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Abstract
This paper began with my interest in the roles of women in the black and white films of Malaya, spurred on by my own early childhood memories of these films. The female characters left a profound impact on me (regardless of whether they were good or evil) and have remained a source of curiosity. No longer happy with having them function merely as part of my memory, I began watching many of these films again and found remarkably intriguing portrayals of femininity that continue into present-day Malaysian society. With these concerns in mind, my paper will specifically focus on six films from the National Film Development Corporation Malaysia (or FINAS) film library. They are selected on the basis that they represent, on a micro level, the varying treatments of women, as well as the fact that they are melodramas of the 1950s and ‘60s with emphasis on female characters. While there are more than a few general overviews on the filmic era written in the Malay language, as well as some extensive papers on contemporary and historical background of the past and present Malaysian film industry, there is very little extensive research done in the area of how the issue of femininity was handled within these films.
ADELINE SIAW-HUI KUEH

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This paper began with my interest in the roles of women in the black and white films of Malaya, spurred on by my own early childhood memories of these films. The female characters left a profound impact on me (regardless of whether they were good or evil) and have remained a source of curiosity. No longer happy with having them function merely as part of my memory, I began watching many of these films again and found remarkably intriguing portrayals of femininity that continue into present-day Malaysian society. With these concerns in mind, my paper will specifically focus on six films from the National Film Development Corporation Malaysia (or FINAS) film library. They are selected on the basis that they represent, on a micro level, the varying treatments of women, as well as the fact that they are melodramas of the 1950s and '60s with emphasis on female characters. While there are more than a few general overviews on the filmic era written in the Malay language, as well as some extensive papers on contemporary and historical background of the past and present Malaysian film industry, there is very little extensive research done in the area of how the issue of femininity was handled within these films.

I intend to analyse these films around four conceptual categories which I devised as temporary closures for the sake of writing. They are the various manifestations of the Mother Figure, the Woman Warrior, the Gadis/Maiden and the Fallen Woman. The question that matters is not whether these films and categories reveal or distort the reality of women but whether they 'actively construct ... and define', the ways in which femininity is conceived. It is my opinion that they do reflect, to some extent, the mimetic reality of that period, particularly the historical concerns and turmoils even if these films are of a selected, limited number. In fact, these categories are crucial for the investigation of Malayan films during and after the period of British colonialism.
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

I. Malayan Film Industry

Historically, the so-called Golden Era of the Malayan film industry stretches from after the Japanese occupation in 1942 into the mid 1960s. The initial filmmaking scene was started by filmmakers from India with the first feature film, *Laila Majnun* in 1933 (with B.S. Rajhans as the director). Before long, two Shaw brothers from Shanghai, China, joined a bandwagon that showed tremendous potential to make money. However, World War II erupted, and the Japanese in Malaya halted all creative productions, which then resumed only when the war ended. This dominance by foreigners continued due to the lack of local expertise (such as technical skills) and financial backing until the early 1970s when some local actors/actresses turned producers/directors.

The involvement and influence of these ‘foreigners’ in the film industry also meant that some of the stories for the films were usually adaptations from Bombay Hindi films or Chinese stories, originally written in a foreign language which had to be translated into Malay.

The popularity of the films was due to the fact that film represented cheap entertainment, the audience being partial to storylines that were based on well-loved classics and the casting of popular *bangsawan* (Malay musical opera) players. Films after the war also had storylines that ‘were usually based on social issues, legends and myths, ancient Indian folklore and also foreign film adaptations’. Jamil Sulong, a pioneer local director suggests that ‘regardless of the story, the technique of presentation was still influenced by *bangsawan* which includes singing’, with at least five songs in every film. In other words, the advent of film was an extension of *bangsawan*.

The role of Malay as a *lingua franca* even for the films helped increase the popularity level as well, a factor which sadly enough, is often neglected. The Malay language thus allowed for a broader scope of audience, reflecting the consideration for, and eventual installation of Malay as the national language after independence.

