Research Approach R.O. Winstedt on Islam and its Influence on the Malay Community in Malaya: An Analysis

Pendekatan Kajian R.O. Winstedt Terhadap Islam dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Masyarakat Melayu di Tanah Melayu: Satu Analisis

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ABSTRACT

R.O. Winstedt was an orientalist who served in Malaya as a British administrator. His thinking method is mold on the philosophy of logical empirical positivism, which highlights the ultimate use of reason to obtain an accurate scientific fact thru systematic and thorough research methods. In order to acknowledge a fact, the philosophy then eliminates revelation sources because it is considered irrelevant in historical proof. This article focuses on analyzing Winstedt’s understanding through his preferred work to Islam and its influence on Malay society in Malaya. To verify the accounts, the author apply historiography, comparison, and content analysis methodology. The findings show that the orientalists have established a dubious viewpoint and biased judgment, particularly Winstedt thinking approaches in evaluating Islam. He believes Islam is incompatible to practice in Malaya due to cultural and residential differences. This is, unfortunately, caused by the weakness of the orientalists in understanding Islam due to a European-centric thinking background, i.e. Euro-centrism. An idea elevated Europe as a great and civilized nation compared to others, so to call the "Ambassador of Civilization" i.e. the savior of the nation that had to be civilized.

Keywords: Philosophy of Logical Empirical Positivism, Orientalist, Islam, Malaya, Malay Society

ABSTRAK


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Kata Kunci: Falsafah, Positifisme, Empirik Logik, Orientalis, Islam, Tanah Melayu, Masyarakat Melayu

Introduction

Orientalism derived from orient with additional al and ism. Orient is a French vocabulary which means east. Geographically, the orient means the Eastern world, while ethnologically it is defined as the Eastern nations (Joesoef, 1985). While oriental in English means concerns relating to the East and ism means an understanding, doctrine, teaching, system, flow or attitude (Muin, 1978).

According to Hanafi (2000), orientalism is a political thought intended to colonize and eliminate Eastern culture, especially Islam, thereby publicize Western civilization as a great thus, govern worldwide. To Said (1977), orientalism is a method to understand Eastern world based on Western’s observation. It covers three different things but correlated, namely:

1) Orientalists are individuals who teach, write or perform a series of inquiries concerning Eastern world. This group consists of anthropologists, sociologists or philologists.
2) Orientalism is a thought based on the methodological differences of ontologism and epistemology between the East and West world.
3) Orientalism is a Western approach to dominate, restructure and direct Eastern society. Their concern is to create accounts, teach and control Eastern world including religion that mutable to their needs.

The aforementioned orientalism directions also pursues by Abu Lughod (2001, 101-113). He said:

The way in which the Orient has been represented in Europe through an imaginative geography that divided East and West, confirming Western superiority and enabling, if not actually constituting, European dominance of those negatively portrayed regions known as East.

The tripartite scholars’ opinion show that the Western colonialists intended to influence the Eastern world in terms of religion and culture, in actual fact disseminate secularism into intellectual of the colonists. Al-Attas (1978) consciousness pertaining to the hostility history between Christianity and Islam was through regional expansion and military assault, however the resistance furthers to intellectual where the primary end is Muslims. He explains:

The confrontation between Western culture and civilization and Islam has now moved on to the intellectual level and we must realize, then, that this confrontation is by nature a
historically permanent one. Islam is seen by the West as posing a challenge to its very way of life.

(Al-Attas 1978, 99)

Winstedt is an orientalist who studied regarding society in Malaya considerably, focusing those who are Muslims. His studied covers the fields of religion, culture, history and language. To study Winstedt’s ideas, the author made a comparison of his works such as The Malay: A Cultural History, Shaman, Saiva and Sufi: A Study of the Evolution of Malay Magic, A History of Malaya and Kitab Tawarikh Melayu. The author, eventually has identified the approach applied by Winstedt through his personal assessment of Islam in Malaya. The author also supported the studied by collecting other academics viewed such as Ahmad Ibrahim, Muhammad Salleh, Ibrahim Abu Bakar, Aliza Elias and Auni Abdullah in order to answer the orientalist perspectives on Islam.

