kitab used in pesantren and by traditional ulama in Riau and Palembang respectively; the curriculum of an ‘average’ PERTI madrasah in West Sumatra; and the curriculum of one conservative surau.

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27 The catalogues of Arabic, Malay and Javanese manuscripts in the Jakarta and Leiden libraries also give a good idea of what was in use in the 19th century, although it remains doubtful how representative these collections are for the pesantren milieu. The Serat Centini, probably compiled in the early 19th century, refers to a large number of kitab; there is a close correspondence between these and Van den Berg’s list (see Soebardi 1971). For an earlier period, Drewes (1972, appendix) has compiled an interesting list of works in use in 18th-century Palembang.


30 ‘Sikap dan pandangan hidup ulama Indonesia’, a LIPI-IPSK research project carried out in 1986-88.
in Pariaman, West Sumatra. The number of Kalimantan pesantren on which data have been gathered is unfortunately too low to lay claim to being representative. These data do, however, confirm the general impression of the Banjarese pesantren as being old-fashioned. The Sumatra and Kalimantan columns in the tables following at the end of this article give indications—but no more than that—of minor but systematic differences in curriculum with Javanese pesantren. The differences between the Sundanese and Javanese parts of Java are, because of fuller data, brought out more clearly.

I have lumped together texts (matari) and untitled commentaries on such texts; only commentaries that are generally known by a different title have been listed separately. Even so, the total number of texts mentioned is well over 350; the tables below list only those that occur most frequently, grouped according to subject. Within each table, genealogically related works (i.e., those based on a common original text) are placed together; otherwise the titles are listed roughly in order of popularity, not in the order in which they are studied. The latter is roughly indicated by the notes in the final column on the educational level at which the books are usually studied. The terms ibtidāʾī, thanawī and ʿālī (‘primary’, ‘secondary’ and ‘high’) are really the names of the three levels of madrasah education (of three years each), and are not always appropriate for describing traditional pesantren. The word khawass (‘the special ones’) denotes a more advanced level.

The tables give the titles of the kitab in their commonly used short form, transliterated in the Indonesian style. In the text the full names are given, in a transliteration more closely approximating English usage.

The instrumental sciences (see Table I)

The instrumental sciences, ilmu alat, are in the first place the various branches of traditional Arabic grammar: nahlw (syntax), šarf (inflection), balâgha (rhetoric), etc. There is a bewildering array of different texts on these subjects. In this case, our entire collection and the list of most popular titles can be compared not only with Van den Berg’s list, but also with a list of the manuscripts of such grammatical texts in the Leiden and Jakarta libraries compiled by Drewes (1971). Although Drewes gives more titles

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31 The Riau and Palembang data are derived from interviews with various local ulama, those on Pariaman from interviews and observation in loco, all in the context of the said research project. The PERTI curriculum is after Yunus 1979:100.

32 There are as yet few pondok pesantren in Kalimantan. These are a recent development, following the East Javanese example. The level of teaching here is still relatively low. Before these pesantren came into being, people used to study privately with a teacher, using mainly Malay kitab (especially M. Arshad al-Banjarī’s works).
than Van den Berg, the latter’s list corresponds in fact more closely with ours. This is another indication that the manuscript collections are certainly not representative of what was actually used, and that one should be careful about drawing conclusions on the basis of these collections alone.

In the traditional system, the student usually began with the basics of *ṣarf*, which meant that he had to commit the first tables of verbal and nominal inflection to memory. The simplest work of this category is the *Bina* (*Al-bina’ wa ‘l-asās*, by a certain Mulla ad-Danqārī). Having mastered this, the student would turn to the *Izzi* (*At-tasrīf li ‘l-‘izzi*, by ‘Izzaddīn ‘Ibrāhīm az-Zanjānī, see GAL I:283; GAL S I:497) or to the *Maqshud* (*Al-maqṣūd fi’s-ṣarf*, an anonymous work often attributed to Abū Hanīfa). Having reached this stage, the student would turn to the first works on *nahw* before going on to more difficult *ṣarf* works (if he ever got so far). One of the simplest, and most widely popular works on *nahw* was the *Awamil* (*Al-Cawamil al-mi’a*, by ‘Abd al-Qahir b. ‘Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jurjānī, d. 471 AH), comprising a list of the situations determining the case endings of nouns and the vowel following the final consonant of verbs. After this, the student was likely to proceed to the *Jurumiyah* (*Al-muqaddimāt al-aqurrūmiyya*, by Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Dā’ūd aš-Ṣanhājī b. Ajurrūm, d. 723 AH).

This introductory curriculum was standard in regions that were wide apart. The same texts were studied, in this order, in traditional *madrasa* in Kurdistan (except for the last-named work, which is not known there), in 19th-century Javanese *pesantren*, and in West Sumatran *surau*. The same works are still in use, but a certain shift has occurred. The *Bina* and the *Izzi* are most certainly under-reported in the curriculum lists, in favour of more advanced works, but they seem to have retained their place better in West Java and Sumatra than in Java proper. A recent (but also traditional) introductory work that is quite popular in Javanese *pesantren* is

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33 Almost all the works mentioned by Van den Berg are still in use and, what is more, among the more popular. Drewes, on the other hand, lists many titles that are not used at present, while the presently popular texts do not stand out in his list. In library collections, relatively rare items generally tend to be over-, and the more common ones under-represented (the rare, after all, seems to be much more worth collecting). Neither mentions the *Kallānī* and the *Maqshud* with their commentaries, the *Amisīlāh*, the *Bina*, or the *Asymawī*; Drewes mentions Daḥfīn’s work as a commentary on the *Jurumiyah* rather than the *Alfiyah*. Neither mentions any work on *balāghah*; it is unclear whether there are no manuscript works on the subject in the libraries, or whether Drewes does not consider this as part of grammar.

34 I am indebted for the information on the curriculum of traditional Kurdish *madrasa* to my friends M.E. Bozarslan and M. Tayfun, both from northern Kurdistan, and Fāḍl ‘Alīm Karīm from southern Kurdistan. Snouck Hurgronje (1883) describes a West Sumatran manuscript textbook containing, in that order, a list of grammatical expressions, inflection tables, an untitled text which seems to be (part of) the *Izzi*, the *Awamil* and a commentary on the *Jurumiyah* (by Shaykh Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Azhārī). The last work is still popular all over Sumatra, under the name *Syekh Khalid* or *Azhari*, or its proper title, *Tamrīn at-tullāb*. 
Amtsilatut Tashrifiyah (Al-amthilat at-tasrifiyya li 'l-madaris as-salaftyya, comprising inflection tables), by the Javanese author Muhammad Ma'süm b. 'Ali of Jombang. Other introductory texts are also widely available. At the next stage, the sharh written by the Egyptian Muhammad al-Ullaysh (d. 1881), Hall al-ma'qūd min naẓm al-maqsūd (see GAL S II:738), is studied, instead of, or together with, the Maqshud. This is commonly followed by an extensive commentary on the Izi, the Kailani (named after its author, 'Ali b. Ḥishām al-Kaylānī, about whom no further details are known to me), which is now the most frequently used work on sarf.

The common order in which nahw texts are studied is, after the Jurumiyyah, the Imrithi (a manzūm version of the Jurumiyyah), and next the more elaborate commentary Mutammimah or directly the Alfiyah, usually together with a commentary. The Imrithi (Ad-durrat al-bahiyya, by Sharaf b. Yahyā al-Anšārī al-Imrīṭī, the Mutammimah (of Shams ad-DīnMuḥammad ar-Rūaynī al-Hattab), and the Alfiyah (of Ibn Mālik) with its best known commentary Ibnu Aqīl (so called after the author, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Aqīl) have long been in common use, and are described by Van den Berg and Drewes, together with various commentaries that are still available but apparently less popular. Not mentioned by them, but frequently encountered, is the Asymawi, a commentary on the Jurumiyyah by a certain 'Abdallāh b. Ašmawī (no further details available), while a popular late 19th-century commentary on the Alfiyah is that by the Shāfi‘ī mufti of Mecca, Āḥmad b. Zaynī Dāhlān, commonly called Dahlan Alfiyah.

