

## EGYPT'S RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCE ON MALAY SOCIETY

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From the late 19th and early 20th centuries, modern Egypt began to emerge as an important contributor to the development of religious and intellectual thought in Malay society, in addition to certain influences coming from Turkey and the Hijaz.<sup>1</sup> One of the earliest aspects of the Egyptian contribution to this development perhaps came as a result of its modernization which was related to its book-publishing industry. The development of the industry began in 1822 when Muhammad Ali as part of his modernisation programme requested the setting up of a printing press at Bulaq in Cairo.<sup>2</sup> Taking advantage of the facilities available, since the late 19th century, a considerable number of religious books used in Islamic teaching all over the Malay World were published there. One of the earliest and most active publishers to produce such religious books in Malay was Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi, who founded his publishing house in 1859 near the al-Azhar Mosque.<sup>3</sup> He, however, started the venture of publishing Malay books in the late nineteenth century through the efforts of Shaykh Wan Ahmad bin Muhammad Zain al-Fatani.<sup>4</sup> The latter proof-read and annotated the Malay religious books to ensure their correctness and comprehensiveness.<sup>5</sup>

Another publishing house which was also actively involved in a similar enterprise was Dar Ihya' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, owned by 'Isa al-Babi al-Halabi, the brother of Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi.<sup>6</sup> Apart from these two publishers, there were other publishers such as Matba'at al-Taraqqi, Matba'at Mhd. 'Ali Subh, Matba'at al-Bahnasi and Matba'at al-Bishlawi, all of which contributed to the publication of Malay works. In

addition, there were those such as Dar al-Tiba'ah al-Misriyyah al-Kubra, al-Kashmiri, al-Taqaddum al-'Ilmiyyah, al-Matba'ah al-Karimiyyah al-Islamiyyah, al-Matba'ah al-Maymaniyyah, al-Anwar and Dar al-Misr which published works in Malay on a smaller scale.<sup>7</sup>

The religious books produced by these publishers enabled religious texts to be distributed to a wider audience all over the Malay World, thus encouraging a better understanding of Islam among the local Muslims. In this early stage, however, the contribution of Egypt to Malay thought was confined to the publication of religious books. Not only were such books available locally; they were deemed to be very authoritative. This perception was derived from the fact that Egypt was highly regarded by the Malays as a centre of Islamic civilisation and learning, and also because of the prominence of its *ulama* (clerics). Beginning from the early twentieth century, the books published in Cairo received further boost in demand all over the Malay World, following the establishment of many religious schools by the graduates of the University of al-Azhar.

The influence of Egypt on Malay thought, however, reached a new height when *al-Imam* (The Leader/The Guide) was published on 23 July 1906 (1 Jamada al-Akhir, 1324AH) in *Jawi*, which continued for 31 issues until it stopped publication in December 1908. The appearance of *al-Imam*, as one researcher put it, came so suddenly that one could in fact say that it was anachronistic. There were no obvious indigenous movements or growing trends to suggest that its appearance might be imminent. In fact, the publication of the journal was almost an Egyptian transplant, as if the debates raging in Cairo had been suddenly re-located to this region.<sup>8</sup>

*Al-Imam* was directly influenced by the journal *al-Manar* (The Lighthouse) which was published in 1898 under the editorship of Muhammad Rashid Rida.<sup>9</sup> As an ardent reformist, Rida was greatly influenced by the ideas of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh. The core of the influence was Rida's belief, shared by Afghani and 'Abduh, that Islam was political and social as well as spiritual. They believed that the religion, if properly understood and subscribed to,

would bring strength and success to the Muslim community world wide as well as salvation to the individual in the next. To revive these qualities, they believed that Muslims should return to the true teaching of Islam as underlined by the Qur'an and *Sunnah* (Tradition).<sup>10</sup> The publication of *al-Imam*, under the direct influence of *al-Manar*, can also be described as a manifestation of its modernist thought in Malay society.<sup>11</sup>

One the most prominent Malays who subscribed to *al-Manar* right from the start of its publication and who, while in Egypt, became acquainted by Rashid Rida, was Shaykh Tahir Jalaluddin. Apart from his influence on Shaykh Tahir, Rashid Rida also played a part in the origins of *al-Imam*. As an acknowledgement of the existence of such a role, Rashid Rida mentioned in his obituary of Sayyid Muhammad bin Aqil bin Yahya, another prime mover in the publication of the Egyptian journal, that Sayyid had told him of his intention to publish the journal *al-Imam* with the aim of disseminating the reformist goals of *al-Manar* in the Malay language, and that the articles published in the Malay journal would rely chiefly on translations from the Egyptian journal.<sup>12</sup>

Shaykh Tahir's effort in the production of *al-Imam* was supported by Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi and Haji Abbas Mohd. Taha and financed by Shaykh Mohd. Salim al-Khalali, all of whom lived in Singapore. Later, in early March 1908, through the efforts of Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi, Sayyid Hassan bin Shahab and Sayyid Muhammad bin Aqil, the other financial backers of *al-Imam*, a limited company, Al-Imam Printing Company, with a capital of \$20,000, was formed to publish the journal.<sup>13</sup> Almost all those who were involved in the publication of *al-Imam* had been exposed to current developments in the Middle East and had a sentimental link with Egypt. They also subscribed to Egyptian modernist ideas and believed in the need to reform Malay society.<sup>14</sup>

To achieve these aims the journal they published was named *al-Imam* in order "to remind those who are forgetful, to awaken those who are asleep and to lead those who have gone astray, and to communicate news of hope to them."<sup>15</sup> The objective of *al-Imam* was similar to that of *al-Manar* and the similarity became absolutely clear

when it was stated in its 12th issue that, "*al-Imam* is a mortal enemy of all sorts of *bid'ah* (religious innovations), superstition, imitations and alien customs which intrude into the religion." This objective was similar to that of the reformist journal *al-Manar* published by Rashid Rida, *viz.*

. . . to promote social, religious and economic reforms; to prove the suitability of Islam as a religious system under present conditions, and the practicality of the Divine Law as an instrument of government; to remove superstition and beliefs that do not belong to Islam, and to counteract false teachings and interpretations of Muslim beliefs . . . ; to promote general education, together with the reform of text-books and methods of education, and to encourage progress in the sciences and arts; and to arouse the Muslim nations to competition with other nations in all matters which are essential to national progress.<sup>16</sup>

