STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 19, Number 2, 2012

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ISSN: 0215-0492

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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STUDIA ISLAMIKA *(ISSN 0215-0492) is a journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta (STT DEPPEN No. 129/SK/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976). It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular, and Southeast Asian Islamic Studies in general, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.*

STUDIA ISLAMIKA *has been accredited by The Ministry of Education and Culture, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (SK Dirjen Dikti No. 56/DIKTI/Kep/2012).*

Editorial Office:
STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian
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Website: www.ppim.or.id

Annual subscription rates from outside Indonesia, institution: US$ 75,00 and the cost of a single copy is US$ 25,00; individual: US$ 50,00 and the cost of a single copy is US$ 20,00. Rates do not include international postage and handling.

Please make all payment through bank transfer to:
PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia, account No. **101-00-0514550-1 (USD), Swift Code: bmriidja**

Harga berlangganan di Indonesia untuk satu tahun, lembaga: Rp. 150.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 50.000,-; individu: Rp. 100.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 40.000,-. Harga belum termasuk ongkos kirim.

Pembayaran melalui **PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, No. Rek: 128-00-0105080-3**

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Islam and Modern School Education in Journal *Pengasuh*: Review of the *Kaum Muda - Kaum Tua* Dichotomy

Abstract: *This study analyzes the articles on education that appeared in a journal titled* Pengasuh *to discover the ideas on education in early 20th century Malaya. It explores the thinking on education that motivated Islamic leaders to establish modern religious schools called* madrasah. *The example of the* Pengasuh *shows that new ideas of Islamic learning that supported the spread of new* madrasah *had been shared regardless* kaum muda – kaum tua *dichotomy, contrary to the assumption of previous studies. The main difference between the* kaum muda *and their opponent* kaum tua *is their attitude toward knowledge accumulated in the schools of Islamic law. The discussions in the* Pengasuh *shows strong support for the development of modern Islamic education, without denigrating the old style of Islamic learning.*

Keywords: Islamic learning, *Pengasuh, madrasah, kaum muda, kaum tua*.

Abstrak: *Kajian ini membahas artikel-artikel tentang pendidikan yang terbit di Jurnal* Pengasuh *untuk mengungkap gagasan-gagasan tentang pendidikan di Malaya pada awal abad ke-20. Studi ini mengkaji pemikiran pendidikan yang mendorong para pemimpin Islam untuk membangun sekolah-sekolah agama modern yang disebut madrasah. Kajian terhadap* Pengasuh *menunjukkan bahwa ide-ide baru tentang pengajaran Islam yang mendorong berdirinya banyak madrasah baru telah disebarkan dengan mengabaikan dikotomi* kaum muda – kaum tua, *berbeda dengan asumsi dari studi-studi sebelumnya. Perbedaan utama antara* kaum muda *dan lawannya* kaum tua *adalah sikap mereka terhadap pengetahuan yang dihimpun dalam sekolah-sekolah hukum Islam. Perdebatan dalam* Pengasuh *menunjukkan dukungan kuat bagi pengembangan pendidikan Islam modern, tanpa merendahkan pengajaran Islam model lama.*

Kata kunci: pengajaran Islam, *Pengasuh*, madrasah, *kaum muda*, *kaum tua*.

الخلاصة: تقوم هذه الدراسة بتحليل المقالات التي تتناول موضوع التعليم والتي نشرت في مجلة *Pengasuh* للكشف عن الأفكار حول التعليم في ملايا في أوائل القرن العشرين الميلادي، هذه الدراسة تبحث التفكير التربوي الذي كان يشجع قادة الاسلام على إنشاء المعاهد الدينية الحديثة التي تعرف باسم المدرسة، وتثبت دراسة مجلة *Pengasuh* على أن الأفكار الجديدة عن التربية الاسلامية التي كانت وراء إنشاء كثير من المدارس الجديدة تم نشرها متجاهلا الثنائية بين الشبان والكبار، خلافا لما كانت تفترضها الدراسات السابقة، إن الفرق الرئيسي بين الشبان والكبار يكمن في موقفهم إزاء المعارف التي جمعت في المدارس الفقهية، وكان الجدل الذي يدور في مجلة *Pengasuh* يدل على التأييد القوي لنشر التربية الاسلامية الحديثة بدون التقليل من قيمة الأسلوب التربوي القديم.

الكلمات الاسترشادية: التربية الاسلامية، مجلة *Pengasuh*، المدارس، الشبان، الكبار.

Malaya in the early 20th century saw the establishment of a new type of Islamic school, the *madrasah*,[1] which adopted the model of modern schooling, employing such elements as yearly curriculum, grade system and examinations. The first example of such *madrasah* is believed to be the Madrasah al-Iqbal established in Singapore in 1907. The *madrasahs* spread throughout the Malay Peninsula by the 1930's. Besides some totally new *madrasah*s like al-Iqbal, many of the leaders of traditional institutions of Islamic learning (*pondok*) began to establish *madrasahs* within their compounds. Modern schooling and traditional Islamic learning differ in structure, method and purpose based on their assumptions about "learning". If it is the case, what was the rationale of the Islamic leaders who initiated the establishment of modern Islamic schools? What new concepts about "education" and "learning" supported the establishment of modern *madrasah*s?

This article aims to contextualize the emergence of new ideas on education among Islamic leaders in the early 20th century Malaya using *Pengasuh*, a Malay journal written in Arabic script (*Jawi*). The journal *Pengasuh* was published by the Majlis Agama dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan (the Kelantan Council for Religion and Malay Customs), and its maiden issue was in 1918. Until now, *Pengasuh* is still very much in circulation. The articles used in the analysis are narrowed down to two issues, namely, religion and education which appeared in *Pengasuh* from 1918 until 1922.[2]

The establishment of such schools has been explained as a result of the spread of Islamic reformism espoused by the group called *kaum muda* (young group). Madrasah al-Iqbal was established by the *kaum muda* leaders who also published the journal *al-Imām* as a response to the Islamic reformism of Muhammad Abduh in Egypt. Previous studies generally accepted the claim that the new *madrasah* played the role to spread the ideas of *kaum muda*.[3] Accordingly, such studies tend to describe the spread of *madrasah*s as a result of the influence of progressive reformist ideas.[4]

However, a closer examination reveals that a large number of *madrasah*s were not directly related to the *kaum muda*. William Roff, one of the pioneers of investigating the development of reformism in Malaya based on *kaum muda-kaum tua* perspective never mentioned that these schools reflected the idea of *kaum muda*. What he actually

stressed is that these schools played a crucial role in spreading the ideas of the *kaum muda* leaders. Moreover, there is no empirical basis correlating the increase of *madrasah*s with *kaum muda*. Then what was the idea behind the establishment of new *madrasah*s and how was it related to the idea of *kaum muda* and *kaum tua*?

The fundamental problem here lies in the way *kaum muda* and *kaum tua* are used as analytical concepts. As far as *kaum muda* is concerned, the writers of journals such as *al-Imām* and *al-Ikhwān* referred themselves with this term, and this tells us that *kaum muda* generally means those who participated or sympathized with the position of these journals.[5] However, it should be pointed out that both *kaum muda* and *kaum tua* in Malaya had never been clearly organized as was seen in Indonesia. *Kaum tua* in Malaya is harder to grasp of who they were, compared with their counterparts in Indonesia. Roff defined *kaum muda* as those who were related to the Islamic reformism while giving examples of other possible meanings.[6] On the other hand, he also explained that *kaum tua* is composed of conservative religious leaders and traditional elites. According to Roff, *kaum tua* opposed *kaum muda* by restricting circulation of *kaum muda* journals. They also published their opinion in journal. *Pengasuh* was mentioned as the representative of such reaction of *kaum tua* and the journal published opinion against *kaum muda.*[7] Based on this claim made by Roff, *Pengasuh* had been regarded as the rare explicit example of *kaum tua* in Malaya.[8]

With regards to Majlis Agama dan Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, Roff points out that the committee included some *ulama*s who were sympathetic with the idea of reformism even though the committee were not part of *kaum muda*. He also concluded that the committee played the role as "the local agent of social reform" because it utilized western bureaucratic system in activating Islamic systems.[9] Considering Roff's statement that *Pengasuh*, published opinion of *kaum tua*, how can we understand the position of Majlis Agama in the *kaum muda* – *kaum tua* framework? Here Roff himself admits that *kaum muda-kaum tua* dichotomy popularized after his writings is not suitable to understand the complex position of Majlis Agama that promotes social reform despite being conservative in its views.

Another dichotomy that often appears in the discussion of the *kaum muda's* influence on education is the contrast of *pondok* and *madrasah*. It is often discussed that modern *madrasah* was an off-shoot of the

criticism against traditional *pondok.*[10] Majlis Agama and its *Pengasuh* also took the same position in this framework. The first chief editor of *Pengasuh* was Tok Kenali,[11] a prominent *pondok* teacher (*tok guru*) who transmitted his knowledge to a large number of famous *tok guru*s throughout Malaya. *Pengasuh* often published articles written by traditional *ulama*s. Consequently, the journal also published the biographies of these *ulama*s. With these characteristics, *Pengasuh* is preferred by the *pondok* people and traditional type of *ulama*s until now. At the same time, Majlis Agama established a *madrasah* called Madrasah Muhammadiyah in 1917 when *madrasah*s were still rare in Malaya, and its development had been reported in *Pengasuh*. Such complex position of *Pengasuh* provides the backdrop to explore the taken for granted dichotomy of *kaum tua-kaum muda* and *pondok-madrasah* in the discussion of the development of modern Islamic schools.

Despite its historical value, *Pengasuh* has not been seriously studied compared to *kaum muda* journals such as *al-Imām* and *al-Ikhwān* partly because of the difficulty of accessing the material.[12] Thus I conducted holding check in the main libraries in Malaysia to renew and complement the information of the previous research.[13] As a result of the research, I found that most of the early issues of *Pengasuh* only existed in the library of University Malaya in Nilam Puri campus, Kelantan. To conduct further research of this journal, I made photocopies of the issues for the first 16 years of its existence.[14]

In this article, I analyze the writings related to religion and education which appeared in *Pengasuh* in the first five years (from No. 1, 1918 to No. 111, 1922). My main objective is to trace the development and spread of the idea to support studying Islam in the system of modern schooling among "conservative" and "traditional" Islamic leader. My analysis is divided into three sections. The first section explains the background and position of *Pengasuh* in terms of *kaum muda- kaum tua* framework. The second section analyzes the selected articles that reflect the writers' ideas on education. The third section discusses the writers' attitudes on Islamic learning and modern education to understand the transformation of the idea of "learning" in the early 20th century Malaya. The article ends with some insights and assumptions on development of modern Islamic education in Malaya.

The Background of *Pengasuh* and Its Ideological Position

Islamic Reformism and Education in the Early 20th Century

Two elements should be taken into account to understand the background of the discussion on education in *Pengasuh*: one is the development of modern schooling and another is the influence of Islamic reformism in early 20th century Malaya. Modern schooling was introduced in Malaya in the early 19th century mainly by non-governmental organizations such as the Christian missionaries. The first modern school was Penang Free School which was established in 1815. This school used English as the medium of instruction, and majority of the students were non-Malays and non-Muslims. The spread of Malay medium schools with government intervention had been intensified only after 1854 when the East Indian Company proclaimed the policy to promote mother tongue education.[15]

The Malay medium schools began to spread around the turn of the century after the initiative of A.M. Skinner who utilized the Quranic learning in the teacher's house or prayer house as a way in promoting Malay language education. The number of Malay schools and registered students in the Straits Settlements had increased from 189 schools with 7,218 students in 1892 to 191 schools with 12,934 students in 1916. In the Federated Malay States, it was from 168 schools with 6,972 students in 1898 to 365 schools with 18,034 students in 1916.[16] Even though the development was slower in Unfederated Malay States, there were 66 schools with 3,096 students in Johor, 51 schools with 4,445 students in Kedah and 10 schools with 382 students in Kelantan in 1916.[17] Normal colleges to fill the need for the teachers began to operate in Singapore (1878), Malacca (1900) and Perak (1900 and 1913).[18] *Pengasuh* was published in this era of rapid increase of readership of the Malay periodicals as a result of the spread of modern schooling.