II. Malay Literary Traditions

Within a predominantly oral-based society (at that period in time) and before the filmic media made its appearance, stories and traditions were conveyed originally through word of mouth, particularly by the *penglipurlara* (village story-teller, known also as the worry-dispeller). Through analogies and parables, the social values are thus related to the masses. This was the means by which the villagers received informal and moral education. As such, since the films of that era successfully fulfilled the role of popular entertainment, their visual representations thus ‘replaced’ the verbalisations of the *penglipurlara*. Similarly, the story teller is also invaluable because it is through him that a sense of loyalty (of the masses) to the rulers/nobility is nurtured. The control of language in the folklore by the *penglipurlara* (and the continuation through the filmmakers) ties in with Foucault’s argument that what is ‘true’ depends on
who controls discourse. The power of language, or rather, the power through language is exerted directly and indirectly in civil and domestic life, to constrain and curb the action and speech of the subjects in the community.

The film industry basically tapped into the oral tradition and folk literature, using all types of folktales that are rich in moral values, themes and sayings. For example, with the cerita penglipurlara (folk romance), the main theme in these stories is of travel, love and war, all of which is situated predominantly in a court setting. Another crucial aspect contained within these stories is the concept of amanat (trust or faith) that good will always triumph over evil. The warrior will always fight for justice, a broken promise will have negative consequences, and most importantly, the sense of nilai budi (obligation or graciousness) is underscored, particularly between family members.

Within this context then, folktales (both on- and off-screen) are primarily utilised as a didactic and educational tool to impart concepts of morality. This issue of morality, according to Fatimah Mohd. Yassin, is one that is clearly understood within traditional Malay societies. In fact, certain folktales have profound effects on the moral well-being of the society in general due to the internalisation of these stories told and heard many times over: they fulfil the role of a type of cultural 'law'. More importantly, the stability of the community in question depends largely on the individual's co-operation and obligation which ultimately would result in the formation of a unified community. Apart from that, the warrior story genre basically functions to inculcate semangat kebangsaan or national spirit particularly amongst children. Distinctive warriors are set apart from the rest of the masses, to serve as role models.

Fredric Jameson's argument that cultural practices are 'ideological signs of contemporary history' can be elaborated here. Myths and legends in folklore are deployed within a society to achieve a kind of desired social order, and tales are told to promote better adherence to the moral habits and customs of a particular society. Thus, through the socialisation process, children and adults alike are told of stories with stringent binaristic structures of good versus bad: and ghost stories are particularly favoured as the epitome of evil.

What is important to bear in mind is the fact that the embodiments of the folklore and folk literature are transferred and continued in the process of filmmaking, and remain to influence the present-day film industry.

MALAYAN WOMEN IN FILM

Thematically, the most significant construct within Malayan films of the '50s and '60s is that of the dichotomous Virtuous versus Fallen woman. This popular theme remains central in the representations of femininity and female sexuality.

The discourse of power and the code of womanly/respectable behaviour based on 'Victorian' and Malay morality will be elaborated here. According to Lynda Nead, female sexuality was generally organised around the virgin/whore dichotomy. The notion of respectability was defined for woman in terms of dependency, delicacy and fragility; independence was unnatural, signifying
boldness and sexual deviancy. The term ‘fallen woman’ basically signifies the ‘loss of respectability and purity’. While the idea of having fallen from virtue was historically used in nineteenth-century Europe to connote both the adulteress and the prostitute, I will focus more on the adulteress or specifically, the promiscuous woman as well as the older, evil woman, in the forms of the mother-in-law or the stepmother.

After World War II, Malaya experienced an economy that is marked as a period of growth in urban industrial economy and the increasing demand for independence from the British. In the process of negotiating a sense of identity and coherence, distinctions between good and evil are championed, thereby forming shared notions of morality and respectability. This process of creating primarily a kind of pan-Malay solidarity through Islam, parallels that of the nineteenth-century Victorian England and its Christian ideologies in many ways. Domestic ideology and the production of clearly demarcated gender rules were central features in this process of ‘nationalistic’ definition. In other words, in the struggle to form a kind of identity or allegiance, Malayan films helped define and regulate female sexuality and other social concerns such as nationalism and religion. Gender became a category within which sexuality could be regulated: with the female being weak, passive and responsive, she is defined through her relationship to the male whose sexual urges were understood to be active, aggressive and spontaneous.

I. National Consciousness and the Mother Figure

An interesting figure in Malay films is the figure of a mother who is central in the making of an individual’s identity. The portrayal of the mother figure as the feminine ideal is heightened in contrast to the tragic life (and usually death) of the fallen woman through the sequence of temptation-fall-decline-death. A mother is naturalised to represent all that is good and nurturing, while the seductress/fallen woman is selfish and capable of committing any sin/evil she is inclined to. This concept of the fallen versus the ideal woman is the dominant myth at play in Malayan films.

