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

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 146 (1990), no: 2/3, Leiden, 226-269

This PDF-file was downloaded from http://www.kitlv-journals.nl
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.

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.

MARTIN VAN BRUINESSEN is a representative of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV) in Jakarta attached to the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) as a consultant for research methods. Specialized in Indonesian Islam and the social history of the Kurds, he obtained his doctorate from the State University at Utrecht. He has previously published Agha, Shaikh and State: On the Social and Political Organization of Kurdistan and is currently working on a book on the Naqshbandiyya mystical order in Southeast Asia. Dr. van Bruinessen can be contacted c/o the KITLV at Leiden.
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 Dār 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 Dār al-Fikr has recently (early in 1988) started reprinting a few titles in Indonesia as well, under the name Dār al-Fikr Indonesia.
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 (aqida, usul ad-din) 17%
- Traditional Arabic grammar (nahw, sarf, balagha) 12%
- Hadith collections 8%
- Mysticism (tasawwuf, tarīqa) 7%
- Morality (akhlāq) 6%
- Collections of prayers and invocations, Islamic magic (duʿa, wird, mujarrabat) 5%
- Texts in praise of the prophets and saints (qisas al-anbiya, mawlid, manāqib, 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 tafsīr, the Jaldālāyn, 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 tafsīr) 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 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayn al-Paṭānī, 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 Dāʾūd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Paṭānī and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl Dāʾūd 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 Aḥmad b. M. Zayn are still recognizable 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 Daʿūd 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 ʿAṭāʾillah's Ḥikam:

Kitab iniilah yang patut mengajinnya * dan upamanya mas sudah diujinya
dan upama pula makanan didang * dan yang lain itu tudung sajinya
dan upama pula buah buahan * isinya dan minyak dalam bijinya
kerana ialalah yang menyampai kepada Tuhan * lagi besar pahalanya dan gajinya
dan yang dapat ilmunya dan memalmkan * orang itulah sinar dan pujian
syurga itulah kediaman yang kekal * ilmu ini pintunya dan bajinya
dan yang hajiil tengandia api neraka * selar sangat ikamnya 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 Mustafâ al-Babî al-Ḥalabî 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-shar‘īyya 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 Ḥaji 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 Naqshbandî shaykh Muhammad Šâlih az-Zawawî, the spiritual preceptor of Muhammad Yusuf and his relatives (Hamidy 1983: 69; Abdullah 1985b: 3; on Zawawî, see Snouck Hurgronje 1889: 253).

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

---

6 Photomechanical reprints of this Bombay Qur’an are still published in large numbers today (by Al-Mawârif). 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 Marṭī in Singapore, ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Affī in Cirebon, and Sālim bin Sa’d Nabḥān 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 Qur'ān itself. Both Marṭī and bin ‘Affī 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 ‘Umar Bāhartha, a former employee of ‘Abdullāh bin ‘Affī. By mid-century, Marṭī had several *kitab kuning* printed as well, one of the more conspicuous of which was ‘Abd

---

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-muīn 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, Muḥammad bin ‘Umar Bāhartha (who in 1948 founded and today still directs Al-Maʿārif of Bandung, the largest printing house in Indonesia), Usman bin Salim Nabhan of Surabaya, and several younger publishers.
Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu

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 *kitāb*, and so did ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAfīf and various relatives of Sālim Nabhān. (Bigger and therefore more expensive works, such as the four-volume *I‘tīn at-tālibīn* by Sayyid Bakrī b. M. Shatṭā‘, which is the most recent great compendium of Shafī‘ī *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 *kitāb* 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 *kitāb* 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 *kitāb* 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. These are no signs yet of any strong centralization in the publishing of *kitāb kuning*. Surabaya boasts the largest number of publishers; the most prominent, besides those already mentioned, are the houses of Sa‘d b. Naṣīr b. Nabhān and Aḥmad b. Sa‘d Nabhān; ten other members of the same family also publish *kitāb*. On Java’s north coast we further find publishers (besides those mentioned) in Semarang (Al-Munawwara), Pekalongan (Raja Murah), Cirebon (Miṣrīyya, the old establishment of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAfīf), and Jakarta (Ash-Shāfī‘īyya and At-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). ʿArafāt 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 *kitāb*.

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.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.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-Ḥalābī 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 (*ḥāšiya, hasyiah*) 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

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 Maḥâlî, a popular advanced fiqh work, one will be given the volumi-
uous super-commentary on it by Qalyūbî and ‘Umayra, which has Ma-
hallî’s Kanz ar-rāghibîn in a modest place in the margin, etc.

Many of the basic texts are manzûm, i.e., are written in rhymed verse
(naẓm, nadham), to facilitate memorization.17 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’.18 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 Shafiʿi 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 Ṣhaṭṭaʿ ad-Dim-yāṯī by four, that are very widely used.19 The most ubiquitous author, however, is the Indonesian Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Nawāwī al-Jāwī al-Bantānī (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 Ibrāḥīm al-Bajūrī (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 Daʿūd b. ʿ Abdallāh al-Patānī (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-Banjarī and ʿAbd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Pālimbānī (who wrote in Malay, too) are also regularly reprinted. Another author of

---

19 On Daḥlān, see Snouck Hurgronje 1887a, al-ʿAttās 1979, II: 700-12; on Sayyid Bakrī and his major work Fānat al-jalābīn, Snouck Hurgronje 1889: 253, 259-60.
21 A short biographical sketch of Bajūrī, who was shaikh 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.
currently still popular Malay works is the said Sayyid Usman (Uthmān b. Abdallāh b. Aqīl b. Yahyā al-ʿAlawī).

