



## Malay books printed in Bombay a report on sources for historical bibliography

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**Abstrak:** Sejak akhir abad kesembilanbelas, banyak buku bahasa Melayu telah diusahakan oleh pencetak Islam di Bombay. Pendokumentasian kegiatan ini masih belum cukup sempurna. Sumber-sumber yang berguna untuk penyusunan bibliografi percetakan bahasa Melayu di Bombay ialah warta-warta kerajaan Bombay dan buku-buku yang didaftarkan dan dipelihara menurut undang-undang hakcipta. Sumber-sumber ini dibincangkan di dalam makalah ini. Di antara yang terdapat dalam lampiran-lampiran kepada makalah ini ialah perbincangan ringkas mengenai peruntukan undang-undang di India dan di Straits Settlements, petikan dari warta kerajaan Bombay dan gambaran mengenai skop kegiatan percetakan ini.

**Abstract:** Since the end of the nineteenth century, many Malay books have been printed by Muslim printers in Bombay. This publishing activity has not yet been well documented. Useful sources for a bibliography of Bombay Malay-language printing are the Bombay Government Gazettes and the books preserved under copyright deposit legislation. This article introduces these sources. In the appendices it summarises the legal provisions applicable in India and the Straits Settlements, reproduces excerpts from the Bombay Government Gazette, and gives an impression of the scope of this printing.

The history of Malay books and printing is still being written. The historical bibliography of Malay is still in its infancy. This article is a preliminary report on some resources which will extend historical bibliography in a specific direction, though a significant one. The importance of Bombay as a source of Malay printed books in the early twentieth century is easily underestimated. These Bombay imprints appealed to rather conventional Muslim tastes. They were lithographed manuscript-style in the Arabic (*jawi*) script, and comprised mainly works on religion (*kitab*) as well as an established repertoire of popular ballads (*syair*).

It seems likely that the earliest Muslim printing in the Malay language outside Southeast Asia took place in Bombay. The evidence for

this is the survival of two booklets containing short poems which were lithographed in Bombay in 1874. These booklets happened to find their way into the library of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences ten years later, but there is no reason to believe that they are in fact the first Malay books published in Bombay.

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Even the date of 1874 puts Bombay ahead of other overseas centres of Malay-language publishing. Cairo probably began Malay and Javanese printing a few years later. Malay language printing in Mecca began in 1884, and in Istanbul also about that date.<sup>1</sup>

In the nineteenth century, Singapore was the leading centre of Southeast Asian Muslim printing. However, as the pace of Muslim printing accelerated, Singapore printers failed to keep up. By the turn of the twentieth century there were probably more copies of Malay books in the Arabic (*jawi*) script being produced in Bombay than in Singapore; indeed for a decade or so it is possible that a greater bulk of Malay Muslim printing was done in Bombay than anywhere else in the world. Malay and Javanese printing was still underway in Bombay in the 1950s, when Padwick reported that she saw "in the courtyard of a printing press in Bombay huge bales of Arabic books, Qur'āns, and — small works of devotion, destined for Java."<sup>2</sup> Matheson and Hooker found some Malay books of this vintage among the old stock in Muslim bookshops they approached in the mid 1980s.<sup>3</sup>

As with any historical bibliography, the main source of information is the books themselves. For Bombay printing we are fortunate to have another rich source of information provided by the Indian law regulating printing presses, which came into operation in 1867. (The provisions of the Indian law are broadly similar to those introduced in the Straits Settlements twenty years later.)

The importance of the copyright law for historical bibliography is two-fold. First, its requirements for the legal deposit of published works has meant that a selection of early printed books have survived the ravages of time in public repositories. This is particularly important for earlier periods. We owe almost all we know about Bombay Malay publishing in the nineteenth century to the provisions for legal deposit. Second, the catalogues of deposited books were published quarterly, and contain a great deal of useful information about publishers, print-runs, prices and so forth. Although this data is detailed for the particular items registered, there are always questions about the completeness and reliability of the information reported.

## Evidence from the Government Gazettes

Indian scholars concerned with India's retrospective national bibliography have assumed that the quarterly catalogues of deposited books are comprehensive.<sup>4</sup> This seems most unlikely. It is very clearly not the case with Malay-language publications, very few of which are listed. This can be demonstrated in various ways. While we have surviving examples of Malay books printed in Bombay from 1876 to the 1960s, Malay book registrations appear only from 1890 to 1915, with one further in 1927. Even for the period 1890 to 1915, in which there are registrations, the record is very incomplete. Two publishers put out books in 1906 and 1909 which advertise lists of Malay books in stock, and out of the 62 titles listed, less than one-third had been registered.<sup>5</sup> This is how it is possible for the library of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka to have eleven Bombay imprints in its library, none of which is registered.

This very low level of compliance is symptomatic of a mis-match between a colonial administrative regime and the realities of the local printing industry. We can get some perspective on this from the report by Grant, an education official charged with compiling a retrospective bibliography of Bombay publications on the eve of the 1867 law. Grant found that two major causes of his catalogue's incompleteness were "(1) the absence, in many cases, of regular records in the printing offices; (2) the carelessness or obstructiveness of printers or publishers, who failed to see that they had an interest in facilitating the returns, and who perhaps suspected the motives of the Government in calling for them."<sup>6</sup> Even though his retrospective listing was based upon not one but two visits by inspectors to the printing presses, Grant believed that he had captured only half of the publications which actually appeared, though he believed his catalogue to be representative.<sup>7</sup>

Apart from Grant's project, the colonial authorities did not actively hunt down publications. They relied on the stick and the carrot. The penalties for non-compliance were fines and confiscation of deposit copies. Of course non-compliance had to be detected first. Consequently penalties probably hindered rather than helped in achieving a complete catalogue.

It is known that one Marathi publisher was dealt with under these provisions. Having been ignorant of the deposit provisions and learning of his obligation, he presented copies of works published in earlier years to the Secretary's office. For his trouble he was reprimanded and fined,<sup>8</sup> — an outcome not likely to encourage others to co-operate. On the other side, there was a slight monetary incentive to comply. The Act of 1867 required three best-quality copies to be deposited, but also required the officer receiving them to pay for them at the normal retail (not wholesale) rate. Even though this opened the way for some profitable scams,<sup>9</sup> the deposit clause of the 1867 Act supposedly "stirred widespread objections". After 1890, payment for deposit copies was stopped, and thereafter the requirement to supply up to three copies free of charge "generated lasting dissatisfaction on the part of the book trade throughout the country."<sup>10</sup>

The benefits of compliance were illusory. The process of registration offered printers the opportunity to claim copyright on their publications. This required a payment of Rs 2 (about \$0.90), not a great sum perhaps, indeed one which would often be just about covered by the price received for the three copies surrendered. But the European conception of copyright embodied in the Act was neither understood nor relevant to Bombay's Muslim publishers. If the terms of the Act were understood, few publishers could claim to be "the author of a literary or artistic works [when] first produced".<sup>11</sup> Only three out of the fifty or so registered Malay and Javanese editions include copyright claims, and none meet this criterion. All were standard religious texts in the public domain, and two had in fact been previously published in Singapore.<sup>12</sup> And if copyright could be validly claimed, what use was that? To prove it meant not just paying a further Rs 2 to the registrar but commencing a prohibitively costly civil claim in a Presidency-level court. If a publisher wished to protect his work from pirates, was he not better advised to follow the example of Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal, who simply made unsubstantiated claims that his editions were legally protected? The truth was that the British legal superstructure was largely irrelevant to the operations of Muslim printers. Just how irrelevant is shown by the fact that the copyright legislation had been intended to make defence of copyright easier

and cheaper! Anyway, very few bothered to go through the formalities of registering copyright. Butt puts this down to "a high degree of mutual understanding among a small community engaged in book trade activity".<sup>13</sup> Padwick may be closer to the mark, when she observes that "— the publication of these [Islamic] manuals was not publication as known in the West. There is no copyright, no authoritative edition, and generally no distinction between printer and publisher. While a few larger firms in Cairo and Bombay have a regular trade in prayer-manuals for export, for the most part small printings are undertaken here and there. These may be at the cost of a pious benefactor or because the presence of a group of devotees shows a local printer an opportunity for sale."<sup>14</sup>

The low rate of registration achieved, meant that few of the books published were retained in public collections. Of these few, in turn, only a few survive. Most deposit copies were retained in India, to suffer a variety of fates. It was reported in 1890, "of 22,524 books in native languages deposited with Bombay University Library [since 1871], 5164 have been destroyed, mainly by white ants, or are missing." The University wished to divest itself of the remaining volumes.<sup>15</sup> Some were sent to safe obscurity in London. A copy of the quarterly list of registered books was forwarded to the British Museum. From that list, the Museum requisitioned books for its library.<sup>16</sup> Staff making these selections were less interested in bibliography than in building a representative collection of texts, and were therefore rather sparing in their requests. Second or later editions of texts seem not to have been of interest to them, nor were translations of standard texts into local languages. Fortunately, Malay and Javanese publications were rather a rarity in Bombay and attracted attention. About half were selected for transmission to the Museum.

