

**SEMANGAT: A NOTE ON THE TRADITIONAL MALAY
CONCEPT OF SOUL**

Ghulam-Sarwar Yousof

Masyarakat Melayu telahpun mewarisi beberapa konsep dasar melalui pengalaman agamanya yang pelbagai semenjak beberapa abad yang lalu. Masakini, walaupun Islam merupakan agama yang dipeluk oleh orang-orang Melayu, di kampung-kampung masih kukuh juga beberapa kepercayaan lama. Kepercayaan-kepercayaan seperti ini mempengaruhi pandangan orang-orang di kampung serta memainkan peranan penting dalam upacara-upacara serta kegiatan-kegiatan sehubungan dengan sistem perubatan tradisional. Konsep semangat merupakan satu antara konsep-konsep tradisi yang penting.

Walaupun diakui bahawa setiap manusia mempunyai roh seperti yang diberikan oleh Allah kepada Nabi Adam, pandangan orang-orang Melayu menyatakan bahawa setiap manusia juga mempunyai semangat. Semangat juga dimiliki oleh makhluk-makhluk lain seperti binatang, pohon-pohon, serta juga terdapat didalam benda-benda seperti keris-keris lama yang kononnya tidak hidup. Semangat yang ada pada benda-benda seperti inilah yang memberikan kepentingan kepada benda-benda tersebut dalam upacara-upacara serta menjamin keberhasilan benda-benda tersebut. Kertaskerja ini akan meninjau konsep semangat dalam konteks masyarakat Melayu tradisional.

Malay society during its centuries of diverse religious experience ranging from ancient animism to Islam, inherited a host of fundamental concepts. Today, although Muslim in his outlook, the Malay villager still adheres to some of these ancient beliefs. They influence his spiritual outlook and play a part in traditional healing processes. One such concept is that of semangat, usually translated as "soul" or "vital substance", something resembling the Polynesian "mana".

Though accepting the Islamic viewpoint that each individual possesses a soul such as was given by Allah to Adam the Malay believes that every person also simultaneously possesses semangat. This is something that Man shares with other living creatures including animals, plants as well as with apparently inanimate objects such as sacred keris. The presence of semangat is what makes some of these objects ritually important and efficacious. In the case of man, the semangat is subject to the operation of both white and black magic. The present paper explores some of the implications of the term semangat and its various meanings within the context of the traditional Malay society.

The concept of semangat is central to the Malay belief system that, founded upon ancient faiths, still continues to play an important role in everyday life. It

is central too, to the healing processes in Malay shamanism and the operation of magic closely linked with traditional performing arts such as *Main Puteri*, *Mak Yong*, *Ulik Mayang* and *Wayang Kulit Siam*.

Various definitions of *semangat* have been advanced by, among others, Cuisinier, Annandale and Robinson, Skeat, Winstedt, Wilkinson, Endicott and Firth.² In their studies taken as a whole, however, there still persists a measure of confusion regarding the meaning of *semangat* and its relationship with a host of other concepts such as *nyawa*, *jiwa* and *roh* all generally translated as "soul". This paper will attempt to clarify some of these concepts so as to provide a better understanding of *semangat* and explore briefly some of the processes through which, according to the traditional Malay world-view, *semangat* may be weakened or strengthened, stolen or recovered.

It is pertinent to point out here that the Malay conception of soul, like much of the traditional Malay culture and mythology, reflects an amalgam of several folk belief systems and religions experienced by the race during its long history -- animism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. All of these have left their indelible mark, something which makes a study of *semangat* both fascinating and highly complicated.

Winstedt's discussion of *semangat* appears in the following terms:

A comparison with the *mana* of the Melanesians suggests a very primitive Malay idea or belief in a vital or effective force (*semangat*) "in widest commonality spread," present in placenta, in clippings of the hair and parings of the nails, in a person's shadow, in his name, in the water in which man or beast has washed and the earth marked by his footprints, so that through any of these a person may be injured by sorcery. This impersonal force also vitalizes the leaves and branches of plants, stones, beads and tin and iron. In hard things like teeth and nuts, stone and iron, it is abundant beyond the ordinary... Two very primitive and lasting functions of the Malay medicine-man or *pawang* have been to conserve the vital spark of man and rice.³

This is a fairly direct statement of the concept of *semangat*. In general terms, on at least one basic level, it parallels the Polynesian concept of *mana*. What Winstedt's explanation does not underscore, however, is the association between the concept of *semangat* and various other terms applied by the Malay to describe what has been termed, for want of a better word, the 'soul', a term usually offered as a translation also of *semangat* as in *semangat padi*, "the soul of the rice."

