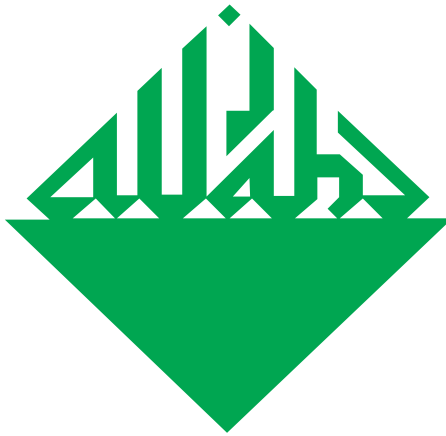


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SOUTHEAST ASIAN *SHARĪĀHS*

M.B. Hooker

GOD'S MERCY IS NOT LIMITED TO ARABIC SPEAKERS:
READING INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY OF
MUHAMMAD SALIH DARAT AND HIS *PEGON* ISLAMIC TEXTS

Saiful Umam

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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Saiful Umam

God's Mercy is Not Limited to Arabic Speakers:
Reading Intellectual Biography of Muhammad
Salih Darat and His *Pegon* Islamic Texts

Abstract: *Muhammad Salih Darat is a Javanese ulama who is known for his Pegon Islamic texts—texts on Islamic knowledge written in Arabic script but using Javanese language. He did that after he learned various branches of Islamic knowledge with a number of respected ulama both in Java and Mecca. The significance of his works lay not only on the fact that he delineates Islamic knowledge of theology (tawḥīd), Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), Islamic mysticism (taṣawwuf) and exegesis of the Qur'an (tafsīr) in local Javanese language but also on his insistence and defense that such texts are as authoritative as Arabic ones. Salih argues that to be a good Muslim and to receive God's mercy is not conditional on one's ability to speak and understand Arabic but on one's observance of religious obligations with sufficient knowledge that one acquires from authoritative Islamic texts in any language.*

Keywords: Muhammad Salih Darat, *Pegon* texts, Islamic knowledge, ulama, Javanese Muslims.

Abstrak: *Muhammad Salih Darat dikenal sebagai ulama yang telah menulis kitab-kitab Pegon—kitab tentang Islam yang ditulis dengan aksara Arab dan menggunakan bahasa Jawa. Dia melakukan hal itu setelah belajar berbagai cabang pengetahuan Islam dengan sejumlah ulama yang dihormati, baik di Jawa maupun di Mekah. Signifikansi karya-karyanya tidak hanya terletak pada kekhasannya dalam menjelaskan tauhid, fikih, tasawuf dan tafsir dalam bahasa lokal, tapi juga pada kegigihan argumennya bahwa kitab Pegon memiliki otoritas yang sama dengan kitab berbahasa Arab. Salih berpendapat bahwa untuk menjadi Muslim yang baik dan menerima anugrah Tuhan itu tidak tergantung pada kepandaian dan kemampuan berbahasa Arab, tapi pada pelaksanaan kewajiban-kewajiban agama yang didasari atas pengetahuan yang memadai, yang didapatkan dari kitab-kitab Islam dalam bahasa apapun.*

Kata kunci: Muhammad Salih Darat, kitab-kitab Pegon, pengetahuan Islam, ulama, muslim Jawa.

— **الخلاصة:** يشتهر محمد صالح دارت بكونه العالم المؤلف لكتب الـ"بيجون" — أي الكتب الإسلامية المكتوبة باللغة الجاوية وتستخدم الحروف العربية. كان يعتمد إلى ذلك بعد الانتهاء من تعلم مختلف العلوم الإسلامية على أيدي كبار العلماء سواء في جاوه أم في مكة المكرمة. لم تكن أهمية أعماله تكمن فقط في خصوصية عرضه للتوحيد والفقہ والتصوف والتفسير باللغة المحلية، وإنما أيضا إلحاحه على أن كتب الـ"بيجون" كان لها نفس الحجية التي يتمتع بها الكتب المماثلة المكتوبة باللغة العربية. كان يرى أنه لكي يكون المرء مسلما ملتزما وينعم بأفضال الله تعالى ليس بالضرورة أن يكون متمكنا في اللغة العربية، وإنما على أداء الواجبات الدينية المبنية على معرفة كافية يتحصلها من الكتب الإسلامية المكتوبة بأية لغة كانت.

الكلمات الاسترشادية: محمد صالح دارت، نصوص الـ"بيجون"، المعرفة الإسلامية، العلماء، المسلمون الجاويون.

Muhammad Salih Darat is known for his printed Islamic texts in *Pegon*—written in Arabic script but using Javanese language.¹ He was deeply concerned with educating people so that they could acquire sufficient knowledge of Islam to perform their religious observances properly. For that purpose, Salih utilized all his potentials, from teaching both students in his *pesantren* (traditional Islamic boarding school) and ordinary people in religious circles in mosques and prayer houses, to composing *Pegon* Islamic texts. He performed all these activities only after he was convinced that he had the authority to do so by traveling widely to study with a number of respective and authoritative scholars (*ulama*) in various branches of Islamic knowledge. While teaching the religious sciences to students and to the community is the normal task of the *ulama* in Java, composing *Pegon* Islamic texts is only claimed by a few. Salih was one of few local *ulama* who persistently produced Islamic texts in *Pegon*, which is also known among Javanese people as *Kitab Jawan*. During his life, Salih produced at least twelve printed works, ranging from prayer manuals, theology (*tawhīd*), Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), exegesis of the Qur'an (*tafsīr*), to a hagiography of the Prophet.

The fact that Salih composed Islamic texts in *Pegon* is interesting to note because the standard texts used for teaching and learning in the traditional Islamic schools on Java were and still are Arabic ones. Assessing Islamic manuscripts from Java and the tradition of *santri* (students of *pesantren*), *Pegon* is usually used for writing translation of Arabic texts on interlinear or on the sides of the texts in order to help Javanese people understanding the Arabic texts. A few Javanese *ulama* who turned out to write Islamic texts have also made in Arabic, but Salih did it in *Pegon*. It is interesting, therefore, to ask why Salih wrote the Islamic texts in *Pegon*? What were the main reasons that he persistently composed them in *Pegon*? How did he convince the readers that the texts are as authoritative as Arabic ones? These are main questions that will be addressed in this paper.

To answer the questions I will begin by discussing briefly his biography and his intellectual journey and network through which he learned and mastered various branches of Islamic knowledge. Then, I will assess general features of his books as well as main issues that were discussed in the texts and became Salih's concerns. The last part is to discuss Salih's argument in defending the authority of Islamic

texts that were not written in Arabic language, including *Pegon*. Salih's conviction that God's mercy will extend to anyone who observes religious obligation with proper knowledge seems to be the foundation upon which he build the argument.

Salih Darat: a Short Biography

His full name as appears in his books is Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Umar al-Samārānī,² but he is popularly known among Javanese as Kiyai Salih Darat.³ He was born around 1820 to a religious family in the village of Kedung Cempleng in the district of Jepara, about 75 kilometers east of Semarang, the capital city of the province of Central Java.⁴ His father Umar was a local ulama as well as an activist, and he was said to have been involved with other ulama, such as Kiyai Syada', Kiyai Darda' and Kiyai Murtadha Semarang, in the Java War of 1825-1830.⁵ One can safely assume that Salih received an early education in Islam from his father, as this was a tradition among learned people in Java at the time.⁶ Having gained a basic knowledge of Islam, he sought to learn more and thus became an itinerant student, moving from one teacher to another to study various *kitab* (books) both in Java and Mecca.

From his hometown, Salih went to Pati, Kudus, and Semarang, before leaving for Mecca. It is not known when he visited a certain *pesantren* and how long he stayed, or when he left Java for Mecca, because no such records are available. In one of his books, *al-Murshid al-wajiz*, Salih only mentions several teachers in Java and Mecca, and the titles of books that he studied with them as will be detailed in the following section. There is little doubt, however, that Salih was contemporaneous with Muhammad Nawawi of Banten (1813-1867),⁷ a well-known Javanese ulama in Mecca in the nineteenth century, because both shared several teachers. Unlike Nawawi who settled in Mecca and wrote books in Arabic, Salih returned to Java, settled in Semarang, and wrote books all in Javanese.