The first modern Islamic school or *madrasah* was Madrasah al-Iqbal established in 1907 in Singapore. This *madrasah* used three languages, namely, English, Malay, and Arabic, and its curriculum included both religious and non-religious subjects. This shows that Madrasah al-Iqbal followed the model of non-religious schools in Egypt that was developed under the British power. The establishment of *madrasah* was repeatedly announced in the journal *al-Imām* and it is believed that the leaders of *al-Imām* such as Tahir Jalaluddin, Syed Sheikh al-Hadi and Abbas Mohd. Taha were involved.[19]

Islamic learning before the establishment of al-Iqbal took place in *surau*s (prayer houses) and teacher's houses where children learned to read Quran while the adults learned basic *kitab*s (religious books). The advanced studies were taught in *pondok* where the learners stay in huts for some months or years to learn *kitab*s. The typical way of learning was to read the *kitab* "*kulit ke kulit"* (from cover to cover)" under the guidance of the *tok guru* (teacher). This concept implies that the correct way of knowledge transmission is to transmit exactly the same knowledge as it was learned firstly by the Prophet from Allah then by the disciples from the Prophet and kept by the generations of *ulama*s. In this hierarchical transmission, the authority of *tok guru* and *kitab* written by the authoritative *ulama* is absolute, and the learners are not expected to question the correctness of the content of their teaching.[20]

Kaum muda has been assumed to deny such way of transmission of Islamic knowledge. The sentence below quoted from *al-Ikhwān*, a journal published by Sheikh al-Hadi typically supports such view.

> *Kaum Tua* or the Old Group or Old Faction says that whatever has been contended by the scholars, either verbally or as expressed in their books, is all true and ought to be believed…*Kaum Muda* or the New Group or Young Faction says that in matters of religion we should only believe in the Quran and Ḥadīth of the Prophet which are indisputable…it is incumbent upon us to inquire into and examine the truth.[21]

Al-Imām had a column of "question and answer" that answers the questions from the readers. Roff called this as "*fatwá*"[22] and pointed out that the way of answering in this column stressed the return to Quran and Ḥadīth and effort of "*ijtihād* (informed independent investigation)" while criticizing "*taqlīd buta* (blind acceptance of intermediate authority)".[23] Deliar Noer also stated that *al-Imām* issued *fatwá*s based solely on Quran and Ḥadīth without quotation from traditional *fiqh kitab*s.[24] However Roff did not show any specific example of the column that stressed *ijtihād*. My own analysis of entire *al-Imām* except number seven to twelve of the first volume reveals that the columns of question and answer in *al-Imām* made no mention of *ijtihād* or any specially scholarly discussion that can be categorized as *ijtihād*. However, the claim that the answers on religious matters tend to refer only to Quran and Ḥadīth is true.

Roff argues that the root of the conflict between *kaum muda* and *kaum tua* lies in the *kaum muda*'s criticism of *taqlīd* or obedience to the intermediate authority by revising religion based on the rational examination of Quran and Ḥadīth.[25] The criticism of *taqlīd* is often mentioned in the context of the emergence of modern Islamic education. However, Roff's statement on the denial of "intermediate authority" should be understood with distinction of two different levels included in this denial. The first level is to deny the obedience to the knowledge accumulated in the legal schools (*mazhab*s) while the second level is to deny the obedience to the "false" religious leaders without deep knowledge in religion because this allows the continuation of non-Islamic customs. While Roff explains *kaum muda* opposed to two groups: the religious officers and the "village *ulama*s",[26] the two levels I suggest here is related to these two groups, but it is not limited to social groups as suggested by Roff.

The first level is to deny the method of religious judgment to follow the opinions in the legal literatures of the schools. As I pointed above, the traditional learning in *pondok* stressed transmitting the knowledge "as it is", thus admitting the correctness of the *kitab*. When somebody who learned in this way answers religious questions, it is enough to refer to those *kitab* according to his level of knowledge. Whoever reaches the level of *ulama* may refer to the *kitab* of higher authority in the hierarchy of knowledge. In this context, Roff's "intermediate authority"[27] means such hierarchy of authors and *kitab*s of the legal schools.

The denial of *taqlīd* or following the legal schools means to admit the possibility of errors in the knowledge accumulated in the schools. Thus one should refer directly to Quran and Ḥadīth as well as the opinions of other schools to judge what is right. In such effort, as Deliar Noer mentioned about *al-Imām*, one may avoid to support the answer quoting traditional *fiqh kitab*. In this method, knowledge on interpretation of Quran, Ḥadīth sciences, principles of legal methods and Arabic above all, are considered inevitable in the Islamic learning. It may also be recommended in the process of learning to think rationally and to raise questions instead of accepting the teacher's views without question. The *kitab* learning to transmit the knowledge "as it is" might not be preferred.

Contrary to the views in previous studies, the criticism of conventional learning and the call for new religious education in *al-*

Imām and *al-Ikhwān* did not evolve in this way.[28] The focus of criticism of the conventional learning is the second level rather than the denial of obedience to the legal schools.

To substantiate this, a case in point is the article titled "*Lebai Pondok* (the learner of *pondok*)".[29] This article appeared in *al-Ikhwān* and is often quoted as a good example of *kaum muda* criticism of the traditional learning in the *pondok*s. It cynically described the *pondok* learners (*lebai pondok*) as those who are called to read supplications (*duʿā*) for the dead, to attend gatherings and feasts such as celebration of Prophet's birthday, to read some supplications (*duʿā*), and to receive special voluntary alms (*ṣadaqah*). The author criticizes that such practices are useless and destructive for the religion because their passive attitude and blind obedience violate the teachings of the Prophet.[30]

Such biting criticism on learners might be true in smaller *pondoks,* but even in the larger *pondok*s under the famous *ulama*s, the majority of learners stay only for a short term to learn simple *kitab*s and some supplications. What is criticized about the *lebai pondok* in the article above is the learners' indulged attitudes and obedience to the teachers, not their way of learning or their *taqlīd* to the legal schools. Such criticism can be categorized as the second level that coincides with criticism of "village *ulama*" in Roff's term. Roff states that "the reformists in article after article castigated the village *ulama* as the chief hindrances to the attainment of a new world".[31]

Since the distinction between the two levels of criticism of "*taqlīd*" is not explained in the Roff's *kaum muda* versus *kaum tua* framework, its meaning is ambiguous and tends to mislead that those who "*taqlīd*" are all "traditional" and negative against social reform and modernization. However, Roff himself admits that such dichotomy of "modernist" and "traditionalist" is insufficient to explain the position of Majlis Agama and *Pengasuh*. Thus I propose to limit the *kaum muda-kaum tua* framework for the transmission of Islamic knowledge based on the attitude toward the *taqlīd* and the intermediate authority. In this framework, a distinction is drawn between attitude to knowledge transmission and attitude towards social reform. The intention is to avoid making assumptions that all traditionalists have negative attitude toward modernization. Such separation is useful to accommodate certain persuasions in an era that produced Islamic leaders who are traditional in terms of the knowledge transmission yet showed positive

views regarding social reform. The following section examines the position of *Pengasuh* using this newly defined framework of *kaum muda-kaum tua*.

The Editors, Contributors and the Readers of Pengasuh

Pengasuh has been known as the longest running journal issued since 11 July 1918. It was established by the Majlis Agama which was founded in December 1915 based on the draft submitted by Nik Mahmud.[32] The establishment of Majlis Agama was deeply related to the social background of Kelantan at that time. In the early 20th century, Kelantan began to see the rapid development of bureaucratic system of administration of the British Advisor according to the Anglo-Siamese Declaration of 1902. Besides the impact of foreigners (i.e. British, Thais, and Chinese) the Kelantanese at that time also began to feel the raise of Islamic concern in accordance with the increasing number of *ulama* who studied in the Middle East.

Until the mid-19th century, Islamic authority in Kelantan had not been centralized. Administration of the religious matters was in the hands of the *imam* of local *masjid* and *surau* (prayer house) or local *ulama* such as *tok guru* of *pondok*. There were religious offices in the capital, Kota Bharu, such as *mufti* and *qāḍī*[33] but their power to control local authorities was limited.[34] However in the early 20th century, religious administration began to be centralized. The development of Western administration system, especially the establishment of *sharī'ah* court system imitating the western judicial system was partly instrumental in the effort to centralize the religious authority to the *mufti* as the chief of the system. This increase of the *muftis*' authority turned to be a threat for the Sultan who was promised by the British a supreme authority on religious matters and customs. Even though the actual purpose of Majlis Agama was not clearly stated, at least in retrospect, the idea to leave the Islamic matters to a committee where nobody could hold the supreme authority led to strengthen the position of the Sultan.[35]

It was Nik Mahmud and some *ulama* close to him who proposed and worked for the establishment of Majlis Agama. Majlis Agama consisted of 12 members including 6 *ulama*, but this ratio of *ulama* was considered very high compared to the religious administrative bodies of other states. This ratio of *ulama* supported the legitimacy of Majlis Agama as the bearer of true Islam.[36] Abdul Razak mentioned three key figures in the

establishment of Majlis Agama, namely, Tok Kenali and Muhammad Said[37] in addition to Nik Mahmud. Nik Mahmud and Tok Kenali were contemporaries in Mecca and their mentor was Aḥmad Zayn al-Faṭānī. On the other hand, Muhammad Said, who was the youngest among them, also studied in Mecca but went to Cairo to study in al-Azhar from 1911 to 1914. His background exposed him to the reformism of the followers of Muhammad Abduh. Roff recognized that the Majlis Agama was not necessarily against *kaum muda* even if Majlis Agama included Muhammad Said as the most progressive member. Roff's claim also discounted that the Majlis Agama had vision for modernization and social development especially in the plans for education.[38]

Majlis Agama was an organization directed under the Sultan and became independent from the state government in 1990's.[39] The main source of its finance was *zakāh* which was systematically collected from the *surau* throughout the state. This system transferred the control over the *surau* from the *mufti* to Majlis Agama. This coincided with the centralization of religious authority to Majlis Agama. For instance, the court of appeals in the *sharī'ah* court system was transferred from *mufti*s to Majlis Agama and the authority to issue *fatwá*s was also limited to those who were recognized by Majlis Agama. As a result, Majlis Agama became an outstanding organization that controlled the collection of *zakāh*, administration of *surau* and *masjid*, appointment of religious teachers, issue of *fatwá* and administration of religious schools.

In the beginning *Pengasuh* wanted to be known as an official gazette but finally emerged as a normal journal. The editors in chief were chosen either from the members of the Majlis Agama or the teachers of the schools under the Majlis Agama. The first editor in chief was Tok Kenali. According to Abdul Razak, Tok Kenali was too busy to hold the editorship, so he was replaced by Muhammad Said who served the office from 1919 until 1933.[40] He was followed by Ahmad Mahir[41] who held the office until the beginning of 1935. Muhammad Adnan[42] and Wan Mahmud[43] served until December 1937 when the journal was suspended. Muhammad Adnan became the editor in chief again when it resumed publication in 1947.