Wilkinson mentions seven words used to define the soul. These are *nyawa*, *jiwa*, *roh*, *arwah*, *malaikat*, *sokma*, and *semangat*.⁴ As indicated earlier on, these terms represent the total sum of the words meaning soul from the various levels of religious experience between primitive animism and Islam. I believe it is possible to discard some of these terms, obviously used as equivalents of soul due to ignorance or confusion. *Roh* (more appropriately *ruh*, as in Arabic, Persian and Urdu) and *arwah* denote the same concept, the latter being the plural form of *ruh* in the Arabic language whence the word originates. It is generally translated as "spirit", "soul" or "life". In Islam, which bequeathed this concept to the Malays, various kinds of *ruh* are encountered, including *ar-ruhu'l insani*, the human soul, *ar-ruhu'l haiwani*, the animal soul, *ar-ruhu'l azam*, "the exalted spirit," also the human soul or spirit believed to be connected with the Being of God, but the essence of which is unknown to all save the Almighty. *Ar-ruhu'l azam* represents the spiritual faculty in man. It is also known as *al-aqlu'l awal*, "the first intelligence," *al-haqiqatul Muhammadiyah*, "the essence of Muhammad," and *al-haqiqatul samawiyah*, the original spirit of man first created by God.⁵ Other types of *ruh* include *ar-ruhu'n nabati*, the vegetable spirit, *ar-ruhu't tabi'i*, the animal spirit and *ar-ruhu'l jari*, "the travelling spirit" which leaves the body in sleep and gives rise to dreams. Needless to say, some of these concepts found their way into Islam from pre-Islamic Arabian beliefs.

Not all of these differentiations of *ruh* are identifiable in Malaysian Islam. *Ruh* is principally conceived of as the soul bequeathed to Adam at the time of Genesis, and through Adam to all Muslims and other Peoples of the Books (that is, Jew and Christians, who, like the Muslims, were recipients of "revealed" scriptures). *Ruh* then is the essence of life lost when a person dies, and which finds its way into heaven or hell, there to await the Day of Judgement, *al-qiyamat*. Detailed and highly graphic accounts of what awaits the human soul immediately upon the death of a person have been provided in the *Quran*, the *Hadith* and in the writings of numerous Muslim saints and scholars. *Arwah*, as already indicated, is the plural of *ruh*. The Malay language, however, also uses *ruh* as an adjective which refers to the dead in expressions like *kenduri arwah*, the feast for a departed person held on the fortieth day after death and thereafter annually.

Malaikat, another Arabic word, is the plural for *malaik* or *malak* meaning angel. The pious Muslim believes in the existence of a host of angels and genii (*jin*) whose numbers are known only to God. Certain *malaikat* have important functions as far as the human being is concerned. These include Jibrail, the Angel of Revelations who brought the Holy Quran to the Prophet Muhammad; Mikail or Mikal who provides rain and sustenance; Israfil, who is assigned to sound the trumpet heralding the end of the world and awakening the dead for the Day of Judgement; Izrail, the Angel of Death; Raqib and Atid, who are the *kiramul katibiin*, the recorders of

both good and bad deeds made by every individual; Munkar and Nakir, who examine the dead in their graves as to their faith in the Prophet Muhammad and in the religion of Islam as revealed by Muhammad; and, finally, Malik and Ridhwan, the guardian angels of the gates of heaven and hell respectively. To some extent, *malaikat* are seen as intercessors between Man and God, and more particularly, between Man and the Prophets. The application of the word *malaikat* to the human soul is therefore incorrect, a probable result of misconception.