An important Javanese author of the late 19th century is Saleh Darat (Ṣalih b. Umar as-Samarānī, d. 1321/1903). He wrote commentaries (in Javanese) on several important works of fiqh, doctrine and tasawwuf.23 K.H. Mahfudz of Termas (Maḥfūz b. Abdallāh at-Tarmāsī), 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 ḥadīth.24 Another highly respected ʿalim is the late K.H. ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad Daḥlān of Jampes, Kediri, who wrote (in Arabic) a much admired commentary on Ghazâlī’s Minhāj al-ʿābidīn, entitled Sirāj at-ṭālibīn. 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 Qur’an). 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 (Muṣlih b. Abd ar-ʿRaḥmān al-Marāqī, d. 1986), who wrote several treatises on his tariqa, the Qadīrīyya wa Naqsh-bandiyya, and related matters, and ʿĀḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid 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 Saḥūsī of Sukabumi (founder of the organization Al Ittiḥadiyyatul Islamiyyah, which merged into the Persatuan Ummat Islam in 1952) wrote a translation/tafsīr of the Qur’an, Rd. Maʾmūn Nawāwī b. Rd. Anwar various edifying booklets, and the great ʿalim and poet ʿAbdallāh b. Nāḥ of Bogor Sufi pious works, based on Ghazâlī. Besides their books, there are numerous simple booklets in

---

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 ʿAbbas 1975: 460 and ʿAbd al-Jabbār 1385/1965-6:321-2.
Sundanese for use in the lower pesantren grades, published by the bookstore 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, however, 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 uniformity 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-Banjari, Da‘ūd bin ‘Abdallāh al-Patānī and ‘Abd as-Ṣamad al-Pālimbānī, 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 Dār al-ulūm 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.
Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu 239

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.

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 ibtidā‘ī, thanawī and ‘alī (‘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 khawāṣṣ (‘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: nahw (syntax), šarf (inflection), balāgha (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

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-Banjari’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-Danqârî). Having mastered this, the student would turn to the *Izzi* (*At-tasrîf li 'l-'izzî*, by Izzaddîn Ibrâhîm az-Zanjâni, see GAL I:283; GAL S I:497) or to the *Maqshud* (*Al-maqṣūd fi 'ṣ-ṣarf*, an anonymous work often attributed to Abû Ḥanîfa). 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-'awamil al-mi'a*, by Abî Abd al-Qâhir b. Abî Raḥmân al-Jurjâni, 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-muqad-dimât al-ajurrümiyya*, by Abû Abdallâh Muḥammad b. Dâ'ûd aš-Ṣanhâjî b. Ajurrûm, 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

---

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 *Kailâni* and the *Maqshud* with their commentaries, the *Amlsilâh*, the *Bina*, or the *Aṣymawi*; Drewes mentions Daḥîlân’s work as a commentary on the *Jurumiyah* rather than the *Alfiyah*. Neither mentions any work on *balâghâr*; 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 Fâdîl Aḥmad Karîm 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 Khâlid b. Abî Abdallâh al-Azhari). The last work is still popular all over Sumatra, under the name *Syekh Khalid* or *Azhari*, or its proper title, *Tamrîn at-tullab*. 
Amsilatut Tashrifyah (Al-amthilat at-taṣrīfiyya li ʾl-madāris as-salafiyya, comprising inflection tables), by the Javanese author Muhammad Maššūm b. ʿAlī of Jombang. Other introductory texts are also widely available. At the next stage, the sharḥ written by the Egyptian Muhammad ʿUllaysh (d. 1881), Ḥall al-maʿṣūd min naẓm al-maqṣūd (see GAL S II:738), is studied, instead of, or together with, the Maqṣūd. This is commonly followed by an extensive commentary on the Iẓzi, the Kailani (named after its author, ʿAlī b. Ḥishām al-Kaylānī, about whom no further details are known to me), which is now the most frequently used work on ṣarf.

The common order in which nahw texts are studied is, after the Juru-miyah, the Imrīthi (a manzūm version of the Jurumiyah), and next the more elaborate commentary Mutammimah or directly the Alfiyah, usually together with a commentary. The Imrīthi (Ad-durrat al-bahiyya, by Sharaf b. Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī al-ʿImrīṭī), the Mutammimah (of Shams ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad ar-Ruʿaynī al-Ḥaṭṭāb), and the Alfiyah (of Ibn Mālīk) with its best known commentary Ibnu Aqīl (so called after the author, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-ʿAqīl) 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 Juru-miyah by a certain ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAshmāwī (no further details available), while a popular late 19th-century commentary on the Alfiyah is that by the Shafīʾī mufti of Mecca, Aḥmad b. Zaynī ʿAbūl Lān, commonly called Dāhlan Alfiyah.

Qetr an-naddʿ [wa ballas-saddʿ], by Ibn Ḥishām36 (d.761/1360), which was very popular in the 19th century, is also still widely used. The same author's Qawādīl-i lughat al-ʿarabiyya, a series of textbooks by the Egyptian author Ḥafṣūn Bāk 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

---

35 In several editions, the Bina and Iẓzi are printed in combination with other introductory works on ṣarf, viz. Al-maqṣūd, Ash-shāfiyya (by Jamāl ad-Dīn b. al-Ḥājib, d. 646/1249, see GAL I: 303-6), and two anonymous texts, Al-marād and Am+hila 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 Ṭābū ʿAbdallāh [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 Aḥmad al-Fākhi’s Mūjīd an-nīdāʿ and Aḥmad as-Sijāʿī’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-'arabiyya), written by two Arab authors, 3 Alī Jārim and Muṣṭafā Amin (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, maʿāni, and badf). Two classical kitab dominate this section of the curriculum, viz.:

Jauharul Maknun (Al-jawhar al-maknūn or Al-jawāhir al-maknūna fi l-maʿāni wa l-bayān wa l-badf), written by ʿAbd ar-Rahmān al-Akhḍarī (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-Minwīwī, 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.

Uqūdul Juman (Al-murshidi ʿala qūʿūd al-jumān fi ʾilm al-maʿāni wa ʾilm al-maṣāḥa), finally, is a manẓum text on rhetoric by Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, which is based on Sīrāj ad-Dīn as-Sakkākī's ʾIlm al-maʿāni wa ʾilm al-bayān (GAL I:294-6). The only other balāgha text that is widely available, with various commentaries, is Abu ʾl-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 'Innola' (an untitled commentary on the Awamīl), Ibn al-Ḥājiḥ's Kāfīya, and Burhān ad-Dīn Abū Fath Nāṣir ad-Dīn'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 ṭajwīd, 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-ṣibyān 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 ʾilm al-manṭiq), written by al-Akhḍarī (the author of Al-

37 Not murawniq, as Brockelmann (GAL S II:705) has it.
jawhar al-maknūn, see GAL S II:705-6). Aḥmad ad-Dāmanhūrī (who also annotated Akhdārī’s Jawhar) wrote a commentary on it, which is well-known in Indonesia and is entitled Iḍāḥ al-mubham min maʿānī ṣ-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 Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Mullāwī (d. 1181/1767), with glosses by M. b. ʿAlī as-Ṣabbān. There is also a manzūm Javanese translation by Bisri Mustofa.