A Brief Background of R.O. Winstedt

Sir Richard Olaf Winstedt was born on August 2, 1878 in Oxford, England. He was an English orientalist who served in Malaya as a British administrator from 1902 till 1935. During 33 years of services in Malaya, he had the experiences and skills in understanding the culture of the people in Malaya who are the Muslim (Mohd Zamberi, 2014).

According to Bastin (1964), Winstedt first education was at Magdalen College School and New College, Oxford. In 1902, he decided to become an officer in the Federation of Malaya Civil Service (Perkhidmatan Awam Persekutuan Tanah Melayu), and it was located in the state of Perak. During his services, he managed to study Malay language and culture. Muhammad Salleh (1989) stated that at the end of December 1902, Winstedt has been acquainted with R.J. Wilkinson; a man who responsible for introducing the former to sociological studies. Through Wilkinson's influence, he was transferred to Kuala Pilah in 1913 and appointed as District Officer. Subsequently in 1916, he joined the Education Department. Because of Winstedt's earnestness in education, he has been awarded the title of DLitt by Oxford.

Barrett (1967) also stated that Winstedt was being honored as he served in the education division when he was the first president of Raffles College from 1921 to 1931 in Singapore. During his tenure, he acted as secretary to the High Commissioner. In 1923, he was appointed to the post of Director of Education of the Straits Settlements (Negeri-Negeri Selat) and Federated Malay States (Negeri-Negeri Melayu Bersekutu), as well as members of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements (Majlis Perundangan Negeri-Negeri Selat). In fact, Winstedt was also named as the highest member of the Federated Malay States National Assembly (Majlis Kebangsaan Negeri-Negeri Melayu Bersekutu) from 1927 to 1931. Barret also explained in 1931 to 1935, Winstedt was appointed by the Sultan of Johor as the General Adviser to the state of Johor. However, in 1935, he decided to retire from government services. Winstedt was also appointed as a lecturer in Malay studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), and also served as a member of the Supervisory Board at the institution from 1939 to 1959. He completely retired from education in the year of 1946.

According to Adnan (2009), Winstedt has played an important role in determining the direction of the education system in Malaya and Singapore which should consistent to
English. Among his most important contributions was the establishment of the Sultan Idris Training College (SITC) in 1922, aimed at producing British-educated Malays instructors by ignoring the philosophy of Islamic education that disseminating in the pondok institution at that time.

Based on the study of Muhammad Salleh (1989), all works produced by Winstedt during the period of services in Malaya regarding the Malay community included history, religion, culture and language are stored and recorded in SOAS, London. Among the works produced by Winstedt are:

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Source: Extracted and modified from (Mohd Zamberi 2014)

R.O. Winstedt Approach to Islam in Malaya

Throughout the orientalist involvement in the Malay world, the colonialists have approach to interfere with administrative affairs, namely the effort to minimize and eliminate the role of religion in all aspects of life. Mohd Farhan et al. (2016) explained that the indigenous peoples who are still to religion as a guiding principle of belief i.e. Islam, the communities are under ranking, modernization rejection, indeed categorized as uncivilized because believing in the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). To orientalists, the apostle is a deviant teaching of Christianity.
The comparison of Winstedt writings between; The Malays: A Cultural History, Shaman, Saiva and Sufi: A Study of the Evolution of Malay Magic, A History of Malaya and Kitab Tawarikh Melayu, the author had identified four Winstedt thinking approaches of his assessment and understanding Islam in Malaya, that is:

First, the use of functionalism approaches as one of the colonial strategy in Malaya (Anwar, 2007). The British colonialists are conscious that Islam is the highest position belief in Malay society and, any humiliation against religion will lead to the opposition of the Malay community towards them. According to Mohd Farhan et al. (2017), though British colonizers are anti-Islamic, they had never committed any provocative actions against the Islamic religion. On the contrary, the British colonialists deceitfully had depressed the Islamic influences by having a Perjanjian Pangkor 1874 (Pangkor Treaty 1874), and it effect Islam apart from politics. Raja Melayu was appointed as the head of religion but the legal jurisdiction of Islam was restricted to marriage affairs and petty crimes (Auni 2005).