Salih is also reported to have stayed for a while in Singapore and interacted with Muslim societies there, though it is unclear how long he stayed and whether it was during his onward or return journey from Mecca (Dzahir, 2000, p. 11). It was very common for Javanese pilgrims to stop for a while in Singapore during their trip to and from the Holy Land since Singapore was the main archipelago port for the pilgrimage traffic (Roff, 1964, pp. 79-80). Although he may not have lived there

for long nor studied with a teacher in Singapore, his period in the city was an important stage in his life, especially when he started composing *Pegon* textbooks. Salih most likely befriended Muslim publishers in Singapore, many of whom came from Java and even from his home region of Semarang and Pati (Proudfoot, 1993, p. 32). He was able to call upon these friendships in later years in order to have his *Pegon* manuscripts published. The idea of writing *Pegon* books may have been sparked by his witnessing in Singapore the dynamic development of printed Islamic texts in its heyday in the late nineteenth century.

Having studied with many Muslim scholars in Java and Mecca, Salih realized that the majority of his fellow Javanese Muslims possessed only a limited understanding of Islamic knowledge. He knew that to observe Islamic instructions properly one needs to be taught, and so he became committed to educating his people on Islamic knowledge through three channels: *pesantren*, religious circles, and written materials. After he returned home from Mecca, Salih built a *pesantren* in Darat, Semarang, possibly around 1870 (Salim, 1994, pp. 41-42). This date is based on the fact that he started writing an abridgment of *Ḥikam* in 1289 AH (1872 CE), and it is very possible that he did that after he settled in Semarang. After he built the *pesantren*, students from different parts of Central and East Java came to Darat and studied various *kitab* from him. Among his students were Muhammad Mahfuz al-Tarmasi, his brother Ahmad Dahlan al-Tarmasi, and Raden Muhammad Salim who later became the *Panghulu* of Banyuwangi.⁸ It is also mentioned that Ahmad Dahlan, the founder of Muhammadiyah, and Muhammad Hasyim Asy'ari, the founding father of Nahdlatul Ulama, were among Salih's students (Darban, 2000; Muchoyyar, 2000; Munir, 2007; Salim, 1994).

Salih must have taught Arabic textbooks to his students as this has been the norm among *pesantren* in Java. It is not well known what books that he read and taught to his students, but several *kitab* which were certainly read, as recorded by two of his students, Muhammad Mahfuz and Muhammad Salim, were *Sharḥ al-ḥikam* (Sufism), *Tafsīr al-jalālayn* (Qur'anic exegeses), *Wasīlat al-tullāb* and *Sharḥ al-mardini* (astronomy), *Hāshiyat al-bājūrī*, *Fath al-mu'in*, *I'ānat al-tālibīn*, and *Mughni al-muḥtāj (fiqh)* (al-Tarmasi, 1908, p. 735; Pijper, 1977, pp. 92-93). Salih could have taught other books as he had learned a variety of books and received a number of *ijāzah* (certificate) from his teachers while an itinerant *santri* (student).

In addition to teaching the students in his *pesantren*, Salih was also reportedly visiting different places to teach religious knowledge to the people through what is known as *pengajian* (religious circle). Salih seemed to realize that not only students in the *pesantren* needed to be taught Islamic knowledge but also, and more importantly, those who had no access to Islamic education. Though there are insufficient sources to determine where he held such religious circles, one of the venues was in the residency of Purworejo, for it was here that he met and married the regent's daughter, Siti Aminah, who became his third wife. The residency of Demak was another place that Salih regularly visited, where R.A. Kartini, the famous feminist activist in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, was mentioned as having heard his lesson.⁹ Some sources even argue that Salih's teachings convinced her in accepting marriage for she previously refused it (Fillah, 2008; Suryanegara, 1995). Based on letters to her Dutch friends, by mid 1902 Kartini showed her more religious stance,¹⁰ and it is probable that she attended Salih's religious circle as she often visited her uncle who was the Resident of Demak. While Salih may have contributed to Kartini's view on religious matters, more evidence is necessary to support this view.¹¹ Regardless of Salih's purported influence on Kartini, he maintained close contact with his fellow Javanese working with the colonial government, despite his criticism of colonialism and the Dutch system. Salih saw the need to educate his fellow Javanese on Islam as of greater importance than his dislike of the colonial authorities.

The third channel Salih used for teaching Islam was written materials. During his lifetime, Salih was the author of at least twelve books ranging from *fiqh*, *tawhīd*, *taṣawwuf* and *tafsīr*. Some were translations from Arabic, others abridged versions, and some new compositions. All were written in *Pegon* and meant for the common people. The language he used, therefore, was the *ngoko* form of Javanese, not *kromo*, which is commonly found in works by Javanese court poets. In the introduction of a number of his books, Salih argues that all Muslims should have sufficient knowledge of Islam when they perform religious obligations and, for that reason, he reiterates the importance of learning. Because most Javanese do not understand Arabic, which was the basis of Islamic texts commonly taught in the *pesantren*, Salih was committed to making this knowledge more

accessible to the Javanese. His readership, therefore, was not the *santri* but the ordinary people with limited or no knowledge of books on Islam written in Arabic language.

According to a booklet written by his descendant, Salih was married three times and had several children. His first wife, whose name is not known, was a girl from Mecca whom he met while studying there. From this marriage he had one son, Ibrahim (Dzahir, 2000, p. 7). Salih mentioned this son in one of his books, *Fayḍ al-raḥmān*, where he called himself Abu Ibrahim (the father of Ibrahim) Muhammad Salih ibn Umar al-Samarani (al-Samarani, 1896a). This wife apparently did not live long and passed away before Salih returned to Semarang.¹² Then, in Semarang, Salih married Shofiah, the daughter of Kiyai Murdadlo, a friend of Salih's father. The second wife bore him two sons, Kholil and Yahya. It is Kholil who continued Salih's lineage through his three sons and a daughter, while Yahya had no children. One of Kholil's sons, Ali Kholil, was living in the complex that used to be the *pesantren* of Salih in Darat, Semarang.¹³ Salih's third wife was R.A. Siti Aminah, the daughter of Purworejo's regent, Sayid Ali. From the last wife, Salih had a daughter, R.A. Siti Zahroh, who married Ahmad Dahlan Termas, the brother of Mahfudz Termas, a well-known Javanese ulama in Mecca in the nineteenth century who also studied with Salih (Dzahir, 2000, p. 8).

Salih passed away on 28th Ramadan 1321 AH or 18th December 1903 CE at the age of 83. He was buried in a Bergota cemetery complex in Semarang. His death is commemorated on the 10th of Shawwal, the month after Ramadan, when hundreds of Muslims gather around his tomb to pray for him and seek blessings from God. It is interesting to note that the organizers of the commemoration are not his descendants but those of his student, Kiyai Abdul Hamid, from Kendal. When this was proposed to Ali Kholil, he replied that such commemoration is part of the Javanese tradition and not sanctioned in Islam.¹⁴ The fact that Salih's tomb has always been visited by Muslims not only on the commemoration day but also on other days shows that he is a respected figure and some even view him as a *walī* (saint).¹⁵ Although the last claim is debatable,¹⁶ there is no doubt that many Javanese Muslims gained their understanding of Islam from Salih since his books were in continuous use and his credentials as a teacher and ulama based on his *sanad* (intellectual chain of knowledge transmission) give him the authority to expound on Islamic ideas.

Intellectual Networks

The significance of teachers in the transmission of knowledge in Islam, especially among the *santri* community in Java, has been discussed by scholars (Dhofier, 1999, pp. 57-61; Johns, 1980). The authority of a *kiyai* rests mainly on his connection to his respected teachers. A *kiyai* who is considered an authority on Arabic textbooks is not only dependent on his mastery of such books, but also on his intellectual chain of teachers extending back to the authors of the books, which is known as *sanad*. Having learned an Arabic text from a teacher and having demonstrated one's knowledge of it are requirements for obtaining an *ijāzah* from the teacher in recognition of the right to teach others. This is why the intellectual chain is so important in the *pesantren*.

