

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MUHAMMAD AL-NUWAYHĪ
TO MODERN ARABIC LITERARY CRITICISM IN EGYPT

PRESENTED BY
MUHAMMAD AUWAL ABUBAKAR

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE FACULTY OF ARTS
JUNE, 1984



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Dedication	i
Declaration	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	v
Transliteration	vi
Introduction	vii

PART ONE:

The Background; al-Nuwayhī's Life and Literary Career

CHAPTER ONE:

Developmental Survey of Modern Egyptian Literary Criticism Until the First Half of the 20th Century	1
Foundations of the Present Century Criticism Literary Criticism in the Late 19th Century and the First Half of the 20th Century	11
Syrian Immigrants and Modern Literary Criticism in Egypt	14
The Emergence of the Egyptian School	19
The French-Influenced Group	21
The English-Influenced Group	30
The Role of the University and Egyptian Academics	38

	Page
CHAPTER TWO:	
Al-Nuwaḥī's Life and Literary Career	45
Glimpses of Early Life	45
Student Days in Cairo	47
In Britain	58
In Sudan	63
Return to Egypt and Culmination of Career	72
From 1956-1963	72
From 1964-1973	76
1974-1980	87
Book-length Studies	89
PART TWO:	
Critical Thoughts	123
Preamble	124
CHAPTER THREE:	
Literature - Definition, Nature and Functions	127
The Nature of Literature	138
Functions of Literature	142
CHAPTER FOUR:	
Literature and Society	149
Interaction Between Literature and Society	150
Literature, Freedom and Commitment	157
Literature and Morals	171

	Page
CHAPTER FIVE:	
Criticism and Its Equipment	178
The Concept of Criticism	178
Creative and Non-Creative Criticism	182
Al-Nuwaḥī's Assessment of Ancient Arabic Criticism and Rhetoric	186
Official Literary Education in Schools	193
The Equipment of a Critic	197
The Necessity of a Minimum Study of a Western Literature	202
The Necessity of General "Scientific" Knowledge to a Critic	206
The Relevant Context of Literature	209
Some Aspects of al-Nuwaḥī's Critical Methods	218
Poetry Reading as an Art	220
The Use of Modern Colloquial Arabic as an Illustrative Device	223
Activation of the Potential of the Reader's Imagination	225
CHAPTER SIX:	
Literary Analysis and Evaluation	229
Prologue	229
Language as the Vehicle of Literature	230
The Music of Poetry	232
The Application of Modern Phonetic Studies to the Study of Music of Poetry	233
Alliteration and Onomatopoeia	245

	Page
Metre, Rhyme and their Harmony with the Poet's Thought and Emotion	253
The Connotative and Associative Powers of Words	258
Imagery in Pre-Islamic Poetry	261
Unity in the Ancient Arab Qasīda	265
The Unity of Vitality in the Hamziyya of Zuhayr	272
Criteria of Literary Evaluation	277
Truth in Literature	278
The Consideration of Quality and Quantity	285
The Place of Non-literary Values in Literary Evaluation	287
Conclusion	292
Bibliography	307
Appendix A	332

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of:

ABUBAKAR

and

KABIR

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own composition

Signed M. A. Abubakar

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In carrying out a work of this magnitude one is clearly bound to be indebted to so many persons and organisations, and it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge this debt.

I am very grateful to Kano State Government of Nigeria and Bayero University, who jointly sponsored this study by providing me with a Scholarship Award, Study Fellowship and Research Grant.

My sincere thanks are due to Dr. M.V. McDonald, my supervisor, for his guidance, encouragement and helpfulness.

My thanks are also due to the following organisations for providing me research facilities: the entire staff of Edinburgh University Library, especially the Department of Inter-Library Loan; authorities of the American University in Cairo for allowing me access to al-Nuwaḥī's personal files and to their library facilities; the library staff of the Arab League's Institute of Higher Arabic Studies, Cairo, especially the Periodicals Department.

I am also grateful to al-Nuwaḥī's family, especially Mrs. Firyāl, al-Nuwaḥī's widow, for their invaluable research assistance and kindness; to Dr. A.H. Green, the Director of the Centre of Arabic Studies, American University in Cairo, for his research assistance and kindness; and to Mrs. Bennett for turning my poor hand-writing into a fine type.

I take this opportunity to thank relatives, friends and colleagues who are too numerous to mention by name, for their support and encouragement. Last but by no means the least I cannot adequately describe my sense of gratitude to Atika, my wife, for her love and support.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is connected with Muhammad al-Nuwaġhġ as a literary critic and it is divided into two parts. Part one falls into two chapters. The first chapter, serving as a background to the study, gives a broad developmental overview of Modern Arabic Literary Criticism in Egypt until the late 1940s. Chapter two, on the other hand, examines the life and career of al-Nuwaġhġ and gives a chronological outline of his book-length studies and the kind of reception accorded to them in Arabic literary circles.

In part two which falls into four chapters, a synchronic study of al-Nuwaġhġ's main critical thoughts is attempted along descriptive and analytical lines. However, these thoughts have not been divorced from his predominantly practical criticism. Each of the four chapters in this part is devoted to the study of some specific critical questions or problems which al-Nuwaġhġ treated, and many of his ideas have been related as much as practicable to similar ideas by other Egyptian critics.

Finally, in a brief conclusion an attempt is made to assess al-Nuwaġhġ's literary criticism and to indicate his debt to other critics, Arab and non-Arab.

TRANSLITERATION

The system of transliteration used in this study is the one adopted by the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Edinburgh, which is a slightly modified form of the one used in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.

INTRODUCTION

Since its inception in the late 19th century as part of a general literary and cultural movement modern Arabic literary criticism has grown enormously in terms of volume and variety. Despite its limitations or defects which are often pointed out and lamented, its important role in sustaining and directing the modern Arabic literary movement is unquestionable. Thus various studies have grown round it. While some of these studies pursue in a horizontal line the development of this criticism in general or that of a specific genre like poetry or drama, other studies follow a vertical line in which the contributions of specific critics to modern criticism are analysed and assessed. Both lines of study are clearly interdependent and complementary.

Our study on the literary criticism of al-Nuwaǧhī belongs to the latter of the above lines. The main aim of the study, the first of its kind on the writer, is to examine al-Nuwaǧhī's literary criticism and his contribution to the critical endeavours in Egypt. Before this study many writers devoted articles or parts of books to review or criticism of al-Nuwaǧhī's works, but the majority of these writers confined themselves to specific works. These reviews and critical articles are, needless to say, reflected in the main text of this study or in the bibliography. However, two writers, Aḥmad K. Zakī and I'tidāl 'Uthmān attempted to give in their studies a brief outline of al-Nuwaǧhī's works or ideas. In his al-Naqd al-Adabī al-Ḥadīth; Usūluh wa-Ittijāhātuh (Cairo, 1972), the first writer though primarily concerned with

al-Nuwaiḥī as one of the Egyptian critics making use of psycho-analysis in criticism, provides a brief outline of al-Nuwaiḥī's works. The second writer who was moved by the insignificant attention the death of al-Nuwaiḥī received from the Egyptian literary circles, provides in an article titled "al-Duktūr al-Nuwaiḥī Nāqidan wa-Mu'alliman" (Majallat Fusūl, vol.I, (October, 1980), pp.322-330) a brief outline of a number of literary ideas expressed in al-Nuwaiḥī's different works.

For reasons of convenience we have divided our study into two parts. In part one there are two chapters. The first chapter, which serves as a background to the study, uses various sources, mainly secondary, to present a broad developmental overview of modern Arabic literary criticism in Egypt until the late 1940s. In chapter two we examined the life and career (literary and academic) of al-Nuwaiḥī and presented an outline for each of his book-length studies in chronological order and attempted to indicate the kind of reaction each of these studies evoked in Arabic literary circles. Our concern with al-Nuwaiḥī's life in this study is not for its own sake but only in order to help us understand his criticism better. However, in the absence of enough material concerning the early life of al-Nuwaiḥī we have had to make do with 'glimpses'. In comparison the later phases of his life are clearer ^{owing} ~~due~~ to our gaining access to al-Nuwaiḥī's personal files at the American University in Cairo and also to his private library. Had we obtained similar access to his personal files at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, our understanding of his formative period in

Britain, intellectually and literarily and hence his criticism would probably have been enhanced.

In part two there are four chapters which we use as a framework to study the main critical thoughts of al-Nuwa'ihī synchronically and along descriptive and analytical lines. These thoughts have not, however, been divorced from his predominantly practical criticism but both aspects are used to complement one another. Each of the four chapters is concerned with the study of specific questions or problems tackled by al-Nuwa'ihī and many of his ideas on these questions or problems are related as much as practicable to those of other Egyptian critics.

In a brief conclusion we have made an attempt to assess al-Nuwa'ihī's literary criticism and to indicate his debt to other critics, Arab and non-Arab.

This thesis lays no claim to comprehensive or exhaustive treatment of al-Nuwa'ihī's literary criticism. Indeed we do not consider it advisable for us to set ourselves that goal in a single thesis. What we have attempted, however, is to restrict ourselves to some aspects of this criticism which are central and of interest. Even within these limits many side questions or problems are either touched upon in passing or left out altogether. This is necessary in order to avoid peripheral discussion and bring the study within manageable proportions.

What remains for this introduction is to say a word or two

on the primary sources used in the study. As much as possible efforts were expended to consult all the sources having direct relevance to the study, but articles which al-Nuwa^hī published in the Sudanese or Egyptian daily press and which are not indexed have not been consulted. The bulk of these articles, as evidenced from al-Nuwa^hī's personal files, are concerned with social, religious and general intellectual questions. According to al-Nuwa^hī's estimate such articles which he published during his stay in Sudan number about two hundred. However, it is doubtful if our study would have changed much had these articles been available to us.

PART I

THE BACKGROUND; LIFE AND LITERARY CAREER

OF AL-NUWAIHI

"Indeed Allāh does not confine knowledge, poetry and eloquence to a particular age or people but makes them common and shared things among his creatures at any given time; He also makes what is now old new in its particular age." (Ibn Qutayba)

CHAPTER ONE

DEVELOPMENTAL SURVEY OF MODERN EGYPTIAN

LITERARY CRITICISM UNTIL THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

This introductory chapter, surveying broadly the process of development of modern Egyptian literary criticism during the period under review, is intended to serve as a background, portraying the wider cultural and literary milieu that fostered Muhammad al-Nuwayhī whose literary career is the subject of this study. While attention is to be focussed on poetry criticism as the province of the study at hand, this survey will, where appropriate, touch upon the development undergone by the criticism of other literary genres, namely fiction and drama.

1. Foundations of the Present Century Criticism

As one facet of an enormous cultural reawakening, Egyptian literary criticism in the period under review is rooted in the foundation already laid during the previous century. The invasion of Egypt by Napoleon Bonaparte in the closing years of the 18th century marks, according to most historians, the beginning of modern Egypt. One major consequence of this invasion is that there dawned on the Egyptians the extent of their lethargy not only in relation to Western military power and knowledge but in relation to their own Islamic past as well. Thus the enormous efforts that lay ahead in the course of reawakening became clear. The 19th century saw indefatigable efforts from various levels of Egyptian society for the task of reawakening, and these efforts started to bear fruit later in the century

and continue to do so in the present century.

As a result of his ambition to create out of Egypt a military power run on European lines, Muḥammad 'Alī and later on his successors, especially Ismā'īl, indirectly served the cause of cultural reawakening by creating institutions upon which the Egyptian renaissance rested. This military programme entailed establishing modern schools and colleges, employing foreign translators, establishing a printing press and newspapers and finally sending educational missions to Europe. Each of these activities had contributed in no small measure to the development of the literary movement including criticism. A brief outline of the role of each will now be handled in turn.

(a) Modern schools and colleges of various grades in Egypt first came into being as a result of Muḥammad 'Alī's military ambitions. To man these schools and colleges as well as many of his other schemes, he sought the assistance of foreign expertise while he relentlessly worked hard at training his nationals to acquire the necessary skills so as to take over later on the positions of these foreigners. From a purely literary standpoint, the School of Languages deserves a special mention. Between 1836 and 1846 it produced about 70 translators and writers under Rifā'a al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. Also to its credit was the production of the first translation of books on French law and well-known works on history, geography, philosophy, education, and a number of French classics.⁽¹⁾

1. Heyworth-Dunne, J., "Printing and Translations Under Muḥammad 'Ali", J.R.A.S., July, 1940, p.349.

After a setback during the less energetic reigns of 'Abbas I and Sa'īd, the schools and colleges continued to receive attention from Ismā'īl, who had new ones opened and placed under the ambit of a now separate Department of Education. During the British occupation education had also seemed to suffer another setback, at least initially. The Egyptians, now fully aware of the importance of modern education, started themselves to open private schools of all descriptions though undoubtedly of low quality. It was this awareness coupled with nationalistic tendencies that led to the opening of the Egyptian University as a public enterprise early in the present century.

Basic modern education was disseminated to a wider section of the Egyptian populace through these schools and colleges, and in the course of time widened their horizons and prepared their minds to be more receptive to new ideas. In this way, these schools and colleges have certainly acted as a factor in influencing literary criticism. Admittedly, these educational institutions were beset with thorny problems but, nevertheless, it was the same institutions that gave Egyptians a good modern education. To cast a glance back to the time prior to their existence will confirm this.

Two types of educational institutions had previously been in existence, kuttābs and religious institutes, notably the Azhar. The kuttābs were many and spread all over the country. But as their curricula were mainly confined to the teaching of the basic three R's in addition to memorisation of some Quranic verses, they proved inadequate for providing a good basic of

modern education. As for religious institutes there were a number of them , but again the kind of knowledge they imparted was wholly religious using as their textbooks commentaries or abridgements of texts bequeathed by intellectually decadent ages. No doubt, these institutes have also proved unsuitable as a foundation of a meaningful modern education.⁽¹⁾ A product of one of these institutes writes: "During my childhood and adolescence I witnessed the Azhar believing that Grammar, the Science of Inflection (sarf) and this wrangling over words they call rhetoric, are the essence of language and anything besides is only trifling. Literature was of course one of such trifles."⁽²⁾

(b) Translations, like schools and colleges, have had their bearing on literary criticism. Already noted is the role of the School of Languages in translations during the days of Muḥammad 'Alī. During the reign of Ismā'īl, however, the attention given to translations once again came to the fore, though with a bias, as in his father's reign, to scientific and technical works. This attention also continued through the period of British occupation. A number of factors came into play to bring out the increasing importance of translation. Since Ismā'īl's reign there was an increasing contact with Europeans, especially after the opening of the Suez canal. From 3,000 in 1836, the number of Europeans who flowed into the country grew

1. Al-Amīn, 'Izz al-Dīn, Nash'at al-Naqd al-Adabī al-Hadīth, pp.42-43.

2. Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā, Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfa fī Miṣr, p.248.

to 68,653 in 1878.⁽¹⁾ Moreover, it was during this period that a good number of enlightened Syrians who had had a Western education in their country emigrated to Egypt. Translation was one sphere in which they contributed to the cultural reawakening.

On a purely literary level, the Egyptian 'Uthmān Jalāl, a graduate of the School of Languages, made translations of Racine's Esther, Iphigénie and Alexandre le Grand into colloquial verse, this being in addition to his other literary translations which included some of Moliere's comic plays. Najīb al-Ḥaddād and Khalīl Muṭṭarān translated a number of plays by Shakespeare. Adaptations of European novels and original novels in Arabic also appeared; it would be superfluous to catalogue here the literary works translated, adapted or written. Suffice to mention that Adīb Ishāq adapted Andromaque, Charlemagne and La Belle Parisienne, while Jurjī Zaydān wrote no less than 22 historical romances under the influence of Dumas and Scott.⁽²⁾

(c) In respect of printing presses and newspapers it is worth mentioning that 1822 saw the establishment of the first printing press in Egypt, Būlāq Printing Press, but it was only during

-
1. Heyworth-Dunne, J., An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt, p.343.
 2. Al-Dasūqī, 'Umar, Fī'l-Adab al-Ḥadīth, I, p.368; Dayf, Shawqī, al-Adab al-'Arabī al-Mu'āsir, p.25; Safran, N., Egypt, pp.58-59.

the reign of Ismā'īl that it produced a sizeable number of Arabic classics. It was reactivated then by providing it with the latest machines and appliances, in addition to establishing near it a paper factory. Gradually, non-governmental printing presses, such as the Coptic Printing Press and Wādī al-Nīl Printing Press, sprang up.

An increase in the number of printing presses, coupled with a great interest in learning, was attended by a movement to revive Arabic classics. The first new step in these efforts was taken by the patron of modern Egyptian education, 'Alī Mubārak, when he constituted a committee for the purpose under the leadership of Rifā'a al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. Soon many societies and organisations followed suit.⁽¹⁾ Undoubtedly the quality of editing of the texts of these classics was below that done by Orientalists abroad or by Egyptians themselves later on. Yet it was the humble efforts of this movement that revived interest in Arabic literary masterpieces written before the age of the decline and paved the way for the poetic renaissance led by al-Bārūdī. Thus the Arabic literary renaissance looked to the West for new learning and ideas and at the same time drank more deeply of the mainsprings of its existence, the Islamic past.⁽²⁾

As for the periodical press, its role in the political, social and intellectual reawakening cannot be over-emphasized.

1. Al-Dasūqī, 'Umar, op. cit., pp.73-75.

2. Gibb, H.A.R., Studies on the Civilization of Islam, p.261.

Finding a favourable climate in the reign of Ismā'īl, many journals sprang up in the country. A good number of the proprietors and editors of these journals were Syrian immigrants. These journals gave Arabic style an opportunity to meet the daily needs of the Press as well as training writers. By the end of Ismā'īl's reign there were 16 well-established journals, ten of them in Arabic.⁽¹⁾ Under British occupation, however, especially during Lord Cromer's time, an unprecedented liberty was enjoyed by the Press, and this increased its numbers and consequently gave rise to competition in producing materials of high quality for the reading public. In this respect it is significant to note that by 1900 more than 300 dailies and journals were recorded to have existed in Egypt.⁽²⁾

Al-Dustūr, edited by Farīd Wajdī with the assistance of al-'Aqqād, is said to have been the first paper to devote a regular page to literary prose and poetry, and its example was followed by al-Jarīda and al-Mu'ayyid. Soon a literary column became a feature of every serious journal. Whatever might have been the blessings of journalism to the literary movement it was not however without adverse effects, in that its need to maintain a day-to-day appeal tended to favour literature of entertainment rather than serious studies. The imposition of topics on writers, furthermore, restricted their freedom and

-
1. Ahmad, Jamāl M., Intellectual Origins of Egyptian Nationalism, p.18.
 2. Al-Dasūqī, 'Umar, Fī'l-Adab al-Hadīth, II, pp.67-72;
Fahmī, M. Ḥasan, Tatawwur al-Shi'r al-'Arabī al-Mu'āsir, p.29.

led in turn to poor production.⁽¹⁾

(d) In the important matter of sending educational missions abroad, it was again Muhammad 'Alī who set the example. His first large educational mission was in 1826 and it comprised 44 students including the famous Rifā'a al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. In all, he sent 11 educational missions, most of them to France.⁽²⁾ It was through these educational missions that modern Egypt came into systematic and therefore more influential contact with Western ideas and learning; and the students who benefited from them came back as translators, educationalists and journalists, to contribute to the new literary movement which by Ismā'īl's reign started yielding valuable results. Himself a member of one of the educational missions sent by his father, Ismā'īl continued these missions, and it was recorded that he sent 172 students between 1863 and 1879.

After suffering an initial setback under British occupation, educational missions to Europe were resumed, but now with a change of policy regarding place and subjects of study. In the previous educational missions 80 per cent had studied in France and 96 per cent had pursued technical studies. Under British occupation, 75 per cent were sent to Britain and 65 per cent studied subjects related to humanities and social sciences.⁽³⁾

-
1. Cachia, Pierre, Taha Husayn, p.28; Dayf, Shawqī, op. cit., pp.202-23.
 2. Al-Dasūqī, 'Umar, Fi'l-Adab al-Hadīth, I, pp.21, 23.
 3. Safran, N., Egypt, pp.55-56.

Private efforts had also lent support to educational missions when well-off families started sending their sons to Europe for higher education.

At this juncture it seems in order to register the role played by orientalists in the literary reawakening in Egypt and elsewhere in the Muslim East. Through their methodology of editing classical texts and methods of literary study they left an indelible mark on present day Arabic literary scholarship.⁽¹⁾ In the case of Egypt in particular, a number of these scholars, namely Guidi, Nallino and Santillana, were invited to teach in the newly established Egyptian University. There they made a deep impression on the minds of the Egyptian students. An admirer who occasionally attended their lectures recollects that he was fascinated by their thorough and painstaking inquiry and intellectual discipline.⁽²⁾ These impressions were confirmed by a full-time student of the University when he mentioned that the lectures of these orientalists had totally changed his views of literature and literary criticism.⁽³⁾ In particular, he registered his indebtedness to Nallino for inculcating in him an academic discipline that stood him in good stead throughout

-
1. On the impact of orientalists on modern Arabic scholarship see Samāyluvitsh, Aḥmad, Falsafat al-Istishrāq wa-Atharuhā fi'l-Adab al-'Arabī al-Mu'āsir, especially pp.543-606 and pp.709-715.
 2. Amīn, Aḥmad, Hayātī, p.109.
 3. Ḥusayn, Ṭahā, Tajdīd Dhikrā Abī'l-'Alā', p.8.

his literary career.⁽¹⁾

The influence of orientalists did not stop at winning over young Egyptian students and admirers, but made a clear impression in terms of both methodology and of ideas, on the works of older Egyptian writers, including those who did not spare the orientalists their covert or overt attacks. Hifnī Nāsif's 'Ilm al-Adab and al-Rāfi'ī's Tārīkh Ādāb al-'Arab, for instance, bear this out.⁽²⁾

To sum up, the factors briefly sketched above, and also the religious reform movement led by Muḥammad 'Abduh, the social reform movement led by his disciple, Qāsim Amīn, and the political reawakening championed by eminent Egyptians, such as Muṣṭafā Kāmil and Sa'd Zaghūl, led to an enormous cultural revival. The cumulative effects of these activities on literature and literary criticism were tremendous, and broke cultural barriers by bringing new learning and ideas and by preparing minds to accept yet more of these ideas which, blended with the classical Islamic past, formed the basis of the literary renaissance. In the light of these developments, I shall now proceed to consider the state of literary criticism in the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.

-
1. Nallino, Carlo, Tārīkh al-Ādāb al-'Arabiyya, (introduction) pp.8-9.
 2. Marzūq, Hilmī 'Alī, Tatawwur al-Naqd wa- al-Tafkīr al-Adabī al-Hadīth, p.376; al-Dasūqī, 'Umar, Fī'l-Adab al-Hadīth, I, pp.385-86.

2. Literary Criticism in the Late 19th Century and the First Half of the 20th Century

The movement of the revival of Arabic classical masterpieces in the late 19th century injected a breath of life into poetry which had hitherto remained overwhelmed by artificiality and rhetorical ornaments at the expense of the depiction of sincere feeling and emotions. The first poet in the period to show this new life in his output was al-Bārūdī, the precursor of modern Arabic poetry. While efforts were being made to revive classical literary masterpieces the revival of literary criticism of the golden age was also being carried out. Al-Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Marsafī (d. 1890) is perhaps the most representative of this revival through his work al-Wāsila al-Adabiyya.

Originally lectures delivered at Dār al-'Ulūm and later published in two volumes⁽¹⁾, this work aimed at giving the sound linguistic and literary groundwork necessary for this revival. Though the author is said to have been fluent in French the work shows no sign of Western influence. Nonetheless, it proved in several ways to be influential and a step towards the birth of modern Arabic literary criticism in Egypt. First, al-Marsafī did not view the Arabic literary tradition with blind veneration,

1. Vol. I, dealing with language aspects, appeared in 1872 while Vol. II which dealt with literary aspects appeared in 1875. Much of the work was published as articles in the journal Rawdat al-Madāris.

but was critical, taking from his literary ancestors views that concurred with his own literary taste and served the needs of his age. "To imitate the Arabs in everything they said is not correct", al-Marsafī says, "they are only to be followed in what would enhance communication and, with regard to poetry and prose, what would convey the literary effects intended by a poet or writer".⁽¹⁾ Secondly, as a consequence of the above premise, his stance towards ancient Arabic poetry is that of an enlightened sympathiser who saw nothing wrong in pointing out its limitations or weaknesses. Similarly, he allowed himself the liberty of reconsidering some critical criteria adopted by the ancient Arabs or literary judgments passed by them.⁽²⁾ Finally, by including in his work many good poetic selections from flourishing literary periods and from his contemporary, al-Bārūdī, he enhanced further his influence on many Egyptians who came after him. For example, Shukrī, one of the pioneering modernisers of Arabic poetry and of criticism, confessed that al-Marsafī's work was the most influential Arabic work in his literary education.⁽³⁾

Despite this modern spirit running through many parts of al-Marsafī's work, his criticism seems to be predominantly

-
1. Al-Wasīla al-Adabiyya, vol.II, p.473.
 2. Ibid., pp.472-3 where he discussed Ibn Khaldūn's views on literary taste, and gives his own viewpoint.
 3. Shukrī, A., "Fasl min Nash'atī al-Adabiyya", al-Muqtataf, vol.94 (May, 1939), p.545.

philological and rhetorical. This is, however, not to belittle his position as a pioneering critic who prepared the way for the emergence of modern criticism, just in the same way as al-Bārūdī acted as a forerunner of modern Arabic poetry.

Apart from al-Marsafī, Shaykh Ḥamza Fath Allāh by his work al-Mawāhib and Sayyid Ibn 'Alī al-Marsafī⁽¹⁾ had contributed to the critical stream which Ḥusayn al-Marsafī represents. Both had had a teaching career at Dār al-'Ulūm or the Azhar. Muḥammad al-Muwaḥḥidī, a creative writer and a journalist, belonged to this stream by virtue of his criticism of Shawqī when the latter published his collection in 1898. A conservative despite his fluency in French, al-Muwaḥḥidī is charged with contributing to Shawqī's imitateness of classical Arab poets through the nature of his criticism of the poet, which called for going back to Arab past in the quest for inspiration, rather than Western literature which Shawqī announced in his introduction that he would attempt to exploit in writing poetry.⁽²⁾

There was, however, one Egyptian teacher who deserves to

-
1. He is different from Ḥusayn al-Marsafī (d. 1931); he has a critical philological commentary on 'Alī al-Qālī's al-Kāmil, 8 vols. (Cairo, 1927). Ṭāhā Ḥusayn said he was indebted to him for his ability to read and understand a classical text. See Nallino, Tārīkh al-Ādāb al-'Arabiyya (introduction).
 2. Dayf, Shawqī, op. cit., pp.235-6; see also al-Muwaḥḥidī's "Naqd Dīwān Shawqī", in Mukhtārāt al-Manfalūṭī, pp.155-56.

be mentioned in the literary modernising efforts in Egypt. This teacher was Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl who moved literary study one step further by his modern approach which he acquired through his studies in Berlin University under orientalist especially Brockelmann. Al-‘Adl's approach is embodied in his Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lughā al-‘Arabiyya, collected from his lectures at Dār al-‘Ulūm from 1898. In it, he drew a picture of the Arabs' intellectual and literary life and the factors that shaped it as well as accounting for the development of Arabic language through the ages. Of ancient poets and their works, he presented a study of a number of them with some biographical notes, the views of ancient scholars on them and followed by his personal views.⁽¹⁾ Though by no means equal to the methods adopted by orientalist at the Egyptian University later on, al-‘Adl's methods as revealed in his work are a notable step towards studying Arabic literature on proper modern lines.

