



Sex Education in Pesantren: The Study of Kitab on Sex Manuals in Pesantren in Bandung, West Java

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Abstract

This paper examines the sexual agency exercised by married Muslim women in Bandung, Indonesia, in their marital relationships. Dominant discourses teach that women should obey their husbands, and most women believe that they should serve their husbands sexually whenever required. Sex is a taboo subject and women should not discuss sex or initiate sex. Their sexual desire is not acknowledged. However, in-depth interviews with 42 married women, and some husbands, found that a few exceptional women managed to challenge or negotiate around these dominant discourses. The paper examines their exercise of agency with regard to the initiation of sex, positions and practices that they prefer, their ability to say no to sex, ways to avoid having sex and their demand for mutual pleasure in sex.

Keywords: *Pesantren, Seks, Islamic Marriage*

“Women came to their marriage beds with...very little exact knowledge of sexual relations or the way their bodies worked.”²
(Bauer, 1985, p. 121).

This quote describes the condition of women on their wedding night in Iran 28 years ago, as reported by Bauer above. This observation is relevant to the contemporary Indonesian context where many women have limited (if any) knowledge concerning sexual relations in marriage. Data from my study suggest that no formal information is given to women about life in marriage or about sexual relations in marriage. Indonesia is still reluctant to offer sex education formally in the school curriculum despite many studies suggesting high demand for it. Almost all the researchers agree that sex education in Indonesia is crucial, not only providing young people with useful information concerning their sexuality and rights but also enhancing their understanding of their sexual responsibilities, e.g. toward their partners, regarding pregnancy, and sexual diseases. Research by Utomo³ and Parker⁴ among school students shows that almost all respondents are keen to have sex education in their school curricula. Many school students have very little information concerning their sexuality, as parents usually do not provide it.

Limited information also influences women's expression of desire. The discussion of sexuality is absent from government textbooks concerning sexuality for young adults.⁵ In the Indonesian context, talking about sex and sexuality is still considered taboo and sensitive despite the display and accessibility of sex in this technological era. The discourse opposing sex education is morally justified on the grounds that it can encourage early sexual experimentation or permissive behaviour. This ignores the fact that sex education is important to give comprehensive knowledge about sexuality, which enables young people to better make decisions concerning their bodies and sexuality.

Consequently, many women know very little if anything about how their body works. Many only find out through experience, for example, at menarche and first intercourse on *malam pertama*. As a result, they never know what to do or what to expect; what bodily changes they might experience, the consequences of such, or how to take care of their body in relation to cleanliness.

As a result, many women prior to marriage have to rely on themselves to find information about marital life, including sex. Preliminary knowledge may already have been obtained through observing their parents' practices and

cultural values. They gain further information from reading books, attending religious meetings or talking with friends, but even so some women have no information concerning marriage and sexuality before marriage. They are even less likely to obtain information on sexual relations than they are on marital life due to the taboo and shame associated with the public discussion of sex in Indonesian society in general.

There are four main sources considered influential in giving information on marriage and sexuality according to the women I interviewed: marriage and sex manual books, *pengajian* (religious gatherings), peer conversation, and social and cultural learned behaviour. This article would only explore one of sources of knowledge described by my participants above: Islamic sex manual books that taught in pesantren in Bandung, West Java.

This article based on data collected in field research conducted from May 2012 to July 2012 in the eastern part of Bandung on Islam and women sexuality. I interviewed 42 primary participants mainly Muslim married women and several religious leaders mostly leaders of the pesantren (*kyai*), who are regarded as having authority in choosing and interpreting the religious texts on sexuality to be taught to their students. The primary participants were selected from different educational and economic backgrounds in order that data would come from a range of different experiences and understandings. Information about the research was given to all the participants and informed consent was obtained. All participants' names are pseudonyms for reasons of confidentiality. Interviews were carried out either in Sundanese or the Indonesian language. All interviews and discussions were audio recorded.