So much for the coverage of the registrations. What of their quality? The eminent Indian bibliographer, Govi, comments, "The machinery built up for administering the [Printing Presses] Act differed from presidency to presidency, as also the officials responsible for drawing up the catalogues. The quality of the quarterly catalogues varied with the ability and background of the officers and administration. The catalogues suffer from such defects as

confusion of author and other collaborators, incorrect statements concerning editions, incorrect transcriptions of titles, and inadequate and, in some cases, misleading representation of the subject of the book.”<sup>17</sup> The same observations could be extended to the similar book registrations in the Straits Settlements. In fact the Bombay registrations stand up fairly well on most counts. They are certainly better informed than the Straits Settlements registrations. The reason is that those charged with compiling the Bombay lists were experts of a kind. The lists were compiled at first by the Education department<sup>18</sup> and then the Oriental Translator’s Office. Attached to the Home Department of the Bombay government after 1902, this Office remained the agency dealing with native publishers until it was redesignated as the Office of the Examiner of Books and Publications in 1951.<sup>19</sup> Clerks of the Oriental Translator’s Office did not know Malay or Javanese, but they could at least read the Arabic script and provide translations of the titles of the books. After 1906 their descriptions were enhanced by giving the short titles of the books in the appropriate script as well as in Roman transcription. This level of expertise and interest puts the Colonial Secretary’s office in Singapore to shame. Malay books are better described and reported in Bombay than in Singapore, where it is evident that the clerks handling the registration often could not read the Arabic script and did not care to enquire.

So, this Bombay cloth has quality but not width. It will not sustain any analysis of trends in Malay printing activity. It has been possible to use the Straits Settlements records for this purpose because they provide a far more complete account of the small local industry. Moreover, their defects could be corrected because all the rather small number of Straits registered books were automatically deposited with the British Museum. The very size, diversity and vigour of the Bombay printing industry made it infeasible to get a comprehensive record.

#### **Evidence from the books themselves**

The primary source of information for historical bibliography is always the published books themselves. The richest collection of publications from the turn of the century is the

British Library’s, most of which were preserved, thanks to the registration laws. These books have been described briefly by Gallop in her introduction to the Malay books in the British Library.<sup>20</sup> After about 1915, however, the British Library’s collection dries up. For the later periods, from the 1920s onwards, Bombay imprints are more likely to be found in Malaysian libraries, private collections in Southeast Asia, and even on the back shelves of long-established Muslim bookshops.

The books themselves are direct evidence of the sophistication of Bombay printing, its style, its technical quality, and all the aspects of form. As well, the books give explicit information on authors, publishers, printers and sometimes sales agents. Bombay imprints are rich in this regard. Whereas Singapore lithographs tend to be more reticent, Malay books printed in Bombay generally display rather full information of this kind on elaborate title pages and covers. From the Bombay books in the British library, for instance, we learn of four sales outlets in Singapore used by Bombay printers to sell their books. Bombay printers were more alive to the possibilities of self-publicity than their Singapore counterparts. The greater detail of information provided also reflects a more highly organised industry. Title pages may contain for instance printed annotations indicating the print run, the edition, and the press operator. The minuscule size of these annotations and their inconspicuous placements (often below the frame of the elaborate title page), mark them as technical notes useful to the printing shop.

Beside being primary sources of information themselves, the published books also provide information about other publications. I have come across three books which have on their back pages a list of titles available for sale. Two of these lists appeared quite close together in time, in 1906 and 1909, but in books put out by different publishers. Each claims to list books printed at their respective presses,<sup>21</sup> however the number of items common to both lists suggests otherwise. Allowing for some cross-listing of titles printed by their contemporary colleagues, altogether 60 titles are mentioned. Few of the titles listed are known to us through registration in the Bombay Presidency Catalogue. The second of the lists at least is lent a certain credibility by annotation *zer tab’*

(in the press) placed against one of its items. The third list appeared two decades later, in 1926.<sup>22</sup> The book in which it appears was not registered, and neither were any of the 43 books which were listed on its back cover (with one possible exception).

Together, the quarterly catalogues of printed books and the surviving books themselves furnish the basis of an historical bibliography. The greatest hope for extending its scope lies in a more methodical and wider search for surviving Bombay imprints.

## **Appendix I**

### **Sketch of legislative provisions for registration of books**

#### **Indian Act no.XX of 1847**

The first Indian legislation on copyright was the Indian Act no.XX of 1847.<sup>23</sup> It applied in all territories of the East India Company, including the Straits Settlements. This legislation provided a means for registering copyright by setting up a public register of copyright in books. This register was nominally to be kept in the Office of the Secretary for the Home Department, though in practice local arrangements were made. In Bombay, the register of copyright in books was kept in the Patents Office, and in the Straits Settlements in the offices of the Colonial Secretary for the Straits Settlements at Penang and Singapore. The practical purpose of the Act no.XX of 1847 was to provide a convenient way of proving copyright. An extract from the register was prima facie proof of copyright, and would be accepted as such in a court of law. There was no compulsion to register copyright. To do so required payment of a fee of Rs.2 (about S\$0.90), and the provision of basic information about the publication concerned, namely:

- the title of the book
- the name of the publisher
- the place of publication
- the name and address of the holder of copyright
- the date of publication

Three Singapore publishers and one Penang publisher claim to have registered editions under this Act.<sup>24</sup> In all cases, this is indicated by a notice to this effect printed on the title page in Roman script.

#### **Indian Act no.XXV of 1867 (Press and Registration of Books Act)**

Act no.XX of 1847 on Copyright was supplemented by the Press and Registration of Books

Act, no.XXV of 1867.<sup>25</sup> The aims of this Act are evident from its long title, "An Act for the regulation of printing presses and newspapers, for the preservation of copies of books printed in British India, and for the registration of such books." The Act set up an elaborate mechanism for the acquisition and description of printed materials.

The new law was enacted at the behest of the Royal Asiatic Society. The Society believed that all Indian publications were subject to legal deposit in the five depository libraries of the British Isles, by virtue of British Imperial legislation. Given that it was not feasible to arrange deposit on this scale, the Society asked the government "at least to collect quarterly the titles of all Native books and pamphlets that issue from the Indian presses."<sup>26</sup> Means of satisfying the Society were formulated by the Bombay Director of Public Instruction, and embodied in the Act of 1867.

The steps taken under this Act, to preserve and record publications make its provisions significant for bibliographical history. Three new areas of regulation were particularly important:

It required every book to have printed legibly upon it the names of the printer and of the publisher and the places of printing and of publishing (sec.III).

Further, it introduced statutory deposit requirements. Until 1890, the Act required the compulsory delivery of three best-quality copies of every book published to the office of the Local Government. Unlike modern compulsory deposit rules, the Act required the officer receiving the three copies to pay for them at the normal retail rate (sec.X). The idea of payment was suggested by Grant, who had been compil-

ing a retrospective catalogue of native publications requested by the Royal Asiatic Society and was well aware of the practical difficulties in getting co-operation from the local publishers.<sup>27</sup> In 1890, the payment for copies delivered was abolished. Thereafter printers were required to deliver copies free to the Government. However, the printer was now required to deliver only one copy in the first instance, though he could be required to deliver a further two copies for up to one year after publication. The first deposit copy was to be deposited in a local public library. From 1871 to 1890 this was, at the suggestion of Grant, the Bombay University Library.<sup>28</sup> The second and third copies were available to be sent to London to the British Museum and to the Secretary of State for India, viz. to the India Office. After 1890, the second and third copies would be acquired and sent only upon request.

Finally, the new law provided for the detailed registration of compulsorily acquired books. Following guidelines suggested by the Royal Asiatic Society, the memorandum of registration was to include the following particulars (sec.XVIII)<sup>29</sup>:

- (1) the title of the book and the contents of the title-page, with a translation into English — ;
- (2) the language in which the book is written;
- (3) the name of the author, translator or editor of the book —;
- (4) the subject;
- (5) the place of printing and the place of publication;
- (6) the name or firm of the printer and the name or firm of the publisher;
- (7) the date of issue from the press, or of the publication;
- (8) the number of sheets, leaves or pages;
- (9) the size;
- (10) the first, second or other number of the edition;
- (11) the number of copies of which the edition consists;
- (12) whether the book is printed or lithographed;
- (13) the price at which the book is sold to the public; and
- (14) the name and residence of the proprietor of the copyright — .

This last item was recorded only where a claim for copyright was made in the manner laid down in the Act of 1847, after payment of the requisite fee. The new Act made no change to the provisions for copyright which already applied under the Act of 1847; it simply provided a new mechanism for recording claims to copyright.

Certain classes of publication were exempted from the registration provisions by the Governor General. Government publications were a major exempt class.<sup>30</sup> There was indecision over whether books reissued without "any additions or alterations"<sup>31</sup> were exempt, as also whether this provision could apply to lithographs.<sup>32</sup>

These memoranda of books received were to be published in a quarterly Catalogue (sec.XIX). The Catalogue was to be published in the local Gazette. In Bombay, the quarterly Catalogue of Books was published as a supplement to the Bombay Government Gazette entitled *Catalogue of Books Printed in the Bombay Presidency*. Copies were sent to London to the Secretary of State for India, and to the Home Department in Calcutta, later Delhi. Copies were also sent to the British Museum, from which the requests for supply of listed books could be made.