3. Syrian Immigrants and Modern Literary Criticism in Egypt

Mention has already been made of the migration to Egypt of Syrians during the reign of Ismā‘īl and their contributions to translations and journalism. Their contribution had indeed pervaded the whole cultural movement. They pushed further the process of modernization and more effectively actualized it in

1. Diyāb, ‘Abd al-Ḥayy, ‘Abbās al-‘Aqqād Nāqidan, p.49; al-Amīn, ‘Izz al-Dīn, op. cit., p.53; al-Dasūqī, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Tatawwur al-Naqd al-‘Arabī al-Ḥadīth, p.186.

the literary, political, social and intellectual life of Egypt.⁽¹⁾ By virtue of their consistent education on Western lines from the outset, starting in their home country and often extending to France, it is not surprising to find them playing a leading role in the first organised literary criticism in Egypt. Their critical activity first found expression in journals under their control, e.g., al-Muqtataf, al-Hilāl, al-Bayān and al-Diyā'.⁽²⁾ In order to indicate the extent of their contribution in the sphere of literary criticism a brief sketch of some of their critical views is attempted below.

In understanding the necessity of developing and adapting the Arabic language to suit modern needs, Syrian immigrants seem to be undisputed forerunners, for in addition to their theoretical grasp of such a need their day-to-day practice in translations and journalism further confirmed it. In an article entitled "al-Lugha wa'l-'Aṣr", Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī (1847-1906) emphasized this point when he saw in language a reflection of a nation with its cultural, literary and intellectual life, hence the necessity of keeping language in touch with their need to be expressed.⁽³⁾ The limitations of the Arabic language in expressing modern needs and ideas are not therefore something inherent in the language itself, says al-Yāzījī, but rather it

1. Khouri, Mounah A., Poetry and the Making of Modern Egypt, p.143.

2. Najm, M. Yūsuf, "al-Funūn al-Adabiyya" in al-Adab al-'Arabī fī Āthār al-Dārisīn, p.317.

3. Al-Yāzījī, Ibrāhīm, in Mukhtārāt al-Manfalūtī, p.81.

is due to the stagnation that the Arabs as a nation found themselves in. If they were as energetic as their ancestors in their endeavours to acquire knowledge and civilization, they would not have failed to develop their language so as to keep abreast with the contemporary world.⁽¹⁾ Al-Yāzījī's linguistic studies and his criticism of the language of poets and writers induced the latter to enhance their language, for when they wrote they seemed to be conscious of al-Yāzījī's critical figure, as it were.⁽²⁾

One other literary forerunner, Ahmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (1801-1887) seemed to be, in addition to his linguistic studies, one of the first modernists to criticise the persistence of some traditional themes and techniques in Arabic poetry. Talking about his eulogy of Ahmad Pasha, the ruler of Tunis, in which he started with the traditional erotic prelude (Nasīb) he commented that Westerners disapproved of such a tradition. When they eulogise, al-Shidyāq says, they do it out of conviction that the person is worthy of it and not because of a desire for reward. Moreover, in their eulogy they do not mention the generosity of the person and do not exaggerate in depicting him.⁽³⁾ Similar views were expressed by Shaykh Najīb al-

1. Al-Yāzījī, Ibrāhīm, op. cit., p.85.

2. Al-Zayyāt, A. Ḥasan, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, p.554; see also al-Bustānī, Buṭrus, Udabā' al-'Arab, vol.3, pp.374-75.

3. Al-Dasūqī, 'Umar, Fī'l-Adab al-Ḥadīth, I, pp.84-85.

Ḥaddād⁽¹⁾ (1867-1899). Observing some other differences in ideas and techniques between Arabic poetry and Western poetry in general, al-Ḥaddād saw the latter as adhering strictly to simplicity, reality and unexaggerated imagination, similar in this respect to pre-Islamic poetry, while the former after the pre-Islamic period sank deep, especially in themes such as love and eulogy, into hyperbole repulsive to sound thought.⁽²⁾ One other comparison drawn by al-Ḥaddād between Arabic poetry and Western poetry (a subject later to be dwelt upon by Egyptian critics, though in greater detail), was the concentration of Arab poets on sensuous and external aspects while his Western counterpart penetrated the inner aspects in his depiction of situations and psychological states of mind.⁽³⁾

Niqūlā Fayyād (1873-1958) is another literary pioneer among the Syrian immigrants. A doctor by training but with a literary bent, he advocated exploiting the results of modern sciences in writing and criticising poetry. According to him, it is no longer enough for a love poet to mention a look at the moving moon in the night, neither is it enough for a poet to dwell upon commonplace themes such as self-praise and eulogy, for such themes have lost their effects on the modern mind whose new thirst, created by science, is difficult to quench without

-
1. Al-Ḥaddād, Najīb, "Muqābala" in Mukhtārāt al-Manfalūṭī, p.134.
 2. Ibid., pp.141-43.
 3. Ibid., pp.144-145; compare with al-‘Aqqād in Sā‘āt bayn al-Kutub, pp.489-491.

bringing forth something new.⁽¹⁾ In like manner, artistic criticism of a work of literature must be complemented by objective criticism on which the results of scientific studies are brought to bear.⁽²⁾

Many aspects of such objective criticism especially as it affects historical literary study were achieved early in this century by the famous Sulaymān al-Bustānī (1856-1925) in his Introduction to the first Arabic translation of Homer's Iliad. Occupying two hundred pages, al-Bustānī's Introduction intelligently exploited modern principles of literary study at a time when literary criticism was no more than discussion on semantics, rhetorical devices, philology, plagiarism, etc. By his profound and dispassionate study of Homer, the developmental stages of Arabic poetry, a comparison between Arabic and Greek literature and many other themes, al-Bustānī filled a hitherto wide gap in Arabic literary study.⁽³⁾

The above-named are only a few of the Syrian immigrants who gave a lead to the Egyptian literary movement. It was only in the years after the First World War that the indigenous intelligentsia effectively challenged that lead. The next section will examine briefly the emergence of this intelligentsia as a school and their literary views.

-
1. Fayyād, Niqūlā, 'Alā al-Minbar, vol.I, p.193ff.
 2. Al-Maqdisī, Anīs, al-Funūn al-Adabiyya, pp.439-40.
 3. Al-Bustānī, Buṭrus, op. cit., pp.461-62.

4. The Emergence of the Egyptian School

In the last section we have seen how Syrian immigrants launched an organised literary criticism in Egypt and what were the factors that caused them to play a leading part until the early part of the present century, when an indigenous school challenged their primacy and in the end took over their position. In this section an attempt will be made to briefly outline the emergence of the Egyptian school and the contributions of its members towards modern Arabic literary criticism in Egypt, a school whose members were intimately acquainted with their heritage, and had been educated on modern Western lines.

Though labelled a "school" they were not strictly this, for there existed wide individual differences among its members. Nevertheless, the term is used here for convenience, in addition to the fact that there was a common ground that bound their literary activities together: "All of them are striving to give greater depth and range to modern Arabic writing....Most of them aim at applying modern aesthetic and literary criteria to the rich stores of old Arabic literature as well as to modern productions..."⁽¹⁾ Further, they were able to narrow the gulf and antagonism that existed between modernists and conservatives by creating a new literary technique which struck a balance between the aims and standards of modern literary language and the preservation of the rhythm of a language that has a long and

1. Gibb, H.A.R., Studies on the Civilization of Islam, pp.271-72.

rich tradition behind it. Consequently, their activities brought about fundamental principles of culture agreed upon by modernists and conservatives.⁽¹⁾

So much for the justification of the label. As to its emergence, however, this goes back to 1907 when Egyptian nationalism reached one of its zeniths; they gathered round al-Jarīda, edited by Luṭfī al-Sayyid who earned the popular title of "the teacher of the generation". A modest start, no doubt, but as time went on it continued gaining strength until the early post-war years when it overthrew the domination of the Syrian school. Two events further marked the advance of the Egyptian school and revitalised their modernising efforts, one the formation of the Liberal Constitutional Party with its mouthpiece al-Siyāsa, founded in 1922 under the editorship of M. Ḥusayn Haykal, and the other the taking over of the Egyptian University two years later by the government and putting it under Luṭfī al-Sayyid as its director.⁽²⁾

This, then, is briefly how the Egyptian school emerged. It now remains to sketch some critical views held by its members, views so influential that even now they are regarded as the groundwork from which younger critics found guidance and inspiration. This does not, however, go without saying that a good number of their literary views were a subject of discussion

1. Gibb, H.A.R., op. cit., p.272.

2. Ibid., pp.270-72.

in periodical press late last century and early in this century, by a number of Syrian immigrants and Egyptian writers.⁽¹⁾ The members of the Egyptian school naturally fall into two groups, those who were mainly French influenced and those whose Western influence was mainly English. For the practical purpose of our outline M. Ḥusayn Haykal and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn will represent the former group while 'Abbās al-'Aqqād and Ibrāhīm al-Māzinī will represent the latter. The last three named are generally regarded as Egypt's greatest literary critics.

The French-Influenced Group

M. Ḥusayn Haykal⁽²⁾ (1888-1957), an Egyptian from the provinces, graduated in Law in 1909. His bent for literature showed itself from his student days and he came into contact with Luṭfī al-Sayyid who fostered his ideas and allowed him to train as a writer in al-Jarīda. In 1912 he got his Doctorate in Political Economics from Paris. While in Paris he wrote his novel Zaynab later to be considered as the first genuine attempt by an Egyptian to write a modern novel.⁽³⁾

M. Haykal's early literary views are found in articles he published in al-Jarīda in 1912. In the first article dealing

-
1. Al-Dasūqī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, op. cit., p.292.
 2. For a detailed discussion on Haykal's literary views see al-Amīn, 'Izz al-Dīn, op. cit., pp.287-97; Semah, David, Four Egyptian Literary Critics, pp.69-105.
 3. Dayf, Shawqī, op. cit., p.270.

with al-Rāfi'ī's Tārīkh Ādāb al-'Arab, the latter is severely criticised for his subjective and biased approach whose sole objective seems to be to praise the Arabs and their literature. In order to provide a historical document, Haykal says, one has to be objective by weighing and arranging unquestionable facts. Al-Rāfi'ī's style in the book is also attacked by Haykal for its imitation of ancient Arabs, thus in his view detaching himself from his Egyptian environment.⁽¹⁾

Objectivity in the study of literature and its Egyptianization are two themes which assume ^{an} important place in Haykal's literary views and in turn show the influence of Taine's doctrine of determinism and theory of scientific study of literature upon him.⁽²⁾ On the first question, Haykal concedes that a critic cannot wholly strip himself of subjective elements, but this is not to compromise his stance on the necessity of scientific study of literature. Comparing artistic criticism in Western literatures and Arabic literature, he sees the Western critic with his good education as less prone to succumb to subjectivity than his Arab counterpart. Hence he sees scientific criticism as the only kind of criticism that can effectively sustain the various benefits to be derived from literature and help to establish a foundation for future Egyptian culture.⁽³⁾ As regards Egyptianization of literature, however, he wants the

1. Semah, David, op. cit., p.69.

2. Ibid., p.70.

3. Al-Amīn, 'Izz al-Dīn, op. cit., pp.290-91.

Egyptian writer to draw inspiration from the history of ancient Egypt, both Islamic and non-Islamic, the valley and the river and to portray the country as it really is. This call stems from his conviction that a literature that does not spring from the writer's soul cannot depict his individuality and is therefore bound to be uninteresting and weak. To ensure a clear depiction of his individuality and maintain a close interrelationship between his work and life, a writer has to depict his environment and the factors which shaped it. Matching theory with practice, Haykal produced pieces of imaginative literature on ancient and modern Egyptian subjects,⁽¹⁾ in addition to his longer work, Zaynab, which also practicalised his theory.

As a periodical press writer with vast experience in attempting to adapt the Arabic language to modern needs, it is to be expected that Haykal speaks of the language of literature in what amounts to a creed: "Language is but an instrument, which must be kept and 'polished' or it becomes rusty...the true adīb is not the person who is familiar with obscure and antiquated words, but the person who can clothe beautiful ideas, or fine shades of thought, or imagery...in a garment, through which their beauty and originality can be perceived. The simpler the words, the sweeter they are to the ear, the nearer to the heart, and the more attractive to the mind".⁽²⁾ He sees the

-
1. Semah, David, op. cit., p.89; al-Amin, 'Izz al-Dīn, op. cit., pp.294-95.
 2. Haykal, M. Ḥusayn, Fī Awqāt al-Farāgh, p.207, cited and translated in Studies on the Civilization of Islam, by Gibb, p.274.

task of a writer in modernising a literary language as above that of a philologist and lexicographer. By polishing the language through good literary exploitation, a modern writer feeds the philologist with new material that will be of use to the language in much the same way as an ancient literary language would.⁽¹⁾ This, in effect, means that a literary language should not be looked on as static and immutable, but should be seen as dynamic and adaptable, suiting changing environments and situations of life.

A final observation to be made on Haykal is that, although he was less sensitive to the intrinsic qualities of literature and was more concerned with literature as historical or sociological evidence, or for its capacity as an influencing factor on national life, yet his articles on literary subjects and his contribution in general discussions about the state of poetry and the novel and the remedies he suggested for their weakness certainly exerted some influence on the modernisation of Arabic literature in Egypt. In particular, his call for Egyptian poets to desist from imitating ancient models and to depict their own lives and experiences might well be one of the factors that gave rise early in the thirties to the emergence of the Apollo Group whose poetic output to a great extent realised Haykal's wishes.⁽²⁾

-
1. Haykal, M. Husayn, Thawrat al-Adab, pp.42-43.
 2. Semah, David, op. cit., pp.101-12.

Ṭāhā Ḥusayn⁽¹⁾ (1889-1973), much higher than Haykal in literary stature, studied at the Azhar and later at the Egyptian University where in 1914 he obtained the first Doctorate to be awarded by that University. In the same year he became an obvious choice for scholarship in France and there he studied Literature, History, Philosophy and Sociology. By 1919 he was the well-deserved holder of a chain of French degrees.⁽²⁾ The future of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's literary career was thus shaped by blending his traditional education at the Azhar and a modern education at the Egyptian University and in France.

Like the other members of the Egyptian school, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's literary thinking is characterised by a moderate modernism in which the best of the ancient Arabic literary heritage is brought into alliance with modern Western literary ideas. He regarded as fruitless the quarrels which pervaded the Egyptian literary scene early in this century, as to which was the best and therefore worthy of commanding attention, ancient Arabic literature or modern Western literature; for it is ordained, he maintains, by God that life is always a blending of the best from old and new.⁽³⁾

A passionate lover of ancient Arabic literature who played

-
1. For a detailed discussion and assessment of his literary criticism see Cachia, Pierre, op. cit., pp.131-191; al-Amīn, 'Izz al-Dīn, op. cit., pp.234-86; 'Asfūr, Jābir, al-Marāyā al-Mutajāwira, Cairo, 1983.
 2. Cachia, Pierre, op. cit., p.55.
 3. Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā, Min Ḥadīth al-Shi'r wa'l-Nathr, pp.14-15.

a leading role in its study and popularisation, he produced in 1925 his two-volume work entitled Hadīth al-Arbi'a. In spite of its limitations characteristic of critical reviews meant for the periodical press, a fact which the author was the first to acknowledge, the work will long remain one of the best modern attempts to creatively revive ancient Arabic literature, especially poetry, to whose appreciation until that time, ambiguous and obscure rhetorical terms were applied. It is not surprising that the reader finds a world of difference between the two types of appreciation.⁽¹⁾

To be able to realise such a creative revival, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn had to acquire an intelligent, wide and deep knowledge of Western culture in addition to a similar knowledge of Islamic and Arabic tradition. It is not surprising therefore that he considers a good general grasp of modern culture as a prerequisite to any meaningful study of Arabic literature. Citing al-Mutanabbī and al-Ma'arrī as examples, one cannot, he says, understand the work of the former without a grasp of Moral Philosophy while understanding the latter requires a general knowledge of Natural Philosophy, Metaphysics, Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics.⁽²⁾ Besides, literary study, especially historical, has to be based on a solid foundation of scientific methods of research, an aim

-
1. Badawī, Muṣṭafā, Dirāsāt fī'l-Shi'r wa'l-Masrah, p.2; see also al-Saḥarātī, M.A.L., al-Shi'r al-Mu'āsir, p.190.
 2. Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā, Fi'l-Adab al-Jāhilī, pp. 18ff and 28ff.

he attempted to achieve in his Tajdīd Dhikrā Abī'l-'Alā' and his notorious book Fī'l-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, and he succeeded to a large extent, especially in the first book. In the latter book Ṭāhā Ḥusayn professed to apply Cartesianism which means that he intended to "make a clean sweep of all previously accepted ideas, and to free the study of literature from scholastic authority and from religious, racial and national prejudices".⁽¹⁾ He does not, however, deny the role of literary taste in this kind of study, thus modifying his stance in Tajdīd Dhikrā Abī'l-'Alā' when he demanded a total subjection of literary study to the rules of science as matter is subject to chemical action.⁽²⁾

Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's attention to modern Arabic literature through his many literary reviews and his participation in general discussion about poetry and other literary genres that began to appear is another facet of the contribution of his literary views to the evolution of modern Arabic literary criticism in Egypt. Volume III of his Ḥadīth al-'Arbi'ā', for instance, testifies to this. In it, he sees the function of criticism as sifting true and therefore permanent in a given literary work from untrue and therefore unworthy, hence the necessity of criticism in any scientific, literary or artistic movement. In order to fulfil such a function, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn says, criticism must be free and dispassionate.⁽³⁾ As for the language

1. Cachia, Pierre, op. cit., p.136.

2. Al-Amīn, 'Izz al-Dīn, op. cit., pp.270-71.

3. Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā, Ḥadīth al-'Arbi'ā', vol.III, p.661.

of literature, he sees it, like Haykal, as something living and dynamic, over which the moderns have as much right as the ancients; they could, within the bounds of general linguistic norms, add to its resources or modify them as needs and literary circumstances demand. He views literary style in the same manner. On this question, he criticised al-Rāfi'ī's imitation of medieval literary style and saw this imitation as untenable on both literary and moral grounds; for a literary perfection demands that the use of language should be in conformity with the writer's life while in moral terms the writer has to be sincere to himself and his contemporaries.⁽¹⁾ On the general weakness of modern Arabic poetry, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn blamed the poets for their intellectual laziness⁽²⁾ and their imitation of the ancients which led to the slow progress of poetry. Similarly, he ascribed lack of sincere feelings in modern Arabic poetry to the same factors.⁽³⁾

Although Ṭāhā Ḥusayn is disinclined to state in precise terms the qualities he seeks in literature, thus avoiding legislating for Art, yet it is possible to reduce his literary preferences into two areas, which are wording and content. In wording his literary taste is not widely different from that of traditional

-
1. Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā, Ḥadīth al-Arbi'ā, vol.III, pp.590-91.
 2. As is characteristic of him, al-'Aqqād further analyses this intellectual laziness and attributes it to universal, Egyptian and individual factors. See Sā'āt Bayn al-Kutub, pp.278-81.
 3. Al-Amīn, 'Izz al-Dīn, op. cit., p.263.

Arabs. He considers the use of correct classical language as essential as are also rhyme, metre and choice of wording to poetry.⁽¹⁾ Though he accepts verbal adornments if exercised moderately he appreciates musical effects most.⁽²⁾ With regard to content, however, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, in contrast to the prevailing emphasis on clever wording over freshness or sincerity of ideas expressed, insisted on literature being living and in constant touch with the sentiments of the current generation. In appreciating poetry he looked at a poem as a complete whole and he urged that it should be so considered.⁽³⁾

This brief outline has touched upon only a few of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's literary views, views which made a strong impact upon the evolution of modern Arabic literary criticism in Egypt. There is, however, one other kind of influence exerted by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, and that was the training he gave, through his long University teaching career, to young talented Egyptians who were later to become eminent critics. According to one writer, this aspect of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's contribution represents his real literary role more significantly than what he registered in his many works.⁽⁴⁾

-
1. He was not however so dogmatic about metre and rhyme as revealed in ancient Arabic poetry; see Muḥammad al-Dasūqī, Ayyām Ma' Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, pp.13-15.
 2. Cachia, Pierre, op. cit., pp.175-76.
 3. Ibid., pp.176-77.
 4. Zakī, A. Kamāl, al-Naḥd al-Adabī al-Hadīth, p.91.

The English-Influenced Group

Coming now to the critical views of the mainly English-influenced group of the Egyptian school, it is convenient to briefly sketch together the views of al-'Aqqād (1888-1964) and al-Māzinī (1889-1949) as both writers in conjunction with Shukrī (1886-1958), initially at least, were the founders of the so-called Dīwān school ⁽¹⁾ which started in the first decade of this century and reached its peak with the appearance of al-Dīwān in 1921.

Before the emergence of this school Egyptian poetry was dominated by the conservative school led by Shawqī. Having realised that this domination, especially in the case of Shawqī, was not due to purely literary factors ⁽²⁾ and being aware of their own potentialities, the triad of poets-critics challenged it with al-'Aqqād starting in 1907 to publish in the periodical press his critical views on topics such as "Poetic Imagery", "A Writer and a Poet", "Poetry and Wording", etc. Soon the challenge became more articulated with the publication of their collections of poems and their critical introductions to them, e.g. al-'Aqqād's critical introduction in 1913 to Shukrī's second collection and al-Māzinī's first collection, and Shukrī's

-
1. On this school, see Chapter III (pp.94-181) in "al-'Aqqād's Critical Theories" by az-Zubaidī, A.M.K.
 2. On this charge, see Mandūr, M., al-Shi'r al-Misrī, p.7, al-'Aqqād and al-Māzinī, al-Dīwān, p.8.

critical introduction to his fifth collection in 1916.⁽¹⁾ In brief, this is the school's activity prior to the appearance of al-Dīwān.

Intended to be in ten small volumes although only two appeared, al-Dīwān's tone is characterised by destructive criticism, a fact admitted and defended by the writers themselves. There is, however, much to be said about the useful aspects of the work. Here we shall outline main deficiencies seen by the school in the poetic production of the conservative school with Shawqī's works representing it. These are disunity, absurdity, imitateness and craving for non-essentials.

On disunity, they see poetic metre and rhyme as the only components holding together the poetry written by conservatives, and obviously this is not the unity demanded in a poetic creation. in which the relation of a poem to its parts is comparable to the relationship of a living body to its organs. If such a relationship is lost the resultant poetic creation is bound to be a distorted one. Shawqī's elegy on Muṣṭafā Kāmil is cited as an example of such a distorted creation as the lines are shown to be capable of being reordered without this changing the sense of the original. In this kind of poem, therefore, it will be in vain to look for a coherent and authentic vision.⁽²⁾ This understanding of the unity of a poem demanded by the Dīwān

1. Haykal, Ahmad, Tatawwur al-Adab al-Ḥadīth, pp.153-56.

2. Al-Dīwān, pp.130-141.

school is the notion of organic unity which, according to one writer, here makes its first entry into Arabic literature.⁽¹⁾

With regard to the charge of absurdity it is claimed to be abound in the poetic output of the conservatives as exemplified by their leader, Shawqī. Portraying Muṣṭafā Kāmil as the erector of the citadel of moral values in the entire world or depicting the whole of Egypt as a grave for a man who reawakened that very country, are cited as some of such absurdities.⁽²⁾

The charge of imitating the ancient Arabs is shown to lie in their use of hackneyed expressions and ideas, or, worse still, by close quotation and plagiarism. It is to be noted that al-Dīwān's treatment of the subject of plagiarism is in no way different from that of ancient Arab critics.⁽³⁾ In respect of the last main deficiency in the poetry of conservatives, i.e., craving for non-essentials, it is asserted to be akin to absurdity though more difficult to detect. A number of examples are given out of which one will be cited. This is in Shawqī's line where the throbbing of a man's heart is likened to the ticking of a watch in order to suggest the transience of earthly life. The principle behind this criticism lies in the view that as the

-
1. Az-Zubaidī, A.M.K., op. cit., pp.107-8. M.A. al-‘Ālim claims that although al-‘Aqqād uses the concept in his criticism what he understands by it is the unity of theme in a poem, see Fī al-Thaqāfa al-Misriyya, p.114.
 2. Al-‘Aqqād and al-Māzinī, al-Dīwān, pp.142-147.
 3. Ibid., pp.148-150.

throbbing of man's heart is one of the deep truths of human life, it should not be connected to a superficial and mechanical association like the movement of a watch.⁽¹⁾ Similar to this in principle is the school's criticism of the poetic imagery of the conservatives as sensuous, hinging on mechanical association instead of a deeper association reposing in the human soul and physical nature.⁽²⁾

With such views and with practical examples in their poetic collections the members of the Dīwān school were able to weaken the conservative voice of poetry and bring forth another voice emphasizing truth, sincerity and the portrayal of human soul and physical nature over musical effects, verbal adornments and lack of coherent vision. The success of this school is strengthened by its entering into alliance with the Mahjarī school as evidenced by Na'īma's favourable article entitled "al-Dīwān" in his book al-Ghirbāl and al-'Aqqād's writing of an introduction to the book.⁽³⁾ This alliance must have been one of the factors that induced the emergence a decade later of the Apollo Group. It is to be mentioned in passing that in contrast to the Dīwān school the real contribution of the Apollo Group to the literary movement is not in the sphere of criticism but in diversifying and consolidating further poetry-writing on

-
1. Al-'Aqqād and al-Māzinī, op. cit., pp.150-152.
 2. Ibid., pp.20-21.
 3. See Na'īma, M. al-Ghirbāl, pp.6-13 and 206-216.