Qatran-nadda (wa ballas-sadda), by Ibn Ḥishām (d.761 / 1360), which was very popular in the 19th century, is also still widely used. The same author's Qawā'id al-lughat al-'arabiyya is used mainly in a versified (manzūm) Javanese translation (by Yusuf bin Abdul Qadir Barnawi); there also exists a Madurese translation.

To some extent, these classical works are giving way to more modern teaching materials. In 1921, the Dutch consul in Jeddah, E. Gobée, observed that in government schools in the Hijaz the Alfiyah no longer formed part of the language curriculum, but had been replaced by the modern Qawā'id al-lughat al-'arabiyya, a series of textbooks by the Egyptian author Ḥafṣī Bak Nāṣif et al. (Gobée 1921). In the 1930s, these books were in use in the more modern madrasah of Sumatera Thawalib in West Sumatra, along with other contemporary Egyptian textbooks and books

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35 In several editions, the Bina and Izi are printed in combination with other introductory works on sarf, viz. Al-maqsūd, Ash-shāfiyya (by Jamāl ad-Dīn b.-al-Hājīb, d. 646/1249, see GAL I: 303-6), and two anonymous texts, Al-marād and Amhila mukhtalifa. All these texts are quite short: the entire collection covers no more than 72 pages.

36 Van den Berg and Drewes give Ibn Ḥishām’s full name as [Abū] ‘Abdallāh [Muḥammad] b. Yūsuf b. Ḥishām, but the title page of Indonesian editions of his work call him Jamāl ad-Dīn b. Ḥishām al-Anṣārī. Commentaries on this work that are available in Indonesia are Shihāb ad-Dīn Āḥmad al-Fākīhī’s Mujīd an-nīdā (and Āḥmad as-Sūqī’s ḥāshiyya upon the latter, with further glosses by Shams ad-Dīn al-Anbābī).
by local ulama who had studied in Egypt (see Yunus 1979:77). These textbooks are now widely used in madrasah and state schools for teachers of religion (PGA); growing numbers of pesantren are following suit, as is reflected by Table I.

The other modern grammar textbook featuring here is Nahwu Wadlih (An-nahw al-wadlih fi qawā'id al-lughat al-arabiyā), written by two Arab authors, Alī Jārim and Muṣṭafā Amīn (which is widely available in (photomechanical reprints of?) Lebanese and Egyptian editions). This, too, was used in West Sumatra already in the 1930s, along with Al-balāghat al-wadlih, by the same authors.

This brings us to the final major branch of Arabic grammar: rhetoric (balāgha, with its subdivisions bayān, ma'āni, and bādī). Two classical kitab dominate this section of the curriculum, viz.:

Jauharul Maknūn (Al-jawhar al-maknūn or Al-jawāhir al-maknūn fi 'l-ma'āni wa 'l-bayān wa 'l-bādī), written by 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Akhḍārī (b. 920/1514, see GAL S II:706). The same title often refers to a sharḥ on this work by Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī (1101-1177/1689-1763, see GAL II:371) and to further glosses by Makhlūf al-Minyāwī, which are widely available in Indonesia (and which are also called Makhluf). The Jawhar was translated into Javanese by K.H. Bisri Mustofa of Rembang.

Uqudul Juman (Al-murshidi 'alā 'uqūd al-jumān fi 'īlm al-ma'āni wa 'l-bayān), finally, is a manzūm text on rhetoric by Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūtī, which is based on Sīrāj ad-Dīn as-Sakkākī's 'Īlm al-ma'āni wa 'l-bayān (GAL I:294-6). The only other balāgha text that is widely available, with various commentaries, is Abu 'l-Qāsim as-Samarqandi's Ar-risālat as-samarqandiyya, which, however, does not score high on our list.

The total number of texts in our collection, of course, exceeds by far that of the texts mentioned here. It should perhaps be noted that three of the texts listed by Van den Berg were not to be found in print. They are 'Innoita' (an untitled commentary on the Awamīl), Ibn al-Ḥājib's Kāfiya, and Burhān ad-Dīn Abū Fāth Īnārī's Al-miṣbah.

A different auxiliary 'science' (although not commonly subsumed under the label ilmu alat, but rather under that of Qur'anic sciences) is that of tajwīd, the proper articulation and intonation of Qur'anic Arabic. It is among the very first subjects studied (as the titles of the texts listed, meaning 'Gift for children' and 'Guidance for little boys', emphasize). The Tuhfat al-atfāl by Sulaymān Jumzūrī and the anonymous Hidāyat as-sibyān both are short elementary texts on this subject. They are both found in several collections of short texts, usually together.

The third auxiliary science is manṭiq, Aristotelian logic (which will prove its usefulness when the student proceeds to fiqh, jurisprudence). The most widely used textbook on this is Sullamul Munawraq (As-sullam al-munawraq37 fi 'īlm al-manṭiq), written by al-Akhḍārī (the author of Al-

37 Not 'muwāniq, as Brockelmann (GAL S II:705) has it.
jawhar al-maknūn, see GAL S II:705-6). Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī (who also annotated Akhdārī’s Jawhar) wrote a commentary on it, which is well-known in Indonesia and is entitled ʿIdāḥ al-mubham min maʿānī ʿs-sullam. In the margin of the printed edition we find another sharḥ on the Sullam, by al-Akhdārī himself. The latter sharḥ is also available together with the glosses written by Ibrāhīm al-Bājrī. Two other, untitled, commentaries which are often encountered are those by Ḥasan Darwīsh al-Quwaysinī (c. 1210/1795) and by the Azhar scholar ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Mullāwī (d. 1181/1767), with glosses by M. b. ʿAlī ʿas-Ṣabbān. There is also a manzūm Javanese translation by Bisri Mustofa.

Widely available, too, is another fundamental manual of logic, ʿĪsāghūjī, by Athīr ad-Dīn Mufaddal al-Abharī (d. 663/1264; see GAL I:464-5; GAL S I:839-41). Despite its title, this work is not a translation of Porphyry’s Isagoge, as has often been assumed (see Arminjon 1907:215-7, and the summary by Calverley 1933).

Jurisprudence (fiqh) and its principles (Table II)

Fiqh is still considered as the Islamic science par excellence. It has the most concrete implications for everyday behaviour, for it tells us what things are forbidden and what actions recommended. Works on fiqh form the real substance of pesantren education, and this is reflected by the composition of the top 100 list.

The fiqh work mentioned by Van den Berg as the most important work of reference, the Tuhfa (Ibn Ḥajar’s Tuhfat al-muhtāj), does not occur in this list, and an Indonesian edition of this text does not even exist. Nevertheless, leading (traditional) ulama agree that this is the ultimate work of reference, to which they take recourse in difficult cases. For everyday use, however, more easily accessible works are preferred, such as the Fath al-wahhāb (said to be more systematic in its approach than most other works) and the Fānat al-ṭālibīn, which, being the most recent of the great traditional fiqh works, is often found to be the most relevant to contemporary concerns. For educational purposes, the introductory Sullam at-tawfīq, the Taqrīb/Fath al-qarīb and the Fath al-muʿīn are preferred.

Under modernist influence, fiqh works of a different genre are coming into use in pesantren as well. There are several pesantren now where Ibn Rushd’s Bidāyat al-mujtahid is taught besides or instead of the Shafīʿī classics (it was recently also printed in Indonesia, which indicates a growing interest). The multi-volume Fiqh as-sunna by the modern Egyptian author Sayyid Sābiq is rapidly gaining wider acceptance too (so far, only an Indonesian translation has been locally printed, suggesting that the work appeals primarily to a modernist audience). These works have not yet, however, reached the list of most popular works, all of which are squarely within the Shafīʿī tradition.
The relations between the major works of traditional Shafi'i fiqh can be represented in genealogical trees. Three ‘families’ stand out here, ‘descending’ from Râfi‘i’s Muharrar, Abû Shuja’ al-Isfahâni’s Taqrib (or Mukhtasar) and Malibârî’s Qurrat al-‘ayn respectively. Bold print indicates works of which Indonesian editions exist (and have been acquired for the collection).