Through the above approach, Winstedt (1988, 223-224) through his work entitled A History of Malaya had asserted:

On 20 January 1874 the governor managed to persuade the Bendahara, the Temenggong and the Mantri of Larut together with the lower Perak chiefs whose kinsman Abdullah was, to sign a treaty known from the place where it was concluded as the Pangkor Treaty. Abdullah became Sultan and agreed to accept a British Resident. He was the rightful heir and was intelligent and europeanized and to disallow his claim because he had failed to attend a funeral seemed to frivolous Victorian rationalists.

The positive impact of the British colonial interposition in religious affairs had formed an organized management and salary payment to employees. On the contrary, it allowed a room to the colonialists to maintain the power of their intervention in Malaya.

In fact Ahmad (2005) explained, the Perjanjian Persekutuan (Federal Agreement) signed in 1895 had resumed British control over government as well as religious affairs. Most notable is the sovereignty of the King to receive the British advice was merely limited to religion, and the freedom of the King from being advised regarding customs and traditions had been abolished. According to Mohd Jamil (2009), by following the agreement, the British had expanded its dominance, thus impeded the Islamic political rules existed in the Malay States. The inter-relation and harmonization between religion and customs of Muslims being exiled and the excellence of the Sultanate institutions as a guardian of custom and traditions was disputed.

Based on the author's viewed, it was admit that the Perjanjian Pangkor 1874 (Pangkor Treaty 1874) and the Perjanjian Persekutuan 1895 (Federal Agreement 1895) carried similar goal although outwardly different. The ultimate goal was to strengthen Western imperialism, which is to influence the society in Malaya to embedded secularism and thus eradicate the power of Islamic rules that centered upon Sultanate institutions. To author, both agreements obscure the community’s judgment by describing as if to respect the religion but it was a medium for them to carry out Islamic rules implicitly under the direction of Western colonists, especially British.

Second, humanism practices as an approach to study and assess human beings encompassing their religious conducts and beliefs (Kamal 1996). This approach applies a
method which religious beliefs being free judged as to meet critical research standards. Among the approach was the logical empirical of positivism. A philosophy that holds by Winstedt in evaluating a society. According to Natsir (1997), it was a scientific studied and considered a way to acquire knowledge accurately and precisely through a systematic and thorough research method. Abdul Rahman (2000) and Safi (1998) emphasized that even the approached was based on systematic research methods, though any writings based on revealed sources were denying because considered irrelevant in historical proof. The approach stems from rejecting religious beliefs however fulfills the satisfaction of human desires.

Additionally, historiography was also use as a method of studying the community in terms of history, particularly in relation to Islam as a major religion in the Malay world. Meinecke (1956) states this approach executing an independent opinion in understanding historical facts and relying purely on rational to obtain an answer.

To prove the above approach practice, the author quotes from Winstedt (1961, 92) work of The Malays: A Cultural History which clearly undermines Islamic law:

... There are Malay translations of orthodox Muslim works of the school of Shafi'i, especially treatises on the law of marriage, divorce and the legitimacy of children, the only branch of Muslim canon law that Malays have adopted practically unchanged.

The passage visibly shows that he rejected the authority of Islamic legislation. He just localized the credibility into family law rather than a comprehensive system. Winstedt’s thought also certified by Wilkinson (1922, 37-38) when he explained there is no doubt Islamic law would be a Malay law if the British did not interfere and control.

The fact is both figures produce some negative views on Islamic legislation in order to alter the society position from sturdy to dubious. For author, Winstedt and Wilkinson are certainly aware that Islam does influence the Malay society's form of thinking.

