The late Shaykh Mitwalli al-Shaarawi is one of the preachers most connected to the “repentance” of Egyptian artists. In the TV serial about his life “Imam al-Darâh,” his influence on artists is represented through the character of Badriyya. Badriyya is a good-hearted poor girl from the Shaykh’s natal village. At a young age she starts working in a coffeehouse and eventually becomes the owner of this coffeehouse. She constantly feels remorse and does not want her child to be raised in a coffeehouse. Instead of opening a “proper” business, she is tempted to invest in the lucrative but “sinful” branch of entertainment and opens a nightclub. During her meetings with Shaykh al-Shaarawi she expresses her sincere intention to veil, to leave the sinful profession, and to open an orphanage but it takes many years and encounters with al-Shaarawi to finally “repent.”

Whereas Shaykh al-Shaarawi has always been modest about his influence on the repentant artists—stating that guidance is from God—many artists acknowledge his influence on them. Interestingly, this also holds true for some of the leading actors and actresses in the TV serial. Shaykh al-Shaarawi is played by the actor Hasan Yusf who stopped performing for a while after he and his wife Shams al-Barudi met with the shaykh. In the serial, Shaykh al-Shaarawi’s wife is played by Afaf Shoeib. She also met with al-Shaarawi and stepped down in 1992. She returned after ten years and started acting with a veil. Badriyya, played by the actress Sawsan Badr, also stepped down but returned unveiled.

Shaykh al-Shaarawi’s view on the shamefulness of art has apparently waned and new discourses on art and religion have gained relevance. Two decades later the star preacher Amr Khaled even begged the repentant artists to return and to use their God-given talents in support of the naâda, the Islamic revival.

From Shaykh al-Shaarawi to Amr Khaled

The return of artists is partly related to a more relaxed religious discourse on art that emerged in the late 1990s. Whereas the repentant artists of the 1980s and early 1990s were mainly inspired by the conservative Shaykh al-Shaarawi and Omar Abd al-Kafi, around the turn of the century the moderate Islamist al-Qaradawi and young preacher Amr Khaled are favoured. Shaykh al-Shaarawi (1911–1998) was venerated by many and died in the mid 1990s, young singers Hanan and Mona Abd al-Ghani, and actresses Abir Sharqawi, Abir Sabri, and Mayar al-Balawi caused another shock in the secular press when they announced their decision to veil and to step down. Yet most of them returned after a few years of religious study and contemplation as a veiled actress or TV presenter of religious programmes. This inspired the older generation of stepped-down artists to return as well and presently Afaf Shoeib, Mona Abd al-Ghani, Soheir Ramzi, Soheir al-Babli, Sawsan Badr, and Soheir al-Babli, Sawsan Badr, and Soheir Ramzi are back on screen, the latter with a religious programme in Amr Khaled style. The latest case of “repentance” by an actress was Hanan Turk. Interestingly, she did not even retire but immediately started acting with a veil. Whereas initially it was difficult to find appropriate roles with a veil—it is forbidden on the Egyptian channels except in religious and historical plays—presently many serials and programmes financed by Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States find their way into the Egyptian homes of the lucky “dish”-owners. During my fieldwork in 2006, a new Saudi channel, al-Risala, was opened and many veiled artists I had interviewed paraded on the screen.

Uncommon Media

Since the 1980s, many Egyptian singers, dancers, and actresses, donning the veil, stepped down and publicly denounced art as shameful. Recently, such performers have reappeared veiled on screen. This article highlights the changing discourses on art that inform the artists’ choices. These celebrities have been instrumental in fashioning Islamic lifestyles suitable for the higher classes, a phenomenon which ultimately gave birth to a market for pious performances.

Pious Performance

In the early 1990s, a “caravan” of singers, dancers and actress “repented,” probably speeded up by the 1992 earthquake. Dancers Amira and Sahar Hamdi as well as actresses Shahira, Afaf Shoeib, Soheir al-Babli, Sawsan Badr, and Soheir Ramzi veiled and stepped down. They were accused of being paid by “Islamist groups” and forced to defend their genuine devotion. Spiritual experiences featured less prominently in their stories. Contacts with other repentant artists who gave religious lessons, preached, and invited preachers such as Omar Abd al-Kafi were crucial.