The first of these families is the one with the greatest prestige. Indonesian ulama confirm Snouck Hurgronje's observation (1899: 142) that Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamî’s and Shams ad-Dîn ar-Ramî’s commentaries on Abû Zakariyâ’ Yaḥyâ an-Nawâwî’s Minhâj are still the most authoritative, and that in cases of differences between these authorities, Indonesians prefer Ibn Ḥajar.

Important fatwa are based on these works, especially on the Tuhfa. In daily practice, however, the Tuhfa is not so often consulted, and it is very hard even to find a copy of it in the shops. The only printed version I have ever

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38 As stated by Shaykh Yasin bin ʿIṣa al-Padâni, mudir of the Darul Ulum in Mecca (and therefore the doyen of Indonesia’s traditional ulama), in an interview on 6-3-1988, and corroborated by K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Abdurrahman Wahid, and other leading ulama. These preferences are not the same among all Shafi’i: among the Kurds, for instance, Sharbini’s Mughni ʿl-muhtaj is the ultimate work of reference, besides the Minhâj itself.
seen is one printed in the margin of the ten-volume commentary by 'Abd al-Hamīd Shirwānī (who taught in Mecca in the mid-nineteenth century). An abridged Javanese translation must have existed in the early 19th century\footnote{A very much abridged translation, in Javanese characters, was edited by S. Keijzer in 1853 and reprinted by Roorda (1874).}, but apparently has fallen into disuse with the improved availability of other texts. The Nihāya is also occasionally encountered, in an eight-volume edition with glosses by 'Alī Shabramālisī and Aḥmad al-Maghribī ar-Rashīdī in the margin.

The only works of this family that are universally available are Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Mahālī’s commentary (commonly known as ‘the’ Mahālī) in an edition with extensive glosses by Qālūbī and ‘Umayrā, and the Fath al-waḥḥāb, a commentary by Zakārīyā’ Aḥșārī on his own Manḥaj at-ṭullāb, which is a summary of the Minhāj. An early Malay translation of the Fath al-waḥḥāb, entitled Mir’at at-ṭullāb, was made by ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf of Singkel (edited in part in Meursinge 1844), but it is no longer used or even known today.

Highly popular fiqh works still are the Taqrīb (Al-ghāya wa ‘t-taqrīb, also known as Mukhtāṣar, by Abū Shujā’ al-Isfahānī) and its commentary Fath al-qarīb (by Ibn Qāsim al-Ghazzi). There is hardly a pesantren where not at least one of these texts is studied. Various other works of the same family are also widely used in Indonesia, and there are several translations. The Kīfāyat al-akhyār, by Taqī ad-Dīn Dimashqī (\textit{GAL} I:392), which was not yet mentioned by van den Berg’s informants, now ranks second only to the Fath al-qarīb among the commentaries.

A more difficult text is Khaṭīb Sharbīnī’s Iqna’, which was printed together with the commentary Taqrīr by a certain ‘Awwād, on whom I have found no further information. Bājūrī’s glosses, much used a century ago (see Snouck Hurgronje 1899), appear to have lost their attraction nowadays.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Taqrīb} =
\item Mukhtāṣar
\item (Abū Shujā’, d. 593/1197?)
\item Iqna’
\item (Sharbīnī, d.977/1569-70)
\item Kīfāyat
\item al-akhyār
\item (Dimashqī, d.829/1426)
\item Fath al-qarīb
\item (Ibn Qāsim, d.918/1512)
\item Taqrīr
\item (‘Awwād)
\item Tuhfat al-ḥabīb
\item (Bujayrimī, ca. 1100)
\item \textit{Fizz} =
\item Bājūrī (Bajīry̱ī, d.1277/1860-1)
\end{itemize}
The *Fath al-mu‘īn*, which has long been popular in Indonesia (and in Kurdistan40), was written by the 16th-century South Indian scholar Zayn ad-Dīn al-Malibārī, a student of Ibn Ḥajar. The *Fath* is a commentary on, or a reworking of, an earlier text by the same author entitled *Qurrat al-‘ayn*; neither is directly based upon Ibn Ḥajar’s *Tuhfa*. The *Qurra* itself never became popular in Indonesia, but in the 19th century Nawawi Banten wrote another commentary on it (*Nihāyat az-zayn*) that is widely used.

Two of Nawawi’s younger contemporaries in Mecca wrote extensive glosses on the *Fath al-mu‘īn*. Sayyid Bakrī b. Muḥammad Shatṭā’ ad-Dimyāṭī’s *Fānāt ʿaṭ-ṭālībīn* is a four-volume work, which incorporates the author’s notes on many subjects, as well as a number of *fatwa* by the contemporary Shafrī *muftī* Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān. It became the most frequently consulted work of Shafrī *fiqh* already in the author’s lifetime (cf. Snouck Hurgronje 1887a:346), and has maintained its position as a major work of reference. *Tarsīhīh al-mustafidīn* (2 vols), is a more modest and less well-known work whose first Indonesian reprint has only recently appeared. The author, ʿAlwī as-Saqqāf, was a younger contemporary and colleague of Sayyid Bakrī in Mecca (*GAL S* II:743; ʿAbd al-Jabbār 1385/1965-6:156).

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40 According to my informants, the *Fath al-mu‘īn* is the most popular textbook, and the extensive commentary on it, *Fānāt ʿaṭ-ṭālībīn*, the most often used work of reference in Kurdish madrasa.
in that they only deal with *fiqh al-ṣubbūdiyya*, that is, the prescriptions for worship (i.e., ritual cleanliness, prayer, *zakāt*, the fast, and the *hajj*), and not with the regulations on *muḍāmalāt* (economic transactions), family and inheritance law, penal law, etc., which make up some 60% of the other texts.

Two other commentaries on Bā-Ṣafīl’s *Muqaddima*, which are not listed in *GAL*, deserve mention here. The first of these *sharḥ* was written (in Arabic) by the great East Javanese ‘ālim Mahfūz bin Abdullah of Termas (d. 1338/1919-20; see ’Abbas 1975:460). It is not available in print now, but another commentary, *Bushrā ’l-kařīm [bi-sharḥ masā’il at-ta’lim al-ḥadra’imīyya]*, by a certain Ṣā’īd b. M. Bāṣīn (no further details known), is.

Two of the remaining works that are high on the list are the short introductory texts *Sullam at-tawfiq* (by ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir Bā-ṣalawī, d. 1272/1855), and the *Safīna [t an-naṣaj]*, by Ṣālim b. ‘Abdallāh b. Samīr, a Hadrami ‘ālim resident in Batavia in the mid-19th century. Two much-used commentaries on the *Sullam* are *Miraq at-taṣādīq* by Nawawi Banten and *Jī‘ad ar-rafiq* by his contemporary and colleague in Mecca, M. Ṣā’īd Bā-Ṣalīl. Nawawi Banten also wrote a commentary (also in Arabic) on the last-named, extremely popular text, entitled *Kashīf at as-sajā‘*, which is available in several editions. The *Kashīf* has also been translated into Javanese. Besides, there are several other adaptations and commentaries by Indonesian ʿulama.41

On the remaining titles in the list I shall make only a few short explanatory remarks. They will be dealt with in the order in which they occur on the list.

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41 I found one Madurese and two different Javanese interlinear translations of the *Safīna*, and two versified versions. Ahmad b. Ṣiddīq of Lasem, Pasuruan (East Java), wrote the *naṣm* version *Tanwīr al-ḥija‘*, of which a Madurese translation exists, and to which a further commentary was devoted by Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Makkī al-Mālikī, entitled *Anārat ad-dujā‘*. Kyai Sahal Mahfudz of Kajen (Central Java) wrote a commentary, *Fayḍ al-ḥaja‘*, on the other *naṣm* version, *Nayl ar-raja‘*. 
The Tahrir (Tahrir tanqih li 'l-lubāb fi fiqh al-imām ash-Shafī‘î) is a work by Zakariyā‘ al-Anṣārī that is based on al-Mahāmilfs (d. 415/1024) Lubāb al-fiqh. Anṣārī himself wrote a commentary on his Tahrir, entitled Tuhfat at-tullāb, and the two are usually printed together. Further glosses on this Tuhfa were written by Abdallāh Sharqāwī (d. 1127/1812, see GAL II:479-80); they bear the title Ḥāshiyā‘alā sharḥ at-tahrīr. This text (commonly known as Syarqawi ala Tahrīr), too, is widely available in Indonesia.