Western lines.⁽¹⁾

As a result of disintegration that befell the Dīwān school⁽²⁾ it was only al-'Aqqād who continuously promoted its tradition throughout his life, by consolidation, elaboration and modification. He was able to establish his own school round which gathered a number of enthusiastic supporters.⁽³⁾

Although al-Māzinī subscribed to the views of the Dīwān school, some of which we have just outlined, such views were of al-'Aqqād's formulation. Hence we propose to sketch here some of al-Māzinī's literary views outside al-Dīwān. In an introduction to his book entitled Shi'r Hāfiz he mentioned a number of literary views upon which all the modernists in the Egyptian school seem to have agreed. One is his dynamic view of language and the necessity of developing and adapting it to new situations and needs, and another is his identification of literature as true when it is in touch with human emotions, feelings and life, thus emphasizing sincere ideas whatever the subject or aim over verbal adornments.⁽⁴⁾ In poetry he strongly defends the necessity of metre; as there is no painting without

-
1. On the Apollo Group, see al-Dasūqī, Abd al-'Aziz, Jamā'at Apollo, 2nd edition (Cairo, 1971).
 2. See c.f. Abū'l-Anwār, M., al-Hiwār al-Adabī, pp.171-209.
 3. For a detailed discussion about al-'Aqqād as a critic see az-Zubaidī, A.M.K., and Diyāb, 'Abd al-Ḥayy.
 4. Al-Amīn, 'Izz al-Dīn, op. cit., p.202.

colours, so there is no poetry without metre, al-Māzinī says.⁽¹⁾ He was not however defending the poetic metres bequeathed by al-Khalil, as is shown by his approval of Mahjarī innovations in metre and rhyme.⁽²⁾

One of al-Māzinī's lasting contributions to literary criticism in Egypt is his literary studies of some ancient Arab poets such as Ibn al-Rūmī, Bashshār and al-Mutanabbī which later induced younger critics to study them further. His treatment of these ancient poets is considered literarily more valuable and dispassionate than his studies on contemporary poets or writers, e.g. Shukrī, Hāfiz and al-Manfalūṭī.⁽³⁾

Having thus dwelt at some length on the Egyptian school because of the profound imprint it has left on modern Egyptian literary criticism, we shall now proceed to outline some other factors which had an influence on its evolution. But before this it seems appropriate to briefly examine some critical views of a conservative Egyptian writer who was, in fact, regarded by many writers as the leader of the conservative school of literary thinking in Egypt. Why attention should be given to such a writer, one might be tempted to ask? Two reasons account for it. In the first place, the credit for introducing modern ideas to Egyptian literature should not be seen as the sole

-
1. Al-Dasūqī, 'Umar, Fī'l Adab al-Ḥadīth, II, p.268.
 2. Al-Amīn, 'Izz al-Dīn, op. cit., p.215.
 3. Al-Maqdisī, Anīs, op. cit., pp.370-73

prerogative of the modernists for the conservatives, through their resistance to new ideas in favour of traditional ones of whose merit they had unshaken conviction, contributed their quota as well though passively. Secondly, through the ensuing dialogues and battles of words between the two sides many literary issues were clarified and agreed upon and, in addition, certain new ideas gained acceptance among the conservatives. This perhaps explains why we come across enlightened literary ideas in the works of conservatives as will be evident in some of al-Rāfi'ī's views to which we now turn.

Muṣṭafā S. al-Rāfi'ī (1880-1937) who did not go beyond primary education for his formal education or speak any Western language, was able to acquire a wider knowledge of Arab-Islamic culture through personal efforts to the extent ^{that} few of his contemporaries could rival him in his wide and deep knowledge of Arabic. ⁽¹⁾ Despite this knowledge he was a blind admirer of the ancient Arab heritage, so much so that he considered the modernising activities of the Egyptian school and its supporters as an effort to undermine Islam and its language, Arabic, and to introduce foreign values. In 1923 when the battle of words between modernists and conservatives was at its height, we find him exchanging correspondence with Ṭāhā Ḥusayn on whether language, literary style and taste are static or subject to changing situations and needs. ⁽²⁾ A similar correspondence was

1. Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā, Hadīth al-Arbi'ā', vol.III, p.702.

2. Ibid., pp.585-616.

exchanged between him and al-'Aqqād. His vigorous attack on modernists and passionate defence of the literary values of the ancient Arabs and of Islam found expression in his refutation of Ṭāhā Husayn's Fī'l Shi'r al-Jāhili in a book entitled Taht Rāyat al-Qur'ān.⁽¹⁾

By the mid-thirties however we find new dimensions in al-Rāfi'ī's literary views, a phenomenon which may reasonably warrant the claim that the modernising movement must have influenced him, limited though the degree of that influence was. In this regard his three volume^{of} collected articles published between 1934 and 1937 under the title of Wahy al-Qalam lend support to this claim. In this work we find him acknowledging the tremendous changes that have entered poetry as a result of the modern literary movement. Himself a poet at the outset of his literary career, al-Rāfi'ī realised how modern Arabic poetry was transformed from being mainly linguistic forms, lacking in variety, to a poetry keeping contact with life and richer in ideas and imagination.⁽²⁾ On his criteria for appreciating a poet, he mentions that he mainly looks for freshness of ideas, sincerity and depth in expressing them.⁽³⁾ More than that, he surprisingly dares to charge ancient Arabic poetry with lack of poetic unity, non-universal vision and general lack of profound thought.⁽⁴⁾

1. Dayf, Shawqī, op. cit., p.224.

2. Al-Rāfi'ī, Wahy al-Qalam, vol.III, p.379.

3. Ibid., p.353.

4. Ibid., p.350.

More perhaps than anything, these views point to the success of the Egyptian school and the general literary movement since the late 19th century. Indeed, it would have been strange had it been otherwise, for life, as M.H. Haykal says, is always in the process of change and its latest aspect is represented in the new ideas.⁽¹⁾ Having made these general remarks, we may proceed to examine briefly two interrelated factors which had a bearing on the evolution of modern Arabic literary criticism in Egypt in the period under review. These factors are the contribution of modern university education exemplified in the Egyptian University and the increasing systematic contact with the West through Egyptian academics who either studied in Western universities or were fluent in one of the Western languages. Indeed, we have already indicated the role played by these factors, but by the passage of time they contributed so much to the literary movement and to criticism that they merit a closer examination.

5. The Role of the University and Egyptian Academics

The role of the premier university in Egypt, the Egyptian University,⁽²⁾ in the modern literary movement lay firstly in its launching of literary study on proper modern lines when it

-
1. Haykal, M.H., Thawrat al-Adab, p.48.
 2. In 1940 the university was renamed Fu'ād I University and it became Cairo University after the 1952 Revolution. See al-Dasūqī, 'Umar, Fī'l-Adab al-Hadīth, III, pp.174-75.

recruited for the purpose a number of orientalists at its inception. The result of these efforts was the scholarly works produced by research students. Mention has already been made of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's work on al-Ma'arrī; it was soon followed by similar works like M.K. Ḥilmī's on al-Mutanabbī written in 1920 and several others on Islamic History and Ethics.⁽¹⁾ Such works, though not large in number, secured publication thus extending their influence beyond the University. Another dimension of the University's contribution can be seen in the increasing number of the enlightened reading public who could intelligently appreciate literature and comment upon it. In this respect it is perhaps illuminating to note that student enrolment at the Egyptian University alone reached more than 18,000 at the end of the period under review.⁽²⁾ The introduction of the study of modern sciences in the University is yet another step which further served the cause of the literary movement. Although the periodical press, especially those papers owned by Syrian immigrants, had contributed so much in popularizing these sciences, teaching them in the University was undoubtedly more systematic, more profound and therefore more lasting in connecting the results of these studies to literature. It is indeed in recognition of the importance of extra-literary scholarship to literary study that the Faculty of Arts in the University introduced for research students a new course entitled "Psychology and Literature" and assigned its teaching to Aḥmad Amīn and M. Aḥmad Khalaf Allāh.⁽³⁾

1. Najm, M. Yūsuf, op. cit., p.328.

2. Al-Dasūqī, 'Umar, Fī'l-Adab al-Ḥadīth, II, p.175.

3. Khalaf Allāh, M. Aḥmad, Min al-Wijha al-Nafsiyya (Introduction).

M. Ahmad Khalaf Allāh was able to contribute much in laying a foundation for the utilisation of psychological studies in literary criticism. Himself a creative writer at the beginning of his career and a holder of a British M.Sc. in Psychology, he pursued his teaching and research at both Cairo and Alexandria and started to publish from 1943 his serious studies in the pages of al-Thaqāfa and the Periodical of Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University. It was these published studies that later in 1947 formed the nucleus of his work entitled Min al-Wijha al-Nafsiyya fī Dirāsāt al-Adab wa-Naqdih. He is thus considered the founder of a school making systematic use of psychology in literary study.⁽¹⁾

Egyptian literary criticism in the period under review received yet another impetus from the academics with the addition of social and ideological concepts to its dimensions. It was the British-educated Salāma Mūsā who had given a lead to this kind of criticism. By producing a short study on socialism and founding in conjunction with others the first Socialist Party in the Arab world in 1920 and establishing subsequently two periodicals, he created a base for spreading his new ideas. He called for the Egyptianization of literature and the adoption of Western critical criteria as well as connecting literature with society and the problems of the masses.⁽²⁾ Unlike members of the

-
1. Khalaf Allāh, M. Ahmad, op.cit. (Introduction); see also al-Dasūqī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Tatawwur al-Naqd al-Adabī al-Hadīth, p.440.
 2. Najm, M. Yūsuf, op. cit., pp.372-73.

Egyptian school whose views we have examined, Salāmā Mūsā sought a complete severance with ancient Arab tradition. His efforts to relate literature to socialistic ideas could have been more rewarding but for his ruthless attack on both ancient and modern literature and on all the leading writers and critics that represented them. He locked horns with these writers and critics in a battle of words often unwholesome and as a result he was unable to effectively crystallise his ideas. Yet the success that was later to be achieved by the representatives of this critical dimension was in part due to his pioneering efforts.⁽¹⁾

The social dimension in Egyptian literary criticism had since received further serious attention from younger Egyptian academics, like Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī, Muḥammad Mandūr, Luwīs 'Awad, M.A. Al-'Ālim and 'Abd al-'Azīm Anīs. Later in this study we shall return to this kind of criticism.

Among all the literary genres, poetry, deeply rooted in Arab literary tradition, dominated the literary scene during the greater part of the period under review, and of necessity critical activities had to follow suit. But soon other genres forced their way forward and achieved some note thanks to increasing contact with the West. The thirties saw the publication of some pioneering novels such as al-Māzinī's Ibrāhīm al-Katīb, Tāhā Ḥusayn's Du'ā' al-Karawān and Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm's 'Awdat al-Rūh. But these works, probably because they were considered just a

1. Al-Rabī'ī, Mahmud, Fī Naqd al-Shi'r, pp.68-69.

beginning, received only a little attention from the critics. This is perhaps evidenced in the energetic critical attention given on the other hand to novels produced in the forties, especially those of Najīb Maḥfūz.⁽¹⁾ Drama has had rather a long history in Egypt and yet it had to contend with many problems, some technical others relating to the audience. But early in the thirties some important successes were achieved beginning with Shawqī's lyrical drama and followed by his admirer, 'Azīz Abāza. In prose, Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm and Maḥmūd Taymūr recorded further successes.⁽²⁾ At the mention of Maḥmūd Taymūr we find a good link with drama criticism, for it was his mentor and older brother, Muḥammad Taymūr,⁽³⁾ who was considered the most serious drama critic among the pioneers. His articles on drama criticism which were collected and republished in book form in 1922 speak of his dramatic talent and profound technical knowledge which he acquired during his studies in France.⁽⁴⁾

Modern Arabic literary criticism in Egypt had by this time gone a long way in the process of its development. Rewarding efforts were certainly recorded at ^{the} creative revival of ancient Arabic literature in modern terms and at appreciation of the new literary output, and this was to a great extent due to its guidance. Nevertheless, there have been (and still are) many

1. Najm, M. Yūsuf, op. cit., p.369.

2. Cachia, Pierre, op. cit., pp.233-34.

3. For a useful summary on his plays and critical writings, see 'Īd, al-Sayyid Ḥasan, Tatawwur al-Naqd al-Masrahī fī Misr, pp.210-212.

4. Najm, M. Yūsuf, op. cit., pp.367-68.

problems for literary criticism to contend with. Much has been written to highlight these problems and suggest solutions.⁽¹⁾ To discuss the topic fully here would be to go beyond the limits of this sketch, suffice it to touch upon only two interrelated problems. First is the fact that many ^{unqualified} ~~impostors~~ found their way with ease into the critical sphere, partly because the largest part of the critical activity took place in the pages of ^{the} periodical press and partly because the most qualified critics, at least at one time, quitted the critical arena.⁽²⁾ Secondly, critical appreciation was very often wrapped in subjectivity. In some critics the subjectivity was in their being ill-equipped and in others, including the most qualified, it was due to personal or political relations to the poets or writers of the works they sought to review. However, such problems are only natural to any rising literary movement and they will continue to exist until a proper literary education is realised by the larger segment of the society in question, a target that will take a very long time to achieve.

It was in cognisance of such problems and the wish to consolidate further literary criticism on proper lines that university academics turned some of their efforts towards writing

-
1. See cf. al-Ma'iddāwī, Anwar, "al-Mas'ūlūn 'an Qatl al-Adab", al-Risāla, (No.942, 3rd July 1951), pp.842-46; Ṭabbāna, Badawī, al-Tayyārat al-Mu'āsira fi'l-Naqd al-Adabī, pp.22-74.
 2. Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā, Ḥadīth al-'Arbi'ā'. vol.III, p.752.

or translating works on principles of literary criticism, though this effort was to be criticised later as misdirected. At any rate, in 1939, Ahmad al-Shāyib wrote his al-Uslūb and Usūl al-Naqq al-Adabī a year later. In both books he largely drew from Western sources especially J. Genung's Principles of Rhetoric and Practical Criticism as well as C.I. Winchester's Some Principles of Literary Criticism. Fann al-Qawl, produced by Amīn al-Khūlī in the forties, attempted to modernize Balāgha by ridding it of scholasticism and connecting it with modern psychology and aesthetics.⁽¹⁾ In 1944 Muḥammad Mandūr wrote his widely recognised Fi'l-Mīzān al-Jadīd. In the realm of translations, the following are some of those which were carried out: Lascelles Abercrombie's Principles of Literary Criticism, translated by M. 'Awad Muḥammad (Cairo, 1936); H.B. Charlton's The Art of Literary Study, translated by Zakī N. Maḥfūz (Cairo, 1944); and Gustave Lanson's Methodes de l'histoire litteraire, translated by M. Mandūr, (Beirut, 1946).

Among Egypt's university academics was Muḥammad al-Nuwaiḥī who had since the late forties started to publish his book-length studies which attempted to further strengthen the literary movement. It is the purpose of the present work to study his literary career and contribution to modern Arabic literary criticism in Egypt.

1. Zakī, A. Kamāl, op. cit., pp.36-37.

CHAPTER TWO

AL-NUWA'YHĪ'S LIFE AND LITERARY CAREER

1. Glimpses of Early Life

Born on 20th April, 1917 at Mit Hibaish, a village near Ṭanṭā in western Egypt, ⁽¹⁾ Muḥammad al-Nuwa'Yhī came from a poor family whose head was a judge's assistant. He was the eldest of the family's seven children and along with his three brothers it was hoped that he would pursue a legal career later in life. Like many children from Muslim families, al-Nuwa'Yhī was first admitted to a kuttāb probably when he was about four years old. Towards the end of his life, he recalled with some satisfaction his having memorised the Qur'ān before he reached the age of five, and lamented the poor attention being given to it in the school curriculum. Apart from its religious importance, the memorisation of the Qur'ān has a tremendous effect in enabling pupils and students to acquire correct Arabic reading and in

-
1. The biographical information in this chapter is mainly drawn from al-Nuwa'Yhī's personal files at the American University in Cairo and his private library, from interviews with his family, from various personal recollections scattered throughout his major works and finally from an article entitled "Muḥammad al-Nuwa'Yhī 1917-1980" by A.H. Green to be included in a forthcoming book titled In Quest of Islamic Humanism: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Muḥammad al-Nuwa'Yhī, a copy of which the author has kindly presented to the present writer.

developing their listening skill, says the mature al-Nuwaḥī. Undoubtedly, al-Nuwaḥī saw the realisation of these educational benefits in himself.⁽¹⁾ Certainly this earlier experience was to leave a permanent mark on his style which sometimes reveals Qur'ānic expressions used unpretentiously and without effort.

When al-Nuwaḥī reached about the age of seven he was admitted into primary school. As no school was yet opened in Mit Hibaish at the time, he had to walk a daily six-mile round trip to and from Ṭanṭā. Early in his primary education he showed a strong inclination to the study of language, and conversely, a weakness in arithmetic and elementary science. At as early as the age of ten al-Nuwaḥī started to expand the range of his reading beyond school textbooks, spending most of his pocket-money on magazines and probably story books. After finishing his primary education he went to Ṭanṭā secondary school where his ^{obvious} ~~apparent~~ ability and hard work earned him well-deserved favours from his teachers. While at secondary school he used to write poems which his schoolmates would recite enthusiastically during competitions with other schools. At the age of fourteen he wrote his first and only novel on which he sought his father's opinion. The latter thought that it belonged in the rubbish bin and a few years later the young al-Nuwaḥī had to agree with his father's judgement. He graduated from his secondary school

1. Al-Nuwaḥī, "Min Awraq Kurrāsati", al-Masā', Cairo (30th June, 1978); also A Report to the Dean, Dār al-'Ulūm, Cairo University (20th June, 1976), pp.1-3.

with excellent grades. While his father was bent on seeing him admitted to the Faculty of Law al-Nuwaǧhī insisted on the Faculty of Arts. In the end the family had to bow to his wishes despite their low opinion of the career prospects for graduates of the Arts Faculty. Thus this small, albeit significant, family disagreement on the choice of career was crucially important in shaping the al-Nuwaǧhī we know as a teacher and literary critic.

From the above sketch we see how al-Nuwaǧhī spent his first eighteen years in a village, which doubtless left permanent marks on his formation as a person. His acute knowledge of village life in its various ramifications, later to be revealed in many of his writings, is partly due to this segment of his life and partly to his keeping in contact with it after a change in his social and economic status. His discussion of various aspects of farming and the life of a village farmer, of the roles of the village woman, and of superstitious beliefs, for example, points to his intimate knowledge of village life. This clearly contributed to his understanding of pre-Islamic poetry, as evidenced by some aspects of his analysis of that poetry.

2. Student Days in Cairo

In 1935 al-Nuwaǧhī entered the Egyptian University where he spent four years studying Arabic language and literature. He lived in a baladī section of Cairo where he led a quiet life confining himself to university and his room. However, he did

some odd jobs in his spare time⁽¹⁾ and offered private lessons, the proceeds of which went to his general upkeep as well as the augmentation of his father's meagre income. One of al-Nuwaḥī's brothers later recalled that without such an augmentation he would not have become a schoolteacher.⁽²⁾

In his academic studies the young al-Nuwaḥī outshone his contemporaries in the university, appropriating to himself throughout his stay the position of top student and the various awards and merits that went with that position. In his private library I saw four different prizes in the form of books which may well represent the awards given over four years by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn to al-Nuwaḥī in recognition of his brilliant performance at his studies. They include Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas'ūdī's Murūj al-Dhahab, Dīwān al-Buhturī and al-Qālī's al-Amālī. Clearly, these awards indicate a distinguished performance in literary studies. However, al-Nuwaḥī seems to have distinguished himself in language as well, as evidenced by an award in the form of Kitāb Sībawāh presented to him by Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, one of Egypt's leading scholars in modern Arabic grammatical studies. Given al-Nuwaḥī's brilliance and the fact that he was so addicted to books that Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, his mentor, tried in various ways to dissuade him from too much reading,⁽³⁾ one can see the

-
1. Green, A.H., op. cit., p.1, also personal interview with Mr. D. Cowan.
 2. Letter from Ruth Hiller to al-Nuwaḥī's daughter, dated 11th January, 1981.
 3. Al-Nuwaḥī, M. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, I, p.35 (footnote 1).

explanation for his excellent academic record in the university which culminated in a B.A. degree with distinction and the award for the top student in the Faculty of Arts. However, one must also consider the family factor, in that his family saw in their son's education an ultimate raising of their poor living standard and hence gave him every kind of encouragement in their power. In this respect we are told that as a result of the family's zealous drive to educate their sons they were accused of being pretentious by neighbours and relatives, for in the village of Mit Hibaish only a handful of moderately prosperous landowners undertook to educate their sons. (1)

Beside Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, al-Nuwayhī had also studied under Ahmad Amīn, Dean of the Faculty of Arts when al-Nuwayhī graduated in 1939; al-Nuwayhī was later to cite his name as one of his referees when he applied for a professorship in 1952. The first instance in which Ahmad Amīn's name, preceded by the respectful title of "‘Allāmatunā al-Jalīl" occurs in al-Nuwayhī's works is in connection with a quotation al-Nuwayhī cited in his Shakhsīyat Bashshār, from Fayd al-Khātir (vol. I) regarding Ahmad Amīn's refutation of the notion that literary taste cannot be explained, in which although he agreed in principle with his teacher, in matters of detail he more or less disagreed with him. (2) Another instance is when al-Nuwayhī supported in his conclusion to his work on pre-Islamic poetry

1. Green, A.H., op. cit., p.1.

2. Al-Nuwayhī, Muḥammad, Shakhsīyat Bashshār, (2nd edn. 1971) p.247 ff.

Ahmad Amīn's series of articles entitled "al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī wa-Jināyatuh 'alā al-Adab al-'Arabī".⁽¹⁾ When considering the relationship between al-Nuwaīhī and Ahmad Amīn, it is perhaps of some significance to mention the fact that for one of his Arabic preliminary courses at the American University in Cairo, al-Nuwaīhī selected Fayd al-Khātir as a reading text for his students. He suggests indirectly that Ahmad Amīn's moderate reforming tendencies were to a great extent the motivating factor behind this choice. Thus we see al-Nuwaīhī studying under three Egyptian reformers, each in his own way, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā and Ahmad Amīn. Al-Nuwaīhī's relationship with Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, which is the most significant and lasting, I shall attempt to outline presently. Before this, however, it may be appropriate to make some remarks of a general nature on al-Nuwaīhī's life during this period.

During his four-year stay in Cairo there is no evidence to show that al-Nuwaīhī tried his hand at writing articles, literary or otherwise, for the daily press or for journals, nor of his having actively participated in student politics or agitation. It is not however unreasonable to assume that he participated in the great students' demonstrations and subsequent general strike of late 1935.⁽²⁾ Indeed, in a memorandum contained in his private library which he wrote late in 1964, al-Nuwaīhī referred to the 1935-1939 period in Egyptian

1. Al-Nuwaīhī, M. al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, II, p.829ff.

2. Sa'īd, Amīn, Tārīkh Misr al-Siyāsī, pp.238-240.

history which witnessed a continued national struggle for complete independence from British rule, pointing out that the 1952 revolution had given concrete form to the national dreams he had been nursing during those years. However, it would be too speculative to read from this hint that al-Nuwaḥī participated actively in a political sense in the events of those years. Most probably, it is no more than a reference to his nationalistic aspirations to see his country enjoying complete independence in order to shape its destiny and bring about a reasonable standard of living for the vast majority of its poor citizens, among whom he numbered himself, free of hindrance from vested interests within and without. This understanding of al-Nuwaḥī's association with the events of those years seems to be in line with his almost total attention to solely academic pursuits, apart from his part-time job by which he supported himself and augmented his father's meagre income, as mentioned earlier.

As for the relationship between himself and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, al-Nuwaḥī records its genesis, its development and the tremendous benefits which he gained from it in his dedication of al-Shi'r al-Jāhili to the latter. This relationship had become close in 1938. Before then, given his own interests, he must have been aware of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's views. It was in this year that al-Nuwaḥī wrote a good paper on the theme of hunting in pre-Islamic poetry at the request of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn himself. The teacher was highly impressed and, following his frequent practice of picking out promising brains among his students and fostering them, especially if they were poor, he praised the paper in class, encouraged his young student and pronounced a



prediction that he would be a teacher of literature. After class, the young student received more praise from his teacher, who presented him with a valuable gift of books and steered him towards studying Western literary criticism. In the same year, the young student wrote another paper on a poem by 'Alqama Ibn 'Abda again at the request of his mentor. As a result of previous encouragement and youthful conceitedness he claimed in it that he had been able to explore for the first time ever an aspect of literary craftsmanship in pre-Islamic poetry, exemplified in rhythmic harmony between the music of words and the poet's intellectual and emotional content. To the astonishment of the other students his mentor supported him in his claim, saying that he and other writers of his generation had not given attention to this artistic aspect, and that he placed his hope in the ability of the young generation to develop unexplored avenues and continue where his generation had stopped. Afterwards, he gave his young student more of his moral and material encouragement.

Next year saw the young student reading a third paper on a poem by al-Buhturī⁽¹⁾ in which he attempted to show that the sound of sīn as a rhyme in this particular poem harmonises with

1. My attempts to get hold of these three papers failed, probably ~~due~~^{owing} to the topsy-turvy state of al-Nuwaīhī's private library. They are likely to show what development al-Nuwaīhī's methods of practical criticism underwent between then and the publication of his Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili in 1966.

the state of grief and sad memory which the poet seeks to evoke. Here again amid the ridicule of the other fellow students Ṭāhā Ḥusayn strongly defended the views of his young student, lending him more support by citing other similar examples from ancient Arabic poetry, and explaining to the ridiculing students the nature of creative criticism and its indispensability in understanding poetry as it really is and appreciating it. As on the last two occasions the reward for this piece of work was, beside moral encouragement, a present in the form of a handsome sum of money which in fact came from the mentor's pocket though he pretended that it had come from university coffers. Further, and more importantly, he nominated his young student shortly before his graduation in 1939 to become an assistant lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and expended considerable efforts to surmount obstacles that stood in the way as a result of the outbreak of war.

Thus was established the lifelong relationship between al-Nuwayhī and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn. To him, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was not only a teacher who inculcated in him a love of ancient Arabic poetry and directed his studies, but was also a sort of patron from whom he received moral and material encouragement, and who opened up new vistas to his ambition, which ultimately led to a fruitful and successful academic and literary career. Not surprisingly, al-Nuwayhī never forgot his debt to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn. During his sixteen-year stay in both Britain and Sudan there is evidence to show that he kept in contact with his mentor and patron. Of symbolic significance in this relationship is al-Nuwayhī's posthumous article entitled "Towards the Reappraisal

of Classical Arabic Literature and History: Some Aspects of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's Use of Modern Western Criteria" (IJMES, vol.II, April, 1980)⁽¹⁾. In it he ^{SP20KS} ~~says~~ of his mentor's aesthetic achievement which, though perhaps often impressionistic, may be his greatest and most permanent achievement. He says: "No scholar in the long history of Arabic literature has contributed more to the deep enjoyment of its treasure; very few have contributed as much; none since the days of 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī in the eleventh century (A.D.)".⁽²⁾ In the same vein he says of his penetrating aesthetic exploration of pre-Islamic poetry: "The penetration of this exploration becomes more spectacular as one realizes that the dominant quality of this poetry is its minute and vivid pictorial imagery. Here was a man who could, with his inner eye, perceive combinations of colours and shades, configurations of shapes and contours, and details of complex movements never before consciously noticed and acutely analyzed by sighted scholars".⁽³⁾

However, it is not only in the realm of letters that Ṭāhā Ḥusayn proved to be an inspiring example to al-Nuwaḥī. Al-Nuwaḥī sees in his mentor a crusader who contributed much towards the regeneration of various spheres in Egypt's spectrum

-
1. This article was first read as a paper in Plenary Session, Middle East Studies Association (Binghamton, New York, November 1972) to commemorate the late Gustav von Grunebaum.
 2. This citation is from the above mentioned article, p.202.
 3. Ibid.

of life, politically, socially, intellectually and morally, withstanding in the process troubles and persecution to an extent that no other Egyptian did during the first half of this century. Thus the two dominant pursuits in al-Nuwaḥī's career, creative reappraisal of ancient Arabic poetry and taking that as a basis for giving strong support to meaningful experiments by modern Arab poets to realise unexplored literary aims and making a modest but important contribution to the general discussion on formidable issues, social, intellectual and moral, in Egypt in particular and the Arab world in general - these two dominant pursuits undoubtedly derive inspiration from Ṭāhā Ḥusayn without this in any way obliterating his distinct personality.