The author supports the above arguments by referring to Aliza (2012). Through his work, he believes that the cause of colonialists’ negative judgment against Islam includes its legislation, as a result of:

Pengalaman beragama yang pahit dalam sejarah kebudayaan Barat serta pertembungan dengan agama serta kebudayaan Islam dalam sejarah dunia telah mencorakkan penilaian umum orientalis terhadap agama Islam. Keraguan yang terbit akibat dari sifat dan pembawaan agama mereka sendiri serta prasangka yang menebal terhadap hakikat risalah Islam serta pembawanya, akhirnya menjadikan kebenaran semua agama dilihat tidak lebih dari kebenaran falsafah.

Agama yang ditanggapi dalam telaah sejarah penulis orientalis ini adalah agama yang mesti berubah mengikut peredaran zaman hingga mampu menjadi batu loncatan mencapai cita-cita pembangunan atau sebaliknya, agama yang jumud, yang layak dicerca sebagai batu penghalang.

(Aliza 2012, 612)

[Hostility of religious experiences in Western cultural history, as well as clash between religion and Islamic culture in world history has molded orientalist’s overview regarding
Islam. The doubts arising out of their own nature and religious beliefs, and prejudices against the Islamic teachings and His messengers, ultimately the veracity of all religions perceived no more than a philosophy.

Religion addressed in the study of the orientalist writers, is a religion that should encompass according to time space as a tool to developmental ideals or otherwise, a religion that is profane, suits to condemn as an obstacles.]

Aliza (2012) had explained orientalists perspectives are influenced by negative prejudices resulting from the failure between religion and culture tolerance of two great civilizations. Pertaining to abovementioned statements, the author assumes that Winstedt and Wilkinson views were clearly founded on negative prejudice upon historical judgment, so that Islam is considered as incapable of fulfilling the will of society, and inapplicable with phase and occurrences. To author, humanism approach was purely rejected the revelation sources which is the main principle in Islamic society. Those who attached to the approach were admit to rational as the primary source since insist to develop and ensure humanity, then opposed to religious source that are obviously denied by these groups.

Third, adhere to rationalism. As said by Auni (2005), this approach emphasizes the practice of reason to an act and to solve a problem. It was an argument gains from the ability of intellect and practices of pure logical method. Any use of revealed sources was reject and considered irrelevant to meet the needs of human life. The basis for this approach is the will of the majority although the decision is wrongful and has a bad impact on faith and akhlak of the society, especially those who are Muslims.

The author refers to a work written by Winstedt; Kitab Tawarikh Melayu. According to him:

_Maka sunggoh pun ada hikayat mencheritakan hal zaman purba kala itu, tetapi tiada-lah berapa guna-nya: kerana segala yang di-riwayatkan dari hal dewa-dewa dan orang kesaktian yang tersebut kesah-nya di-dalam hikayat-hikayat itu sa-mata-mata-lah Nampak-nya cherita menyedapkan telinga sahaja. Bukan-nya dari-pada perkara yang di-terima dan di-hargakan pada nilayan tawarikh._

(Winstedt 1975, 16)

[Then there was a chronicle of the ancient times, but it was no use: for everything in the narrative of the deities and the magicians was in the chronicle- merely a storytelling, rather than an account that are unacceptable and worthless in the notion of the tawarikh.]

The author considers, concerning the above statement, Winstedt refused to agree to historical proof through myths. For him, myth is unrecognized and not scientifically proven. Winstedt also rejected historical evidence thru source of revelation because it did not meet the will of the reason and corresponds to the times and circumstances. Wilkinson (1975, 25) also agreed to Winstedt, when he said:

The corroborative detailed that the Malay Annals gave to an unconvincing genealogy must also be rejected as untrue. It was made up of myths.

Accordingly, Muhammad Salleh (1989, 16) criticized the writing of Winstedt by saying:
There were some deficiencies I had mentioned and stated earlier where the preparation of resources is often insufficient, an ineffective approach, not fair to the object of its study and at this stage, which was the divisions or fragments of a great literature, widespread and broader than what he know.