The Riyadlul Badiah is one of the texts that are little known elsewhere which were introduced to Indonesian Muslims by Nawawi Banten. As its title, Ar-riyad al-badi‘a fi usūl ad-dīn wa baḍfurūṣ ash-sharī‘a, indicates, it deals with select points of doctrine and religious obligations. The author is one Muḥammad Ḥasballah, perhaps an older contemporary of Nawawi. The work has been printed only in the margin of the sharḥ written by Nawawi, Ath-thamar al-yanī (cf. GAL II:501; GAL S II:813).

Sullam al-munajät is another work by Nawawi Banten. It is a commentary on the guide for worship, Safinat as-ṣalāh, by Abdallāh b. ʿUmar al-Ḥadramī.

Uqudul Lujain (ʿUqūd al-lujayn fi ḥuqūq az-zawjayn), too, is a work by Nawawi Banten, dealing with the rights, and especially the duties, of married women. Two Javanese translations and commentaries are in circulation, viz. Ḥidāyat al-ʿarīśin by Abū Muḥammad Ḥasanuddīn of Pekalongan, and Suʿūd al-kawmayn by Sibṭ al-ʿUthmānī Ḥaḍārī al-Janqalānī al-Qudūṣī.

The Sittin (full title Al-masa'il as-sittīri), a short text of the perukunan type (i.e., dealing with basic doctrine and the five pillars), by Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Misrī (d. 818/1415), was very popular in 19th-century Java, and is mentioned in the Serat Centini (Soebardi 1971:336). By now it has gradually fallen into disuse, and many santri do not even recognize its name.

Muhadzab (Al-muhadhhab) is a work of Shafi‘i fiqh by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAli ash-Shirāzī al-Firuzābādī (d. 476/1083; see GAL I:387-8; GAL S I:669).

Bughyat al-mustarshidīn is a collection of fatwa by 19th/20th-century ulama compiled by the muftī of Hadramawt, ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān b. M. b. Ḥusayn Bā‘alawī.

The following two are recent texts in simple Arabic, especially written for madrasah: ʿAl-mabādī fi fiqhīyya al-badhab al-imām ash-Shafī‘î (4 tiny volumes) was written by ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Jabbar; Al-fiqh al-wādiḥ by the well-known Minangkabau scholar Mahmud Yunus.

To the above titles I would add one important Malay text, in spite of its low rating in the present list, with its heavy Javanese bias. This is Sabīl al-muḥaddidin, Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjartī’s magnum opus and the most important Malay work of fiqh (although dealing only with fiqh ʿubūdiyya). It was written, so the author says, because the earlier Malay fiqh handbook, Sirāt al-mustaqīm by ar-Rānīrī (printed in the margin), contained too many regionalisms and was therefore difficult to understand. The chief sources
of the Sabîl are Malîbârî’s Fath al-mu‘în and Zakarîyâ’ Anṣârî’s Manhaj at-tulûb. Al-Banjari’s work is rarely found in Java, but is still quite popular in the Malay-speaking area, and several recent editions of it (including an Egyptian one) are available.

Uṣûl al-fiqh

Van den Berg mentions no works on the principles of fiqh at all. This may be due to an oversight, for Van Ronkel’s catalogue of the Jakarta library (1913) mentions several copies of commentaries on the Waraqât and the Jam‘ al-jawâmi‘ (see below), which suggests that these works must have been relatively well-known, at least around the turn of the century. They were probably, however, not part of the ordinary pesantren curriculum. K.H. Mahfudz of Termas (d. 1919) was probably the first Indonesian scholar to become an expert on the subject and to teach it to his advanced students in Mecca. In Indonesia itself, uṣûl fiqh first received serious attention from the kaum muda, who often had recourse to it in their struggle against alleged bid‘a. In the 1920s, the journal Al-ittifaq wa ‘l-iftiraq wrote a great deal about uṣûl fiqh, quoting from Suyûtî’s Al-ashbah wa ‘n-naza‘îr, Şâfi‘î’s Risâla, and, more especially, Ibn Rushd’s Bidâyât al-mujtahid.

At present, uṣûl fiqh is an obligatory subject in almost all pesantren for santri of the middle and higher levels. The range of works used is not very wide, however. Our collection includes fourteen different titles, many of which are related to one another (as commentaries or glosses). Only eight of these are sufficiently popular to warrant inclusion in the list.

Jam‘ al-Jawâmi‘, by Tâjaddîn ‘Abd al-Wahhâb as-Subkî, is one of the major texts on the foundations of Muslim law. The current printed edition also contains, besides this text, the sharh by Jalâladdîn al-Maḥallî, glosses thereon by Bânnânî, and further glosses (taqrîr) by ʿAbd ar-Rahmân Sharbînî. Zakarîyâ’ Anṣârî summarized the Jam‘ in his Lubb al-uṣûl, also used in Indonesia.

Al-waraqât fi uṣûl al-fiqh, by the imâm al-ḥaramayn ʿAbd al-Mâlik al-Juwaynî (d. 478/1085, see GAL I:388-9), is one of the other major works on the subject. Various commentaries on this work are generally available in Indonesia (our collection contains five different ones, one of them by the Minangkabau reformist Aḥmad Khaṭîb, entitled An-nafahât alâ sharh al-waraqât). The Latâ‘îf al-îshârât, by ʿAbd al-Ḥamîd b. M. ʿAlî al-Qudsî (d. 1334/1916, see al-ʿAţîs 1979 II:619-26), is a further commentary on one of these, Sharaftâdîn Yaḥyâ al-ʿImrî’s Tashîl at-turuqat.

42 See Schrieke 1921:298-300. The interest in uṣûl fiqh was also fed by the rising conviction that the gate of ijtihâd was not necessarily closed and that taqâdîm is unworthy of the intellectually adult person.

43 Brockelmann incorrectly compounds the latter two authors into one (GAL S I:672 no.9)
Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu 251

Al-ashbāḥ wa’ n-naẓā’ir fi’ l-furūc is a compendium by the prolific Jalāladdīn Suyūtī (see GAL II:152).

Al-luma [fi uṣūl al-fiqh] was written by Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī ash-Shīrāzī al-Fīrūzābādī, the author of the Muḥadhdhab (see GAL S I:670).

Al-bayān is the last in a series of three simple textbooks on uṣūl al-fiqh (entitled Mabādī Awwaliyya, As-sullam and Al-bayān) for use in madrasah, written by the Minangkabau author Abdul Hamid Hakim.

Ibn Rushd’s Bidāyat al-mujtahid, which compares the rulings of the four ‘orthodox’ and various other madhhab, was again used first by the Minangkabau kaum muda. It is actually taught in very few pesantren, but many of the more learned kyai use it as a work of reference.

Doctrine (tawḥīd, ‘aqīda, uṣūl ad-dīn)

Compared with the number and the sophistication of fiqh works studied in pesantren, doctrine occupies a much less prominent place in the curriculum. Whereas earlier generations of Indonesian Muslims showed great interest in cosmology, eschatology and metaphysical speculation – as witness the writings of Rānīrī, ‘Abd ar-Ra’ūf of Singkel and ‘Abd as-Ṣamad of Palembang –, these subjects are now largely kept out of the pesantren curriculum. Could this perhaps be because of the old adage that too great an interest in matters of doctrine can only lead to unbelief?

Be that as it may, the works on ‘aqīda in Table III are, without exception, straightforward expositions of Ashʿārī doctrine on the attributes (ṣifāt) of God and the prophets. The most popular group of texts is that based on Sanūsī’s two famous works on doctrine. (It is remarkable that Naṣafī’s work and Taftazānī’s commentary, equally if not more influential elsewhere, seem to be unknown in Indonesia.44) The basic text of this group is Umn al-barāḥīn (also called Ad-durra), by Abū ‘Abdallāh M. b. Yūsuf as-Sanūṣī (d. 895/1490, see GAL II, 250, GAL S II:352-3). The text commonly referred to as ‘the’ Sanusī[yah] is a somewhat more substantial commentary on it written by Sanūṣī himself. In the most frequently encountered edition it is printed in the margin of the highly popular ḥāshiyya by Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī, which is, by extension, also known as Sanusī. Other frequently used commentaries are the ḥāshiyya on the Sanusi by Muḥammad ad-Ḍaṣīqī (d.1230/1815, see GAL II:353), and a more substantial text by ‘Abdallāh ash-Sharmāwī (d. 1127/1812, see GAL II:479-80), which is itself a ḥāshiyya on an 11th-century commentary by one Muḥammad b. Mansūr al-Hudhūdī (in Indonesian editions, it is printed together with Hudhudī’s text). All these texts are commonly known by the names of their authors.