Although the Straits Settlements were still under Indian rule when the Indian Printing Presses and Newspapers Act received assent in 1867, the new law did not apply in the Straits Settlements. The Straits Settlements were to become Crown Colonies later in 1867, and in anticipation of this change, the new Indian Act specifically excluded "the Settlement of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, and Malacca" from its effects (sec.I). This left the old Act no.XX of 1847 alone in force in the Straits Settlements. From this point on, the legislation in India and in the Straits Settlements follow different paths.

#### **Straits Settlements Ordinance no.15 of 1886**

For the next twenty years there was no legislation requiring the deposit and preservation of works printed in the Straits Settlements. This neglect was remedied in 1886.<sup>33</sup> In the previous year the British Government had signed the Berne Convention. This Convention agreed on an International Copyright Union respecting

common standards of copyright. In Britain, these standards were embodied in the International Copyright Act of 1886. The passage of this Imperial legislation made enabling provisions necessary in the various colonial jurisdictions where they were lacking, including the Straits Settlements. This was one purpose of Straits Settlements Ordinance no.15 of 1886. This Straits Enactment completely displaced the earlier Indian Act no.XX of 1847. It provided for registration without fee of books notified to the Colonial Secretary's office, and further that such registration would itself be prima facie evidence of copyright in cases of dispute. Unlike the Indian Printing Presses and Newspapers Act, the Straits Settlements Ordinance conferred automatic copyright in all registered books.

In other respects the Straits Settlements Ordinance strongly resembled the Indian Act, as is shown by its long title: "An Ordinance to Provide for the Preservation of Copies of Books printed in the Colony and for the Registration of Such Books". This Straits Settlements Ordinance also required the delivery of three copies of best quality of all printed works, though these were to be delivered to the Colonial Secretary's office free of charge. The three copies were directed to similar destinations: one to a local public library (the Raffles Museum), one to the British Museum, and the third

to be disposed of as ordered by the Governor in Council. The Ordinance provides for a detailed memorandum of registration in the same form as that required for the Indian catalogues, with two differences — namely that item 12 ("whether the book is printed or lithographed") was omitted; and that the last item, recording copyright, was always made out, as copyright was automatically recognised. Like the Indian catalogues, the Straits Settlements memoranda were published quarterly in the Government Gazette. Copies of the published memoranda were sent to the British Museum (in duplicate) and to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

#### **Indian Act no.3 of 1914 (*Indian Copyright Act, 1914*)**

Finally the Indian legislation was brought into line with that in the other colonies, including the Straits Settlements. New copyright legislation had been passed by the Imperial parliament in the form of the Copyright Act 1911. This led to the enactment of the Indian Copyright Act no.III of 1914.<sup>34</sup> It reaffirmed the principle that intrinsic copyright lay with the author, and abolished the payment of Rs 2 for copyright registration which had remained in force from the days of the Copyright Act 1847 via the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867.

### **Appendix II Excerpts from the Bombay Gazette**

Here follow the details of books in the Malay and Javanese languages recorded in the published quarterly *Catalogue of Books Published in the Bombay Presidency (CBPBP)*. Also included are a small number of works in Arabic which were printed in Bombay on behalf of Singapore publishers. The information has been excerpted from the copies of the Catalogues held in the British Library (formerly British Museum). The period covered is from the inception of the Catalogue in 1867 to 1930.

The list is arranged chronologically according to the date of publication (which may differ from the date of registration). The location of each extract in the Catalogue is indicated, and in cases in which a book was requisitioned by

the British Museum, its location in the present British Library (BLOC) collection is indicated.<sup>35</sup>

The long period over which the entries are recorded, the number of different hands involved, and the difficulties even the Government Translator's Office faced when dealing with Malay and Javanese all produce inconsistencies in the descriptions. These have been smoothed over to some degree, though a few important variations in names, and peculiar transcriptions from the period before 1906 are given in the endnotes. The Bombay Catalogue naturally follows Indian conventions of Romanisation. The list below is adapted to Malaysian practice. Thus the letter *waw* is transcribed in the Catalogue as 'v', but

in the list as 'w'. In the Catalogue, for instance, 'Jawi' is always 'Javi'. Similarly with *shin*, the 'sh' of the Catalogue is here 'sy'.

## Particulars

### (1) Title

All the books in this list had titles in Arabic or in Arabic script except *A Guide to English, Hindustani and Malay* (no.47), which must have had an English title.

### (2) Language

While books in the regional languages of Western India are recorded with painstaking precision, often being related to dialect as well as language, this is not so with Javanese and Malay. The term "Javi" is usually applied indifferently to both.<sup>36</sup>

A peculiarity of the Bombay registrations is that the registration clerks have occasionally confused Malay-Javanese with Tamil. The confusion arises because both were unfamiliar to the Bombay clerks, both were printed in Arabic script, and had somewhat similar names, as Tamil was known to the Bombay clerks as 'Arvi'. Ironically, the very first registration of Malay material illustrates this very confusion, for under the heading 'Javi' the first work listed is in the 'Arvi' language, the second in true 'Javi' Malay.<sup>37</sup>

### (7) Date of publication

The dates given are putative dates of publication, not actual dates of production. This is evident in the case of the Alawi press, for which the publication dates of the four *jawi* titles registered imply an output of 2600 copies comprising 304,600 pages (i.e. 76,150 or 38,075 impressions) over a period of 7 days. Also implied is that one-third of the year's output by the Alawi Press appeared in these seven days.

### (9) Size

The Catalogue's imperial measurements are converted to metric.

### (11) Number of copies

Print runs seem generally to be reported reliably. In cases where information on the number of copies appears on the title page of the book, it usually confirms what is in the Catalogue. One instance of divergence is *Manasik al-Hajj* 1907 (no.37), which notes an edition of 3500 on its title page, but is credited with 5000 in the Catalogue. Either the size of the edition increased after the title page had been written up, or there was a clerical slip in the registration procedure.

### (10) First, second or subsequent edition

The least reliable element in the descriptions is the designation of the book as being a first, second or subsequent edition. Not only carelessness is involved here, but also the differing views of what is implied by publication which Padwick noted above. Muslim lithographic publishing was in many respects an outgrowth of the manuscript tradition — in which quite different concepts of originality, reproduction, and proprietorship were relevant.

### (12) Whether the book is printed or lithographed

After 1909, the Catalogue no longer distinguishes between lithography and typography, although the presumption is always for lithography. The main presses involved after 1909, the Karimi Press and the Muzaffari Steam Press are occasionally noted as the Karimi Litho. Press and the Muzaffari Litho. Steam Press.

### (13) Price

As the government was obliged to paying for three deposit copies at the 'normal retail price', reported prices may err on the high side until 1890. After 1890, the record of price is not liable to any particular distortion. However it should be recalled that in the nineteenth century, as today, it was the practice to offer large discounts to selling agents.<sup>38</sup> For convenience, price equivalents are given in Straits dollars converted at the exchange rate of the day.<sup>39</sup>

## Descriptions

1. Syaikh 'Abdul Wahab Sya'rani  
*Al-Yawakit wal-Jawahir fi 'Uqubat ahl al-Kaba'ir* (Precious Gems) — explanation of the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad  
republication  
Arabic and Jawi languages  
Bombay: Syaikh Fazlullah (at Alawi Press)  
issued 20 April 1890  
137pp., lithographed, octavo, in edition of 600 copies, priced As.10 [S\$0.28]  
CBPBP 1890, 3rd quarter, item 408  
BL OC 14620.g.6
2. Syaikh Daud bin 'Abdullah Patani  
*Mi'raj* (Ascent to Heaven) — an account of the Prophet Muhammad's visit to heaven  
republication  
Jawi language  
Bombay: Syaikh Fazlullah<sup>40</sup> (at Alawi Press)  
issued 22 April 1890  
104pp., lithographed, octavo, in edition of 800 copies, priced As.10 [S\$0.28]  
CBPBP 1890, 3rd quarter, item 309  
BL OC 14620.g.2
3. Syaikh Daud bin 'Abdullah Patani  
[*Munyat al-*] *Musalli* (A Guide to One who Offers Prayers) — rules for performing prayers in Islam  
original 1st edition  
Jawi language [sc. Malay]  
Bombay: Syaikh Fazlullah (at Alawi Press);  
© Syaikh Fazlullah Mira  
issued 22 April 1890  
135pp., lithographed, octavo, in edition of 600 copies, priced Rs.1 [S\$0.45]  
CBPBP 1890, 3rd quarter, item 310  
BL OC 14519.c.1
4. Syaikh 'Abdul Ra'uf  
*Tanbih al-Ghafilin* (A Warning to the Careless) — an exposition of some texts from the Qur'an teaching moral and social duties  
republication  
Arabic and Jawi languages  
Bombay: Syaikh Fazlullah (at Alawi Press)  
issued 26 April 1890  
97pp., lithographed, octavo, in edition of 600 copies, priced As.8 [S\$0.23]  
CBPBP 1890, 3rd quarter, item 407  
BL OC 14620.g.3
5. Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (editor)  
*Khatam al-Qur'an* — a book to be studied after reading the Qur'an  
republication  
Jawi language  
Bombay: Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (at Hasani Press)  
issued 20 January 1893  
156pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 600 copies, priced As.6 [S\$0.17]  
CBPBP 1893, 1st quarter, item 238  
ordered for BL but not located
6. Syaikh Daud bin 'Abdullah  
*Munyat al-Musalli* (Hopes of a Praying Man) — shows the importance of the five prayers and the good results flowing from repeating them  
original 1st edition  
Jawi language  
Bombay: Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (at Hasani Press)  
issued 5 July 1893  
136pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.4 [S\$0.13]  
CBPBP 1893, 3rd quarter, item 246  
not ordered for BL
7. Syaikh 'Abdul Ra'uf  
*Tanbih al-Ghafilin* (Admonitions to those who Neglect their Religious Duties) — the book speaks of the duties of the Muslims  
original 1st edition [*sic*]  
Jawi language  
Bombay: Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (at Hasani Press)  
issued 12 July 1893  
98pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.3 [S\$0.10]  
CBPBP 1893, 3rd quarter, item 248  
not ordered for BL
8. 'Abdul Wahab Sya'rani  
*Al-Yawakit* (Rubies) — giving choice admonitions from Islamic law and saying that a close practice of them leads the practitioner to heaven  
1st edition  
Jawi language  
Bombay: Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (at Hasani Press)  
issued 15 July 1893