It is fortunate that in the last part of *al-Murshid al-wajīz* Salih lists a number of his teachers, which makes it possible to trace his intellectual genealogy despite the absence of dates regarding his actual length of study with each teacher (al-Samarani, 1900a, pp. 273-279). The first *kiyai* with whom Salih learned Islamic sciences was Kiyai Muhammad Shahid in the village of Kajen, Pati.¹⁷ With him he studied a number of *fiqh* books, such as *Fath al-qarīb*, *Fath al-mu'īn*, *Minhāj al-qawīm*, *Sharḥ al-khaṭīb* and *Fath al-wahhāb*.¹⁸ Salih must have had sufficient knowledge of Arabic prior to learning such books because they were not elementary. It can be assumed that either he was an advanced student in Arabic grammar before studying in Kajen or he spent few years there before finally learning such books. From Kajen, Salih moved to Kudus, the neighboring district of Pati and Jepara, where he became a student of Kiyai Raden Muhammad Salih ibn Asnawi with whom he studied the *Tafsīr jalālayn*.¹⁹

From Kudus Salih moved to Semarang where he learned *naḥwu* (Arabic grammar) and *ṣaraf* (morphology) as well as *Fath al-wahhāb* with Kiyai Ishaq Damaran.²⁰ Still in Semarang, he learned *ilmu falak* (astronomy) with Kiyai Abdullah Muhammad al-Hadi who was a *mufti* of Semarang.²¹ There were two other ulama in Semarang, Shaykh Ahmad Bafaqih Ba'lawi and Shaykh Abd al-Ghani Bima, from whom Salih learned *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* and *Minhāj al-'ābidīn*, and *Sittīn maṣ'alah*, respectively.²² These two ulama were apparently not settled in Semarang as Salih mentioned that he studied under them "when they were in Semarang" (al-Samarani, 1900a, p. 277). While it is

hard to know who Shaykh Ahmad Bafaqih was, Abd al-Ghani Bima was clearly a respected figure. Snouck Hurgronje mentions that the latter was regarded by the Jawi community in Mecca as a saint, and when they mentioned his name it was prefixed with the significant word “blessed” (Snouck Hurgronje, 1931, p. 281).²³ The period when Salih studied with these two scholars was likely after he returned from Mecca, for he mentioned this story soon after providing details about his teachers in Mecca. There is also an indication that, with these two ulama, he did not really study with them as he did with other teachers prior to leaving for Mecca or while he was in Mecca. Instead, he received *barākah* (blessing) from both because they were respected teachers.²⁴ Salih must have had more than enough knowledge to teach such elementary books as *Jawharat al-tawhīd* and *Sittin mas’alah* after he returned from his study in Mecca. It is a common practice for those in the *pesantren* to study certain books with respected ulama with the intention of receiving blessings from God through such activities.

In order to advance his knowledge and to perform the Ḥājj as well, Salih went to Mecca and stayed there for several years, studying with some well-known scholars.²⁵ Among his teachers in Mecca was Muhammad al-Muqri’ al-Misri,²⁶ with whom he studied the *Umm al-barāhīn*²⁷ and the *Ḥāshiyat Ibrāhīm al-bājūrī*.²⁸ Then, he had Muhammad ibn Sulayman Hasab Allah²⁹ as a teacher in learning the *Sharḥ al-khaṭīb*, *Fatḥ al-wahhāb* and *Alfiyah ibn mālik*.³⁰ Salih mentions specifically that from this teacher he received the *ijāzah* to teach these three books.

The next teacher Salih mentions was Muhammad ibn Zayni Dahlan, a mufti of the Safi’ite school in Mecca.³¹ With him he studied and received the *ijāzah* for the book *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* by Imam al-Ghazali. Salih read the *Ḥikam* by Ahmad Ibn Ata al-Sikandari with Ahmad al-Nahrawi al-Misri,³² and studied the *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* again with Muhammad Salih al-Zawawi.³³ *Fatḥ al-wahhāb* was another book Salih studied more than one time, now with two different teachers, Shaikh Zahid and Shaikh Umar al-Shami.³⁴ His last teacher while in Mecca was Yusuf al-Sunbulawi,³⁵ with whom he learned the *Sharḥ al-taḥrīr* by Zakariyya al-Ansari. In addition, Salih also received *barakah* from a Hanafite mufti in Mecca, Shaykh Jamal,³⁶ for the Qur’anic exegesis, but he does not specifically mention the name of the book.

The list of teachers and books that Salih studied with different teachers confirms several things that are popularly practiced by *santri*. First, it is not uncommon for someone to study the same book several times with different teachers. We note that Salih read *Fatḥ al-wahhāb* four times with four different teachers, and *Sharḥ al-khaṭīb* and *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* twice. It is not because he was not satisfied with the previous teacher or that he had not mastered the book, but because he wished to receive as many *barākah* as possible from different teachers. To learn a certain book is not only to understand its contents but also to get blessings from God through such activities from a respected teacher. It is the teacher's piety that is believed to be the channel through which God's blessing is bestowed. Second, Salih indirectly says that he has the authority to teach, translate, and abridge such books because he had learned them from authoritative ulama. With this knowledge, he could also write books on the subjects studied. Authority in the eyes of Sunni followers generally and for those in the *pesantren* in particular is not only about having mastery in a certain field, which is difficult to measure. It is more about having as many respected teachers as possible and, for a certain *kitab*, having *sanad* (an intellectual chain) that links him to the author of the book through his teachers. In a certain field, such as Sufism, having a teacher is regarded as a necessary step in the process of learning. Without it, one may be deceived by satan and be led astray from the true knowledge. All books that Salih wrote, translated and abridged are those that he had studied, while the newly composed books fall within the category of *fiqh*—a field that he had sufficient knowledge after studying it with a number of respective ulama. Third, Salih's story confirms the importance of *fiqh* as a field that is regarded as the highest priority by those in the *pesantren*, with the second being *taṣawwuf*. Among the fifteen books that Salih studied, eight were on *fiqh* and three on *taṣawwuf*. It supports the argument of certain scholars that the *pesantren* are *fiqh*-oriented communities.

Having studied a number of classical textbooks from reputable scholars and received *ijāzah* from them means that in the eyes of the Muslim community Salih had mastery not only in such textbooks but also the branches to which the books belong. In other words, Salih now had the authority to teach the books to others and was a reason that he built a *pesantren* in Semarang following his return from Mecca. Not only did Salih teach classical Arabic texts to students in his *pesantren*,

but he also wrote translations and commentaries on certain books widely used by *santri*. In addition, he composed manuals and books on basic knowledge about Islam.

General Features of Salih's *Pegon* Books

Salih wrote at least twelve books, though some say even more.³⁷ The books can be grouped into five categories: *fiqh* (4), *taṣawwuf* (3), *tafsīr* and *‘ulūm al-Qur’ān* (2), hagiography of the Prophet (2), and *tawhīd* (1). Those that fall within the category of *fiqh* are: *Majmū‘at al-sharī‘ah al-kāfiyah li al-‘awām*; *Faṣalatān*; *Latā‘if al-tahārah wa Asrār al-ṣalāh*; and *Mānāsik al-ḥajj wa al-‘umrah wa ‘adāb al-ziyārah li sayyid al-mursalīn*. The books of *taṣawwuf* are: *Minhāj al-‘atqiyā’ fī sharḥ ma‘rifāt al-‘adhkiyā’ ‘ilā ṭarīq al-‘awliyā’*; *Matn al-ḥikam*; and *Munjiyāt: Meṭik saking Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*. The books of *tafsīr* and *‘ulūm al-Qur’ān* are: *Fayḍ al-raḥmān fī tarjamat tafsīr kalām malik al-dayyān* and *Al-Murshid al-wajīz fī ‘ilm al-Qur’ān al-‘azīz*. Two books of hagiography of the Prophet are: *Kitāb al-Maḥabbah wa al-mawaddah fī tarjamat qawl al-burdah* and *Sharḥ al-barzanjī*. And the only book about *tawhīd* is *Tarjamah sabil al-‘abīd ‘alā jawharat al-tawhīd* (al-Samarani, 1895, 1896a, 1896b, 1897, 1900a, 1900b, 1903, 1906a, 1906b, 1907, na-a, na-b, na-c).

It should be noted here that such categories are not rigid but refer to the main theme discussed in the books, and so it might be possible to find a book which is categorized as *fiqh*, such as *Majmū‘at al-sharī‘ah*, also provides a brief account of *tawhīd*. On the other hand, *Latā‘if al-tahārah*, another book of *fiqh*, includes description of Sufi aspects of some rituals.