Beside the three teachers of whom we have evidence that al-Nuwaḥī had directly studied under them and whose influence on him varies in kind or degree, there remain two important teachers who did not teach him directly yet left some permanent traces on his literary education. These teachers are 'Abbās M. al-'Aqqād and Ibrāhīm A. al-Māzinī. Together with Ṭāhā Ḥusayn they provided al-Nuwaḥī with a good example of how a meaningful intermarriage between two cultures, traditional Arab-Islamic and Western, would yield substantially fruitful results; hence his constant reference to them whenever he talks of the education of a literary critic. Whatever might be their literary achievements there is, however, a limit to their capacities; it is therefore the duty of the younger generation to build up where they left off and reassess where necessary some of the results they arrived at. Thus some of al-Nuwaḥī's works

contain a reassessment of their views (a valid contribution some have mistaken for lack of originality) while other works are attempts to cultivate areas unexplored by these writers.

Having already outlined al-Nuwaḥhī's relationship with Ṭāhā Husayn, we shall now consider his relationship with first al-'Aqqād and then al-Māzinī. The first written evidence we have in respect of his relationship with al-'Aqqād is found in Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī where al-Nuwaḥhī mentions that he met al-'Aqqād in his early student days at ^{the} Egyptian University and enquired about his preference as between realism and idealism in poetry, his head being at this stage full of these Western literary terms acquired from works on the theory of literary criticism without any real understanding of them; to his astonishment al-'Aqqād dismissed these terms as non-existent in poetry.⁽¹⁾ This evidence is significant as it suggests prior acquaintance between the two. Indeed it is not unreasonable to assume that the incident took place in al-'Aqqād's circle which was frequented by disciples and admirers. In the same work, al-Nuwaḥhī mentions al-'Aqqād's article entitled "al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa'l-Zā'if fī'l-Shi'r" which he describes as a far-reaching piece of literary criticism "in refining our literary taste and developing it".⁽²⁾ Elsewhere, he again refers to this article which together with al-'Aqqād's article "al-Tajmīl fī'l-Uslūb wa'l-Ma'anī" and other early critical writings between 1920 and 1940,

1. Al-Nuwaḥhī, M., Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, p.51 (footnote 3).

2. Ibid., p.260 (footnote 1).

formed the foundation upon which his generation (himself included implicitly) based their endeavours to refine, widen and bring to maturation their literary taste.⁽¹⁾

It is to be expected therefore that al-Nuwaḥī should have paid glowing tributes to al-‘Aqqād in the article just cited, which he wrote forty days after al-‘Aqqād's death. However, it is not only within the literary sphere that al-‘Aqqād appealed to al-Nuwaḥī for he seems to be equally impressed by al-‘Aqqād's widely known moral courage and revolutionary temper. In this al-Nuwaḥī had probably seen, to a certain degree, a reflection of his own character traits. On the other hand, in three of his works al-Nuwaḥī reassesses many of al-‘Aqqād's views on ancient Arabic poetry and poets using on occasions a rather outspoken, even harsh language which gives an impression of disrespect to al-‘Aqqād which is very far from the case. Rather, the use of this kind of language is a personal characteristic revealed throughout al-Nuwaḥī's works. Al-Nuwaḥī's reassessment will be examined in its proper place in the course of this work.

With regard to al-Nuwaḥī's relationship with al-Māzinī, this is expressed succinctly in the former's dedication of his

1. Al-Nuwaḥī, "al-‘Aqqād Nāqid al-Shi‘r", al-Thaqāfa, No.40, (21st April, 1964), pp.22-23; the two articles mentioned are to be found in Sa‘āt bayn al-Kutub, 2nd edn., Beirut, 1969, pp.66-72 and pp.108-114.

first work to the latter,⁽¹⁾ a dedication al-Nuwaḥī sees as an expression of deep love and his generation's sense of gratitude to al-Māzinī's tremendous literary bounties. Given al-Māzinī's literary standing, al-Nuwaḥī has undoubtedly acquainted himself with all or most of his works during this period. Like Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and al-'Aqqād, al-Māzinī's name recurs in a number of al-Nuwaḥī's works. In particular, al-Māzinī's writings on Bashshār and Ibn al-Rūmī figure in al-Nuwaḥī's writings on the poets. We shall return to this question later in this study.

3. In Britain

The October of 1939 witnessed the young al-Nuwaḥī leaving his country for England on a troopship to take up his first appointment as assistant lecturer at SOAS. The fact that he made the journey at that point of time when the war had just erupted testifies to his great courage and his ambition to build a bright future, and also to his family's courage and ambition in letting him go. He later records his joy and excitedness about the trip, unmindful of the great anxieties it caused to his parents.⁽²⁾ In taking this trip al-Nuwaḥī must have also been inspired by his mentor's similar experience at the beginning of the First World War.

1. Al-Māzinī died in 1949, the same year in which al-Nuwaḥī's Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī appeared. This dedication and the one he made to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn are the only dedications he made of his works.

2. Al-Nuwaḥī, al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, pp.169-70.

During his initial two and a half years stay al-Nuwayhī seems to have devoted almost all of his attention to teaching and to preparing for his Ph.D. thesis on "Animals in Ancient Arabic Poetry (Excluding the Camel and the Horse)", which was carried out under the supervision of Professor Tritton and J. Heyworth-Dunne, with H.A.R. Gibb probably giving occasional assistance. In February 1942, he submitted the thesis which was accepted. Al-Nuwayhī's desire for confirmation in his new appointment and subsequently for promotion induced him to engross himself in his thesis, thereby not immediately utilising Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's advice that for a year or two he should not give a thought to writing a thesis but should immerse himself in the new life he found himself in. Later however he put this advice into practice.⁽¹⁾ Al-Nuwayhī's ability to finish his research work within so short a period undoubtedly indicates his sound academic background as well as a previous good command of English. A British colleague of al-Nuwayhī at the time informed me that when the latter arrived in Britain his English was very good, ascribing this to the important place the language enjoyed in the curricula of the ^{Contemporary} ~~then~~ Egyptian schools.⁽²⁾ The standard of English in al-Nuwayhī's thesis bears this testimony out. In the year he earned his doctorate, he was promoted to the rank of lecturer and four years later to a fixed term, non-renewable senior lectureship.

-
1. Al-Nuwayhī, al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, p.35 (footnote).
 2. Personal interview with Mr. D. Cowan.

Having been confirmed in his job, al-Nuwa^hī now applied himself to a systematic study of English literature and Western culture through English. Later his works are to display a broadly intelligent grasp of English literature of different periods. In his study of English literature he seems to have appropriately focussed his attention on literary texts rather than critical works describing the texts, a method he is later to recommend strongly to Arab writers without the opportunity of personal contact with a Western literature. How broad and deep al-Nuwa^hī's acquaintance with English literature, especially poetry, is perhaps indicated by the result of my quick inspection of his disorganised private library. ~~Among~~ ^{The} literary works I found include the complete works of Shakespeare, and works by Wordsworth, James Joyce, Robert Browning, Ezra Pound and Bernard Shaw. This is beside many novels. To complete this small picture it is worth noting that in his writings he often refers to works by such other writers and poets as Ben Jonson, Tennyson, Shelley, Hazlitt, Hopkins and T.S. Eliot, in a manner apparently showing a reasonable conversance with these works. This apart, his works also show a reasonable grasp of other European literatures and intellectual movements which he acquired through English translations. Apart from acquainting himself with English literature, the next educational endeavour that seems to have engaged his attention at this time was a general scientific education. Human Biology, Anthropology and Psychology appear to assume a prominent place in his scientific education as evidenced in a number of his works. Its intrinsic necessity to any real educated person aside, al-Nuwa^hī is aware of the indispensability of general scientific knowledge to a literary

critic who acts as interpreter of complex literary works. In addition to availing himself of the rich educational and intellectual opportunities offered him by the new society, al-Nuwaḥī immersed himself socially in this new society, an experience which made him an admirer of the English way of life though a critical one. Western democracy, the right to hold and express opinion howsoever dissentient and, in short, liberalism, seem to be values which his life in Britain developed in him and were later to characterize his thought and literary criticism. As early as 1940 he started to show an inclination towards socialism, which may have been reinforced by his poor family background. A few years later he became a committed socialist, allowing this to show at public lectures, symposia and various other occasions; his colleagues and friends also knew him for that. However, his brand of socialism is, in his own words, "a healthy one which does not assume an extremely materialistic interpretation and is not directed by International Communism,"⁽¹⁾ a position consistent with his Islamic background and the dominant line in British socialistic thinking. In addition, during this period al-Nuwaḥī developed a regular reading of the New Statesman, which apart from its socialistic outlook provided him with material which he appropriated in his literary generalisations, as evidenced, for example, in Shakhsiyyat Bashshār and Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwas.

Al-Nuwaḥī's life in Britain during this period is not,

1. Al-Nuwaḥī's personal files.

however, wholly a story of intellectual and cultural pursuits devoid of any tension or strain. For instance, owing to the war he was apparently unable to go home for a holiday until the summer of 1945. This fact with its attendant tension heightened by war, and by letters from his parents expressing fear and anxiety for him, must have weighed heavily on his mind,⁽¹⁾ in addition to the various human problems normally associated with being in a foreign country no matter how serious one's sense of mission or quick one's acclimatization. One source of anxiety for al-Nuwalhī's father lay in his desire to see his son back home so that he could take an Egyptian wife. But before al-Nuwalhī was able to make his first home-coming since leaving for Britain he got married in 1944 to Ruth Hiller, a girl of German origin he met in 1940 who was training as a midwife in England. She was later to give birth to his first child (a daughter called 'Azīza who died in Khartoum of encephalitis at the age of two), and subsequently a son ('Alī) in 1949. At the end of 1946 al-Nuwalhī's term of lectureship at SOAS expired. He was reportedly disinclined to apply for British citizenship, which would have made him eligible for a permanent appointment. Failing in his efforts to secure a position at one of the Egyptian universities, he accepted the challenge of creating in January 1947 a department of Arabic in Khartoum where Gordon Memorial College was being transformed into the University of Khartoum.⁽²⁾

1. Al-Nuwalhī, Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, I, p.206.

2. Letter from Ruth Hiller to al-Nuwalhī's daughter dated 11th January, 1981, also Green, A.H., op. cit., p.2.

Although at one point al-Nuwaḥī saw 1949 as the year when he started publishing, during his stay in Britain he published a number of articles and two books. Among his early articles during this period is his "Abū Dqlāma: Shā'ir Mājin fī'l-Balāṭ al-'Abbāsī", (Arabic Listener, B.B.C., Wembley, vol.3, no.6, 21 June 1942). Of the two books mentioned, one is Arabic from Scratch (co-author) (London, 1943) and the other a translation into Arabic of A.J. Arberry's British Orientalists (London, 1945).

4. In Sudan

As a university teacher and administrator al-Nuwaḥī's association with the University of Khartoum stretched from 1947 to 1956. Starting with the rank of Reader from 1947-1952 and becoming a professor in 1952, al-Nuwaḥī in this decade headed the Department of Arabic and developed its curriculum as well as its teaching staff. In the department his main teaching area appears to have been ancient Arabic poetry, although probably widening the scope of his interest to include modern Islamic thought. With regard to his course in ancient Arabic poetry he recalls how his stay in Sudan deepened his understanding of that poetry which had hitherto remained theoretical; his travels in Sudan, which is geographically and topographically similar to the environment depicted by ancient Arab poets did much to bring about that deep understanding.⁽¹⁾ Inevitably, his headship

1. Al-Nuwaḥī, al-Ittijāhāt al-Shi'riyya fī'l-Sūdān, p.16 ff (footnote).

of the Arabic Department entailed administrative and committee work at both Faculty and University levels. According to one of his recollections, he acted as staff representative on the Students' Union, mixing a lot with them socially and taking part in their cultural and social activities. In addition, he acted as an unofficial referee between the University's British, Egyptian and Sudanese factions.

During this period he wrote three of his works, Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī (The Education of the Literary Critic), Shakhsiyyat Bashshār (The Personality of Bashshar) and Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās (The Psychology of Abū Nuwās). This is beside the numerous literary articles contributed to the Sudanese daily press such as al-Ra'y al-'Āmm, al-Sūdān al-Jadīd and al-Sarāha. With his literary reviews and general literary discussions al-Nuwalhī certainly contributed greatly to forming Sudanese literature, which was then in its infancy. Some of these articles echo the Sudanese struggle for political independence and the call of the intelligentsia for a national literature genuinely depicting Sudanese society as it is, its problems, aspirations and hopes. As a literary critic al-Nuwalhī expounded this question in such general articles as his "al-Adab al-Qawmī wa-Ahammīyatuh fī al-Nahḍa al-Waṭaniyya" (al-Sarāha, January, 1952). In this respect it is also pertinent to mention that in al-Nuwalhī's private library I came across a file entitled "al-Adab al-Qawmī". In over one hundred handwritten foolscap pages, its contents seem to be various reviews on Sudanese poetry and prose written over the years and meant probably to form the nucleus of a volume which was never published.

One major contribution for which al-Nuwa^hī will continue to be remembered in Sudan, however, is his non-literary writings and public lectures throughout Northern Sudan in which he launched a vigorous drive for intellectual, religious and social liberation, earning thereby the wrath of conservatives and other vested interests who hurled various accusations against him. During this period he wrote about two hundred articles, lectures and addresses on these ^{topics} ~~spheres~~. In a later recollection he seems to have relished this aspect of his life in Sudan. According to him, he could have kept himself to mere academic pursuits without incurring the wrath and hardship that befell him, but he freely chose to forgo "peace of mind" out of a sense of duty towards the vast majority of people outside the classroom. (1)

Of all his non-literary writings during this time the theme of emancipation of women seems to have concerned him most, and it was this which brought him so much stigmatization, religious and moral, and public displeasure. In order to see the dimensions of this problem in the Sudanese environment and how al-Nuwa^hī sought to tackle it, it will be useful to briefly outline his lecture entitled "al-Mar'a wa Taqaddum al-Mujtama'" (Women and the Progress of Society) delivered in December 1954 under the auspices of the Wādī Madanī branch of the Federation of Sudanese Women.

1. Al-Nuwa^hī, "Munāqashat Khamsat Kuttāb..." al-Ādāb, (October, 1971), p.4.

In this lecture al-Nuwaḥī begins by pointing out the inaccuracy of the notion that although women constitute half of society their backwardness is confined to them without this affecting the other half. To him, if women are left backward the result affects the whole society, both men and women, for the two are one organic social whole. Then he goes on to discuss two important respects in which woman plays a great role in the life of man, i.e. in being a mother and a wife. As a mother, woman's influence on her child, both positive and negative, is pervasive and permanent throughout the life-span of the child. Although her influence might be susceptible to some modifications and new directions as a result of other environmental agents such as school and friends, these are mainly peripheral, stopping short of penetrating into the child's unconscious where the mother's influences are deeply rooted. Al-Nuwaḥī here appropriates to his use psychoanalytical data pertaining to complexes which affect the psychological development of a child owing to the type of relationship that exists between him and his mother. To illustrate how a mother negatively affects the psychological development of her child even in adulthood he cites the example of the educated class in most Arab countries. Although they are intellectually mature and progressive, ^{owing} ~~due~~ to their upbringing by uneducated mothers who implanted in them superstitious ideas and beliefs in the supernatural world, their attitude and behaviour are afflicted with contradictions and schizophrenia. Hence, al-Nuwaḥī claims, their lack of psychological maturity and the attendant lack of moral courage to face the painful facts of life rather than fortifying themselves in ivory towers.

As is characteristic of him, al-Nuwa^hihī frankly includes himself in the preceding judgement. He mentions how, as a child in his village, he used to believe in the supernatural world, a belief which was implanted in him by his mother. After undergoing university education and spending several years in the West where he acquired enlightened ideas, he thought that he had forsaken these beliefs forever. But a walk he took one night to a place just near his village and which was generally accepted by the villagers as the abode of demons, revealed how firmly rooted these childhood beliefs are in his unconscious, though intellectually he had got rid of them. By this illustration al-Nuwa^hihī seems to be saying that the negative influence of an uneducated mother is so permanent even on children who are fortunate to acquire a first-rate education, how much more so will it be on children who are less educated or not educated at all.

With regard to woman's influence as a wife, al-Nuwa^hihī explains the dimensions involved in relation to his Sudanese students who, he says, despite their strong intellectual and literary capacity would mostly end up marrying uneducated and backward wives. He goes on to describe how such a student, after marriage, would become initially determined to educate his wife who would in turn give some initial co-operation. But soon the determination of the couple evaporates in the face of strong opposition from in-laws and constant intervention from the husband's mother who is determined to manage the house and ridicule her son's enlightened views. This evaporation will be made easier by the wife's mentality, as she would find it

impossible to free herself from the strong tradition that formed her mentally and psychologically in spite of her efforts to put into practice her husband's enlightened views. On the birth of a child the husband's desire to educate his wife is rekindled, whereupon he gathers up his withered courage to direct her on how best to bring up the child. But again the cycle would be repeated with ensuing opposition and intervention. Consequently, the husband would find himself helpless at seeing his son dirty, untidy and wearing amulets obtained from charlatans. If the child were female he would one day come back from work to find her the victim of the practice of "Phar^aonic circumcision". Having by now lost hope of finding in his wife a spiritual friend and a partner in life, the husband just accepts her as a sleeping mate.

Clearly, al-Nuwa^yhī here approaches the issue in a school-masterly fashion; nevertheless one would not deny the vividness, force and suitability of his approach bearing in mind his audience. However one may observe some harshness, exaggeration or overstatement of the issue involved. An example of this is to be found in his seeing the uneducated wife who sexually submits to her educated husband as essentially no more than a prostitute whose concern is to earn a living. Such a tactless expression⁽¹⁾ is bound to have adverse effects on the case he

1. Another instance is where al-Nuwa^yhī says: "they (i.e. Sudanese men) turned away from Islam (ridda) to pre-Islamic mentality in their attitude to women" (p.21). The word ridda is too strong and is likely to enrage Sudanese men, and would generally have adverse effects on the cause he is defending.

sets himself to make, and al-Nuwaḥī himself was later to admit this fact and to express regret about it. This perhaps explains in part why eight years later he advocates gradualism and tactfulness in the thorny question of the emancipation of women, in a paper he read at a seminar organised by Khartoum University.⁽¹⁾

Al-Nuwaḥī next proceeds to explain the consequences of the kind of marriage he describes. Psychologically, the husband would be dissatisfied with his matrimonial life and resort to maltreatment, seeing in his wife the source of his misery, while the wife would pay him back in kind in her own way, with her spite often finding an outlet in cruel treatment of her children. Here al-Nuwaḥī assures us of the capacity of a Sudanese woman for cruelty to her children. Thus the couple would find their matrimonial life devoid of love, compassion and happiness, swinging away therefore from the Qur'ānic precepts for this life. Intellectually, the husband would abandon his private plans to enhance his education while the previous education he had acquired would in the main diminish in the absence of intellectual exercise, except the little necessary to conduct his official and routine work. In moral terms, he would try to find an outlet for his leisure energies in clubs and brothels, where the negative company would be a substitute ^{for} of the happiness he missed in his house. Al-Nuwaḥī goes on to make it clear that in his writings on social issues he gives more attention

1. The paper was entitled "Mashākil Tahrīr al-Mar'a fī'l-Mujtama' al-'Arabī wa'l-Muslim".

to the emancipation of women rather than men, because of his conviction that all the efforts that are being directed towards educating men and liberating their intellects would not bear the desired results if women are left uneducated and backward. In this al-Nuwaḥī is replying to some of his critics who, although they sympathise with his efforts, regard him as giving too much emphasis to the emancipation of Sudanese women to the neglect of the other half of society - men.

What remains of al-Nuwaḥī's lecture is a prescription of the solution after he has diagnosed the problem. First, women must be educated as much as men. Although he concedes that a lot has been achieved in women's education, he sees that there remains much to be done by both government and the people. Secondly, reforms must be injected into the body of the social status quo which treats women in a degrading way. He explains how Islam (he is here touching upon the religious sentiments of his audience, a procedure he advocates in the paper referred to above) improved the lot of women and condemned the Arabs before Islam for their degrading attitude to them, but the Sudanese save in burying young females alive, seem to perpetuate that attitude. He appeals to them to abandon regarding a woman as a social stigma and a liability which should be got rid of by an early marriage. Similarly, they would stop inculcating the same beliefs and attitudes in their male children, at whose hands very early in life the girls suffer arrogant and degrading treatment. Al-Nuwaḥī ends his lecture in a religious tone asking Sudanese in the name of Islam to restore to women the justice and equality granted to them by the faith.

In 1956 al-Nuwaḥī decided to leave Sudan for Egypt though he was unable to secure a job in his country. In a short farewell address in which he praised the Sudanese for their hospitality and courage to accept criticism, he indicated his sadness about the compelling circumstances that induced him to leave. A number of factors must have inclined him to take this decision, chief among them probably the fact that in 1956 the Sudan chose to become independent from Egypt as well as from Britain; and during the same time al-Nuwaḥī had formulated and advocated a proposal for sweeping academic reforms which was not adopted by the University of Khartoum.⁽¹⁾ However, his association with Sudan and its premier university was mainly one of cordiality and cherished memory. In February 1961 he was invited by the university to read a paper in its seminar on "Tradition and Change in Sudanese Society" after which he was charged with the responsibility of editing and supervising the publication of the seminar proceedings. Nine years later the same university requested him to assess the works of one of its academic staff dealing in Arabic literary scholarship for promotion to professorship. This is in addition to the lectures al-Nuwaḥī delivered in 1957 at the Arab League's Institute of Higher Arabic Studies on poetical trends in Sudan, later to be published as al-Ittijāhāt al-Shi'rīyya fi'l-Sūdān.

Before bringing this section to a close, we may draw attention to the intellectual friendship al-Nuwaḥī established

1. Green, A.H., op. cit., p.4.

with some Sudanese colleagues, especially 'Abd al-Majīd 'Ābidīn with whom he discussed his ideas and who drew his attention to some secondary sources unknown to him. The footnotes in the works al-Nuwaḥī wrote in Sudan speak of his indebtedness, though in later editions he reduced the number of places in which he registered his acknowledgments. But to be fair to him, it must be said that this only applies to cases where his attention has been drawn to other secondary sources.

5. Return to Egypt and Culmination of Career

Al-Nuwaḥī's homecoming after a sixteen-year academic career abroad initially entailed adjustment and efforts to settle down, especially as he had decided to come back without securing a full-time job. The twenty-three remaining years of his life witnessed his settling down, the culmination of his career as an academic and literary critic, and the widening of the scope of his interests to include areas in which though, strictly speaking, a layman, his contribution is by no means insignificant. For convenience, the next quarter of a century of al-Nuwaḥī's life can be divided into three main phases: from 1956-1963, from 1964-1973 and finally from 1974- 1980. This section proposes briefly to examine these phases.

(a) From 1956-1963

The initial two years of al-Nuwaḥī's homecoming were expended in adjustment and settling down. In 1957 he secured a part-time lectureship at the Arab League's Institute of Higher

Arabic Studies, thus beginning a decade's association with this educational institution during which it sponsored the publication of his five books, the contents of which he had delivered as lectures to its students. The fact that he initially lacked a full-time job, and therefore by implication had at his disposal more time for research and writing, explains in part the rapidity with which he published three books between 1957 and 1959. However, in 1957 at the suggestion of a friend, al-Nuwa'ihī applied for a job at the American University in Cairo (AUC), listing Ṭāhā Ḥusayn as one of his referees. In September of that year he joined the university staff as a part-time instructor in Arabic language and literature, entailing six class periods per week each semester. Also at this time al-Nuwa'ihī took a second wife named Firyāl, a distant cousin who was to bear him two sons and a daughter. At the same time, Ruth Hiller continued to be his wife until their divorce in 1971. In 1958 he secured a regular appointment at AUC with the rank of associate professor and a year later he became professor of Arabic language and literature. Thus was launched al-Nuwa'ihī's twenty-three year association with AUC. Though by no means free of difficult aspects and moments, this association suited in a number of ways his personal and intellectual temperament.

During this period also al-Nuwa'ihī's family was growing; his only ^{Surviving} daughter, Māgida, was born in 1958, a year later his son 'Umar and a year after that his son Hishām. For this reason, he had built a spacious house in the middle-class suburb of Ma'ādī with two separate apartments for his two wives. His

growing family and the attendant efforts to ~~properly~~ house them ^{properly} in addition to the death of his father in April 1959, perhaps help to explain his relatively sluggish literary activities since the publication of a small book in 1959. The main Egyptian literary periodicals consulted show no record of al-Nuwaḥī's contribution at this time. However, in February, 1961, he presented a paper in a seminar organised by the University of Khartoum the proceedings of which he later edited as already indicated in the previous section. Further, in 1963 at the request of Egypt's Ministry of Culture and National Guidance he carried out a brief review of literary books published in Egypt in the same year, the review appearing in the Ministry's al-Sijill al-Thaqāfī (The Cultural Register). Also at the end of the year al-Nuwaḥī started to publish his literary articles beginning with the periodical al-Thaqāfa, which invited him to become a contributor to its literary pages at the highest rate of remuneration for every article.