- 136pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.4 [S\$0.13]  
*CBPBP* 1893, 3rd quarter, item 242  
 BL OC 14620.d.3(1)
9. Syaikh Daud bin 'Abdullah  
*Nikah* (Marriage) — describing details of the ceremonies connected with marriage  
 original 1st edition  
 Jawi language  
 Bombay: Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (at Hasani Press)  
 issued 15 July 1893  
 208pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.4 [S\$0.13]  
*CBPBP* 1893, 3rd quarter, item 247  
 not ordered, but located at BL OC 14620.d.3(3)  
 Title: *Idhah al-Bab li Murid al-Nikah bi 'l-Sawab*
10. Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq [editor]  
*Sifat Duapuluh*<sup>A1</sup> — miscellaneous  
 original 1st edition  
 Jawi language  
 Bombay: Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (at Hasani Press)  
 issued 25 July 1893  
 32pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.2 [S\$0.06]  
*CBPBP* 1893, 3rd quarter, item 241  
 not ordered for BL
11. Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq  
*Bab al-Salat* (A Door to the Mansion of Prayer) — religious extracts intended to be learned by heart  
 original 1st edition  
 Jawi language  
 Bombay: Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (at Hasani Press)  
 issued 25 July 1893  
 16pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.1 [S\$0.03]  
*CBPBP* 1893, 3rd quarter, item 243  
 not ordered for BL
12. Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq  
*Bidayat al-Mubtadi* (Introductory Advice to Beginners) — directions for making ablutions, and saying prayers, and other religious commandments as dictated by Islam  
 original 1st edition  
 Jawi language  
 Bombay: Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (at Hasani Press)  
 issued 1 August 1893  
 120pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.3 [S\$0.10]  
*CBPBP* 1893, 3rd quarter, item 244  
 not ordered for BL
13. Syaikh Daud bin 'Abdullah  
*Mi'raj* (The Ascension of the Prophet Muhammad to Heaven) — description of incidents of the ascension of the Prophet Muhammad to heaven  
 original 1st edition [sic]  
 Jawi language  
 Bombay: Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (at Hasani Press)  
 issued 1 August 1893  
 104pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.3 [S\$0.10]  
*CBPBP* 1893, 3rd quarter, item 245  
 BL OC 14620.d.3(2)
14. Ahmad bin Muhammad  
*Bidayat al-Hidayah* (A Guide to Beginners) — treats of the Islamic faith and belief in one God  
 original 1st edition  
 Jawi language  
 Bombay: Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (at Hasani Press)  
 issued 15 September 1893  
 160pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.3 [S\$0.10]  
*CBPBP* 1893, 4th quarter, item 257  
 ordered for BL but not located
15. Syaikh Daud Syaikh 'Abdullah  
*Sullam al-Mubtadi* (A Ladder for Beginners)  
 original 1st edition  
 Jawi language  
 Bombay: Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (at Hasani Press)  
 issued 24 October 1893  
 200pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.6 [S\$0.19]  
*CBPBP* 1893, 4th quarter, item 258  
 BL OC 14620.d.3(4)  
 Note: copyist Muhammad Taib

16. Syaikh 'Abdul Samad Palembangi  
*Hidayat al-Salikin* (A Guide to Muslims) — gives some extracts from the Qur'an and asserts that he who repeats them daily will attain virtue and salvation  
original 1st edition  
Arabic and Jawi<sup>42</sup> languages  
Bombay: Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (at Hasani Press)  
issued 7 May 1894  
352pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.12 [S\$0.48]  
CBPBP 1894, 2nd quarter, item 323  
BL OC 14620.e.2<sup>43</sup>
17. Ahmad Dairabi  
*Kitab Mujarrabat* (Book of Experiences) — miscellaneous  
original 1st edition  
Arabic and Jawi languages  
Bombay: Maulwi Muhammad Siddiq (at Hasani Press)  
issued 15 June 1895  
96pp., lithographed, royal octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.4 [S\$0.16]  
CBPBP 1895, 3rd quarter, item 196  
BL OC 14623.d.1  
Translator: Awang Kenali daripada ahli negeri Kelantan, i.e. Tok Kenali
18. Syaikh Muhammad Yahya [al-Samarani]  
*Majmu'at al-Syari'at* (A Collection of Traditions) — This is a translation of an Arabic work of the same name. It describes religious customs and traditions among the Muslims  
translation, 1st edition  
Jawa language [sc. Javanese]  
Bombay: 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali<sup>44</sup> (at Muhammadi Press) © 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali, proprietor, Muhammadi Press, no.167, Bhend Bazaar, Bombay  
issued 15 December 1899  
388pp., lithographed, royal octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.12 [S\$0.50]  
CBPBP 1900, 1st quarter, item 109  
BL OC Jav.64  
Note: copyist Muhammad Taib
19. 'Ali bin Muhammad Fajal  
*Munjiyat* (Redeemers)  
1st edition  
Jawi language [sc. Javanese]  
Bombay: 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali<sup>45</sup> (at Muhammadi Press)  
issued 29 January 1903  
312pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 750 copies, priced As.7 [S\$0.29]  
CBPBP 1903, 1st quarter, item 101  
BL OC Jav.57
20. Abu Hamid Muhammad Ghazali  
*Bidayat al-Hidayah* (An Elementary Guide)  
1st edition  
Jawi language  
Bombay: 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali (at Muhammadi Press)  
issued 1 April 1904  
162pp., lithographed, royal octavo, in edition of 800 copies, priced As.7 [S\$0.32]  
CBPBP 1904, 2nd quarter, item 175  
ordered for BL but not located
21. Syaikh Isma'il [Minangkabau]  
*Kifayat al-Ghulam* (Sufficiency to a Slave) — a manual giving the tenets of Islam  
1st edition  
Malay language  
Bombay: 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali (at Muhammadi Press)  
issued 11 April 1904  
104pp., lithographed, royal octavo, in edition of 800 copies, priced As.6 [S\$0.27]  
CBPBP 1904, 2nd quarter, item 176  
BL OC 14629.e.3  
includes *Kifayat al-Ghulam* of Syaikh Isma'il Minangkabau, *Kitab al-Buyu'*, *Kitab al-Fara'idh* of Syaikh 'Abdul Ra'uf al-Fansuri; dated 1321 AH [–1903 AD]
22. 'Abdul Rahim bin Ahmad Kadhi  
*Daqa'iq al-Akhbar* (Minute Details)  
1st edition  
Arabic and Jawi languages  
Bombay: 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali<sup>46</sup> (at Muhammadi Printing Press)  
issued 1 December 1904  
176pp., lithographed, super royal quarto, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.8 [S\$0.32]  
CBPBP 1905, 1st quarter, item 215  
ordered for BL but not located
23. Syaikh Muhammad Arsyad Banjar  
*Perukunan*<sup>47</sup> (A book of that name)  
1st edition  
Jawi language  
Bombay: 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali (at Muhammadi Printing Press)  
issued 1 July 1905