Since the editors of *al-Imam* were strongly influenced by *al-Manar* and the reformist ideas of Egypt, it is not surprising that one of its most important features was its strong inclination to imitate the latter. Many of the articles published in *al-Imam* were either an elaboration or a translation of articles taken from *al-Manar*.<sup>17</sup> Mohamed Aboulkhir Zaki, who had studied the *al-Manar*, is convinced that many of the issues published by *al-Imam* were actually articles translated from the former, although it was seldom acknowledged by the latter; and the Arabic sources of many of the articles could not be traced, he hesitates to assert that such articles were original contributions.<sup>18</sup> *Al-Imam* was a widely circulated journal with a print of 5,000 copies during its height - the highest number ever attained by a Malay journal before World War II.<sup>19</sup> The journal was also widely read, with agents found all over the Malay World.<sup>20</sup> However, the journal was forced to suspend its publication at the end of 1908 owing to financial problems.<sup>21</sup> This arose following the failure of Raja Ali Kelana's business venture in the Bantam Brickworks. As one of the major financiers of the *al-Imam*, the closure of the business venture badly affected the source of fund for the publication of the journal.<sup>22</sup> Zaki, who also studied *al-Imam*, while aware of the financial difficulties faced by the journal was, however,

of the opinion that its termination also resulted from ideological differences. It was related to an attack by *al-Manar* on the 'Alawis. As a result, the relations between Rashid Rida and Sayyid Muhammad bin Aqil deteriorated leading to the latter and his Arab 'Alawi group of whom he was one of the leaders, withdrawing their financial support for *al-Imam*.<sup>23</sup> Sayyid Muhammad bin Aqil was unhappy when it appeared that Rashid Rida was inclined to be more favourable to the Irshadis who were closer to reformist thoughts than the Arab 'Alawis.<sup>24</sup> Even though there was an element of ideology which contributed to the termination of *al-Imam*, ultimately, it was inadequate funding which dealt the crucial blow to the journal. Rashid Rida reported that, after the collapse of the journal, Sayyid Muhammad bin Aqil visited Egypt and informed him of the closure. It was also reported that the ruler of Egypt, Abbas II, made an offer to finance *al-Imam* so that it could be revived, but the offer did not materialise and no reason was given.<sup>25</sup> After *al-Imam* ceased publication, another journal, *al-Munir* (The Illuminating), was founded on 1 April 1911 by several 'ulama' of Padang, West Sumatra.<sup>26</sup>

Under the editorship of Haji Abdullah Ahmad (1878-1933), the journal continued to be published until 1916. Like *al-Imam*, it was also an influential and widely circulated journal among the Muslim intelligentsia in the Malay World and it too was strongly influenced by *al-Manar*.<sup>27</sup> Later, when *Neracha* was published in 1911 under the editorship of Haji Abbas Mohd Taha, who was also one of the founder-members of *al-Imam*, it also published articles from *al-Manar*.<sup>28</sup> When *al-Ikhwān* was published in 1926, it bore a strong resemblance to *al-Imam*. Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi, who was another founder-member of *al-Imam*, propagandised energetically in *al-Ikhwān* a variety of reformist ideas, which showed a strong influence of *al-Manar*.<sup>29</sup> From the beginning of the 20th century, the influence of Egypt was further extended when an increasing number of Malays began to make Cairo their intellectual destination to further their religious knowledge at the University of al-Azhar.

To the Malays, the emergence of this university as an important academic destination was not only because of its long tradition of religious learning, but also because of the dynamism shown by its *ulama*. To some, the appealing image of Egypt and its *ulama* was also a result of the influence

of the reformist ideas of Muh-ammad ‘Abduh on education at the university during the last decade of the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th century, so that it became a symbol of Islamic modernism.<sup>30</sup>

Even though al-Azhar has produced graduates from Malaya since the early 20th century, their numbers were too small to have a dominating impact on the Malay society.<sup>31</sup> Despite the fact that they were not prominent, early Malay al-Azhar graduates still managed to bring home some lasting impact of Egyptian influence in the society by promoting religious education based on the Egyptian model. One of the pioneering al-Azhar graduates who committed himself to the cause was Mohd. Salleh Masri. He was among the early generation of Malay students at al-Azhar who went there in 1899 and completed his studies in 1905. His case, however, is considered unique since he was the first known Malay student to go directly to the university rather than studying in Makkah first as was the normal practice.<sup>32</sup> Upon his return to Malaya, Mohd. Salleh established a *madrasah* in Penang in 1906 and named it Madrasah Masriyyah to honour the name “Misr” (Egypt) since it was from there that the knowledge and curriculum of the *madrasah* were derived.<sup>33</sup>

To meet its running costs, Haji Salleh adopted the al-Azhar University strategy of falling back on *Waqf* properties endowed by local villagers who responded to his appeal. When the *madrasah* was opened on 17 March 1906, 30 pioneer male students enrolled. As advocated partly by the model of modern Egyptian education, the teaching at the *madrasah* was a complete departure from the traditional *pondok* system in that its curriculum included subjects such as mathematics, geography, the Malay language, logic, and handicraft, apart from the core subjects which formed the basis of religious knowledge. Since the school curriculum was based on that of Egypt, and through the encouragement of its *mudir*, many of the *madrasah*'s graduates then continued their studies there,<sup>34</sup> Madrasah Masriyyah exerted a strong influence in Penang and this led to the formation of more than 20 similar *madrasah* in the area.<sup>35</sup>

Another religious school which was established on a similar model and not long after the establishment of Madrasah al-Masriyyah was Madrasah al-Iqbal al-Islamiyah in Singapore, under the patronage of Raja

Ali Kelana of Riau.<sup>36</sup> To ensure that the *madrasah* implemented an Egyptian model of modern religious education, its governing body went even further, to the extent of employing an Egyptian, ‘Uthman Effendi Raf‘at, as its *mudir*. He assumed duty in September 1907.<sup>37</sup> As in the case of Madrasah Masriyyah, the subjects taught at the *madrasah* in Singapore included among others, mathematics, geography, English and the Malay language, in addition to religious subjects and the Arabic language. These *madrasahs* which were modelled on the modern schools in Egypt then became the forerunner of many other religious schools that were established later throughout Malaya.<sup>38</sup>

Among the *madrasah* established based on the model of Madrasah al-Iqbal with the principle aim of introducing modern religious education to the Malays were Madrasah al-Hadi in Melaka and Madrasah al-Mashhor in Penang, both founded by Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi. Madrasah al-Hadi was founded in 1917. The *madrasah*, however, failed to get a positive response from the public and subsequently had to be closed down. Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi, however, was more successful when he established Madrasah al-Mashhor in Penang in 1919.<sup>39</sup>

Another important *madrasah* which also followed the model of modern Egyptian education was Madrasah Alwiyyah al-Diniyah in Perlis. The medium of instruction in this *madrasah* was Arabic, apart from Malay and English. The subjects taught included religious knowledge, geography, science, art and mathematics. In principle, its curriculum and even the text books of the *madrasah* were obtained from Egypt.<sup>40</sup> When the *madrasah* was opened in 1937, it did not have a *mudir*. Even Shaykh Mahmud Mohd.Saman, a Malay who had graduated from the University al-Azhar, did not qualify for the post and was only appointed as senior supervisor until an Egyptian was appointed as its *mudir*. It was only after World War II that Madrasah Alawiyah Diniyah received its first *mudir* when an Egyptian, Ustadh ‘Abd al-Hamid Mustafa al-Sisi al-Affendi (1945-1948), was appointed. The second *mudir* was Ustadh ‘Abd al-Haqq Hamid al-Jizarah (1949-1952); the third was Ustadh Taqi al-Din al-Qandil (1952-55), followed by Ustadh ‘Abd al-Barq (1957-59). All of them were Egyptians.<sup>41</sup>