Out of the 42 women interviewed, 33 accessed information on marriage and sexuality from books they read; 13 women learned from socialisation about marriage but not about sex; 15 women learned from religious gatherings; eight received information on marriage and sexuality from friends; four obtained information from parents on marriage and two respondents learned about sex as well from their parents. These data suggest that women commonly gain information from a combination of sources. Meanwhile, seven respondents mentioned that they did not know anything about marriage and sexual life in marriage prior to their marriage. However, I would categorise them as having knowledge from learned behaviour of their parents or

neighbourhood marriages. The consideration is based on that they were brought up in the family where they by intention or not observed their parents behaviour.

Based on the data above, the majority of my participants relied on reading books that specifically informed on marriage and sexual relations which I called Islamic Marriage and Sex Manual Books. In this article I divide these manual books into two categories: the book that written in Indonesian and the book that written in Arabic. For the purpose of this article, I would only explain the second category of the book: the marriage and sex manuals that are written in Arabic and taught in several *pesantren* in eastern Bandung, West Java. Before continuing to the discussion on these kitab, brief description on *pesantren* being researched will be provided below.

Pesantren: A brief Description

The *Pesantren* has an important role in knowledge production and construction of Islamic teachings. There are five *pesantren* that I visited near the site of my fieldwork in Eastern Bandung. In the *pesantren*, I interviewed the *kyai* (leader of the *pesantren*). The five *pesantren* I visited were established in the Dutch colonial period and date back to the 1930s.

These five *pesantren* are connected to each other by family lines, marriage or student-teacher relationships. It is a tradition among *kyai* to construct a strong network among *pesantren* by marrying endogamously among the *pesantren* families.⁶ A *pesantren* usually starts with a small group of people studying classical Islamic textbooks in a small *mushala* (praying hall) or mosque. Then the group grows, with participants coming from other regions and cities. As the group grows, the *kyai* build permanent housing, usually a dormitory, for the students to stay near the *mushala*, and often the *mushala* becomes a fully fledged mosque. The founders of the five *pesantren* around Bandung were people who had a strong commitment to Islamic education, had gained knowledge from other *pesantren* in nearby towns like Banten and Garut, and had financial capacity.

Almost all the *pesantren* I visited are affiliated with NU (*Nahdatul Ulama*, the largest and one of the most prominent Muslim organisations in Indonesia), although not so much with the organisational structure as with their religious practices. All of the *pesantren* can be categorised as *salafiyyah*⁷ (*pesantren salaf*; traditional) as opposed to *pesantren khalaf* (modern).⁸ In *pesantren salaf* they continue the tradition of studying the classical Islamic textbooks known as *kitab kuning* (lit. yellow books, as they are printed on yellow paper). *Kitab kuning* are not uniquely Indonesian in origin. They were written on Arabic coloured paper and many were brought from the Middle East in the early 20th century by *kyai* who visited Mecca for pilgrimage.⁹

In terms of the curriculum in these *pesantren*, the *kyai* has the authority to decide which *kitab* should be learned and which should not, in accordance with the dominant and already established characteristics of *salafiyyah pesantren* in Indonesia and the *kyai's* interests and special expertise. However, as I observed, most of these *pesantren* have a similar curriculum of *kitab*.

There are two methods of studying *kitab kuning* in these *pesantren*: *sorogan* (individual reading) and *balagan* (group reading). In *sorogan*, the person can choose any *kitab kuning* that s/he wishes to study and read. For the *balagan*, it is the *kyai* who chooses which *kitab* should be read.

The *pesantren* is a place where knowledge is produced and reproduced, with the aim of maintaining the tradition of *salafiyyah*. Oral transmission of knowledge is important in this learning process.¹⁰ Criticism of the content of the *kitab* is avoided and is in fact taboo. The main concern is with the literal meaning which is ascertained by annotating the text word by word; this process is called *ngalogat*.