Academically, however, al-Nuwaḥī pursued his research and teaching, which was recognised for its vigour and life, in addition to his administrative work as Acting Registrar and to sitting on various committees. In accordance with the spirit of the academic reforms he had attempted to effect in Khartoum, al-Nuwaḥī proposed at AUC a number of reforms particularly in the area of Arabic studies. To ~~properly~~ appreciate ^{Properly} the significance of his proposals in this regard, which were adopted after months of close and searching discussion, it is useful to briefly outline the state of Arabic studies on his joining the university. The major work of the university's then School of Oriental

Studies was to teach Arabic to non-Arabs, while for the Arab students it taught only two preliminary courses in Arabic language and literature. Carried out in a "spirit-killing" manner by teachers of the "old school", these preliminary courses offered very little opportunity for Arab students to know their culture, and the very little they knew they despised owing to the methods by which it was imparted. Conversely, in the realms of Western culture and sciences, which dominated the curriculum and were taught in English, the students used to receive a liberal and intelligent education imparted by most modern methods. "The result", al-Nuwa^hī concludes, "was a curious cultural schizophrenia in the students. When they discussed or wrote about problems of Western history or society, philosophy or literature, they demonstrated a fair amount of sanity and a salutary attempt at independent thinking. When they approached similar questions in the Arabic field they were just about the opposite...."⁽¹⁾

-
1. "When the Twain Meet...", The Centrality of Science and Absolute Values (New York, The International Cultural Foundation, 1976), vol. II, p. 397. This article, the contents of which are to a considerable degree autobiographical, also criticises the method of thinking in the Arabic field, which is being perpetuated by official teaching in schools, and suggests how other departments in the university could help the Department of Arabic to bring about changes for the better.

In consequence of al-Nuwaḥī's proposals the Centre of Arabic Studies which replaced the School of Oriental Studies now offers, in addition to teaching Arabic to non-Arabs, the B.A. as well as the M.A. degree in each of the following three concentrations: Arabic language and literature, Islamic History and Islamic Art and Architecture. This is in addition to a fourth interdepartmental major in Middle Eastern Studies. Thus the university changed the original, Westernizing policy and adopted "the inter-cultural approach" later to be renamed "the multi-cultural approach". Though the credit for these sweeping changes cannot be claimed entirely for al-Nuwaḥī, it was ultimately his proposals that served as the instrument in enhancing Arabic studies at AUC. Without his proposals it may be doubted if this progress would not have been very much delayed.

(b) From 1964-1973

The initial one year of this phase witnessed al-Nuwaḥī pursuing vigorous literary activity in the pages of a number of periodicals, especially al-Thaqāfa and al-Risāla, in which he undertook a vehement defence of modern Arabic poetry as well as continuing his long-standing studies on ancient Arabic poetry. In this year also his work on new poetry appeared at a time when the new movement was confronting a renewed opposition from conservative circles who denied publication to experimental writers in the government-owned periodical al-Shi'r. Al-Nuwaḥī also participated in the general discussion on this topic in

cultural programmes on Cairo Radio as well as in the Egyptian Literary Society. However, as a result of being denied publication in both al-Thaqāfa and al-Risāla, the year ended with al-Nuwaiḥī resorting to the Beirut-based al-Ādāb which started publishing his articles from February, 1965 onwards.

The genesis of this state of affairs, briefly, goes back to al-Nuwaiḥī's lengthy article in al-Shi'r entitled "Thawrat al-Shakl wa-Thawrat al-Maḍmūn fī'lShi'r al-Muntaliq", (August, 1964) in which he launched his onslaught on traditional Arabic poetry since the fall of Baghdād which, according to him, is in the main stamped with staleness and barrenness. More than that, he showed clear sympathy, emanating from his liberal attitude, with the Lebanese poets who scorned Arab-Islamic tradition, Arab nationalism and even went further to the extent of rejecting values held in esteem by the Arabs. Al-Nuwaiḥī sees these poets as purging the Arabs - in the artistic sense of the expression - of their negative symptoms and therefore as deserving toleration rather than condemnation. In another article entitled "Difā' 'an Shu'arā' al-Rafd (al-Risāla, 10th September, 1964) he returns more explicitly to his defence view of the "dissenting poets". Thus al-Nuwaiḥī's views stirred up unfavourable reactions from a number of writers and no doubt brought him quite a bit of public displeasure. In one of the replies to his second article there are some innuendoes which have the effect of calling his nationalism into doubt and hinting at connivance with an international organisation sponsored by the Arabs' enemies.

This organisation is the Congress for Cultural Freedom.⁽¹⁾ Having been denied the opportunity to defend himself in these periodicals, al-Nuwaĥī wrote a long memorandum⁽²⁾ probably to the Egyptian Literary Society or the Association of Authors, of both of which he was a member. In it he crystallised his views on the "dissenting poets" and successfully refuted suggestions doubting his sense of nationalism and alleging that he was involved in a conspiracy with the Congress for Cultural Freedom which sponsored the publication of a book he edited - Bayn al-Taqlīd wa'l-Tajdīd: Buhūth fī Mashākil al-Taḥaddum (Cairo, 1962).

However, although he resorted to al-Ādāb from early 1965 it is not accurate to say that al-Nuwaĥī published no article in the Egyptian periodicals throughout this period, for in November, 1967 the periodical al-Majalla (owned by the Ministry of Culture) published his article "al-Qawmiyya qabl al-'Ālamiyya". A sensitive and firm believer in freedom of expression however dissentient, al-Nuwaĥī later characterised this period as "the

-
1. Badawī, 'Abduh, "Liqā' 'ala Ḥubb", al-Risāla, (10th September, 1964), pp.48-51. For the role of this organisation in the Middle-East and elsewhere and its connection with the C.I.A. which led to a revelation of intellectual scandal, see I.J. Boullata's article "The Beleaguered Unicorn: A Study of Tawfīq Ṣāyigh", J.A.L., vol.IV, 1973, pp.69-71.
 2. I have a copy of this memorandum which I obtained from al-Nuwaĥī's personal library.

state of resorting to 'intellectual refuge' to another Arab country in which I lived for a decade".⁽¹⁾ In fact he exaggerates the situation somewhat, but in any case his articles would not have been rejected by al-Risāla, al-Thaqāfa and other leading daily papers but for his scathing ~~self~~-criticism^{of the Arabs,}, utter outspokenness and often heated language. Al-Nuwalhī's preference for al-Ādāb was due to its publication of his long articles in toto without censorship or editing.⁽²⁾

In the years 1965-1967 al-Nuwalhī's articles in al-Ādāb concentrate on his two main literary interests, ancient Arabic poetry and modern poetry. Most of these articles were later to be included in books he published during the period or in later editions of books he had already published. Two works, one on pre-Islamic poetry and the other on some aspects of the theory of literary criticism, appeared during this period.

In the year 1967-68 al-Nuwalhī's academic work at AUC and his literary contributions were broken off while he took his first sabbatical which he spent as a visiting professor at Harvard. This was not the first time he had gone to Harvard, for in February, 1959 the AUC authorities had applied on his behalf for a grant to attend the Harvard International Seminar. He was described then as "a most outstanding person and a real

1. A covering letter to the editor of al-Ahrām dated 4th October, 1974.

2. "Qiṣṣatī Ma' al-Ādāb", al-Ādāb (December, 1977), p.36.

find" after which a fear was expressed that he might be lured into accepting offers from places in the U.S. and a suggestion was made on how to avert that consequence. The sabbatical he spent at Harvard, however, proved to be remarkably beneficial to his academic and literary career. Given Harvard's academic standing in America, a whole range of academic opportunities opened up to him in terms of wider recognition and attendant invitations to international conferences and colloquia in America and Europe. In addition to al-Nuwaġhī's courses and supervision of postgraduate students he gave many public lectures at Harvard and other universities in the U.S. The range of these lectures covered the three points on which his major interest had so far been expended: ancient and new poetry, re-interpretation of the conventional Muslim dogma and mores and modern attempts at intellectual and social emancipation. The year seems to have been successfully spent, for near the end of it al-Nuwaġhī wrote to a friend in Cairo that Harvard had offered him a permanent appointment, an offer he greatly appreciated though he declined chiefly because of family reasons.

During the years 1969-1971 al-Nuwaġhī published second editions of three works already published. This is in addition to deliberately polemic articles in which he engaged with some Marxist writers, mainly Syrian and Lebanese, on questions relating to literature, religion and society and the rigid Marxist view of them. Further, he published three long articles which deal with moral, religious and intellectual issues as they affect contemporary Arab society. His article on "al-Fadīla bayn al-Badw

wa'l-Ḥadar..."⁽¹⁾ attempts to examine different attitudes to sexual morality from one society to another, challenging the absolute assumption that Easterners are morally (in sexual terms) superior to Westerners. He also attempts to show the prevalence of sexual immorality in the East which is, according to him, played down ~~due~~^{owing} to ignorance and social hypocrisy. He expresses the view that people's moral view of their past as being superior to their present is mainly due to nostalgia and the notion that man is morally good by nature and that it is society which pollutes him. According to him, science, presumably ethical science, and observation show that man in his crude nature is amoral. This article generated some interest even among specialists in Moral Philosophy, though the formulation of questions it raises and its use of imprecise terms met some criticism.⁽²⁾ However, al-Nuwaiḥī's main aim in this article and others on the theme appears to be to challenge the moral assumptions of contemporary Arab society and launch a scathing criticism of its immoral practices, sexual and otherwise, which he sees as being covered up by social hypocrisy.

Religiously, al-Nuwaiḥī's article entitled "Naḥwa Thawra fī'l-Fikr al-Dīnī (al-Ādāb, May, 1970), and similar articles proved him to be a supporter of the religious modernism expounded by Muḥammad 'Abduh, the Manār school and others.

1. Al-Ādāb, (July, 1969), pp.3-7 and 79-80.

2. Yāsīn, al-Sayyid, "al-Abḥāth", al-Ādāb, (August, 1969), pp.13 and 57-58.

But it must be pointed out that he often goes beyond the moderate bounds of these religious modernists. In attempting to radicalise their views, or to bring them to their logical conclusions, as he says, he often expresses personal opinions on fundamental religious issues without, as he should, allowing the principal Islamic sources to guide him. Such radicalisation is, for instance, to be found in his view that the stance of Islam on our mundane affairs, that is to say all affairs beyond questions of faith and rites, is purely secular. In consequence of this understanding he considers it right to change expressed and clear laws laid down by the Qur'ān whenever circumstances demand, deeming such a change to be compatible with the general principles of Islam. Thus in personal law he sees fit to propose to change the law of inheritance in which the female takes half of the male's share in the deceased's property,⁽¹⁾ saying that the social basis of such a law no longer holds. Al-Nuwaḥī is, however, aware of the personal nature of such views and the unfavourable reaction and criticism they are likely to stir up. Hence he wrote in a footnote to an article the contents of which had already appeared in several other articles with varying emphasis and detail: "Whenever in this article I speak about Muslims and Islam, I am offering my personal point of view... while many other groups of Muslims have expressed clearly their opposition to and criticism of this approach".⁽²⁾

1. "Al-Dīn wa Azmat al-Taṭawwur al-Ḥaḍārī", al-Ādāb, (May, 1974), pp.84-85.

2. "Problems of Modernisation in Islam", The Muslim World, vol.65, no.3, (July, 1975), p.175.

In his efforts on intellectual emancipation, however, al-Nuwaḥī's article entitled "Wa'l-ʿĀn ilā al-Thawra al-Fikriyya" (al-Ādāb, February and March, 1970), is something of an epitome of his views on the changes he wished to see in the spheres of the moral, religious and intellectual life of contemporary Arabs. At the beginning of this article he relates the Arabs' defeat in the 1967 war not to the military factor alone but also to a deeper weakness pervading the entire spectrum of their life. He thus sees the Arab-Israeli conflict in cultural terms in which the Israelis scored victory in all the wars they had so far fought with the Arabs owing to cultural superiority in addition to their military power. The Arabs, therefore, says al-Nuwaḥī, must learn two lessons from their conflict with the Israelis. First, the course of the struggle for existence runs in accordance with certain objective laws in which the fittest nation for survival is decided on the basis of the strength of its present state, not by falling back on its glorious past. Secondly, the fact that the Arabs are in the right is not enough to restore to them their usurped rights, for history is but a codification of forfeited rights lost as a result of not taking practical means to guard them. Although al-Nuwaḥī concedes that Egypt and the Arab countries as a whole have made great strides on several fronts, military, economic and industrial, yet he points out their failure to give enough attention to the necessity of carrying out an intellectual revolution, which should have matched the changes that have taken place on the fronts mentioned. While apportioning some blame to Arab governments for this failure, he sees the largest share of blame as falling on Arab intellectuals in whose province and competence such a revolution

lies. All they need from the governments in this work is that they should guarantee them the basic condition of freedom of expression, a vital weapon with which to confront conservative elements in society.

As early as November 1964, al-Nuwaĥī had, in a three-part article published in al-Ahrām, blamed Egyptian intellectuals for failing to match the government's efforts in political and economic spheres with an intellectual revolution, tracing this failure to lack of moral courage to confront the conservative elements in society. Subsequently, his personal discussions with a number of them revealed to him that the real impediment they saw standing in their way lay in the rigidity of Egyptian official bureaucracy. Though a reasonable excuse, al-Nuwaĥī says, this does not absolve them from the largest share of responsibility. From their historical study of the freedom of thought they know better than anyone else that such a freedom is seized and never granted.

Then al-Nuwaĥī proceeds to discuss the issues that will confront the intellectuals in their revolution and how to go about tackling them. These issues are in the spheres of religion, morality and Arab nationalism. Concluding his long article, the liberal-minded al-Nuwaĥī draws a line between freedom of expression and freedom of action. While the former is or should be absolute, the latter must fall within the limits imposed by law and the traditions that govern society. Illustrating this point, he regards, for instance, waging an attack on alcoholic drinks (assuming that their sale is permitted by law) through

lectures, symposia or written articles, as within the bounds of intellectual freedom, while resorting to physical attack on wineshops is a transgression of those bounds against which the law is justified in taking its course and bringing the culprit to court.

Academically as well as literarily, by 1971 al-Nuwa^hī can be said to have reached the culmination of his career. Through his works, his successful year in Harvard, and his participation in many international conferences in Europe, America and the Middle East, he seems to have firmly established himself in the world of academics and literature. This explains why the American University in Cairo accorded him from this year and onward a special financial recognition in the form of a supplement to his retirement benefits. The university had done this after carrying out an extensive review and evaluation, both in Egypt and abroad, of al-Nuwa^hī's contributions to the study of Arabic literature, the result of which confirmed the widespread recognition of the quality of his works, insight and imagination and the important stimulus which he provided to others.⁽¹⁾ In this regard al-Nuwa^hī's participation in the Poetry Festival held in Baṣra, Iraq, in April 1971 deserves mentioning. In addition to the deep impression he created on the minds of the participants after reading his critical evaluation of the poems read in the first session of the festival, he became the centre of attraction

1. A letter to al-Nuwa^hī by the Dean of the Faculties (AUC) dated 9th November 1971.

for the media. He gave two radio talks, three press interviews and one television interview, all dealing with new movement in contemporary Arabic poetry, and its relation to the Conservative School of Poetry on one hand, and to ancient Arabic poetry on the other. Further, he delivered a lecture at Baghdad University on methods of reading and appreciating ancient Arabic poetry which was also taped for broadcasting by Radio Baghdad. This successful trip to Iraq must have boosted al-Nuwaḥī's ego given that he felt, as he said a year later, that in his own country he was treated with indifference.⁽¹⁾ Indifference may be rather too strong a word, but the fact remains that he was not given recognition commensurate to his contributions. Writing to the AUC authorities on the trip al-Nuwaḥī says: "It is difficult for me to write this report without sounding objectionably boastful. I knew I had supporters in Iraq, but I never dreamt they were so many or so enthusiastic".

In the year 1972-1973 al-Nuwaḥī took his second sabbatical leave, which he spent at Princeton University as a visiting professor. Like his year in Harvard, this also was successful. Upon returning from Princeton in September 1973, al-Nuwaḥī was persuaded to take up the Chairmanship of the Department of Arabic along with the Directorship of the Centre of Arabic Studies. As was to be expected, the administrative and committee works entailed by these two positions absorbed his energy and proved

1. Al-Nuwaḥī, "Ḥaqq al-Tajriba", al-Ādāb, (September 1972), p.79.

a setback to his real work as a scholar and teacher. For several years to come his writings, particularly on literary subjects, slowed down considerably.

(c) 1974-1980

In this final phase al-Nuwaḥī's diminishing but still regular writings concentrate on aspects of modern Islamic thought, widening his scope during this time to include Muslim-Christian dialogue. He participated regularly in local and international colloquia in which he exchanged views with people like Bishop Kenneth Cragg and Professor Wilfred C. Smith. In this expanded field of interest he proved to be a diplomat as well as a scholar, and thus his article entitled "The Religion of Islam: A Presentation to Christians", first delivered as a lecture in Cairo's All Saints Cathedral in May, 1974, and then published in the International Review of Missions two years after, became popular among ^{Christian} clergy; it was reprinted several times.

Similarly, his interest in the emancipation of women continued unabated, but he now concerned himself more with the Islamic legal aspect of the question. "For", in the words of al-Nuwaḥī, "it is here that our people's strongest values and complexes, their prejudices and sensitivities, are firmly entrenched by archaic laws and customs".⁽¹⁾ His article on

1. "Problems of Modernization in Islam", The Muslim World, vol.65, no.3, (July, 1975), p.176.

"Liberation of the Arab Woman Within the Limits of Islamic Law" (al-Ra'ida, Beirut (June, 1978)) and a similar topic treated in greater detail at a seminar under the auspices of the Egyptian Family Planning Association (1978) are some of his contributions to this theme during this period. It is in recognition of his long-standing interest in the rights of women that in 1977 UNESCO and the Egyptian Family Planning Association chose him as one of fifteen Egyptian scholars to serve as special advisers for a project on "Law, Women and Family Size". Reporting to AUC authorities on his part in the project he writes: "My own part...(is) to marshal arguments capable of persuading conservative Muslims that the ancient Shari'a is not rigid and unalterable but it is amenable to change in order to suit changing conditions".

With regard to literature, however, al-Nuwalhi apparently published only two articles during this time, one on "Problems of Modern Poetry" (Amwaj, Alexandria University (June 1978)) and the other a posthumous article "Towards the Re-appraisal of Classical Arabic Literature and History..." (IJMES, April 1980). Thus this article served as a fitting conclusion for his publications in the domain of Arabic literature - his original interest and sphere of competence.

In October 1979, al-Nuwalhi fell terminally ill as a consequence of heart *disease* which he had started to experience as far back as 1968/1969, the year he spent at Harvard. From that time he dieted and gave up smoking. The *Symptoms* re-appeared occasionally but al-Nuwalhi insisted on leading an energetic life. On 13th February, 1980 he passed away leaving

behind his wife, four^{Surviving} children and, above all, his works which constitute a genuine contribution to the study of Arabic poetry both ancient and modern. What follows in the final section of this chapter is an attempt to outline, briefly, al-Nuwaḥī's major works. A detailed treatment of the views they contain will, however, be left to later chapters of the present work.

6. Book-Length Works

(a) The first work written by al-Nuwaḥī is a doctoral thesis submitted to London University in 1942. The work, never published, is entitled "Animals in Ancient Arabic Poetry (Excluding the Camel and Horse)". Al-Nuwaḥī's study of this topic revealed to him that animals are so important to ancient Arab poets that while, if one of the classical themes (e.g. panegyric, self-praise, satire and erotic love) were to be eliminated Arabic verse would still be rich, it would cease to exist if all allusions to animals were eliminated. Having no urban culture or store of foreign literature to which they would have recourse for their imagery and expressions, it was the animal world that provided ancient Arab poets with their required source.⁽¹⁾

With a literary bias al-Nuwaḥī critically examines in this work the extent to which ancient Arabic poetry has been affected by animal-lore in both content and poetic diction. The work

1. "Animals in Ancient Arabic Poetry", pp.253-254.

falls into two parts. Part one deals with animal life in general in ancient Arabic poetry. Some of the major points treated in this part include "type-situations" explicating the lives of some sixty-four animals; the animals as seen by the poets and their habits; and the Arabs' sentiments towards the animals. Much longer than the second part, this part is mainly written in the style of a sort of scientific report dictated by the nature of the subject-matter. This probably explains why the work was never published.

Part two, on the other hand, attempts to give an historical and critical survey of the material explored in part one as literature. Here, al-Nuwaḥī recapitulates the body of information he presented in part one after which he assesses the role of animal-lore in ancient Arabic poetry as pointed out at the beginning of this outline. On the value of ancient Arabic poetry as a source of information on the animals of the Arabian Peninsula, al-Nuwaḥī reaches this conclusion. Judged from the large number of modern travellers' descriptions of the fauna of Arabia confirming information given by ancient Arab poets, the observations of these poets as revealed in their poetry can be generally trusted to a great extent.⁽¹⁾ The final major point al-Nuwaḥī treats in this part is the historical development of animal-lore, its origins and progress through the period selected for his study, i.e. the pre-Islamic era to the end of the Umayyad Dynasty. In exploring this topic he makes

1. Al-Nuwaḥī, "Animals in Ancient Arabic Poetry", p.256.

it clear from the outset that as no relics remain of the early stages of Arabic poetry, he would not attempt to trace animal-lore back to its early stages, for to do that would be to venture into mere speculation. Hence al-Nuwaḥī contents himself with exploring variations of personal taste in the descriptions of animals by ancient Arab poets. However, he shows that owing to the force of literary traditions these variations are small if compared with the great similarity in the works of all the poets both in subject and treatment.

The only historical stage of development of animal-lore about which one could speak with some certainty, al-Nuwaḥī says, pertains to the changes brought about by the advent of Islam. Here he explores the emergence of the Beduin love-poets of the 'Udhra tribe whose unique sentimentality he sees as being to a great extent the byproduct of Islam which was brought to bear on the Arabs spiritual forces for the first time.⁽¹⁾

Exhaustive, well-documented and closely argued, this work draws on many different kinds of source-materials. These include fifty-six dīwāns and collections of verse, most of which were edited by orientalists, dictionaries and works on philology, Arabic books on animals, collections of proverbs, books on natural history and science, books about Western travellers in Arabia, modern studies of Arabian animal-lore and other miscellaneous works. Undoubtedly, al-Nuwaḥī's exposure to the

1. Al-Nuwaḥī, "Animals in Ancient Arabic Poetry", pp.276-79.

extant Arabic poetic works has deepened his already existing interest in and familiarity with ancient Arabic poetry, especially pre-Islamic poetry.

(b) Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī (Cairo, 1949) is al-Nuwaḥī's next work. In writing it he aimed at contributing to literary education and showing the way to realising a fruitfully critical faculty which is necessary for a proper approach to the study both of the Arab literary heritage and of modern literary production. In this respect the work connects him with the tradition of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, al-ʿAqqād, al-Māzinī and younger critics such as M. Mandūr. The work's central theme is to argue for the necessity of "scientific" knowledge to a literary critic, meaning by "scientific" objectivity and detachment in studying any given question at hand, in addition to the acquisition of an intelligent and general grasp of Human Biology, Psychology and Anthropology. As literature embodies the highest fruits of human experience, he says repeatedly, and this body of knowledge is concerned with man - the centre of literary creation - biologically, psychologically and socially, a general grasp of this body of knowledge is a prerequisite for an intelligent and deep understanding and appreciation of literature.

The book is divided into four chapters, of which the first discusses the problems that beset Egypt's literary culture. These problems range from deficient literature text-books and ill-equipped teachers to the imposition of undigested Western literary theories on Arabic literature. As regards the first two problems, al-Nuwaḥī goes no further than to diagnose them,

but in the case of the last problem - a topic later to recur in all his future works - he attempts to suggest a solution. He calls for the abandonment of the study of works on Western critical theories (a good number of which were available in translation, with the aim of helping the process of modernising Arabic literature as discussed above) in favour of a serious and intelligent study of Western literary texts. It is these literary texts rather than works on critical theories, al-Nuwaḥhī argues, that would be capable of sharpening the critical faculty. To show the harm caused by improper application of these theories he discusses, sometimes rather harshly, Shawqī Dayf's al-Fann wa-Madhāhibuh fī'l-Shi'r al-'Arabī and Sayyid Qutb's al-Naḥd al-Adabī. Although he admits that these writers possess good literary potential, he maintains that their improper application of Western critical criteria to Arabic literature has vitiated this potential.

In Chapter Two al-Nuwaḥhī ventures to summarise for the reader the necessary information, biological and psychological, for understanding a literary personality, or any personality for that matter. This information, as seen by al-Nuwaḥhī, is the first constituent in shaping personality, the second being environmental factors in their widest sense. Dealing presently with Ibn al-Rūmī as a case study in whom he sees the dominance of personal factors over environmental factors, al-Nuwaḥhī defers his treatment of the latter factors to a subsequent work on Bashshār Ibn Burd.

Next, al-Nuwaḥhī engages in a long and sometimes repetitive argument with, mainly, al-‘Aqqād and al-Māzinī who, fascinated by Ibn al-Rūmī's particular poetic talent, ascribed Greek genius to him which he supposedly inherited genetically.⁽¹⁾ We say mainly al-‘Aqqād and al-Māzinī for Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, as shown by al-Nuwaḥhī in a footnote (p.198), had also subscribed to this view though not appearing as committed as the former two. Al-Nuwaḥhī's argument against this view is summarised in four points. First, as the description "Byzantine" which is applied to Ibn al-Rūmī's paternal grandfather is not synonymous with the description "Greek", it is wrong to jump from the former to the latter as if they denoted one and the same thing. Second, science does not validate the notion that cultural traits of a race are genetically inheritable. Third, the characteristics of Ibn al-Rūmī's poetry are within Arab poetic genius. Finally, these characteristics are all attributable to factors pertaining to Ibn al-Rūmī's personal make-up as well as his environment. The moral lesson to be derived from al-Nuwaḥhī's argument is clear: literary critics are liable to pitfalls and dangers if they are ignorant of elementary scientific facts or if they insist on ignoring them.

1. Al-‘Aqqād's work on Ibn al-Rūmī is entitled Ibn al-Rūmī; Hayātuh min Shi‘rih, sixth print, (Cairo, 1970) while al-Māzinī's views on the poet are embodied in his Ḥasād al-Hashīm, seventh print (Cairo, 1961), pp.200-287. On Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's views see Min Ḥadīth al-Shi‘r wa'l-Nathr, (Cairo, 1965), pp.136-137.

Finally, al-Nuwayhī presents a practical and detailed study of two poems by Ibn al-Rūmī showing how best to study his poetry, always linking these poems with life, first by methodically helping his readers to let the poet's experiences evoke similar experiences in them and, secondly by himself interposing his interpretation and analysis, together with personal memories and experiences. In this way he apparently hopes to bring back the interrelation between literature and life which he feels is being severed through the methods of official literary education in schools. Also in order to show that Ibn al-Rūmī's poetic talent is completely within Arab poetic genius he carries out a quick but intelligent survey of the development of the personalities of Arab poets from the pre-Islamic period to the time of Ibn al-Rūmī, dwelling on poets with strong personalities, i.e., 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a, Bashshār and Abū Nuwās. This survey leads him to show how Ibn al-Rūmī's distinct personality as revealed in his poetry resulted from a natural progression of personality in Arabic poetry, through the interplay of various complex forces that shaped it. This is in addition, of course, to factors personal and environmental which cumulatively made Ibn al-Rūmī's poetry what it was.