In the second decade of the 20th century, an increasing number of al-Azhar graduates returned to Malaya imbued with the new spirit and a desire to disseminate knowledge acquired during their educational sojourn

in Egypt. Among the prominent graduates of this group was Shaykh Junid Tola, a former student of Mohd. Salleh Masri. Like his teacher, Shaykh Junid was also committed to the development of modern religious education in order to bring about a process of change in the Malay society. He believed, however, that the process should go hand in hand with economic progress which could be achieved through the institution of *Waqf*.<sup>42</sup> However, *Waqf* had never been extensively practised among Malays in the way that it had been among the Arabs or the Muslims of India.<sup>43</sup> Shaykh Junid was influenced by the success story of al-Azhar University whose survival was ensured by its *Waqf* properties, which were also used to support Dar al-'Ulum as well as several medical schools, hospitals, orphanages and mosques. This influence encouraged Shaykh Junid to expound on the importance of this institution for the progress of the society. He even produced a booklet on its significance and the way to implement it.<sup>44</sup> When he returned to Padang Rengas, Perak, he had a discussion on the idea to the locals, and this led to the establishment of a number of *madrasah* which depended on the income from *Waqf* properties and other contributions for their operations.<sup>45</sup>

The second decade of the 20th century also saw Egypt perceived as an ideal model to be emulated and its influence extended to other aspects of Malay life. During this period, literate Malays, as products of both religious and vernacular education, began to emerge in increasing numbers and were in dire need of something to fill their intellectual void. Since the early decades of the 20th century, Westernisation in Egypt, which set the country on the road to political, social and cultural renaissance, also resulted in the progress of its literary life. It was this progress that in turn gave a new spirit to the development of Malay literature.<sup>46</sup> Decades of close connection with Egypt enabled an easier flow of this spirit to Malaya to fill the vacuum and the Malays were more receptive to influences originating from there. This would not have been the case if the influence had come directly from the West which was viewed with suspicion. Furthermore, Egypt was looked upon as a symbol of authority and a modern Muslim nation strong in its Islamic tradition.

As a result of this perception, the influence of Egyptian literary life on Malay literature evolved rather smoothly and began with the



publication of the first popular Malay love story - the novel, *Hikayat Setia Ayyik Kepada Masyuknya atau Hikayat Faridah Hanum* by Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi.<sup>47</sup> *Hikayat Faridah Hanum* was influenced by the Egyptian novel, *Zainab*, by Muhammad Husayn Haykal. *Zainab* was the first Egyptian literary work which can be considered a true novel, in the sense that it has a proper plot and characterisation. Moreover, it endeavours to depict Egyptian life in a realistic way instead of adopting some Western themes.<sup>48</sup> According to Mana Sikana, the influence of the latter on the former was apparent since there are similarities in theme including the issue of women's emancipation. The women characters in both novels, Faridah Hanum and Zainab, face similar mental conflicts.<sup>49</sup> There are other similarities as well when the broken-hearted Ibrahim in *Zainab* and Shafik in *Hikayat Faridah Hanum* both decide to enlist in military service at Sudan.<sup>5</sup>

The publication of the novel received a tremendous response and had a great impact on the Malay reading public, despite the fact that it deviated totally from the existing religious and traditional Malay literature. In fact, when another novelist, Ahmad Talu published his first novel, *Kawan Benar*, with local background and characters, he informed his readers of his worries that it would not fascinate them in the same way as *Hikayat Faridah Hanum*, which had an Egyptian background.<sup>51</sup> The remarkable response to the publication of Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi's novel was attributed to the fact that it was the earliest Malay novel which was widely circulated and adopted a popular theme. Its tremendous reception was also attributed to the high regard of the Malays for Egypt, which formed the background of the novel.

The publication of *Hikayat Faridah Hanum* was also an important milestone in the development of modern Malay literature in the sense that not only did it represent a story in which the characters were living human beings set against the background of a modern society but equally important is that its characters were Egyptians. Indeed, the background of the novel was Egypt and the plot was also adapted from an Egyptian model.<sup>52</sup> To give a sense of realism and credibility to the novel, references were made to "real" people, places and events. The cities of Cairo and Alexandria as well as the names of the roads (al-<sup>c</sup>Abbasiyah, al-Zahir and Bab al-Hadid) provided the background.

Apart from Faridah Hanum herself the characters included Huda Hanum Sha'rawi, Shiza Nabaw, Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh, Kassim Bey, Badaruddin Affendi and Shafik Affendi. In addition to this, Tal'at Bey, one of the protagonists in the novel, was portrayed as encouraging his son and daughter-in-law to read *al-Manar*, the reformist journal.<sup>53</sup>

In the second reprint of the novel, to sensationalize it, Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi included in its pages several pictures such as that of Faridah Hanum in a sexy pose, Shafik meeting Faridah Hanum, Shafik kissing Faridah Hanum and a picture of them in an intimate pose.<sup>54</sup> Despite some opposition to the publication of the pictures and the near erotic novel promoting a liberal life style, and was therefore considered contrary to Islamic norms, especially in view of al-Hadi's approaching old age and his stature as a respected *'alim*, the novel proved to be popular and had to be reprinted several times owing to encouraging public demand. A new phenomenon even emerged in Malay society, where there was a growing trend of parents naming their newly-born babies Faridah, Hanum, Shafik and Affendi - names taken from the characters of al-Hadi's novel.<sup>55</sup> The profit obtained from the publication of the novel was substantial and it is believed that it even permitted Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi to establish his own publishing house, the Jelutong Press, in Penang in 1927.<sup>56</sup>

The encouraging public interest in novels with an Egyptian background resulted in Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi becoming increasingly active in translating other Egyptian works to cope with the increasing demand from the reading public. In the news column of the journal *al-Ikhwān* of which he was the editor, he wrote that he was waiting for the arrival of books from Egypt to be translated into Malay.<sup>57</sup> It was this response from the Malay public that encouraged Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi to publish another novel also with an Egyptian background, namely, *Hikayat Taman Cinta Berahi atau Mahir Affandi Dengan Iqbal Hanum*. This love story was published in five volumes in 1928 and illustrated with pictures of beautiful Egyptian women featured in green, purple and blue in different poses. Also included was a picture of Iqbal Hanum smoking a cigarette.<sup>58</sup> Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi also adapted or translated *Cerita-Cerita Rokambul* (The Stories of Rokambul), the Egyptian series which

was derived from a French original and published in *al-Ikhwān* and *Saudara*.<sup>59</sup> Other Egyptian works he adapted or translated include *Hikayat Anak Dara Ghassan atan Hindun Dengan Hammad* (1928-29), *Hikayat Cermin Kehidupan* (1929) and *Hikayat Putri Nur ul-Ain* (1929).<sup>60</sup>

Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi's motive in publishing these novels and other works from Egypt was not merely to fill the vacuum in reading materials for the literate Malays. He had a greater agenda. In his novels, particularly *Hikayat Faridah Hanum*, Sayyid Shaykh tried to inculcate the idea of social change in Malay society, particularly with regard to female emancipation and the role of women in society. In fact, this was the central theme of his magnum opus, *Hikayat Faridah Hanum*, in which the rights of women were brought into prominence. For instance, in the story the brother of the unhappily married Faridah Hanum sent an open letter to the newspaper *al-Abram* asking for a ruling from the Grand Mufti of Egypt over the validity of his sister's marriage. The latter gave the ruling that there were grounds for its nullification in a court of law.<sup>61</sup>

In another instance, the novel also highlights the discussions between Faridah and Shafik relating to the role of women in society. The former told the latter that the reason many Muslim countries were in decline was because they did not value their women's potential. Faridah compared the neglect of the Muslim women with the education given to English women. She argued that no nation could hope to live freely and govern securely, if their people were uneducated, and children would not be educated if their mothers were not educated.<sup>62</sup>