Nyawa and *jiwa*, both Sanskrit in origin, represent the Hindu-Buddhist phase in the many-tiered Malay belief system as well as the contribution made by Indian linguistics to the Malay language. Both terms have the same connotation -- breath, life, or the breath of life. The word *jiva* in Hinduism and Buddhism is sometimes confused with the word *atman*, also translated soul and applied to mind, consciousness, ego and finally soul. It is regarded as the vitalizing principle in all living things. In a sense therefore, everything, including the so-called inanimate objects, have *jiva*. Sometimes it is regarded as the soul of an individual living entity, *atman*, as distinguished from *paramatman*, the Supreme soul or Brahma. The Malays, however, have not retained the lofty metaphysical dimension inherent in the Hindu-Buddhist concept of soul defined in *jiva* or *atman* and the relationship between these, on the one hand, and *paramatman* on the other, from their Hindu-Buddhist past. The lesser meanings of the terms *nyawa*, and *jiwa*, that is, life or breath of soul are retained; the two terms are freely interchangeable, their meanings identical. *Sokma* as Wilkinson has indicated, is the Malay term for the Hindu-Buddhist soul in metempsychosis. Although known in the Malay language, its usage is rare. The word is thus seldom encountered.

This has effectively narrowed down the various terms for soul among the Malays to two basic concepts: first, the concept of *ruh* as the individual personal soul placed in Man through divine creation; and second, that of *semangat* identifiable with the universal life force or vital principle which permeates all nature, including apparently inanimate objects such as stones, metals and trees, and the *keris*, a short Malay dagger which plays an important role in Malay magic as well as ceremonial practice. In hard objects, as Winstedt has pointed out, "it is abundant beyond the ordinary." Thus it becomes imperative for humans to be wary as to where they throw clippings of hair or parings of nails, for through the abuse of these erstwhile personal possessions of a living human being, his *semangat* can be drawn away or harmed by enemy or malicious *bomoh*, the native medicine-man, thus perpetrating illness, or worse still insanity and even death. One point to be remembered is that when present in certain objects of the environment -- in trees, sacred places, graveyards and so on--*semangat* is not to be confused with *penunggu*, attendant spirits or *penggawa*, guardian spirits, also lodged in these

same places. These belong to an altogether different category of invisible beings (*makhluk-makhluk halus*).

For one further interpretation of *semangat*, we should turn to Endicott who clearly distinguishes "material entities" from "non-bodies" by virtue of their possession of *semangat*, *nyawa* or *roh*:

Possession of *semangat* groups together all things including man, that are set off as significant material entities from the Malay point of view. These are distinguished from non-bodies on the one hand -- the grain of rice or cup of water, and from non-material "things" on the other -- spirits, for example. The *nyawa* involves man in a class with most animals, set off from the lower animals, plants and minerals as well as the non-bodies and non-material things. The *roh* distinguishes man still further from the rest of the world, even separating him from the higher animals; it expresses the uniqueness of man despite his involvement with the rest of creation. The *semangat*, *nyawa* and *roh* represent successive stages in the differentiation of the soul material of man; these permit an orderly view of the universe despite the participation in an all-pervading vital principle or even in a "culte de la vie" as Cuisinier says.⁶

Endicott has expressed in this differentiation the essential idea that the Malays, as he says, "are able to express the differences among men and the unity of the cosmos in terms of a single system of ideas based upon *semangat*, the vital principle."

This is a vital point in an understanding of *semangat* -- that man on the one hand is able to remain above the entire creation by virtue of his possession of *roh*, and yet, on the other hand, through the operation of *semangat*, is part of the cosmos.

Endicott believes that these three aspects of the soul, as far as man is concerned, are expressed in the all-inclusive *semangat*. For animals, who do not possess *roh*, the entire soul would consist of *nyawa* and *semangat*. In all other things, only *semangat* or the vital principle, the lowest form of soul in the three-tiered hierarchy, would be present.

Our definition of *roh* has established that it is this aspect of the trinity *roh-nyawa-semangat* that is the noblest component and the God-given prerogative of sentient man. This Judaeo-Christian-Islamic conception of the soul of man is firmly held by the Malays who clearly divide human activity into two broad spheres, *jasmani* and *rohani*, physical and spiritual.