Although *Pengasuh* had some characteristics as an official publication, it remained a journal whose content was not limited to reporting of official views alone. The journal welcomed contributions from the readers and from those designated by the editors to write.

But some of the articles were prepared by the editors. These included among others "editor's notes", "news inside (outside) the state", and "*fatwá* of Majlis Agama". The contributors could use pen names but the editors confirmed their real names and addresses. There was no clear cut information on how confined the contributions were, but it can be inferred that it encouraged all sorts of articles.[44]

Among the contributors who wrote about education were famous *kaum muda* figures. One of them was Zainal Abidin Ahmad, better known for his pen name Za'ba.[45] He became the most active contributor of *Pengasuh* in the 1920s. He wrote many articles related to education, and aside from Za'ba, he also used another pen name, Patriot. Tahir Jalaluddin, who was the first editor in chief of *al-Imām* also contributed many articles such as "training of youth" and about health and exercise.

There were many educators such as *ulama*, staffs and graduates of Madrasah Muhammadiyah who became contributors and editors of *Pengasuh*. For example, the notable *ulama*s who contributed articles were Tok Kenali and Idris Hassan. Not surprisingly, they also taught in the Great Masjid (Masjid Besar) of Kota Bharu.[46] As for the teachers of Madrasah, Muhammad Adnan who taught English in the *madrasah* and later became the editor in chief of *Pengasuh* also contributed many articles about education.[47] Muhammad Fadhil whose articles appeared in *Pengasuh* no. 59 (12 November 1920) also wrote "Madrasah Muhammadiyah" after his name. Moreover, there were contributors from other madrasahs such as "Mīm Zāi" of Madrasah al-Attas, Johor,[48] in *Pengasuh* no. 59 (12 November 1920) and "a teacher of Madrasah al-Mashoor".[49] These suggest a wide readership of *Pengasuh* in *madrasah* in many areas of Malaya. Teachers of schools other than *madrasah* also made contribution. Besides Za'ba who was a teacher in English school and college of Johor and Perak, H.M.Sidin of the Association of Malay Teachers of Selangor and Muhammad bin Dato' Muda, the first editor in chief of Majalah Guru (Teacher's Journal) wrote serialized articles related to the significance and improvement of school education between 1912 and 1922.

It is important to note the novelty of the voice from the teachers who were not specifically trained in religious field speaking on matters related to Islam. Conventionally the voice on Islamic matters had been limited to *ulama*'s discussion in the preaching and *kitab* learning. However, with the emergence of Islamic journals, those who acquired literacy in the modern school education system, not in the traditional religious

learning, joined the debates on Islam. In contrast, *al-Imām*'s editors who wrote in the journal in religious studies. Thus, the publication of *Pengasuh* ten years later suggests the emergence of a new way of transmission of religious knowledge as a result of the spread of literacy through the modern school system.

While there is no data with regards to the exact number of copies distributed inside and outside Kelantan, it can be deduced from the increasing number of contributors that *Pengasuh* was read in Perak and Selangor.[50] It is also suggested that readers included the *ulama*, religious leaders, teachers and students of schools. It would be natural for the limited literacy required to read the journals at that time. There were two groups of people who could read Malay journal: those who learned higher level of *kitab* and those who studied in Malay schools. The latter rapidly increased in the early 20th century.

However, the most authoritative readers of the Malay journal were *ulama* and individuals educated in religious studies. Interestingly it is implied that this kind of readers include all kinds of religious leaders not limited to *kaum muda* or *kaum tua*. *Pengasuh* has been distributed for free to the *masjid* and *surau* inside Kelantan until now.[51] After the war, *Pengasuh* published many biographies of *ulama* which were read and kept by the teachers of *pondok* in Kedah and Kelantan I visited during my field research between 2006 and 2011. Besides this information suggesting readership among the *kaum tua*, there are some hints of *kaum muda*'s positive attitude to *Pengasuh*. *Al-Ikhwān* which is clearly identified as *kaum muda* once stated that even though some of the Kelantan *ulama* had tried to prohibit distribution of *al-Ikhwān*, *al-Ikhwān* had no conflict on religious issues with Majlis Agama of Kelantan and *Pengasuh.* At some point, *al-Ikhwān* even praised *Pengasuh.*[52] This information implies that *Pengasuh* was read by religious leaders and educators of various backgrounds.

Ideological Position of Pengasuh *and Majlis Agama*

What ideological position can be inferred from the writings on education in terms of *kaum muda - kaum tua* dichotomy? In this section I analyse the ideological position of *Pengasuh* and Majlis Agama in terms of attitudes toward learning by discussing two important points: one is the Majlis Agama's involvement in education while the other is the *fatwá*s of Majlis Agama published in *Pengasuh*.

As for the first point, Majlis Agama positively supported both forms of Islamic learning in the *pondok* and modern schools. Majlis Agama opened Madrasah Muhammadiyah that introduced grade system and year end educations in 1917. The *madrasah* had three grades for the boys between nine and fifteen years old and taught elementary knowledge on religion and some other subjects, using Malay as the medium language.[53] The subjects include Islamic theology and law, Malay writing and arithmetic and the religious textbooks were translated from Arabic to Malay by Majlis Agama.[54] Arabic was also taught in the third grade. The classes were held from seven to eleven in the morning and from one to four in the afternoon. There was also optional night class for English.[55] There were seven teachers in 1917 with all of them received salary from Majlis Agama.

Majlis Agama stated that one of its objectives was the establishment of religious (Arabic) school and Malay school. To achieve this objective, they opened the Madrasah Muhammadiyah that introduced the system of modern schools and subsequently implemented it.[56] However, the Majlis Agama maintained traditional *kitab* learning in the Great Masjid of Kota Bharu which was also the place of highest religious learning in Kelantan. The *kitab* learning was primarily organized into a loose time table, and the salaries of the teachers including Tok Kenali were paid by Majlis Agama. Significantly, both Madrasah Muhammadiyah and *kitab* learning in Masjid were under the supervision of the same inspector. The reports of the Majlis Agama put the detail of Madrasah and *kitab* learning in the Great Masjid and other *masjid*s and *surau*s of the state under the same item of "education (*pelajaran*)".[57] This implies that Majlis Agama recognized the two types of learning as symmetrical despite their differences.

The *kitab* learning in the Masjid was "different from Madrasah in its 'arrangement (*peraturan*)' since the learning [of the *masjid*] was public and anybody seeking knowledge could join, without distinction between older and younger or [adult and] children". It was also different in time arrangement since the learners of masjid only came during lectures. For example, if the lecture was in the morning he would only come in the morning. Conversely, if the lecture was held at night, the students only came at night to recite (*menadahkan*) *kitab*.[58] Besides students from Kelantan, other students in the *masjid* came from Perak, Kedah, Patani, Pahang, Penang, Bugis and Muar. Those who were from

far places stayed in the area called "*pondok masjid*" that was donated as *wakaf* by Sultan Mansur.[59] These accounts suggest that the life and learning environment in the masjid was similar to traditional *pondok*. The major difference lies in the role of Majlis Agama that controlled the schedule, appointment of teachers, and salary of the teachers.

Studying at the Great Masjid was the same as studying in Madrasah Muhammadiyah in terms of the role of Majlis Agama. This system suggests Majlis Agama's view that both types of study are equally beneficial. Apparently, when the level of course contents and teachers' credentials are compared, the differences of the roles that these two institutions play become clear. While *madrasah* was regarded as an institution for children to study the basic, *masjid* was a place to learn *kitab* of higher level under the prominent teachers. This point is easy to be missed because of the open nature of the learning in masjid that accepted learners from all levels. On the other hand, students of higher level in the *masjid* never studied in *madrasah*. It is implied that Majlis Agama regarded the system of modern schools suitable for children to learn basics and it was not necessary for them to progress to the advanced level.

As for the second point, the *fatwá*s published in *Pengasuh* show the clear preference of traditional way of providing the answers to questions with reference to conventional *kitab* of the Shafi'i school. Almost every issue of *Pengasuh* had an article titled "Question and Answer" or "*Fatwá* of Majlis Agama" that officially answered religious questions from the readers. The most outstanding feature of the answers is the reference to the *fiqh kitab*s popular in the *pondok*s as the proof (*dalīl*), with page numbers to cite the reference. This reference to the page numbers invite readers to refer to it when needed, thus the readers are supposed to have basic knowledge on *kitab* that enable them to make such reference. This expectation from readers was necessary because some answers even include reference in Arabic without Malay translation. The occupation of the questioner was sporadically not mentioned while in some cases written as *qāḍī* or Malay teachers. It is difficult to imagine that majority of the readers were having experience of higher traditional learning. However, as far as the column of *fatwá* is concerned, the editor seemed to expect the readers to have some knowledge of the culture of learning in *pondok* or in *Masjid al-Haram* of Mecca.

One of the examples of such tendency can be found in the *fatwá* on the matter of "*uṣallī*", the intention (*niyah*) of prayers. This matter

was one of the typical problems raised by *kaum muda*. According to Hamka, it was the first problem that led to create conflict between the groups called as *kaum muda* and *kaum tua.*[60]

Pengasuh no. 82 (17 October 1921) put a question from Muhammad Said bin Ismail from Rawang, Selangor. It states:

> "Concerning the opinion of majority about utterance of the intention to pray as '*uṣallī farḍ al-ẓuhri* (I perform the obligatory noon prayer)' with voice, is it recognized as *sunnah* by majority of *ulama*? Are there any clear sentences (*naṣ*) of the Prophet, Companions or the four *imam*s [of the major schools]?"[61]

Majlis Agama answered to this question quoting some *fiqh kitab*s of Shafi'ī school:

> "…the clear sentences that recognize the articulation as *sunnah* can be found in the [writings of] many *ulama*s. For example, *Tuḥfah*[62] states [in Arabic] 'It is acceptable to utter the intention just before *takbīr* in order the tongue to help the heart…' and *Mīzān*[63] of al-Sha'arānī also states [in Arabic] 'according to the view of the *imam*s, the utterance complements the *'ibādah*…' while in *Muniyat al-Muṣallī*[64] written as 'it is *sunnah* to articulate the intention with the tongue before *takbīr*'…"[65]

The same person raised two more related questions as shown below:

> "This matter is not from the Ḥadīth of the Prophet but they [the *ulama*s who recognize it as *sunnah*] are based on *qiyās*. From where did they lead the *qiyās* and what are the conditions of the *qiyās*?"

Majlis Agama answered that this matter is understood by *qiyās* from the sentences about the intention of the pilgrimage according to *Tuḥfah* and concluded that "we will not consider the various opinions because we follow the sentences in *Tuḥfah* and others". It is followed by another answer on the condition of *qiyās*;

> "Since those who do *taqlīd* are not allowed to do such question and answer, it is enough for them to follow their *imam*s [religious leaders] or the *imam*s who follow their *mazhab* about the summary of the legal opinions lead by the *qiyās*. Some of the conditions of *qiyās* are only known by their [the *imam*'s] members[*ulama*s]."[66]

It is suggested from the question that the questioner had some background on religious knowledge. However the *fatwá* answer is that even the people with some religious knowledge are only expected to know the opinions of *ulama*s and that they do not need to know the conditions of *qiyās*. Here the ideological position of *Pengasuh* is clear.

It admits *taqlīd* that is to follow the opinion of predecessors in legal school. With this as indicator, *Pengasuh* clearly belongs to *kaum tua* as I defined before. The positive support of the Majlis Agama is for the traditional *kitab* learning besides the *madrasah* of modern school type suggests that they want to maintain the tradition of Islamic knowledge. Therefore, I argue that they also exhibited a positive attitude towards the traditional system of learning.