Widely available, too, is another fundamental manual of logic, Īsāghūjī, by Aḥṭīr ad-Dīn Muḥaḍḍal al-Abhārī (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-muṭṭāj), 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-wāḥhāb (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 Shafāʿī 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 Shafāʿī 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 Râfî’s Muḥarrar, Abū Shuja’ al-Isfahânî’s Taqrîb (or Mukhtâsar) and Malibârî’s Qurrat al-‘ayn respectively. Bold print indicates works of which Indonesian editions exist (and have been acquired for the collection).

Muḥarrar
(Râfî, d. 623/1226)

Minhâj at-ṭâlibîn
(Nawawî, d. 676/1277-8)

Kanz ar-râghibîn
(Maḥallî, d. 864/1560)

Manhaj at-tullâb
(Anṣârî, d. 926/1520)

Tuḥfat al-muḥtâj
(Ibn Ḥajar, d. 973/1565-6)

Mughnî’l-muḥtâj
(Sharbînî, d. 977/1569-70)

Nihayat al-muḥtâj
(Ramîl, d. 1004/1595-6)

Fath al-wâhhab
(Anṣârî)

[ḥāshiya]
(Shirwânî)

[ḥāshiya]
(Shabramâlî, d. 1087/1676)

[ḥāshiya]
(Maghrîbî)

[ḥāshiya]
(Bujayrimî, d. 1221/1806)

[ḥāshiya]
(Jamal, d. 1204/1789-90)

The first of these families is the one with the greatest prestige. Indonesian ulama confirm Snouck Hurgonje’s observation (1899:142) that Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamî’s and Shams ad-Dîn ar-Ramlî’s commentaries on Abû Za- karîya’ Yaḥyâ an-Nawawî’s Minhâj are still the most authoritative, and that in cases of differences between these authorities, Indonesians prefer Ibn Ḥajar. Some younger ulama, especially those who have studied in Egypt, claim to use the Mughnî’l-muḥtâj, by Khaṭîb Sharbînî as well. Important fatwa are based on these works, especially on the Tuḥfa. In daily practice, however, the Tuḥfa 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

---

As stated by Shaykh Yasin bin Ḥaṣan al-Padani, mudîr 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’î: among the Kurds, for instance, Sharbînî’s Mughnî’l-muḥtâj 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\(^3\), 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 ʿAḥmad al-Maghribī ar-Rashīdī in the margin.

The only works of this family that are universally available are Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Mahallī’s commentary (commonly known as ‘the’ Mahallī) in an edition with extensive glosses by Qālyūbī and ‘Umayra, and the Fath al-wahhāb, a commentary by Zakariyā’ Anṣārī on his own Manhaj at-ṭullāb, which is a summary of the Minhāj. An early Malay translation of the Fath al-wahhāb, entitled Mirʿat ʿat-ṭullāb, was made by ‘Abd ar-Raʿīf 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 ʿt-taqrīb, also known as Mukhtasār, by Abū Shujāʿ al-İsfahānī) and its commentary Fath al-qarīb (by Ibn Qāsim al-Ghazzī). 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 Kifāyat al-akhyār, by Taqī ad-Dīn Dimashqī (GAL 1:392), 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 Ḥaṭīb Sharbīnī’s Iqnaʿ, 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.

\[\text{Taqrīb} = \quad \text{Mukhtasār} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sundanese trl.} \quad \text{many Indon. trl.}\\
\text{Iqnaʿ} \quad (\text{Sharbīnī,} \quad d.977/1569-70) \quad \downarrow \quad \text{Kifāyat al-akhyār} \quad (\text{Dimashqī,} \quad d.829/1426) \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Madurese trl.} \quad \text{Indon. trl.} \quad \text{Javanese transl.} (\text{Fath an-naqīb by H. Nasiruddin})\\
\text{Taqrīr} \quad (‘Awwād) \quad \downarrow \quad \text{Tuḥfat al-ḥabīb} \quad [\text{ḥāshiya}] \quad (\text{Bujayrimī, ca. 1100}) \quad (\text{Bājūrī, d.1277/1860-1})\]

\(^3\) A very much abridged translation, in Javanese characters, was edited by S. Keijzer in 1853 and reprinted by Roorda (1874).
The *Fath al-mu'in*, which has long been popular in Indonesia (and in Kurdistan\(^40\)), was written by the 16th-century South Indian scholar Zayn ad-Dīn al-Malībārī, 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-ʻayn*; 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'in*. Sayyid Bakrī b. Muḥammad Shatṭā’ ad-Dimyāṭī’s *Fānat at-ţālibīn* is a four-volume work, which incorporates the author’s notes on many subjects, as well as a number of *fatwa* by the contemporary Shafīʿī muftī Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān. It became the most frequently consulted work of Shafīʿī *fiqh* already in the author’s lifetime (cf. Snouck Hurgronje 1887a:346), and has maintained its position as a major work of reference. *Tarshīḥ al-mustafidīn* (2 vols), is a more modest and less well-known work whose first Indonesian reprint has only recently appeared. The author, Ṭalī al-Ṣaqqāfī, was a younger contemporary and colleague of Sayyid Bakrī in Mecca (*GAL S* II:743; Ṭalī al-Jabbār 1385/1965-6:156).

