

The Development History of the Yellow Book (*Kitab Kuning*) as Islamic Textbooks in Indonesia Based on the Philology Perspective

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ABSTRACT

This paper is examined the development history of the yellow book (*kitab kuning*) as Islamic textbooks in Indonesia from the perspective of philology. *First*, from the codicology perspective, the yellow book scattered in Indonesia since the 16th to 21st century had a consistent increase in terms of variations of scientific disciplines, the title of the book and media. The purpose of the yellow book originated from *da'wah* (Islamic call) material. It then became a lesson material in *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) before being a reference in *Bahtsul Masa'il* (solving religious issues), lectures, legislation and the MUI (The Indonesian Council of Ulama) fatwa. Before being written by the Indonesian, the yellow book were originally written by foreigners, especially from the Middle East (Arabs, Persian). *Second*, from the textology perspective, the number of yellow book scripts has implications for the significance of the plural text criticism. The yellow book which has long been used by academic society, especially *pesantren*, shows the pragmatic side, reception aesthetics and reception dynamics in the text edition context. *Third*, transliteration and translation of the yellow book started from the hanging translation (*terjemah gandel*) method to interpret its original Arabic language by using the archipelago languages (Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Madura) in the form of Arabic script (*Pegon*). Furthermore, transliteration and translation of yellow book are growing rapidly, especially from Arabic scripts to Latin script and from Arabic to Indonesian.

Keywords: *The Yellow Book (Kitab Kuning), Development History, Philology, Codicology, Textology.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) are Indonesian indigenous Islamic education institutions spread across 34 provinces. Based on data statistics per 14 May 2021, the number of *pesantren* reached 26,974 units, *santri mukim* (the students who settled in a *pesantren* cottage environment) was 1,444,527 and *santri non-mukim* (did not settle in *pesantren*) were 1,202,556, so totaling 2,647,083 *santri*. Provinces that have the highest *pesantren* are West Java (8,343 units, 148,987 *santri mukim* and 306,728 *santri non-mukim*); Banten (4,579 units, 60,897 *mukim* and 96,042 *non-mukim*); East Java (4,452 units, 323,293 *mukim* and 241,006 *non-mukim*); Central Java (3,787 units, 166,605 *mukim* and 132,269 *non-mukim*); and Aceh (1,177 units, 124,922 *mukim* and 50,974 *non-mukim*) [1].

Those *pesantren* have a meeting point in the basic terms of the establishment (*raison d'être*), namely the transmission of Islamic teachings which are recorded in the Islamic classic text of scientific disciplines, including comments (*sharh*) and supercomments (*hâshiyah*). In Indonesia, the classic text of Islam is known as "*kitab kuning*" (yellow books) which refers to the yellow paper used when it first arrives in Indonesia from the Middle East [2]. The similarity of the *kitab kuning* taught in various Islamic boarding schools resulted in homogeneity of life views, culture and religious practices among *kiai* and *santri* throughout the archipelago [3].

As a factual example, in determining the fatwa of religious law through the *Bahtsul Masa'il* Forum, *pesantren* always make the *kitab kuning* as a primary reference through the implementation of three

standard procedures. *First*, if a problem can be answered with an opinion (*qawl; wajh*), that opinion is used as a legal fatwa. *Second*, if a problem can be answered with many opinions (*aqwâl; wujûh*), the *taqrîr jamâ'î* (collective decision) is carried out to choose the opinion which is considered the most accurate as a legal fatwa. *Third*, if a problem is not encountered directly in the *kitab kuning* text (*'ibârah*), *ilhâq* (the contextualization of the *kitab kuning*) is carried out [4].

Despite the significant position of the *kitab kuning*, especially for *pesantren*, research which focus on the *kitab kuning* are relatively minimal. This reality is found by the researchers when tracing the keyword “*kitab kuning*” and “*yellow book*” in 10 reputable journals (accredited by Indonesian Science and Technology Index or *Sinta 1* and 2) in a number of State Islamic Religious Colleges (*Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Negeri; PTKIN*) in Table 1.

Table 1. Research Data for the Special Topic of the Yellow Book (*Kitab Kuning*) in Reputable Journal in State Islamic Religious Colleges (PTKIN)