Discussions on Education in *Pengasuh*

Education and the Progress of the Nation

The overriding claim I found from analysing the articles on education in *Pengasuh* (1918 to 1922) is that education is important for the progress of the nation.

To cite an example, the opening article of *Pengasuh* no. 1 states that the objective of *Pengasuh* is to serve "the community (*'ummah*) of Islam in Malay Peninsula, especially the people of Kelantan (*anak-anak Kelantan*)". It continues by saying that some journals in Malay or in Arabic had been issued in order to elevate the level of the nation (*bangsa*) in various areas of knowledge, because it is believe that knowledge determines the honor the people. Thus *Pengasuh* takes responsibility especially in the area of manners (*ādāb*) among the various areas of knowledge (*'ilm*).

The writers in *Pengasuh* repeatedly mentioned "lack of knowledge and education" as the biggest problem for the Malays. For instance, "Patriot" (Za'ba) wrote that,

> "The difference between us and westerners including British, French and others…is the lack of education (*pelajaran*) that is the most serious disease in the world. …It is education that sharpens our reason and it is knowledge that enables us to discern the bad and good." [67]

Another example is "Hebat Allah" from Madrasah Muhammadiyah which was addressed to "my dear nation (*kaumku*) in my country (*waṭanī*)" or "children of the land of Kelantan (*anak bumi Kelantan*)" mentioned that,

> "It is impossible to eliminate them [our degradation (*kehinaan*) and weakness (*kedaifan*)]…except that we have the basis (knowledge) because it is the knowledge to be the basis for us to escape from the degradation, folly and weakness." [68]

"Waṭanī" maintains that one is able to contribute to the development

of the country and nation by acquiring knowledge through education and teaching it to others as shown by the quote,

> "There is no way for you to benefit (*memberi manfaat*) your country except by learning and knowing. If you love your motherland (*tanah air*) …you should share your knowledge to them [people]."

He continues to say that a country without knowledgeable people would face trouble because the ignorant "cannot discern the right and wrong".[69]

The articles often emphasized Western countries (especially United Kingdom and United States) and Japan as exemplars of progressive nations through education. An article by Abdullah Haji Yunus states: "the supremacy (*ketinggian*) is produced through the *madrasah* (school [*sekolah*])[70] and all kinds of beneficial learning", providing a strong belief on supremacy through *madrasah*. Citing Europe, America and Japan, he emphasized that if a country recognizes the importance of knowledge, it achieves a higher status (*tinggi keadaannya*). The children are nurtured and educated by their parents to be proud of their nation (*bangsa*) and origin (*keturunan*). Thus "it is no wonder that Japan achieved the higher degree and development of the country within a few years with its supremacy in child-rearing."[71]

These examples show that the writers associated "highness (*ketinggian*)" with social development and that they believed national progress (economic and political) could be achieved by educating the nation. For them, Japan was an excellent example. It seems at this point that their concern about "education of the nation" is only related to the modern knowledge for secular matters. However, the articles of *Pengasuh* claims the importance of both religious and secular knowledge as is often found in the discourse of the reformists. Then what kind of knowledge they regard as important for the nation?

Areas of Knowledge to be Learned

Almost all the articles that articulate the benefit of knowledge and education mention the benefit both in this world and the next, such as "knowledge is the source of all blessings of this world and the next".[72] A verse of Za'ba is a good example.

> …(the knowledge is) not just for the next world,
> Such as Theology, law and Sufism and others
> Other knowledge is of equal importance

All contains meaningful secrets
Yet the knowledge of religion is special
It is the primary obligation
Embed it in heart before going to others
The very essence in it should be accepted
However if it is alone
Without combined with others
The reason be loose and the eyes be clouded
Deep comprehension cannot be expected
……
All the creatures have two companions
Without exceptions created in pairs
……
Knowledge has two brothers as well
The two are body and soul
The life of human has two sides
One in this world with the tangible body
Another is in the next world as the spiritual goal
Knowledge for both is obligatory[73]

Za'ba repeatedly claims the importance of learning for both life in world and the hereafter by stating that knowledge of religion is "to avoid evil and embrace good deeds and prevent wrong doings and conduct the correct and distinguished behaviour" while the knowledge of this world is "for the act for living and the achievement of high aims and purposes".[74]

The claim that knowledge is important for life in the world and the next can be seen as two kinds of criticism: one is the criticism against the *ulama* who limit learning to religion and the other is against the modern schooling that ignores learning religion. The direction of criticism found in the early *Pengasuh* tends to favour the former. Therefore, *Pengasuh*'s articles on religion and education arguably highlight the importance of learning in this world in addition to the learning for the next.

> "Some of the contemporary men of knowledge (*'ālim*) encourage their children and students to give up seeking for the wealth and to make effort solely for the sake of Allah…you should not accept it since those who justify such attitudes leave us, the Malay, in poverty in this world, ignorance and evil forever."[75]

The tendency to claim the importance of non-religious knowledge means that the importance of religious knowledge was regarded as unquestionable for the readers. For example, in the editor in chief column,[76] parents are instructed to teach their children the following:

first, "to honour the religion and plant the seed of belief in their mind, that is to believe in Allah, to wish for good and love the family and others"; and the second, to instil "the spirit to love the country (*waṭan*) and the language of their parents and grandparents".[77] One of the members of Madrasah Muhammadiyah maintains that students should learn "the knowledge of the noblest religion of us, the best language of us and other very useful languages."[78]

In the above extracts, knowledge of language is stressed besides knowledge of religion. Then which language should be learned and in what order? Muhammad Daud[79] who was the inspector of Madrasah Muhammadiyah mentioned the importance of the mother tongue (i.e. Malay) and Arabic. In a speech he delivered to the students of the madrasah, he states,

> "The development of the *umat* (*kaum*) is impossible without the solidarity and the solidarity is impossible without the belief of the nation in one religion and the assembly of all the nations under the sole religion is impossible without the assembly under one language. Thus you should make effort to learn your own language in order to make it easier to reach other languages." [80]

Muhammad Daud added that "learning language" here includes all the religious matters which are obligatory to learn as Muslims. What should be learned after this is Arabic in order to "expand the advantage in knowing the proofs (*dalīl*) and in confirming its correctness and accuracy". Arabic language is "the best language that meets the demand for all kinds of knowledge because of the breadth of the language".

On the other hand, Za'ba emphasized learning English, as well as Malay and Arabic. According to him, "When you have acquired these three languages, your children would be able to control their life and achieve the nobleness and prosperity (*kemegahan*) in this world and the next with their loyalty to Allah, to the king of the country, and to the nation". Thus "you should not listen to the ignorant people who maintain that learning English results in lowering the belief".[81]

The importance of English is stressed in terms of success in this world. Muhammad Adnan mentioned that "It is the knowledge of English that leads to the easiness in this world among the various areas of knowledge." But he also acknowledged that English is not the only way to fulfil one's wishes and comfort.[82]

Among the writers who wrote about general "knowledge", that was other than religion and language, was Hashim bin Muhammad. He listed the subjects that everybody should learn. First is the language of their own, then other languages such as Arabic, English, French, Italian, and Japanese to enable students to learn other knowledge. Second is mathematics (*'ilm al-riyādīyah*), which include arithmetic, and geometry or mensuration (*ḥandasah*) that are useful for the ordinary works such as laundry and carpentry or even the lowest kind of work. Third is history and geography. The former is useful to improve one's understanding of past events; the latter is useful for trading. Fourth is writing that is useful to make contract. These all were included in "individual obligation (*farḍ 'ayn*)" not in "collective obligation (*farḍ kifāyah*)". He proposed that this type of knowledge is necessary for everyone. Those who do not need to have this knowledge are only lazy "coolies", similar to lower forms of animals that have no reason.[83]

Idris Hasan wrote series of articles that introduced Islamic theology and law. In these articles, he explained what is the requirements of religious knowledge. Theology is a study on faith and belief based on clear proof, and it is obligatory for all the *mukallaf* (the adult with reason) to learn the twenty natures of Allah and their interpretations. Those who have not learnt should look for *kitab* and teacher (*guru*) as soon as possible to learn them.[84] The law is "to know the regulation (*ḥukm*) led by the *ijtihād* of the great *ulama*s such as Imām Shāfi'ī and Imām Abī Hanafīyah." All the *mukallafs* are obliged to learn it so they can distinguish the *ḥalāl* from the *ḥarām*, and the religious obligations.[85]

There are also many articles in *Pengasuh* that suggest which area of knowledge is regarded as important. For example, the interest in history appeared frequently such as the series of "History: the development of law in England", the transcript of Winsted's "Book of Malay History (*Kitab Tawarikh Melayu*)", and "History of Kelantan (*Tarikh Kelantan*)" from romanized Malay into *Jawi*. These articles on history are described not as Islamic history but as history of the nations.

As for the articles on the religious knowledge, there are series of articles about manners (*ādāb*) such as "*Ādāb*" by Mustafa Fadzil in *Pengasuh* no. 14 and "*Ādāb* of the Religion" "Regulations of *Ādāb*" by Mohd Hussin bin Abdul Rashid in *Pengasuh* no. 89. Equally important is the concern on the direct access to Quran and other basic materials.

It is found in the news about the issue of new journal *al-Kitab* which was written by a member of Majlis Agama. *Al-Kitab* aimed to publish the knowledge on *tafsīr* of Quran, Arabic and Islamic history because "I have not heard of any *tafsīr* in Malay other than *al-Bayḍāwī*[86] and our thirst for *tafsīr* has never been eliminated". Thus it was decided to translate an English *tafsīr* written by Muhammad Ali of Lahor into Malay.[87] The introduction was translated by Muhammad Adnan and published in *Pengasuh* no. 46 under the title "The Religion of Islam". This concern on *tafsīr* suggests that Quran began to be recognized not only as something to be recited but also to be understood. Consistent with this yearning for religious enlightenment, *Pengasuh* published articles about Arabic grammars. These suggest the concern of those who contributed articles in the *Pengasuh* to deepen their understanding on religion, and the best way to do this is to know the languages.

Views on Islamic Learning

During the early period of *Pengasuh's* existence, there were already articles that addressed the problems of and offered suggestions to improve it. One of the typical examples is found in the writings of Za'ba. He criticized the Malays as passive and complacent because they did not understand the meaning and benefit of "education (*pelajaran*)". He explained his view by saying that it is mainly the non-Malays who profit from the wealth of Malaya,

> "They know that it is pleasure to be knowledgeable and it is beneficial to receive education. However they divide the knowledge into two portions: one is worldly knowledge (*ilmu dunia*) and another is knowledge of the next (*ilmu akhirat*), these are their terms. For them the two are different and impossible to combine. The knowledge learned in the schools is what they call as the knowledge of this world. According to them it is nothing other than writing (*tulis-menulis*) and calculation (*berkira-kira*). They are only useful to be Malay teachers or the government clerks and no more than a means to earn a living in this world. They are something "cannot be carried to the next world and not helpful on the day of judgment" thus they look down on them [the knowledge of this world]. Indeed they look down because of their ignorance of the real secret and also because they think it easy to acquire the knowledge of this world.
>
> What they call as the knowledge of the next world includes such things as reciting (*membaca*) Quran (even when the recitation is wrong and without

understanding even single word of it) and to learn (*mengaji*) *kitab* (even when they do not understand the explanation of *tok guru* at all and the words passes through the ears from right to left). This is the 'knowledge for the next world' for demand that 'surely help us on the day of judgment and let us to the heaven'".[88]

Za'ba continues that Malays look down on the "knowledge of this world" and tries to acquire the "knowledge of the next world" but the problem lies in their inability to learn even only the latter.