Guidance related to marriage and sexuality is available in *fiqh* (jurisprudence) under the heading of *kitab/bab al-nikah* (chapter/section on marriage) and only available in the intermediate to advanced level. *Fiqh* is considered the main subject of *pesantren* curriculum as it is related to everyday guidance.¹¹ *Kitab fiqh* usually begins with the chapter of *thaharah* (purification) and the discussion of marriage is available in the second half of the *kitab* (underlined) (see figure 1 from *Fathul Qorib* by Ibn Qasim al-Ghazzi-d. 918/1512). The students read from the first chapter through to the last.

Figure 1: Content of *kitab kuning* on marriage



Front page Content of the *kitab* Chapter on marriage (underlined)

The popular *kitab kuning* in the *pesantren* that specifically discuss marriage and sexual relations are *kitab Uqud al-Lujain* by Nawawi al-Bantani¹² and *Qurratul ‘Uyun* by Abu Muhammad al-Tihami.¹³ These *kitab* are learnt by *santri* in the advanced level. *Kitab Uqud al-Lujain* is learned as a chosen *kitab* in three *pesantren*: Al-Thani, al-Thalis and al-Robi’, and is offered by individual *ustadz* or to acquiesce to students’ requests. Some students in *pesantren* al-Robi’ and al-Khomis read *Qurratul Uyun* as *sorogan*. However, the *kyai* in *pesantren* al-Khomis teach more recent *kitab* on marital sexual relations, called *Kitab Liqa Bainal al-Zaujain* by Abdul Qadir Ahmad ‘Atha, published in 1980.¹⁴ This *kitab*, according to the *kyai*, is quite new and no other *pesantren* use it. Interestingly, after I informed the *kyai* in *pesantren* al-Khomis about the topic of my thesis, he noted that: “sexual satisfaction influences the intelligence of the child born.” He further explained that it is important to achieve sexual pleasure for both partners. In contrast to all other *kyai* in my area, the *kyai* of *pesantren* al-Khomis is quite progressive in his opinions about marital relationships, the teaching methods and the *kitab* used in his *pesantren*.

Islamic Marriage and sex Manual Books

Manual book according to Oxford Dictionary is “a book giving instructions or information” (Oxford Dictionary, 2010). A marriage and sex manual book is a book that contains instruction and information concerning marriage and sex. It is a practical guide book to sex and married life. For this writing I differentiate this type of book with self-help book on marriage and sex. Self-help book, on the other hand, is “the use of one’s own efforts and resources to achieve things without relying on others” (Oxford Dictionary, 2010). The self-help book on marriage and sex is a book that related to self-reliance to improve the quality of one’s married and sex life. The differences between manual and self-help book on marriage and sexuality is that the former gives instructions as guidance for people who are getting married to find information. The latter, provides advice to married couple to improve the quality of marriage life and sometimes with “therapeutic ideas and values.”¹⁵ Hochschild reports that there is a tendency that this type of “advice book” related to intimate life become more popular in recent time than traditional advice of families or religious authority in America.¹⁶ In Indonesia, the genre of self-help book flourished since the mid-1990s.¹⁷

Most of the participants referred to marriage and sex manual books to find information concerning marriage and sexuality. In this article I categorise two types of books that provide information on marriage and sexuality mentioned by participants. First, books related to marriage and sexuality in Indonesian language which are available in many bookstores. Marriage manual books are becoming popular and can easily be obtained from bookstores in the city centre. Several participants refer to this kind of books they read before marriage, and some of them even still read them today. This type of book provides guidance on marriage and include on sexual life in marriage. Second, classical Islamic book known as *kitab kuning* on marriage and sexuality read by my participants while they were studying at *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school).

Marriage manuals generally contain instructions or advices on marriage from marriage preparation, wedding ceremony, first night, duties and rights for both couples to raising the children. Some books provide discussion on sexual life in more detail than the other books. Most books that were referred

to by the participants are written from Islamic perspectives. Thus, I consider this type of book as Islamic marriage and sex manual. In this article I will review three books of the second category that read by my participants during their study in the pesantren.