Most of the issues concerning women found in *Hikayat Faridah Hanum*, such as female emancipation, the education of women, the responsibility of women towards family and nation as well as the education of children in fact had been earlier discussed by Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi in *al-Ikhwān*. The subject was discussed in his column *Alam Perempuan* (Women's World) which was a summary of *Tabrir al-Mar'ab* by Qasim Amin.<sup>63</sup> The column was then reproduced in a book entitled *Kitab Alam Perempuan* with the suggestion that Malay women should emulate modern Egyptian women. In this book, Sayyid Shaykh also published pictures of modern Egyptian women such as Zakiyyah 'Abd al-Hamid Sulaiman, Shi-za Nabawi, Firdaus

Bisyuni and Huda Sha'rawi.<sup>64</sup> In *al-Ikhwān*, Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi published essays on the rights achieved by Egyptian women, such as the passing of a law which forbade men to marry more than one wife and the arbitrary exercise of divorce by men. On this issue, the journal even called on the Malay rulers who headed the religious councils of their respective states to do the same in order to protect the rights of women.<sup>65</sup>

The bold stance taken by Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi on the position of women which he propagated through his journals and novels was an important turning-point in challenging Malay myths and conservatism regarding the issue. By taking Egypt as an example, Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi's crusade, despite some opposition, managed to gather adherents which would not have been the case if Western women had been taken as the model of emancipation. As a show of support for his initiatives, several reformist-minded Malays also advocated the issue in other forms, the main intention being to portray the emancipated Egyptian women as a symbol to be emulated. Using the journals they owned, pictures of emancipated Egyptian women were regularly published to convince the readers.

One Egyptian woman who was regularly featured, the first occasion being in *Seruan Azhar* (the Malay journal published by Malay students in Cairo) with the thinly disguised suggestion that Malay women should emulate her, was Huda Hanum Sha'rawi, a feminist leader in Egypt. She was also reported as having toured Europe and the United States explaining the progress achieved by Egyptian women. The journal felt that it would be in Malay women's best interest if such a personality existed among themselves striving for the progress of the nation.<sup>66</sup> To get its message across, the journal even printed a picture of Huda Hanum Sha'rawi on its front page.<sup>67</sup> Another journal which also reported on her and implied that Malay women should emulate her was *Dunia Melayu*. It was reported by the journal that she presented a demand to the Prime Minister for a law to be promulgated that would forbid girls marrying before the age of eighteen and that equal treatment in all aspects be granted to women.<sup>68</sup> Huda Hanum Sha'rawi, as a symbol of emancipated Egyptian women, was also given attention by the journal *al-Hikmah* when it published a picture of her delivering a speech in the

World Women's Conference in Istanbul with an unveiled Turkish woman president on the stage.<sup>69</sup>

Apart from Huda Hanum Sha'rawi, other depictions of Egyptian women, such as Safiyyah Hanum Zaghul, the wife of the late Zaghul Pasha and her struggle in support of her husband in order to achieve Egypt's independence, was also featured in *Seruan Azhar*.<sup>70</sup> So too was a depiction of Munirah Thabit, an Egyptian woman who published a journal, again imploring that Malay women should emulate her achievement.<sup>71</sup> *Seruan Azhar's* move in publishing various pictures which depicted emancipated Egyptian women influenced other journals such as *Medan Lelaki*, *al-Hikmah* and *al-Ikhwān* to do likewise.<sup>72</sup>

Before the outbreak of World War II, in addition to the Malay interest in novels with an Egyptian background highlighting emancipated women in Egypt that were translated or adapted by Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi, there was also a growing fascination in the community with Egyptian films which demonstrated another aspect of the country's progress. It was reported that when these films were screened in Singapore the cinema had a full house.<sup>73</sup> A further interest in these films was manifested when several books based on them were published as a result of the interest shown, so that a greater number of fans could enjoy the stories. To satisfy their readers, these books tried to elaborate every aspect of the films. This enterprise was spearheaded by Mohamad Abdul Hamid and his publisher Jasa Sepakat. The first book he published was based on the film *Bint al-Basha al-Mudir* or *Anak Perempuan Pesuruhjaya* (The Daughter of a Commissioner) translated by Ahmad bin Sagaf al-Sagoff and Muhammad Fadlullah. The book contained the dialogue and was accompanied by scenes from the film printed in white, green, red and black. By this means it was hoped that, "those who read it would feel as though as they were seeing the film."<sup>74</sup>

The success of the book *Bint al-Basha al-Mudir* encouraged Mohamad Hamid to publish a number of other books based on Egyptian films. These included *Yabya al-Hubb atau Kekallah Kekasih*,<sup>75</sup> *al-Ward al-Baidha atau Ros Putih di Negeri Mesir*,<sup>76</sup> *Lail al-Kaberah atau Masa Malam di Kaberah*,<sup>77</sup> *Lail al-Muntir atau Malam Yang Berhujan*,<sup>78</sup> and *Dumu' al-Hubb atau Airmata Percintaan*.<sup>79</sup> These books which were based on

Egyptian films seem to have been popularly received since, according to Md. Sidin, the *Government Gazette* shows that 3,000 copies of *Bint al-Basha al-Mudir* atau *Anak Perempuan Pesuruhjaya* and 2,000 copies of *Yahya al-Hubb* atau *Kekallah Kekasih* were printed.<sup>80</sup> In these books, as in *Bint al-Basha al-Mudir*, colour pictures were also printed, together with the cast of actors and actresses and the sequence of scenes. One of the famous heroes in these films was Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab who was also a well-known singer, while the most depicted heroine was Layla Murad. In addition to publishing these books, Jasa Sepakat also advertised the sale of postcards featuring famous Egyptian actors and actresses for the benefit of interested readers.<sup>81</sup>

Despite the fact that these films were all romantic films with a middle-class setting, as in the case of al-Hadi's novels, the Malays were generally receptive to their advent as part of Malay entertainment. The pioneering effort of translating movies into Malay in order to reach a wider audience was undertaken by none other than Muhammad Fadlullah, a well-known 'alim educated at al-Azhar, thus indicating that these movies were at least sanctioned by certain sections of the religious community.

Prior to the Wahhabi takeover of Hijaz, Makkah was normally looked up to for a ruling when religious disputes arose in Malaya. In the 1930's, even though the religious influence of Makkah still persisted, Cairo and the authority of the 'ulama' of al-Azhar began to gain dominance. Apart from belonging to the same *madhhab*, (Shafii), their progressive views were sought because they were more relevant to contemporary problems.