Most of the misinterpretations and misconceptions of *semangat* arise, as Endicott himself indicates, out of reference being made to one aspect of the soul when another is in fact intended. He believes that the image of the bird, called the "kur semangat," which is used to represent the missing *semangat*, should in fact be used for the *roh*.⁷ This is because "the specific aspect of the soul that is feared to depart at such times is the *roh*".⁸ Here Endicott is in error. Firstly, the bird image is, in Malay society, never utilised for *roh*; it applies only to *semangat*. Secondly, the loss of *roh* is irreversible, for *roh* can never be recalled, it having been plucked off by Izrail, the Angel of Death, in obedience to divine instruction. What in fact is recoverable in case it is lost is *semangat*, and much of the operation of Malay traditional magic involves a shaman's manipulation of *semangat*, the lowest member of the *roh-nyawa-semangat* set-up. *Semangat* is, as Skeat accurately observes, often symbolized as a bird, something quite common in cultures other than the Malay. In all of this, as far as it is applicable to man, *nyawa* appears to be least precisely defined, it being an obvious element in *roh* and to a lesser degree in *semangat*. As indicated earlier, it is understood both as breath and as life. *Nyawa*, however, becomes the principal element in animals since they do not possess *roh*. The third element then is *semangat*. In the case of lower creatures such as trees and plants and so-called inanimate objects such as metals and stones, only *semangat* remains, and a relatively heavy concentration of *semangat* in certain objects such as the *keris* and articles of royal regalia makes these objects particularly sacred. Similarly, musical instruments, puppets and other theatrical accoutrements are treated reverentially due to their *semangat* strength, although at times, such objects are also treated with reverence due to the presence in them of guardian spirits (*penunggu* or *penggawa*).⁹

The narrowing down, in the case of man, of the three aspects of the soul into the dual concept of *roh* and *semangat* would make an understanding of the functions of healing rituals and ritual theatre much simpler. According to practitioners of traditional and folk medicine, what is lost during illness is *semangat*, not the life-sustaining, divinely bequeathed *ruh*. One whose *semangat* has withdrawn suffers malaise but not immediate death. In fact, *semangat* leaves the body during sleep much as the astral soul is supposed to be able to in Hindu-Buddhist belief systems. *Semangat* travel results, at times, in dreams and other such experiences. On the whole, it is believed that the *semangat* must return to the sleeping body before it is too late. Prolonged debilitation of the body, such as results from *semangat*-loss, could result in loss of life, but the actual event causing death is the loss of *roh*. The process of *semangat* loss is comparable to the loss of stamina or vitality in someone fasting to death. When, after prolonged fasting and loss of vitality, death takes place, the final and actual cause of death is not hunger but the withdrawal of the soul, in this case the *roh*, not merely the *semangat*.

Semangat may be weakened or abducted through what Skeat calls the "Black Art" or "*Ilmu Jahat*".¹⁰ Theft of this nature may be undertaken to influence the *semangat* (and thus its owner) in favour of the sorcerer or whoever obtains a sorcerer's services. Soul theft may be undertaken in a wide range of varying circumstances, at times with the specific intention of doing harm to a potential victim. The result of such black magic could be fever, insanity, or at worst, death. Skeat provides us with numerous examples of the operation of black magic among the Malays. Just one example will suffice to illustrate our point here:

Take parings of nails, hair, eyebrows, saliva, etc. of your intended victim (sufficient to represent every part of his person) and make them up into his likeness with wax from a deserted bee's comb. Scorch the figure slowly by holding it over a lamp every night for seven nights and say:

"It is not wax that I am scorching. It is the liver, heart, and spleen of so-and-so that I scorch." After the seventh time, burn the figure, and your victim will die.¹¹

The underlying belief in this ritual is that the various parts of the victim's body, such as hair, nails, and saliva contain great concentration of *semangat*. Therefore, while not the whole *semangat* is initially used in the ritual, the belief is that the rest of the victim's *semangat* will be drawn away as a result of this ritual "killing" through a process of sympathetic magic.