After searching through literary periodicals likely to reveal how this work was received by the critics and reading public of the time, I was only able to come across a review of it written by a Sudanese school-teacher.⁽¹⁾ Unbalanced and full of

1. Aḥmad, A. Ibrāhīm, "Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī", al-Risāla, no.903 (23/10/1950), pp.1208-1212.

unsubstantiated claims, the only positive thing the reviewer acknowledged in the work is that the writer had made some efforts, and in the same breath these efforts were dismissed as being confined to translation and commenting on other people's views. Replying in an article which was never published, probably on second thoughts, ⁽¹⁾ al-Nuwaiḥī coolly points out the imbalance, distortion, unsubstantiated claims and personal attacks in the review. It may well be that the reviewer intended to take his revenge on al-Nuwaiḥī for his rather harsh criticism of the old literary school.

However, in an extract from a personal letter to al-Nuwaiḥī published as an appendix to the second edition of Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās, H.A.R. Gibb says of the work under review, probably after al-Nuwaiḥī had presented him with a copy: "Sincerity is the distinguishing characteristic of the work - an essential basis for a good work in any field of research - bespeaking of real thinking that is not content with superficial assertions or commonplace views. Through your protest against this widely current approach in studying poets and writers and giving an example of a penetrating analysis, you have rendered a tremendous service to the study of Arabic literature...." ⁽²⁾

In 1969 the work was reprinted in Beirut. A comparison

-
1. Al-Nuwaiḥī's reply, a photocopy of which I obtained from his private library, is entitled "Munāqasha li-Maqāl Thāqafat al-Nāqid al-Adabī".
 2. Al-Nuwaiḥī, Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās, p.265.

carried out between its first edition and the reprint revealed no changes, revision or modification.

(c) Al-Nuwaḥī's next work is Shakhsiyyat Bashshār (Cairo, 1951). It mainly seeks to ^{Practically} show how to study a literary personality. According to al-Nuwaḥī, all the purported personality studies in literature textbooks, mainly written by authors of the old school, do not seem to show an understanding of what such a study entails. His choice of Bashshār as the subject of his study arises first, because he finds in him environmental factors outweighing personal factors, thus contrasting with Ibn al-Rūmī in whom the latter influences were predominant. Secondly, Bashshār's personality, being mature and complex, provides a suitable subject for case study. Finally, as al-Nuwaḥī is of the view that Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, al-'Aqqād and al-Māzinī who, unsympathetic in their studies of Bashshār, appear to have misunderstood his personality and poetry,⁽¹⁾ he seizes the opportunity to present his counter-views.

The work falls into two evenly-matched parts. Part one, under the title "the man", begins by restating the widely held views about Bashshār's personality in which he is depicted as almost completely devoid of any virtue. He is, for instance,

1. See Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Ḥadīth al-Arabī 'ā' (complete works) vol.II, 2nd edn., (Beirut, 1974) pp.508-531; al-'Aqqād, Murāja'āt fī'l-Ādāb wa'l-Funūn, (Beirut, 1966), pp.101-128; al-Māzinī, Bashshār, (Cairo, 1971).

regarded as stony-hearted, conceited, tedious, abusive, treacherous, highly hypocritical, self-centred and blasphemous. This dark picture, al-Nuwaḥī believes, is inconceivable for no human being is devoid of some virtues whatever might be his vices. He then proceeds to discuss at length factors that had telling effects on Bashshār as a person. These include his repulsive blindness and ugliness, his being of non-Arab origin and born into slavery, the persecution inflicted on him either because of the factors mentioned, or his insistence on preserving his self-respect which was mistaken for arrogance, or the notion that he was heretical. Other factors were his acute sensitiveness, developed not only by his blindness but by his distinct literary talent as well; and the withholding throughout most of his life of the literary recognition due to him. Also contributing to the shaping of his personality were his ill-temper and quarrelsomeness, his religious scepticism, taken for heresy, and his libertine life-style.

Tracing these elements to their causes, al-Nuwaḥī sees the hand of environmental circumstances in either bringing them about or in heightening them. He thus seems to lavish his sympathy on Bashshār though he does not exonerate him from being in part responsible for the agonising life he had led, which was brought to an end through flogging at an advanced age. Similarly, al-Nuwaḥī does not go to great lengths in blaming Bashshār's contemporaries for ill-treating and persecuting him. The real issue, as seen by him, lies in a repeated human tragedy whereby misery results from inherent human weaknesses, which are in turn heightened by either conflict of personalities, or by formidably

compelling circumstances which it is beyond a person or society to rectify. It is worth mentioning that al-Nuwaihī sees the moral tragedy of Abū Nuwās' life also in terms of this deterministic view.

Al-Nuwaihī does not, however, absolve contemporary critics of blame for their unjust treatment of Bashshār, in spite of the tremendous distance, intellectual and cultural, that separate them from Bashshār's contemporaries. In their studies on the poet, al-Nuwaihī says, these modern critics had refused to trace negative traits in Bashshār's personality to their causes and had also neglected the positive aspect in him as a person. Thus relying on Bashshār's biography and poetry, al-Nuwaihī goes on to explicate what he calls the poet's virtuous side. He shows him to have been affectionate, devoted to his family and servants, generous and loyal to his friends. He also shows him as patient, magnanimous, sociable, endowed with a sense of humour and morally courageous. Concluding this part, he shows that Bashshār's character traits were mainly due to the interplay of environmental factors, and his negative side (which al-Nuwaihī does not deny though he views it sympathetically) was not inherent, for if he were to live in our age most of it would cease to exist with the cessation of its causes.

In part two, which al-Nuwaihī devoted to the study of Bashshār's poetry (limiting himself to his love-poetry in which he believes the poet was at his best in his efforts to modernise Arabic poetry), he starts his discussion by pointing out the imbalance in appreciating Bashshār as a poet by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn,

al-'Aqqād and al-Māzinī. Even the latter writer, who showed some justice in his study of Bashshār's personality,⁽¹⁾ followed the first two writers in their views on Bashshār as a poet. According to al-Nuwaḥhī, the three writers allowed their views on Bashshār as a person to interfere with appreciating him as a poet. Consequently, they saw in all his poetry a reflection of his detestable personality. In addition to the fact that it is an error not to draw a firm line of demarcation between moral judgement and aesthetic judgement, al-Nuwaḥhī explains, art is not necessarily a reflection of biography. Besides, Bashshār's poetry, depicting libertinism (fujūr) is only to be found, according to al-Nuwaḥhī, in a poem and a number of miscellaneous verses not exceeding twenty in number. However, al-Nuwaḥhī does not play down the demoralising effects of this small fraction of Bashshār's poetry. Presenting a detailed thematic and literary analysis of a poem by Bashshār in which the poet depicts ably but cruelly his sexual assault on an innocent girl, al-Nuwaḥhī finds himself entangled in the problem of dual moral-literary judgement. In his analysis of this poem, he differentiates between the two types of judgement, dismissing the poem in the end not on clear moral grounds but on aesthetic

-
1. Al-Nuwaḥhī's views on the influencing factors on Bashshār as a person as well as his character traits are not fundamentally different from those already reached by al-Māzinī; though the former appears to be more sympathetic to the poet. It is not surprising therefore that al-Nuwaḥhī considers al-Māzinī the most just, among the three writers, in his study of the poet's personality.

considerations, albeit it is extremely difficult to disentangle the moral question therefrom.

To strike a balance, al-Nuwaḥī goes on to give a detailed presentation of a number of Bashshār's love-poems showing his tender heartedness and his seeking in a woman what a refined man would seek in her beyond sexual satisfaction. Thus he appears to be countering the contention of three major Egyptian critics that Bashshār's love-poetry is artificial and empty of sincere and truthful feelings.

As evidenced by a second edition (Beirut, 1971), this work apparently received a fairly favourable response expressed through reviews, letters to the writer and personal meetings. There was, however, one review which rejected al-Nuwaḥī's claim that the image of Bashshār in people's minds was dark, saying that it was al-Nuwaḥī who had fabricated that image so as to appropriate to himself the credit of correcting it for the first time. The review went further, criticising al-Nuwaḥī for going to the other extreme in his attempt to correct his fabricated image of the poet. In a five-page reply al-Nuwaḥī restates his position about Bashshār both as a person and a poet. He maintains his view that the poet's image was painted dark by the ancients and three major Egyptian critics as testified by their writings on the poet; and that he did not depict Bashshār in a completely bright image; all he did was to reassess Bashshār as a person and a poet by identifying positive and negative aspects and tracing them back to their causes. He, however, admitted that he often stated his views in a rather strong

language, a fact he attributed partly to the vehemence of youth and partly to the fact that balancing the scale of the question at issue had warranted it. He went further to say that if he were to write the work now (when he was in his early fifties) and found the dark image of Bashshār persisting, the tone of his language would not be much different.

But to be sure, al-Nuwaḥī has in many places toned down his strong language in the second edition of the work. A quick comparison between the two editions revealed about fifty revisions, additions or changes. Over fifty per cent of these came as a result of the discovery and subsequent publication between 1950 and 1966 of Bashshār's four-volume dīwān by the Tunisian scholar, M.I. Ibn 'Āshūr. In the first edition, al-Aghānī was the main source of al-Nuwaḥī for what remained of Bashshār's poetry. The publication of the dīwān did not, however, fundamentally change his views on the personality and poetry of Bashshār. Explanatory notes and reference to his other works constitute about twenty per cent of al-Nuwaḥī's revision while toning down his language claims about five per cent. He also expanded his study of Bashshār's rā'iyya (to which reference has been made) which, when it appeared separately in al-Ādāb (July, 1971), generated a lively discussion. There is also a new ten-page chapter on Bashshār's poetic genius.

There remains one final observation about this work. Seven years prior to the publication of its second edition, an academic from Mecca who had apparently been al-Nuwaḥī's fellow-student in the Egyptian University, wrote an article about Bashshār in

al-Adīb expressing views very similar to those of al-Nuwaḥhī.

This provoked a query from al-Nuwaḥhī to the writer, who, admitting that he must have read al-Nuwaḥhī's work a long time ago but had forgotten about it, offered his full acknowledgement and apology. (1)

(d) Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās (Cairo, 1953) is al-Nuwaḥhī's next work. In it he attempts for the first time (2) to interpret the poet's complex personality on a psychoanalytical basis. According to al-Nuwaḥhī, the theme of wine in the poetry of Abū Nuwās indicates the first symptom of his psychical aberrations. Unlike all other Arab poets his attitude to it is special and unique, for in addition to his endowing it with an unusually large number of sexual symbols he venerated, sanctified and even worshipped it. Indeed, wine gave him an outlet for his complex but ironically it caused his death. Another symptom showing Abū Nuwās' complex, al-Nuwaḥhī says, found expression in his unprecedented ability, in terms of both quantity and quality, to treat homosexuality as a poetic theme.

Relying on biographical data and the poetry of Abū Nuwās, al-Nuwaḥhī shows that the poet is afflicted with sexual disorders. His basic interpretation of Abū Nuwās' psyche revolves round an

-
1. Al-Nuwaḥhī, "Ḥawla Maqāl Bashshār", al-Adīb, (July, 1964), p.6; (August, 1964), p.59; (December, 1964), p.55.
 2. Although al-'Aqqād had made a similar interpretation of the poet's personality in a work entitled Abū Nuwās al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥāni' (Cairo, 1954) al-Nuwaḥhī's work appeared about eight months earlier.

oedipal complex arising out of a second marriage contracted by his mother shortly after the death of his father while he (i.e. Abū Nuwās) was still very young. Given ~~to~~ his highly sensitive nature, (else he could not have been the poet we know) the effect of the incident on him was overwhelming. He strongly resented the opposite sex, seeing in woman the embodiment of unfaithfulness. Although many of his poems portray his love for slave-girls, al-Nuwaḥī considers that many such poems were mere jokes, that his sexual relationship to these girls was that of a homosexual, and finds support for this latter contention in the fact that most of his beloved slave-girls resembled lads in their physique, dress and hair-style. With regard to his well-known warm relationship with Jinān, al-Nuwaḥī explains, Abū Nuwās found in her a chaste and respectful girl capable of curing his complex, thus inducing him to make conscious efforts in that direction. But as his complex had reached a stage that was beyond cure he had to give up these efforts. Supporting this contention, al-Nuwaḥī cites the story in which Jinān was said to have showed her readiness to accept him as a husband on condition that he renounced homosexuality but that he refused.

Though al-Nuwaḥī's interpretation of the psychology of Abū Nuwās is in the main psychoanalytical with the oedipal complex playing a major role, he complements his approach by resorting to other extra-literary scholarship, especially Anthropology and Comparative Religion. Having realised the importance of religious themes in the poetry of Abū Nuwās and its apparent conflict with the lustful facet of his personality, al-Nuwaḥī finds it necessary to explore this question so as to

make his interpretation complete and total. In his exploration he shows Abū Nuwās to have possessed a religious faith in spite of his lewdness and apparent blasphemy. Warm and forceful, his religious poems, written during different stages of his life, indicates his sincerity of faith, says al-Nuwaǧhī. But how then does this almost mystical facet of the poet's life fit in with the other sharply contrasting facet? According to al-Nuwaǧhī, the two facets essentially emanate from the same psychological nature in which intense response to lust alternates with equally intense response to religious sentiments. Further, he sees the merger of lustful rapture and religious ecstasy in a number of Abū Nuwās's poems in terms of atavism. Psychologically immature because of his complex, Abū Nuwās was unable to finely differentiate between the two types of ecstasies, even though he was civilized and cultured.

To complete his interpretation al-Nuwaǧhī considers in his scheme environmental influences which developed the complex in Abū Nuwās. Finding himself in a society, especially in the milieu of artists, where homosexuality had started to spread on a large scale owing to interwoven factors, cultural, intellectual and social, Abū Nuwās' complex developed and grew, al-Nuwaǧhī explains.

As was to be expected, the publication of this work stirred up a heated controversy mainly on account of its approach. On the other hand, it also received objective critical reviews from writers in Egypt and outside. Its publication indeed placed al-Nuwaǧhī in the forefront of modern Arab critics who were

concerned with studying literature along psychological lines. On the merit of its purely psychological analysis, however, the work was recommended shortly after its publication as an Arabic reference on sexual aberration to the students of College of Education in Cairo, ⁽¹⁾ the highest institute in Egypt where such a study was being pursued at the time. In his second edition of the work (Cairo, 1970), al-Nuwalhī keeps fundamentally to his interpretation. However, he made some minor revisions in the form of deleting from footnotes some acknowledgements he considered unnecessary, explanatory notes and references to his other works, and of making use of two new sources, one of which though primary was unavailable at the time of first publication. In addition, he appended long critical replies (86 pages) in which he dealt with a representative number of critics who had written about his work.

(e) Al-Nuwalhī's next work is al-Ittijāhāt al-Shi'rīyya fi'l Sūdān (Poetical Trends in Sudan) (Cairo, 1957). It discusses three poetical trends in Sudan and analyses factors that brought them about. These trends are traditional, romantic and realistic.

The traditional trend, stretching from late last century to the first quarter of this century, is represented by M.S. al-'Abbāsī, 'AbdAllāh al-Bannā and 'AbdAllāh 'Abd al-Rahīm

1. See Introduction to the second edition of Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās, p.9. Al-Nuwalhī mentions this fact as a proof ^{of} ~~to~~ his good grasp of psychoanalytical data, which some critics ^{had} called into question.

whose works al-Nuwaǧhī sees as mere imitation, in both themes and techniques, of ancient Arabic poetry of various periods including that of contemporary conservative poets such as Shawqī and Ḥāfiẓ. Although some of their themes are new in that they relate to the poets' actual experiences in Sudan, the fact that they approached them through antiquarian techniques blurred their newness. Critical though he is of these works for their blind imitation, al-Nuwaǧhī goes on to explore the causes underlying their imitation. These are to be found in the problems of transition, culture and religion. Writing poetry at a transitional period, these poets were inaugurating their literary renaissance by going back to the ancient Arabic heritage, the mainspring of their literary past. It is only after laying a foundation that they could hope to build a distinct literary movement. Culturally, though they emerged out of a merging of indigenous African inhabitants and the Muslim Arab conquerors, the Sudanese gave ascendancy to their Arab origin with its heritage of a rich civilization, which did not exist to an equal extent in their African heritage. In religious terms, the Sudanese were won over by Islam which became one of the most important factors in their formation as a nation and in influencing their literature.

A consideration of all these factors, al-Nuwaǧhī says, enables one to ~~really~~ ^{properly} appreciate the important literary role played by these traditional poets. Although they may be unable to provide us with poetry of original and intrinsic value, yet it is by no means a minor achievement that they were able to lay down a necessary foundation for future Sudanese poetry, and to

satisfy the literary interests of their people at that point in their cultural and literary development.

Proceeding to discuss the emergence and characteristics of the romantic trend, al-Nuwaīhī begins by highlighting the intellectual groundwork laid down in the second quarter of this century by ^{members of the} Sudanese intelligentsia, such as Ḥamza Ṭanbal and M.A. Maḥjūb. These writers, under the influence of modern literary movement in ^{the} Arab countries, Egypt especially, and Western influences, especially English, voiced their resentment against the persistence of the blind imitation of ancient Arabs, and called for the emergence of a distinct Sudanese literature capable of enriching the pool of Arabic literature. They spelt out their strategy towards this end. Without severing their strong Muslim past, they called for the acquisition of a wider cultural outlook through an intelligent grasp of Western culture in addition to the cultural experiences of sister Arab countries. After this acquisition, they explained, the Sudanese poets and writers should study their country, its physical nature, its people and traditions, reflecting all these sincerely and truthfully in their literary productions. This intellectual factor apart, al-Nuwaīhī traces the emergence of this trend to two other factors. The first lies in the fact that the Sudanese romanticists had read romantic poetry produced in Egypt and Syria, and second, seeing themselves passing through a similar transitional period, they followed suit.

According to al-Nuwaīhī, Tījānī Yūsuf al-Bashīr is the first Sudanese poet to show modernising tendencies in his works. His

romantic world was revealed by his poetry which depicts his wretched life, his religious scepticism and his confrontation with traditional forces as well as his idealistic love and mystical experience. Moderate in his romanticism, al-Bashīr is not given to extreme melancholy and sentimentality. He also keeps in touch with real life in a number of his poems. Further, his poetry maintains linguistic and metrical correctness. By contrast, these features dwindle in the works of most young later Sudanese romanticists between 1930 and 1950 as represented in the poetry of Yūsuf M. al-Tanī.

In his discussion on social realism in Sudanese poetry, al-Nuwalhī links its emergence in the fifties partly to the alarming divorce between poetry and real life in the works of romanticists, and increasing political awareness coupled with increasing educational achievements, and partly to the penetration of socialistic ideas into the country. As in other Arab countries, this trend had first found expression in fiction. In poetry, however, al-Nuwalhī sees in Ja'far H. al-Bashīr's dīwān a milestone indicating the eroding signs of romantic trend. Though Ja'far al-Bashīr's contact with real life is mainly to be found in his nationalistic themes to which both traditionalists and romanticists contributed, the point of ^{divergence} ~~departure~~ lies in the fact that the painful reality of his country and its people does not drive him to seek solace in a golden historical past or to withdraw to his romantic, individual world. Rather he confronts that reality as it is, pushing on persistently in his struggle to correct it.

From Ja'far al-Bashīr's collection al-Nuwaḥī goes on to a joint collection by two committed socialists who migrated to Egypt. These are Tāj al-Sirr Ḥasan and Jiyalī 'Abd al-Raḥīm. In his analysis of them, al-Nuwaḥī shows the former's contribution to be poetically immature as it only exhibits in the main high-sounding socialistic jargon and slogans devoid of intrinsic literary value. By contrast, al-Nuwaḥī shows Jiyalī's contribution as more mature though by no means completely free from the weaknesses exhibited in Tāj al-Sirr's work. Though social realism has the potentiality of providing a good poetic framework, al-Nuwaḥī cautions that the treatment of the subject matter must be literary, so that the reader is led to the poet's world view through sincere literary depiction free from ideological slogans and cheap propaganda.

To complete his picture of social realism as a poetical trend in Sudan, al-Nuwaḥī proceeds to discuss the dual nature of Sudan as a nation. Before the thirties, the Sudanese tended to give ascendancy to their Arab origin, but later, especially after political independence, the neglected and sometimes rejected African origin was given its due recognition. While considering themselves as part of the Arab world, the Sudanese associated themselves at the same time with problems and aspirations of the black African countries especially those who were still under colonialism. At this point al-Nuwaḥī analyses the poetry of Muḥammad al-Fayturī who, oddly enough, rejects his Arab origin. Al-Fayturī's collection entitled Aghānī Ifrīqiya, al-Nuwaḥī shows, is full of a highly subjective hatred against whites in themselves and not their racist or colonial

system. The blacks themselves for whom the poet purports to be fighting are not spared his harsh accusations and abuse. Although al-Nuwaġhī explains al-Faytūri's racial hatred, tracing it back to personal and general factors in his life, he regards it as unjustifiable. According to him the just cause of the black people under racists or colonialists cannot be fought through the subjective and destructive methods adopted by the poet, rather it is to be fought through a rationally drawn strategy.

Although no second edition or reprint of this work appeared, it seems to have exerted some influence especially among research workers on Sudanese literature and poetical trends in the Arab world in general. This is understandable for the work is one of the first book-length studies on the subject. On the other hand, there seems to be another kind of influence exerted by the work. The fact that it attempts to interpret poetical trends in Sudan from the viewpoint of historical dialectalism, though without explicitly saying so, recommended it for study in the Soviet Union as one of the principal sources on modern Arabic literature.⁽¹⁾ Thus this kind of influence may be said to be ideological.

(f) Tabī'at al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyat al-Fannān (The Nature of Art and Artist's Responsibility) (Cairo, 1958) is the next work by al-Nuwaġhī. A slim book (86 pages) originally delivered as lectures during the academic year 1957/1958 at the Arab League's

1. Al-Nuwaġhī, "Munāqashat Khamsat Kuttāb..." al-Ādāb (October, 1971), p.2.

Institute of Higher Arabic Studies, it was written at a time when the controversy about literature and commitment was at one of its peaks in Egypt. Under a section entitled "The Problem of Art and Society" al-Nuwaiḥī explains one single immediate cause which brought the controversy to such a degree of ferocity. Before the penetration of socialistic ideas into Egypt and the Arab world after the Second World War, the main cultural influence to which Arab intellectuals and literary critics were exposed was that of the West, in which there is a general tendency to give complete freedom to individuals. Some literary developments in that culture, like the extreme application of 'Art for Art's sake', sought to free the artist from any social responsibility. Some of the Arab intellectuals and literary critics were so strongly influenced by this tendency and developments that they encouraged ivory-towerism in the artist. The new socialistic culture, in contrast, demanded of the artist that he commit himself and his art to the service of his society and refuse him the right to withdraw to his own individual world.

One of the consequences of this factor was the emergence of two views in respect of the controversy. While one view advocated absolute freedom for the artist the other went to the other extreme of imposing upon him a commitment to society. There were some attempts to strike a balance between the two extreme views, but these attempts, according to al-Nuwaiḥī, failed as they were based on political grounds which were subject to whims. The best way to tackle the question, in al-Nuwaiḥī's view, is to approach it from the literary point of view by means of answering

basic issues relating to the nature of Art, the Artist and his mission and the relation that should exist between him and society.

Three-quarters of the work is expended by al-Nuwa^hī in an attempt to tackle the above questions by freely summarising and commenting upon I.A. Richard's views in his Principles of Literary Criticism. The remainder of the work is an attempt to assess the extent of the artist's freedom and responsibility in the light of basic questions discussed. Al-Nuwa^hī's position on the issue could be summarised as follows. Looking at the importance of an artist's work and its effects on both individuals and society as a whole one could not exempt the artist from social responsibility and its related moral responsibility. Thus the artist is duty-bound to associate himself with his society and to serve its just cause. However, there is one proviso, which is that the artist may often serve his society through taking an opposing stance against some of its traditions and values; what he needs in this case is sympathy, understanding and freedom to hold 'another view'. It is by so doing that a healthy development of society will be sustained.

Finally, as to the influence which this work may have exerted or the discussion it may have generated, I have not come across any evidence to that effect. However, in 1964 it was reprinted on account of demand by its publishers (the Institute of Higher Arabic Studies). In his brief introduction to the re-print al-Nuwa^hī expresses the hope that his humble attempts in this work will be of some help in elucidating the thorny

question of literature and commitment.

(g) In 1964 al-Nuwaḥī published his next work entitled Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd (The Case of the New Poetry). Originally lectures delivered at The Institute of Higher Arabic Studies, the work's central theme is to argue strongly in justification of the new poetry. In it al-Nuwaḥī shows the new experiment to be essentially not at variance with the potentialities of the Arabic language. In this respect the language of the new experiment with its resemblance to daily speech in its modulation and undeclamatory tones, is shown by al-Nuwaḥī to abound in genuine ancient Arabic poetry and he gives many examples from the pre-Islamic period to the 'Abbāsīd period to support his view.

Although al-Nuwaḥī concedes that the new experiment is influenced by Western models, especially T.S. Eliot, he sees the legitimacy and necessity of this cross-fertilisation in that it is in consonance with the potentials of the Arabic language, and it provides an opportunity to replace extremely outworn traditional forms with a new one much more capable of conveying the poet's new ideas and aspirations. Al-Nuwaḥī is convinced that one major single obstacle in giving recognition to the new experiment lies in the enslaving impact on the prevailing literary taste of traditional poetic form. Of course the traditional form had suited the ancients, he argues, but it is no longer suitable to Arab poets in the present century. He goes on to analyse the deficiencies of conventional poetic form as he sees them, after which he discusses the merits of the new

poem which is, however, not without its dangers. Then he analyses these dangers.

Despite al-Nuwaḥhī's enthusiastic defence of the new poetic experiment, he considers it as only transitory, paving the way in the long run for the realisation of a more developed form based on accentuated rhythm (al-nizām al-nabrī). It is indeed premature to talk now of such development, al-Nuwaḥhī concedes, but on considering the assertions by some poets experimenting in the new form that it is the only one to be accommodated by the Arabic language, he considers it worthwhile to investigate these assertions. He then discusses accentuated rhythm and attempts to prove, on evidence found by some Arab linguists, that it is not alien either to colloquial or to classical Arabic.

The work ends with a chapter in which al-Nuwaḥhī carries out a detailed critique of some views expressed in Nāzik al-Malā'ika's Qadāyā al-Shi'r al-Mu'āsir. According to al-Nuwaḥhī, the views she expressed are capable of frustrating the efforts of the poets experimenting the new form. As a poetess, Nāzik al-Malā'ika deserves our thanks for her pioneering contribution to the development of the new form, al-Nuwaḥhī agrees, but as her creative efforts stop short of carrying out more daring experiments she should leave others alone to forge ahead.

