

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies

---

Report Part Title: ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN MALAYSIA:

Report Title: ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN MALAYSIA

Report Author(s): Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid

S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (2010)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep05898.5>

---

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



*S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to this content.

JSTOR

## ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN MALAYSIA

### THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE ERA

Although the arrival of Islam on Malaysian shores predated the thirteenth-century milestone preferred by most historians,<sup>1</sup> Islamic education in Malaysia began in earnest during period of the Malay Sultanate of Malacca (1414–1511). As reported in the Malay Annals, Malacca ruler Parameswara's conversion to Islam under the name of Megat Iskandar Syah and subsequent marriage to the daughter of the Sultan of Pasai in 1414, had unleashed enthusiasm for Islamic learning among all sections of society.<sup>2</sup> Within a matter of few decades, Malacca outshone Samudra-Pasai as the hub of Islamic education in the Malay Archipelago. Sultans Mansur Syah (reigned 1456–1477) and Mahmud Syah (reigned 1488–1511) were known to have developed a penchant for sufi theosophy and great respect for the *ulama* (religious scholars, singular *'alim*), whom they frequently consulted either through envoys or direct visits to their homes.<sup>3</sup> As a measure of Malacca's significance, it has been said that the conversion of Java happened in Malacca, as two of the illustrious *Wali Songo* (Nine Saints) deemed responsible for Islamizing Java, Sunan Bonang and Sunan Giri, were educated in Malacca under the tutelage of the Jeddah-hailed Sheikh Wali Lanang.<sup>4</sup> The Pulau Upih institution at which both saints studied is regarded as the prototype of the *pondok*<sup>5</sup> boarding schools that were to sprout across the archipelago in the coming centuries, known by various appellations such as the Persian-derived *langgar*, *pesantren* in Java, *penjentren* in Madura, *surau* in Minangkabau, and *meunasah*, *ranggang* and *balee* in Aceh. After the defeat of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511, the Aceh kingdom (1496–1650) took over Malacca's mantle as the regional centre of Islamic education. As far as the Malay states are concerned, *pondok* schools made

a comeback only in the early nineteenth century, i.e. after the downfall of Aceh, through the efforts of *ulama* from Patani in southern Thailand, although links with northern Sumatra were never severed.<sup>6</sup> Hence, the legacy of *pondok*-style education is mostly found in the northern states bordering Thailand, viz. Kedah, Kelantan and Terengganu.

Until the Second World War, the *pondok* institution was the quintessence of Islamic education in Malaysia. *Pondoks* were established in all Malay states except Johore and the Straits Settlements.<sup>7</sup> The master or *tok guru* had *carte blanche* over his particular *pondok*, but similarities could be detected. *Pondok* schools were funded by the surrounding community and imposed no fees, but many students developed self-sufficiency out of their vocational and agricultural activities. Their length of stay varied according to the number of *kitab*s (religious books) they were mastering at the hands of the *tok guru*, assisted by mature students known as *Kepala Tala'ah* (perusal heads/tutors). Some students moved from *pondok* to *pondok*, depending on the list of *kitab*s on offer on a particular *pondok*'s syllabus and the fame of a *tok guru*, such that the duration of their education might extend to 10 years or even longer. The teaching and learning process was practically a whole day affair, with intermittent recesses devoted to co-curricular training such as farming and calligraphy. The pedagogy employed by *pondoks* was the *tadah kitab* or *buka kitab* (opening the book) method, by which a *tok guru* would sit at the centre of a semi-circle *halaqah* formed by his students when delivering lessons, all of them referring simultaneously to the same *kitab*. Memorization of lessons was strictly emphasized. The overall system was *umumi* (unstructured/general), in that students were neither divided according to age group nor was their progress monitored through examinations; rather, it was the *tok guru* who graduated his students, by way of a simple testimonial, upon satisfaction that he had mastered a subject. At their height, famous *pondoks* attracted students from as far as Sumatra and Cambodia.<sup>8</sup>