These books can be grouped into three types: commentary, abridgment, and new composition. All of Salih's books on *fiqh* and *tafsīr* are new compositions, while books on the hagiography of the Prophet and theology are commentary (*sharḥ*). Two books on Sufism, *Minhāj al-‘atqiyā’* and *Matn al-ḥikam*, are also commentaries, while *Munjiyāt* is an abridged version from the *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* by al-Ghazali. It should also be noted here that the books I put under the category of *sharḥ* are regarded as translation (*tarjamah*) by Salih. However, judging by the contents it is clear that they are not simply translations from the Arabic but also explanations of the original texts. Therefore, the term commentary is more appropriate than translation. In one of his books,

Salih acknowledged that his translation is similar to *sharḥ*, “*ingsung gawe terjemahé minongko sharah keduwe matan*” (I do the translation like a commentary to a basic text) (al-Samarani, na-c, p. 3). Salih might not use the term *sharḥ* because this term is widely known among the *pesantren* to refer to a commentary work on a certain book in Arabic. By stating that the books are *tarjamah* he seems to want his readers to know that his books are in Javanese. *Matn al-ḥikam* is unique as it is a commentary on parts of the original texts. Salih mentions in the introduction that he took only one third of the original texts and then translated and commented on them. This can thus be regarded as a commentary of an abridged version.

In almost all Salih’s works on commentary, he writes the original sentences in Arabic, without interlinear translation, and then explains the meaning and provides a commentary. He also mentions the title and writer of the text which he comments. *Sharḥ barzanjī* is an exception.³⁸ Although it is indicated in the title as *sharḥ*, Salih does not provide any information of the *matn* (basic text) and its writer. Nor does he begin with Arabic sentences of the *matn* as the case with the other commentary texts. After a very short introduction in the Arabic sentences, Salih directly explains the story of *isrā’* (night journey) from Mecca to Jerusalem and *mi’rāj* of the prophet. This is quite puzzling as it is different from his other commentary works, yet I have no better option than to put it in the category of *sharḥ* as indicated in the title.

Salih was definitely not the first one to use *Pegon*. As the script for writing Javanese language, *Pegon* had been used by, at least, the seventeenth century. The *Mukhtaṣar bāfadal* manuscript that was written in 1623 and preserved in the British Library with the catalogue Sloane 2645 confirms this (Ricklefs & Voorhoeve, 1977, p. 45).³⁹ Known also as *Masā’il al-ta’lim*, as written in it, this manuscript contains the original text of Arabic, the interlinear translation in *Pegon*, and some notes also in *Pegon* on left and right sides of several pages of the book. Other later manuscripts that are now stored in several libraries both in Indonesia and abroad further substantiate that *Pegon* had been widely used prior to Salih’s time.

It is clear that in composing *Pegon* Islamic texts, Salih followed into footsteps of his former Javanese writers. Salih’s legacy in *Pegon* literature, however, laid in the fact that all his works were printed so that the number of copies of his books must be more abundant than those in

manuscripts.⁴⁰ In the study of early Malay printed books, Ian Proudfoot lists sixteen titles of Islamic texts written in *Pegon*, ten of which were composed by Salih (Proudfoot, 1993, p. 678; 1994).⁴¹ This shows his significant contribution to the development of the early printed Islamic texts in *Pegon*. In this contexts, Bruinessen lists his name as the earliest Javanese author among *santri* (Bruinessen, 1990, p. 237).

Salih's intellectual works also had distinct characteristics compared to most Islamic manuscripts in *Pegon*. In almost all of his works, he mentioned his name and the title in the body texts. If they were commentaries or abridgements, the original texts and authors were also stated.⁴² This is different from most of the *Pegon* manuscripts except those by Ahmad Rifai Kalisalak (d. 1870). Known for his resistant movement against the Dutch colonialism, Rifai had composed a lot of manuscripts on *Pegon* Islamic texts prior to Salih (Djamil, 2001). His works, however, had at least two important differences from those of Salih. While the works of Rifai were all original composition and mainly in rhyme, all Salih's works were in prose and varied between original composition, commentary, and abridgement as already mentioned. In addition, Salih's works are viewed by Javanese ulama as authoritative so they were and still are popular among the wide range of Javanese Muslims while Rafai's books were only read by those who join his association known as Rifaiyah (Darban, 2004).

Salih's way in using *Pegon* for translating and commenting Arabic texts is interesting to note. *Pegon* texts found in many manuscripts were usually in the form of interlinear translation on some parts of Arabic texts or as notes on the sides of the pages. This can be seen, for example, in MS Sloane 2645 of the British Library, where notes explaining some terms were written on the sides of the first several pages and the interlinear translation existed until the end of the chapter of prayer. From the chapter of *zakāh* (alms tax) until the end of manuscript, there was no more interlinear translation nor notes on the sides of pages. This indicates that such *Pegon* texts were more to help the writer or the owner of the manuscript in understanding the original Arabic texts than to be accessed by others. Referring to Johns's study on the translation of Arabic into Malay, this type of interlinear translation can be categorized as the second development of the translation.⁴³ Salih's *Pegon* texts of commentaries, on the other hand, fall as the fourth one

which is the free translation (Johns, 2009). He used *Pegon* for writing the translation and further explanation right after the Arabic sentences and it became a new whole text. There is no doubt that Salih's works of commentaries, as well as his new compositions and abridgements, were meant to be read and assessed by public.

The main targets of Salih's books, as he mentions in the introductions of some books, were ordinary adult Javanese Muslims with familiarity with the Arabic scripts. This explains why he used *ngoko*, the lowest level of three stratifications of Javanese language, in all his books since this is the most common spoken language among the ordinary people. Almost all of the texts were also provided with vowel marks (*shakl*) so that all Javanese people who are familiar with Arabic scripts are theoretically able to read and understand the books.⁴⁴

The type of Javanese language that Salih used, however, was highly influenced by the *pesantren* tradition in translating Arabic texts. The structure does not follow fully the Javanese language as spoken by the people but instead approximates the way the *santri* translate Arabic texts into Javanese. The following excerpt of *Majmū'at al-shari'ah* is an example of this:

Utawi artine ngimanaken ing Allah iku arep niqadaken setuhune Allah iku sawiji kang ora ono ingkang madani ingdalem dhate lan sifate lan ora ono kang nyekutoni ingdalem kaluhurane (al-Samarani, na-b, p. 6).

The meaning of believing in Allah is to trust that Allah is the only One; none has similarities in the essence nor in the attributes and none shares His greatness.

In the *pesantren*, the words "utawi" and "iku" are commonly used to show the position of the words in a nominal Arabic sentence as *mubtadā'* (subject) and *khobar* (predicate), respectively.⁴⁵ Although the word "iku" is also used as predicate in a nominal sentence in Javanese, the combination of "utawi" and "iku" in the structure is specifically used by the *pesantren* people. The fact that this sentence is not a translation of an Arabic one shows how Salih in composing it was influenced by an Arabic sentence when it was translated into Javanese by *santri*. As a person who had studied in many *pesantren*, Salih must have been familiar with this structure, and so it is natural to see him using it in his books. Not only in nominal but also verbal sentences did Salih use an Arabic structure, as is evident in the quotation below:

Wajib ingatase wong mukallaf kabeh arep nekani sekabihane barang kang den wajibaken dening Allah Subhanahu Wata'ala saking salat lan poso lan zakat lan liya-liyane saking piro-piro fardu (al-Samarani, na-b, p. 18).

It is an obligation upon all adult (Muslims) to observe all that is required by God, such as prayer, fasting, alms tax, and others.

This structure resembles an Arabic verbal sentence that begins with *fi'il* (verb) as a predicate and is followed by a noun as *fā'il* (subject). This is not a common structure of a verbal sentence in Javanese, which usually begins with a subject followed by a verb as the predicate. However, such a structure is also found in some *Pegon* manuscripts. Excerpts from MS Add 12314 of the British Library, for example, show it.

Utawi sekehe wong 'aqil baligh iku wajib angaweruhi sifat kang wajib ing Allah Ta'ala, muhal ing Allah lan kang wenang ing Allah. Lan malih wajib wong 'aqil baligh iku angaweruhi ing sifat kang wajib lan kang muhal lan kang wenang ing rasul.

All sane and mature people are required to know the necessary, impossible, and possible characters of God. And again, it is compulsory that the sane and mature people know the necessary, impossible, and possible characters of the messengers.

A similar structure was also found in MS Or. Fol. 402 of the Berlin state library. This means that Salih's utilization of such structure was not uncommon among Javanese Muslim writers. In other words, Salih followed into footsteps of his predecessors in using the way people of the *pesantren* translating Arabic texts.