"…because they are not serious in seeking for that…they cannot learn Arabic for example. They are even unable to read Malay texts and to understand simple *kitab jawi*. It is worse in the case of Malay texts in *kitab jawi* that include terms with deeper meanings and complex metaphors. Not to speak of the *kitab*s of higher *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf* that requires detailed consideration and accurate understanding.[89]

The reason for the weakness of Malay who cannot seek even for the "knowledge of the next world" according to Za'ba is,

"They are ignorant even of their religion until passing away (may Allah protect us from that) because of their ignorance of the "knowledge of this world"…their stupidity is obvious when they follow the divination (*petua hikmat*), incantation (*jampi*), prohibitions (*pantang*) and innovations (*bidaah*) that is not from Allah and the Prophet".[90]

But the reason for this ignorance of the Malays is not their folly but the lack of religious education (*pelajaran agama* Islam). Matters such as the intentions of prayer and fasting will not be ignored because it is regarded as shameful to be ignorant. The religious education of contemporary children is just the same as their fathers',

"The system (*jalan aturan*) is not like in the schools but it depends only on the effort of parents either to teach by their own or to send their children to study in the teachers' house or prayer houses, [the teachers] who are only qualified with their title as haji and wearing white cap (*kopiah*) or long dress (*jubbah*) with their turban. Once they finished reciting whole Quran, it is regarded "done" without paying attention to the correctness of their recitation.

Those parents who expect further religious education send their children to other states, especially Kedah, Patani and Trengganu.[91]

Once the children finished "seeking for knowledge" for one or two years, they would be honoured with the title "lebai" and wear the *kopiah* and turban as the sign of their religious knowledge….then they are invited by the villagers to the feasts (*kunduri*) here and there especially in the

> fasting month (*Ramaḍān*). They would recite several suitable supplications (*du'ā*). This is the achievement for the parents of Malay villages even when the children who became *lebai* cannot write in Malay (not to mention Arabic!).[92]

Such accomplishment is a source of pride which lasts for three or four months, then they return to live normally as villagers. This is the situation of religious education of the village of Malays. Za'ba stressed that this system has been generational and repetitive, thus resulting in ignorance on the knowledge of Islam. While Za'ba criticized the religious education of the villagers, he also condemned the lack of religious education in government schools. Warning the ignorance of the government and the influential people about this fact, he pointed out that the lack of knowledge of Islam is not only found in the Malay schools but similarly found in any other public institutions for Malays such as "*madrasah*", "school (*sekolah*)", "college (*kolej*)". Even though there is "Quranic class" in Malay schools, it does not teach anything other than Quran, and the teachers are paid no more than the price of a cigarette. The quality of the education is neither observed since there are no knowledgeable (*'ālim*) inspectors. Even in some schools that are known for the religious classes, the classes are held only once or twice in a week to teach Quran and *kitabs.*[93]

> Even in the college well known [for religious education] the religious teacher is alone with low salary and the classes are not given by turns or separately according to the level of knowledge. The classes are not held every day. For the teacher the work there is not the main profession but a side job without seriousness. He is the only one assigned to teach all students from various levels and degrees of ability and natures. How could he assess if students learned correctly or not? Some students go somewhere at the time of religious education and others fall asleep in the class. Some of them nod to the teacher's explanation without understanding and concentration. This is the situation caused by the lack of sufficient system and method (*aturan dan qawā'id*).[94]

Za'ba complained that such situation of religious classes is not known to anybody despite parents' expectation to make the education "not limited to this world". In his conclusion, Za'ba recommended some ways to improve this situation by having proper religious education in Malay school.

> "…thus religious education that is really successful and perfect should be held in every learning institutions for Malay children that prepare the

> student not to be cheated by the religious people such as old people or false *lebai*s who are found at present once they graduate schools."

The Muslim administrators, inspectors and education officers who are responsible to the administration of Malay should understand these problems. However no plan has been suggested to make the religious education an important part of the schools and colleges. Za'ba concluded that it is only for the government, people of influence and the committees (*majlis*) of Malays that we can entrust the realization of their wish. The last part of Za'ba's writing posed a challenge to government, people of influence, and bodies like Majlis Agama. He insisted that the remedy for the lack of Islamic knowledge is to strengthen and to institutionalize the teaching of Islamic knowledge in the schools.

From the discussion, the common view reflected in the *Pengasuh* writings or articles is for religious learning to be under the control of the state government or ruler (the Sultan).[95] The notion that religious knowledge should be under the individual *ulama*s does not appear.

The View of Modern School Education

The articles about the benefit of modern education are also frequent in *Pengasuh*. What is remarkable in these writings is the expressions of the benefit of modern school education. The expressions of benefit of education as achievement of "high level (*ketinggian*)" and "distinction of good and evil" had been seen in terms of religious learning but are now applied to modern school education as well. There are many examples in *Pengasuh* of such application of the terms used for the explanation of significance of traditional Islamic learning to modern schooling.

For example, Abdullah Haji Yunus states that "the high level (in terms of dignity and position) is best achieved through *madrasah* (schools [*sekolah*]) and beneficial learning". It is clear that the "school" means modern school education since he takes examples of Western countries and Japan that achieved development by raising patriotism through education.[96] "Suara Anak Melayu" wrote about school education that was brought to Malay society by British;

> "It is more or less through the schools that we opened our eyes from long blindness and we emerged from the dark forest to know the distinction of good and evil realized and through it, we realized our backwardness compared to foreign nations surrounding us".[97]

The positive acceptance of modern school education is also found in such articles as news or brief information about the children of the sultan and leaders of Kelantan. The news acknowledged the children's entry to English school in Kuala Kangsar. According to the report, four students including a son of Nik Mahmud entered the college on scholarship from the Majlis Agama. The report wished these four students to be sent to Egypt or Britain for the higher knowledge after they finished college.[98]

Another kind of support for modern school education is found in the series of H.M. Sidin, a member of The Association of Teachers in Selangor. He wrote six articles titled "The suggestions of Association of Teachers in Selangor" (*Pengasuh* no. 86). Muhammad Dato' Muda, the first editor in chief of *Majalah Guru*, also wrote series of article which he titled "Training of school children" (eleven articles from no. 90) and "Training of school teachers" (four articles from no. 108).

Briefly, the series of H.M. Sidin included suggestions for teachers, especially the teachers of Malay schools, such as to take care of slow students in training of new teachers and to take leave to observe the excellent schools to improve the result of the students. These articles indicate that the teachers are also readers of *Pengasuh*.

The series of Muhammad Dato' Muda explains the significance of some elements of school education such as learning how to cultivate plants (no. 93), the benefits of learning to draw (no. 94), learning about objects and observation (no. 95), learning reading (no. 97), calculation (no. 98), composition (no. 101) and writing (no. 102). All of these elements are alien from traditional religious learning. What is most notable is practical learning such as cultivation and drawing that were considered advanced at the time. As proposed in the Winstedt Report in 1916, these skills were so far the most recent.[99]

The last example that shows clear image of ideal education for Malays is the article by "Saba'a". Even though there is no information about the author, he seems to be educated in modern school. His writing is clear, well organized and polished. The content of his writings also conveys an adequate knowledge on religion and Arabic. His views and commentaries are supported by quotations from Quran and Ḥadīth. Saba'a claims that education should start when children are young, referring to the example of Japan where education is aimed at achieving the purpose of the king and the government (*raja dan kerajaan*). The

achievement means that youths who graduate from higher education are offered positions in the government. He countered that in his country, employment opportunities are wanting.

> "Many places of learning (schools) are provided by the government with prominent teachers. You should think about the education there and consider the fact that the education there only prepares us to be office clerks (*kerani*) and teachers (*guru*)".[100]

Saba'a goes on to suggest for the rulers (*raja-raja*), government (*kerajaan*) and rich people "to develop education derived from a better plan (*aturan*)". The suitable education for our nation should be planned since the importance of the knowledge is mentioned in Quran and Ḥadīth. If the children are expected to grow up to be *imām*s, *qāḍī*s, *ḥākim*s and *muftī*s, special schools for them should be established. The separate schools should be established for different kinds of jobs, including but not limited to clerical and menial jobs. These schools would best achieve their objective with the supervision of a body that is autonomous yet has full authority in educational matters such as the curriculum and appointment of teachers.[101]

Furthermore, Sa'aba proposed an ideal education plan as follows: when children reached six years old, the parents should start teaching the letters and recitation of *al-Fātiḥah* and *Juz' 'Amma* of Quran as well as the memorization of them if possible. At seven years old, they should be sent to Malay schools in the morning and the school for Quran and religion (*sekolah Quran dan agama*) in the afternoon. When they finish reading Quran (*khatm*) at nine years old and learned the rules of religious practices, they should be transferred from Quranic schools to English school in the afternoon. Graduating from the Malay school at eleven years old, they should learn English both in the morning and afternoon with an hour of *kitab* learned every day under religious teachers. They would enter university (if there are any) at eighteen years old. The education in university would prepare them to work in the government. There should be religious teacher (*guru agama*) in the university as well.[102] Since such long term education is not for everybody, the government and rich people should provide scholarship for poor children so that they at least learn their language and religion. It there is no university, we should request the government to send the students who finished senior class of English schools to such countries as England.[103]

The idea of education found in Saba'a's article is to suggest that education is a catalyst for social change. It is an education aimed at securing the citizens' future as well as making use of their skills and knowledge to develop the nation and to achieve the objective of government. He also conceptualized the government to be fully responsible in the plan and administration of education. Here "seek for knowledge" recommended by Quran and Ḥadīth is read to be equal as the school education that is planned by government for the nation. Succinctly, religious education is regarded as part of such school education system without question.

Conclusion

How can we understand the attitude of *Pengasuh* toward traditional learning and modern school education in terms of *kaum muda – kaum tua* dichotomy defined in this paper? Here I focus on two points in order to analyse the contents of *Pengasuh* shown above to answer the question. The first point is that the positive attitude of *Pengasuh* articles toward modern school education is not clearly combined with the criticism of traditional learning. The second point is that the tendency of the articles is to conceptualize "learning" on the basis of modern school education even when they are using Islamic terms.

Regarding the first point, I already explained that *Pengasuh* clearly takes a position as *kaum tua* as defined here for the *fatwá*s in *Pengasuh* defends *taqlīd* and recognizes the authority of the *kitab*s written by the *ulama*s of the school. When any criticism against the conventional Islamic learning appears in *Pengasuh*, the problem is not the way of learning such as *kitab* recitation but the quantitative lack of Islamic knowledge, knowledgeable people and opportunity of learning religion in the Malay society.

Interestingly, similar tendency is found in the journals of *kaum muda* such as *al-Ikhwān*. Against the assumption of the previous studies, a close reading of the articles reveals that the criticism of traditional learning is mainly about the lack of Islamic knowledge and the obedience to the "false leaders" who admit magic and superstition that are not directly related to the matter of *taqlīd* to the *ulama* of the school. But Muhammad Abduh, believed to be one of the inspiring forces behind the reform movement in Malaya, proposed a counter claim. According to him, the method of traditional learning lacked

"attention for understanding" and one way to address this problem was to institute reforms.[104] In other words, the criticisms found in *Pengasuh* and other journals promoting traditional learning are confined to the "second level" of *taqlīd* that I mentioned in the early part of this paper or the problem of "village *ulama*" according to Roff. They are not about the "first level" or the obedience to the legal schools and *ulama*s of the school. When those who criticize the traditional learning calls for reform and introduction of elements of modern schooling to the Islamic learning, their main aim is geared towards the increase of Islamic knowledge and opportunity of learning, at least in quantity. There is no discussion on reasons why the introduction of modern schooling instead of traditional *kitab* learning would result in "increase of Islamic knowledge." It can be concluded that the introduction of the elements of modern schooling to the Islamic learning was not based on the different opinions of *kaum muda* or *kaum tua* regarding the traditional way of knowing. It was rather a simple acceptance without serious discussion.