Journal	Article
<i>Ulul Albab</i> , UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang	Ita Musarrofa, “Analisis Wacana Kritis terhadap Fatwa Bahtsul Masa’il tentang Perempuan”
<i>JiIS (Journal of Indonesian Islam)</i> , UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya	Ibnu Burdah, “Ṭarîqah al-Tarjamah al-Wazîfiyyah al-Mu’jamiyyah al-Mu’allaqah”
<i>Studia Islamika</i> , UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta	Ervan Nurtawab, “The Decline of Traditional Learning Methods in Changing Indonesia: Trends of Bandongan-Kitab Readings in Pesantrens”
	Affandi Mochtar, “Mulâhazah ‘Âmmah ‘an al-Kutub al-Şafrâ’ fî al-Ma’âhid al-Dîniyyah”
<i>Walisongo</i> , UIN Walisongo Semarang	Muhamad Jaeni, “The Nationalism of Javanese Muslim Clerics: Study on Nationalism Discourse of Kitabs by Kiais of North Coast of Central Java in the XIX-XX Centuries”
<i>Ushuluddin</i> , UIN Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau	Muhammad Rikza Muqtada, “The Teaching of Religious Moderation in the Arba’in Hadith of Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi and the Arba’in Hadith of Hasyim Ash’ari”
<i>Al-Jami’ah</i> , UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta	-
<i>Samarah</i> , UIN Ar-Raniry Aceh	-
<i>Jurnal Pendidikan Islam</i> , UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung	-
<i>IJIMS (Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies)</i> , IAIN Salatiga	-
<i>QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)</i> , STAIN Kudus	-

Based on data in Table 1, the following two conclusions can be drawn:

The first one is the lack of research on the special topic of the *kitab kuning* published in a reputable journal which is accredited *Sinta 1* and 2. Ironically, the orientalist Martin van Bruinessen is the one who so intensely produces a written paper related to the special topic of the *kitab kuning*, for examples: a) a book entitled “*Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia*”, Bandung: Mizan, 1995; b) Book Chapter entitled “Pesantren and Kitab Kuning: Maintenance and Continuation of a Tradition of Religious Learning”, in Wolfgang Marschall (ed.), *Texts from the Islands. Oral and Written Traditions of Indonesia and the Malay World*, Berne: University of Berne, 1994: 121-145; c) Book Chapter entitled “Kitab Kuning dan Perempuan, Perempuan dan Kitab Kuning” in Lies M. Marcoes-Natsir & Johan Hendrik Meuleman (ed.), *Wanita Islam Indonesia dalam*

Kajian Tekstual dan Kontekstual, Jakarta: INIS, 1993: 165-174; d) Book Chapter titled “Traditions for the Future: The Reconstruction of Traditionalist Discourse Within NU”, in Greg Barton and Greg Feelery (eds.), *Nahdlatul Ulama, Traditional Islam and Modernity in Indonesia*, Clayton: Monash Asia Institute, 1996: 163 -189; e) An article entitled “Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu”, *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 146 (1990): 226-269.

Second, research on the special topic of the *kitab kuning* is dominated by an educational perspective which is related to either the learning methods or the contents of the *kitab kuning*. In this case, such examples of the *kitab kuning* research which only relate to the learning method are both the research by Burdah (2011) [5], which highlights the *Utawi Iki Iku* method or the hanging translation (*terjemah gandul*) method to interpret the *kitab kuning* in the Pesantren,

and Nurtawab's Research (2019) [6] which examines the *bandongan* method in the recitation of the *kitab kuning*. In the case of the *kitab kuning* research which only relate to the contents of the *kitab kuning* are Jaeni's research (2020) [7] which examines the values of nationalism in the *kitab kuning*, and a research conducted by Muqtada (2019) [8] which compares the moderate thinking of KH. Mahfuzh al-Tarmasi and KH. Hasyim Asy'ari. Moreover, Mochtar's research (1996) [9] is like a general reviewer related to the *kitab kuning* treasury and Musarrofa research (2017) [10] which discussed the function of the *kitab kuning* as a primary reference in the *Bahtsul Masa'il* forum.

Those two above facts have implication for this paper significance to examine the *kitab kuning* from the perspective of historical development in Indonesia by using philology analysis techniques which include codicology and textology. Codicology has something to do with the ins and outs of the physical script of the *kitab kuning*, like its writing media. Textology deals with the text contents of the *kitab kuning*, such as disciplines. Therefore, since this paper is able to enrich scientific research on the special topic of the *kitab kuning*, it is strongly hoped that it is published in a scientific journal of a reputable publication.

2. DISCUSSION

This paper is a library research with a qualitative approach. The data sources are in the form of such literature like books, articles, essays, opinions, news, information or lecture material scattered in various offline and online media, which are relevant to the topic of the development history of the *kitab kuning* in Indonesia and written by both the Muslim experts as insider and non-Muslim experts as outsider.

The research data was analyzed based on a philology perspective. In this context, researchers refer to the online philology lecture delivered by Otong Sulaeman via YouTube on the "Otong Sulaeman" account. Broadly speaking, philology has two main dimensions. First is codicology or manuscript study which is concrete. Second, textology or text study which is abstract [11].