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From Shaykh al-Shaarawi to Amr Khaled

The return of artists is partly related to a more relaxed religious discourse on art that emerged in the late 1990s. Whereas the repentant artists of the 1980s and early 1990s were mainly inspired by the conservative Shaykh al-Shaarawi and Omar Abd al-Kafi, around the turn of the century the moderate Islamist al-Qaradawi and young preacher Amr Khaled are favoured. Shaykh al-Shaarawi (1911–1998) was venerated by many and died with an almost saintly radiation. He did not extensively tackle the topic of art but generally held that art is like a glass or knife. It can be used for good purposes or for bad ends. Female artists, however, are “itching the sexual instincts.” Shaykh al-Shaarawi was generally unfavourable towards work by women except out of sheer necessity. Citing that God rather prefers a woman’s prayer to be in her house than in the mosque, in her room than in her house, and in her bedroom rather than in her room, he concluded that acting, even with a veil, is not permitted.
Dr Omar Abd al-Kafi was born in 1951 and is a modern-looking shaykh without the customary imam head-covering and caftan. He has become (in) famous for his lectures on Judgement Day and “the torments of the grave.” He was banned by the government. Although in general he holds that art is creativity whose right is right and wrong is wrong, he calls cinema the devils’ home. Like Shaarawi his view on work for women is that the best place for them is to be protected at home.2

Dr Yusuf al-Qaradawi is considered a moderate Islamist belonging to the wasatiyya movement. He is very influential through new media such as al-Jazeera and Islam Online. Several pious performers presently consider his views on art authoritative and final. He firmly states that there is no conflict between piety and moderate entertainment. Reasoning that everything is permissible except if it is clearly stated that something is haram, he infers that art is mubah, permitted. Diversion is essential to recreate but one should find a balance between religious obligation and recreation. The present state of art, however, is totally corrupt and needs immediate repentance. Also his gender discourse is not encouraging for working women. He considers the home their “great kingdom.” Anyone attempting to remove women from their kingdom in the name of freedom, work, or art is the enemy of women and is rejected by Islam.4

His younger colleague satellite preacher, Amr Khaled, is a rising star. In 1995, he entered the religious arena without religious education. He was banned by the government but through his connection with Yasmin al-Khayyam, he started working in her mosque. When he was faced with another prohibition, he left Egypt and now works for Dream TV and Iqra satellite channel. Amr Khaled treats women as serious believers and is not against women’s participation or—after returning to the screen—as televangelists such as Shalhata. They decided which preachers were on the floor: first Omar Abd al-Kafi and later Amr Khaled. They started to work in Islamic businesses: Soheir al-Babli in Islamic fashion, Hassan Yusif started an Islamic film company, Hala al-Safi opened an Islamic school, and Yasmin al Khayyam has been influential in promoting preachers and in spreading Islamic charity to the higher classes. Artists have thus been influential in Islamizing the higher classes to which they themselves belong.6

When the market was open for Islamic recreation they were eager to return. When the options to return as a veiled performer increased, despite the discouragement of the Egyptian regime, they were happy to develop Islamic productions. They are no longer repentant artists but multazim or pious performers. Soheir al-Babli stipulates conditions in her contract: only with a veil, not being touched or embraced by men, except for a kiss on the hand or the forehead if the play needs it. The texts should only contain respectable dialogues on themes which make sense to people. Besides, the play should be about important themes in the Arab world and not a plain imitation of the West. Pious performers try to develop new Islamic aesthetics. When I asked them to mention good pious productions, the list was still fairly short. The TV serial on the life of the venerable Shaykh al-Shaaraawi, though, was one of them.

Veiled artists reflect the changing tides, yet they have also been influential in changing this tide. When the general climate and discourses on art and gender were restrictive, they stepped down. Like many women they veiled, followed religious classes, and became pious. Yet, if celebrities choose to veil and to leave the spotlights for the mosque it has an enormous impact on millions. They are trendsetters whether in fashion or veiling, in trendy lifestyles or in Islamic ways of life. The early repentant artists started “Islamic salons,” a new venue for displaying religious sensibilities and socializing for the bourgeoisie which is nowadays a widely-spread phenomenon in upper-middle class neighbourhoods. Several studied at Da’wah institutes and established themselves as preachers or—after returning to the screen—as televangelists such as Shalhata. They decided which preachers were on the floor: first Omar Abd al-Kafi and later Amr Khaled.

Notes
1. I collected dozens about 26 stepped-down or repentant artists and conducted interviews with 13 of them. There are many interviews and stories about them in newspapers and tabloids. The Islamist press warmly embraced their stories of guidance and revelation and widely circulated them.

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