Van den Berg mentions a fourth family of *fiqh* works which used to be quite popular but which is now represented by only one text, *Minhaj al-qawīm*, in our present top 100. It derives from the 9th/15th-century elementary work known in Java as *Bapadal*, i.e. Ṭalī al-Karīm Bā-Ṣaḍī’s *Al-muqaddimat al-ḥadramiyya* (*GAL S* II:555). None less than Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī wrote a commentary on it, *Minhaj al-qawīm*, on which the late 18th-century Shafīʿī muftī of Madīna, [Muḥammad b.] Sulaymān al-Kūrdī, wrote extensive glosses, *Al-hawashī Ṭ-madaniyya*. Ibn Ḥajar’s *Minhaj* is used all over Java; the *Hawashī*, long hard to find, were very recently reprinted in Surabaya. These *fiqh* works differ from the first three families

\(^{40}\) According to my informants, the *Fath al-mu'in* is the most popular textbook, and the extensive commentary on it, *Fānat at-ţālibīn*, the most often used work of reference in Kurdish madrasa.
in that they only deal with *fiqh al-ṣubūdiyya*, that is, the prescriptions for worship (i.e., ritual cleanliness, prayer, *zakāt*, the fast, and the *hajj*), and not with the regulations on *muḍāmalat* (economic transactions), family and inheritance law, penal law, etc., which make up some 60% of the other texts.

Two other commentaries on Bā-Fadl’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 ʿĀlim Mahfūz bin Abdullāh of Termas (d. 1338/1919-20; see ʿAbbās 1975:460). It is not available in print now, but another commentary, *Busrāʿ ʿl-ʿarīm [bi-sharḥ masāʿīl at-taʿārīm ʿalā muqaddimat al-ḥadramiyya]*, by a certain Saʿīd b. M. Bashīn (no further details known), is.

Two of the remaining works that are high on the list are the short introductory texts *Sullam at-tawfīq* (by ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir Bāʿalawāṭ, d. 1272/1855), and the *Safīna [rān-najāʾ]*, by Saʿīd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Samīr, a Hadrami ʿālim resident in Batavia in the mid-19th century. Two much-used commentaries on the *Sullam* are *Miṣrāq suʿūd at-taṣdīq* by Nawāwī Banten and *Iṣṣād ar-rafiq* by his contemporary and colleague in Mecca, M. Saʿīd Bā-Ṣāṣil. Nawāwī Banten also wrote a commentary (also in Arabic) on the last-named, extremely popular text, entitled *Kaṣīfāt as-saṣāʾ*, which is available in several editions. The *Kaṣīfā* 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.

---

41 I found one Madurese and two different Javanese interlinear translations of the *Safīna*, and two versified versions. Ahmad b. ʿṢiddīq of Lasem, Pasuruan (East Java), wrote the *naẓm* version *Tanwīr al-ḥiṣāʾ*, of which a Madurese translation exists, and to which a further commentary was devoted by Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Makki al-Mālikī, entitled *Anārat ad-duʿāʾ*. Kyai Sahāl Mahfūdž of Kajen (Central Java) wrote a commentary, *Fayḍ al-ḥiṣāʾ*, on the other *naẓm* version, *Nayl ar-raḥāʾ*. 
The *Tahrir* (*Tahrir tanqih li 'l-lubāb fi fiqh al-imām ash-Shafī‘ī*) is a work by Zakariyyā‘ 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 ʿAbdallāh Sharqāwī (d. 1127/1812; see GAL II:479-80); they bear the title *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ at-tahrir*. This text (commonly known as *Syarqawi ala Tahrir*), too, is widely available in Indonesia.

The *Riyadhul Bādi‘ah* 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-bādi‘a fi usūl ad-dīn wa baḍḍur ash-sharṭa*, indicates, it deals with select points of doctrine and religious obligations. The author is one Muḥammad Ḥasballāh, perhaps an older contemporary of Nawawi. The work has been printed only in the margin of the *sharḥ* written by Nawawi, *Ath-thamar al-yānī* (cf. GAL II:501; GAL S II:813).

*Sullam al-munajāt* is another work by Nawawi Banten. It is a commentary on the guide for worship, *Ṣafinat as-salāh*, by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar al-Ḥadramī.

*Uqudul Lujain* (*Uqūd al-lujayn fī huqūq az-zawjān*), 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-ʿarīṣīn* by Abū Mūḥammad Ḥasanuddīn of Pekalongan, and *Suʿūd al-kawnayn* by Sībīṣ ʿUṭhāmānī Ḥāḍārī al-Janqalānī al-Qudūsī.

The *Sittin* (full title *Al-masa’il as-sittīrī*), a short text of the *perukunan* type (i.e., dealing with basic doctrine and the five pillars), by Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Miṣrī (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.

*Muhadżab* (*Al-muhadhdhab*) is a work of Shaffī fiqh by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī ash-Shīrāzī al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 476/1083; see GAL I:387-8; GAL S I:669).

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

The following two are recent texts in simple Arabic, especially written for *madrasah*: *Āl-madḥībī ʾl-fiqhiyya alā madḥīb al-imām ash-Shafī‘ī* (4 tiny volumes) was written by ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Jabbār; *Al-fiqh al-wāḍīḥ* 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-muḥadhdīn*, Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī’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 Sabīl are Malībārī’s Fath al-muḥīn and Zakarīyā’ Anṣārī’s Manhaj at-ṭullāb. 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.

Uṣūl 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 Waraqāt and the Jam‘ al-jawāmi‘ (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, uṣūl 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 uṣūl fiqh, quoting from Suyūtī’s Al-ashbah wa ‘n-naza‘ir, Shāfi‘i’s Risāla, and, more especially, Ibn Rushd’s Bidāyat al-mujtahid.42

At present, uṣūl 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-Jawāmi‘, by Tājaddīn Ābd al-Wahhāb as-Subkī, is one of the major texts on the foundations of Muslim law. The current printed edition also contains, besides this text, the sharḥ by Jalālāddīn al-Māḥallī, glosses thereon by Bānnānī, and further glosses (taqrīr) by Ābd ar-Rahmān Shārbīnī. Zakarīyā’ Anṣārī summarized the Jam‘ in his Lubb al-uṣūl, also used in Indonesia.

Al-waraqāt fi uṣūl al-fiqh, by the imām al-ḥaramayn Ābd al-Mālik al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085, see GAL 1:388–9), 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 ʿAḥmad Ḥaqṭīb, entitled An-nasfahāt ʿalā sharḥ al-waraqāt). The Lata‘if al-ishārāt, by Ābd al-Ḥamīd b. M. ʿAlī al-Qudṣī (d. 1334/1916, see al-ʿAttās 1979 II:619–26), is a further commentary on one of these, Sharafāddīn Yaḥyā al-ʿImrī’s Tashīl at-ṭuruqāt.43

42 See Schrieke 1921:298–300. The interest in uṣūl fiqh was also fed by the rising conviction that the gate of ijtihād was not necessarily closed and that taqūd is unworthy of the intellectually adult person.