44 That is, at present. In fact, Naṣafī’s ‘Aqā’id was among the first works to be translated into Malay. A sixteenth-century manuscript with an interlinear Malay translation is still extant (Al-Attas 1988).
Another work that is partially based on the Sanusi is the *Kifayat al-ʿawāmm*, by M.b.M. al-Faḍḍālī (d. 1236/1821, see GAL II:489), which is highly popular in Indonesia (it is translated into English in MacDonald 1903:315-51). Our collection also contains a version of this work with an interlinear Madurese translation (by H.M. Nūr Mūnīr b.H. Ismāʿīl). Faḍḍālī's pupil ʿIrāhīm Bājūrī (d. 1277/1861) wrote a commentary on it, *Tahqīq al-ṣaḥāḥ ʿalā kifayat al-ʿawāmm* (printed together with the *Kifāya* in the Indonesian editions), and this was glossed upon by Ṣawāwī Bānten in his widely read *Ṭīfān ad-durārī*.

ʿAqidat al-ʿawāmm is a simple, versified text for the very young, memorized long before the santri even begins to understand Arabic. Its author, ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-Maḥdī al-Ḥāssānī, was active around 1864. Brockelmann (GAL S II:990) mentions a Malay version by Ḥāmza b. M. al-Qashaḥī (of Kedah); our collection contains translations into Javanese (by Bīsī Mustofa of Rembang) and Madurese (by ʿAbd al-Majīd Tamīm of Pamekasan). Ṣawāwī Bānten, who must have known the author, wrote a well-known commentary on it, entitled *Nurūd-Dhūlam* (*Nūr az-ẓalam*).

*Jawharat at-tawḥīd*, the concise versified text by ʿIrāhīm al-Ḥaḍārī (d. 1041/1631), is still highly popular. Santri commit the entire text itself to memory, and study various commentaries on it. One of these is ʿIrāhīm al-Bājūrī's *Tuhfat al-murīd*. An anonymous Malay scholar and two Javanese ulama, Saleh Darat of Semarang and Ahmad Subki Masyhadi of Pekalongan, wrote extensive commentaries in their regional languages, which are commonly known by the same title *Jauharatut Taḥwīd*. Saleh Darat's Javanese commentary, especially, is interesting in that it reflects contemporary Javanese views and concerns.

*Fatḥ al-majīd* is yet another text by Ṣawāwī Bānten. It is a commentary on the *Durr al-farīd fi ʿilm at-tawḥīd* (printed in the margin) by a certain ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-Maḥdī al-Ḥāssānī, on whom I have found no further information.

The remaining three titles are modern works, which were first adopted by Egyptian-influenced madrasah and from there are gradually penetrating the entire pesantren world.

*Jawāhir al-kalāmiyya [fi ḍāḥ al-ʿaqīdat al-islāmiyya]* was written by the Syrian Ṭāhir b. Ṣāliḥ al-Jazāʾīrī, who died in Damascus in 1919.

*Huṣūnul Haṣimīyya (Al-ḥuṣūn al-ḥamīdiyya li ʾl-muhāfaza ʿalā l-ʿaqāʾid al-islāmiyya)* is a work on ʿṣfīʿāt, prophecy, miracles of the prophets, the angels, and life after death by the moderate modernist and rationalist writer Ḥūsayn b.M. al-Jasr Efendī at-Ṭarābulūsī (d. 1909). The author was renowned as editor of a journal in which he attempted to reconcile Islam with modern science and philosophy (GAL S II:776; see also the remarks in Hourani 1962: 222-3). This book was first used in Indonesia, in Sumatera Thawalib madrasah, in the 1930s (Yunus 1979:77).

*Aqidatul Islamiyah*, finally, is a modern question-and-answer catechism for pupils of the lowest madrasah grades by Bāṣrī b. H. Marghūbī (no further details known).
The subject of tawhīd gradually shades off into what is usually classified as taṣawwuf in Indonesia. Ghazālī’s Ihyā, which is the most popular taṣawwuf text here, could with equal (or perhaps greater) justification be listed among the works on doctrine.

There is yet another, quite popular, category of books that should be mentioned here, although these are rarely part of the official pesantren curriculum. These are the works on traditional (and often quite fantastic) cosmology and eschatology. A typical (and widely popular) example is Daqā‘īq al-akhbār fī dhikr al-janna wa ‘n-nār, by ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm al-Qādī (see GAL S 1:346), which is available in Arabic as well as in Malay, Sundanese and Madurese translations. Another one is Ad-durar al-ḥiṣān, attributed to Suyūṭī. Indonesian authors have contributed a number of simpler texts similarly designed to inspire a wholesome fear of the hereafter in the reader. These works are not used as textbooks, but constitute popular reading in the santri environment.

Qur’anic exegesis (tafsīr)

Van den Berg lists only one tafsīr as part of the regular curriculum, the ubiquitous Jalālayn. Baydawī’s tafsīr was also known by name, but it was highly exceptional to find a kyai explaining this text (Van den Berg 1886:555). A few minor additions may be made to this. In the Malay-speaking part of the Archipelago the Tarjuman al-mustafsid, a Malay translation of the Jalālayn with some interposed material from other tafsīr, by ʿAbd ar-Ra‘ūf of Singkel, must have been fairly well known (it is still available in various editions). Nawawi Banten, moreover, had already written his At-tafsīr al-munīr li maṣālim at-tanzil by Van den Berg’s time, but this, like his other works, had perhaps not yet come into general use because of the conservatism of the pesantren curriculum.

Van den Berg’s impression is probably generally correct: in the late 19th century, tafsīr was not yet considered a very important part of the curriculum. Under the impact of modernism, with its slogan of return to the Qur’ān and the ḥadīth, the interpretation of the Qur’ān obviously assumed greater importance. Many traditionalist ulama simply felt obliged to follow suit and began taking tafsīr more seriously. Our list shows, however, that the range of tafsīr studied in the pesantren is still very narrow. Two classics, Tabarī and Ibn Kathīr, have been added to the list, along with Nawawi’s Tafsīr al-munīr. The two modernist tafsīr, Tafsīr al-manār by
Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā, and Aḥmad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī’s Tafsīr al-Marāghī (see Jansen 1980), occur in our list only because of their use in two modernist-oriented pesantren in West Java; they are not yet widely accepted in the pesantren milieu. (It is no coincidence that there are no Indonesian editions of the Arabic texts of these two works, although the latter has very recently appeared in translation.) The last tafsīr on the list is a 10-volume work in Indonesian, prepared under the auspices of the Ministry of Religious Affairs by a committee of Indonesian scholars.

Five other tafsīrs in our collection, by Indonesian and Malaysian authors, deserve to be mentioned here, although they have not gained wide popularity. Aḥmad Saʿūd b. ʿAbdurrahīm of Sukabumi wrote a tafsīr (in fact, a rather straightforward translation) of the Qur’an in Sundanese, entitled Rawdat al-ʿirfān fī maʿrifat al-Qurʾān, and Bisri Mustofa of Rembang a three-volume (2250-page) Javanese tafsīr, Al-ibrīz li maʿrifat tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿazīz. The latter, too, is more of a translation than an exegesis proper. Since translations of the Qur’an necessarily involve a certain amount of interpretation, they are usually labelled tafsīr, too. A greater amount of commentary is given in another Javanese tafsīr, Al-īklīl fī maʿānī ʿīn-tanzil, by Miṣḥaḥ b. Zayn al-Muṣṭafā (30 volumes, 4800 pages), and in the three-volume (950-page) Malay-language tafsīr, Tafsīr nūr al-iḥsān, by Muḥammad Saʿīd b. ʿUmar Qāḍī al-Qaḍahī (of Kedah, Malaysia). The most recent is an Indonesian commentary in six volumes, Adz Dzikraa: Terjemah & tafsīr Al Qurʾān, by Bachtiar Surin.