In detail, codicology includes 18 topics: 1) title of manuscript; 2) the script number (such as the script number in the national library); 3) script material (including writing media); 4) watermark (to know the estimated year of publication); 5) manuscript storage; 6) the origin of the script (grant, purchase, copy); 7) the state of the script (intact, not intact, good, damaged); 8) the size of the script (written with a size of centimeters, such as 17.5 cm × 21.5 cm); 9) manuscript thickness (number of pages); 10) number

of lines in each page (including letter size; space); 11) letters or writing system (type, size, ink color, language); 12) text form (prose, poetry); 13) text function (expressing ideas, binding knowledge, communicating ideas, giving responses); 14) the manuscript function (such as the *Muṣḥaf al-Qur'an* as a requirement for the procession of taking the presidential oath); 15) writer (author, *muallif*) and copyist (scribe, *warrâq*); 16) history of writing and copying (usually seen in colofon); 17) illustrations (images related to the contents of the script); 18) illumination (picture as a mere decoration).

Textology covers 4 main topics: 1) text criticism related to single and plural manuscripts; 2) text edition, both related to script errors that include: *lakuna* (there are words or sentences that are exceeded); substitution (word replacement); addition (for letters or syllables); omissions (unspoken letters or syllables); interpolation (inserted words); substitution-interpolation; dittography (repetition of syllables or the same word); metathesis (sound sequences exchange or *typo*); Or related to the value of a text for people in terms of pragmatic, reception aesthetics, reception and intertextuality dynamics; Including a work must be produced from cultural space, not a vacuum one; 3) transliteration (writing system scriptness), such as Latin script to Arabic script in the form of Arab-Pegon or vice versa; and the word absorption, both through the adoption process (take it completely); adaptation (taking the meaning of foreign words, then adjusted the spelling); translation and creations (take basic concepts then change them creatively); 4) translation (transition of meaning or message) related to source text, source language, target text, target language; translation accuracy based on understanding of translators and supported language editors and content editors; and a good form of translation, namely natural (the text translated is not realized by the readers) and effective (correct, saving, careful, logical, parallel, according to culture).

3. THE DEVELOPMENT HISTORY OF *KITAB KUNING* BASED ON CODICOLOGY PERSPECTIVE

The 18 topics of codicology which are used as the theoretical perspective can be simplified into three main topics related to the development history of the *kitab kuning* in Indonesia. First is the *kitab kuning* text and script identity. Second is the text and script function of *kitab kuning*. Third is the authors-copyists and writing-copying of *kitab kuning*.

3.1. *Kitab Kuning Text and Script Identity*

3.1.1. *Book Titles and Scientific Disciplines*

Historian experts have difficulty to find data related to *kitab kuning* used by *pesantren* in the early growth: at the time of Sunan Maulana Malik Ibrahim (d. 1419 M). Yet, during the Sunan Giri period, there was a little information. According to Pesantren Luhur, Sunan Giri teaches the Qur'an, Hadith and 'Sittina' book that contains worship law, especially prayers. In the period of Demak (mid-16th century), *pesantren* taught the basics of Islamic teachings through the book of *Ushul Nem Bis*, which was a single handwritten book containing 6 books starting with the sentence of *Bismi Allâh al-Rahmân al-Rahîm*, the work of Samarkand or Uzbekistan scholars (Sunan Ibrahim Asmaraqandi). *Pesantren* also teach the book of *Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn* by Jalâl al-dîn al-Maḥallî and Jalâl al-dîn al-Suyûtî; *Suluk* Sunan Bonang, *Suluk* Sunan Kalijaga and *Wasita Jati* Sunan Geseng in the form of a hand-written dictate. In the 18th century, the *pesantren* in Mataram had used the *kitab kuning* of *Taqrîb* by Abû Shujâ' and *Bidâyah al-Hidâyah* by Imâm al-Ghazâlî [12].

Starting from the 19th century to the 20th century, the *kitab kuning* studied in *pesantren* is increasingly varied both in terms of book titles and disciplines. For example, according to Bruinessen, in the 19th century, the *pesantren* only used *Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn*. In the 20th century, there were ten of the books of Arabic, Malay, Java and Indonesian *tafsîr*. In terms of discipline, in the 19th century, the Books of Hadith, *târikh* (Islamic history), *manṭiq* (logic), *uṣûl al-Fiqh* and *falak* (Islamic astronomy) were not mentioned at all by Berg. Then the five disciplines developed in the 20th century [13].

In the 21st century, there were more and more *pesantren* used "white books" (*kitab putih*; *al-kutub al-'aşriyyah*) as a reference, specifically the books of contemporary scholars whose writing methods follow modern rules and cross *madhhabs*. One of the examples is the book of *al-Fiqh al-Islamî wa Adillatuhu* by Wahbah al-Zuhaylî which is recognized as such a *Mu'tabar* (trusted) Book by *pesantren* scholars during the 31st Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Congress in Boyolali in 2004 that it can be used as a reference in the National Level of *Bahtsul Masa'il* [14].

The above explanation shows that the development history of the *kitab kuning* in Indonesia since the 16th to 21st century had a consistent improvement in terms of variations in book titles and disciplines.