This work generated discussions and controversy more than probably any other work by al-Nuwaḥhī. One reason for this

lies in the nature of the subject it deals with, i.e., the radicalisation of Arabic poetry, a sensitive issue touching upon cultural pride. Second, not entirely unconnected with the first reason, is the fact that the work was published at a time when, as mentioned above, the periodical al-Shi'r denied publication to poets experimenting^{with} the new form. The publication of the work doubtless encouraged them to renew their fight more vigorously. Finally, the temperamental constitution of al-Nuwaihi in giving passionate support to the movement, and his basing that support partly on the assertion that conventional Arabic poetic form is outworn and needs to be replaced by a more suitable form, probably account also for the general attention the work received. Even, however, looking at it many years after the storm of the battle has subsided, the work proves to have been fairly influential, for there is hardly a major work on the subject which does not make use of it in one way or another.

Appearing seven years later, the second edition of the work (Beirut, 1971) was enlarged to more than double the size of the first edition. The enlargement reflects the writer's later contributions to new poetry by way of practical studies on particular poems or collections of poems, by the exchange of correspondence with other critics, and by writing on general issues that relate the new movement to political, social and intellectual issues in the Arab world. Beside organisational rearrangement, which occurs in only two places, the contents embodied in the first edition remain the same.

(h) Al-Nuwaiḥī's next work is a two-volume book on pre-Islamic poetry under the title of al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī; Manhaj fī Dirāsatiḥ wa Taqwīmih (Cairo, 1966). In it al-Nuwaiḥī carries out a detailed practical literary appreciation of nine qaṣidas, six of which are from the Mufaddaliyāt, two from Zuhayr's dīwān and one from the ten mu'allaqas, in addition to miscellaneous verses and stanzas, which he takes as a framework in exploring major themes, ideas, and feelings as well as the basic craftsmanship of pre-Islamic poetry. Having realised that most writers on the subject have given supreme attention to the 'seven odes' (the so-called al-Mu'allaqāt al-sab'), he made his selections outside them. This was not an attempt to belittle the Mu'allaqāt, but to break new ground and to draw attention to the fact that some of the finest poetry of the period exists outside them. One major unmistakable feature of the work (expressed in its subtitle) which makes it unique in the sense that it is unprecedented in the extant studies on the subject, lies in the methodical way in which the Arab reader is gradually and skilfully shown how to ~~effectively~~ appreciate pre-Islamic poetry ^{effectively} and ancient Arabic poetry as a whole for that matter. Doubtless this shows the tremendous qualities of al-Nuwaiḥī as a teacher of literature and makes him a worthy successor to his mentor whose Ḥadīth al-Arbi'ā had done so much to popularise ancient Arabic poetry among modern Arab readers.

The early chapters of the work consist of an elaborate linguistic exposition in which ancient commentaries are critically analysed, selecting the most appropriate or rejecting all in

favour of a personal one, thus showing a keen philological sense and a long intimacy with the literature of the period. This attention, however, diminishes in degree with the progress of the work, as the reader by now is presumed to have grasped the procedure. Although literary texts achieve their particular effect through the harmony of words, imagery, music and rhythm (early in the work al-Nuwayhī has four chapters in which he generalises his findings about pre-Islamic poetry in respect of these resources of language), the manner of thematic treatment by a particular poet makes it sometimes necessary for al-Nuwayhī to give preferential attention to one over the other. In the same way, he integrates literary, socio-historical, and personal approaches in the work, giving pre-eminence to one particular approach over the others where it is appropriate. Throughout his study al-Nuwayhī relates pre-Islamic poetry to the whole spectrum of life in Arabia before Islam thus showing a real assimilation of that essentially difficult poetry.

Inevitably, al-Nuwayhī reassesses popular views - about social and moral values among the Arabs before Islam. In so doing he attempts to follow a middle course between an excessively venerative view of the ancient Arabs and an extremely moral denunciation of them. On the other hand, he raises many literary issues which he discusses at some length and reassesses. These literary issues include among others truth in the erotic prelude (nasīb), unity in pre-Islamic qasīdas, the place of external nature in pre-Islamic poetry and the related question of value judgements on the imaginative powers of ancient Arab

poets, and the attitude of Islam to pre-Islamic poetry.

The work, many parts of which were serialised in the pages of al-Thaqāfa and al-Risāla from January, 1964 and later in al-Ādāb from July 1965, generally received favourable reactions. However, owing to the simultaneity of this serialisation and the appearance of al-Nuwaiḥī's last work on new poetry, some writers with^a conservative inclination were somewhat puzzled to find the al-Nuwaiḥī whom they admired for his serious efforts to popularise ancient poetry, switching to the most enthusiastic support for the kind of poetry they considered a threat to the continued existence of ancient poetry. It is in an attempt to allay this puzzlement that he writes in the conclusion of his last work (1st edition): "The only way to preserve the old is to make allowance for the new". Similarly, one of his conclusions in the work under review runs like this. As the great charm and literary accomplishment revealed in pre-Islamic poetry are due to the fact that that poetry is closely tied to the depiction of its particular age and circumstances, imitating that poetry in both content and form is no longer suitable so far as the age and the circumstances have changed. By the same logic, the more radically these circumstances change the more unable its form and content become to fulfil the artistic needs of the new age. Therefore, insistence on continuity in this regard will only result in mechanical imitation, which may be clever but will be completely barren in terms of truth and life.

Although the work received^a generally favourable response,

some writers voiced their uneasiness about some aspects of its methods in establishing effective communication between the reader and the poet. For instance, al-Nuwaḥī's many translations of poetic expressions into the colloquial Arabic of Egypt is criticised. Hence one specialist asked a valid question: for whom did al-Nuwaḥī write his work?⁽¹⁾

(i) Al-Nuwaḥī's next work, the last of his book-length studies, is Wazīfat al-Adab Bayn al-Iltizām al-Fannī wa'l-Infisām al-Jamālī (The Function of Literature Between Artistic Commitment and Aesthetic Schizophrenia) (Cairo, 1967). Falling into two parts, part one under the title of "Unsur al-Sida fī'l-Adab" was first published separately in 1959 while the second part deals with a critique of a certain understanding of literature considered by him to be erroneous and dangerous. Both parts, based on the writer's lectures at the Institute of Higher Arabic Studies, are complementary to each other.

In part one, al-Nuwaḥī deals, rather simplistically, with the intricate question of how to identify genuine from counterfeit in literature. In the process of expounding the question, on which he admits he can only show indicators, he discusses basic critical inquiry into the nature of Art and the relation between Art and Nature on one hand, and between Art and Science on the other. Other inquiries concern imagination, myth and craftsman-

1. Khulayf, Yūsuf, "Ḥawla Kitāb M. al-Nuwaḥī: al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī", al-Majalla, (June, 1967), p.104.

ship in literature as they all relate to the concept of truth.

Under part two, however, al-Nuwaḥī carries out a detailed critique of Muṣṭafā Nāṣif's Dirāsat al-Adab al-'Arabī (Cairo, 1966). Also an academic, Muṣṭafā Nāṣif seems to be a strong upholder of the theory that literature only exists within itself, and that nothing outside itself should be brought to bear upon its understanding and ultimately its quality as literature. In his work, he strongly argues for judging a literary work on absolutely pure aesthetic values, which he sees as possessing an independent existence separate from the artist's biographical, historical and social circumstances. This stand is found by al-Nuwaḥī to be dangerous to the Arab poetic heritage, especially coming as it does from a man responsible for teaching literature in the university, hence his opposition to such a stand. Another reason for al-Nuwaḥī's critique, though not entirely unconnected with the first reason, lies in the fact that on no less than seven occasions Muṣṭafā Nāṣif made reference to four of al-Nuwaḥī's works criticising his stance on bringing data from biography, history and psychology to bear on literary work, as well as criticising al-Nuwaḥī's understanding of literary truth.

In al-Nuwaḥī's critique two main issues seem to recur throughout. One concerns the relationships that exist between a literary work on one hand, and the artist and his environment on the other. According to al-Nuwaḥī, although a literary work is not a literal representation of the artists's life and

environment, his life and environment provide him with the raw material for his work. In our assessment of his work, he argues, we cannot therefore ignore them at the expense of aesthetic values that themselves do not exist in a vacuum. The other issue pertains to literary symbols, an aspect that receives much attention from Muṣṭafā Nāṣif. On this question al-Nuwaḥī examines the relationship between language and the physical world to show that the use of symbolism in literature cannot be understood, much less appreciated, if it is not related to the physical world and to the artist's life. Further, he distinguishes between the use of symbols in literature and their use in science or philosophy. While in literature symbolism takes on its significance from its relation to physical reality, it is purely abstract in science or philosophy. From these two major issues one may observe in passing that al-Nuwaḥī's critique is at bottom an attempt to relate literature to real life and conversely to resist any attempt to divorce that relation.

Prior to its publication, parts of this work were serialised in al-Ādāb. From the kind of reaction they received one could say that the work was well received except for the fact that an element of aggressiveness in al-Nuwaḥī's critique which generated comments from some writers who felt it uncalled for in fighting for such a just literary cause.⁽¹⁾

1. Al-Būhī, Kāmil, "Al-Abhāth", al-Ādāb (September, 1966), p.13.

PART II

CRITICAL THOUGHTS

"A page of literary criticism which is worthy of the name is a combined picture of three psyches, that of the creative writer, the reader and the critic who mediates between the ~~first~~ two."
(Tāhā Ḥusayn)

Preamble

This part of the present study aims at piecing together al-Nuwaḥī's critical thoughts as they concern literature and its functions, literature and society, criticism and the equipment of a critic, and finally the criteria for literary analysis and evaluation. Serving as a general framework, the four chapters carrying the above titles will deal with al-Nuwaḥī's main critical ideas which may be regarded as a 'theoretical' basis for his criticism. For one thing, al-Nuwaḥī is predominantly a practical critic grappling with specific works of literature, and for another, within the context of Arabic literature he persistently discourages, throughout most of his longer works, the tendency to excessive theorization, which characterizes modern Arabic criticism to the extent that this theorization by far outweighs the actual literary creation and re-creation:⁽¹⁾ creation in the sense of contemporary creative writers discovering really new grounds, and re-creation in the sense of imaginative rediscovery of ancient literary masterpieces.

Admittedly, in two or three of his longer works, namely, al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān and Wazīfat al-Adab he expended some efforts in tackling some general literary issues which assume a semblance of theorization; nevertheless his treatment

1. For an attempt to trace the reasons behind this phenomenon and its danger see c.f. 'Izz al-Dīn, Ismā'īl, "Al-Shi'r wa-Naqduh", Al-Thaqāfa (24th December, 1963), pp.15-16.

of such issues is far from being a theorization with its requisite rigour. If anything they are treated from a clearly practical standpoint so much so that simplification of complex issues often become inevitable. This feature in al-Nuwaḥhī's criticism will be clearer as we go along. However, no practical critic can succeed in his work without certain ideas or assumptions about literature which underlie his practice and are observable to a researcher. Likewise, a successful theoretical criticism is hardly thinkable without some examples drawn from specific works upon which the theorization is based. Given the obviousness of interdependence of theory and practice in criticism, a critic can only be designated a theorist or a practical critic in accordance with the predominant nature of his works.

Another question worthy of clarification at this point is the fact that unlike a considerable number of Egyptian critics whose writings are stretched to cover all or most literary genres available to modern Arabic literature, al-Nuwaḥhī's criticism is confined to poetry. Thus it is natural when we see that his main generalisations about literature proceed from poetry. However, two of his works, namely, Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī and Wazīfat al-Adab, in addition to a number of his articles which have a general nature, point to the fact that the theories or ideas underlying his criticism are basically applicable to other literary genres as well, after allowing of course for the demands of the nature of each literary genre. It is worthy of note that although al-Nuwaḥhī confines his criticism to poetry, he does not in any way belittle the importance of other

literary genres, as evidenced by the range of his reading, and general articles such as "al-Qawmiyya qabl al-'Ālamiyya", (al-Majalla, November, 1967, pp.9-18). In this article (p.16) he says of drama and the novel: "they emanate from a deep and careful study of real life as well as an enduring and accurate reflection on human nature, and its actual attitudes, reactions and modes of speech. And herein lies the special importance of these literary forms whose place poetry, whatever may be its importance, cannot take".⁽¹⁾

With this brief preamble in mind let us, then, begin our quest to explore the critical ideas underlying al-Nuwaĥī's criticism as a practitioner.

1. This attitude contrasts with that of a major critic of poetry who considers the novel inferior to poetry on account of the former's expansive use of language with little production and the unsophisticated class of readership among whom it gains currency. See al-'Aqqād, Fī Baytī, pp.33-36.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE - DEFINITION, NATURE AND FUNCTIONS

The age-old questions of how to distinguish literary texts from non-literary, and how to identify the nature of literature and its functions for which human societies at different ages and levels of development value it, are basic questions to which any serious critic should address himself and provide a definite answer. The literary critics differ only in the way they formulate these questions and consequently in how they answer them. This chapter is an attempt to explore al-Nuwaḥī's stance on them.

Within al-Nuwaḥī's critical ^{output} ~~heritage~~, we encounter various kinds of definition of literature which depend on a relevant issue which he discusses and in which he may resort to a definition to concentrate the reader's attention on the points at issue, or to summarize for him through definition the points he discusses at length.⁽¹⁾ Clearly, such definitions are by their nature incomplete for they are only meant to serve certain methodological purposes.

-
1. See for example Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, (p.68) where he argues for the necessity of general scientific knowledge in understanding literature, defining literature as "words... produced by...man when he encounters certain experiences, or when he passes through particular situations in his life, or when he reflects upon the world that surrounds him, or on

Perhaps the most comprehensive definition of literature al-Nuwaiḥī reaches is found in Wazīfat al-Adab (p.32) where he says: "It is the human production which expresses through the medium of words the emotion and attitude of its creator towards the universe in such an organized and deliberate manner as to evoke in its receiver a similar emotion and attitude".

In this definition al-Nuwaiḥī speaks of emotion, attitude and the medium of language as materials that constitute literature. The first and second elements seem to denote the same thing, i.e., feelings and sentiments, except that the word "attitude" (mawqif) gives a certain qualification to the word "emotion" ('āṭifa) in order to draw attention to the fact that in literature the type of feelings or sentiments we encounter are not stock, available to all and sundry, but are settled, refined and reflected upon. Thus, it seems as if al-Nuwaiḥī's definition speaks of feelings or sentiments and language medium as basic constituents of literature. But further reflection

the people among whom he lives...attempting through these words to relieve himself of a certain feeling that urges him to produce these words." In his Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, II, p.653, where he discusses the organic relation between content and form in poetry, he defines poetry as "what binds its thought and emotional content to its form", explaining further that the closer such binding comes to organic unity the higher it should be considered in the scale of literary value.

upon the kind of feelings and sentiments revealed in the definition shows that the element of thought is embedded in it. This is so, for as pointed out before, it is the settled and recollected feelings, and not stock emotions, that find expression in literature. Hence the definition actually speaks of three basic elements, these being feelings, thought and the language medium.

The first element, feelings, is generally considered to be one of the basic constituents of literature, and one which makes a work of literature stand in contradistinction to a work of science (e.g. in Chemistry or Physics) which is regarded as cognitive and therefore objective. For while a scientist looks at things in their objective reality avoiding as much as possible any emotional reactions towards them, a literary artist looks at them mainly from the standpoint of the feelings and sentiments they stir in him. Thoughts, like feelings, are also generally regarded as one of the basic elements that constitute literature. But in what way do thoughts find a place in literature? In his dialogue with Muṣṭafā Nāsif, al-Nuwaḥī provides an answer⁽¹⁾ by saying that neither a thing nor a thought in poetry has any intrinsic value but only has value in so far as it reflects the poet's feelings towards such a thing or thought. In this respect, he explains, literature differs from science and philosophy, by which he presumably means that both science and philosophy have as their distinct property abstract thoughts which are generally

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.122 ff.

devoid of the scientist's or philosopher's emotions and feelings. A poet, al-Nuwayhī continues, absolutely does not deal with a thing or thought in his work except when it stands in a certain relation to his emotion or feeling. Thus in his poetry, al-Nuwaiḥī seems to believe, the poet's main aim is to explain to us the emotional effect such a thing or thought stirs up in his mind and not the thing in itself or the thought in its abstract value.

It is clear, then, that al-Nuwayḥī regards thoughts as not alien to poetry and literature in general, so long as they are clothed in the garb of the literary artist's feelings. Illustrating this point at the practical level, al-Nuwayḥī lists as one of the main limitations of pre-Islamic poetry the fact that it does not go beyond the physical world to depict the spiritual world, or that world which is beyond the material world. While the pre-Islamic poet skilfully portrays the physical world acutely and minutely and expresses his strong feelings towards its vigour, he does not, al-Nuwayḥī says, stop to ask himself about the secret power behind this vigour, its source and whether behind its visible beauty there lies a higher essence of the beautiful of which flowers, gazelles and beautiful women are but a partial manifestation. In saying that the pre-Islamic poet does not ask himself such questions, al-Nuwayḥī goes on to explain, he does not mean a philosophical treatment of them using definitions, logical analogies and induction, neither does he mean using such abstract words as truth, power or beauty. What he does mean is that the poet should really feel the existence of the spiritual world, and no sooner will he do so than he will

find himself expressing this without consciously seeming to do so.⁽¹⁾

Up to this point we have dealt with feelings or sentiments and thoughts as revealed in al-Nuwaḥhī's definition of literature. There remains the final constituent in his definition, language medium. But before taking this question up we must examine his view on the degree of feeling or thought which is capable of literary expression. On the levels of both abstraction and practice there are numerous evidences to show al-Nuwaḥhī's insistence that the literary artist's emotion, feeling or thought are so strong and intense as to urge him to relieve himself the tension that they cause by expression through the artistic medium. Examples of this are his description of feelings or emotions found in genuine literature as "so strong and fervent as to urge him (i.e. the literary artist) to relieve himself of them in artistic form",⁽²⁾ or his discussion of the nature of artistic communication in which there is a "strong feeling or emotion that clings to the artist's heart...so as to urge him to expression...".⁽³⁾ On the other hand, some other occasions show him dropping the above qualification which he attaches to feeling and thought.⁽⁴⁾ His two different positions on this question seem to be capable of reconciliation if we say that he

1. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.264-65.

2. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.93.

3. Ibid., p.26; see also al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.398.

4. C f. al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.324.

does not persistently hold on to the qualification of intensity for two reasons. In the first place, not all good literary works reveal intense feelings and thoughts, and even those that are often cease to be so at a certain point to allow for modulation of feelings, as al-Nuwaḥī's analysis of a number of poems shows.⁽¹⁾ Secondly, the intensity of feeling or thought per se does not confer quality upon a work of literary art; rather it is the successful interaction of such a feeling and thought and the language medium which confers quality upon the work.

To attribute such a critical position to al-Nuwaḥī is not mere speculation, for there is evidence in his pronouncements and practice that lends support to it. In reply to a critic with whom he agrees that the intensity of feeling alone is not enough, as it must be accompanied by the distinguishing feature of a literary artist, i.e. his power to convey such a feeling in a communicable artistic form, al-Nuwaḥī adds that this fact does not mean that intense feeling is not one of the important elements in literature. However, and this is more important, whatever might be the intensity of feeling, a literary artist needs to exercise control over it and subject it to reflection and organization so as to exhaust all its possible dimensions before he can give it a mature literary expression.⁽²⁾ But

-
1. See for example his analysis of Zuhayr's Lāmiyya poem and al-A'shā's Lāmiyya poem, Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, II, pp.568-645 and pp.816-880.
 2. Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.123-124; see also Muṣṭafā Nāṣif, Dirāsat al-Adab al-'Arabi, pp.49-51.

intensity is not the only quality al-Nuwa^Yhī attributes to the literary artist's feeling or emotion. The quality of sincerity or genuineness of feeling or emotion recurs throughout his works and he persistently demands it. However, this is a question to be looked into in a later chapter. At the moment, however, we turn to the medium of language which constitutes a basic element in his definition of literature.

We have seen above how al-Nuwa^Yhī views a certain feeling or emotion which excites a literary artist and urges him to expression. This he calls the first primary impulse behind a literary work. However, according to him there is a second impulse which lies in a literary artist's desire to arouse a similar feeling or emotion in the mind of the receiver of his work, that is to say his desire to communicate through language, the only literary medium. Of course a literary artist or any other artist may claim that in creating his work he is only concerned to express his personal feeling or to satisfy himself, and if such a work arouses a similar feeling or emotion in the mind of another person who receives it that is only something accidental. But al-Nuwa^Yhī along with I.A. Richards rejects such a claim. The reason is that there are few works of art which only arouse their creators and are only understood by them, while most works of art can be understood and responded to by many people even though their writers might have described the most private or personal experiences. Further, al-Nuwa^Yhī argues, a great number of artists have a strong desire for immortality or a permanent reputation. However, what really

happens, and this is the most important thing for criticism, is that in most cases the artist's power of communication in his work conforms to his personal satisfaction with the work. His denial of a desire to communicate may well be due to the fact that he seldom gives conscious attention to communication. Instead, his attention is being expended in getting the work 'right', as Richards put it, but subconsciously he attempts to give it the greatest communicative power.⁽¹⁾

According to al-Nuwayhī, it is the desire for communication on the part of the artist that urges him to resort to literary expression and to bear the labour of literary creation.⁽²⁾ Similarly, it is this desire with its deliberate organisation that distinguishes a work of art from a spontaneous emotional expression, like that of a mother bereaved of a child, which though it may well arouse a similar emotion is not moulded in a form that guarantees permanence and renewal. It also distinguishes between a successful attempt at literary communication and an unsuccessful one, as well as allowing us to grade literary works in accordance with the extent of their success in conveying the feelings or emotions of their creators.⁽³⁾

-
1. Al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, pp.23-26; see also I.A. Richards, Principles of Literary Criticism, pp.25-33. As mentioned above this work is a free summary of Richard's work.
 2. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.27.
 3. Ibid. p.32.

That literature achieves communication through the medium of language is a fact accepted by all critics. But the use of language is not the prerogative of literature as it is also being used in daily interaction between people as well as in science. In theoretical discussion of the use of language in literature it is a common practice to distinguish the use of language on the three levels of daily speech, science and literature.⁽¹⁾ Although al-Nuwa^lhī is fully aware of the power of language in literary communication, particularly in poetry whose use of language he considers as the most refined, and for whose analysis he exerted in some of his works one of the painstaking and admirable efforts in modern Arabic literature, on the 'theoretical' level he gives but scant attention to the main three levels of language use.

That al-Nuwa^lhī is aware of the difference of the use of language at the three levels mentioned is evident from his statement that "...words are also used for purposes other than artistic; they are used in simple purposes to satisfy daily needs, and they are used in science".⁽²⁾ But how exactly words are used in daily speech or in science and how these uses differ in kind or degree from that of literature al-Nuwa^lhī does not explain. Rather he treats the question in passing by saying that the use of words in commercial interaction and the like is evidently not literary and there is no danger of confusion. In

1. See for example Wellek and Warren, Theory of Literature, pp.11-14.

2. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.33.

science also it is obvious that a book on chemistry or engineering is outside the purview of literature. Leaving the question at this point, he proceeds to present two criteria by which a work may be considered to be within the domain of literature. These criteria are based on al-Nuwaḥī's understanding of the nature of literature and the characteristics of a literary artist.⁽¹⁾ But before we look into this question we must examine his view of the role of imagination in literature. From the formulation of al-Nuwaḥī's definition of literature the role of imagination is clearly very important. But how does he specifically see that role?

Defining imagination functionally, al-Nuwaḥī sees it as the "...artist's vision of universal phenomena in a degree much clearer, sharper and more distinct than what they are in reality, or in a degree above the non-artist's vision".⁽²⁾ This means that the portrayals we see in paintings, for instance, or the feelings and characters we experience or meet in poetry, drama and the novel, are more markedly profound, distinct and comprehensive than they are in real life and in the non-artist's eye. However, these portrayals, feelings and characters do not completely come out of the blue, rather they form part of real life and all the artist does is to give them more clarity, depth and distinctness. According to al-Nuwaḥī, the element of imagination in literature is a combined interaction of four

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p. 33ff.

2. Ibid., p.63.

faculties in the artist which renders his portrayal of real life completely vital and distinct. First is the artist's subtle observation which enables him to spot minute things to an extent that only artists can. Second is the ability of an artist to see vital relations among things which may appear to the non-artist to be inharmonious. This can be instanced by the poet's use of imagery which enables him to see harmonious relationships among apparently discordant universal phenomena, thus ^{he says} increasing our awareness of the oneness of the universe. Third is the artist's ability to recollect the essentials of the experience he wishes to convey, and last is his ability to shun trivialities and non-essentials in this experience. (1)

These interrelated faculties undoubtedly serve an artist in organising various parts of his works and striking a balance between them, so as to make them harmonious with each other and thereby create a balanced effect on the receiver of his work. For a literary work to be successful, all the various elements we have discussed in al-Nuwayhī's definition of literature - feeling or emotion, thought, language and imagination - unquestionably must interact in perfect unison and harmony so as to bring about a unified and balanced work capable of creating the kind of effect we have mentioned.

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.63-65.

The Nature of Literature

Already shown in the above analysis of al-Nuwalhī's definition of literature is the correlation he makes between literary art and science. He sees the former in which a literary artist expresses his feelings as subjective while seeing the latter in which a scientist looks at things as they really are in themselves as objective. According to him, nature, by which he means physical nature and human nature as his illustrations show, serves as material for both the literary artist and the scientist though their attitudes towards it differ considerably. In the case of a literary artist he looks at physical nature, e.g. extensive green lands, towering mountains, the darkness of the night, or on the level of human nature he reflects upon his society full of human characters and events. Such various aspects of nature evoke in him different feelings and sentiments ranging from pleasure and awe to other various shades of feelings, whereupon he attempts to express his feelings towards these various manifestations of nature. Clearly, the stance of a literary artist towards his material, nature, is not detached or objective as he is not so much concerned about what that material is in reality, but of the various emotional or sentimental effects its aspects make on him. The scientist, on the other hand, looks at the same nature but he reflects upon it and studies it objectively, attempting to know what it is in itself.⁽¹⁾ Thus human feelings, sentiments and emotions in relation to physical nature and human nature, al-Nuwalhī seems to be saying, are the

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.15-16.

primary concern to a literary artist while the same material but devoid of emotional or sentimental attitude towards it commands the attention of a scientist. We shall do well to bear the above correlation in mind as it will help us in understanding al-Nuwaḥhī's criteria in distinguishing literary texts from non-literary.