43 Brockelmann incorrectly compounds the latter two authors into one (GAL S 1:672 no.9)
Al-ashbāḥ wa' n-naẓāʿir fī l-furūʿ is a compendium by the prolific Jalāladdīn Suyūṭī (see GAL II:152).

Al-luma'[fi uṣūl al-fiqh] was written by Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī ash-Shīrāzī al-Fūḍābādī, 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 Awwalīyya, As-sullam and Al-bayān) for use in madrasah, written by the Minangkabau author Abdul Hamid Hakim.

Ibn Rushd’s Bidayat al-mujtahid, which compares the rulings of the four ‘orthodox’ and various other madhab, 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, ʿaqidah, 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, ʿAbd ar-Raʿūf of Singkel and ʿAbd as-Šamad 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 ʿaqīda in Table III are, without exception, straightforward expositions of Ashʿarī 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 Naṣṣafī’s work and Taftazānī’s commentary, equally if not more influential elsewhere, seem to be unknown in Indonesia.) The basic text of this group is Umm al-barāḥīn (also called Ad-durra), by Abū ʿAbdallāh M. b. Yūsuf as-Sanūsī (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 Sanūsī himself. In the most frequently encountered edition it is printed in the margin of the highly popular ḥāshiya by Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī, which is, by extension, also known as Sanusi. Other frequently used commentaries are the ḥāshiya on the Sanusi by Muḥammad ad-Dasūqī (d.1230/1815, see GAL II:353), and a more substantial text by ʿAbdallāh ash-Sharqāwī (d. 1127/1812, see GAL II:479-80), which is itself a ḥāshiya on an 11th-century commentary by one Muḥammad b. Maṇṣūr al-Hudhūdī (in Indonesian editions, it is printed together with Hudhūdī’s text). All these texts are commonly known by the names of their authors.

44 That is, at present. In fact, Naṣṣafī’s ʿAqīda 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 *Kifāyat 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 Munīr b.H. Ismāʿīl). Faḍḍālī’s pupil Ibrāhīm Bājūrī (d. 1277/1861) wrote a commentary on it, *Tahqīq al-maqām ʿalā kifāyat al-ʿawāmm* (printed together with the *Kifāya* in the Indonesian editions), and this was glossed upon by Nawawi Banten in his widely read *Tījān 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, Aḥmad al-Marzūqī al-Mālikī al-Makkī, was active around 1864. Brockelmann (GAL S II:990) mentions a Malay version by Ḥamzā b.M. al-Qaḍāḥī (of Kedah); our collection contains translations into Javanese (by Bisri Mustofa of Rembang) and Madurese (by Abdul Majid Tamīm of Pamekasan). Nawawi Banten, who must have known the author, wrote a well-known commentary on it, entitled *Nurudh Dhulam (Nūr az-ẓalam).*

*Jawharat at-tawḥīd*, the concise versified text by Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī (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 Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī’s *Tuhfat al-murīd*. An anonymous Malay scholar and two Javanese ulama, Saleh Darat of Semarang and Aḥmad Subki Masyhādī of Pekalongan, wrote extensive commentaries in their regional languages, which are commonly known by the same title *Jauharatut Tauhid*. Saleh Darat’s Javanese commentary, especially, is interesting in that it reflects contemporary Javanese views and concerns.

*Faṭḥ al-majīd* is yet another text by Nawawi Banten. It is a commentary on the *Durr al-farīḍ fi ʿilm at-tawḥīd* (printed in the margin) by a certain Aḥmad an-Nahrāwī, 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 ʿidāḥ al-ʿaqīdat al-islāmiyya]* was written by the Syrian Ṭāhir b. Ṣāliḥ al-Jazāʾirī, who died in Damascus in 1919.

*Huṣūnul Hamidiyya (Al-ḥuṣūn al-ḥamidiyya liʾl-muḥāsā ṣalā ʿl-ʿaqāʾid al-islāmiyya)* is a work on *ṣifāt*, prophecy, miracles of the prophets, the angels, and life after death by the moderate modernist and rationalist writer Ḥusayn [b.M. al-Jasr] Efendi at-Ṭarabulūsī (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 Baṣārī b. H. Margḥūbī (no further details known).
The subject of tawḥīd gradually shades off into what is usually classified as ṭaṣawwuf in Indonesia. Ghazālī’s Ḩyā, which is the most popular ṭaṣawwuf 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 Daqāʾiq al-akhbār fi dhikr al-janna waʾn-nār, by ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm al-Qāḍī (see GAL S I: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 sanṭrī environment.

Qur’anic exegesis (tafsīr)

Van den Berg lists only one tafsīr as part of the regular curriculum, the ubiquitous Jalālayn. Bayḍāwī’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 Tarjumān al-mustafṣīd, a Malay translation of the Jalālayn with some interposed material from other tafsīr, by ʿAbd ar-Raʿūf 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 maʾālim at-tanzīl 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’an and the ḥadīth, the interpretation of the Qur’an 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

45 For a discussion of the contents of some texts of this kind, see Nor bin Ngah 1983:13-18.

46 Peter Riddell (1984) has shown that the Tarjumān (or at least those sections of it that he has studied) is not, as was taken for granted by both Orientalists and many Muslims (including the Tarjumān’s publishers), an adaptation of Bayḍāwī’s tafsīr but largely a straightforward translation of that by the two Jalal, with interpolations taken from Bayḍāwī and from Khāzīn.
Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā, and Aḥmad Muṣṭafā al-Maʿrāghī’s *Tafsīr al-Maʿrāghī* (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.\footnote{Critical comments on this work, especially on the poverty of the sources consulted, may be found in Johns 1984:158.}

Five other *tafsīr* in our collection, by Indonesian and Malaysian authors, deserve to be mentioned here, although they have not gained wide popularity. Aḥmad Sanūsī b. ʿAbdurrāḥīm of Sukabumi wrote a *tafsīr* (in fact, a rather straightforward translation) of the Qur’an in Sundanese, entitled *Rawdat al-ʿirfān fi māʾrifat al-Qurʿān*, and Bisri Mustofa of Rembang a three-volume (2250-page) Javanese *tafsīr*, *Al-ibrīz li māʾrifat tafsīr al-Qurʿān 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-iklīl fi māʾānī ʿr-tanzīl*, by Miṣbaḥ 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. Umar Qāḍī al-Qaḍāḥī (of Kedah, Malaysia). The most recent is an Indonesian commentary in six volumes, *Adz Dzikraa: Terjemah & tafsīr Al qurʿān*, by Bachtiar Surin.