3.1.2. *Writing Media and Characteristics of the Yellow Books*

Bruinessen said that when he first arrived in Indonesia from the Middle East, the *kitab kuning* used yellow paper as its writing media [15]. The use of paper as writing media can be tracked in the history of Islamic civilization globally.

According to Hitti, until the beginning of the 3rd century Hijriyah (H), the written media which is commonly used is parchment (from animal skin) and papyrus. Then in the 3rd century H, precisely in 751 AD, some Chinese prisoners introduced the art of paper making from flax, linen or flax fabrics. The paper industry, then, developed which first initiated in Samarkand then spread to Iraq. In 794 AD (8th century), the first paper factory stood in Baghdad. Paper was used for writing state official documents in the Caliph Harun al-Rashid period. At the end of the 10th century, paper replaced parchment and papyrus in all regions of Muslims [16].

"Arabic paper" or "Islamic paper" which was widely used for writing various documents and books has led to the Arabic standardization and cultural transitions from oral to the writing. In the end, it increases literacy figures, dissemination of knowledge systems and human resource quality. In the context of *kitab kuning*, paper exported from China, which was made of mulberry trees, used as a material for the writing of Arabic manuscripts written in the range of years 721/722 to 780 AM. The first book published manually was the work of al-Râzî in the 9th century, using three materials, namely papyrus, parchment and paper. Ibn al-Nâdhim, one of the 10th century bibliographers, collected a list of books and scripts written by using paper and ink [17].

The paper used for printing Islamic books was initially yellow as the chemical technology had not been able to produce white paper. Therefore, Islamic books were printed using yellow paper. Therefore, the Islamic books are now known as a *kitab kuning* though there are currently many Islamic books printed with white paper. The yellow colour has a number of advantages, such as not dazzling the eyes and the mention of the *kitab kuning* suggests special characteristics attached to it [18].

The characteristics of the *kitab kuning* include the paper length and width which is around 26 cm [19] not combined as a whole but is bound by a separated referred to the *koras* term. In other words, every *kitab kuning* consists of several *koras*, while each *koras* contains around 8 to 20 pages. Thus, when participating in the recitation, the *santri* (*pesantren*'s

students) just need to bring such a necessary *koras* that they do not need to bring all the *koras* [20].

The famous *kitab kuning* publishers in Indonesia are: Al-Hidayah, Salim Nabhan (Surabaya), Lirboyo Press (Kediri), Al-Turats Al-Islami (Jombang), Menara Kudus (Kudus), Toha Putra (Semarang), Al-Misriyya (Cirebon), Maktabah At-Turmusy Litturots (Depok) and Dar Al-Kutub Al-Islamiyah (Jakarta). However, the majority of published yellow books are reprint from original books published in Mecca, Cairo or Beirut, such as Dâr al-Kutub, Dâr al-Fikr, Dâr al-Minhâj [21].

In addition, the characteristics of the *kitab kuning* can be seen from the period of time. There is a *kitab kuning* labeled as a classic book (*kitâb al-muqaddimah; al-turâth*) which is compiled before the 19th century M; and the modern book (*kitâb al-‘aşriyyah*) which is compiled after the 19th century M. According to Tebuieng PDP team in the Fawait (2015), the characteristic of the *kitâb al-muqaddimah* cover: a) It does not have punctuation (commas, point, question mark); b) It does not use paragraphs, but the writing systematics from general to specifics, such as the *kitâb, bâb, faşl, far’, tanbîh* and *tatimmah*. While the typical characteristics of *kitâb al-‘aşriyyah* include: a) using punctuation that helps understanding; b) The contents of the book are the results of literary studies that refer to many references [22].

Other distinctions found are: a) *kitâb al-‘aşriyyah* have a table of contents, footnote and reference, which is unlike the *kitâb al-muqaddimah*; b) *kitâb al-‘aşriyyah* are equipped with such *ḥarakat* (vocalization) that it is easy to read, compared to the *kitâb al-muqaddimah* which is without *ḥarakat* (*gundul*); c) *kitâb al-‘aşriyyah* are generally printed on white paper, while *kitâb al-muqaddimah* are generally printed on yellow paper.

Along with the development of technology, there is a writing media transition from paper to paperless. The yellow book is served in paperless form, such as e-books spread across various online and offline media (generally .pdf format), software (such as al-Maktabah al-Shâmilah), to the special application of the *kitab kuning* that can be downloaded via a smartphone like PlayStore and AppStore.

3.2. The Function of the Text and Script of Kitab Kuning

In principle, Islamic teachings are contained in two sources. First, the source of the revelation is in the form of the Qur’an and Hadith which is absolute, eternal and cannot be changed. This category is called normative Islam (*Islam normatif*). Second is *Ijtihâd*’s

source in the form of a *kitab* or book of Islamic experts, which is relative, temporary and can be changed. This category is called historical Islam (*Islam historis*) [23]. From here, it can be understood that the function of the *kitab kuning* is the elaboration of the meaning of the Qur’an and Hadith based on the results of the *Ijtihâd* experts.