This was the case in the early 1930's in Malacca, when there was a religious dispute over the use of a kind of wooden drum (*ketuk-ketuk*) to call Muslims to prayers.<sup>82</sup> The stir was said to have been created following a visit to the state by Shaykh Hassan Yamani, former *Mufii* of Makkah.<sup>83</sup> Following an intense controversy, on 17 September 1932, a gathering of *ulamas* was organised to discuss the issue.<sup>84</sup> One of the participants in the gathering, Haji Abdul Latiff Tambi, gave his opinion that the use of *ketuk-ketuk* was permissible because it was entirely different from the *naqus* used by churches. His opinion, however, was not accepted by other members of the gathering. As a compromise, both parties agreed to refer

the matter to the *ulama* of al-Azhar with a picture of the *ketuk-ketuk* enclosed so that a *fatwa* (legal ruling) could be given and in which both parties would abide by once it was given.<sup>85</sup> It is not known whether the *ulama* of al-Azhar delivered the *fatwa*, but the decision to refer the matter to Cairo at least managed to calm the tense situation.<sup>86</sup>

A *fatwa* from Shaykh al-Azhar was also requested in Kelantan in the mid-1930's following a controversy over dog saliva which was sparked off by a Dalmatian hound kept domestically by Tengku Ibrahim bin Sultan Muhammad IV, the heir apparent and younger brother of the Sultan of Kelantan.<sup>87</sup> It centred around the question of the status of a dog's saliva upon contact with the human body. The controversy started when, following his return to Kota Bharu from a long educational sojourn in India and Makkah, Haji Nik Abdullah (1900-1935), the son of Hj. Wan Musa who was the former *mufti* (1908-1916), was called by Tengku Ibrahim to the palace (*Istana Cemerlang*). It was while discussing various religious issues that Haji Nik Abdullah was asked by Tengku Ibrahim about the permissibility of keeping a dog and what was the status of the human body if it was contaminated by its saliva.<sup>88</sup>

In answering the question, Haji Nik Abdullah said it was indeed permissible to keep a dog for household security. As for the second question, Haji Nik Abdullah gave his opinion according to the doctrine of Imam Shafii and Imam Malik by saying that, according to the latter, the body was not obliged to undergo special ritual cleansing in the consequence of coming into contact with a dog's saliva. However, according to the ruling of the former it was necessary to do so. Since there was a difference between the two, in his opinion it was up to the individuals to choose which was preferable. In his view, all the opinions from the four major *madbbabs*, Hanafi, Hanbali, Maliki and Shafii, could be practised by the public, at least by the principle of *tafiiq*, or combination of *madbbabs*,<sup>89</sup> the opinion of Nik Abdullah on the issue was contested by several '*ulama*' including Hj. Ibrahim Hj. Yusoff (*Mufti*), Haji Ahmad Mahir b. Haji Ismail, Haji Abdullah Tahir Hj. Ahmad and Haji Ahmad Haji Abdul Manan, supported by Tengku Maharani, Tengku Ibrahim's sister.<sup>90</sup>

The issue became a matter of public disputation in Kota Bharu, but Nik Abdullah shortly thereafter died suddenly. After his death, his opinion was pursued by his father Hj. Wan Musa Wan Abdul Samad. To settle the issue, eventually Tengku Ibrahim called a public council of debate (*Majlis Muzakarah*) to discuss it. The *Majlis Muzakarah* was held in public at Istana Cemerlang in January 1937 and was attended by more than two thousand people, the largest public gathering known in Kelantan, according to reports. On the side of Tengku Ibrahim, the participants were Haji Wan Musa (ex-*Mufti*), Haji Abbas Mohd. Taha (the Chief *Qadi* of Singapore) and Burhanuddin bin Muhammad Nor (Secretary of *Ulama* Council Singapore) who was to lead Parti Islam in the 1950s. Meanwhile, on the side of Tengku Maharani were Haji Ibrahim b. Haji Yusoff (the *Mufti* of Kelantan), Haji Ahmad b. Ismail (Chief *Qadi*) and two other *ulama*, Haji Ahmad b. Abdul Manan and Haji Abdullah Tahir b. Ahmad (members of the Kelantan *Ulama* Council). The result of the debate was inconclusive in as much as the two sides held firmly to their opinions, supported by arguments and texts (*nasi*) from the Qur'an, Hadith and commentaries.<sup>91</sup>

Following the deadlock in the discussions, Haji Abbas Mohd. Taha wrote a book which contained the opinions given by the four major *madhbab* on the issue.<sup>92</sup> Haji Wan Musa also produced a hand-written work which contained both the opposing views (on the religious ruling of keeping dogs and the status of canine saliva) including the opinion given by Shaykh Mustafa al-Maraghi, the Shaykh al-Azhar.<sup>93</sup> To ensure the validity of the opinion, the Sultan of Kelantan himself decided to send questions on the matter to Shaykh Mustafa al-Maraghi for a *fatwa*.<sup>94</sup> Shaykh Mustafa al-Maraghi gave his *fatwa* on 1 April 1937 which was similar to that given by the late Haji Nik Abdullah. According to this *fatwa*, it was indeed permissible to keep a dog for household security and, according to the doctrine of Imam Shafii, the body was obliged to undergo special ritual cleansing in consequence of coming into contact with it, but not according to the ruling of Imam Malik.<sup>95</sup> These events indicate that the views of the Shaykh al-Azhar were always taken seriously by a substantial number of Malays in disputes over matters of religion.



The high regard Malays had for Egypt clearly stemmed from their perception of its achievements as a Muslim nation which had undergone modernisation by adopting Western techniques but had maintained Islamic traditions. Egypt was thus taken as the ideal model of a modern Islamic state. To a large number of Muslims, the changes it introduced were relatively acceptable and they tried to emulate them even though the new ideas were of Western origin. One such idea was with respect to female emancipation. The role played by the University of al-Azhar was also important in elevating Malay regard for Egypt. The *ulama*, particularly the modernists, were looked upon as Muslim intellectuals whose opinions were taken as more relevant to the existing doctrinal issues in Islam.

However, Egypt's modernist influence did not gain rapid momentum in Malaya. The 1920s also witnessed the transformation of Turkey when Kemal Ataturk abolished the Caliphate, much revered by Muslim communities the world over, and turned Turkey into a Republic. Many of the Malays were confused. The modernist influence thereafter encountered severe opposition from conservative and traditionalist elements and, although it did not entirely fizzle out, did not succeed in transforming Malay society as it had hoped to do when the movement took off at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the influences which originated from Turkey and the Hijaz contributing to the development of religious and social thought in Malay society from the late 19th century until 1940, see Chapter 3, Hijaz and Malay Religious Enthusiasm: Effect and Importance, and Chapter 4, The Turks From Empire To Republic: Perception and Reaction, in Mohammad Redzuan Othman. (1994). *The Middle Eastern Influence on the Development of Religious and Political Thought in Malay Society, 1880-1940*, PhD. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, pp. 113-224.

- <sup>2</sup> P.J. Vatikiotis. (1976). *The Modern History of Egypt*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, , pp. 94-95.
- <sup>3</sup> Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak. (1992). *Malay Book Publishing and Printing in Malaya and Singapore, 1807-1949*, PhD. Thesis, University of Stirling, p. 115.
- <sup>4</sup> According to Wan Mohd. Saghir Abdullah, Shaykh Wan Ahmad bin Muhammad Zain al-Fatani is believed to have been the first Malay student to study in Egypt. See Wan Mohd. Saghir Abdullah. (1990). *Fatawa Tentang Binatang Hidup Dua Alam Syeikh Ahmad Al-Fatani*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Hizbi, p. 36.
- <sup>5</sup> Wan Mohd. Saghir Abdullah. (1992). *Al'Allamah Syeikh Ahmad Al Fatani Abli Fikir Islam dan Dunia Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, p. 24.
- <sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 24. Mustafa al-Babi al-Halabi's contribution to Malay book publishing was highly acknowledged, and when he died on Wednesday 28 September 1927, an obituary together with his picture was published by *Pilehan Timoer*. See *Pilehan Timoer*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 18.
- <sup>7</sup> See Wan Mohd. Saghir Abdullah, *Al'allamah Syeikh Ahmad AlFatani*, p. 97.
- <sup>8</sup> Zainon Ahmad. (1974). *The Life, Times and Thoughts of Sayyid Shaykh Ahmad al-Hadi*, M.A. Thesis, University of Malaya, ,p.p. 10-11.
- <sup>9</sup> *Al-Manar* was published in 1898 as a weekly, and after one year as a monthly journal. It was published regularly, except for a short period during World War I when it was irregular, due to paper shortage. *Al- Manar* only ceased publication when Rashid Rida died in 1935, after a span of thirty years under

his editorship. See Sylvia G. Haim. (1984). The Palestine Problem in *al-Manar*, in Amnon Cohen and Gabriel Baer (eds.), *Egypt and Palestine. A Millennium of Association*. New York: St. Martin's Press, p. 299.