The interest in *tafsīr* is increasing markedly. Several other *tafsīr* have very recently been printed in Arabic in Indonesia; others again (modernist ones, as one might expect, such as Sayyid Qūṭb’s *Fiṣal al-Qurʿān 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 al-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, they are entitled *İtmām ad-diraya li qurraʾ an-naqṣāya* and *Al-İtaşan fi ʿulūm al-Qurʿān*. The collection includes various simple introductions to this subject.

**Ḥadīth**

Even more than *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* constitute a relatively new subject in pesantren. Van den Berg does not even mention *ḥadīth*. The santri did encounter many *ḥadīth* in the course of his studies – no work of *fiqh* is conceivable without *ḥadīth* supporting its argument – but these were, as it were, already processed, selected and quoted according to the needs of the author.
Collections of *hadith* as such - either the six canonical collections or popular compilations like the *Maṣābiḥ 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 Zakariyā Yaḥyā an-Nawawī’s *Arba‘īn* 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 *hadith* - 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’ (*sahih*) *hadith* by Bukhairī 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 Bukhairī are *At-tajrīd as-sāriḥ* by Shihābaddīn Aḥmad ash-Sharjī az-Zābīdī (d. 893/1488) and *Jawāhir al-Bukhairī* by Muṣṭafā M. ʿUmāra (GAL S I:264). The most popular and ubiquitous *hadith* collections are, however, the *Bulūgh al-marām* and the *Riyāḍ as-ṣāliḥīn*.

*Bulūgh al-marām* [min *adillat al-aḥkām*], a collection compiled by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449, see GAL II:67-70), has been translated into Javanese (by A. Subki Masyhadi of Pekalongan) and Indonesian (by Bisri Mustofa of Rembang), and partially also into Malay. *Subul as-salām*, by Muḥammad b. Iṣmāʿīl al-Kaḥlānī (d. 1182/1769), is a commentary on the *Bulūgh*.

*Riyāḍ as-ṣāliḥīn* [min *kalām sayyid al-mursalin*] is a larger collection of *hadith*, mainly dealing with devotional matters, collected by Yaḥyā b. Sharafaddīn an-Nawawī, the compiler of the most famous ‘Forty’. There exist two different Javanese translations (by Asrori Ahmad and Ahmad Subki Masyhadi), as well as Malay and Indonesian translations of this.

Nawawi’s *Arba‘īn* are used in many pesantren for the less advanced *santri*, 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-sanīyya*, by Aḥmad b. Hijāzī al-Fāshānī.

*Durrat an-nāsiḥīn* [fi ‘l-wa’ez wa ‘l-irshād] was compiled by ʿUthmān b. Ḥasan al-Khubūwī (d.1224/1804, see GAL II:489).

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

---

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

Mukhtar al-ahadith is a collection compiled by the modern Egyptian author Ahmad al-Ḥāshimī Bak. The Ushfuriyah (named after its author, Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-ʿUṣfūrī), 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 (ʿilm dirāyāt 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 Maṣṣūdī, 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-Fattūḥ 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-Aḥūrī (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 Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Mašshāṭ, 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. He thus foreshadowed the ‘good manners’ strain of present Indonesian mysticism.

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 ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī’s Al-insān al-kāmil (still part of the curriculum of several West Javanese pesantren half a century ago), and in Surabaya even Ibn al-ʿArabī’s Al-futūḥāt 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. Naṣīr al-Banjarī’s Al-durr an-naḥīs, which expounds a popular version of wahdat al-wujūd, 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 ʿAbd as-Ṣamād ʿAlī b. ʿAbd ʿArībī 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 akhlāq and tašawwuf, but the basic texts that are widely used are relatively few. They are the following.

Taḥīm al-muṭāllīm [li jāriq at-taṭālum], by Ḫūrān al-ʿĪlām az-Zarmūjī, is a famous (some would say: notorious) work on the proper obedient attitude of the student towards his teacher. For many kyāi, this work is one of the very pillars of pesantren education. At a recent discussion of kitāb 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.

Wasāyiḥ [al-ʿābāʾ li ʿl-ibnāʾ], by the Egyptian author Muḥammad Shākir (shaykh ʿulāmāʾ 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.

Al-akhlāq li ʿl-banāt and Al-akhlāq li ʿl-banīn, in three thin volumes each,
are moral lessons for girls and boys, meant to be read at (state) madrasah, written by one Umar b. Ḥamd 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 hadīth collection.

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

Naṣīḥ al-‘ibād is yet another work by Nawawi Banten. It is a sharḥ of Ibn Ḥajar al-Ṣaqaḷānī’s An-nabāḥīr ‘alā istīrād. It focuses on the rules for personal conduct, and is often used as an introductory work, for the younger santri, on akhlāq.

Al-adhkār [al-muntakhab min kalām sayyid al-abrār] by Abū Zakariyyā’ Yaḥyā 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-ḥidāya and Minhāj al-‘lābīdīn. 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.

Abd 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 Hidāyat 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-‘ubūdiyya, 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-talībīn 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 Abdullāh bin Ṣuh al-Bogor (d. 1987) deserve mention.

The Hikam is the well-known collection of Sufi aphorisms by Ibn ʿAṭā’illāh al-Iskandārī. Numerous translations and commentaries exist in Indonesia. Among these, the Hikam Melayu (anonymous), the Syarah Hikam (by M. Ibrāhīm an-Nafidī al-Rindī) and the Malay-language Tāj al-ʿarūsī by ʿUsmān al-Pontiānī, as well as a Javanese Hikam by Saleh Darat.
of Semarang, and various modern Indonesian versions, especially the four-volume commentary by the Acehnese K.H. Muhibuddin Waly, deserve mention.