In relation to this first point, the second point is that the articles of *Pengasuh* show a new view of learning and education based on modern style education. This view has already been shared by the Islamic leaders regardless of their position as *kaum muda* or *kaum tua*. The clearest examples of this new concept of education are found in the tendency to connect education to the development of the nation (*umat, bangsa, kaum*) or country (*negeri, negara, waṭan, tanah air*). As Berkey has pointed in his study on the *madrasah*s of medieval Cairo, the view to connect education to national or social development is typically modern. Suffice it to say, learning religion is basically an individual practice even in well-organized *madrasah*s of medieval time.[105] From my analysis, *Pengasuh* has stressed on three themes: (1) the importance mother tongue in education; (2) the connection of education to the occupations; and (3) the planning and the system. Let us analyse these three goals.

Stress on the Mother Tongue in Education

The most popular "education" that was practiced in Malaya before the introduction of modern schooling was recitation of the Quran. The way of learning recitation without understanding was almost incomprehensible for the British who had already shared the idea that

the basis of education was to read and write in the mother tongue. Even though there was *kitab* learning in Malay as well, it never occurred to the educators to teach the Malay language as a separate subject. Seeing the "Quranic schools", Raffles decided to establish a school to teach Malay that is "not only beautiful but also very useful".[106] A.M. Skinner stated that the situation of education in Malay society had no learning except "Quran recitation (*mengajee koran*)", that "they cannot be considered School in any sense of the word, that they were but Koran Classes where the pupils do not learn new, and that certainly, the pupils do not learn reading and writing."[107] From these observations, Skinner arranged the classes of Malay language in the morning when the students can concentrate and Quran classes in the afternoon to show the superiority of mother tongue education.[108] It seems natural for the readers of *Pengasuh* to absorb this concept of learning considering that the majority of them were the very product of the Malay schools that expanded rapidly in the early 20th century. The stress of mother tongue education in the articles of *Pengasuh* suggests that this idea of education began to be shared among Islamic leaders.

Stress on the Connection of Education to Occupations

The articles of *Pengasuh* on education also imply the emergence of the idea that "education should be useful for the future occupation". For example, the article of Hashim Muhammad claimed the importance of knowledge in securing future jobs after schooling. Another contributor, Saba'a, supported the call for the establishment of schools to prepare students for various occupations. Saba'a went so far to state the need for the schools to produce religious officers such as *imam*s and *qāḍī*s. This suggests the idea of education for occupation is applied to religious learning as well.[109]

The concern on education for occupation is closely connected to the concern of national development. The writers shared the sense of danger for the Malays who were deprived of opportunities of active involvement in both economic and government institutions. Some articles of *Pengasuh* claimed that it is necessary for the Malays to compete for the occupations dominated by other nations. However the assumed occupation is various. While Saba'a's concern is on the higher offices in the government, one of the anonymous writers stated in an article titled "How should we serve the country" suggests that self-employment is

ideal. He criticized the parents who dream for their children to be government clerks because the dream "cannot achieve development and they wish their children to be slaves forever".[110] Regardless of the differences of the occupation in the writers' mind, they all recognize objective of education as a catalyst for nation building.

Stress on Planning and the System

The articles of *Pengasuh* show the writers' recognition that education should be conducted by a system, especially the public education system following a clear plan. For example the article of Za'ba complained on the lack of "system (*jalan aturan*)" or "system and method (*aturan dan qawā'id*)" as one of the reasons of lack of Islamic learning. Saba'a also proposed to develop education "following the better plan (*aturan*)". An explanation of the benefit to have time table written by Muhammad Dato' Muda supports the concern on the systematic planning of learning. The term "peraturan" that means regulation and plan often appears in *Pengasuh*. It is also found in the practice of Majlis Agama that applied *peraturan* for the religious education under Majlis Agama not only in Madrasah Muhammadiyah but also in the Great Masjid of Kota Bharu while it kept the style of *kitab* learning.

However this sense of *peraturan* had not existed in the traditional Islamic learning. This does not mean it lacked order even if the schedule of learning was loosely organized according to the time of prayers. Definitely, the content was arranged according to the level of the *kitab*s. However, the existence of the so-called "order" in the traditional learning was described as "lack of order" when the sense of order, planning and regularity in the modern schooling was introduced and later spread to other systems of learning. This spread of novel sense of order in learning seems to be the basis of the idea that the system of modern school is needed to increase Islamic knowledge. There is no discussion on the right or wrong of the application of the system of modern schooling to Islamic learning.[111]

Mitchell stated that the sense of "absence of order" and sense of "order" are asymmetrical since the former only exists as the reflected image of the latter, taking example of the Westerner's description of the learning in Masjid al-Azhar as "absence of *niẓām* (order, discipline)". The learning of al-Azhar is only taken as "absent of order" based on the novel sense of "order" that was brought about in the process of

"colonization".[112] However in the world of traditional Islamic learning in al-Azhar, without this novel sense of "order", such "order" is not "absent" but merely unnecessary. The sense of need for the "order" in modern schooling found in *Pengasuh* demonstrates that the novel sense of "order" had been so embedded. From an outsider's perspective, it can be regarded as "lack of order"

These three goals found in *Pengasuh* are all related to the idea of mass education. As was seen in the articles quoted above, most of the discussions on education in *Pengasuh* are not about how to train the *ulama*s to lead the next generation but about how to educate the ordinary citizens and what should be learned by everybody of the "nation". The traditional learning typically in *pondok* assumed only a small part of talented learners to seek for the higher knowledge to be *ulama*s and never expect all the learners to reach the same level. The idea to educate everybody of the "nation" is the push factor in the spread of the modern view on "education". It was only based on such view on education that produced the idea that it is needed for Islamic learning to have the system of modern schools such as to organize the content of learning according to the levels, divide the students into forms according to their age and level of learning and have examinations to evaluate their performance.

Such novel view of Islamic learning appeared in *Pengasuh* against the background of the promotion of modern schooling under the colonial government as more valuable learning than the religious and Quranic learning. It was in the early 20th century when the products of the schools began to form new "intellectuals" who wrote in Malay without religious specialization. The readership of *Pengasuh* at that time was a mixture of Malay readers who acquired literacy in Malay through modern schools as well as through the traditional learning. What was unique about *Pengasuh* is that it provided chances for the new "intellectuals" to discuss on religious matters with the support of religious authority such as the Majlis Agama and ultimately the Sultan. As a result, *Pengasuh* seems to have helped the spread of a new concept of education that had been shared among the "intellectuals" and the *ulama*. Thus the idea of mass education in Islamic learning and the recognition of effectiveness of the system of modern schooling became a shared endeavour rather than a difference of religious orientation as *kaum muda – kaum tua*. This new idea of education supported the

spread of *madrasah* with the system of modern school established by various religious leaders including the *tok guru* of *pondok*s.

On the other hand, it should be noted that some of the *pondok ulama*s expressed doubts about the modern Islamic schools. For example according to a son of a *tok guru* in Kedah, when he chose to study in a high school in 1950's, the *tok guru* had a deep distrust of the modern type of Islamic school without *tok guru.* Triggered by this uncertainty, he sent his to a school that was still lead by *tok guru* who practiced traditional learning. It is also reported that when some of the influential people tried to establish modern Islamic school in the late 1920's in Trengganu, they could hardly hire teachers because there was a strong resistance for the *pondok tok guru*s. However after a while with the influence of *Pengasuh*, those conservative people began to accept the modern *madrasah.*[113]

Pengasuh published articles that promoted the modern system of education. This notion of increasing knowledge for the "nation" can be construed as a characteristic of *kaum tua*. One of the defining aspects of a modern system of education is its recognition of authority which is practiced in legal schools. By foregrounding this relationship, it is clear that *Pengasuh* belonged to the *kaum tua*. This characteristic of *Pengasuh* also provides the hints of transformation of the idea of education and Islamic learning in early 20th century.

The new idea of Islamic learning that supported the spread of new *madrasah* had been shared regardless *kaum muda – kaum tua* dichotomy, contrary to the assumption of previous studies that had linked the transformation to the influence of *kaum muda*. Such intermediate bodies as *Pengasuh* and Majlis Agama played an important role in the introduction of modern systems to Islamic learning. When *Pengasuh* and Majlis Agama supported the new way of Islamic learning, it meant that religious authorities guaranteed its benefits. This seems to have had the power to convince people who otherwise might have been suspicious of the introduction of new ways. The conventional dichotomy of *kaum muda - kaum tua* obscures the significant role that *Pengasuh* played in the transformation process. As I have proposed in this review of *Pengasuh* articles, it is necessary to separate the attitude toward social development and the attitude toward the traditional system of Islamic knowledge in order to understand their roles in the development of modern Islamic systems.

Endnotes

• I would like to convey my special appreciation for everybody who generously helped me in my research. My sincere gratitude goes to Ustaz Abdul Razak Mahmood, the former editor in chief of *Pengasuh* for the valuable information about the history of the journal. I would also like to thank Ustaz Ahmad Faisal of Academy of Islamic Studies, University Malaya who gave great collaboration in the holding check of *Pengasuh*. This research was supported by Excellent Young Researchers Overseas Visit Program of Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (2009) and the Centre of Islamic Area Studies (Group 2), The Institute of Asian Cultures of Sophia University, Tokyo.

1. "*Madrasah*" in Malay language means primarily a prayer house (*surau*) or its annex, or the annex of the mosque (*masjid*) used mainly for Islamic learning. The term also means an Islamic religious school that follows the form of modern school. In this article, unless explained within the context of traditional learning, *madrasah* is used to refer to Islamic religious school.
2. *Pengasuh* started as a bi-weekly journal (the first and fifteenth day of Islamic month) from 1918 until the end of 1931, but came out weekly from 1932 until 23 December 1937. The publication was suspended until May 1946 and resumed in June 1946 as a weekly journal. In July 1950, its publication was monthly, and it remained that way until now. Based on my research on library holdings of *Pengasuh*, the suspension occurred several months between 1956 and 1957; January 1962 to October 1962; February 1963 to September 1964; December 1965 to January 1967; and October 1971 until February 1975.
3. William Roff, 1962. "Kaum Muda – Kaum Tua: Innovation and Reaction amongst the Malays, 1900-1941", in K. G. Tregonning ed., *Papers on Malayan History*, Singapore: Journal South-East Asian History, pp. 162-192: p.167; Muhammad Ridzuan Othman. 2005. *Islam dan Masyarakat Melayu: Peranan dan Pengaruh Timur Tengah*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit University Malaya: p.115; Kay Kim Khoo, 1980. "Perkembangan Pelajaran Agama Islam", in Awang Had Salleh ed., *Pendidikan ke Arah Perpaduan*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Fajar Bakti, pp.1-36: p.13.
4. For example, Rosnani Hashim, 1996. *Educational Dualism in Malaysia: Implications for Theory and Practice*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press: p.26; Linda Tan, 1999. "Syed Shaykh: His Life & Times", in Alijah Gordon ed., *The Real Cry of Syed Shaykh al-Hady*, Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, pp. 109-162: p.147.
5. "Kaum muda" is obviously used to refer to the group that the authors belong to in such contexts as "kaum muda that holds noble ideas"[*al-Imām* vol.2, no. 3 (9 September 1907)] or "'kaum muda' that means the new group" [al-Ikhwān, vol3. no. 7 (16 March 1929)].
6. Roff. 1962. *ibid*, p.165.
7. Roff. 1962. *ibid*, pp.79-80.
8. Some studies by Malaysian scholars criticize such view. For instance, Mohd Sarim states that it is not right to characterize *Pengasuh* as *kaum tua* on the basis of the journal's articles on social development and the writers' views about it, or the fact that some contributors were *kaum muda* leaders such as Sheikh Tahir Jalaluddin. Mohd. Sarim Mustajab. 1988. "Akhbar dan Majalah Agama Sebelum Perang: Sumbangan dan Peranannya dalam Perkembangan Masyarakat", in Mohd. Sarim Mustajab et al. eds., *Akhbar dan Majalah di Malaysia: Sejarah dan Perkembangan,* Bangi: Jabatan Sejarah Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, pp. 29-68, pp. 43-46.
9. William Roff, 1973. "Islam as an Agent of Modernization: An Episode in Kelantan History", in Hans-Dieter Evers ed., *Modernization in South-East Asia*, Singapore:

Oxford University Press, pp.170-174. Roff acknowledged that previous studies had overemphasized the influence of reformism and claimed the need to look into the aspects of social change through the institutional transformation. Roff, 1973, *ibid*, p. 174.