Another crucial aspect that appears to be the rallying point in the film is the notion of dignity. The mother figure represents the guardian of the home/family which is the building block of society, and she is thus laden with meanings and significations that become a rallying point for nationalistic fervour. The film *Ibu* or ‘Mother’, made in 1953, reflects the mimetic reality of Malaya prior to its independence. With the mother being at the top of the moral hierarchy within the discourses of many Malayan films, compounded with the concept of the nation being one that is female (*Ibu Pertiwi*), it is not difficult therefore to trace the cinematic notion of motherhood as being the most treasured source of any woman’s identity.

Using strong dichotomous female characters, *Ibu* is also suggestive of the appropriate gender behaviour in terms of the realms of public and private place, aside from the fear of the ‘breakdown’ of the family. Within the context of a pre- and post-independent Malaya whereby the social and political scenarios are
often unstable, it becomes rather clear that this emphasis on proper female behaviour and the preservation of the family is synonymous with the creation of a harmonious nation. While the men’s integrity does not come into question, the fallen woman in this film, like many others, falls into disgrace after having succumbed to her/their individual nafsu (desire, temptation, greed).

II. Siti Zubaidah the Warrior

The title character Siti Zubaidah as a Warrior articulates the many facets of a woman’s personality: she challenges the confines of a woman, ventures out of the safety of a palace, and makes choices in her life. Most courageously, she teams up with another woman to fight both male and female villains. The solidarity between these women is admirable. Too many films (Malayan, Malaysian and otherwise) have shown only the shallow, suspect relationships between women but neglect the beautiful aspects of female bonding. Siti Zubaidah and Princess Rukiah rightfully assert their subjectivity and seize upon the opportunity to restore justice.

The storyline of Siti Zubaidah explicitly incorporates the transgressive act of resistance which is the fight for independence. Siti Zubaidah manages to convince the exiled princess, Rukiah, to join forces and fight for the independence of Rukiah’s country, and to rescue Zubaidah’s husband who is a prisoner of war in Tartar. The significance of Rukiah’s character being Chinese is momentous: the very fact that Siti Zubaidah readily teams up with a Chinese princess to fight for a cause is essentially a rallying cry for the various races in contemporary Malaya to be united in their fight for independence from the British.

III. The Azam of the Gadis

Another film that is based on a cerita penglipurlara or folk romance is Bawang Puteh Bawang Merah, literally ‘White Onion Red Onion’. It incorporates many elements of magic and foregrounds the Gadis or Maiden figure. Under the sub-category as cerita nasihat (advice story), it depicts characteristics that are to be internalised.21 Merah, while possessing some of the virtues of being humble and resilient, quietly endures the mistreatments from her stepfamily, and does not take any actions that are transgressive. Merah’s ‘deliverance’ from her evil stepmother is therefore accomplished through her goodness and her personal dignity (maruah). This Gadis figure is different from all other cinematic constructions of Malayan women in terms of the innocence and the virtue she represents. The word gadis means a girl or a maiden, and it also signifies virginity.

Incidentally, the issue of social mobility covered in the film is crucial in the making of a national identity for it emphasises the fact that any subject in Malaya, with azam or determination, can better oneself. Here, I am proposing that by acknowledging their humble beginnings, retaining their composure and dignity, and by learning good (religious) virtues and social graces, the Malays are presented with a model to elevate themselves in the eyes of others —
particularly in relation to their colonial masters, and other races that are economically at an advantage at this point in time.

IV. The Many Faces of the Fallen Woman

Adulteress

The first construct of the fallen woman, as represented in *Semerah Padi* (‘As Red As Rice’) and *Sumpah Wanita* (‘The Curse/Promise of A Woman’), is the adulteress. In both films the female protagonists are adulteresses who succumb to their *nafsu* or greed, lust, desire. Based on a popular romantic folktale in which an act of betrayal receives its retribution. ‘*Sumpah Wanita*’ portrays the woman protagonist as being a fickle being whereas Dara’s ‘fall’ from virtue in *Semerah Padi* is made possible by the fact that she had come from a respectable family. While Dara is shown to be ‘corrupted’, she is eventually redeemed, after having survived the punishment that is in accordance with Islam. She also caused a reconsideration of the definitions of femininity, respectability and female domesticity. Herein lies the subversiveness of Dara’s character.