Specifically, Mochtar stated that in the 16th and 17th centuries, the *kitab kuning* was positioned as a *da‘wah* reference. At the beginning of the 18th century, *kitab kuning* functioned as a course in the *pesantren* [24]. In the 19th century, *kitab kuning* was increasingly stable as a *pesantren* curriculum. Then in the 20th to 21st centuries, *kitab kuning* developed in the academic world more massively. Among other things, it functions as a lecture reference in college and primary reference forum *Bahtsul Masa’il*.

Moreover, *kitab kuning* has a significant role on a national scale, especially related to legislation. There are at least two factual evidence. First, *kitab kuning* is a source of formal law in court forums and fatwas. For example, when Sultan Iskandar Muda (d. 1636) ordered the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam in the 17th century M (1607-1636 AD), the *kitab kuning*, which was written by Nuruddin al-Raniri (d. 1658) entitled *al-şirâṭ al-mustaqîm*, was used as a handle of Muslims in Aceh and other regions in Indonesia related to the fiqh of Shâfi‘î *Madhhab*. Second, the *kitab kuning* is a source of national legal material. For example, the *kitab kuning* became one of the sources of preparing laws used in Indonesia such as the Marriage Law No. 14 of 1974 and the Law of the Religious Court No. 7 of 1989 [25].

In responding to national issues in the community, since the past, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) not only has been using the Qur’an, Hadith, *Uşûl al-Fiqh* and *Fiqh* rules as the foundation of the law fatwa issued but also using the *kitab kuning* consistently. For example, MUI Fatwa No 02 Year 2021 About Vaccine Products Covid-19 from Sinovac Life Sciences, Co. Ltd. China and PT Biofarma, which are declared so *suci* and *halal* that they can be used, by referring to the five *kitab kuning*, namely *Şahîḥ al-Bukhârî* by Ibn Baţţâl; *Tuḥfah al-Muḥtâj* by Ibn Hâjar al-Haytamî; *Rawḍah al-Ṭâlibîn* by Imâm al-Nawâwî; *Tahdhîb al-Athar* by Imâm al-Ṭabârî and *Irşâd al-Sârî ilâ Şarḥ Şahîḥ al-Bukhârî* by al-Qaşṭalânî [26].

3.3. Writer-Copyist and Writing-Copying of Kitab Kuning Scripts

Dahlan (2018) said that the majority *kitab kuning* emerged after the Book of *al-Muwaţţâ’* by Imâm Mâlik and *al-Umm* by Imâm al-Shafi‘î. In summary, *kitab kuning* in the sense of the *kitâb mutaqqaddimah* (classic book), was written by *Mujtahid Madhhab* and

Mujtahid Muntaşib in the 10th century M to 19th M. The *kitab kuning* written in the 20th century M was more precisely called the *kitâb muta'akakhirah* (modern book), like the book written by Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau (d. 1915), KH. Mahfuzh Termas (d. 1919-20) and KH. Hasyim Asy'ari (d. 1947) [27]. Whereas according to the Tebuireng PDP team, the classic book is a work of scholars before the 19th century M, while the modern book is a work of scholars after the 19th century M [28].

However, the researchers of Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) have a general understanding that *kitab kuning* is an Islamic book written in Arabic by classical scholars both from the Middle East and Indonesia before the 17th century M (Mochtar, 1996). Furthermore, the authors of the *kitab kuning* come from various regions of Islam, such as: India (Shaykh Zayn al-Dîn al-Malîbârî: the author of *Fath al-Mu'in*); Egypt (Shaykh Zakariyyâ al-Anşârî: the author of *Fath al-Wahhâb*); Andalusia or Spain (Imâm Ibn Mâlik: the author of *Alfiyyah Ibn Mâlik*); Samarkand or Uzbekistan (Imâm al-Bukhârî: the author of *Şaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî*); etc.

Next, there was a transmission of Islamic sciences through the *kitab kuning* of the Middle East (especially Mecca-Medina) to Indonesia carried out by leading scholars [29]. The leading scholars (*ulama*) from Indonesia did not only teach the *kitab kuning* written by non-Indonesian writers but also wrote the work of *kitab kuning* independently. Among the leading scholars of the 16th century M and 17th M were Hamzah al-Fansuri (*Asrâr al-Ârifîn*), Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani (*Jawhar al-Ḥaqâ'iq*), Yusuf al-Makassari (*Safînah al-Najâh*). In the 18th century M, there were Abdus Shamad al-Palimbangi (*Hidâyah al-Sâlikîn*) and Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (*Sabîl al-Muhtadîn*). In the 19th century M, there were Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi (*al-Jawâhir al-Naqiyyah*), Mahfuz al-Tarmasi (*Kifâyat al-Mustafid*) and Imam Nawawi al-Bantani (*Nihâyah al-Zayn*). In the 20th century M, there were KH. Hasyim Asy'ari (*Risâlah Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamâ'ah*), KH. Bisri Mustofa (*al-Ibrîz*), KH. Ihsan Jampes (*Sirâj al-Ṭâlibîn*). In the 21st century, there were KH. Sahal Mahfudh (*Ṭarîqah al-Ḥuşûl*), KH. Maimun Zubair (*al-'Ulamâ' al-Mujaddidîn*) and KH. M. Afifudin Dimiyathi (*Jam' al-'Abîr fî Kutub al-Tafsîr*).