- <sup>10</sup> In actual fact cAbduh was influenced by al-Afghani. Both of them, however, influenced Rashid Rida and this can be clearly seen from his writings in *al-Manar*. Rashid Rida was generally regarded as the successor of Muhammad cAbduh. See Assad Nimer Busool. (October 1976). Shaykh Muhammad Rashid Rida's Relations with Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad cAbduh, *The Muslim World*, Vol. LXVI, No. 4, p. 286. See also Salahuddin al-Munajjid. (1974). The Principles of Ijtihad as Laid Down By Muhammad Rashid Rida, *Studies in Islam*, Vol. XI, Nos. 1-2, January-April, pp. 51-58.
- <sup>11</sup> Abdul Aziz Mat Ton. (1972/73). "Gerakan Ansarul Sunnah Dalam Kegiatan Kaum Muda Melaka", B.A. Thesis, University of Malaya, p. 18.
- <sup>12</sup> *Al-Manar*, Vol. XXXI, p. 239; Cited from Mohamed Aboulkhir Zaki, "Modern Muslim Thought in Egypt and its Impact on Islam in Malaya", PhD. Thesis, University of London, 1965", p.385. Sayyid Muhammad bin Aqil bin Yahya was a Hadhrami Arab with extensive business interests in the Malay World, India and the Middle East. He was also a contributor to the Egyptian newspaper *al-Mu'ayyad*, using the pen name of Saif al-Din al-Yamani. When *al-Manar* was published in 1898 he contacted Rashid Rida and subscribed to the journal, one of the earliest to do so. He himself even took the initiative of circulating *al-Manar* in Singapore, Java and all over the Dutch East Indies. According to Zaki, the association of Sayyid Muhammad with *al-Imam* was probably financial as well as in editorial policy.
- <sup>13</sup> *Al-Imam*. (May 1908). Vol. 2, No. 9, 5, pp. 292-293.

- <sup>14</sup> Abdullah Haji Jaafar. (1984). Al-Imam, in Khoo Kay Kim (ed.), *Sejarah Masyarakat Melayu Modern*. Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Muzium Malaysia, p. 85.
- <sup>15</sup> See *al-Imam*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 23 July 1906, p. 8.
- <sup>16</sup> See Charles C. Adams. (1968). *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*. New York: Russell & Russell, p. 181.
- <sup>17</sup> Mohamed Aboulkhir Zaki. *Modern Muslim Thought*, p. 384.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 390.
- <sup>19</sup> See I. Proudfoot. (December 1985). Pre-War Malay Periodicals. Notes to Roff's Bibliography Drawn from Government Gazettes, *Kekal Abadi*, No. 4, p. 5.
- <sup>20</sup> For a list of its distributors found almost all over Malaya as well as in Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Thailand, see *al-Imam*, Vol. 1, No. 2, August 1906.
- <sup>21</sup> HAMKA. (1967). *Ajabku. Riwat Hidup Dr. Abdul Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama Di Sumatra*, (3rd Ed). Jakarta: Penerbit Djajamurni, p. 94.
- <sup>22</sup> Zainon Ahmad, *The Life, Times and Thoughts*, p. 23.
- <sup>23</sup> See Mohamed Aboulkhir Zaki, *Modern Muslim Thought*, p. 387.
- <sup>24</sup> The conflict between the Alawis and the Irshadis was related to existence of the Sayyid and non-Sayyid within the Arab community. It came into the open after the latter left Jamciyyat al-Khair (founded in 1905) to form their own society, Jamciyyah al-Irshad. To oppose the formation of Jamciyyah al-Irshad, the Sayyid group formed al-Rabitah al-cAlawiyyah in 1927. Both organisations then became involved in a bitter conflict which became known as the Alawi-Irshadi conflict, and both sides had

their own respective organs such as the journals *al-Iqbal* and *al-Irshad*. See Safie Ibrahim, *Islamic Religious Thought in Malaya, 1930-40*, PhD. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1987, p. 147; For a discussion of the Alawi-Irshadi conflict, see also Abdullah S. Bujra (1977). *Political Conflict and Stratification in Hadhramaut - 1*, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1967, pp. 356-363; Notes on the Al-Irshad and the Sarikat Islam, in Khoo Kay Kim (ed). (1977). *The History of South-East, South and East Asia. Essays and Documents*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, pp. 136-142. See also Natalie Mobini-Kesheh, *Islamic Modernism in Colonial Java: The Al-Irshad Movement*, in Ulrike Freitag and William G. Clarence-Smith. (1977). *Hadrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s -1960s*, Leiden: Brill, p. 240.

- <sup>25</sup> *Tarikh al-Ustaz al-Imam*, Vol. 1. p. 600. Cited from footnote 11 of Mohamed Aboulkhir Zaki, *Modern Muslim Thought*, p. 387; HAMKA, *Ajabku*, p. 94.
- <sup>26</sup> HAMKA, *Ajabku*, p. 95.
- <sup>27</sup> See Wan Salim Wan Mohd. Noor. (1988). *A Study of the Development of Reformist Ijtihad and Some of Its Applications in the Twentieth Century*, PhD. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, p. 300.
- <sup>28</sup> Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab. (1978). *Neraca 1910 - Jun 1915. Penyambung Nafas Islah al-Imam*. *Jurnal Budaya Melayu*, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 97.
- <sup>29</sup> William R. Roff. (1980). *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya, p. 165.
- <sup>30</sup> See Sami Abdullah Kaloti. (1974). *The Reformation of Islam and the Impact of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh on Islamic Education*, PhD. Dissertation, Marquette University, pp. 128-132.

- <sup>31</sup> For a discussion *vis-à-vis* the Malay students in Cairo, see William R. Roff. (April 1970). Indonesian and Malay Students in Cairo in the 1920's, *Indonesia*, No. 9. See also Mohammad Redzuan Othman. (1995). Call of the Azhar: The Malay Students Sojourn in Cairo Before World War II, *Sejarah*, No. 3.
- <sup>32</sup> See Othman bin Bakar. Haji Saleh Masri. (1980). Pengasas Al-Masriyyah, in Khoo Kay Kim, et.al, *Islam di Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia. pp. 62-66.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 66.
- <sup>34</sup> Among them were Shaykh Ahmad and Shaykh Haji Othman, who after completing their studies in Egypt, taught at the *madrasah*.
- <sup>35</sup> See Othman bin Bakar, "Haji Saleh Masri", p. 74, for the list of *madrasahs* formed in the vicinity of the area.
- <sup>36</sup> The *madrasah* was announced as to be opened on 21 November 1907 by *al-Imam* (*al-Imam*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 8 October 1907, p. 122). Existing evidence, however, shows that the *madrasah* was only opened on 4 February 1908. See Mohd. Sarim Haji Mustajab, Islam dan Perkembangannya dalam Masyarakat Tanah Melayu 1900-1940an, M.A. Thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1975, p. 356; see also *Al-Imam*, Vol. 2, No. 8, 4 February 1908, p. 264.
- <sup>37</sup> See *Al-Imam*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 9 September 1907, p. 104.
- <sup>38</sup> Abdullah Alwi Haji Hassan. (1980). The Development of Islamic Education in Kelantan, in Khoo Kay Kim, et al. *Tamadun Islam Di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, p. 196.
- <sup>39</sup> For a brief history and development of Madrasah al-Mashhor, see Rahim b. Osman. (1980). Madrasah Masyhur al-Islamiyah in Khoo Kay Kim, et al., *Islam di Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, pp. 75-85.