All of Salih's books were initially printed in lithograph either in Singapore or Bombay, India. Six printing companies, four in Singapore and two in Bombay, printed Salih's books in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The printers in Singapore were Haji Muhammad Siraj, Haji Muhammad Sidik, Haji Muhammad Amin, and Maṭba' Idris, while the two in Bombay were Maṭba' Muhammadi and Maṭba' Karimi (sometime it was written Maṭba'ah al-Karimiyah). Most of Salih's books are mentioned in the study of early Malay printed books by Ian Proudfoot (Proudfoot, 1993, 1994). The two missing from the list are *al-Murshid al-wajiz*, and *Sharḥ al-barzanji*. Proudfoot reminds the reader that his study is based mainly on the colonial government gazette. In 1886 the Straits Settlements Government promulgated the Registration of Books Ordinance which required all printers to register their publications with the Colonial Secretary's office, and to deposit

three copies of each publication. Although there was a fine of \$25 for failure to register a book, Proudfoot believes that not all printers registered their books, especially those dealing with Islamic teachings (Proudfoot, 1986, pp. 102-103; 1994, pp. 11-12). We may assume, therefore, that Salih's two books not listed in Proudfoot's works were among those that were not reported to the Straits authorities.

Among twelve *Pegon* books by Salih, five of them are still available in some bookstores and used in many places in Central Java. They are *Majmū'at al-sharī'ah*, *Matn al-ḥikam*, *Munjiyāt*, *Laṭā'if al-ṭahārah* and *Tarjamah sabil al-'abīd*. The books are commonly used by local ulama to teach Islam in weekly religious circles in mosques or prayer houses and attended by mostly old people who seek knowledge to better understand Islam. These books are not taught in the *pesantren* but the teachers who use them are certainly graduates of the *pesantren*. A few of the participants of the circle may have gone to the *pesantren*, and many are able to read the texts by themselves, but they attend the circle for various reasons.

The fact that only five titles of Salih's books are still printed and circulated at present does not necessarily mean that they were the most popular books during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The attached table shows that some books were printed several times, either by the same or different printing houses, and the others were printed once. Based on the available sources, the total number of copies of each book during the period also varied from as much as 600 to 11,000. If the number of copies is an indication of popularity, the most popular of Salih's books was *Fasalatan*, and yet it is not among the works in circulation today. It simply demonstrates that interests and demands differ from one period to the next. Regardless of the difference in popularity, all Salih's books contributed to the dissemination of Islamic knowledge to ordinary Javanese Muslims. It is therefore useful to know some main issues that are discussed in the books and the reasons why he insistently used *Pegon* instead of Arabic.

Some Main Issues and the Authority of Non-Arabic Islamic Texts

The contents of Salih's *Pegon* books vary from simple instructions on how to perform an obligatory ritual prayer to a more contemplative meaning of the Qur'anic verses. There are at least three main concerns represented in all Salih's books. First is his desire to enable the Javanese

to gain an understanding of the conception of God. He emphasizes the importance of having a correct understanding of God based on Islamic teachings, especially those of the Sunni scholars Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī and Abū Maṣūʿ Muḥammad al-Māturīdī. Salih believed that many Javanese had a confused conception of God that combined Islamic and pre-Islamic ideas. He stresses, therefore, the need for Muslim Javanese to have a strong basis for their belief in God as the supreme creator. This concern can be seen in the first forty pages of *Majmūʿat al-sharīʿah* and the whole book of *Tarjamah sabīl al-ʿabid*.

Second, he places great importance on the need to know the obligations for all Muslims and to produce manuals for observing the obligations. Toward this end he provided not only Arabic sentences that needed to be recited during the observance of such obligations but also their meanings in Javanese. The intention was to enable his readers to understand and internalize the meaning of these sentences and hence the obligations themselves. This concern seems to be motivated by his view that many Javanese Muslims did not observe the basic obligations of Islam, such as daily prayers and fasting in the month of Ramadan, and those who performed them did not always have sufficient knowledge of their significance. This concern is represented in his books of *Fasalatan*, the rest of *Majmūʿat al-sharīʿah*, *Manāsik al-ḥajj*, and *Laṭāʾif al-ṭahārah* although the last one is also mixed with the Sufi aspects of the ritual obligations. The concern can also be seen in book of *al-Murshid al-wajiz fi ʿilm al-Qurʾān* as it deals with the correct pronunciation of the Qurʾān.

Third, Salih is also concerned with improving good manners among his fellow Muslims, as can be seen in his writings on Sufism. After Muslims gain a correct understanding and conception of their God and follow God's commands as prescribed in *fiqh* books, they need to perfect their lives with refined attitudes and behavior in relation to both God and other human being. In relation to God, Salih reminds the readers that ritual observance should be performed not only to discharge the obligations but also to become closer to God. All humans are God's creatures, and the best among them are the most pious. Only God knows their piety, and so people should not feel that they are better than the others. This will lead, according to Salih, to the birth of humble feelings and save people from being arrogant in front of the others. This concern is ubiquitous in Salih's books on Sufism, such as

Munjiyāt, *al-Ḥikam*, and *Minhāj al-atqiyā'*. It is also apparent in the tafsir *Fayḍ al-raḥmān* as well as *Latā'if al-tahārah*, as already mentioned.

As a scholar who used *Pegon* in composing Islamic texts, Salih seems aware that this practice might not be acceptable to his colleagues of Javanese ulama because standard texts used to teach Islam, especially in the *pesantren*, were all in Arabic language. Therefore, Salih carefully argues that *Pegon* texts are as authoritative as Arabic ones. In defending his argument, he begins with making a distinction between the universality of Islam and the parochialness of the Arab. He then explains what is meant by useful knowledge (*al-'ilm al-nāfi'*) and, finally, he provides examples of religious texts written in non-Arabic languages whose authorities are widely accepted in the Islamic world.

Salih acknowledges that Arabic has a central place in Islam as the language of instruction, the Prophet's tradition (*hadīth*), and more importantly, the Qur'an. There are more than five verses in the Qur'an that say explicitly that the Qur'an was revealed in Arabic. For Salih, however, the Arabic language is closely related to the Prophet who was an Arab and lived within Arab society. By quoting a verse of the Qur'an that says, "We have not sent any Messenger except with the language of his people so he can make things clear to them (14:4)," Salih argues that, because Muhammad was an Arab, the Qur'an was revealed in Arabic to make it easy for Arab people to understand God's words. For this very same reason, previous prophets wrote in the local languages. Salih reminds the readers that Islam is not only for the Arab people but for all humankind as mentioned in the Qur'an 21:107. Islam became widespread despite the fact that many did not understand Arabic. If understanding of Arabic is a precondition for being complete in Islam, then the majority would never become fully Muslim. It makes a mockery of the idea that mastery of Arabic should be a prerequisite for becoming a perfect Muslim (al-Samarani, 1900a, pp. 6-7).

Salih does not mean, however, that Muslims should neglect Arabic. At the very least they need to learn how to read the Qur'an and to pronounce certain Arabic sentences properly in prayers. The five daily prayers use Arabic incantations and, according to the majority of ulama, cannot be substituted for other languages. Recitation of the Qur'an, as a religious observance, also needs to be done in Arabic. A translation is helpful to understand the meaning but should not replace the Arabic nor undermine its sacredness. Therefore, Salih argues that learning how

to recite the Qur'an properly is a part of the religious obligation of every Muslim. It is also an obligation for parents to provide education for their children to be able to read the Qur'an correctly. The Arabic language is intricate, and the difference between "q" (qaf) and "k" (kaf) or between 'ain and hamzah, for example, can lead to a separate meaning. An inappropriate pronunciation of the Qur'an, therefore, could endanger the mission of the Qur'an and, in turn, may invalidate the worship by changing the meaning (al-Samarani, 1900a, pp. 3, 72-91, 152-156).

Salih himself uses Arabic script to write his books. This means that one needs to know the pronunciation represented by each Arabic letter. For Salih, however, this does not seem to be a big problem. He was aware that in Muslim society, especially in Java, people from Muslim families usually go to Qur'anic schools at an early age to learn how to read the Qur'an.⁴⁶ When the Javanese learn to read the Qur'an, theoretically they should then be able to read his books since most are provided with vowel marks (*shakl*) of "a" "i" "u" and adopt the Javanese "e", which is not found in the original Arabic. Only a little knowledge of the Arabic script is needed for the Javanese to be able to read *Pegon* books. This is different from Arabic books taught in the *pesantren* because they are in the Arabic language and without vowel marks (*Arab gundul*). For this type of book, mastery in Arabic grammar and syntax as well as vocabulary is necessary.