The second category of classical Islamic books (*kitab kuning*) read in pesantren on marriage and sex manual are: *kitab Uqud al-lujayn fi Bayan al-Huquq al-Zawjayn* (Marital Bonds on the Explanation of Wife and Husband's Rights), *Qurratul 'Uyun fi al-Nikah al-Syar'iy wa Adabihi* (The Comfort of the Eyes on Shar'i Marriage and it's Etiquettes) and *al-Liqa baina al-Zawjayni fi Dlaw' al-Kitab wa al-Sunnah* (The Congregation between Wife and Husband: The Qur'an and Sunnah Perspectives) all of which are written in Arabic (see figure 2).

Figure 2: *Kitab on marriage and sex manuals*



The most popular book referred to by my respondents is *Kitab Uqud al-Lujayn* (*Uqud*). This *kitab* was written by Syekh Nawawi al Bantani, a famous *ulama* from Banten, in 1878. This *kitab* is very popular in the NU *pesantren* community and has become the main reference relating to marital relationship.¹⁸ This book explains the traditional Islamic viewpoint of the husband-wife relationship on several topics namely: marital duties and rights, the suggestion for women to pray at home, the prohibition of looking at the opposite sex and the advice about the behaviour of women. Most of the explanations in this *kitab* positioned women as secondary to men in marriage, giving her more duties than her husband. The main rule of this relation is that the wife should be obedient to the husband and provide him with sexual

services. Some striking finding of this *kitab* is that the author listed several conditions under which the husband is permitted to hit his wife, namely: when she refuses to beautify herself or to have sex, when she leaves the house without his permission or insults him. In fact, his opinion on violence toward wives has no basis in Islamic texts: it is only the author's opinion. This book mainly provides information about how the wife should behave in relation to her husband and not *vice versa*. It depicts the woman's behaviour as defiant, ill-mannered and stupid. It is the husband's duty to teach her that suggested woman has less intellectual and religious ability. The author emphasised the physical and intellectual superiority of men over women.

Kitab Uqud has been criticised by progressive Muslims in Indonesia as establishing the patriarchal order through an unequal marital relationship. Using many Islamic texts (the Qur'an and hadith - many of them are weak and fabricated), this *kitab* is believed to have influenced many Indonesians in their marital relationship. The Study Forum of *Kitab Kuning* (FK3=Forum Kajian Kitab Kuning) established by Sinta Nuriyah - the wife of former Indonesian President Abdurrahman Wahid - initiated the critique of this *kitab*. This critique aims to trace the validity of the Prophetic reports and to clarify women's position in Islam. According to this group, many hadith cited in *kitab Uqud* have no validity as being reported by the Prophet and have just been fabricated.¹⁹ This group has published a book containing criticism of *kitab Uqud*.²⁰ Unfortunately, the critical versions of *kitab Uqud* are not yet widely known, and students (*santri*) do not read these versions alongside they read *kitab Uqud*.

Another *kitab* that is important in giving information specifically about marital sexual relations in Indonesia is *Qurratul 'Uyun* written by Imam Abu Muhammad al-Tihami. This book contains a sex manual based on Islamic etiquettes in exact detail. The *kitab* starts by encouraging readers to marry and expounding on the benefits of marriage. Then, it explains the guidance of sexual relationships as follows:

1. The favoured and unfavoured times to have sex: Sexual intercourse can be performed at any time during the day or night. The preferable night time to have intercourse are after *shalat 'Isya* (after 7.00pm) or between

shalat Maghrib and 'Isya (between 6.00pm to 7.00pm). It is also recommended to do it on Friday night (p. 28). This *kitab* also explains that it is forbidden to have sex when women are menstruating and after childbirth, and not recommended on certain days like on the night of *Idul Adha* (festival of sacrifice) or during winter when it is too cold or during summer when it is too hot (p. 45- 46, 51).