The interest in tafsīr is increasing markedly. Several other tafsīrs have very recently been printed in Arabic in Indonesia; others again (modernist ones, as one might expect, such as Sayyid Qūṭb’s Fi ṣīlal al-Qurʾān and Marāghī) in Indonesian translation. Imports nevertheless keep increasing; in several toko kitab in Surabaya and Bandung I found no fewer than twenty different tafsīr imported from Egypt and Lebanon in stock.

Of the works on the principles of tafsīr, only two classics are listed. Both of them by Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, they are entitled Iṭmām ad-dirāyā li qurrāʾ an-nuqṭāya and Al-iṭqān fī ʿulūm al-Qurʾān. The collection includes various simple introductions to this subject.

Hadīth

Even more than tafsīr, hadīth constitute a relatively new subject in pesantren. Van den Berg does not even mention hadīth. The santri did encounter many hadīth in the course of his studies – no work of fiqh is conceivable without hadīth supporting its argument – but these were, as it were, already processed, selected and quoted according to the needs of the author.

47 Critical comments on this work, especially on the poverty of the sources consulted, may be found in Johns 1984:158.
Collections of hadīth as such – either the six canonical collections or popular compilations like the Maṣābīḥ as-sunna, which was very popular in India – seem hardly to have been used in the Archipelago a century ago. An exception should perhaps be made for the small collections of the ‘Forty Hadith’ type, for which Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā an-Nawāwī’s Arbaʿīn is one model. Various Indonesian ulama have, from the 19th century on, compiled or translated such collections of forty, and Djohan Effendi has shown how the contents of these collections changed according to the needs of the times. The present wider interest in hadīth – now an obligatory subject in most pesantren – is probably again due to the impact of modernism (for similar observations see Steenbrink 1974:166).

The two great collections of ‘authentic’ (sahīh) hadīth by Bukhārī and Muslim are now standard reference works in many pesantren. The curriculum often includes selections from these works, usually with a commentary. Two popular selections from Bukhārī are At-tajrīd as-ṣaḥīḥ by Shihābaddīn Ahmad ash-Shārījī az-Zābīdī (d. 893/1488) and Jawāhir al-Bukhārī by Muṣṭafā M. ʿUmāra (GAL S I:264). The most popular and ubiquitous hadīth collections are, however, the Bulūgh al-maʿrūm and the Riyāḍ as-ṣālīḥīn.

Bulūgh al-maʿrūm [min adillat al-aḥkām], a collection compiled by Ibn ʿAbd al-Qār al-Asqalānī (d. 852/1449, see GAL II:67-70), has been translated into Javanese (by A. Subki Masyhadi of Pekalongan) and Indonesian (by Bīṣīrī Mustofā of Rembang), and partially also into Malay. Subul as-salām, by Muḥammād b. ʿIsmāʿīl al-Kahlanī (d. 1182/1769), is a commentary on the Bulūgh.

Riyāḍ as-ṣālīḥīn [min kalām sayyid al-mursalīn] is a larger collection of hadīth, mainly dealing with devotional matters, collected by Yaḥyā b. Sharafaddīn an-Nawāwī, the compiler of the most famous ‘Forty’. There exist two different Javanese translations (by Asrōrī Abūḥaṣīb and Abūḥaṣīb Subki Masyhādī), as well as Malay and Indonesian translations of this.

Nawawī’s Arbaʿīn are used in many pesantren for the less advanced sanṭirī, and are also popular as non-curricular religious literature, in the original Arabic as well as in Indonesian translation. A rather well-known commentary is Al-majālis as-saṇīyya, by Abī Ḥāmid b. Ḥijāzī al-Fāshānī. Durrat an-nāṣīḥīn [fi ḥaddīth fi sharḥ lubāb al-hadīth] was compiled by ʿUthmān b. Ḥasan al-Khubūwī (d.1224/1804, see GAL II:489).

Tanjīḥ al-qawl [al-hadīth fi sharḥ lubāb al-hadīth] is another work by Nawawī Banten. It is a commentary on Suyūṭī’s hadīth collection Lubāb al-hadīth (which is printed in the margin of Nawawī’s work).

48 It is perhaps significant that in Snouck Hurgronje’s Adviezen there is only one reference to hadīth, which, moreover, does not concern Indonesia but Arabia.

Mukhār al-ahādīth is a collection compiled by the modern Egyptian author Ahmad al-Ḥāshimī Bak.

The Ushfuriyah (named after its author, Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-‘Uṣfūrī), finally, is another popular ‘Forty ḥadīth’ collection, with edifying stories added to each ḥadīth.

Critical study of the ḥadīth is as yet almost non-existent in Indonesia, certainly in the pesantren environment. Understandably, Indonesian modernists have shown a greater interest in the (traditional) science of distinguishing false from authentic, ‘weak’ from ‘strong’ traditions (‘ilm dirāyat al-ḥadīth) than the traditionalists. The two titles occurring in our list (with a few derivatives of the first one) are, in fact, the only ones to be found in toko kitab.

Minḥat al-mughīth is a modern text by an Azhar scholar, Ḥāfīz Ḥasan Maṣūdid, and was apparently written for use in Egyptian state-supervised madrasa.

The name Baiquniyah, as usual, refers both to an original work (matan), an untitled short versified text by Ṭaha b. Muḥammad al-Fattūh al-Bayqūnī (d. after 1080/1669, see GAL II:307), and to various commentaries on it. Most popular among the latter is that by ʿAṭīya al-Ajhūrī (d. 1190/1776, see GAL II:328); it is the work one usually gets when one asks for ‘the’ Baiquniyah. Another much encountered commentary is the Taqrīrat as-saniyya, by Hasan Muḥammad al-Mashshāṭ, who taught at Mecca’s Masjid al-ḥarām in the nineteen thirties and forties, and had many Indonesian students.

Morality and mysticism

The borderline between the subjects of akhlāq (morality) and taṣawwuf (mysticism) as taught in pesantren is extremely fuzzy. The same work may be studied under the heading taṣawwuf in one pesantren, and under that of akhlāq in another. The subject of akhlāq also shades into tarbiya, ‘(the imparting of) good manners’; the word has connotations of proper, respectful behaviour and unostentatious piety. As the titles in Table VI show, the works on mysticism studied in pesantren all belong to the orthodox school that also stresses these attitudes. We find here no works on wahdat al-wujūd Sufism or other less domesticated brands of mysticism and metaphysics. This may at first sight seem astonishing, given the strong mystical strain in traditional Indonesian Islam, and the penchant for metaphysical speculation especially among Javanese. On the other hand, it was not only speculative cosmogonic and mystical theories that appealed to earlier generations of Indonesian ulama, but also rules of proper conduct and hierarchy. Shaykh Yusuf of Makassar, one of the 17th-century proponents of wahdat al-wujūd, not only describes various dhikr techniques and obliquely refers to mystical doctrines, but also, and with greater insistence,
stresses unquestioning and unconditional obedience to the teacher as the single most important step on the mystical path.\textsuperscript{50} He thus foreshadowed the ‘good manners’ strain of present Indonesian mysticism.

\textit{Wahdat al-wujūd} texts and other ‘heterodox’ works may not be taught in many pesantren any more, but that does not mean to say that they are not read at all. In several bookstores I found ġAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī’s \textit{Al-insān al-kāmil} (still part of the curriculum of several West Javanese pesantren half a century ago), and in Surabaya even Ibn al-ĠArābī’s \textit{Al-futūḥat al-makkiyya}. These rather difficult Arabic works are at most read by a small elite, but the case is different with some Malay works, such as M. Naflīs al-Banjari’s \textit{Ad-durr an-nafis}, which expounds a popular version of \textit{wahdat al-wujūd}\textsuperscript{51}, and is found in great numbers in the bookshops of South Kalimantan, Aceh and Malaysia. Similarly, Ghazālī may have replaced the more adventurous mystics, but ġAbd aš-Šāmad Pālimbānī seems to have smuggled some of the rejected doctrines into his Malay adaptations of Ghazālī’s major works (see below). These Malay works are read in West Java as well as in the outer islands. In contradiction with common assumptions about the religious attitudes of Javanese and non-Javanese Indonesians, it is the Javanese pesantren that is the locus of orthodoxy, while other, speculative mystical doctrines still persist in the outer regions.