- 50pp., lithographed, super royal quarto, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.5 [S\$0.20] CBPBP 1905, 3rd quarter, item 185 BL OC 14620.h.2
24. Syaikh Muhammad Arsyad Banjar  
*Masa'il al-Mubtadi li Ikhwan al-Mubtadi*  
(Guiding Principles for Brethren who are Beginners)  
1st edition  
Jawi language  
Bombay: 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali (at Muhammadi Printing Press)  
issued 1 July 1905  
32pp., lithographed, demy octavo, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.3 [S\$0.12] CBPBP 1905, 3rd quarter, item 186 BL OC 14620.e.9; IO 306/36.F.18
25. Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal  
*Manaqib* (Eulogy)  
Jawi language [sc. Javanese]  
Bombay: published by the author (at Karimi Litho. Press)  
issued 8 January 1906  
234pp., lithographed, 25 x 16.5 cm, in edition of 1000 copies, priced As.5 [S\$0.18] CBPBP 1906, 1st quarter, item 120 BL OC Jav.75
26. Syaikh Syamsuddin 'Ali 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Kassim Syafi'i [?]  
*Taqrib* (Nearness to God)  
Arabic and Jawi languages  
Singapore: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal (at Karimi Litho. Press, Bombay)  
issued 23 January 1906  
328pp., lithographed, 32 x 22 cm, in edition of 1850 copies, priced As.10 [S\$0.36] CBPBP 1906, 1st quarter, item 235 ordered for BL but not located
27. Haji Muhammad Salih bin 'Umar Samarani  
*Majmu'ah al-Syari'at al-Kafiyah lil-'Awamm*  
(A Complete Collection of Precepts for the Public)  
2nd edition  
Jawi language [sc. Javanese]  
Singapore: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal (at Karimi Press, Bombay)  
issued 25 August 1906  
388pp., lithographed, 21.5 x 16 cm, in edition of 2000 copies, priced As.8 [S\$0.29] CBPBP 1906, 3rd quarter, item 127 BL OC Jav.65
28. Haji Muhammad Salih bin 'Umar Samarani  
*Lata'if al-Taharat* (Graces of Purification)  
3rd edition  
Jawi language [sc. Javanese]  
Singapore: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal (at Karimi Press, Bombay)  
issued 28 August 1906  
96pp., lithographed, 25 x 16.5 cm, in edition of 3000 copies, priced As.4 [S\$0.14] CBPBP 1906, 3rd quarter, item 130 BL OC Jav.83
29. Haji Muhammad Salih bin 'Umar Samarani  
*Munjiyat* (Precepts that Lead to Salvation)  
2nd edition  
Jawi language [sc. Javanese]  
Singapore: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal (at Karimi Press, Bombay)  
issued 30 August 1906  
224pp., lithographed, 25 x 16.5 cm, in edition of 3000 copies, priced As.6 [S\$0.21] CBPBP 1906, 3rd quarter, item 131 BL OC Jav.71  
Note: Kitab Munjiyat compiled from Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din of al-Ghazali; copyist Ahmad Taib
30. Abi Imam Sahli bin Salim Samarani  
*Tashil al-Ghabi min Kissah Mi'raj al-Nabi*  
(A guide giving the story of the ascension of the Prophet for the sake of the forgetful)  
Jawi language [sc. Javanese]  
Singapore: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal (at Karimi Press, Bombay)  
issued 31 August 1906  
48pp., lithographed, 21.5 x 14 cm, in edition of 3000 copies, priced As.3 [S\$0.11] CBPBP 1906, 3rd quarter, item 125 BL OC Jav.69  
Note: According to title page, 1st edition (al-marrah al-awali)
31. Syaikh 'Abdul Samad Palembangi  
*Hidayat al-Salikin* (Directions to the Followers)  
Jawi language  
Singapore: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal (at Karimi Press, Bombay)  
issued 3 September 1906  
140pp., lithographed, 26.5 x 18.5 cm, in edition of 800 copies, priced As.7 [S\$0.25] CBPBP 1906, 3rd quarter, item 124 BL OC 14620.g.11

- Note: includes at the end also *Risalat Najah al-Ikhwān* of Sayid 'Uthman bin 'Abdullah bin 'Aqil bin Yahya al-'Alawi al-Husaini with the commentary *al-Durr al-Nafis* of Syaikh Muhammad Nafis ibn Idris al-Banjari
32. Haji Muhammad Salih bin 'Umar Samarani *Faslatar*<sup>48</sup> — a commentary on the Surahs (verses of the Qur'an) occurring in prayers Jawi language [sc. Javanese]  
Singapore: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal (at Karimi Press, Bombay)  
issued 3 September 1906  
60pp., lithographed, 21.5 x 16.5 cm, in edition of 10,000 copies, priced As.1/6 [S\$0.05]  
CBPBP 1906, 3rd quarter, item 128  
BL OC Jav.82
  33. Munsyi Muhammad 'Ali Hindi *Panj Surah* — five chapters of the Qur'an with directions in Jawi for reading them Arabic and Jawi languages  
Singapore: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal (at Karimi Press, Bombay)  
issued 3 September 1906  
148pp., lithographed, 12.5 x 8.5 cm, in edition of 8000 copies, priced As.1/6 [S\$0.05]  
CBPBP 1906, 3rd quarter, item 318  
not ordered for BL
  34. Haji Muhammad Salih bin 'Umar Samarani *Minhaj al-Atqia'* (An Open Road for the Devout)  
Jawi language [sc. Javanese]  
Singapore: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal (at Karimi Press, Bombay)  
issued 10 September 1906  
516pp., lithographed, 25 x 16.5 cm, in edition of 1500 copies, priced As.8 [S\$0.29]  
CBPBP 1906, 3rd quarter, item 126  
BL OC Jav.66  
Note: composed by Syaikh Zain al-Din al-Malibari; copyist Ahmad Khatib
  35. Haji Muhammad Salih bin 'Umar Samarani *Jawhar al-Tawhid* (The Essence of the Unity of God)  
Jawi language  
Singapore: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal (at Karimi Press, Bombay)  
issued 10 September 1906  
400pp., lithographed, 25 x 16.5 cm, in edition of 1500 copies, priced As.7 [S\$0.25]  
CBPBP 1906, 3rd quarter, item 129  
not ordered for BL
  36. Syaikh Salim bin Syaikh Samirat Hadhrami *Safinat al-Najat* — a book treating of salvation with a Jawi translation Arabic and Jawi languages  
Singapore: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal (at Karimi Press, Bombay)  
issued 10 September 1906  
48pp., lithographed, 22 x 13.5 cm, in edition of 10,000 copies, priced As.1/6 [S\$0.05]  
CBPBP 1906, 3rd quarter, item 319  
not ordered for BL
  37. Haji Muhammad Salih 'Umar Samarani *Manasik al-Hajj* — the ceremonies to be observed in connection with the pilgrimage to Mecca  
2nd edition  
Jawi language [sc. Javanese]  
Bombay: Kadhi 'Abdul Karim Kadhi Nur Muhammad (at Karimi Press)  
issued 16 August 1907  
64pp., lithographed, 21.5 x 14 cm, in edition of 5000<sup>49</sup> copies, priced As.1/6 [S\$0.05]  
CBPBP 1907, 3rd quarter, item 215  
BL OC Jav.31
  38. Syaikh Muhammad bin Kassim *Fath al-Qarib* — laws of religion of the Syafi'i sect  
1st edition  
Arabic and Jawi languages  
Bombay: 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali (at Muhammadi Press)  
dated 1323 Hijri [–1905]; issued 1 January 1908  
344pp., lithographed, 28 x 19 cm, in edition of 2000 copies, priced As.10 [S\$0.36]  
CBPBP 1908, 1st quarter, p.26 (no.1)  
not ordered for BL
  39. Sulaiman bin Haji Ilyas Jahar Bharao *Panj Surah me' Asnad* — selections from the Qur'an  
1st edition  
Arabic and Jawi  
Bombay: 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali (at Muhammadi Press)  
issued 1 January 1908  
152pp., lithographed, 16mo, in edition of 8000 copies, priced As.2 [S\$0.07]  
CBPBP 1908, 1st quarter, p.26 (no.2)  
not ordered for BL