2. The rituals before intercourse are as follow: Take ablutions, pray two *raka'at*, recite certain prayers (*do'a*)²¹ and recite certain *surah* (chapters) in the Quran. This prayer is believed to prevent the intervention of evil during the sex act (p. 28).
3. Provide list of food that increases and decreases sexual desire (p. 31). Some foods that not recommended to consume that can prevent pregnancy and decrease sexual desire are: sour fruits, milk, olive, and nuts. On the other hands, foods that believed to increase libido are: sweet fruits, chicken, and guava.
4. The important of foreplay before penetration such as touching, necking and kissing the wife's body. This includes the need for the wife to beautify herself (p. 33).
5. The recommended position for sex which is only one position permitted that is men on top (missionary position). Other positions like standing, sitting, side by side, or woman on top is not recommended because can cause certain diseases. In addition, anal sex is condemned (p. 49).
6. The prohibition of forced sex. Sexual relationships between wife and husband should not be performed when one of the spouse is unwilling to do. Unwanted sexual relation can cause marital disharmony. Thus, this *kitab* suggest that sexual relationship should be mutual interest and cooperation between the spouse.
7. Detail instructions to achieve orgasm. To achieve the most exciting sexual intercourse the steps include as follow: lay the wife down and approach her gently and position on top of her, raise her bottom and support it with a pillow; raise her feet and put those on his shoulder. It is believed that this position makes the most enjoyable of the intercourse, creating a very exciting moment for both of them to achieve orgasm (p. 38).

8. The importance of mutual orgasm: the husband should pay attention to his wife's satisfaction and never leave her unsatisfied after sex. The husband should notice the signs of her orgasm (p. 40).

Kitab Qurratul 'Uyun is also popular among *santri* (student) in *pesantren* but less popular than *kitab Uqud*. This *kitab* is considered an advance level in giving information on marital sexual relationships in *pesantren*. Only *santri* who are mature and prepared for getting married can read this *kitab*. Only four respondents mentioned having read this *kitab* compared to 13 women who had read *kitab Uqud*.

Kitab Uqud is usually learned in *pesantren* in intermediate level. Most of the women I interviewed mentioned that when they read it they did not understand its content because at that time they were still a long way from considering marriage. Some women (Ida and Sandra) assessed *kitab Uqud* and the explanation given by the teacher (*ustadz*) as indecent (*jorok*)²² because it gives detail explanation on intercourse by mentioning sexual organ. Ida (aged 36) for example said that she did not follow the guidance in this *kitab* as she was not pleased with the information given which is degrading women's position in sexual relations. But many of my research participants were still significantly informed and influenced by *kitab Uqud* and referred to this *kitab* in their daily sexual relationships.

The third *kitab* is *Al-Liqa baina al-Zawjayn (Liqa)*. It is written by Abdul Qadir Ahmad 'Atha from Cairo in 1980. This *kitab* aims at giving information about wife-husband relationships based on the Qur'an and Sunnah as important aspect because it includes information on bodily cleanliness that can increase couple's intimacy. The book begins explaining the meaning of certain Arabic words available in the Qur'anic verse about conjugal relationship such as the word *sukun* (tranquillity), *mawaddah wa rahmah* (love and mercy) from QS. 30: 21 and *libas* (garment in QS. 2: 187). He explains that the word *sukun* means free from any worried and fear and the couple feel full of love, safe and confidence. The word *libas* means covering each other's limitation by complementing each other. When two people unite in one body at intercourse both of them feel joyful and satisfaction that they can explore each other's body. The word *libas* is mentioned in the Qur'an interchangeably

between wife and husband to show that there is mutuality and tenderness between the couple in word or deed.

Kitab Liqa is promising in giving information on marital sexual relationship as it puts emphasis on mutual need between the couple to fulfil sexual need. Foreplay is strongly recommended for both partners to achieve pleasurable sex like sweet words and kissing (not limited to lips and face). Both wife and husband should experience orgasm. This *kitab* also dismiss the assumption that it is forbidden to be fully naked and without covering while intercourse. The author showed that hadith supported this assumption is *dla'if* (weak/unreliable). The author also provided the *shahih* hadith (valid/reliable report) that it is fine to be fully naked during intercourse and to see each other's naked body (p. 92).