Salih then elaborates the concept of useful knowledge (*al-'ilm al-nāfi*). This concept is important in Islam as it is one of the three things that enable a dead person to keep receiving rewards from God. The other two are pious children who always pray for their parents and charity which continuously benefit others.⁴⁷ According to Salih, useful knowledge is determined by its contribution in improving people's understanding of Islam. In a society where the majority do not understand Arabic, Islamic knowledge written in the local language would be more beneficial than that in Arabic. Useful knowledge, therefore, is not limited to that written in Arabic, but is also found in any religious text written in other languages that contain knowledge that should be studied (al-Samarani, na-c, p. 2).

To support this argument, Salih provides empirical examples of the existence of a number of books in non-Arabic languages but widely acclaimed by Muslims scholars. He mentions three *tafsir* (Qur'anic

exegeses) written in Persian by Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad al-Harwi, Husayn ibn Ali al-Kashifi, and Khawajah Muhammad ibn Mahmud al-Hafizi al-Bukhari (al-Samarani, na-c, pp. 2-3).⁴⁸ Another *tafsir* by Abu al-Layth Nasr ibn Muhammad al-Samarqandi was written in Turkish (al-Samarani, na-c, p. 3).⁴⁹ Salih also mentions the widely used *fiqh* books in Malay, *Sabīl al-muhtadīn*, by Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari (al-Samarani, na-c, p. 66).⁵⁰ Despite the fact that these Islamic texts are not in Arabic, they are, according to Salih, among the useful knowledge for their contents and widespread use among Muslims in their respected regions.

Salih, therefore, criticizes those who argue that only Arabic books deserve to be studied and regard Javanese books as not authoritative, simply because they are written in Javanese. Salih also condemns those who refuse to teach books written in non-Arabic language because they do not want to be perceived as less educated. For Salih, these people are arrogant and do not respect the efforts of the ulama in attempting to help the common people to better understand religious knowledge by composing texts in local languages. They should know, Salih says, that such respected ulama as Ismail of Minangkabau, taught his students in Mecca by using Jawi books (al-Samarani, na-c, pp. 65-67). This confirms his argument that the significance of a book is less dependent upon its language than its content.

For the ordinary people who know very little about Islam, the most important thing to teach is the basic knowledge of Islam, such as understanding the *uṣūl al-dīn* (theology), maintaining *ṭahārah*, and performing prayers and other individual obligations. It is an obligation of the educated people to teach them about religious knowledge by using a language that is understandable among them. The use of the local language, according to Salih, is even necessary because the main purpose of teaching is to make people understand the matters that are taught. In a situation where people do not have access to a teacher, the availability of books in the vernacular becomes a helpful and necessary tool. Through such books, people are able to learn by themselves, and those with even a basic knowledge of Arabic could serve as teachers (al-Samarani, 1900a, pp. 6-7; na-c, pp. 67-68).

In short, Salih argues that in order to receive God's mercy one does not necessarily need to speak and understand Arabic (al-Samarani, 1900a, pp. 5-6). And it is based on this argument that Salih freely

expresses his teachings on the Islam in the local Javanese language. Many Islamic concepts of *tawhīd*, *fiqh*, and *taṣawwuf* are communicated to the readers through local terms and expressions, as long as their local similarities and correspondences are available and do not deviate from the original meanings. Salih thus translated and localized Islamic teachings from the original Arabic language to make Islamic knowledge accessible to the common people.

Conclusion

It is clear from the discussion that Salih was very concerned with the need to improve Islamic knowledge of the Javanese people. By composing Islamic texts, Salih hoped to increase religious understanding among them so that they would become aware of what religious obligations were, how to observe such obligations, and internalize the meaning, so that in turn they would become more pious Muslims. Since the majority of the Javanese people did not understand Arabic, Salih decided to write the texts in the Javanese language using the Arabic script. Salih was fully aware that writing Islamic texts in *Pegon* was not common among the Javanese ulama and that some of them might view his works as less authoritative than those written in Arabic. But he defended his decision by referring to the distinction between the universality of Islam and the locality of Arabic. In addition, by referring to the concept of *al-ilm al-nāfi* (the beneficial knowledge), Salih argued that the value of Islamic texts rested not on the language used but on the effectiveness in conveying Islamic knowledge to the intended readers. Therefore, one should not underestimate the authority of non-Arabic Islamic texts as far as they are composed by learned person and follow principles of Islamic teachings.

Salih has no doubt contributed to the establishment of *Kitab Jawan*, another term among Javanese people for *Pegon* Islamic texts, as legitimate sources in learning Islam. A number of ulama have continued producing *Pegon* Islamic texts, whether they are newly composed or translated from Arabic ones. *Pegon* Islamic texts have kept flourishing since then and become handy references for Javanese Muslims in consulting religious questions. The fact that a number of publishers in Central and East Java keep printing such texts is a clear indication. Salih's statement that God's mercy is not limited to Arabic speakers seems to have been confirmed by Javanese Muslims.

Table: Titles, Publishers, Years, Copies and Prices of Salih's *Pegon* Books

No	Titles of Books	Muh. Siraj			Muh. Sidik			Muh. Anni			Idris			Muhammadi			Karni			Total Copies
		Year	Copy	Price	Year	Copy	Price	Year	Copy	Price	Year	Copy	Price	Year	Copy	Price	Year	Copy	Price	
1	Majmu'at al-Shari'ah	1892	600	\$0.50	1894	1000	\$0.50									1906	2000	\$0.29	4600	
2	Munjiyat				1893a	600	\$0.40									1906	3000	\$0.21		
					1893b	1200	\$0.50													
					1895	1000	\$0.30													
					1901	2400	\$0.25												8200	
3	Al-Hikam	1894	1200	\$0.50															1200	
4	Fayd al-Rahman vol.1							1894	600	\$2									600	
	Fayd al-Rahman vol.2							1895	n/a											
5	Burdah							1904	1200	\$1									1200	
6	Fasalatan							1897	n/a			1905*	1100	\$0.13		1906	10000	\$0.05	11100	
7	Lataif al-Taharah											1906*	1000	\$0.25		1896	n/a			
															1906	3000	\$0.14			
															1908	200	\$0.07	4200		
8	Mihaj al-Atqiya														1906	1500	\$0.29	1500		
9	Jawharat al-Tawhid													1900	n/a					
10	Manasik al-Hajj															1906	1500	\$0.25	1500	
11	Al-Mursid al-Wajiz							1900	n/a							1907	5000	\$0.05	5000	
12	Sharh al-Barzanji							1897	n/a											

*) In Sundanese translation

Sources: Proudfoot (1993), *Early Malay Printed Books*;

Proudfoot (1994), "Malay Books Printed in Bombay: A Report on Sources for Historical Bibliography."

Endnotes

1. The term *Pegon* is also used to refer to that written in Arabic script but using Sundanese language. The discussion of *Pegon* in this paper, however, is limited to that in Javanese.
2. This is a transliteration of محمد صالح بن عمر السمارني as appears in the cover of most of his books. Al-Samarani is an attribution to Semarang, the current capital city of Central Java.
3. Kiyai is usually used to address religious teachers. Darat refers to a village located in the northern part of Semarang, where Salih settled and built his *pesantren*.
4. His exact date of birth is unknown, and even the year and place of his birth are approximations made by Abdullah Salim based on his interviews with several ulama (Salim, 1994, p. 20).
5. It is Danuwijoto who mentions that Salih's father was involved in the Java War (Danuwijoto, 1977, p. 68). Peter Carey lists many religious figures who supported Dipanagara during the war. He says that there were at least 108 *Kiyai*, 31 *Hajis* (pilgrims who had performed the Hajj), 15 *Sehs* (Islamic scholars), 12 religious officials, and four religious teachers (*Kyai guru*) (Carey, 1981, p. xlv). Unfortunately, in the list of those religious figures that Carey provides in another book, the names of Kiyai Umar, Syada', and Murtadha are not found (Carey, 2007, pp. 786-794). This does not mean, however, that they were not part of Dipanagara's supporters. As the war received wide support from the *santri* community in Java, it is very likely that these people were participants, though their names were not recorded in documents collected by Carey.
6. Tradition that a young Muslim studied in a *langgar* (praying house) or with his own father, if the later was a learned person, before he studied further in *pesantren* is mentioned by L. van den Berg in his study of Ulama on Java and Madura (Berg, 1882, pp. 20-22).
7. Muhammad Nawawi may have been the most prolific writer among the Javanese ulama in Mecca. He wrote a lot of books, some even say more than a hundred, during his lifetime, all in Arabic (Rachman, 1997, pp. 97-139; Snouck Hurgronje, 1931, pp. 287-292; Wijoyo, 1997).
8. Mahfuz al-Tarmasi is a well-known Javanese scholar who resided in Mecca in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and composed a number of Islamic texts on various subjects, all in Arabic. His relation with Salih as one of his teachers is mentioned in one of his book, *Mawhibah dhi al-fadl*. He even mentions titles of the books he learned with Salih while he was studying in Semarang (al-Tarmasi, 1908, p. 735). Raden Muhammad Salim was son of Raden Hadji Muhammad Hadi, *mufti* of Kendal. His Javanese name was Raden Sosrosapoetro and he spent around two years in Semarang in 1890s, learning with Salih, before he moved to Jamsaren Solo, where he studied with K. Idris. (Pijper, 1977, pp. 92-93)
9. Among those who mention that Kartini attended a religious circle led by Salih in Demak is Muchoyyar (2000, pp. 11-12). This is also stated by Ali Kholil, the grandchild of Salih, as quoted in a magazine (Waluyo & Hidayat, 2003, pp. 32-35) and a newspaper (Rukardi, 2004). In addition, these sources mention that as a gift on her marriage, Salih gave her his work of the Qur'anic exegesis, *Fayd al-rahmān*. Although from chronological order, it is possible that Salih gave her the book, as it was printed in 1894, and her marriage was in November 1903, further reference to support this argument is still needed.
10. This can be seen from her letters to the Abendanon family, Mr. and Mrs. Van Kol, and Stella Zeehandelaar, especially between July 21 and October 27, 1902, where Kartini shows her reliance on God for her burdens and her realization in trust to God. In a