40. Haji Muhammad Salih bin 'Umar Samarani<sup>50</sup>  
*Lata'if al-Taharat* (Beauties of Purity) —  
religious instructions for ablutions etc.  
Jawi language  
Bombay: Kadhi 'Abdul Karim bin Kadhi Nur  
Muhammad (at Karimi Press)  
issued 10 July 1908  
104pp., lithographed, 21.5 x 14 cm, in  
edition of 200 copies, priced As.2  
[S\$0.07]  
CBPBP 1908, 3rd quarter, p.24 (no.1)  
not ordered for BL
41. 'Abdul Rahim bin Ahmad (author); Syaikh  
Isma'il bin Badal (translator)  
*Daqa'iq al-Akhbar* (Minute Descriptions of  
Heaven and Hell)  
1st edition  
Arabic and Jawi languages  
Bombay: Syaikh Isma'il bin Badal<sup>51</sup> (at  
Karimi Press)  
issued 15 January 1909  
208pp., lithographed, 25.5 x 16.5 cm, in  
edition of 2000 copies, priced As.6  
[S\$0.21]  
CBPBP 1909, 1st quarter, p.41 (no.1)  
not ordered for BL
42. Abu Hamid bin Muhammad [Ghazali]  
(author); Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal  
(translator)  
*Bidayat al-Hidayah* — a beginning guide to  
some religious orders  
1st edition  
Arabic and Jawi languages  
Bombay: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal<sup>52</sup> (at  
Karimi Press)  
issued 15 January 1909  
132pp., lithographed, 25.5 x 16.5 cm, in  
edition of 2000 copies, priced As.4  
[S\$0.14]  
CBPBP 1909, 1st quarter, p.41 (no.2)  
not ordered for BL
43. Abu Hamid bin Muhammad [Ghazzali]  
(author); Syaikh Hasyim (translator)  
*Al-Taqrīb* — an introduction to religious  
doctrines  
1st edition  
Arabic and Jawi language  
Bombay: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal<sup>53</sup> (at  
Karimi Press)  
issued 15 January 1909
- 328pp., lithographed, 32.5 x 22 cm, in  
edition of 2000 copies, priced As.11  
[S\$0.39]  
CBPBP 1909, 1st quarter, p.44 (no.3)  
not ordered for BL
44. 'Abdul Rasyid  
*Perukunan*<sup>54</sup>  
1st edition  
Malayu language  
Bombay: 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali (at Muhammadi  
Printing Press)  
issued 1 April 1909  
50pp., 24 x 18 cm, in edition of 1000  
copies, priced As.4 [S\$0.14]  
CBPBP 1909, 3rd quarter, p.30 (no.1)  
not ordered for BL
45. Muhammad Hasyim  
*Ta'rif* — a treatise on the conjugation of  
Arabic verbs  
1st edition  
Arabic and Jawa language  
Bombay: 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali (at Muhammadi  
Printing Press)  
issued 1 April 1909  
64pp., 23 x 18 cm, in edition of 1000  
copies, priced As.4 [S\$0.14]  
CBPBP 1909, 3rd quarter, p.86 (no.1: 'Ara-  
bic-Java — Language')  
not ordered for BL
46. Sayid Muhammad bin Agil  
*Nasa'ih al-Kafiyah* (Perfect Admonitions)  
1st edition  
Arabic language  
Singapore: by the author (at Muzaffari Steam  
Press, Bombay)  
issued 12 May 1909  
226pp., 25 x 16.5 cm, in edition of 5000  
copies, priced Rs.1/4/- [S\$0.71]  
CBPBP 1909, 2nd quarter, p.29 (no.1)  
not ordered for BL
47. M. Rao  
*A Guide to English, Hindustani and Malay*  
1st edition  
English, Hindi and Malay languages  
Keppel Harbour, Singapore: by the author  
(at Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay)  
issued 10 July 1909

- 32pp., octavo, in edition of 1000 copies,  
priced As.12 [S\$0.43]  
CBPBP 1909, 3rd quarter, p.86 (no.1: 'English-  
Hindi and Malay')  
not ordered for BL
48. Muhammad Ghazali  
*Bidayat al-Hidayah* (Commencement of Ad-  
monitions) — containing religious ad-  
monitions and warnings  
1st edition  
Arabic language  
Singapore: Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal (at  
Karimi Litho. Press, Bombay), © Isma'il  
bin Syaikh Badal, Byculla, Dellai Road,  
Bombay  
issued 21 February 1912; copyright 27  
May 1912  
144pp., octavo, in edition of 4000, price  
not known  
CBPBP 1912, 3rd quarter, p.44 (no.1)  
not ordered for BL
49. [author not given]  
*Jawahir al-Ma'alif*<sup>55</sup> (Pearls of Maali) — a  
poem in praise of the Prophet  
1st edition  
Arabic and Jawi languages  
Bombay: Faqir Muhammad Haji Jilani<sup>56</sup> (at  
Muzaffari Steam Press)  
dated 1332 Hijri [-1914]; issued 15 May  
1914  
64pp., octavo, in edition of 1000 copies,  
priced As.2 [S\$0.07]  
CBPBP 1914, 3rd quarter, p.56 (no.1)  
not ordered for BL
50. [author not given]  
*Urdu 'Arabo Tamil Qa'edah* — primer of  
Urdu and Jawi [*sic* = Arvi] language  
intended for beginners  
1st edition  
Urdu and Jawi [*sic* = 'Arvi'] languages [ap-  
parently in error for Urdu and Tamil in  
Arabic script, or 'Arvi']  
Bombay: Faqir Muhammad Haji Jilani<sup>57</sup> (at  
Muzaffari Steam Press)  
dated Muharram 1332 Hijri [- December  
1913; issued 15 May 1914
- 32pp., octavo, in edition of 1000 copies,  
priced As.2 [S\$0.07]  
CBPBP 1914, 3rd quarter, p.64 (no.1)  
not ordered for BL
51. Nuh Sahib  
*Nafhat al-'Itriyah fi Syarh al-Watriyah* (Fra-  
grant Odours) — a commentation upon  
the book Watriyah, containing precepts  
of the Prophet  
1st edition  
Arabic and Jawi languages  
Bombay: Muhammad 'Abdullah (at Muzaffari  
Litho. Steam Press)  
dated 1331 Hijri [-1913]; issued 15 August  
1914  
736pp., 11.5 x 8.5 cm, in edition of 1250  
copies, priced Rs.5 [\$2.85]  
CBPBP 1914, 4th quarter, p.61 (no.1)  
not ordered for BL
52. Haji 'Abdul Rahman<sup>58</sup>  
*I'anatah*<sup>59</sup> *al-Muridin* — Arabic grammar  
1st edition  
Arabic and Jawi languages  
Bombay: 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali (at Muhammadi  
Press)  
dated 1333 Hijri [-1915]; issued 1 May  
1915  
128pp., royal octavo, in edition of 2000  
copies, priced As.8 [S\$0.29]  
CBPBP 1915, 3rd quarter, p.65 (no.1)  
not ordered for BL
53. Hafiz Sahib 'Ali  
*Majmu'ah Maulud Syaraf al-Anam* — col-  
lections of articles and poems with re-  
gard to the nativity of the best of Hu-  
manity i.e. Prophet Muhammad  
1st edition  
Arabic language  
Singapore: published by the author (printed  
by Muhammad 'Abdul Rahman at Khilafat  
Press, Bombay)  
issued 4 March 1927  
207pp., royal [octavo?], in edition of 5000  
copies, priced As.12 [S\$0.40]  
CBPBP 1927, 2nd quarter, p.27 (no.473)  
not ordered for BL

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 Syafi'i, Syaikh Syamsuddin 'Ali 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Kassim 26  
 Syamsuddin 'Ali 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Kassim Syafi'i, Syaikh 26  
 Yahya, Syaikh Muhammad 18

## Appendix III Preliminary list of titles

The following list of titles published in Bombay is intended only to give an impression of the range of books put out by Bombay printers for the Southeast Asian market. It is based upon the Bombay quarterly *Catalogues*, advertisements included in Bombay-printed books, and an unsystematic survey of libraries and other sources. ***It is by no means comprehensive.***

Numbers in brackets refer to the excerpts from the Bombay Catalogues.

- LT [1906] = advertised in *Lata'if al-Taharat*, 1906  
 MZ [1909] = advertised in *Matn al-Zubad*, 1909  
 SZ [1926] = advertised in *Syair Siti Zubaidah*, 1926