The collection contains almost a hundred different titles on \textit{akhlaq} and \textit{tasawwuf}, but the basic texts that are widely used are relatively few. They are the following.

\textit{Taćilm al-mutta Nikki [litariq at-ta căllum]}, by Burhān al-Islām az-Zarnūjī, is a famous (some would say: notorious) work on the proper obedient attitude of the student towards his teacher. For many kyai, this work is one of the very pillars of pesantren education. At a recent discussion of \textit{kitab} organized by the NU, one of the participants suggested that this is the sort of book that should really be banned because of the passive and uncritical attitudes it inculcates. The reactions to this suggestion give one reason to believe that this work will long remain part of the curriculum. It is also available with a Javanese and with a Madurese translation.

\textit{Wasāf}ā [\textit{al-ābā’ li ‘l-ibna}], by the Egyptian author Muḥammad Shākir (\textit{shaykh ulamā al-Iskandariyya}, according to the title page), with a Javanese translation by Bisri Mustofa, is a short text explaining how nice boys should wash themselves well, take care of sick relatives, repair their own bicycle tyres, etc.

\textit{Al-akhkāq li ‘l-banāt} and \textit{Al-akhkāq li ‘l-banīn}, in three thin volumes each,

\textsuperscript{50} Almost all the Sufi anecdotes and sayings of great \textit{shaykh} that he quotes come down to the same moral of complete surrender to the teacher. Some of Yusuf’s works are summarized in Tudjimah et al. 1987.

\textsuperscript{51} A short summary of the contents is given in Abdullah 1980:107-121; analysis in Mansur 1982.
are moral lessons for girls and boys, meant to be read at (state) madrasah, written by one ʿUmar b. ʿĀmīd Barja.

I have rather arbitrarily placed the following three texts also in this category, although they are sometimes labelled as works of fiqh ‘ubūdiyya (i.e., concerning the rules of religious worship) or (the first) as a ḥadīth collection.

Irshād al-ʿibād [ilā sabīl ar-rashād] is a work by Zayn ad-Dīn al-Malibārī (grandfather of the author of Fath al-μurīn). There are various printed editions of the Arabic text in existence, and there is a recent Javanese translation by Misbah b. Zayn al-Mustafa.

Naṣaʾīḥ al-ʿibād is yet another work by Nawawi Banten. It is a sharḥ of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAṣqalānī’s An-nabāḥāt ʿalā istiʿdād. It focuses on the rules for personal conduct, and is often used as an introductory work, for the younger santri, on akhlāq.

Al-adhkar [al-muntakhab min kalam sayyid al-abrār] by Abū Zakarīya’ Yahyā an-Nawawī contains prescriptions for worship and pious conduct. A Javanese and recently also an Indonesian translation are available.

The section on taṣawwuf is strongly dominated by Abū Ḥamīd al-Ghazālī and his Iḥyā, Bidayat al-hidāya and Minhāj al-ʿabīdīn. There are various pesantren that specialize in the teaching of the Iḥyā; all three works mentioned have been translated, at least in part, into several Indonesian languages.

ʿAbd as-Samad al-Pālimbānī (who lived and worked in the mid-18th century) wrote well-known Malay adaptations of the first two of the above works, entitled Sayr as-sālikīn and Hidayat as-sālikīn respectively. Without noticeable awareness of any conflict, Abd as-Samad admitted into these works, especially the Sayr, elements of wahdat al-wujūd doctrine from other sources, which seem quite alien to Ghazālī’s Sunni mysticism (for a good survey see Quzwain 1985, esp. 37-51). These works remain popular especially in Sumatra and West Java.

Nawawi Banten wrote an (Arabic) commentary on the Bidāya entitled MarāqĪ l-ʿubūdiyya, which, judging from the number of different editions still existing, is more popular than is suggested by its low score on our list. The Sirāj at-ṭālibīn is a two-volume Arabic commentary on the Minhāj, by Iḥsān b. Muhammad Daḥlān of Jampes, Kediri (d. 1952). This work has a high reputation in East Java, despite its low score on our list.

Besides these books, the Sundanese translations of important sections of Ghazālī’s works by the great scholar ʿAbdullāh bin Nūḥ of Bogor (d. 1987) deserve mention.

The Hikam is the well-known collection of Sufi aphorisms by Ibn ʿAṭāʾillāh al-Iskandarī. Numerous translations and commentaries exist in Indonesia. Among these, the Hikam Melayu (anonymous), the Syarah Hikam (by M. Ibrāhīm an-Nāfīḍī ar-Rindī) and the Malay-language Tāj al-ʿarūs by ʿUsmān al-Pontiānī, as well as a Javanese Hikam by Saleh Darat
Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu

of Semarang, and various modern Indonesian versions, especially the four-volume commentary by the Achehnese K.H. Muhibuddin Waly, deserve mention.

*Hidayat al-adhkiya* [ɪlā ˈjaːrīq al-awliyya*], a versified didactic text on practical mysticism by Zayn ad-Dīn al-Malībārī, written in 914/1508-9, has long been popular in Java; it is mentioned in the *Serat Centini*, for instance. Many commentaries on it are in use in Indonesia. One of the better known is *Kifāya al-atqiyya* [wə minhāj al-aṣfiyya*] by Sayyid Bakrī b. M. Shaṭṭā* ad-Dimyātī. The prolific Nawawi Banten also wrote a commentary, *Salālim al-fudāla*], which is printed in the margin of Sayyid Bakrī’s *Kifāya*. There are also Javanese translations and commentaries by Saleh Darat (*Minhāj al-atqiyya*), and by ‘Abd al-Jalīl Ḥamīd al-Qandalī (*Tuḥfat al-aṣfiyya*), as well as an interlinear Madurese translation (by ‘Abd al-Majīd Tamim of Pamekasan).

The final two works are both by the pious Hadrami author and mystic Ālwi al-Ḥaddād, well known in Indonesia as the author of the *rāḥib Ḥaddād* and other pious formulas (d. 1132/1720, see GAL II:408; GAL S II:566). He wrote around ten books, mostly on Sufi piety, several of which have come to enjoy popularity in the Archipelago. His *Ar-risālāt al-mu’āwana* [wə *l-muṣāhara* wə *l-muwāzara*] has for some time been one of the standard texts on proper behaviour and devotional attitude that are used in Javanese pesantren. It has been translated into Javanese (by Asrori Ahmad) and Malay (by Idrīs al-Khayat al-Patanī), and more recently into Indonesian (by Muhammad al-Baqīr, under the title *Thariqah menuju kebahagiaan*). His other popular work, *An-naṣā‘ih ad-dīniyya* [wə *l-waṣā‘yā‘ l-imāniyya*], contains further pious admonitions. It has been translated into Malay by one of his descendants, Ālwi b. M. b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād, under the title *Aṣ-ṣilat al-islāmiyya*.

There is a marked revival of interest in Ālwi al-Ḥaddād, both in Egypt and, more recently, in Indonesia. *Ar-risālāt al-mu’āwana* was printed in Egypt in 1930 (and presumably became known in Indonesia in the following decades), while other works were published in the 1970s due to the efforts of the former chief muftī of Egypt, Ḥasanayn M. Ṣakhlūf. In Indonesia, al-Ḥaddād and his works are actively propagated by his fellow-Hadrami sayyid, notably the learned Muhammad al-Baqīr, who translated several of his works into Indonesian. These books sold surprisingly well, and saw several reprints within the first years of their appearance. Recent translations of several works by Ghazālī also were a com-

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53 They are published by Mizan in Bandung (directed by al-Baqīr’s son, Ḥaidar Bagīr), which is also the publisher of the Iranian thinkers Shārīfī and Muṭṭahharī, and in general targets a public of young, well educated and committed Muslims. A few minor texts by al-Ḥaddād were brought out in Indonesian translation by other publishers.
commercial success. Quietist, orthodox Sufism apparently has a wide appeal beyond the pesantren milieu as well - which seems to be a response to the political decline of Indonesian Islam over the past decades.