- letter to Dr. Abendanon, August 15, 1902, for example, she says “Now we have found Him for whom unconsciously our souls had yearned during the long years. We had sought so far and so long, we did not know that it was near, that it was always with us, that it was in us.” She also quotes others who reacted to her change, “It has pleased God to open your hearts at last, be thankful for that” (Kartini, 1976, p. 215). In the next letter to E.C. Abendanon, dated August 17, 1902, she says “We do not seek consolation from men—we hold fast to His hand, and then the darkness becomes light, and the storm wind a gentle breeze.” Then, she also says “Now that we have found Him, our whole lives are changed, our work seems nobler, higher” (Kartini, 1976, pp. 219-220).
11. Kartini does not mention who brought about her change in her religiosity, though she mentions an old woman in a letter to Dr. Abendanon. Kartini used to refuse to read or memorize the Qur’an because she did not understand its meaning and nor could her teacher. But that changed once she started studying with the old woman (Kartini, 1976, pp. 213-215). To E.C. Abendanon, she says that an old woman gave her a number of Javanese books, some of them were written in the Arabic script. “We are going to study Arabic so that we can read, and write it” (Kartini, 1976, p. 216). This is the only indication that Salih’s *Pegon* books might be among those Javanese books written in the Arabic script as his books were already printed at the time.
 12. Ibrahim was not brought to Semarang and he probably was raised by his grandparent. Later on, together with his half-brother, Kholil, Ibrahim provided a service in hajj pilgrimage to some Javanese. While Kholil provided services when they were still in Java, such as getting travel documents and arranging transportation to Mecca, Ibrahim escorted them after they were in Mecca (Dzahir, 2000, p. 7).
 13. Ali Kholil was born in 1931 and passed away on 11 December 2011. He began to live there around 1950 after he studied at *pesantren* Pegadon and Kebon Dalem in Kendal. According to him, Salih’s students continued to lead his *pesantren* after Salih died, but the *pesantren* was completely abandoned during the Japanese occupation (1942-1945). When he started living there, the complex was already inhabited by migrants who had no relation to Salih. He was entrusted by his family to revitalize the *pesantren* but he was never able to do that. What he could do was to rebuild the mosque that still exists today, thanks to the support of those who greatly admired and respected Salih. Ali could not recall much about Salih as he was born decades after Salih died. His father, Kholil, passed away when he was only four years, and so he did not hear anything directly from his father about Salih. (Interview with Ali Kholil on May 6, 2008.)
 14. Interview with Ali Kholil on May 6, 2008.
 15. Interview with a visitor from Purwodadi, Irshad, who recited the Qur’an at Salih’s grave on May 5, 2008.
 16. *Walī* is an abbreviated form of *walīy Allah*, meaning someone who is close to or intimate with God. Unlike a prophet who is appointed by God, a *walī* may gain his status through spiritual exercises. However, there is no fixed, standard process to attain the status of *walī*. Like an ulama, a *walī*’s status is more a matter of attribution by the community rather than imposed by an institution or self-proclaimed. Some are acknowledged as *walī* after they die, and others are known as *walī* while still living. The recognition by the community usually comes after someone has shown exemplary behavior in harmony with the Prophet’s *sunnah* (deeds) or extraordinary religious experiences. The idea of a *walī* is thus socially constructed and not always agreed upon by the communities (Radtke, 2002, pp. 109-112).
 17. In the book, Salih mentions Kajen, Juwana, as the village where Kiyai Shahid lived (al-Samarani, 1900a, p. 273). Juwana is actually a sub-district within the district of

- Pati, and Kajen itself falls within the sub-district of Tayu. However, during the colonial era, one had to go through Juwana to get to Kajen. This may have been the reason that Salih mentions Kajen, Juwana, instead of Kajen, Tayu. I learned that Kiyai Shahid actually lived in the village of Waturoyo, not Kajen. Kajen is certainly more popular than other villages surrounding it as it is the village where Kiyai Ahmad Mutamakkin, the main figure in the *Serat Cebolek*, was buried. It is not uncommon for individuals to say that they are studying in Kajen although they live in neighboring villages, such as Cebolek, Waturoyo, and Ngemplak. In Kajen itself there are now more than ten *pesantren* and together with a number of *pesantren* in surrounding villages, more than one thousand students, male and female, live there to study religious sciences.
18. *Faḥ al-Qarīb* is authored by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim al-Ghāzī (d. 1512/3) and it is a commentary (*sharḥ*) of *Matn al-taqrīb* by Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Isfahānī who is also known as Abū Shujā' (d. 1042). *Faḥ al-mu'īn* is composed by Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Mālibārī. *Mīnhāj al-qawīm* is written by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 1566). *Sharḥ al-khatīb* and also called *al-Iqna*, which is another commentary of *Matn al-taqrīb*, is a work of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Shirbinī (d. 1570) who is also known as Khāṭīb al-Shirbinī. *Faḥ al-wahhāb* is written by Zakariyā' ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Anṣārī (d. 1520).
 19. This kitab is co-authored by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 1459) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī.
 20. It is not mentioned what *kitab* that Salih used in learning *naḥwu* and *ṣaraf*.
 21. Salih does not also mention the title of the book on astronomy that he learned in Semarang.
 22. *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* is a book on theology, composed by Ibrāhīm al-Laḳānī (d. 1631), while *Mīnhāj al-'ābidīn* is on Sufism by al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). *Sittīn ma'salah* or *Masā'il al-sittīn* is a book on *fiqh* and written by Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Mīshrī (d. 1415).
 23. Laffan states that 'Abd al-Ghānī Bima, Aḥmad Khāṭīb Sambas, and Ismā'il al-Minangkabāwī were three leaders of the Jawi ecumene in Mecca in the 1850s (Laffan, 2003, p. 21).
 24. The sentences by Salih were "ngalap guru ingsun marang Shaykhuna al-Allamah Sayyid Shaykh ibn Ahmad Bafaqih Balawi kala ana ing Semarang," and "ngalap berkah ingsun marang Shaykh Abd al-Ghani Bima kala ana ing Semarang."
 25. Because of the lack of sources, we do not know when Salih left for Mecca and how long he stayed there.
 26. I could not find any reference to this person.
 27. *Umm al-barāhin* is a book on theology written by Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Sānūsī (d. 1490).
 28. This seems to be a *ḥāshiyah* (gloss, supercommentary) of *Faḥ al-Qarīb* written by Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Bājūrī (d. 1860), and is a book on *fiqh*. In addition to this book, al-Bājūrī wrote three other *ḥāshiyah* and each of the titles begins with *Ḥāshiyah al-Bājūrī*.
 29. Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān Ḥasab Allāh lived almost a century as he was born in 1818 and died in 1917. He was known as having mastery in *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* and spent most of his time in Mecca and Medina teaching a lot of students from various countries. He authored three books, one of which was entitled *al-Riyāḍah al-badī'ah fī uṣūl al-dīn wa-bā'd furū' al-sharī'ah*. Of this book Muḥammad Nawāwī of Banten wrote a *sharḥ* called *al-Thimar al-yani'ah fī al-riyāḍ al-badī'ah*. See (Abd al-Jabbar, 1982, pp. 229-232). He seems to be the same person that Snouck Hurgronje calls Ḥasab Allāh. He was still teaching in Mecca when Snouck Hurgronje was doing research (Snouck Hurgronje, 1931, pp. 190-191, 282, 287, 295, 301).