For *pondok* graduates who wished to pursue higher education in furtherance of their ambitions to become *ulama*, Mecca was their natural destination. Mecca at the end of the nineteenth century had a thriving Malay diaspora known as the *Jawi* community, boasting prolific

authors of household *kitab*s such as Daud Abdullah Al-Fatani (d. 1847), Nawawi Al-Bantani (d. 1897), Wan Ahmad Muhammad Zain Mustafa Al-Fatani (d. 1908), Muhammad Arshad Al-Banjari (d. 1912) and Ahmad Khatib Abdul Latif Al-Minangkabawi (d. 1916), the first non-Arab to be appointed *imam* (prayer leader) at *Masjid al-Haram* (Grand Mosque) on behalf of the Shafi'ite school of *fiqh*. At *Masjid al-Haram*, teaching was conducted via the same *halaqah* system as in *pondoks*. So close was the relationship between Mecca and Malaya that contemporary travelling accounts unofficially designated Kelantan, the state with perhaps the strongest *pondok* tradition, as *Serambi Makkah* (forecourt of Mecca), a nomenclature hitherto applied only to Aceh. Many of these prominent Mecca-based *ulama* played the role of sufi sheikhs (spiritual mentors) as well. They would bequeath the *ijazah* (right) to teach their particular *tariqah*s (sufi orders) to favoured *Jawi* students, who would then spread such spiritual teachings in Malaya in their simultaneous capacities as *khalifah* (vice-gerent) of a *tariqah* and *ulama* who founded *pondoks* which functioned also as sufi *zawwiyyah*s or *khanqah*s (hospices or hermitages).<sup>9</sup>

It was only in the 1920s that the flow of Malay students shifted in large numbers to Al-Azhar in Cairo, influenced by two developments: first, the advent of the steamship as a mode of transportation plying the Suez Canal route; and second, uncertainties created by the *Wahhabi* ascendancy in Mecca following its capture by Abd al-Aziz Ibn Saud in 1924 and its subsequent absorption into the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, proclaimed in 1932.<sup>10</sup> Although Saudi dominion was generally received with equanimity, the militant excesses displayed by *Wahhabi* warriors in endeavouring to cleanse the Islamic faith, for example by levelling the gravestones of deceased Prophet Muhammad's family members and companions, did alienate the more educated sections of the Malay community in Hijaz.<sup>11</sup>

Al-Azhar played a leading role in Malay students' political socialization and informal education, such that Malay rulers expressed anxiety over the students' exposure to radical nationalist ideas as a consequence of mingling with other nationalities.<sup>12</sup> As a contemporary student famously remarked, "In Mecca one could study religion only; in Cairo,

politics as well.”<sup>13</sup> Malay and Indonesian students never saw themselves as belonging to separate ethnic nationalities, and organized themselves into a single association.<sup>14</sup> Collaborating with Indonesian anti-colonial activists such as Djanan Thaib, Muchtar Lutfi, Iljas Ja’kub and Mahmud Junus, the Malay students launched two politically aggressive journals, *Seruan Azhar* (Call of Al-Azhar) (1925–28) and *Pilehan Timor* (Choice of the East) (1927–28). Free from censorship regulations, these periodicals freely indulged in topics that were taboo in Malaya, focusing on Pan-Islamism, Pan-Malayism (*Indonesia-Raya/Melayu-Raya*) and anti-colonial nationalism.<sup>15</sup> Despite recurrent financial constraints, both *Seruan Azhar* and *Pilehan Timor* enjoyed wide subscriptions and unrestricted circulation throughout Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies.<sup>16</sup>