- <sup>40</sup> Khoo Kay Kim. (1980). Perkembangan Pelajaran Agama Islam in Awang Had Salleh, *Pendidikan Ke Arab Perpaduan: Sebuah Perspektif Sejarah*. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd., p. 13.
- <sup>41</sup> See Saniyah binti Abas. (1980). Al-Madrasah al-Alwiyyah al Madiniyyah, Arau, Perlis, in Khoo Kay Kim, et al., *Islam di Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, pp. 134-135.
- <sup>42</sup> See Siti Hanifah Ahmad. (1989). Sheikh Junid Tola. Sumbanganya dalam Bidang Pendidikan, Ekonomi dan Politik, 1897-1948, B.A. Thesis, University of Malaya, pp 32-33.
- <sup>43</sup> See Moshe Yegar. (1874-1941). The Development of Islamic Institutional Structure in Malaya: Impact of British Administrative Reforms in Raphael Israeli and Anthony H. Johns (eds.) (1984). *Islam in Asia*, Vol. II, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, p. 194.
- <sup>44</sup> See Shaykh Junid Tola, *Kifiat Mengadakan Wakaf*, Cairo: Matba 'ah al Marbawi, 1348AH/1929AD, pp. 2-4.
- <sup>45</sup> See Ismail Sudin, Beberapa Aspek Sejarah Sosial Kuala Kangsar, *Jurnal Sejarah*, Vol. X, 1971/72, pp. 45-46.
- <sup>46</sup> R.O. Winstedt. (1942). Malaysia, in A.J. Arberry and Rom Landau (eds), *Islam To-day*. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., p. 224.
- <sup>47</sup> Despite the fact that *Hikayat Selia Asyik Kepada Masyuknya atau Hikayat Faridah Hanum* by Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi was regarded by many as the first Malay novel, Roff believed it was not. According to him, the first Malay novel was a detective story entitled *Ceritera Keceburian Lima Million Ringgit* (Tale of the Theft of Five Million Dollars), published in Kota Bharu, Kelantan, in January 1922, by Muhammad bin Muhammad Said, and printed at the Majlis Ugama Islam Press. The characters found in this detective story are English and the back-

grounds are London and New York. See William Roff. (1974). *The Mystery of the First Malay Novel (And Who was Rokambul)*, *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde*, No. 130, p. 451. Even though Roff's findings may be correct, however, it is beyond doubt that *Hikayat Setia Asyik Kepada Masyuknya atau Hikayat Faridah Hanum* by Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi was the first most popular and the most widely read Malay novel.

- <sup>48</sup> See Hamdi Sakkut. (1971). *The Egyptian Novel and Its Main Trends From 1913 to 1952*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, p. 11. From my observation during a visit to Cairo in December 2004, I found out that the novel *Zainab* is still in print and available in the bookshops.
- <sup>49</sup> See Mana Sikana. (1986). *Kritikan Sastera: Pendekatan dan Kaedab*. Petaling Jaya: Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd., p. 226.
- <sup>50</sup> See Yahaya Ismail, Syed Sheikh al-Hadi. (November 1974). *Pembuka Zaman Baru dalam Bidang Novel*, *Dewan Bahasa*, Vol. 18, No. 11, p. 557 and Hamdi Sakkut, *The Egyptian Novel*, p. 13.
- <sup>51</sup> Yahaya Ismail, Ahmad Talu. (December 1974). *Novelis Melayu yang Pertama*. *Dewan Bahasa*, Vol. 18, No. 12, p. 616.
- <sup>52</sup> Mohd. Taib Osman. (1964). *Modern Malay Literature*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, pp. 5-6.
- <sup>53</sup> Yahaya Ismail, Syed Sheikh al-Hadi, p. 573. See also, Virginia Matheson Hooker. (1994). *Transmission Through Practical Example: Women in Islam in 1920s Malay Fiction*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Malaysian Branch (JMBRAS)*, Vol. 67, Part 2, pp. 96-98.
- <sup>54</sup> See Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi, *Setia Asyik Kepada Masyuknya atau Sba'fik Affendi Dengan Faridah Hanum*, (2nd Edition), Vol. 1. Penang: Jelutong Press, 1927/1928.



- <sup>55</sup> Talib Samat. (1992). *Syed Syeikh al-Hadi. Sasterawan Progresif Melayu*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, p. 23.
- <sup>56</sup> Mrs S.H. Tan (Linda Chen). (1961). *The Life and Times of Sayyid Shaykh Al-Hadi*, B.A. Thesis, University Malaya, Singapore, p.26. Cited from Yahaya Ismail, *Syed Sheikh al-Hadi*, p. 552.
- <sup>57</sup> *Al-Ikhwān*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 16 November 1926, p. 64.
- <sup>58</sup> See Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi (1927). *Taman Cerita Berabi atau Mahir Affandi Dengan Iqbal Hanum*. Penang: Jelutong Press.
- <sup>59</sup> These detective stories all belonged to a series known under the general name of *Cerita Rokambul*. Seven of the stories which were published in volume form before Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi's death included *Cerita Rokambul Dalam Jail dan Di Paris* (398 pages), *Cerita Rokambul Dalam Siberia* (400 pages), *Cerita Rokambul Dengan Puteri Russian dan Asyik* (498 pages), *Cerita Rokambul Dengan Korban Hindi* (502 pages), *Cerita Rokambul Dengan Maliun Kaum Nor* (508 pages), *Cerita Rokambul Dengan Taman Penglipur Lara* (298 pages) and *Cerita Rokambul Dengan Perbendaharaan Hindi* (509 pages). See Za'ba. (1940). *Modern Developments in Malay Literature*, *JMBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, p. 154.
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.
- <sup>61</sup> See Yahaya Ismail, *Syed Sheikh al-Hadi*, p. 553.
- <sup>62</sup> See Virginia Matheson Hooker, *Transmission Through Practical Example*, p. 107.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 569-570. See also *al-Ikhwān*, Vol. 1, No. 5, 16 January 1927, pp. 96-99. Qasim Amin was an ardent follower of c Abduh. His work *Tabrir al-Mar'ah* was published in 1899. In 1900 he published another book, also on the issue of women's emancipation, *al-Mar'ah al-Jadidab*.