Interestingly, one of the questions that arise is how this image of the fallen woman was perpetuated and carried on as historical baggage into our contemporary society. By designating the fallen woman as a victim, rather than as a social threat, promiscuity (like prostitution) as a threat that will destroy the family, the state and the nation is deflected. The use of sympathy/pity was applied so that the fear propagated towards the hegemonic social order might be diffused, and the image of the wretched outcast was formed.23

Here, the emphasis is on faith in religion as opposed to positive femininity, and the virtue of a woman is trivialised. This is precisely what Fatimah Yassin states: that in the propagation of certain moral values, some aspects are underscored, while others are neglected.24

Mother-in-law

Another feature of the fallen woman construct is demonstrated in the film, *Ibu Mertuaku* or ‘My Mother-in-Law’. The mother-in-law character is the evil, fallen woman, one who is portrayed as extremely greedy or materialistic. Incidentally, a distancing device has been deployed to attach evil or the fall from grace to someone who is not a ‘true’ blood relation to the family. The appendix ‘in-law’ is stressed: it seems almost convenient that the in-laws become the hosts of evil. The relationship that is formed through marriage is shown to be of a lesser importance or significance to a family unit.

As a critique of the downside of modernity, *Ibu Mertuaku* reflects how materialistic importance can take over — or in the case of this film, has already corrupted — traditional (read: good) virtues. This perceived threat to traditional values reflects the fear associated with the rapid modernisation in independent Malaysia.

Pontianak

My fascination and curiosity with Malayan films began with the construct of the *pontianak*, and the ways in which the female ghost is depicted as being
grotesque. Despite the fact that the original *pontianak* films (starting in 1957) have been destroyed, I shall still discuss this construct in relation to the concept of the fallen woman that remains pervasive in film, for within Malayan films, the *pontianak* is the quintessential manifestation of the fallen woman.

Within Malay folk culture, and by extension, Malayan films, there are varying manifestations of women and female sexuality. The most popular is the variation of the infamous *pontianak*, a 'gendered monster', to borrow Barbara Creed's expression. The *pontianak* is said to appear sometimes in the form of an owl, but its most common form is that of 'a beautiful woman who lures men to their doom'. According to Allen Jean:

> A woman who had died during or after childbirth becomes a *pontianak*. She is cursed [by] being denied the promise of peace in the kingdom of God (Allah). She is considered unclean, impure as she cannot fulfil her duty as a mother. The curse of immortality descends on her of having to 'live' by draining blood from human hosts and not being able to die with the accorded dignity of proper burial rites.

Published folktales from the Southeast Asia region draw their popularity from the reader's (and viewer's) familiarity with local folklore. Folklorist Alan Dundes reports that 'a goodly portion of folklore is fantasy, collective or collectivised fantasy'. Furthermore, he adds that '[f]olktales ... like all folklore, have passed the test of time, and are transmitted again and again. Unlike individual dreams, folktales must appeal to the psyches of many, many individuals if they are to survive'.

At this juncture, the psychoanalytic concepts of projection and projective inversion can be applied to the study of folktales in the construct of *pontianak*, and other 'fallen women' in Malayan films. According to Dundes, projection 'refers to the tendency to attribute to another person or to the environment what is actually within oneself ... some internal impulse or feeling which is painful, unacceptable, or taboo'. For example, in the many versions of the *pontianak* story, the 'woman' more often than not, changes from one who is seductive to one who is suddenly monstrous. The sight (and sometimes scent) of a 'beautiful' woman succumbs to the 'evil within', suggesting that lurking behind every woman is potential evil. Coming across or perhaps serving as a warning, I would suggest that it is indicative of the patriarchal tradition that dominates Malayan folklore and produces negative connotations of female sexuality. Women who overtly exude their sexuality (read: power) cannot be considered 'good'.

Furthermore, much of the meaning of folkloric fantasy is unconscious, particularly in a Freudian sense, that 'among its functions, folklore provides a socially sanctioned outlet for the expression of what cannot be articulated in the more usual, direct way'. Folktales thus represent the site within which anxieties of the Malayan culture can be vented. Within the narrative of the ghost story, the *pontianak* becomes the embodiment of female 'difference' and that which is despised or repressed within the culture.
Such monstrosity on the part of the woman is therefore created and ‘justified’. For the general folk, the wretchedness and violence that surround the pontianak serve again as a warning, primarily to women. In fact, the rituals and practices to purge the body may be seen in terms of the metaphoric projection. They serve as metaphors for processes to uphold the desired ‘purity’ of women in society.