30. *Alfiyah ibn mālīk* is a book on *nahw* (Arabic grammar) and was written by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mālīk (d. 1274)
31. This seems to be Aḥmad ibn Zayn Dahlān (not Muhammad as Salih states), the popular ulama who was the Shafi’ite mufti in Mecca and died in 1886. Snouck Hurgronje says that he was the rector of the Meccan university (Snouck Hurgronje, 1887, pp. 344-394). In his *Mekka*, Snouck often refers to him as Aḥmad Dahlān. On a study of Dahlān’s fatwa, see Kaptein (1997). See also al-Baytar (1993, pp. 181-183).
32. Aḥmad al-Nahrāwī was also the teacher of Muḥammad Nawāwī Banten. Snouck Hurgronje even regards Nahrāwī, Yūsuf Sumbulawenī and ‘Abd al-Ḥamid Daghestanī as “the real teachers” of Nawāwī. One of Nahrāwī’s books is on theology, *al-Durr al-farīd fi ‘aqā’id ahl al-tawḥīd*, of which Nawāwī wrote a commentary entitled *Fath al-majīd*. (Snouck Hurgronje, 1931, pp. 287-289, 291).
33. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Zawāwī is known as a Sufi master. He and his son, ‘Abdullāh ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Zawāwī, were both known as Sufi teachers of Tarekat Naqshabandiyah, and many Indonesians were initiated into this tarekat and received the *silsilah* (mystical chain) from one or the other (Snouck Hurgronje, 1931, pp. 200, 223, 308).
34. I could not find any reference to these two persons. Snouck Hurgronje mentions Omar Shami once as one of the Meccan teachers who studied in Al-Azhar, Cairo, before settling in Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, 1931, p. 201).
35. This seems to be what Snouck Hurgronje means when referring to Yūsuf Sumbulawenī as one of three “real teachers” of Nawāwī of Banten (Snouck Hurgronje, 1931, p. 287).
36. I could not find any reference for this person.
37. This number refers to the books that I managed to collect from the field. Ghazali Munir in his dissertation lists fourteen books, although he could not find the full version of the two books, *Kitāb ḥadīth mi’rāj* and *Kitāb manāsik kayfiyat al-ṣalāt al-musāfirin*. Munir says that he only found the last five pages of the first book while none of the latter (Munir, 2007, pp. 80-96). Based on the date found in the *Ḥadīth mi’rāj* as mentioned by Munir, it seems that this book is the *Sharḥ barzanjī* as both were finished on the second of Rajab 1314 AH (December 7, 1896 CE). It is very unlikely that Salih finished two books on the same day.
38. The title on the cover is *Punika Ḥadīth al-Ghayṭi lan Sharah Barzanji Tuwin Nazhatu Majālis ingkang Sampun Kajarwakaken deneng Kiyahi Muhammad Salih bin Umar ing Darat*.
39. This book is also known by another title, *al-Muqaddimah al-Ḥadramiyyah*, and was written by ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān Bafadl of Hadramaut (d. 1512 CE). Together with its commentary, *Minḥāj al-qawim* by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar al-Ḥaytamī (d. 1566 CE), it was one of the popular textbooks on *fiqh* in Java. Both were used continuously in Javanese *pesantren* until the twentieth century as recorded by Berg (1886) and Bruinessen (1990).
40. One may assume that there were also *Pegon* Islamic texts printed in Batavia by referring to Soewignja and Wirawangsa’s book that listed printed books from 19th century Java (Soewignja & Wirawangsa, 1920). It is because some titles mentioned in it, such as *Oemoel Brahiem*, *Kitab al-Irsadoel Anam*, and *Kitab Altokid Sipat 20* resembled to those of *Pegon* texts. A further assessment, however, shows that all of them were written in the Javanese script and none of the listed titles used *Pegon*.
41. Two of Salih’s books are not listed in Porudfoot’s study. They are *al-Murshid al-wajiz fi ‘ilm al-Qur’ān al-‘aziz* and *Sharḥ al-barzanji* as will be discussed later.
42. This could be attributed as having followed the Islamic scholarship that had developed in the Muslim world (Messick, 1993).
43. In the study on translation of Arabic into Malay, Johns identifies four developments.

- The first is an oral translation of some verses of the Qur'an; second, interlinear translation of some parts of a text, as well as notes on the sides of the text, meant to help understanding the original text; third interlinear translation on the whole text; and fourth, free translation of Arabic into Malay, which he calls also as Arabization of Malay (Johns, 2009, pp. 51-53).
44. It should be noted here that long before the Dutch colonial authorities introduced a policy of supporting education for indigenous children, many Javanese people went to local ulama to get education on Islam. Reports from local governments, especially from northern coastal areas such as Cirebon, Tegal, Pekalongan, Semarang, Jepara, and Rembang, in 1919 and 1930, mentioned the existence of this activity that included thousands of students. Although most of them did not study further of Islamic knowledge, at least they learned how to recite the Qur'an in the Arabic script (Chijs, 1864, pp. 212-232). This means that they were familiar with pronouncing Arabic alphabets. A few decades later, in 1885, an official statistic of the government mentioned the existence of almost fifteen thousand Islamic educations on Java and Madura, excluding Yogyakarta residency, with about 230,000 students (Berg, 1886, pp. 518-519). Although majority of the students only learned very basic knowledge of Islam, such as how to perform the prayer and to recite the Qur'an, it is clear that a great number of Javanese had been familiar with the Arabic script.
 45. For the tradition of interlinear translation and the use of such words among Javanese *santri*, see Jones (1983).
 46. This information can be deduced from the articles by Chijs (1864) and Berg (1886) as already mentioned in the note no. 44.
 47. This refers to a *ḥadīth* by the Prophet that says when a person dies all of his/her deeds are cut off except for these three.
 48. Salih unfortunately does not mention the title of these *tafsīr*, and I have not been able to verify these figures. I could not find the *tafsīr* in Persian by Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Harwī, but I found Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad Surabadī (d. 1100)'s *Tafsīr-i Surabadī* in Persian. I also could not locate Khawajah Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Hāfiẓī al-Bukhārī, but there was Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd Naysabūrī who lived in the 12th century and wrote *Tafsīr-i Basair-i Yamīni*. I am not sure if these names are identical to those that Salih cited. Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Kāshifī seems to be the one who authored *Tafsīr-i Husayni*. If this is so, he died in 1504.
 49. Naṣr ibn Muḥammad Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 983) actually wrote *Baḥr al-'Ulūm* known also as *Tafsīr al-Samarqandī* in Arabic. His Turkish tafsīr, *Tefsīru'l Kur'an*, was a translation of the Arabic version. He did not write in Turkish.
 50. Muḥammad Arshād al-Banjārī (d. 1812) is a well-known ulama from South Sulawesi who, after studying in Mecca and Medina for several decades in the eighteenth century, wrote several books in Malay. In addition to *Sabīl al-muḥtadīn* on *fiqh*, he also composed *Kanz al-ma'rifah* on Sufism. Together with other contemporary ulama, Arshād was known for his initiative in establishing an Islamic education in South Sulawesi that received full support from the ruler of the Banjar Sultanate, Sultan Tahmid Allah II (d. 1808). For further discussion of Arshād of Banjar, see (Azra, 2004, pp. 117-122)

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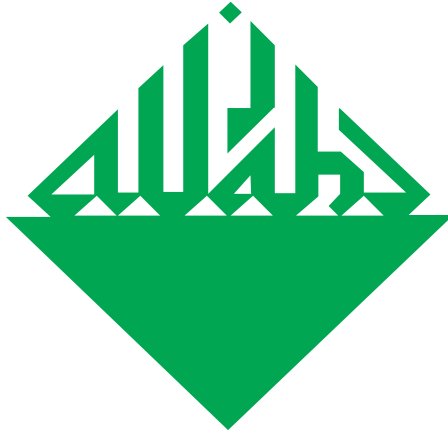
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ءأثير الحركة السلفية بمصر على المبعء بين
بإنءونيسيا في تطوير التربية الإسلامية
أمل فءح الله زرءشي

مخطوطة [Kinanti [Tutur Teu Kacatur Batur]

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