The orientalist worked on the history of Malaya show weaknesses in methodology. In addition, skepticism to its conclusions thus not suit the reality. The history of Malay civilization was not displayed properly but been manipulated to highlight the role and influence of the so-called West, which leads to the development of Malay civilization (Mohd Farhan & Nor Adina 2017). For author, Islam being shown as dirt that resides on the solid body of indigenous civilization.

Fourth, the evolutionist approaches a self-truth claim and Euro-centric extreme racism. Said (1981) and Mohd Farhan et al. (2016) stated that this approach raised Western civilization as great and noble compared to Eastern society. The approach was evidently pointed out by orientalists through Darwin's evolutionary theory, which considers Western civilization as the most advanced civilization. It was measured by the level of intelligence and approach that rejects any form of religious teaching.

Through this approach, the author brings two Winstedt views from two different works. First, the works of The Malays: A Cultural History. Winstedt (1961, 176) stated:

For many reasons, the lessons of history were neglected in the modern world. Darwin turned the eyes of the sanguine away from the past to the future, and those who in spite of war and atrocities still believe in progress towards some mundane paradise prefer the doubtful promise of science to the record of man's puerilities, errors, and crimes.

It is clear that the colonialists have elevate European as a great and supreme in order to build a great civilization. Furthermore, the author finds that the approach clearly rejects the influence of Islam in embracing Malay society in Malaya.

There are a few Malays who are pro-English like Syed Sheikh Ahmad al-Hadi. He was a reformist who welcomed the arrival of the Western invaders. According to Ibrahim (1993), Syed Sheikh Ahmad al-Hadi agreed and supported the arrival of the British to Malaya based on three reasons. First, the British community was a noble nation for liberating Malays from their unjust, arrogant and ignorant rulers. Second, the British has a system of good governance and just to all. Third, no nation should be blame for the progress and modernity they achieve for their goods.

For the author, the figure clearly demonstrates his attitude that embraces Western colonists as a savior to the Malays. His judgment indicates an enthusiastic belief of British colonialist ability in influencing and altering civilization, and his skepticism over the ability of Islam to comprehend the Malay to a great civilization.
Second, views projected by Winstedt (1927, 1-2) regarding the role of the Malay which includes various tribes such as Sakai, Batak and Semang. He said:

Maka sebab pun di-katakan mereka itu-lah yang asli mendiami Tanah (dan juga pula-pula) Melayu ini, ia-lah kerana jikalau sa-kira-nya orang Melayu telah sedia ada mendiami di-sini terdahulu dari-pada mereka itu, betapa pula dapat dan boleh di-datangi kemudian oleh bangsa-bangsa yang lemah lagi bebal itu? Kerana orang Melayu ini tentu cherdek dan maju serta terlebih pandai berikhtiar melawan serangan musoh dari-pada orang bangsa Semang yang liar dan sentiasa takut akan manusia itu.

[Then, it is said because that they are the aborigine inhabiting the land (and also the islands) of Malaya, it is because if the Malays were earlier living in the past from theirs, how possible the weak and the dense come and visit latter? Because the Malays are indeed intellectually ingenious and advanced also are smart to struggle against enemy attacks from Semang who the ferocious tribe and are always afraid of the man.]

From the study of the above Winstedt works, the author finds his assessment of Malay character in a bias. He continued to set the level of character without seeing the positive point of view of a nation studied. Wilkinson (1975, 8) also has similar perspective to Winstedt when he judged the Malay as primitive. According to him:

The peninsular presents us with a historical museum illustrating every grade of primitive culture.

In fact, Winstedt (1934, 73) also believed the success of Western civilization was a stand out compared to East society where he asserted:

Though his very name has been forgotten at Kuala Kangsar, Captain James Low was the savior of Perak, and along with the name of Low, Perak ought to inscribe in the letters of gold the name of Robert Fullerton, Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

The author’s opinion that it is unfair to project the weaknesses of a tribe without examining a positive contribution. Wherever Islam bearing, there exist forte to the identity of a society eventually builds a great civilization. The land for example, is the presence of Islam that has developed an Islamic civilization and culture and liberates society from the superstitions and falsity.