Ultimately, in a patriarchal system, sexual aggression (if sanctioned) is within the exclusive realm of the males: men, not women, are to initiate any interpersonal relationship. However, within a story such as that of the pontianak, the designated aggressor is the fallen woman. She almost always, either smiles warmly at the male victim, or she propositions him to visit her again. Here, through the psychoanalytic use of ‘projective inversion’, the men in a sexually repressive society have metamorphosed their own fears of the stereotyped (sexual) woman into a form ‘where the victim becomes the aggressor’. Projective inversion allows one to blame the victim while avoiding the guilt. For the male storyteller (who propagates the ideological discourse) as well as the director of the film, the wish to seduce young women is projected onto the female (or female ghosts) who are depicted as ‘promiscuously’ seducing the males. This strategy makes it possible to blame the pontianak (or other fallen woman figures) for the vices the males might want to commit. After all, folktales are about wishful thinking and wish fulfilment and ‘the wisher can through projective inversion, punish in fantasy not himself but the victim of his aggression’. What becomes even more interesting is how, in the end, the aggressor is punished for defying the dominant order. So, within the narrative, the fallen woman who breaks the traditions is punished, symptomatic of the dominant culture incorporating a subculture and neutralising it. The flip-side of the fallen woman is necessarily the ‘good wife’ construct, which in most of the Malayan films, is synonymous with being a good mother.

CONCLUSION

Having delineated the definitions and examples of the fallen women in Malayan films, at this point, what I would like to suggest is that rather than seeing projection in folklore as a mechanical or reductionistic technique, the agency of the reader or viewer should also be considered. An individual who tells or hears a tale cannot help but project his or her own personality into that tale.

One subversive aspect of the fallen woman stories is that women are temporarily allowed to be the ‘aggressors’, behaving unconventionally within a sanctioned space. However, while the women and stories are set within the traditional contexts (and their monstrosity over-emphasised), some of these portrayals are still ground- and myth-breaking within the culture.

As these filmic narratives often reflect the ideology of womanhood that still calls for ‘purity’, Dara’s willingness to die because of her desire for Aduka signifies her subjectivity as a woman, in that she is consciously defying her
arranged marriage to a man of her parents’ choice. This process can be seen in terms of John Fiske’s ‘enunciation’ process, through appropriating ‘the language system by the speaker in a concrete realisation of that part of its potential that suits him or her’. A striking twist is given to a conventional construct of Dara, quintessential fallen woman who has committed adultery in *Semerah Padi*. Yet, the audience is presented with Dara’s own alternative view of the reasons/rationale behind her actions, and she is framed within a more forgiving, empathetic light. Dara’s enunciation process here is indubitably one of the most salient features in the film, as well as in all Malayan films. In terms of female subjectivity, its subversiveness is also due to a kind of cinematic textual resistance within the dominant discourse of its time.

The celebratory empowerment can also manifest in the ‘liberating’ strategies and readings within the collection of fallen woman stories. One of the strategies is to subvert the conventional formula which sets up the expectation. Dara and Aduka’s happy ending represents a space within which the ‘routine’ of a story is overturned.

In some of these filmic texts, considering the conditioned expectation within the reader/viewer of a ghost story, there exists an awareness or knowledge that the male will be punished by the female (ghost or otherwise) for his advances. Their machismo/chauvinistic approach towards ‘young ladies’ is interestingly exposed to be very naive and finally even detrimental to the men’s health, since they usually succumb to the female ‘seductress’. Herein lies an aspect of the ‘subversive pleasure of the female spectator/reader’. I am therefore suggesting that pleasure comes from seeing the woman exact revenge and in seeing the supposedly I-know-best male being tricked. This aspect may seem to be the main element which allows for a site of fantasy for the female reader or viewer, and thereby results in the continuation of the fallen women myths within a society (at least for some of the female spectators).

Having said this, while these films according to Hamzah Hussein were essentially ‘made for women’, with the female audience in mind, such films were utilised as a didactic tool, to convey the proper or ideal womanhood. A distinction should therefore be made here to indicate that ‘ideal womanhood’ and ‘films for women’ are by no means positive with regard to female subjectivity.