The transmission of Islamic science through *kitab kuning* conducted by figures who are educated in the holy land of Mecca-Medina is immortalized in popular terms used to mention the learning activities of *kitab kuning*, namely “*mengaji* (recitation)”. According to Cak Nur in Amrizal (2018), the recitation is a form of active Javanese verb of “*kaji*” from the word “*hajj*”.

As a result, *mengaji* means “follow in the *hajj* people”: learning Islam in Arabic [30].

4. THE DEVELOPMENT HISTORY OF KITAB KUNING IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF TEXTOLGY

4.1. *Kitab Kuning Text Criticism*

Text criticism includes a single and plural script. If the *kitab kuning* only has one version of the script, it is called a single script. If the *kitab kuning* has many script versions, it is called a plural script. At present, the majority of the *kitab kuning* include plural scripts due to the various versions according to the large number of publishers.

Different publishers might have either different formats of published manuscripts or even different texts. For example, the book of *Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn* which was published by Dâr al-Minhâj in Jeddah Saudi Arabia in 2011 uses the exclusive 8 volume format and equipped with such punctuation including vocalization at the end of the word (*i'rab*) that it is relatively easier to read. While the Book of *Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn*, published by Toha Putra in Semarang Indonesia, which is without the year of publication, uses the 4 volume format and equipped with punctuation but there is no vocalization at the end of the word (*harakat*). Somewhat similar to the publication of the Fathul 'Ulum Kediri Indonesia, which is without the year of publication, uses the 4 volume format, minimal punctuation and without vocalization, but accompanied by the meaning of *gandul* translation.

One of the text discrepancies was found by KH. Thobary Syadzily who identified *tahrîf* in the Book of *al-Ajurûmiyyah*, precisely *Naẓm*: it is read “*Bi-Jâhi Muḥammad*” which connotes to the Messenger of Allah and replaced with the “*Bi-ḥubbi Muḥammad*” which connotes to love to the Prophet Muḥammad [31]. In the context of the philology, this text discrepancy deals with the text edition category since the copyist and publisher have substituted or replaced text.

As the *kitab kuning* has many versions, readers need to apply the criticism of the plural text in order to know the most accurate publication of the *kitab kuning* among the other publications. Moreover, if reading the *kitab kuning* published by publishers affiliated with the *wahhabi*, as has been proven by the above *tahrîf* case, because the understanding of the *wahhabi* often contradicts the understanding of the *pesantren* in Indonesia.

4.2. *Kitab Kuning Text Edition*

The existence of the *kitab kuning* from time to time shows that *kitab kuning* has a pragmatic value for the Indonesian. In addition, the use of *kitab kuning* as learning material and core curriculum in *pesantren* also reflects reception aesthetics. *Kitab kuning* is well

received by experts and educated people, especially the *kiai* who is the caregiver of *pesantren* in Indonesia.

Toto Edi *et al* develop an encyclopedia that covers all the *daras* books in the form of a *kitab kuning* taught in various Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia, which are categorized into seven disciplines as has been summarized by researchers in the following table 2 [32].