Many other examples of effects less drastic have been cited by observers of Malay culture. These result from numerous devices, particularly charms to capture the love of a reluctant person, charms to cure diseases and even charms to capture audiences at theatre performances. Consequent to this firm belief in the efficacy of sympathetic magic, the *bomoh* or *pawang*, the native shaman, plays in traditional Malay society the vital role of intercessor between human beings and the all-important vital principle, *semangat*, as well as a host of invisible beings whose role in causing diseases is both recognized and regarded with awe. Where the *bomoh* is an ordinary herbalist and not a dabbler in spirits and matters connected with the supernatural, his knowledge of the *semangat*-strength of various herbs, roots and plants helps him to prepare the potions that prove efficacious in removing a wide range of maladies. In the preparation of these medicines, however, the *bomoh*'s spiritual training or inner knowledge (*ilmu dalam*), often a blend of traditional beliefs and charms or ritual formulae (*mantera*) on the one hand, and Islamic texts on the other, comes to his aid. In cases of soul weakening or loss, the shaman's role is clearly to restore or recall the missing *semangat* (*sambut* or *memanggil semangat*). The most dramatic means require performances of *Main Puteri* shamanistic dance or the *Mak Yong* dance-theatre



1. A *selampit* performer from the state of Perlis attempting to "raise his spirits" (*semangat*) by means of incense smoke. The incense induces a state of semi-trance and serves also as a means of aiding memory.

2. Scene from a ritual (*berjamu*) performance of *mak yong* in which a dancer is being initiated. Khatijah Awang, Malaysia's leading *mak yong* actress, is here seen in a state of trance examining the various offerings including those placed for spirits in the palace - like structure (*balai tiang empat puluh*). The *berjamu* ritual includes, among other things, the process of spiritual (*semangat*) cleansing, or purification.'



often lasting several nights and involving a large group of performers -- musicians, dancers, actors and actresses -- apart from the shaman. On the other hand, the simplest processes consist of wind blandishment (*isih angin*) or a restoration of balance in the four humours or elements (*anasir arbaah*) through narration of stories, chanting of invocations, and other process leading to emotional release.¹² As the agent between the sacred and the profane, the Malay *bomoh* is immensely important in his community, officiating at rites of passage, curing diseases as well as assisting in harvest or village purification rituals to ensure continued bounty and well-being.

In the general view of the Malay world, inhabited by countless munificent as well as malevolent invisible beings (*makhluk-makhluk halus*), one major cause of disease is believed to be the host of spirits, ghosts or goblins collectively known as *hantu*. Gimlette lists several dozens of these while Wilkinson provides examples of no less than twelve different categories of spirits.¹³ There are spirits that haunt places and objects as well as those that lodge themselves in people. Through their operation amnesia may occur; a person may suffer from melancholia or depression; and in more extreme cases, possession, hysteria, or madness may result. Most diseases, whether connected with the psyche, the emotions or the physical self, are attributed to these disease-bearing spirits, *hantu penyakit*, whose numbers are extremely large. For instance, in the province of Kelantan, the spirits responsible for small-pox "comprise 199 different demons, each with its own fantastic name, and each operating on a selected part of the human body."¹⁴ The *bomoh* then in such a context operates both as protective and healing agent, using diverse techniques which, no matter what their form, serve the ultimate aim of strengthening or restoring *semangat*.

It is clear, then, that several levels of the soul are seen to exist consecutively, layer upon layer, and that while inanimate objects possess varying amounts of *semangat*, other higher varieties of the soul, such as *nyawa* and *roh*, are added on as the living creatures rise in the hierarchy of God's created beings, culminating in man, the sole possessor of *roh*. The picture is a highly complicated one for not only is there the phenomenon of different religious systems operating simultaneously but also because, apart from the soul-related concepts, there is the persistent view that the world is full of hundreds of categories of living beings, visible and invisible whose presence cannot be altogether ignored. Some, like *malaikat* and *jin*, are sanctioned by Islam; others are survivals from pre-Islamic systems for which the Malay also finds a place in his mythology, treating them as infidel beings who either rejected or were incapable of accepting the message of Muhammad, the final Prophet. Whether Muslims or infidel, to the Malay they are very real, for they impinge constantly upon his world, thus becoming forces for him to reckon with.