Upon returning to Malaya, this new generation of Middle Eastern graduates joined forces with the *Kaum Muda* (Young Faction) movement helmed by the Arab-Malay community. Through intermarriage, business enterprise, charitable deeds and the command of Arabic and religious knowledge, these Arabs had gained *entrée* into Malay society and won admiration from local Malays.<sup>17</sup> Together with the *Jawi Peranakan*—locally born Indian Muslims—they started a flurry of publications that highlighted the material backwardness of the Malays in their homeland. Common religious affiliation enabled these Arabs and *Jawi Peranakan* to write as Malays and identify themselves with Malay problems.<sup>18</sup> Operating mainly from the Straits Settlements of Penang and Singapore, their works escaped the censorship imposed in the Malay states by the Islamic officialdom under British auspices. Through their journalistic efforts, the reformist ethos penetrated Malay society. Four *Kaum Muda* proponents were especially prominent, viz. Sayyid Sheikh Ahmad Al-Hadi (d. 1934), Sheikh Mohd. Tahir Jalaluddin Al-Azhari (d. 1956), Haji Abbas Mohd. Taha (d. 1946) and Sheikh Mohd. Salim Al-Kalali.<sup>19</sup> All had been influenced by, and were in close contact with, the *Al-Manar* (The Beacon) circle in Cairo,<sup>20</sup> and through the periodical *Al-Imam* (1906–08), modelled on the Arabic newspapers *Al-Manar* and *Al-Urwat al-Wuthqa* (*The Indissoluble Link*), they disseminated their ideas.<sup>21</sup> Instead of calling for a political overthrow of the colonial government, the *Kaum Muda*’s

prescribed panacea was education, not traditional *pondok* education but a modern *madrasah* system, which combined both instructions in the fundamentals of Islam and Western-influenced educational methods and technology.<sup>22</sup> *Kaum Muda* was a largely urban phenomenon; it suffered from lack of appeal among the rural Malay masses. Under pressure from circumscription imposed by the *Kaum Tua* (Old Faction)-controlled religious bureaucracy, the *Kaum Muda* movement was left politically moribund by the 1940s.<sup>23</sup>

While its political reverberations were short-lived, the *Kaum Muda*'s educational impact was perennial. *Kaum Muda*'s expose of the woes engulfing the Malays awakened societal elites as to the urgency of reform so as not to be surpassed economically and politically in their own homeland. *Pondoks*, whose leaderships were gradually taken over by the returning Middle Eastern graduates, responded to the new reformist wave by converting their *umumi* institutions into *madrasahs* adopting the *nizami* (structured) system, whereby students were demarcated according to proper classrooms based on age-groups, taught curricula which incorporated modern sciences alongside the traditional revealed sciences, and subjected to written examinations.<sup>24</sup> Enrolment was gradually opened to female students. Many of these *madrasahs* fiercely guarded their independence and were the alma mater of many anti-colonial fighters belonging to the leftist stream, which saw a peculiar intertwining between Islamic and Malay nationalist ideals. It is not surprising if some of them became havens for fugitives escaping the security crackdown on Islamic reformists in 1948, eventuating in the disbandment of the *Hizb al-Muslimin* (HM, Party of Muslims), the precursor of PAS, which arose out of a breakaway conference of UMNO *ulama* in 1951.<sup>25</sup> These independent *madrasahs* survived post-independence centralization of Malaysia's educational system by evolving into the SARs whose contentious position in recent years has been noted earlier. Malays were proud to have undergone independent education. As Osman Bakar testifies:

Generally before the Second World War, the government school system was detached from the value system held by Malay society. The *pondok*, mosque and *surau* were the institutions which gave fulfilment to their lives, in all aspects of which Islam was dominant.<sup>26</sup>

Ironically, the apogee of the dearly held *pondok* system coincided with the British “forward movement” in the Malay states, which was closely related to the mid-century economic boom generated by a large-scale increase in tin mining. Differential education formed a cornerstone of British colonial policy. Capitalist penetration heralded secularization of the social order and stratification of Malay society. A landmark was achieved with the signing of the 1874 Anglo-Perak Pangkor Treaty—a model for subsequent British treaties with other Malay states, which specified that a British Resident’s advice “must be asked and acted upon on all questions other than those touching Malay religion and custom.”<sup>27</sup> On the one hand, the British were content to leave the Islamically-oriented *pondok* education unimpaired. On the other hand, the British promoted Malay vernacular education. The Malays deeply distrusted the British intentions in founding Malay schools, which had dispensed with Islamic lessons and which they suspected were used as a front for propagating Christianity; besides, the real need of the Malay peasant was the labour of his children in the fields.<sup>28</sup> The British then realized that some form of Islamic education had to be somehow incorporated into the Malay school curriculum for it to attract Malay parents. They thus converted the scattered Quranic schools into elementary Malay schools, but Islamic elements were officially discriminated against and gradually weakened. For example, teachers of “academic” subjects were put on state payroll, but those of Islamic subjects were forced to rely on parental sponsorship.<sup>29</sup> On the counsel of colonial educationists,<sup>30</sup> Quranic lessons were relegated to the afternoon sessions, giving rise to the term *sekolah petang* (evening school).<sup>31</sup> In the teaching of the Malay language, the Roman alphabet (*rumi*) replaced the Arabic script (*jawi*).<sup>32</sup> Such measures effectively introduced educational dualism dividing the secular and religious streams, which was alien to the Malay-Muslim mindset. So recalcitrant were the Malay masses to the call to send their children to Malay schools that in some states, for instance Selangor in 1891, Malay parents had to be compelled by law.<sup>33</sup>