- <sup>64</sup> See Sayyid Shaykh al-Hadi. (1928). *Kitab Alam Perempuan*. Penang: Jelutong Press, p. 6..
- <sup>65</sup> See *Al-Ikhwān*. (1928). Vol. 2, No. 8, 16 April , pp. 237-241.
- <sup>66</sup> See for example *Seruan Azhar*. (1926). Vol. 1, No. 9, June , p. 175 and Vol. 2, No. 22, July 1927, pp. 432-433.
- <sup>67</sup> *Seruan Azhar*, Vol. 3, No. 29, February 1928. Her picture was also published by other reformist newspapers, *Al-Ikhwān* (Vol. 1, No. 3, 16 November 1926, p. 50 and Vol. 1, No. 5, 16 January 1927, p. 97) and *Medan Lelaki*, Vol. 1, No.1, 4 October 1935, p. 41.
- <sup>68</sup> See *Dunia Melayu*, 20 January 1929, p. 38.
- <sup>69</sup> See *al-Hikmah*, Vol. 2, No. 52, 1 September 1935, p. 13.
- <sup>70</sup> See *Seruan Azhar*, Vol. 3, No. 26, November 1927, front page and p. 519. Her picture was also published by *al-Ikhwān*, Vol. 2, No. 7, 16 March 1928, p. 215.
- <sup>71</sup> *Seruan Azhar*, Vol 2, No. 22, July 1927, pp. 432-433.
- <sup>72</sup> Despite its advocacy of the emancipation achieved by Egyptian women, which it demonstrated by publishing such pictures as the unveiled Huda Shacrawi, *Medan Lelaki* was sometimes quite cynical about the behaviour of some emancipated Egyptian women such as Aminah Shakib who posed while smoking a cigarette which it believed should not be followed by their Malay counterparts. The same remarks also accompanied the picture of Latifah Nadi, an Egyptian woman pilot, and the picture of Zainab Shakib, an Egyptian *prima donna* (See *Medan Lelaki*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 4 October 1935. The journal *al-Hikmah*, however, was very positive in publishing the pictures of emancipated Egyptian women such as three successful female students who had passed the final

year of a medical degree examination (See *Al-Hikmah*, Vol. 2, No. 79, 19 March 1936, p. 14). Likewise, the journal *al-Ikhwān* also expressed enthusiasm when it published several pictures which depicted the achievements of Egyptian women, such as a picture of a group of girls in Western dress being sent to England by their government to specialise in teaching (Vol. 1, No. 2, 16 October 1926, p. 6), the picture of Firdaus Bisyuṇi, the first Egyptian woman to graduate from the University of Cambridge, specialising in English, History and Geography (Vol. 1, No. 5, 16 January 1927, p. 98), the picture of Ruz al-Yusuf, who studied film making and later edited a journal that propagated the spread of knowledge (Vol. 1, No. 5, 16 January 1927, p. 99) and the picture of Fatimah Rushdi, an Egyptian actress, who received recognition in her art and acted with an Italian actress (Vol. 3, No. 10, 16 June 1929, p. 324). Also related to the issue the journal published the picture of Qasim Amin, who championed the cause of female emancipation (Vol. 1, No. 11, 16 July 1927, p. 212).

- <sup>73</sup> See introduction Mohamad bin Hamid.(1939). *Yabya al-Hubb atau Kekallah Kekasih*, Singapore: Jasa Sepakat, 6 November .
- <sup>74</sup> See the introduction, Mohamad bin Hamid.(1938). *Anak Perempuan Pesuruhjaya*, Singapore: Jasa Sepakat, 1 November.
- <sup>75</sup> Published by Jasa Sepakat in Singapore, 1 April 1939.
- <sup>76</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>77</sup> Published by Jasa Sepakat in Singapore, 1 April 1940.
- <sup>78</sup> Published by Jasa Sepakat in Singapore, 7 February 1941.
- <sup>79</sup> Published by Jasa Sepakat in Singapore in 1941. Even though only six books were available, which are all kept at the Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library, another book *Yaum Said* was also advertised, but no copy is available.

- <sup>80</sup> See Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak, Malay Book Publishing, Vol. 2, p. 122. figure for other books is not available
- <sup>81</sup> See *Lail al-Mumtir atau Malam Yang Berbujan*, Singapore: Jasa Sepakat, 7 February 1941. The address of the publisher where the postcards could be ordered was 150, Lorong Engku Aman, Singapore.
- <sup>82</sup> For a discussion on the use of drums to call to prayer at the mosque, see R.A. Blasdell, The Use of the Drum For Mosque Services, *The Moslem World*, Vol. XXX, No. 1, January 1940, pp. 41-45.
- <sup>83</sup> *Suara Benar*, Vol. 1, No. 11, 11 November 1932, p. 2.
- <sup>84</sup> Mohd. Raus Md. Sam. (1984) *Suara Benar*- Akhbar Melayu Pertama di Melaka (1932), in *Warisan Sastera Melaka*, Melaka: Lembaga Bahasa Melayu Melaka, p. 87.
- <sup>85</sup> *Suara Benar*, 20 September 1932, additional pages.
- <sup>86</sup> Interestingly, the dispute was solved when, while waiting for the reply, the nephew of Abdul Latif Haji Tambi stumbled across an article in an English newspaper which showed a picture of a Christian priest hitting a *naqus* in a church. The finding was made known to the community and based on this picture it was concluded that the dispute was a non-issue since there was no similarity between the two. The finding put the controversy to rest and *ketuk-ketuk* continued to be used in the state without controversy. See Abdul Rahim Abdullah, Haji Abdul Latif Haji Tambi-Penulis Buku-Buku Agama Sebelum Perang Dunia Kedua, *Warisan Sastera Melaka*, Melaka: Lembaga Bahasa Melayu Melaka, 1984, pp. 102-103.
- <sup>87</sup> William R. Roff. (1983). Whence Cometh the Law? Dog Saliva in Kelantan, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 25, p. 324.

- <sup>88</sup> See Nik Abdul Aziz b. Haji Nik Hassan, Perbahasan Tentang Jilatan Anjing: Suatu Perhatian, *Jebat*, No. 9, 1979/80, pp. 173-174. For a discussion on the issue see also, Mohammad Redzuan Othman, The Origins of Young Factions (*Kaum Muda*) Thought and Its Struggle for Progress in Malay Society Before World War II, Paper Presented in the Conference Young Movement in the History of the South, Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Tashkent, 15-19 October 2003.
- <sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.
- <sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.
- <sup>91</sup> See William R. Roff, Whence Cometh the Law?, p. 325.
- <sup>92</sup> See Abbas Mohd. Taha. (1937). *Risalah Penting Pada Masalah Jilatan Anjing Di Atas Empat Mazhab*, Muar: Muhammadiyah Press.
- <sup>93</sup> Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Hassan, Perbahasan Tentang Jilatan Anjing, p.117. Apart from the works of Haji Abbas Mohd. Taha and Haji Wan Musa, another work relating to the debate about keeping a dog and the status of its saliva when coming into contact with the human body which contained almost the same opinions was written by Fadlullah Muhammad. See Fadlullah Muhammad, *Risalah Tanbih al-Tullab fi Ahkam al-Kilab*, Melaka: Latifiyah Press, 1937.
- <sup>94</sup> *Al-Hikmah*, Vol. 138, No. 4, 1 May 1937, p. 10; Quoted from Mohd. Sarim Hj. Mustajab, Haji Wan Musa b. Abdul Samad - Ulama Islah di Kota Bharu. (1978). *Akademika*, Vol. 12, January, p. 22.
- <sup>95</sup> Nik Abd. Aziz Hj. Nik Hassan. Perbahasan Tentang Jilatan Anjing, p. 177.