10. For example, see Linda Tan, 1999. "Syed Shaykh: His Life & Times", in Alijah Gordon ed., *The Real Cry of Syed Shaykh al-Hady*, Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, pp. 109-162, p.146
11. His full name is Awang Mohd. Yusuf bin Ahmad. Tok Kenali was born in 1868 in Kenali in Kota Bharu, Kelantan. He started studying religion in Masjid Kota Bharu. But he also went to other places to learn more. He was known to have been taught by famous teachers, including including Wan Ismail (father of Nik Mahmud who was the main founder of the Majlis Agama). In 1886, Tok Kenali went to Mecca where he befriended Sheikh Wan Ahmad al-Fatani. Tok Kenali returned to Kota Bharu in 1908 and opened his *pondok*. He became famous for his outstanding knowledge on education in Arabic grammar. Later in his career, he dedicated himself to the establishment of Majlis Agama while serving as a teacher in Masjid Kota Bharu. For his detailed biography, see Abdullah al-Qari Salleh, 1974. "Tok Kenali: His Life and Influence" in W. Roff ed., *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, pp. 87-100. Abdullah al-Qari, 2008. *Detik-detik Sejarah Hidup Tuk Kenali,* Kuala Lumpur: al-Hidayah.
12. Here are some studies on *Pengasuh* such as Ramli Ahmad and Che Zaharah Che Hassan, 1980. "Pengasuh", in Khoo Kay Kim and Jazamuddin Baharuddin eds., *Lembaran Akhbar Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, pp.33-57, Mohd. Sarim Mustajab. 1988. *Ibid*, Abdul Razak Mahmud. 2010. *MAIK: Peranannya dalam Bidang Keagamaan, Persekolahan, dan Penerbitan di Kelantan Sehingga 1990*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. While these studies discussed the characteristics and background of the *Pengasuh*, not too many utilized *Pengasuh* as primary source/text in studying its socio-historical impact to Malay society.
13. William Roff, 1972. *Bibliography of Malay and Arabic periodicals published in the Straits Settlements and Peninsular Malay States, 1876-1941: With an annotated union list of holdings in Malaysia, Singapore and the United Kingdom.* Oxford University Press still provides the best information about the holdings of *Pengasuh*. However, I found that part of the holdings listed in the bibliography were not available at University Malaya Kuala Lumpur.
14. This research was conducted between October 2009 and January 2010 as part of a research grant funded by the Institute of Asian Cultures-Center for Islamic Studies, Sophia University. Other research related to this paper was sponsored by the Japan Society for Promotion of Science (2009).
15. Ven. D.D. Chelliah, 1960. *A History of the Educational Policy of the Straits Settlements* (*2nd eds.*), Singapore: G.H.Kiat & Co, pp. 21-22.
16. Awang Had Salleh. 1979. *Malay Secular Education and Teacher Training in British Malaya,* Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, pp. 3-10.
17. Awang Had Salleh. 1979. *Ibid*, p.10
18. Awang Had Salleh. 1979. *Ibid*, p.23
19. For biographies of these figures, see Roff. 1967. *ibid*. 60-64.
20. For a more detailed description of traditional Islamic leaning, see Hiroko Kushimoto, 2010. "Malaysia ni Okeru Dentouteki Islam Chishiki Dentatsu: Kousei Youso to Manabi no Imi (Traditional Transmission of Islamic Knowledge in Malaysia: the Elements and Meaning of Learning)," *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies,* Vol.3 No. 2, pp. 255-292.

21. "Perchayakan "Ulama": Pertengkaran di antara Kaum Tua dengan Kaum Muda", *al-Ikhwān*, vol3, no7 (16 March 1929); Gordon 1999: 201-2 *Al-Ikhwān* had been published by Syed Sheikh al-Hadi as the editor in chief since 16 September 1926 until 16 December 1931 [Syed Alwi 1999: 60]
22. Even though Roff called the "question and answer" as "fatwá", *al-Imām* does not use the term "fatwá" in this column. Besides, the topics are not limited to religion but it includes general topics such as history and geography.
23. William Roff, 1967. *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, p.58
24. Deliar Noer. 1973. *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia: 1900-1942*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, p.34
25. Roff, 1967. *ibid*, p.77
26. Roff, 1967. *ibid*, p.84
27. Roff, 1967. *ibid*, p.77
28. For example, Tan who is one of the pioneer of the study about *al-Imām* and often quoted in the later studies described that al-Hadi became "the most severe critic of *pondok*" and he established Madrasah al-Iqbal based on the model of the school in the Middle East.
29. "Lebai" is a honorific title used for those who have better Islamic knowledge than commoners. It can be applied for the *ulama* of higher level but in the context of the quotation it is used for the learners of *pondok*.
30. "Lebai Pondok" in *al-Ikhwān*, II, 6(16 February 1928): 186-90; Gordon (ed.)1999. *ibid*. p.230-233
31. Roff. 1967. *ibid*, p.86
32. Nik Mahmud Wan Ismail was born in 1882 in Kelantan. He went to Mecca to pursue his studies and was under the guidance of famous *ulamas* including Aḥmad Zayn al-Faṭānī. He returned to Kelantan in 1905. While serving as a government official, he established a close relationship with the royal family of Kelantan as an *ulama* and later appointed as the prime minister (Seri Paduka Raja) of the state. Abdul Razak 2010. *ibid*, p. 10-13
33. The role of "*muftī*" and "*qāḍī*" in the religious bureaucracy in Malaya is not necessarily confined to the original meaning of the term.
34. Roff. 1974. *ibid*, p.104-7
35. Roff. 1974. *ibid*, p.104-7
36. Roff 1974. *ibid*, p.133-4
37. His full name is Muhammad bin Khatib Haji Mohd. Said. Born in 1888, he studied in Middle east for about ten years then returned to Kelantan in 1914. He was appointed to be the chief secretary of the state (Dato' Laksamana) in 1920. Abdul Rahman. 1974. Abdul Rahman al-Ahmadi. 1974. "Notes towards a History of Malay Periodicals in Kelantan, in W. Roff ed., *Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay State*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, pp. 170-189., p.172
38. Roff 1974. *ibid*, p.134, 142
39. Abdul Razak 2010. *ibid*, p. 19
40. According to Abdul Rahman, it was one of the first graduates of Madarasah Muhammadiyah who hold the editorship from 1922 until 1933. Abdul Rahman 1974. *ibid*. p.173
41. Ahmad Mahir bin Haji Ismail. He was the inspector of education (*nazir pelajaran*) of the Majlis Agama when he was appointed to be the editor in chief. He resigned the editor in chief upon his appointment as the great *qāḍī*. Later he was also appointed as *mufti*. Abdul Razak. 2010. *ibid*. p.183

42. Mohammad Adnan bin Mohammad Arifin, a brother of Mohammad Ghazali bin Mohd. Arifin who became a foreign minister (Dato' Bentara Luar). Mohammad Ghazali immigrated from Singapore to Kelantan around 1900 to be secretary and teacher of Sultan Muhammad IV and his son Ismail (became sultan in 1920). Mohammad Adnan was appointed as the principal of a government school in Kota Bharu and played a role to be in charge of education in the state. He was included in the member of Majlis Agama in 1915. He also taught English night classes in Madrasah Muhammadiyah. Abdul Rahman. 1974. *ibid*. pp.172-4; *Penyata* Majlis Agama 1917. *ibid*. pp.22-23
43. Wan Mahmud bin Wan Daud. Besides the editor in chief of *Pengasuh*, he became the vice principle of the Arabic department of Madrasah Muhammadiyah which was established in 1937. Abdul Razak. 2010. *ibid*. p.115
44. For instance, there is an article that explained some examples of beneficial topics in order to invite contribution from the readers. *Pengasuh* no. 40 (3 April 1920), p. 6. According to Abdul Razak who held the editorship from 1985 until 2005, *Pengasuh* of his time published any articles as long as they are beneficial even though they do not agree with the official view of Majlis Agama. He guessed that this policy was the same in *Pengasuh* of earlier time. Interview, Abdul Razak Mahmud, 19 January 2010.
45. Zainal Abidin Ahmad (1895-1973) is titled "*pendeta* (intellectual)" because of his great contribution as teacher, journalist and officer to the development of modern Malay language. Born in Negeri Sembilan, he received English education to be teacher first in Johor (1916) then in Kuala Kangsar Malay college in Perak (1918). He was appointed as an officer of the Translation Bureau attached to Sultan Idris Teacher Training College in 1924 and wrote textbooks for Malay schools. Later he was in charge of translation and publication in Ministry of Education. In 1947 he became a Malay teacher in London University. He taught in University of Malaya since 1952. Za'ba was one of the intimate student of Tahir Jalaluddin and close friend of Sheikh al-Hadi who were representative figure of *kaum muda*. Adnan Nawang. 2007. *Za'ba dan Melayu*, Perak: Universiti Pendidikan Sultan Idris, pp.8-28; Gordon (ed.) 1999. *ibid*. pp.278-286.
46. The Great Masjid was built in 1867 and rebuilt in 1931. When it was rebuilt, the name was changed to be Masjid Muhammadi.
47. Abdul Razak. 2010, *ibid*, p185
48. Madrasah al-Attas Johor was established in 1912 by the Arab community in Johor. Sayid Abu Bakar al-Attas who was the principle of the madrasah in 1930 was appointed as principle of Arabic secondary school of Madrasah Muhammadiyah upon its establishment in 1937. Muhammad Yunan Mahmood, 1997. *Sejarah Maahad Muhammadi 1937-1997*, Kota Bharu: Maahad Muhammadi Lelaki, p. 7
49. Madrasah al-Masyoor al-Islamiyah was established in 1916 by the Arab-dominated Penang Muslim Association. Sheikh al-Hadi worked as principal from 1917 until 1919 and Sheikh Tahir Jalaluddin taught in this madrasah at the same time. Because of this fact, Madrasah al-Masyoor is known to have strong relation with *kaum muda*. (There are some different opinions about the term when Sheikh al-Hadi became principal of this school). Roff. 1962. *ibid*. p.169
50. Roff stated that Pengasuh became one of the most circulated and influential journal in Malay Peninsular within some years after the first publication. Roff. 1974. *ibid*. 145
51. Interview, Ustaz Abdul Razak, 19 January 2010.
52. "Ulama di Kelantan dengan al-Ikhwān dan Saudara", in *al-Ikhwān*, III, no. 7 (16 March 1929), pp.215-220. Also see Gordon (ed.) 1999. *ibid*. p.199
53. Majlis Agama dan Istiadat Melayu Kelantan. 1917. *Penyata Tahunan Majlis Agama*

dan Istiadat Melayu Kelantan Tahun 1917, Kelantan: Majlis Agama dan Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, p50; Abdul Razak. 2010. *ibid*, p104.