On the whole, the colonial trajectory of Malay education was extremely unambitious: to train “the sons of Malay fishermen to become better fishermen and the sons of Malay farmers better farmers.”<sup>34</sup> British



colonial educationists never intended that Malay education be a vehicle for the inculcation of reformist ideas, which might predictably pose problems for future intellectual subjugation; hence, the emphasis on “practical” aspects of education.<sup>35</sup> Notwithstanding the benefits to be gained by Malay students in terms of improving literacy and arithmetic skills, Malay vernacular curriculum, by perpetuating colonial-defined categories and knowledge paradigms, served as a tool of indoctrination. For instance, in transmitting knowledge of Malaysian history and geography through textbooks authored by British colonial administrators, the colonial authorities had depicted Islam as far from having a definitive role in moulding the Malays as a distinctive ethnic group and nation.<sup>36</sup> What took place in fact was a colonial invasion of local epistemological space via a set of “investigative modalities”, to use Shamsul’s terms,<sup>37</sup> with such devastating impact that it is still felt today in both the scholarly realm and practical politics. The present author cannot but disagree with Yegar’s insistence that the British “stimulated and strengthened” religious education, and with his ascription of Malay educational backwardness to their “indifference to government-sponsored secular schools”.<sup>38</sup> For Malays who adamantly chose to remain in the religious stream of education, protecting the Islamic identity and worldview of their progeny was of greater value than any of the benefits colonial education could seemingly offer.

It had always been official policy that Malay-medium education be of lower quality than English-medium education, which was afforded only to the offspring of the Malay royalty and aristocracy, and symbolized at the highest level by the establishment in 1905 of the Eton-like Malay College of Kuala Kangsar (MCKK). The purpose of MCKK was to essentially prepare upper-class Malays for loyal service in the colonial administration, and enrolment was later opened for Malays of “lesser birth”.<sup>39</sup> For these privileged scions of Malay nobility, acceptance of the British as a benevolent protector of the Malays as indigenous peoples of Malaya was more forthcoming. This was amply demonstrated during the First World War. When Britain and Turkey fought on opposing sides, the Malay ruling establishment expressed open support for the British, to the extent of organizing public prayers to aid its war effort.<sup>40</sup> As the



country moved towards independence, UMNO, the party of British-educated Malay ruling elites, obtained the leadership of the Malay community by default, or more precisely, by a tacit collusion with the British authorities,<sup>41</sup> who embarked on a witch-hunt of Malay nationalists of leftist and Islamic persuasions. Intellectually and politically, this was to the grave disadvantage of Malay society, for, as Khoo Kay Kim concludes:

... throughout the greater part of the twentieth century, the dynamic elements in the Malay society were to be found not so much among the English-educated intelligentsia but among the products of religious schools, Malay private schools and even Government Malay schools.<sup>42</sup>