NOTES

- ¹ Several publications on these traditional performing arts are now available. A selected list is provided in the Bibliography.
- ² Please refer to Bibliography for a selected list of these scholars' works.
- ³ R.O. Winstedt, *The Malays, A Cultural History*, London, Macmillan, 1959, p. 19.
- ⁴ R.J. Wilkinson, "Some Malay Studies," *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 1932, pp. 114-115.
- ⁵ Thomas Patrick Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, Lahore: Premier Press, n.d., pp. 546-547.
- ⁶ Kirk Michael Endicott, *An Analysis of Malay Magic* Kuala Lumpur: Oxford, 1970, p. 79.
- ⁷ Ibid., p. 80.
- ⁸ Ibid., p.8.
- ⁹ For a detailed discussion of this subject see my *The Kelantan Mak Yong Dance-Theatre: A Study of Performance Structure*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1976, Chapter 5.
- ¹⁰ W.W Skeat, *Malay Magic*, New York: Dover, 1967, pp.552- 580.
- ¹¹ Ibid., p. 570.
- ¹² Refer to my *The Kelantan Mak Yong Dance Theatre: A Study of Performance Structure*, Chapter 7, for detailed analyses of Mak Yong and Main Puteri-Mak Yong performances.
- ¹³ John. D. Gimlette and H.W. Thompson, *A Dictionary of Malay Medicine*.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., p. 78.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Al-attas, Syed Naguib. *Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays*. Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963.

Alhady, Alwi bin Sheikh. *Malay Customs and Traditions*. Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1962.

Annadale, Nelson. "A Magical Ceremony for the Cure of a Sick Person among the Malays of Upper Perak." *Man*, 3 (1903), 100-103.

_____. "Notes on the Popular Religion of the Patani Malays." *Man*, 3 (1903), 27-28.

Cuisinier, Jeanne. *Dances magiques de Kelantan*. Paris: Institut D'Ethnologie, 1936.

_____. Sumangat: *L'ame et son Culte en Indochine et Indonesia*. Paris: Gallimard, 1951.

Endicott, K.M. *An Analysis of Malay Magic*. London: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Firth, Raymond. "Ritual and Drama in Malay Spirit Mediumship." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 9 (1967).

_____. "Faith and Skepticism in Kelantan Village Magic." in William Roff, ed., *Kelantan: Religion, Politics and Politics in a Malay State*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford, 1954.

Ghulam-Sarwar Yousof. *The Kelantan Mak Yong Dance Theatre: A Study of Performance Structure*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1976.

_____. "Feasting of the Spirits: the Berjamu Ritual Performance in the Kelantanese Wayang Siam Shadow Play." *Kajian Malaysia (Journal of Malaysian Studies)*, 1, 1 (June 1983), 95-115.

Gimlette, J.D. *Malay Poisons and Charm Cures*. London: J. & A. Churchill, 1913. Reprinted, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford, 1971.

_____. and H.W. Thompson. *A Dictionary of Malay Medicine*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford, 1971. Hamilton, A.W. "Malay Love Charms". *Journal of the Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 4.1 (1926), 136-138.

Johns, A.H. "Malay Sufism." *Journal of the Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 30, 3(1957), 5-111.

Maxwell, W.E. "Shamanism in Perak." *Journal of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 12 (1883), 222-232.

Rentse, Anker. "Kelantan Malay Charms." *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 9, 1 (1931), 146-157.

_____. "Notes on Malay Beliefs." *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 11, 1 (1933), 245-251.

Shaw, William. "Aspects of Spirit Mediumship, Trance and Ecstasy in Peninsular Malaysia." *Federation Museums Journal*, New Series, 18, (1973), 71-176.

_____. *Aspects of Malaysian Magic*. Kuala Lumpur: Museum Negara, 1975.

Skeat, W.W. *Malay Magic*. London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd, 1900. Reprinted by Dover, New York, 1967.

Wilkinson, R.J. "Some Malay Studies." *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, 1932, pp. 114-115.

Winstedt, R.O. *The Malay Magician: Shaman, Saiva and Sufi*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961.

_____. *The Malays: A Cultural History*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961.