Table 2. Disciplines and *Kitab Kuning* Titles in Indonesia Pesantren

No	Disciplines	Titles of the Kitab Kuning
1	<i>al-Qur'an, Tajwid, Tafsir & 'Ulum al-Tafsir</i>	<i>Hidayah al-Sibyân, Tuhfah al-Afâl, Fath al-Aqfâl, Miftâh al-Suhûlah, Tafsîr al-Jalâlayn, Tafsîr Ibn Kathîr, Tafsîr Muḥammad 'Abduh, Tafsîr al-Munîr, Tafsîr al-Qurtûbî, Tafsîr al-Marâghî, al-Itqân fî 'Ulûm al-Qur'ân, Zubdah al-Itqân fî 'Ulûm al-Qur'ân, al-Tibyân fî 'Ulûm al-Qur'ân, Fayḍ al-Khabîr wa Khulaṣah al-Taqrîr, Mabâhith fî 'Ulûm al-Qur'ân.</i>
2	<i>Hadith & 'Ulum al-Hadith</i>	<i>Ṣaḥîḥ al-Bukhârî, Ṣaḥîḥ Muslim, Sunan Abî Dâwud, Sunan al-Tirmidhî, Sunan al-Nasâ'î, Sunan Ibn Mâjah, al-Muwatta', Musnad Aḥmad, Sunan al-Dârimî, Bulûgh al-Marâm, Subul al-Salâm, Jawâhir al-Bukhârî, Riyâḍ al-Ṣâlihîn, al-Arba'în al-Nawâwîyyah, Tanqîh al-Qawl, Fath al-Qarîb al-Mujîb, al-Mawa'iz fî al-Aḥâdîth al-Qudsiyyah, Mukhtâr al-Aḥâdîth, al-Qawâ'id al-Asâsiyyah fî 'Ilm Muṣṭalâh al-Ḥadîth, al-Manhal al-Laṭîf fî Uṣûl al-Ḥadîth.</i>
3	<i>Tawhîd & 'Aqidah</i>	<i>Sharḥ al-Ḥikam, Hujjah Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamâ'ah, Kifâyah al-'Awâm, Risâlah Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamâ'ah, al-Jawâhir al-Kalâmiyyah, al-Ḥuṣun al-Ḥamîdiyyah, 'Aqidah al-'Awâm, Durûs al-'Aqâ'id al-Dîniyyah, Inârah al-Zalâm fî 'Aqâ'id al-Islâm, Ḥâshiyyah al-Dâsûqî 'ala Umm al-Barâhîn, Sharḥ Tijân al-Darâri.</i>
4	<i>Fiqh, Uṣûl al-Fiqh & (Qawâ'id al-Fiqhiyyah)</i>	<i>al-Risâlah al-Badî'ah fî Uṣûl al-Dîn, Sharḥ Safinah al-Najâh, Fath al-Qarîb, Sharḥ Sullam al-Tawfîq, al-Minhâj al-Qawîm, Fath al-Mu'în, Ḥâshiyyah I'anâh al-Ṭalibîn, Kifâyah al-Akhyâr, Fath al-Wahhâb, Minhâj al-Muslim, Ḥâshiyyah al-Bâjûrî, Sharḥ Bahjah al-Wasâ'il, Sharḥ Tuhfah al-Ṭullâb, Tarjamah Nazm al-Farâ'id al-Bahiyyah fî al-Qawâ'id al-Fiqhiyyah, al-Miftâh fî 'Ilm al-Farâ'id, Mabâdi' Awwaliyyah, Ḥâshiyyah al-Dimyâtî 'ala Sharḥ al-Waraqât, al-Luma' fî Uṣûl al-Fiqh.</i>
5	<i>Akhlâq & Taṣawwuf</i>	<i>Ta'lim al-Muta'allim, Adâb al-'Âlim wa al-Muta'allim, al-Naṣâ'ih al-Dîniyyah, Bidâyah al-Hidâyah, Naṣâ'ih al-'Ibâd, Izah al-Nâshi'în, al-Minah al-Saniyyah, Irshâd al-'Ibâd, Sharḥ Kifâyah al-Atqiyâ', Risâlah al-Mu'awanah, Qâmi' al-Ṭughyân, Taisîr al-Khallâq, Washâyâ al-Abâ' li al-Abnâ', al-Akhlâq li al-Banîn, al-Akhlâq li al-Banât, Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn.</i>
6	<i>Naḥw, Ṣarf, Balâghah & Manṭiq</i>	<i>Matn al-Jurûmiyyah, Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Jiddan, Tashîl Nayl al-Amânî, Nazm al-'Imri'î, Mutammimah al-Ajrûmiyyah, Alfîyah Ibn Mâlik, Sharḥ Ibn 'Aqîl, al-Amthilah al-Taṣrîfiyyah, Nazm al-Maqṣûd, Sharḥ Nazm al-Maqṣûd, Matn wa Sharḥ al-Kaylânî, 'Unwân al-Zarfî fî 'Ilm al-Ṣarf, Qawâ'id al-I'râb, al-Naḥw al-Wâḍiḥ, Qawâ'id al-Lughah al-'Arâbiyyah, Jawhar al-Maknûn, al-Balâghah al-Wâḍiḥah, Idâh al-Mubham, Nazm al-Sullam al-Munawraq.</i>

7	<i>Târîkh & Falâq</i>	<i>Khulâṣah Nûr al-Yaqîn, Durûs al-Tarîkh al-Islâmî, al-Durûs al-Falâqiyyah.</i>
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Various titles of *kitab kuning* and disciplines presented in Table 2 represent reception aesthetics of *pesantren* leaders in Indonesia. In philology theory, the more aesthetics of receptions received by the script or text, the more qualified the text is.

However, there is a reception dynamics in the *pesantren* against *kitab kuning*. For example, in traditional or *salaf pesantren* (such as Lirboyo), *kitab kuning* is examined intensively; While in *pesantren* that have a formal institution such as Tebuireng, *kitab kuning* is still studied but not intensively like a *salaf pesantren*. Whereas in modern or *khalaf pesantren* such as Gontor, *kitab kuning* could no longer be studied as it was replaced with dictates or modules compiled by the teaching board [33].