### Notes

---

1. Cf. Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, "The Impact of Sufism on Muslims in Pre-colonial Malaysia: An Overview of Interpretations", *Islamic Studies*, 41(3), 469 (2002).
2. Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, pp. 122, 127.
3. Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, pp. 128–129.
4. Osman Bakar, "Sufism in the Malay-Indonesian World" in Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Ed.), *Islamic Spirituality: Manifestations*, London: SCM Press, 1991, pp. 266–267.
5. Derived from the Arabic *funduq*, meaning "a place of temporary residence". In Malay language, *pondok* literally means "hut". Traditional *pondok* schools conventionally had student boarding houses resembling huts built around or near the residence of the *tuan guru* or *tok guru*, as the master is known. See William R. Roff, "Pondoks, Madrasahs and the Production of 'Ulama' in Malaysia", *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, 11(1), 7 (2004).
6. Abdullah Ishak, "Pengajian Pondok dan Kesannya Terhadap Masyarakat di Malaysia" in Abd. Halim El-Muhammady (Ed.), *Pendidikan Islam: Peranannya Dalam Pembangunan Ummah*, pp. 159–160; Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, pp. 189–191; Roff, "Pondoks, Madrasahs and the Production of 'Ulama' in Malaysia", pp. 6–7.
7. Rauf, "Islamic Education", p. 22.

8. For details on the *pondok* educational system, see Abdullah Alwi Haji Hassan, "The Development of Islamic Education in Kelantan" in *Tamadun Islam di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 1980, pp. 192–194; Abdullah Ishak, "Pengajian Pondok dan Kesannya Terhadap Masyarakat di Malaysia", pp. 161–167; Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, pp. 197–218; Roff, "Pondoks, Madrasahs and the Production of 'Ulama' in Malaysia", pp. 7–9.
9. For information on the Malaya-Mecca nexus during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Mohammad Redzuan Othman, "The Role of Makka-educated Malays in the Development of Early Islamic Scholarship and Education in Malaya", *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 9(2), 146–157 (1998); Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak and Mohammad Redzuan Othman, *The Malays in the Middle East: With a Bibliography of Malay Printed Works Published in the Middle East*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 2000, chapters 1–2; Anthony H. Johns, "Islamization in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations with Special Reference to the Role of Sufism", *Southeast Asian Studies*, 31(1), 53–59 (1993).
10. *Wahhabism* originated from the puritanical teachings of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1787), who struck a strategic alliance with a tribal leader, Muhammad ibn Saud (d. 1765), in 1744. It is notorious for its *la mazhabi* (anti-sectarian) doctrine enjoining repudiation of the four Sunni schools of *fiqh*, viz. Shafi'e, Maliki, Hanafi and Hanbali; its excommunication of heretical Muslims; its zealous combat against purportedly idolatrous and innovative practices that had beset Muslims, many of whom were believed to have come under the undesirable influence of popular sufism. See Edward Mortimer, *Faith and Power: The Politics of Islam*, London: Faber and Faber, 1982, pp. 159–169; K. H. Sirajuddin Abbas, *I'tiqad Ahlussunnah Wal-jamaah*, Kota Bharu: Pustaka Aman Press, 1978, pp. 309–332.
11. Literally meaning "the barrier", Hijaz encompasses the vast lengthy region area on the western coast of the Arab peninsula stretching south from the Gulf of Aqaba, separated from the African continent by the Red Sea. Its major cities are Mecca, Medina, Jeddah and Taif. Its forcible merger with Nejd by Ibn Saud in 1926 paved the way for the inauguration of the Saudi Arabian state. On the Malay reaction to the triumph of *Wahhabism*, see Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak and Mohammad Redzuan Othman, *The Malays in the Middle East*, pp. 6, 48.
12. William R. Roff, "Indonesian and Malay Students in Cairo in the 1920's", *Indonesia*, vol. 9 (1970), pp. 74–75, fn. 5.