**Kitab**

- Akidah bagi Sanusiya Matn Umm al-Barahin — 1901, SZ [1926]  
Alfiah [?] Tauhid Mutarjam — LT [1906]  
Bab al-Nikah — 1881, 1893 (no.9), LT [1906], n.d., etc.  
Bab al-Salat — 1893 (no.11)  
Bahjat al-Mardhiat — 1881, LT [1906], MZ [1909], SZ [1926]  
Bahth 'Arab Bab al-Jama'at — SZ [1926]  
Bidayat al-Hidayah — 1893 (no.14), 1895, 1904 (no.20), 1909 (no.42), 1912 (no.48), SZ [1926]  
Bidayat al-Mubtadi — 1893 (no.12), LT [1906]  
Bidayat al-Salikin — 1894, 1906, LT [1906], MZ [1909]  
Dala'il al-Khairat — 1877, LT [1906]  
Daqa'iq al-Akhbar Jawi — 1905 (no.22), 1909 (no.41), SZ [1926]  
Dhamm Madkhal fi 'ilm Sirf — SZ [1926]  
Du'a Madinah Munawwar — LT [1906]  
Du'a Mekkah Azmah — LT [1906]  
Durr al-Manthur — LT [1906]  
Durr al-Thamim — LT [1906]  
Faslata — 1906 (no.32)  
Fath al-Qarib — 1908 (no.38)  
Fiqh Sunda — SZ [1926]  
Ghayat al-Taqrif — LT [1906]  
Hadith Arba'in — LT [1906]  
Hadith Mikraj — LT [1906]  
Hidayat al-Salikin [= Malay version of:] Bidayat al-Hidayah — 1894 (no.16), 1906 (no.31), SZ [1926]  
Hikam — 1909  
Hukm — LT [1906]  
I'anatah al-Muridin — 1915 (no.52)  
Irsyad al-Anam — LT [1906]  
Isra' dan Mi'raj — 1881  
Jauharat al-Tauhid — 1906 (no.35)  
Jawahir al-Ma'ali — 1914 (no.49)  
Khatam al-Quran — 1891 (no.5), SZ [1926]  
Khutbat Wa'iziyah — LT [1906]  
Kifayat al-'Awamm — LT [1906], MZ [1909]  
Kifayat al-Ghulam — 1904 (no.21), SZ [1926]  
Kifayat al-Mubtadi — LT [1906]  
Kifayat al-'Ulum — SZ [1926]  
Lata'if al-Taharat — 1906 (no.28), 1908 (no.40)  
Lokayanti — SZ [1926]  
Majmu'ah al-Fawa'id — MZ [1909], SZ [1926]  
Majmu'ah al-Syariat — 1899 (no.18), 1906 (no.27)  
Majmuah Khatam al-Quran — LT [1906], MZ [1909]  
Manakib Saiyidina Abdul Kadir al-Jailani — 1906 (no.25)  
Manakib Samman — SZ [1926]  
Manasik al-Hajj — 1906 (no.37), LT [1906], SZ [1926]  
Marsyad al-Wajiz, Al- — LT [1906]  
Masail al-Muhtadi — 1905 (no.24), SZ [1926]  
Matn al-Zubad — 1909, SZ [1926]  
Matn Madkhal Safinat al-Naja — SZ [1926]  
Maulud 'Azab — LT [1906]  
Maulud al-Nabi Barzanji wa Diba' — SZ [1926]  
Maulud Daiba' — 1880s, LT [1906]  
Maulud Syaraf al-Anam, [Majmu'ah —] — LT [1906], MZ [1909], SZ [1926], 1927 (no.53)  
Miftah al-Jannah — LT [1906]  
Mikraj — 1881, 1890 (no.2), 1893 (no.13)  
Minhaj al-Atkia — 1906 (no.34)  
Muhimmat al-Nafa'is — LT [1906]  
Mujarrabat — 1889-90, 1893, 1894 (no.17), 1899, LT [1906], MZ [1909], SZ [1926]  
Munjiat Ihya Ulum al-Din — 1903 (no.19), 1906 (no.29)  
Munyat al-Musalli — 1890 (no.3), 1893 (no.6), SZ [1926]  
Muqadimah al-Mubtadi — LT [1906]  
Muqarin — LT [1906]  
Nafhat al-Itriyah — 1914 (no.51)  
Nasaih al-Kafiyah — 1909 (no.46)  
Nuh Surah — LT [1906]  
Pacis 25 Surah [Quran] — LT [1906]  
Panj Surah — 1906 (no.33), 1908 (no.39), SZ [1926]  
Panj Surah ma' haft Haikal — SZ [1926]  
Perukunan — 1909 (no.44), SZ [1926]  
Perukunan Besar — 1905 (no.23), n.d.  
Quran — 1894  
Safinat al-Najat — 1893, 1904, 1906 (no.36), 1909, 1912, SZ [1926]  
Sifat Duapuluh — 1891 (no.10), 1892, LT [1906], MZ [1909], SZ [1926]  
Sifat Duapuluh Syaikh 'Uthman — SZ [1926]  
Sifat Duapuluh Syaikh Daud — SZ [1926]  
Sifat [Duapuluh] Wong Pulau Jawa — MZ [1909]  
Sullam al-Mubtadi — 1893 (no.15), LT [1906], MZ [1909]  
Sullam al-Taufiq — LT [1906], MZ [1909]  
Sullam al-Taufiq ma' Safinat al-Najat — SZ [1926]  
Syaraf al-Anam — LT [1906], MZ [1909], SZ [1926], 1927 (no.53)  
Syarh al-'Alamat [Fath al-Qarib] — MZ [1909], SZ [1926]  
Syarh — LT [1906]  
Ta'rif — 1909 (no.45)  
Tafsir Hasyimi — n.d.  
Tajwid al-Quran — LT [1906]  
Tanbih al-Ghafilin — 1890 (no.4), 1893 (no.7), LT [1906]

Taqrib, Al- — 1909 (no.43), 1906 (no.26)  
 Tariqat al-'Alayat al-Naqsybandiyah — SZ [1926]  
 Tartib al-Salawat — MZ [1909], SZ [1926]  
 Tashil al-Ghabi — 1906 (no.30)  
 Tasrif Sirf wa Nahu — SZ [1926]  
 Tuhfat al-Raghibin — LT [1906]  
 Umm al-Barahin — 1890, 1891, LT [1906], MZ [1909]  
 Usul al-Tahaqquq/Tahqiq — LT [1906]  
 Yawakit al-Jauhar — 1890 (no.1), 1893, 1893 (no.8), LT [1906]

#### **Amulets**

Ta'widh Darr al-A'la — LT [1906]  
 Ta'widh ismi Al- Husna — LT [1906]  
 Other References  
 "Guide to English, Hindustani & Malay" — 1909 (no.47)  
 Tarasul — 1921, SZ [1926], 1959-60

#### **Hikayat**

Abu Nawas — 1930  
 Abu Syahmah — 1920's, 1935  
 Akhbar al-Karim — 1907, SZ [1926]  
 Ali Hanafiah — 1916-17, etc.  
 Anbia [Hikayat ling Anbia] — SZ [1926]  
 Indera Bangsawan — 1939  
 Kamar al-Zaman — 1893, 1938, 1952  
 Nur Muhammad — 1935

Perempuan 'Asyik — 1934  
 Raja Handak — 1935, etc.

#### **Syair**

Abdul Muluk — SZ [1926], n.d., etc.  
 Bunga Air Mawar — 1874  
 Bunga Akal — n.d.  
 Cincin Hikmat / Nasihat bagi Ugama Islam — 1937  
 Dagang Piatu — 1908, 1927  
 Firasat Nabi — 1934  
 Haris Fadhillah — 1924  
 Indera Putera — n.d., 1926, 1935, etc.  
 Juragan Budiman — 1922, SZ [1926], 1939  
 Kiamat — SZ [1926]  
 Kubur — n.d.  
 Nasihat Laki-laki dan Perempuan — 1937  
 Nur Muhammad — SZ [1926]  
 Pantun Seloka — 1932  
 Pungguk — 1874  
 Saudagar Bodoh — 1939  
 Seri Banian Selindang Delima — 1934  
 Silam Bari / Sinyor Gilang — n.d. [1874], 1933, etc.  
 Takbir Mimpi — 1939, etc.  
 Unggas bersoal ilmu akhirat — n.d., SZ [1926], 1938  
 Yatim Mustafa — 1934  
 Zubaidah — n.d., 1926; 1952, etc.

#### **Notes**

- <sup>1</sup> Beginnings of Cairo Malay-language printing are obscure, owing to difficulties in dating surviving *kitab*. Otherwise, see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1931), pp.286-287.
- <sup>2</sup> Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions: a Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (London: S.P.S.K., 1961), p.xi
- <sup>3</sup> Virginia Matheson & M.B. Hooker, "Jawi literature in Patani: the maintenance of an Islamic tradition", *JMBRAS* 61.1 (1988): 1-86.
- <sup>4</sup> A.K. Priolkar, "Indian Incunabula", pp.129-135 of N.N. Gidwani (ed), *Comparative Librarianship: Essays in Honour of Professor D.N. Marshall* (Delhi: Vikas, 1973); and implicitly K.S. Deshpande, "Towards a Retrospective Bibliography of Books in Indian Languages: Case Study of Kannada Publications", in *ibid.*, pp.162-180.

- <sup>5</sup> This is somewhat less than the proportion 37% of the non-government books advertised for sale by Muhammad Siraj in Singapore in 1897. Cf. I. Proudfoot, "A Nineteenth-Century Malay Bookseller's Catalogue", *Kekal Abadi* 6.4 (1987): 1-11.
- <sup>6</sup> The other causes he noted were: "(3) the wish in some cases to conceal the names of works of a discreditable character; (4) the want of scholarship in some of the Deputy Educational Inspectors; (5) the newness of the whole thing, none of those concerned having had experience of the means to be adopted in framing a catalogue of the kind required —". Sir A[lexander] Grant, Director of Public Instruction, *Catalogue of Native Publications in the Bombay Presidency up to 31st December 1864, prepared under orders from the Government* (2nd rev. edn., Bombay: Education Society's Press, Byculla, 1867), p.6.
- <sup>7</sup> Grant, *Native Publications*, pp.7-8.