54. Majlis Agama dan Istiadat Melayu Kelantan. 1917. *ibid*, p.51; _____. 1918. *Penyata Tahunan Majlis Agama dan Istiadat Melayu Kelantan Tahun 1918,* Kelantan: Majlis Agama dan Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, p.11.
55. Majlis Agama dan Istiadat Melayu Kelantan. 1917. *ibid*, p.51; _____. 1918. *ibid*, p.11.
56. Abdul Razak. 2010. *ibid*, p.103-4.
57. Majlis Agama dan Istiadat Melayu Kelantan. 1917. *ibid*, p.56.
58. Majlis Agama dan Istiadat Melayu Kelantan. 1917. *ibid*, p.56.
59. Majlis Agama dan Istiadat Melayu Kelantan. 1917. *ibid*, p.57.
60. HAMKA, 1967. *Ajahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. H. Abd. Karim Amrullah dan Perdjuangan Kaum Agama di Sumatera,* Jakarta: Penerbit Djajamurni.
61. *Pengasuh* no. 82 (17 October 1921), p.8. The brackets ( ) in the quotations indicate the original term while the brackets [ ] means the explanation added by the author.
62. *Tuḥfah al-muhtāj bi sharh al-Minhāj,* a fiqh kitab of Shafi'ī school of *fiqh* by Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbas Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ali ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī). This is the annotation of *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn* written by Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī (d.1277).
63. *Mīzān al-Kubrā* written by 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb ibn Aḥmad al-Sha'arānī (d.1565 or 1566), an Egyptian *sufi* and ulama of Shafi'ī school of *fiqh*.
64. *Muniyat al-Muṣallī* is one of the most popular *fiqh* kitab that explains about manners of prayers written by Daud bin 'Abdullah al-Fatani (d.1847).
65. *Pengasuh* no. 82 (17 October 1921), p.8.
66. *Pengasuh* no. 82 (17 October 1921), p.8.
67. Patriot, "Menuntut Kemuliaan dan Kemenangan" *Pengasuh* no. 8 (20 October 1918), p.1.
68. "hebat Allah", "Tangisan Kelemahan Kedaifan Waṭanī"*Pengasuh* no. 51 (16 July 1920), p.4
69. Waṭanī, "Kasih ke Negeri" *Pengasuh* no. 38 (6 January 1920), p.1
70. Here "*madrasah*" is explained as "sekolah (school)". There are other examples in early *Pengasuh* that use "madrasah" for non-religious schools ex.[Pengasuh no. 53 (15 August 1920)]. "*Madrasah*" seems not to be limited to religious school as is found in contemporary usage.
71. Abdullah bin Haji Yunus, "Pemeliharaan dan Pelajaran" *Pengasuh* no. 12 (18 December 1918), p.7
72. Muhammad Adnan, "Seteru Kejayaan", *Pengasuh* no. 54 (29 August 1920), p.3
73. Za'ba, "Apakah Ilmu", *Pengasuh* no. 93 (29 March 1922), p.4-5
74. "Patriot" "Pertebaran Ilmu dan Khasiatnya", *Pengasuh* no. 8 (20 October 1918)
75. "Patriot" "Menentut Kemuliaan dan Kemenangan", Pengasuh no. 8 (20 October 1918)
76. The column of editor in chief has "P.P. (abbreviation for the editor of *Pengasuh* [*pengarang Pengasuh*])" below the column.
77. "P.P." "Bahagian Rencana: Delapan Pesanan kepada Ibu Bapa" in *Pengasuh* no. 104 (6 September 1922), p. 1
78. "Hebat Allah of Madrasah Muhammadiyah" "Tangisan Kelemahan Kedaifan Waṭanī" in Pengasuh no. 51 (16 July 1920), p. 3
79. Muhammad Daud was one of the non-ulama members of Majlis Agama since 1915. He was a Kelantanese served as government officer in Johor and Kelantan and was appointed as the inspector of Madrasah Muhammadiyah in 1917.

80. Muhammad Daud bin Salim, "Bahasa Melayu dan Arab" in *Pengasuh* no. 4 (22 August 1918), p.4
81. "Patriot" "Menuntut Kemuliaan dan Kemenangan" in *Pengasuh* no. 8 (20 October 1918), p.4
82. Muhammad Adnan "Seteru Kejayaan" in Pengasuh no. 54 (29 August 1920), p.3. Muhammad Adnan also serialized in *Pengasuh* the Malay translation of Quran written in English by a Muslim in Lahore. This means that English is regarded not only as a tool for worldly knowledge but also for religious knowledge.
83. Hashim bin Muhammad "Kenyataan Pelajaran 2" in *Pengasuh* no. 19 (1 April 1919), p.12
84. Idris bin Hasan "Pengetahuan Ilmu Usul dan Namanya" in *Pengasuh* no. 5 (7 September 1918), p.4. Idris Hassan was appointed by Majlis Agama to teach *kitab*s of *tafsir* and *fiqh* in the Great Masjid of Kota Bharu.
85. Idris bin Hasan "Pengetahuan Ilmu Fekah dan Namanya" in *Pengasuh* no. 6 (21 September 1918), p. 2-3. ; "Peringatan: Dengan Hukum-hukum dan Suruan Syari'i" in Pengasuh no. 6 (21 September 1918), p.2-3
86. *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* is one of the famous Arabic *kitab*s of tafsir and the Malay translation was written in Aceh in the end of 17th century with the title *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*. Generally known as *Tafsīr Bayḍāwī*, Riddell proposed that it refers more to *Tafsīr Jalālain* than to *Bayḍāwī*. Riddell, Peter. 1984. "Abd Rauf al-Singkili's "Tarjumān al-Mustafīd": a Critical Study of HisTreatment of Juz' 16". (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Australian National University).
87. No author's name "al-Kitab" in Pengasuh no. 51 (16 July 1920), p.3-5
88. "Patriot" "Pelajaran di Tanah Melayu (seruan) 2" in Pengasuh no. 18 (17 March 1919), p.3
89. "Patriot" "Pelajaran di Tanah Melayu (seruan) 2" in Pengasuh no. 18 (17 March 1919), p.3
90. "Patriot" "Pelajaran di Tanah Melayu (seruan) 2" in Pengasuh no. 18 (17 March 1919), p.3
91. Here Za'ba does not mention *pondok* but it is most likely to be the destination of such students.
92. "Patriot" "Pelajaran di Tanah Melayu (seruan) 2" in Pengasuh no. 18 (17 March 1919), p.5
93. "Patriot" "Leteran Pelajaran Agama pada Umat Melayu" in Pengasuh no. 21 (1 Maly 1919), p.2-3
94. "Patriot" "Leteran Pelajaran Agama pada Umat Melayu" in Pengasuh no. 21 (1 Maly 1919), p.3
95. An example is found in the discourse that the achievement of dignity and wealth as the result of knowledge can only be achieved through the "support of Sultan and the men of influence". *Pengasuh* no. 52, (30 July 1920), p.6
96. Abdullah bin Haji Yunus "Pemeliharaan dan Pelajaran" in *Pengasuh* no. 12 (18 December 1918), p.7
97. "Suara Anak Melayu" "Bandingan Dulu dan Sekarang" in *Pengasuh* no. 55 (14 September 1920), p.1
98. "Budak-budak Kelantan Mengaji di Madrasah Inggris Kuala Kangsar Perak" in *Pengasuh* no. 53 (15 Aug 1920), p.7-8
99. Ven. D.D. Chelliah, 1960. *A History of the Educational Policy of the Straits Settlements* (*2nd eds.*), Singapore: G.H.Kiat & Co, p. 71
100. "Saba'a""Bahagian Rencana: Pelajaran-pelajaran" in *Pengasuh* no. 79 (3 September 1921), p.2

101. "Saba'a". *ibid*, p.2-3
102. "Saba'a". *ibid*, p.3-4
103. "Saba'a". *ibid*, p.4
104. Adams, C. Charles. 1968. *Islam and Modernism in Egypt: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muhammad 'Abduh,* New York: Russell&Russell, p.21-2; 31.
105. Jonathan Berkey, P. 2007. "Madrasas Medieval and Modern: Politics, Education, and the Problem of Muslim Identity", in Robert Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman eds., *Schooling Islam: The culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp.40-60, p. 41-2. The same shift of idea on education was observed in the modern Europe. As pointed out by Durkheim, the concern of education is sifted from human to material, and from the training of good Christian to the training of citizen in 17th century Germany and 18th century France. Accordingly, the educational value of knowledge came to be judged based not on the moral but on the conditions needed for the good management of the society. Durkheim. 1966 (Toichiro Ozeki trans.), *France kyouiku shisou shi* (2nd volume)(Japanese trans. of *The Evolution of Educational Thought*), p.219
106. Chelliah. 1960. *ibid*, p.12-13
107. A.M. Skinner, 1873. 'Appendix 34. (Skinner's letter to the Governor)', in *Legislative Council Proceedings, 1873*. Singapore: Government Press, pp. cxxv-clx., p.cxxxvii.
108. A.M. Skinner, 1873, *ibid*, p.cxxxiv
109. I do not deny that it was common for the students of institutions of traditional learning to be working as *qadi* after their study. However the underlying idea is different from "education for occupation". Besides the learning of *pondok* was not prepared for that purpose, the "occupation" such as *qadi* was not a profession but only one of the many social roles of *ulama*.
110. "Bagaimana Kita Berkhidmat kepada Negeri" in *Pengasuh*, no. 39 (21 January 1920), pp.1-2
111. This absence of discussion makes good contrast with the repeated concern on wearing neck ties. There are some questions about neck tie such as "Is it permissive to wear neck tie to pray in masjid? Is the prayer acceptable?". The answer is "it is urged to avoid although it is not unlawful (*makruh*) as long as it does not cause trouble such as to be taken as non-believer (*kafir*)". While the readers worried about the introduction of new custom to Islamic practice, nobody seemed to question the introduction of modern system of education for Islamic learning. *Pengasuh*, no. 82 (17 October 1921), p.9
112. Mitchell uses the term "colonization" to refer "not simply to the establishment of European presence but also to the spread of a political order that inscribes in the social world a new conception of space, new forms of personhood, and a new means of manufacturing the experience of the real." Mitchell, Timothy. 1988. *Colonising Egypt*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. ix
113. Abdul Majid Muda. 1986. "al-Sultan Zainal Abidin Kuala Trengganu: 1925-1974 (Satu Kes Kajian 50Tahun)". (Unpublished BA thesis, Jabatan Sejarah Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia), p.81

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Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan Barat, Cirendeu,
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رقم الحساب:
خارج إندونيسيا (دولار أمريكا):
PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia
account No. 101-00-0514550-1 (USD).

داخل إندونيسيا (روبية):
PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia
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السنة التاسعة عشر، العدد ٢، ٢٠١٢

اختلاف الطبيعة العلمية الاسلامية بين مناطق الساحل الشمالي والمناطق الداخلية لجاوه الوسطى في القرن ١٥-١٧ الميلادي

ايسماواتي

مخطوطة *Butuhaning Manusya Mungguhing Sarak*: معيارية الاسلام في المناطق الداخلية بجاوه

آغوس إيسوانتو