It is very interesting that this *kitab* emphasises that it is the husband's responsibility to make sure that the wife's sexual need is fully served and satisfied. Unfortunately, *kitab Liqa* is yet popular among *santri* in *pesantren*. Based on my observation and interview with the *kyai* in Eastern Bandung, only one *pesantren* use this *kitab* and the *kyai* claimed that no other *pesantren* has included this *kitab* in the curriculum except his own²³.

From the above mentioned *kitab* on marriage and sex manual, the second and third *kitab* is quite promising in giving information on sexuality in less hierarchical relationship and emphasis on mutual satisfaction in fulfilling sex in marriage. These two last books are preferable to read than *kitab Uqud*. And maybe it is time that *kitab Uqud* should no longer be read and displaced by *kitab* that explain equality between the couple like the last two *kitab* reviewed. This review also confirms that *pesantren* has initiated sex education to its *santri* (student).

Conclusion

To conclude, this article shows that there are several sources of knowledge that women identified as giving information on marital and sexual relationships. In this article, one source that is marriage and sex manual books (*kitab*) is identified to giving significant influence in women's daily sexual life.

These kitab are kitab Uqud al-Lujayn, kitab Qurratul 'Uyun, and kitab Liqa bayna Zawjayn. These kitab are taught in several pesantren in West Java, Indonesia. These kitab inform on marriage and more specifically the last two kitab on sexual manuals that give guidance on Muslim sexual life. These kitab give significant influence as they provide the guidance from Islamic perspectives.

After reviewing these kitab, one of the kitab was written with full of gender bias that was kitab Uqud, while the other two, Qurratul 'Uyun and Liqa bayna Zawjayn, were written by accommodating both spouse to experience mutuality in sexual relationships. It is important to promoting sex in marriage should be built to address and acknowledge both parties, wife and husband, sexual desires and fulfilment as suggested by Q.S. 2: 187.

Something should be noted from the above mentioned sources are on Islamic manual books that are learned in *pesantren*. The kitab like *Qurratul 'Uyun* and *Liqa' baina Zawjayn* could be a good way in providing detail information on marriage and sexual relationship. This review confirms that sex education has been initiated within *pesantren* but these should be explained in comprehensive way and avoid gender bias.

In providing sex education in Indonesia, Bennett (2007) suggests that religious values and cultural norms should be considered.²⁴ She says that the Indonesian government has the obligation to ensure “the provision of comprehensive and religiously appropriate sex education for Indonesia’s Muslim youth” (p. 383).²⁵ Bennett (2007) further reports that some *pesantren* have established sex education and reproductive rights in their curricula. Some of the organisations that actively promote sexual and reproductive rights in *pesantren* are P3M (the Society for *Pesantren* and Community Development), FK3 (Forum for the Study of Kitab Kuning), Rahima and the Fahmina Institute.

Endnotes:

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² Janet L. Bauer, "Sexuality and the moral "construction" of women in an Islamic society". *Anthropological Quarterly*, 58, No. 3 (1985), p. 121.

³ Iwu Dewi Utomo, "Reproductive health education in Indonesia: School versus parents' roles in providing sexuality information", *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, 37, No. 1 (2003), p. 107-134.

⁴ Lyn Parker, "Theorising adolescent sexualities in Indonesia - Where 'something different happens'." *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific*, 18. Retrieved 27 April 2011 from <http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue18/parker.htm>.

⁵ Utomo, "Reproductive Health Education in Indonesia", p. 107 - 134; and Parker, "Theorising Adolescence Sexuality in Indonesia," webpage.

⁶ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "The pesantren tradition: A Study of the role of the kyai in the maintenance of the traditional ideology of Islam in Java." (PhD Thesis. Australian National University, Canberra, 1980), p.

⁷The terms *pesantren salafiyah (salaf)* should be differentiated from *pesantren salafi*. *Pesantren salafi* and the *salafi* movement follow the Wahhabi teachings of Saudi Arabia. The *salafi* movement is a fundamentalist Islamic movement which has recently gained popularity in Indonesian Islam. The *salafi* understanding of Islam is quite conservative, with an absolute and strict understanding of the Qur'an and *sunna*.