13. Quoted in Roff, "Indonesian and Malay Students in Cairo in the 1920's", p. 74.
14. Roff, "Indonesian and Malay Students in Cairo in the 1920's", p. 73; Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak and Mohammad Redzuan Othman, *The Malays in the Middle East*, pp. 48–49.
15. Radin Soenarno, "Malay Nationalism, 1896–1941", *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 1(1), 8–10 (1960); William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967, pp. 87–89.
16. Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak and Mohammad Redzuan Othman, *The Malays in the Middle East*, pp. 64–66.
17. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, pp. 40–43.
18. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, pp. 47–49; Khoo Kay Kim, "Sino-Malaya Relations in Peninsular Malaysia before 1942", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 12(1), 95–96 (1981).
19. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, pp. 59–65.
20. The Egyptian Al-Manar circle was led by Muhammad Abduh (d. 1905), former Rector of Al-Azhar University and Grand *Mufti* of Egypt, and his disciple Rashid Rida (d. 1935), both of whom were deeply influenced by the pan-Islamic ideals of Jamal al-Din Al-Afghani (d. 1897). In Malaya, the *Al-Manar* strand was to have the greatest and longest-lasting impact among contemporary reformist impulses; see Fred R. von der Mehden, *Two Worlds of Islam: Interaction between Southeast Asia and the Middle East*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993, pp. 13–14; Azyumardi Azra, "The Transmission of *al-Manar's* Reformism to the Malay Indonesian World: The Cases of *al-Imam* and *al-Munir*", *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, 6(3), 79–81 (1999).
21. Azra, "The Transmission of *al-Manar's* Reformism to the Malay Indonesian World", pp. 82–92; Anthony C. Milner, *The Invention of Politics in Colonial Malaya: Contesting Nationalism and the Expansion of the Public Sphere*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 137–145.
22. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, pp. 75–77.
23. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, pp. 79–81.
24. Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, p. 196; Roff, "Pondoks, Madrasahs and the Production of 'Ulama' in Malaysia", pp. 10–13.
25. Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid, "Malay Anti-Colonialism in British Malaya: A Re-appraisal of Independence Fighters of Peninsular Malaysia", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 42(5), 382–391 (2007).

26. Quoted in Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, p. 196.
27. Quoted in Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Y. Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*, London: Macmillan, 1982, p. 155.
28. Andaya and Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*, p. 231; Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, p. 137.
29. Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, p. 138.
30. Some of the noteworthy figures were A. M. Skinner, first Inspector of Schools appointed in 1871; his successor R. J. Wilkinson, appointed in 1903; and R. O. Winstedt, Assistant Director of Education (Malay) 1916–21 and Director of Education in 1924–31.
31. Rauf, “Islamic Education”, p. 20; Moshe Yegar, “The Development of Islamic Institutional Structure in Malaya, 1874–1941” in Raphael Israeli and Anthony H. Johns (Eds.), *Islam in Asia (Vol. II: Southeast and East Asia)*, Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1984, pp. 196–197.
32. Andaya and Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*, pp. 231–232.
33. M. A. Rauf, *A Brief History of Islam With Special Reference to Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 97–98; Khoo Kay Kim, “Malay Society 1874–1920s”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 5(2), 184–185 (1974).
34. Quoted in Rauf, *A Brief History of Islam With Special Reference to Malaya*, p. 97; see also Abdullah Ishak, *Pendidikan Islam dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, p. 141.
35. Khoo Kay Kim, “Malay Society 1874–1920s”, p. 180.
36. Among the textbooks are R. J. Wilkinson’s *A History of the Peninsular Malays, with Chapters on Perak and Selangor*; R. O. Winstedt’s *Kitab Tawarikh Melayu* (A Book of Malay History) and *Ilmu Alam Melayu* (Geography of the Malay World); and Abdul Hadi Haji Hasan’s *Sejarah Alam Melayu* (History of the Malay World). For an in-depth analysis of all four sources, see Soda Naoki, “The Malay World in Textbooks: The Transmission of Colonial Knowledge in British Malaya”, *Southeast Asian Studies*, 39(2), 188–234 (2001).
37. Shamsul, A. B., “A History of an Identity, an Identity of a History: The Idea and Practice of ‘Malayness’ in Malaysia Reconsidered”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 32(3), 359–361 (2001).
38. Yegar, “The Development of Islamic Institutional Structure in Malaya, 1874–1941”, pp. 196–197.

39. Andaya and Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*, p. 229.
40. von der Mehden, *Two Worlds of Islam*, pp. 7–8.
41. Cf. T. N. Harper, *The End of Empire and the Making of Malaya*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 353.
42. Khoo Kay Kim, “Malay Society 1874–1920s”, p. 197.