- <sup>8</sup> Annotation by K.M. Chatfield, Director of Public Instruction, in *Catalogue of Books Printed in the Bombay Presidency: Supplementary Catalogues 1867-1873*, 1873.
- <sup>9</sup> *Proceedings of the Legislative Council of India*, 1889, vol.28, pp.303-304.
- <sup>10</sup> Allah Rakhio Butt, "The Nineteenth Century Book Trade in Sind" (doctoral thesis, University of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1988), p.132 (no sources given). The amending Act was no.X of 1890, the Press and Registration of Books Act (1867) Amendment Act.
- <sup>11</sup> *International Copyright Act*, §2(2), etc.
- <sup>12</sup> Namely Syaikh Daud Patani's *Munyat al-Musalli* (no.3) registered by Syaikh Fazlullah Mira; *Majmu'at al-Syari'at* (no.18) by Syaikh Muhammad Yahya al-Samarani registered by 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali; and al-Ghazali's *Bidayat al-Hidayah* (no.48) registered by Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal. Why were just these three singled out for special protection? Cf. Butt, "Book Trade in Sind", p.120. Overall about 15-20% of editions registered had claims of copyright, but few of these were by Muslim printers.
- <sup>13</sup> Butt, "Book Trade in Sind", p.119. He adds that piracy was a rare event. It is impossible to square such a statement with the known data. The same title was often printed by a plurality of publishers. Without knowledge of transfer of copyright, or even any grounds for believing that copyright was applicable at all, it is not possible to speak in terms of piracy or lack of piracy.
- <sup>14</sup> Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, p.xii.
- <sup>15</sup> Deshpande, "Retrospective Bibliography", p.171.
- <sup>16</sup> See also Annabel Teh Gallop, "Early Malay Printing: an Introduction to the British Library Collection", *JMBRAS* 63.1 (1990), p.114, n.30. The practice here differs from that followed in the Malayan colonies. In the case of Malaya and the Straits Settlements, so little was published that all was sent back to London.
- <sup>17</sup> K.M. Govi, "The Genesis and Growth of India's National Bibliography", *Libri* 27.2 (1977), p.168.
- <sup>18</sup> Grant, *Native Publications*, p.8.
- <sup>19</sup> Deshpande, "Retrospective Bibliography", p.167.
- <sup>20</sup> Gallop, "Early Malay Printing", pp.103-104.
- <sup>21</sup> The lists are in *Lata'if al-Taharat* published by Isma'il bin Syaikh Badal in 1906 at the Karimi Press (no.28 in the list of registered editions below); and in *Matn al-Zubad* published by 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali in 1909 at the Muhammadi Press (not registered). They are headed "Fihrist kutub jawi matbu'ah Matba' Karimi Bombai" (i.e. List of jawi books printed at the Karimi Press, Bombay); and "Fihrist kutub jawi matbu'ah Matba' Muhammadiat al-Islamiat Bombai" (List of jawi books printed at Muhammadiyah Muslim Press, Bombay) respectively.
- <sup>22</sup> In *Syair Siti Zubaidah*, published by 'Alibhai wa Syaraf'ali at Matba'at al-Muhammadiyah al-Islamiyah. The list of titles available is headed: "Fihrist kutub Jawa wa Malayu maujudah dukkan 'Alibhai wa Syaraf'ali tajiran al-kutub wa malikan Matba' Muhammadi" (i.e. List of Javanese and Malay books in stock [at] the shop of 'Alibhai Syaraf'ali, book traders and owners [of] the Muslim Press).
- <sup>23</sup> William Theobald (ed.), *The Legislative Acts of the Governor General of India in Council from 1834 to the end of 1867 ...* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1868), vol. 1 (1834-1851), pp.617-627.
- <sup>24</sup> *Hikayat Alf Lailah wa Lailah* (Singapore: [Thomas Trusty,] 1878-79); *Hikayat Si Miskin* (Singapore: Thomas Trusty, 1886); Muhammad 'Ali bin Ghulam Husain al-Hindi, *Hikayat Puteri Gul Bakawali* (Singapore: Makhдум Sahib bin Ghulam Muhyiddin Sahib at Denodaya Press, 1880); Bahauddin bin Muhammad al-Syami, *Kitab Saif Allah* (Singapore: Matbaah Haji Muhammad Amin, 1900). *Hikayat Sultan Bustamam* (Penang: Haji Putih Sya'ia, 1895), referring however to Act no. XI of 1835. It is significant that Makhдум Sahib and Haji Putih are both of Indian extraction.
- <sup>25</sup> See also P.K. Sen, *The Press, Publications and Copyright Laws of India* (Calcutta: Sarkar, 1958), pp.1, 81, 132.
- <sup>26</sup> Grant, *Native Publications*, p.3.
- <sup>27</sup> Grant, *Native Publications*, pp.6, 8.
- <sup>28</sup> Deshpande, "Retrospective Bibliography", p.170.
- <sup>29</sup> The Royal Asiatic Society had proposed (1)-(9), (13): Grant, *Native Publications*, p.4.
- <sup>30</sup> Notification no.1294 dated 12 March 1869 (*Gazette of India* 1868 pt.1, p.374). Also exempted were items such as catalogues, play bills, almanacs and calendars, and other non-literary forms of printing: Notification no.5604 dated 21 December 1871 (*Gazette of India* pt.1, p.979).

- <sup>31</sup> In the 1867 Act, this exemption is a blanket one. After the 1890 amendments, it applied only to works whose first edition had previously been deposited under the terms of the Act.
- <sup>32</sup> Notifications under the Act at first provided for exemption of reprints (which was not necessary for they were already exempt in the same words in the Act) and later purported to revoke this exemption. See Notification no.5604 dated 21 December 1871 (*Gazette of India* 1871, pt.I p.979) at item 1; and Notification no.3276 dated 16 August 1872 (*Gazette of India* 1872, pt.I p.777). The wording of the Act refers not to the text of a book, but to its 'letterpress' (sec.IX).
- <sup>33</sup> The Singapore and Malaysian laws are fully described in Lim U Wen, "A Preliminary Survey of a Retrospective National Bibliography for Malaya and Singapore up to 1941", thesis, Diploma in Librarianship, University of London, 1965, pp.15-33. Also I. Proudfoot, "Pre-War Malay Periodicals", *Kekal Abadi* 4.4 (1985): 1-3; "A Formative Period in Malay Publishing", *JMBRAS* 59.2 (1986), pp.102-103.
- <sup>34</sup> The British Act was 1 & 2 Geo V ch.46. For the Indian Act, see Government of India, *Unrepealed General Acts of the Governor General in Council* (4th edn., Calcutta: Supt. of Govt. Printing), p.34.
- <sup>35</sup> Gallop, "Early Malay Printing", p.117, gives a list of the Malay-language publications of the Alawi and Hasani Presses held in the British Library.
- <sup>36</sup> While the two languages were jointly used as the vernacular intellectual media of South-east Asian Islam, they were usually distinguished in Southeast Asia. An exception is *Syair Imbal Unggas* (Singapore: Haji Muhammad Said bin Haji Muhammad Arsyad, n.d. [1893]).
- <sup>37</sup> So also later a book glossed "Primer of Urdu and Jawi language intended for beginners" listed under the heading for "Urdu and Jawi" has as its title, in Arabic script, *Urdu 'Arabo Tamil Qa'edah*, indicating that Tamil, not Malay or Javanese is signified. It has nevertheless been included among the Gazette registrations below as no.50.
- <sup>38</sup> Butt's investigations of Sindi publishing found that in fact reported prices before 1890 were often grossly understated. He attributes this to the inexperience of early Sind printers, a factor which would not apply to the jobbing printers of Bombay city who had to be expert in estimating costs and returns: Butt, "Book Trade in Sind", p.117. Butt also notes that books sold on credit were sold at a premium of, say, 15% (pp.163-164) while it was the practice of booksellers to offer substantial discounts for bulk orders. Advertisements regularly offered 10% - 15% to casual retail buyers (p.118); presumably much more substantial discounts were given to agents.
- <sup>39</sup> Calculating the rupee/dollar exchange rate from data supplied in *Jawi Peranakan* and in M.D. Joshi, "Currency", pp.381-399, in V.B. Singh, *Economic History of India: 1857-1956* (Bombay: Allied, 1965); with C.W. Darbishire, "The Commerce of Singapore", ch. XIII of Walter Makepeace et al., *One Hundred Years of Singapore*, volume 2 (London: Murray, 1921), and Li Dun Jen, *British Malaya. An economic analysis* (2nd edition, Kuala Lumpur: INSAN, 1982).
- <sup>40</sup> "Fazlullá"
- <sup>41</sup> "Sifat Dava Folu"
- <sup>42</sup> "Jáni"
- <sup>43</sup> Gallop, "Early Malay Printing", p.99 provides a photographic reproduction of the title-page of this work.
- <sup>44</sup> "Allybhoy Sharáfally"
- <sup>45</sup> "Alibhai Sharafally"
- <sup>46</sup> "Allybhai Sharafally"
- <sup>47</sup> "Fruknon"
- <sup>48</sup> "Faslátan"
- <sup>49</sup> The title page of the book gives the print run as 3500.
- <sup>50</sup> "Ha'zi Mahomed Onley bin Oomer Samarani"
- <sup>51</sup> "Shaikh Ismail bin Buddeh"
- <sup>52</sup> "Shaikh Ismail bin Buddeh"
- <sup>53</sup> "Shaikh Ismail bin Shaikh Budul"
- <sup>54</sup> "Faro Konan"
- <sup>55</sup> "Jamáhiro Malay"
- <sup>56</sup> "Faqir M. Haji Jelani"
- <sup>57</sup> "Faqir M. Haji Jehani"
- <sup>58</sup> "Rahiman"
- <sup>59</sup> "A'anath"