When we consider the various representations in these films, we can observe some conspicuous assumptions at work: the fall of these women suggests firstly, a lack of intelligent choice perhaps, that they succumb to *nafsu*, or temptations/greed; and secondly, what Nead terms a ‘woman’s innate weakness’. This assumption ties in with the woman’s ‘lack’ of discipline, which is thereby made more obvious in comparison to the martyrdom of a mother figure.

The role of the ideal woman as embodied by the mother figure is also intrinsically linked to the formation of a national consciousness. As a focal point in the concept of a nuclear family, the mother figure upholds — and becomes the site of — the desired social virtues. This lopsided emphasis on the
martyr/mother is deemed necessary at a historical point in time when Malayan independence is an issue, for she controls the domestic domain: the location from which the individual's identity is moulded. While Ibu nurtures familial concerns that contribute towards national consciousness, these nationalistic sentiments are also articulated in Siti Zubaidah.

The sexual division of the private and public domain is also made obvious within these texts. The good wives and mothers are situated within the private domain, whereas the men can freely roam the street with invisibility and ease, echoing the construct of the 'transcendental' Bourgeois male within the public domain. Again, the women who transgress these boundaries are deemed of low virtue.

According to Stallybrass and White, despite the gradations along the continuum of hierarchy, systems of extremes (high and low cultures) are favoured in framing all discursive elaborations. In terms of such systems of extremes, all six of the films — with the exception of Siti Zubaidah to a large extent — deal with the construction of gender in terms of the appropriateness of male/female behaviour.

While folklore has preset rules, filmmakers can redefine them. Yet, in most portrayals of women in Malayan films, these gendered identities are retained. Except for Dara in Semerah Padi, in the process of delineating the didactics of good and bad, the women characters in Ibu, Ibu Mertuaku, Bawang Puteh Bawang Merah, and Sumpah Wanita are reduced to pitiful objects. While the character of Merah may serve as a model to some (in terms of her virtues), she — like the many other female representations in Malayan films — is still contained within a gendered discourse.

NOTES
2 I must firstly say that Malaya as a geopolitical entity no longer exists, although until 1965 Malaya (which became the Federation of Malaysia in 1957) consisted of the Peninsula Malaysia, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak.
4 Some of the local actors/actresses decided that with their established popularity as film stars, as well as with their experience, they should do just as well as directors and/or producers. There was also an organisation that fought for the rights of the workers and actors in the filmmaking industry. In 1954, Persatuan Artiste Malaya
(PERSAMA) was formed, under the wings of the Labour Union, to ensure better working conditions at the studios.


Ibid., p. 56. It should be noted that foreign film adaptations played a significant part in the early Malayan film industry. Many film directors were known for their successful adaptations, such as P. Ramlee and his Ibu Mertuaku (1962) which won him ‘The Most Versatile Talent’ in the 10th Asian Film Fest in Tokyo, 1963.

Ibid., p. 60.

Abdul Razak’s Language Committee (1956) strived to push for the Malay language or Bahasa Malaysia to be made the national language. Tun Abdul Razak was then the Education Minister but later became the third Prime Minister of Malaysia. He died in office in 1976. In fact, the screening of the original Pontianak was expected to last for only two days at a major Cathay cinema, but the film proved to be so popular (among all the races in Malaya) that it went on for two months. Its success made it the most popular film in the history of Malayan filmmaking (Hamzah Hussein, December 17, 1995).


Hamid, op. cit., p. 69.


Ibid., p. 162.


Nead, op. cit., p. 77.

What I am arguing is that there were attempts at securing an identity that is based on a critique of the nobility, as well as the lower classes. In these scenarios, the royal court traditions and folktales presented the ‘cultural producers’ with sites within which the contrasting noble virtues and decadence of the royalty are exposed. Similarly, the lower classes, with their humility are championed while their nafsulgreed is shunned.

The secondary concern then is to create a shared allegiance with all other races, in the face of the colonialists. In most cases, this issue was a by-product.

Nead, op. cit., p. 5.

Ibid., p. 25.


Hamid, op. cit., p. 33. Usually the sinner legend is about a single child who abandons/foresakes his parents and then gets turned to stone (as in Cerita Si Tenggang), so as to deter young children from going against their parents.

Nead, op. cit., p. 139.

This is not the case in Siti Zubaidah, which is why it is striking. See last section of this work for a detailed analysis.

Films Cited