*Hidāyat al-adhkiya'* [ilā ḥarīq al-awliyā'], a versified didactic text on practical mysticism by Zayn ad-Dīn al-Malibāri, 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 *Kifayat al-atqiya' wa minḥāj al-āṣfiyyā'* by Sayyid Bakrī b. M. Shaṭṭā'īn ad-Dimyāṭī. The prolific Nawawi Banten also wrote a commentary, *Salālim al-fudalā',* which is printed in the margin of Sayyid Bakrī's *Kifāyā.* There are also Javanese translations and commentaries by Saleh Darat (*Minḥāj al-atqiya') and by ʿAbd al-Jalīl Ḥamīd al-Qandālī (*Tuhfat al-āṣfiyyā'), as well as an interlinear Madurese translation (by ʿAbd al-Majīd Tamīm of Pamekasan).

The final two works are both by the pious Hadrami author and mystic ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlwī al-Ḥaddād, well known in Indonesia as the author of the *rāḥīb 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-muʿāwana [wa 'l-muẓāhara wa ʿl-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-Khayāṭ al-Paṭānī), and more recently into Indonesian (by Muhammad al-Baqīr, under the title *Thariqah menuju kebahagiaan*). His other popular work, *An-naṣāʾīh ad-dīnīyya [wa 'l-vaṣāṣāyā 'l-imānīyya],* contains further pious admonitions. It has been translated into Malay by one of his descendants, ʿAlwī b. M. b. Tāḥīr al-Ḥaddād, under the title *As-ṣīlat al-īlāmīyya.*

There is a marked revival of interest in ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥaddād, both in Egypt and, more recently, in Indonesia. 52 *Ar-risālāt al-muʿāwana* 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 *mufīḥ* of Egypt, Ḥasanayn M. Makhluṭ. In Indonesia, al-Ḥaddād and his works are actively propagated by his fellow-Hadrami *ṣayyīd,* 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. 53 Recent translations of several works by Ghazālī also were a com-

---


53 They are published by Mizan in Bandung (directed by al-Baqīr's son, Haidar Bagir), which is also the publisher of the Iranian thinkers Sharīfīt and Muṭahharī, and in general targets on 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.
mercial 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, Khulāsā 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 Ḥaḍārī Bak; the Khulāṣa was prepared by Umar Abūd 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 Ḥaḍārī 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 Ta’rikh at-tashrīr 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-Barzinji’s Mawlid, is perhaps the most loved text in Indonesia after the Qur’an itself; the Dārdir is Aḥmad ad-Dārdir’s commentary on Najīm ad-Dīn al-Ghayṭī’s version of the Mīrāj, 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 extra-curricular kitab and their uses.

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‘i 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 ʿAbd al-Qādīr Jīlānī 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. 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 ʿAbd al-Qādīr were in use at least from the 19th century on (Drewes and Poerbatjaraka 1938), together with similar Malay texts on the Prophet (e.g. Hikayat nur Muḥammad, Nabi bercukur, Nabi wafat) and on such saints as [M. b. ʿAbd al-Karīm] Ṣāmmān. 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.

Another important category is that of books of ‘Islamic magic’. Accord-

55 There are also manāqīb of Bahāʾ ad-Dīn Naqshband, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm Ṣāmmān and Ṣāḥib al-Tijānī, but their use is largely (though not wholly) restricted to the mystical orders associated with these shaykhs, whereas ʿAbd al-Qādīr is almost universally venerated. Drewes and Poerbatjaraka 1938 is still the most important study on ʿAbd al-Qādīr’s manāqīb. The Hikayat Seh (based on Yafiʿī’s Khulasat al-mafākhīr), to which they devote most of their attention, is now far outstripped in popularity, however, by Barzinji’s Lujayn ad-dānī and ʿAbd al-Qādīr al-Arbīlī’s Tafrīḥ al-khīḍār and commentaries on these two texts.