The reception dynamics are also seen in the use of *kitab kuning* that were previously not studied in *pesantren*. For example, many *pesantren* that use the book of *al-Tadhhîb fî Adillah Matn al-Ghâyah wa al-Taqrîb* by Mustafâ Dîb al-Baghâ, for reviewing the *dalîl* of The Qur'an and Hadith which underlie the Book of *al-Taqrîb* by Abu Shujâ'. This matter cannot be separated from the increasing phenomenon of the needs and criticism of the community to the al-Qur'an and Hadith that underload religious practices, not just based on the *kitab kuning*.

4.3. Transliteration and Translation of Kitab Kuning

Kitab kuning is also called *kitab gundul*, because it is written without such *ḥarakat* that it is difficult to understand by readers who do not master Arabic. To make it easier for understanding, the *gandul* translation method is applied (*al-Tarjamah al-Mu'allaqah*; the translation hangs under the main text). The language used includes Javanese, Madura, Sundanese and Malay [34], in accordance with the main language used in *pesantren* despite all of the Arabic scripts. Thus, this method does not only translates the *kitab kuning* but also also transliterates the language of the archipelago (Java, Madura, Sunda, Malay) into the Arabic script which is known as *Pegon*.

The above reason has led to the *kitab kuning* format which is given the meaning of *gandul*. On the island of Java, especially East Java, *kitab kuning* which is given the meaning of *gandul*, is popularly called the *Kitab Kuning* of "Pesantren Petuk" because it was first introduced by Pesantren Hidayatut Thulab located in Petuk hamlet, Puhrubuh village, Semen district, Kediri regency, East Java Province. At least there are 148

book titles given the meaning of *gandul*. The popular ones are *al-Ajurûmiyah*, *al-Arba'în Nawâwî*, and *Fath al-Mu'în* [35].

According to Bruinessen in Burdah (2011), around the 16th century M, a number of *kitab kuning* were found to be translated into Javanese and Malay with the *gandul* method, including: a) A book on marriage law (*munâkahât*); b) *Qaṣidah Burdah* by al-Bûṣîrî; c) *al-Tamhîd fî Bayân al-Tamhîd* by Abu Syakur; d) *al-Taqrîb* by Abû Shujâ' [36].

The pioneer of the translation activity of the *kitab kuning* in general, which began in the 16th century, was Syaikh Abdul Rauf al-Singkili (1615-1693 AD) (Saridewi, 2016). That is through the book of interpretation of the Qur'an entitled *Turjumân Qur'ân* which translates the Qur'an into Malay with Arabic script (*Pegon*). For example, when interpreting *al-Fâtihah*'s chapter, al-Singkili writes:

... این سورة الفاتحة یانت توجه ایات ...

"Ini Surat al-Fatihah yaitu tujuh ayat" (This is *al-Fâtihah*'s chapter, which is seven verses) [37].

The quotation of *Turjumân Qur'ân* does not only reflect to the translation but also the transliteration of Malay and Latin script into Arabic language and script.

Furthermore, the translation activities of the *kitab kuning* are growing rapidly, especially translations into Indonesian and Latin script. For example: KH.Sahal Mahfudz and KH. Mustofa Bisri translated the Book of *Mawsû'ah al-Ijmâ'* published by Firdaus Library in Jakarta in 1987 with the title of *Ensiklopedi Ijma'*.

Therefore, one of the reserachers, Rosidin, enlivens the translation activity of the *kitab kuning* into Indonesian. That is translating KH. Hasyim Asy'ari which is published in the form of books: a) *Pendidikan Karakter ala Pesantren (Adâb al-Âlim wa al-Muta'allim)*; b) *Fiqh Munakahat Praktis (Ḍau' al-Miṣbâh)*; c) *Inti Fiqih Haji dan 'Umrah (al-Manâsik al-Ṣughrâ)*; d) *Koreksi Peringatan Maulid Nabi SAW (Tanbihât al-Wâjibât)*; e) *Risalah Aswaja: Dari Pemikiran, Doktrin hingga Model Ideal Gerakan Keagamaan (Risâlah Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamâ'ah)*.

5. CONCLUSION

The contribution of this paper is to open the development history of the *kitab kuning* in Indonesia based on a philology perspective. The implication of this paper is to invite academics, especially

researchers, to review the topic of the *kitab kuning* more intensively based on various scientific perspectives (inter-, multi-and and trans-disciplinary).

The combination of library research, field and development (R&D) using a qualitative and quantitative approach can be used massively to explore the *kitab kuning* more and more as it still has minimum attention. It is hoped that the high attention from academic society toward the *kitab kuning* has a positive impact on the quality and quantity of Islamic education, especially for the Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) which are the Indonesian Islamic education institution (indigenous) spread around the archipelago area.

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