⁸ Ronald Lukens-Bull, "Madrasa by any other name: Pondok, pesantren, and Islamic schools in Indonesia and larger Southeast Asian region." *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 4, No. 1(2010), p. 1-21.

⁹ Martin Van Bruinessen, "Kitab kuning: Books in Arabic script used in the pesantren milieu: Comments on a new collection in the KITLV library," *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 146, No. 2/3 (1990), p. 226-269; See also Martin Van Bruinessen, "Pesantren and kitab kuning: Continuity and change in a tradition of religious learning." In *Texts from the islands: Oral and written traditions of Indonesia and the Malay world*, Edited by Wolfgang Marschall, (Berne, The University of Berne Institute of Ethnology, 1994), pp. 121 - 146.

¹⁰ Julian Millie, "Non-specialists in the pesantren: The social construction of Islamic knowledge." *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, 42, No. 1 (2008), p. 107-124.

¹¹ Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning," p. 226-269.

¹² Nawawi Al-Bantani, *Uqud al-lujayn fi huquq al-zawjayn (Marital bonds and the explanation of wife and husband's rights)*, (Indonesia: Al-Haromain Jaya, n.d).

¹³ Abu Muhammad Al-Tihami, *Qurratul uyun fi al-nikah al-syar'i wa adabihi (The comfort of the eyes: On shar'i marriage and its etiquette)*, (Indonesia: Al-Haromain Jaya, 2005).

¹⁴ Abdul Qadir Ahmad Atha', *Al-liqa baina al-zawjayni (The Congregation between wife and husband: The Qur'an and sunnah perspectives)*. (Cairo: Dar Al-Turats al-Araby, 1980).

¹⁵ Debra Grodin, "The interpreting audience: the therapeutics of self-help book reading." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 8 (1991), p. 405.

¹⁶ Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The commercialization of intimate life: Notes from home and work*, (California, University of California Press, 2003), p. 13.

¹⁷ Hariyadi, "Islamic popular culture and the new identities of urban Muslim young people in Indonesia: The case of Islamic films and Islamic self-help books." (Unpublished PhD Thesis, The University of Western Australia, 2013).

¹⁸ Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab kuning, pesantren, dan tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia (Classical Islamic texts, Islamic boarding schools, and sufi orders: Islamic traditions in Indonesia)*. (Bandung: Mizan, 1995).

¹⁹ Forum Kajian kitab Kuning (Forum for the Study of Kitab Kuning, FK3), *Kembang setaman perkawinan: Analisis terhadap kitab uqud al-lujayn (The Flower Garden of Marriage: Critical Analysis of Kitab Uqud al-Lujayn)*, (Jakarta, Kompas, 2005), p. 34.

²⁰ There are two versions of this publication: first, the publication under the title of *Wajah Baru Relasi Suami Istri: Telaah Kitab Uqud al-Lujayn (The New Face of Marital Relationship: The study of kitab Uqud al-Lujayn)* (2001), published by LKiS, Yogyakarta ; second, under the title of *Kembang Setaman Perkawinan: Analisis Kritis Kitab Uqud al-Lujayn (The Flower Garden of Marriage: Critical Analysis of Kitab Uqud al-Lujayn)*(2005), published by Kompas, Jakarta.

²¹ The prayer (*do'a*) before intercourse: "Allahumma jannibna syaithan wa jannibi syaithan ma razaqtana"(p. 39)" (O God, protect us from Satan and keep Satan away from the children You grant us).

²² In Indonesian language the word *jorok* originally means dirty, but it is also used metaphorically as *lewd (cabul)* (KBBI= Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia online, 2012).

²³ Interviewed with the *kyai* of *al-Khomis pesantren* on July 13, 2012.

²⁴ Linda Rae Bennett, "Zina and the Enigma of Sex Education for Indonesian Muslim Youth." *Sex Education*, 7, No. 4 (2007).

²⁵ Bennett, "Zina and the Enigma of Sex Education," p. 383.

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