56 See, however, Drewes and Poerbatjaraka 1938:31-3, on the recitation of the Hikayat Seh in regional languages.

57 The collection contains no fewer than four different Javanese translations of the Barzanji. For a list of 20th-century commentaries on and translations of the Barzanji and of a manāqīb by the same author (not all represented in the collection), see van Bruinessen 1987:48-9.
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 (wafaq), 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-nabawi. And even hikma is not so far removed from the orthodox mainstream as modernists would have it: the great Ghazâlî wrote a book on magical squares, Al-awfaq, that is still widely used in Indonesia, while the prolific Jalâl ad-Dîn Suyûtî wrote Ar-rahma fi ’t-tibb wa ’l-hikma. The most influential works of hikma, however, are those by the 12th/13th-century North African Shaykh Aḥmad b. Ṭalî al-Bûnî: Shams al-ma’rif al-kubra and Manba’ usîl al-hikma. 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 mujarrabât (‘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 mujarrabât 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 I. Arabic grammar, tajwïd, logic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of pesantren:</th>
<th>Sumatra</th>
<th>Kalsel</th>
<th>Jabar</th>
<th>Jateng</th>
<th>Jatim</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>sarif</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kailani/Syarah Kailani</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maqshud/Syarah Maqshud</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amtsilat Tashrîfiyah</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bina’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>'ibtida’i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nahw</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jurumiyah/Syarah Jurumiyah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imrithi/Syarah Imrithi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutammimah</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asymawi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfiyah</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>'ali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibn Aqil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>'ali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahlan Alfiyah</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>'ali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qathrun Nada</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awamıîl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>'ibtida’i/than</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qawaidul Irab</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahwu Wadlıîh</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qawaidul Lughat</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>balâgḥa</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauharul Maknun</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>'ali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uqudul Juman</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>'ali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tajwîd</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuhfatul Athfal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hidayatus Shibyan</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mantiq</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sullamul Munawraq</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>'ali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idlahul Mubham</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>'ali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table II. *Fiqh* and *usul al-fiqh*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region:</th>
<th>Number of pesantren:</th>
<th>Sumatra</th>
<th>Kalsel</th>
<th>Jabar</th>
<th>Jateng</th>
<th>Jatim</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>fiqh</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathul Muin</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ianatut Thalibin</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taqrib</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathul Qarib</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kifayatul Akhyar</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>thanawi/ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baijuri</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iqna'</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minhajuth Thalibin</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manhajuth Thullab</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathul Wahhab</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahalli</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minhajul Qawim</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safinah</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasyifatus Saja</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sullamut Taufiq/Syarah</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahir</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riyadul Badiyah</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sullamul Munajat</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uqadul Lujain</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sittin/Syarah Sittin</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhadzab</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bughyatul Mustarsyidin</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majabdi Fiqhiyah</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiqih Wadlih</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabilal Muhtadin</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*usul al-fiqh*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region:</th>
<th>Number of pesantren:</th>
<th>Sumatra</th>
<th>Kalsel</th>
<th>Jabar</th>
<th>Jateng</th>
<th>Jatim</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waraqat/Syarhul Waraq</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>'ali/khawass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lathaful Isyarat</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamul Jawami</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>khawass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luma</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>'ali/khawass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aisyah wal Nadhair</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>khawass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayan</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>thanawi/ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bidayatul Mujahid</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>khawass</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table III. Doctrine (usūl ad-dīn, tawhīd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of pesantren:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sumatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawhīd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ummul Barahin</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanusi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dasuqi</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syarqawi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kifayatul Awam</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tijanud Durari</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aqidatul Awam</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurudh Dhulam</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawharut Tawhid</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuhfatul Murid</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathul Majid</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawahirul Kalamiah</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husnul Hamidiyah</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aqidatul Islamiyah</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table IV. Qur'anic exegesis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of pesantren:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sumatra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tafsir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jafalain</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafsirul Munir</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafsir Ibn Katsir</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafsir Baidlawi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamiiul Bayan (Tabari)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maraghi</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafsirul Manar</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafsir Dep.Agama</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>șilm tafsir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itqan</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imamud Dirayah</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Downloaded from Brill.com 12/09/2018 05:07:52PM via free access
Table V. Hadîth and the science of hadîth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of pesantren:</th>
<th>Sumatra</th>
<th>Kalsel</th>
<th>Jabar</th>
<th>Jateng</th>
<th>Jatim</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hadîth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulughul Maram</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subulus Salam</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riyadhus Shalihin</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>'ali/khawass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahih Bukhari</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>khawass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajridush Sharih</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawahir Bukhari</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahih Muslim/Syarah</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>khawass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arbain Nawawi</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majalisus Saniyah</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durratun Nashihin</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanqihul Qaul</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukhtarul Ahadits</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ushfuriyah</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ilm dirayat al-hadîth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baiquniyah/Syarah</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minhatul Mughits</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VI. Piety and appropriate behaviour (akhlâq, tarbîya) and Sufism (taṣawwuf)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of pesantren:</th>
<th>Sumatra</th>
<th>Kalsel</th>
<th>Jabar</th>
<th>Jateng</th>
<th>Jatim</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akhlâq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talimul Mutaallim</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasaya</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>ibtida'i/thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhlaq lil Banat</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhlaq lil Banin</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isryadul Ibad</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashaihul Ibad</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taṣawwuf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ihya Ulumiddin</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sairus Salikin</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bidayatul Hidayah</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maraqil Ubduliyah</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hidayatus Salikin</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minhajuul Abidin</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirajut Taqiyin</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hikam/Syarah Hikam</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>thanawi/ 'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hidayatul Adzkya</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Kifayat ul Aqiyah'</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risalatul Muawanah</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>'ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashaihud Diniyah</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adzkar</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table VII. Life histories of the Prophet (ṣīra) and works in praise of the Prophet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of pesantren:</th>
<th>Sumatra</th>
<th>Kalsel</th>
<th>Jabar</th>
<th>Jateng</th>
<th>Jatim</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Khulashah] Nurul Yaqin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>thanawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barzanji</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dardir</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ABBREVIATIONS USED:**

- **BKJ** Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
- **GAL** Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, I-II
- **GAL S** Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur, Supplementsbände, I-III
- **Ind** Indonesian
- **Jav** Javanese
- **JMBRAS** Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
- **KITLV** Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Institute of Anthropology and Linguistics, Leiden)
- **MNZG** Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap
- **TBG** Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Batavia)
- **ZDMG** Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

**WORKS REFERRED TO:**

Dhofer, Zamakhsyari, 1982, Tradisi pesantren: Studi tentang pandangan hidup kyai, Jakarta: LP3ES.
Juynboll, Th.W., 1925, Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche wet volgens de leer der Sjâfi'tische school, Leiden: Brill. [3rd revised edition.]
MacDonald, Duncan B., 1903, Development of Muslim theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory, London: Routledge.
Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu


Meursinge, A., 1844, Handboek van het mohammedaansche regt, in de maleische taal, Amsterdam: Muller.

Nor bin Ngah, Mohd, 1980, 'Some writing of the traditional Malay Muslim scholars found in Malaysia', in: Khoo Kay Kim et al. (eds), Tamadun Islami di Malaysia, pp. 9-12, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia.


Prasadjo, Sudjoko, et al., 1978, Profil pesantren: Laporan hasil penelitian pesantren Al-Falak dan delapan pesantren lain di Bogor, Jakarta: LP3ES.


Quzwaan, M. Chatib, 1985, Mengenal Allah; Suatu studi mengenai ajaran tasawwuf Syeikh 'Abdu'S-Sama'ad al-Palimbani, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.


Ronkel, Ph.S. van, 1913, Supplement to the catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, Batavia: Albrecht/’s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.

Roorda, T., 1874, Kitab Toehpah, een Javaansch handboek voor het Mohammedaansche regt, Leiden: Brill. [Tweede verbeterde uitgaaf.]


Sarkis, Yousof Alian, 1928, Dictionary of Arabic printed books from the beginning of Arabic printing until the end of 1339 AH-1919 AD, Cairo.


Yunus, H. Mahmud, 1979, Sejarah pendidikan Islam di Indonesia, Jakarta: Mutiara. [Cetakan ke-2.]


—, 1987, Berangkat dari pesantren, Jakarta: Gunung Agung.