Histories of Islam / Texts in praise of the Prophet

The history of Islam is a new subject, not often taught in pesantren, and the range of kitab available on this subject is still very limited. Most santri derive their knowledge about and awareness of the history of Islam largely from devotional works on the Prophet and saints. Of the titles in Table VII, only *Nūr al-yaqīn* is a textbook proper; this and the abridged version of it, *Khulāṣa nūr al-yaqīn*, are virtually the only serious works of *sīra* (biography of the Prophet) used in pesantren. The author of the original work is the modern Egyptian Muḥammad Ḥadārī Bak; the *Khulāṣa* was prepared by ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Jabbār, the Meccan author of many madrasah textbooks. These books at first were typical madrasah literature, but now are also studied in quite a few pesantren. Two other historical works by the same Muhammad Ḥadārī Bak have been printed in Indonesia and are gaining popularity. They are *Itmām al-wafā’ fi sīrat al-khulafā’*, a history of Muhammad’s successors, and *Ṭā‘rīkh at-tashrīḥ al-islāmī*, a substantial history of the development of Islamic law.

The other two texts listed are well-known devotional works having the Prophet’s birth and ascension to heaven as their topics. The *Barzanji*, Ja‘far al-Barzinjī’s *Mawlid*, is perhaps the most loved text in Indonesia after the Qur’an itself; the *Đādir* is Aḥmad ad-Đādir’s commentary on Najm ad-Dīn al-Ghayṭī’s version of the *Mfāţā*, the Prophet’s journey through the heavens. Besides their ritual uses (see the next section), these texts also serve as teaching materials in a number of pesantren. The range of devotional texts on the Prophet found in the bookshops is much wider than the two listed here: the collection contains over twenty-five of them. The primary use these books serve is not educational but devotional and ritual: they may be read privately as an act of piety or, more typically, recited communally, or at least in public, on various occasions. There are other kitab, too, that serve such non-educational purposes. To conclude our survey, a few words need to be said about the various types of such extracurricular kitab and their uses.

54 These include *mawlid* by Barzinjī, ‘Azb, Dībā‘ī, Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Jawzī, ‘All b. M. al-Ḥabshi and Sayyid Usman, the *qaṣīdat al-burda* by Buṣīrī, Isrā‘īl’s *mirāj* by Najm ad-Dīn Ghaṭī and by Dā‘ūd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ṣaḥābī, and various commentaries and translations (four different Javanese translations of the *Barzanji* alone).
Extra-curricular kitab: Devotion, ritual, magic

Not all kitab in the collection form part of the official pesantren curriculum. A considerable number (well over 10%) serve other purposes, which may be roughly lumped together under the heading ‘devotional, ritual and magical’. For they contain collections of prayers and other pious formulas (wird, pl. awrād) to be recited on particular occasions, guides to the spiritual exercises of various mystical orders, texts in praise of the Prophet or one of the saints to be recited on particular occasions, books on divination, and magical handbooks. Such books are extremely popular, and are sold in larger numbers than most others.

In many Javanese villages the weekly communal recitation of the Burda, the Dība‘ī or the Barzanji – poems in praise of the Prophet – is one of the major social occasions. The Barzanji and other similar texts are also read in certain life cycle rituals, in fulfilment of vows, or to ward off danger. The various manāqīb (hagiographies) of ʻAbd al-Qādir Jilānī\(^{55}\) are used for similar ritual, and sometimes exorcistic, purposes. This is not to say that these texts are not used as pious reading, too; but even when read privately, the emphasis is often upon the merit accumulated or the spiritual and material benefits to be gained by this private act rather than on the informational content of the texts.

For these purposes, a full understanding of the texts is of course not essential; they are usually recited only in Arabic.\(^{56}\) Several of the texts have, however, long been available in translations besides the Arabic originals. Buṣīrī’s Burda was rendered into Malay as early as the 16th century (Drewes 1955). Javanese, Malay and Sundanese translations of manāqīb of ʻAbd al-Qādir were in use at least from the 19th century on (Drewes and Poerbatjara 1938), together with similar Malay texts on the Prophet (e.g. Hikayat nur Muhammad, Nabi bercukur, Nabi wafat) and on such saints as [M. b. ʻAbd al-Karīm] Šammān. These are all still available, and in addition there are many new translations of and commentaries on the better known Mawlid and Manāqīb by Indonesian ulama.\(^{57}\)

Another important category is that of books of ‘Islamic magic’. Accord-
ing to close observers, the number of people seeking supernatural aid to overcome spiritual, psychological or material problems has increased rather than decreased over the past two decades. The number of *dukun* seems to have grown, and so has that of *kyai* and others practising Islamic variants of magical healing and supernatural assistance. Whereas one part of the Muslim community strongly opposes such ‘superstitions’, for many others, perhaps the majority, the mystical-magical dimension remains an integral part of the Islamic heritage.

Santri commonly draw a strict distinction between *tibb* (‘medicine’) and *hikma* (‘occult sciences’), although to most modernists both are magic and unacceptable. *Hikma* contains explicitly pre-Islamic elements, such as the use of magical squares (*wafāq*), whereas the amulets of *tibb* only employ Qur’anic texts. Defenders of *tibb* proudly argue against the modernists that it was one of Ibn Taymiyya’s chief disciples, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, who wrote a major work in this discipline, *At-tibb an-nabawī*. And even *hikma* is not so far removed from the orthodox mainstream as modernists would have it: the great Ghazālī wrote a book on magical squares, *Al-awfāq*, that is still widely used in Indonesia, while the prolific Jalāl ad-Dīn Suyūtī wrote *Ar-raḥma fī ‘t-tibb wa ‘l-ḥikma*. The most influential works of *hikma*, however, are those by the 12th/13th-century North African Shaykh ʿAbd al-Bünī: *Shams al-maḥāris al-kubrā* and *Mambār waṣā’il al-ḥikma*. These and similar works (available in local editions) are widely used in Javanese *pesantren*, although they do not form part of the formal curriculum and will rarely be taught by the *kyai* himself. They occupy a central place in peer learning, however. Older santri often experiment together with the various magical techniques set out in these books.

Popular booklets based on these works of *hikma*, called *mujarrabāt* (‘traditional wisdom’, lit. ‘what has proven effective’), are available in growing numbers and in various languages. They contain prayers, magical formulas and symbols for a long and heterogeneous series of situations in connection with health, love, career, protection from evil spirits, and traffic accidents. There are related popular works listing the specific beneficial effects of reciting certain Qur’anic verses and prayers. There is no clear line dividing *mujarrabāt* booklets from *primbon*, collections of ‘useful information’, which may comprise the same sort of magical formulas, besides lists of auspicious days and hours, rules of thumb for divination (using dreams, the day on which a woman’s period begins, etc.), lists of supererogatory prayers, etc. Books of these types, catering for a simple and uneducated public, are printed in enormous numbers. Some are now in Romanized Indonesian, but the majority are in Malay, Javanese or Sundanese in Arabic characters and seem to aim, therefore, at the periphery of the *pesantren* world – the people who have some knowledge of the Arabic script. These simple texts may be of greater influence in shaping popular religious attitudes than the more serious works studied in the *pesantren*. 
Table 1. Arabic grammar, *taqwîd*, logic

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| Jamul Jawami      | 1   | 0    | 6    | 1     | 3    | 10    | khawass |
| Luma              | 1   | 0    | 2    | 1     | 3    | 7     | 'ali/khawass |
| Asybah wan Nadhair | 0   | 0    | 1    | 0     | 0    | 4     | khawass |
| Bayan             | 0   | 0    | 1    | 0     | 2    | 3     | thanawi/ali |
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Table VI. Piety and appropriate behaviour (akhlāq, tarbīya) and Sufism (tasawwuf)

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Table VII. Life histories of the Prophet (ṣīra) and works in praise of the Prophet

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ABBREVIATIONS USED:

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<td>BK1</td>
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<td>Mededelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap</td>
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<td>ZDMG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</td>
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