The fifth is the use of infusionism. Zainal (1994) and Mohd Farhan et al. (2017) explained the approach leveling the development standards of Malay society is not of the inherent nature within them, but because of the factors influencing from foreign cultures that are being implicitly imitated and selected by Malay like Arabs and Indians. Landon (1984) states that the Malays did not have strong faith, in fact, were obsolete the previous belief which under the influence of Animism and Hinduism. According to Turner (1984), the attitude shown by the colonial government has clearly denied the local genius in constructing a great civilization.

Pertaining to the approach, the author upholds the view of Winstedt (1927, 7), which he explained:
Bermula, ada pun di-Pulau Percha itu baharu-lah sahaja menjadi-nya bangsa Melayu yang ada sekarang ini; dan tersangat-lah pula mereka berdamping dengan lain-lain bangsa, ia-itu bangsa Hindu dan bangsa-bangsa yang terdahulu mendiami Pulau Sumatera dan Pulau Berunai serta pulau yang lain-lain juga. Bahkan bangsa Melayu itu dari zaman purba kala pun sudah menjadi bangsa champoran, ia-itu sama sa-olah-olah-nya saperti orang Inggeris juga.

[Began, were there Pulau Percha where manage to exist the present Malay; and they are very close to other nations, which are the Hindu and the ancient nations inhabiting Pulau Sumatera and Pulau Berunai as well as other islands. Even the Malay of ancient times was already a diversified; it occurrence was analogous to English.]

It indicates that Winstedt believed that the Malay had been affected by the culture and lifestyle of Hinduism in every aspect of their life including the level of local genius in building a civilization. For him, the Malays did not have any privilege; they reformed after the influence of Hinduism. In fact, Winstedt (1920) argues that Islam brought to the land of Malaya specifically from Southern India because as stated in Hikayat Raja Pasai, Islam in the region brought from India based on Southern India's staining patterns in Pasai. Winstedt (1925, 21), also stated that:

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Malay midwife learned from the Hindu all the magic he could teach for the great occasions of birth, adolescence and marriage, or that the Malay shaman added gods of the Hindu pantheon to his demonology and made invocations and offerings to Siva. Long before the introduction of Islamic mysticism, Hinduism had encouraged the Malay magician to fortify his powers and command the wonder of the credulous by ascetic practices.

The above mentioned that Winstedt contemplates the influence of Islam among the Malay community at that time was yet not strong and it was easily influenced by external factors.

**Conclusion**

The approach projected by Winstedt pertaining to Islam in Malaya certainly showed a skeptic point of view where most of his writings regarding Islam and the Malay community practice prejudice thus deviate from the history of Malay civilization. His judgment was founded by the evolutionary paradigm and diffusion found in orientalism. Winstedt sets intellectual logic at a high level, to the point that the certainty of all traditions, procedure, the methodology of knowledge, and Islamic jurisprudence can be questioned.

Winstedt labeled the Malay community as a pathetic nation from all aspect as outdated in the aspect of progress and modernization due to adherence to the Islamic religion. Winstedt was seen as inadequate to understand Malay society due to the mindset of eurocentrism. A perspective raises the European as a great and civilized nation. Their civilization was considered to be greater than the people living in Asia which include the Middle East and also in the Malay world. In addition, Islam is also regarded as irrelevant to current developments, indeed it is a nuisance to the Malay community who adopts the religion in the sense that society will not be developed if they devoted to Islam. To resolve the weakness, the British was seen as a savior of the Malays in the Malay world. When Winstedt indicates
Euro-centrism as a weight to study the history of Malaya, it turns out that he has not yet fully understood the Malay, but definitely bias in interpreting the role of Islam in Malay.

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