A literary artist, then, is incited by a certain feeling or emotion that arises out of his attitude to physical nature or human nature and demands expression. This kind of emotional reaction is considered by al-Nuwaḥhī as the first primary motivating factor behind the work of a literary artist as mentioned before. Impliedly, a literary artist is acutely sensitive to a degree not found in a person who is a non-artist. Otherwise he would not be so incited that he feels a strong urge for artistic expression with the entailed efforts of reflection, clarification and organisation. Evidently, no insensitive person or one who is averagely sensitive, would be so excited and so agitated as to express himself in such a manner. And the fact that he is not contented with mere excitedness (for if he was, he would be no more than neurotic) but expresses his feelings literarily, endows him with a second characteristic which is a communicative power to evoke similar feelings in the mind of the receiver of his work whereby he makes his experience permanent.⁽¹⁾ Does this mean that a literary artist is not a normal person like us? Is he something of a neurotic? According to al-Nuwaḥhī, a literary artist does not differ in kind from other persons, for

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.29.

the same experiences he lives and later expresses in his work are being experienced by other persons. In this sense he is an ordinary person but endowed with sensitiveness, perception and consciousness above those found in an average person, and a capability of literary expression an average person is devoid of. The difference between a literary artist and a person who is a non-artist is, therefore, one of degree but not of kind.⁽¹⁾

So characterised, a literary artist must of necessity be inward-looking; this, according to al-Nuwayhī, is even true of the most simple and superficial poets. But poets and other literary artists differ considerably in the degree of their introversion as this in turn depends on numerous different factors, biological, psychological, social and intellectual; and no two artists can be exactly the same in the degree that these factors influence them.⁽²⁾

Having examined al-Nuwayhī's views on the nature of literature and the characteristics of a literary artist, we turn to his criteria which distinguish literary texts from non-literary. According to him, there are two criteria against which we could test whether a particular text is literary or not. First, a literary text concerns man from the standpoint of his being himself, i.e. a human being living on this planet and passing

-
1. Al-Fann wa Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, pp.56, 59; see also I.A. Richards, op. cit., pp.181, 193-194.
 2. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, p. 280 ff.

through experiences which affect him as a man but not as a specialist in a particular endeavour. Although literature may portray the life of a specialist like a doctor, a botanist or a mechanic, yet part of its literariness can only be maintained if it tackles this aspect of his life from the viewpoint of its influence upon him as a human being and not as a specialist. It is only in this way that it would command our concern even though we may not be specialists like him. Literature, then, tackles those general questions, issues and concerns that have general human appeal, which as our analysis of al-Nuwaḥhī's definition of literature shows, are related to man's emotional reactions to physical nature and human nature. Thus we find Ibn al-Rūmī's bā'iyya poem, for example, portraying to some extent elements of our psyche irrespective of differences in personalities, environment and time.⁽¹⁾ Secondly, the form which a literary text takes is basic in considering it as a species of literature. For, as we have seen, a literary artist communicates his feelings and emotions in a form capable of evoking similar feelings and emotions in the mind of the receiver of his work. It is this kind of communication which does not have instruction or information as its sole aim that justifies his work and makes it an end in itself.

Taken together, these criteria show that a general human appeal as regards what to say and how to say it constitute the

-
1. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, p.283.
 2. Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.34-36.

distinguishing factor between literature and non-literature. This means that works which may seem non-literary, e.g. the philosophical and historical works of David Hume and Gibbon, are received as literary since they satisfy the two criteria mentioned. Conversely, a text, say a novel, may be purported by its writer to be literary, but can only be accepted as such if it satisfies the above criteria.⁽¹⁾

Functions of Literature

In analysing al-Nuwaḥī's views on the functions of literature we may do well to begin by clarifying the various terms he uses to denote the uses of poetry, literature or art in general. This will help us to know whether all his terms are used interchangeably or whether they are used at different levels of analysis. A survey of al-Nuwaḥī's works show these terms ranging from "message" (risāla),⁽²⁾ "importance" (aḥammīya),⁽³⁾ "use" (fā'ida),⁽⁴⁾ to "function" (wazīfa)⁽⁵⁾ and

-
1. Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.34, 36 ff. In a footnote (p.36) al-Nuwaḥī expresses his indebtedness to W.H. Hudson in arriving at these criteria; see Hudson's An Introduction to the Study of Literature, pp.9-10.
 2. Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, pp.351, 352; al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.398.
 3. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.27.
 4. Al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, p.33.
 5. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adab, p.247; Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, p.347.

"purpose" (gharad).⁽¹⁾ After having studied the various contexts in which al-Nuwaḥhī used these terms one could conclude that the first four terms are used interchangeably to refer to various uses or functions which literature can perform. With regard to the use of the final term i.e. purpose, he attaches no specific use or function to literature except reference to a literary artist's communication of his feelings and sentiments. In other words, in this context al-Nuwaḥhī seems to say literature is a purpose in itself. This understanding gains support from his distinguishing between practical art and the fine arts. While the former is a means to an end which is utility, the latter is seen by him as an end in itself.⁽²⁾ But what is the significance of this attention to terminology? The answer to this question lies in the fact that al-Nuwaḥhī does not attach any identifiable purpose to literature which it must fulfil directly and immediately, but rather sees its justification in itself. This is not to say, however, that al-Nuwaḥhī does not ascribe some uses or functions to literature in real life. Indeed, he clearly mentions that in addition to artistic satisfaction art has various other consequences in life and society.⁽³⁾

1. See Wazīfat al-Adab, p.14.

2. Ibid.

3. Al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, p.49. In distinguishing between the term "purpose" and other terms used by al-Nuwaḥhī to refer to functions of literature I have benefited from J.M. Ellis's work The Theory of Literary Criticism, pp.233-247.

To be sure, al-Nuwaḥī ascribes some specific functions to literature, to which we shall turn in a moment, but the important thing to clarify is that he uses the first four terms to refer to some functions he ascribes to literature, functions which are based on empirical knowledge gained through his long contact with literary works as a critic and a teacher, and through other people's contact with them, and uses the term "purpose" to show that we cannot speak of an immediate and direct utilitarian purpose of literature or art as we would of a practical art, say a chair to sit on or a knife to cut with.⁽¹⁾ Having said this we now turn to an examination of al-Nuwaḥī's conceptions ^{of} ~~about~~ the functions of literature.

These conceptions can be reduced to functions of literature in relation to society or community at large and functions relating to individuals who come into contact with literary works. With regard to the first kind of functions, *i.e. social*, al-Nuwaḥī's pronouncements are found to deal with literature as an instrument likely to bring about moral change to keep with new demands of society, and secondly, as an important factor of social cohesion that binds the different members of society together as one people with a clear identity. While proposing ^{part of the first} presently to discuss al-Nuwaḥī's views on the second/_{part} question, we shall defer discussing the first/_{part} to the next chapter.

According to al-Nuwaḥī, literature, especially poetry,

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.14.

performs the important social function of "expressing the distinctive spirit of a nation, its particular national genius, and its attitude and reaction against the phenomena of the universe and the experiences of human social life".⁽¹⁾ This function would seem to serve a dual purpose. To its foreign readers as well as the native, poetry mirrors traits, characteristics and attitudes of a particular people thus making their understanding possible in a way unique to poetry or literature. Although the study of a people's history, religion, philosophy or contributions to science, could also bring about understanding them by other people, yet this non-literary understanding, in al-Nuwaḥī's words, "will never be able to really...delve deep into their 'distinctive spirit'".⁽²⁾ Secondly, for the natives exclusively, their poetry or literature unifies them and kindles in them the sense of having a particular identity and glory worth having and preserving. This in turn is likely to act as a stimulus for them to work together for the common good. Nicholson, undoubtedly, has this unifying function in mind when he mentions poetry as having given "life and currency to an ideal of Arabian virtue, which ...became an invisible bond between diverse clans, and forged... the basis of a national community of sentiment."⁽³⁾

-
1. "Why Study Arabic Poetry?", a lecture delivered by al-Nuwaḥī at Harvard, December, 1967, p.1; see also "Nāzik al-Malā'ika wa-Naqd al-Shi'r", al-Thaqāfa (18th February, 1964), p.8.
 2. Ibid., p.1.
 3. Nicholson, R.A., A Literary History of the Arabs, p.72.

Another social function of poetry and literature, different from the one just mentioned but not unrelated to it, lies in al-Nuwaiḥī's idea that poetry with its subtle expression of people's feelings and emotions revitalizes language and enriches and keeps it in touch with the springs of life.⁽¹⁾ This is in addition to its preserving archaic language, some aspects of which may not have been recorded in dictionaries and philological works, as evidenced in the case of Arabic poetry.⁽²⁾

Turning to the functions of literature at the individual level as seen by al-Nuwaiḥī, his generalisations and practical criticism seem to consider these functions as largely educational. By depicting experiences identical or similar to our own, or by depicting fresh ones, a literary artist reminds us of our experiences in a vital and special way we have never been conscious of, in addition to widening them to include other experiences of fellow human beings, thus helping to bring about sympathy which is a vital core in realizing our full humanness.⁽³⁾ This understanding of an educational function of literature appears to be in line with al-Nuwaiḥī's liberal-humanistic outlook on various activities in life, as we have seen in his stance on anti-marxism, freedom of opinion and expression, emancipation of women and re-interpretation of Islamic dogma. Also in this

-
1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.163 ff; see also Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, p.352 ff.
 2. Shakhsīyyat Bashshār, p.273.
 3. See for example Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, I, pp.323-343 where al-Nuwaiḥī analyses 'Alqama's depiction of his she-camel.

regard he ascribes to literature the function of consoling us during the vicissitudes of life by inculcating into our minds, in a special way peculiar to literature, that we are not alone in grief or misery. Hence we find ourselves chanting such literary pieces to derive comfort and solace therefrom.⁽¹⁾ Without showing exactly how, al-Nuwaḥhī further claims, rather over-optimistically, that one gets solutions to one's human problems or clues to them from literary pieces.

One other educational function al-Nuwaḥhī attributes to literature consists in its developing of the important power of imagination. On one hand, literature sharpens our sensibilities and aesthetic tastes by making us vitally conscious of our experiences and those of other people, and on the other, it helps us understand and sympathise with other people with whom we have no common bond or tie save that we are all human beings.⁽²⁾ There remains one educational function which al-Nuwaḥhī attributes to literature and is exemplified in its capacity to provide factual knowledge. Such knowledge, as instanced by him, covers aspects of both physical nature and human nature.⁽³⁾

-
1. Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.180-81; see also Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, p.295 ff. M. Mandūr also attributes this function to literature, see Fī'l-Adab wa'l-Naqd, p.141.
 2. For an instance where literature could develop the power of imagination see al-Nuwaḥhī's analysis of 'Alqama's verses on a wine-jug, al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, I, pp.113-120.
 3. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.19 ff.

These, then, are the various functions al-Nuwa^hī ascribes to literature. But are these the only functions literature performs at social and individual levels, or are there other possible functions it could perform? The answer to this question is implied in the statement at the beginning of this section which shows that an inquiry into functions of literature is subject to empirical investigation. This in effect means that literature may well have other possible functions which in turn may vary from one individual, society and time to another. However, it is worth stressing that in al-Nuwa^hī's thinking the justification for literature lies in itself without this precluding its having practical consequences on the lives of individuals and society, as already pointed out.

To sum up, an attempt has been made to analyse al-Nuwa^hī's definition of literature as revealed in his most systematic treatment of the subject and to discuss his understanding of the nature of literature vis-à-vis cognitive knowledge like science. In the process his ideas on the characteristics of a literary artist as well as the criteria distinguishing literary from non-literary texts are examined. Also examined is his conception of the functions of literature which our conclusion shows to be a matter of empirical investigation.

CHAPTER FOUR

LITERATURE AND SOCIETY

The relation between literature and society is a subject discussed and analysed fairly thoroughly by many critics, Western and contemporary Arabs. The subject also received some attention from ancient Arab critics and literary historians, such as Ibn Sallām, Ibn Qutayba, al-Āmidī and al-Qādī al-Jurjāni, though of necessity their treatment of it is much less diverse and profound. Language as a literary medium, the environment in its widest sense which provides a literary artist with a sizeable part of his material and the audience who receive his works and promote them as literary, all these factors are social phenomena which by themselves point to the kind of relations that exist between literature and society. The literary artist himself cannot, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, work in a vacuum but is a social member of his community, and produces his works not only to express himself or satisfy himself but also to communicate with his fellow human beings in the community. It is to be expected, therefore, that we find this subject assuming an important position within al-Nuwayhī's critical heritage at both practical and abstraction levels. This chapter sets out to explore his views on the subject and it will be treated under three sections: interaction between literature and society; literature, freedom and commitment; and literature and morals. Though complementary and overlapping, the questions underlying these sections will be treated separately for reasons of convenience.

Interaction Between Literature and Society

To begin with, it is appropriate to examine al-Nuwaḥhī's use of the concepts of life, society and environment in his discussion of the subject of this chapter. But this will not detain us long, for out of the three concepts mentioned he attempts only a definition of environment, which first finds expression in his Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī⁽¹⁾ and then in Shakhsīyyat Bashshār.⁽²⁾ His definition is a wide one which includes the time and place in which a literary artist is born, the political, economic, social and intellectual conditions he lived in and, in short, the sum total of influences which affected his life and development. As for the concepts of life and society he does not go into these questions.

Having thus disposed of the question of concepts, we may proceed to examine al-Nuwaḥhī's ideas on the interaction between literature and society. As a social member of society which provides him with material for his work, the poet and literary artist in general inevitably reflects, according to al-Nuwaḥhī, the prevailing general social conditions of his society. Although he does not set out in his work to depict those conditions as he is neither a historian nor a sociologist; the conditions reveal themselves in his work overtly or covertly. This means

1. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, p.80.

2. Shakhsīyyat Bashshār, p.7.

that there is a certain determinism between general social conditions and the literary works produced under them, so much so that a work of literature often serves as the best social or historical document of a certain period as in the case of polemical poetry (naqā'id) in the early Umayyad dynasty.⁽¹⁾ Based on this understanding, al-Nuwaḥhī considers that a good all-round study of pre-Islamic poetry will not fail to observe the reflection in this poetry of the social conditions in Arabia before Islam. These include, explicitly or implicitly, the depiction of a poverty-stricken majority and the prevalence of avarice among the Arabs before Islam, some of the premises upon which Ṭāhā Ḥusayn based his thesis which stamped the bulk of pre-Islamic poetry as fabricated.⁽²⁾ In like manner, the platonic love poetry of the 'Uhdri poets and the physical love poetry of 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a reflect the complex and changing conditions brought about by Islam, and so also the poetry of both Bashshār and Abū Nuwās reflects the tremendous changes Islam brought to bear on the Arabs, as a consequential effect of mingling them with other races.⁽³⁾ This also holds true in respect of modern Arabic literature as already instanced in our outline of al-Nuwaḥhī's al-Ittijāhāt al-Shi'riyya fī'l-Sūdān.

On the other hand, the personality of a literary artist, in al-Nuwaḥhī's thinking, is also influenced by the forces and

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, pp.209-211.

2. Ibid., pp.272-275 and p.232 ff; see also Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Fī'l-Adab al-Jāhiliī, pp.70-80.

3. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.270-278.

conditions of society under which he produces his art in much the same kind of deterministic manner pointed out earlier. But as social forces and conditions are not the sole determinant of what the personality of a literary artist and therefore his work will be, (for individual or personal factors also play an important role in this respect), the exact proportion of social factors which have bearing on a literary artist vary from one artist to another. On the basis of his practical studies of the personalities of three ancient Arab poets, namely Bashshār, Abū Nuwās and Ibn al-Rūmī, al-Nuwaḥī tends to think that, in some literary personalities like Bashshār, social factors predominate over personal factors in shaping the tone and motifs of Bashshār's poetry, as already pointed out in chapter two.

Therefore, if Bashshār were to live in a 20th century society his personality and hence his poetry would be greatly altered, al-Nuwaḥī seems to believe. But such an alteration would not necessarily be total, for his individual formation also contributed in making him what he was. In another literary artist like Ibn al-Rūmī, the personal factors that shaped his individual make-up predominate over social factors. Could his personality be also susceptible to alteration if he were to live in a different society? Al-Nuwaḥī's answer tends to be in the affirmative, but given Ibn al-Rūmī's genetic disorders, both physical and psychological, the degree of the alteration would be comparatively much less.⁽¹⁾ In Abū Nuwās, however, the social and individual factors are proportionately equal in

1. Shakhsīyyat Bashshār, p.8.

shaping the personality and the nature of the poet's works.⁽¹⁾

The way in which the environment or society influences literature as outlined in the previous discussion is general. While it has been able to reveal in broad terms how society with its various forces and agents brings its influence to bear on the personality of the literary artist and his work, it does not specifically say how these forces or conditions influence the creation of a particular poem, novel or play. It is only by showing this that we can be justified in attributing to society the act of providing the literary artist with raw material for his work. In the preceding chapter we have pointed out that al-Nuwaḥhī cites physical nature and human nature as material with which a literary artist creates his work. Clearly, both physical nature and human nature, as we shall try to show, form part of the society in which a literary artist finds himself. Let us, then, have a closer look at this point so as to see al-Nuwaḥhī's view on the extent to which society may be said to be providing a literary artist with material for his work.

Discussing how a literary artist is stirred up by physical nature which gives rise to a demand for literary expression, al-Nuwaḥhī cites the following manifestations of physical nature: extensive green lands, a surging sea, wild animals, gentle birds, the darkness of the night, storm, flood, thunder and lightning.⁽²⁾

1. Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās, p.168 (footnote no.2).

2. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.15.

These various aspects of physical nature, silent and non-silent, form an integral part of society for they are reducible to society's geography and topography which condition in no small measure the lives of its members. It is understandable therefore that al-Nuwaḥī goes on to cite the artist's deliberation upon human nature⁽¹⁾, (i.e. human society), full of characters and events, as material that stirs in him various shades of emotional reaction thus providing him with the first impulse for literary expression. It is in this way, al-Nuwaḥī seems to believe, that both physical nature and human nature with their complex aspects provide a literary artist with feelings, characters and events as material for his work, for he cannot start in a vacuum. Admittedly, a literary artist may depend on his imagination to provide him with the material he needs, yet on a little reflection that very imagination is found to be nourished by nature (in the sense in which we have been using the word) or else his world of vision would almost be the same as that of a neurotic.⁽²⁾ But al-Nuwaḥī does not regard a literary artist as being this, as shown already.

With the mention of imagination vis-a-vis the literary artist's material we enter upon the positive aspect of the relation between literature and society. Up to this point we have discussed al-Nuwaḥī's views on how society through its complex forces and agents, affects literature by influencing the

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.15.

2. Ibid., p.16 ff.

literary artist's personality and by providing him with the required material for his work. Clearly, in these respects a literary artist is portrayed as a man who is receptive and upon whom social conditions and forces act in a certain kind of determinism. But when a literary artist is able to set in motion the complicated melting process between social influences and his individual genius and produce thereby a literary work which he throws back to society, then he ceases to be receptive but creative and therefore becomes a positive force. But how does this melting process take place?

As already shown, al-Nuwayhī sees literary personality as a product of fusing together social influences and individual formation with its intellect and nature. This means that a literary artist harnesses social influences on him with his genius so as to produce a creative work which is in no way a mere photocopy of what he seizes upon from physical and human nature. Emphasising this fact in a number of his book-length studies, al-Nuwayhī does not see a literary artist as a mere reproducer of the material nature provides him, but rather sees him as a positive force who exercises control and power over that material to create out of it something new.⁽¹⁾ In this statement there looms the intricate question of creative process, in the sense of the development of a work in the hands of its author, (provisionally called the melting process a little while ago), which may be claimed to rightly belong to psychological

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.12 and 125 ff.

rather than critical inquiry. Nevertheless, the question receives some attention from many critics including al-Nuwayhī himself. Describing the process in respect of poetry he says: "...what we witness in poetry is not the poet when he is going through the actual experience (which gives rise to writing a particular poem) but when he recollects it, selecting its essential elements, reorganised by his imagination and viewed through his particular temperament and fused with his strong feeling; adding to it from his temperament and feeling elements that give it greater completeness and harmony, and reveals its real and complete significance to himself and fellow human beings; then he forms it in words which have strong connotative and associative meanings, musically versed in such a way that the words help us through their rhythm and melody to enter into the poet's emotional and imaginative world."⁽¹⁾

Clearly, this citation emphasizes al-Nuwayhī's view that a literary artist is not a mere photocopier but rather gives through his work at least as much as he receives from society towards his literary creation. It is on this basis that Abū Nuwās picked up influencing factors from society; assimilated and stamped with a distinct mark from his personality, he threw them back to society in the form of a work completely new and unparalleled.⁽²⁾ As the poet's work faithfully depicted his contemporary society and the desires of the majority of its

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.398.

2. Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās, p.172.

members, they gained wide currency; ⁽¹⁾ more than that, some of the works outlived, like many other excellent literary works, their spatio-temporal limits to remain equally true in depicting some social aspects of a 20th century society. ⁽²⁾

In the above discussion we hope to have reasonably crystallised the kind of relation envisaged by al-Nuwaḥī between literature and society, a relation which is one of give and take. This is particularly true if the reader brings the results of our examination of al-Nuwaḥī's conceptions of the functions of literature to bear on this discussion, for the two subjects are but two facets of the same question.

Literature, Freedom and Commitment

If literature is to fulfil its vital role at both individual and social levels its form and content must emanate spontaneously from the literary artist's free choice. The concept of freedom as it affects literature assumes, in this way, an important place in al-Nuwaḥī's critical thinking. As a matter of fact the concept is interwoven in the whole fabric of his intellectual life as shown in chapter two. How, then, does al-Nuwaḥī conceive freedom for a literary artist?

To begin with, al-Nuwaḥī's pronouncements on this subject

1. Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās, p.169.

2. Ibid., pp.164-165.

concern both literary form and content and they are all to do with contemporary Arabic literature. This is understandably so for the subject was never an issue in ancient Arabic literature. With regard to form, al-Nuwaĥhī confers absolute freedom upon the literary artist to convey his work in any form he chooses and deems fit. But this is not to deny a critic the freedom to express a judgmental view on its suitability or otherwise. This view is expressed by al-Nuwaĥhī in an article published in 1967 in which he discourages Arab writers from experimenting in the absurd (lāma'qūl) in fiction and drama. The discouragement (but not prohibition) is based on the belief that both literary genres in modern Arabic literature have not come of age in terms of the "traditional" form, far from being ready to resort to such complex experimentation. Instead of literal copying of the absurd from Western writers whose literary and social development may warrant resorting to such a form, the Arab writers should concentrate on "traditional" forms of fiction and drama until such time as they exhaust all the potential of "traditional" forms.⁽¹⁾ So although al-Nuwaĥhī acknowledges the literary artist's freedom to choose the form of his art, he is also of the view that a critic is equally free to direct literary production to the most suitable form at a particular stage of development in modern Arabic literature. Such a critical stance, to digress a little, is seen by some as an attempt to suffocate

1. "Al-Qawmiyya qabl al-'Ālamiyya", al-Majalla, (November, 1967), pp.14-17.

creativeness in literary artists,⁽¹⁾ yet one wonders whether it is not the right stance considering the developmental stage of modern Arabic literature. In any case, al-Nuwaḥhī's critical stance regarding the absurd is more liberal than that taken by a number of other Egyptian critics.⁽²⁾

Five years later al-Nuwaḥhī found himself reasserting the absolute freedom of a literary artist to choose his form. This case concerns poetry and arose when the Egyptian critic M.A. al-ʿĀlim wrote a certain kind of poetry whose form is neither traditional nor what is known as new poetry. Rather it is based on something like an 'undulating' rhythm, as it was labelled by al-Nuwaḥhī whom al-ʿĀlim consulted about its suitability for publication.⁽³⁾ In accordance with the advice of al-Nuwaḥhī, who expressed some disagreement with al-ʿĀlim's experiment, two poems were published in al-Ādāb to test the public reaction, which was unfavourable. This prompted a correspondence between al-Nuwaḥhī and a certain poet, Franswā Bāsīlī, who although he had respect for al-Nuwaḥhī as a scholar and an eminent critic,

-
1. See Faraj, Nabīl, "al-Duktur Muhammad al-Nuwaḥhī", in Mawāqif Thaqaḥfiyya, p.317 ff.
 2. Al-Shārūnī, Yūsuf, "al-Lāma'qūl fī Adabinā al-Yawm", al-Majalla, (January, 1965), pp.66-67. The article surveys Egyptian critical views regarding literature of the absurd.
 3. Al-ʿĀlim, M.A., "Tajriba Shi'riyya Jadīda," al-Ādāb, (June, 1972), pp.20-23.

had accused him of giving insincere advice and described al-'Ālim's experiment as a disaster. The important thing in the correspondence for our discussion lies in one rejoinder by al-Nuwaĥhī entitled "The Right of Experience (Poetical) is Absolute".⁽¹⁾ In it he stressed his views on the freedom of literary experiment and called for allowing time to sift the good from the bad.

In respect of the literary artist's freedom with regard to content, al-Nuwaĥhī's view is similarly affirmative and total. Perhaps nowhere else his view on the question is as adequately represented as in his two articles in which he defends the mainly Lebanese poets known as "poets of dissent". The group includes Adūnīs, Yūsuf al-Khāl, Jabra I. Jabra and Yūsuf al-Ṣāyigh whom A. Kamāl Zakī, representing a typical reaction against them, described as "a destructive group that persistently strike at us".⁽²⁾ As al-Nuwaĥhī's two articles throw light on his view on the subject it is in order to outline the salient points contained therein.

In the first article entitled "Revolution in Form and Content in the New Poetry" (al-Shi'r, August 1964),⁽³⁾ al-Nuwaĥhī sees the scepticism or even dissension expressed in the works of these poets as a result of the cumulative effects upon the Arab world of intellectual stagnation, social backwardness, moral

1. Al-Ādāb, (September, 1972), pp.79-80 and (November, 1972) pp.76-77.

2. See "Ma' Shu'arā, al-Rafd", al-Risāla (4th June, 1964), p.8.

3. The article is later included in the 2nd edn. of Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, pp.453-483.

hypocrisy and distortion of religion from its true spirit and ideals. Their scepticism and dissension, therefore, is essentially an expression of their distress and anger against shortcomings in the Arab nation and its citizenry. Not unusually experienced by ordinary persons, this psychological experience is less surprising when it comes from poets who are acutely sensitive. By their candid expression the poets perform a vital role in purging the Arabs of their weaknesses, for arts, as is well known, have their effects in that direction. In addition, real poets at any given time never agree with their society in all its views, rather they always nurse a certain degree of rebelliousness. Hence if a poet is found to be always singing in unison with his society, it means he is not original and he cannot therefore offer anything of lasting value to his nation or society. As poetry has a unique value in sharpening national reawakening, a nation realising the fact is desirous to protect its poets' freedom of expression and put up with any disagreement that might ensue as a result of poets keeping to their nature. For all these reasons, al-Nuwaḥī argues, the candid expression by poets of dissent should not be seen as a crime deserving prosecution, but should rather be accepted with magnanimity, understanding and sympathy. Admittedly, giving such freedom of expression is never without some dangers (presumably in sabotaging national cohesion and pride), but such a danger cannot be averted by suppressing freedom of expression but only by preserving it, as enshrined in the Egyptian covenant (al-Mīthāq).⁽¹⁾

1. In the article al-Nuwaḥī supports a number of his arguments by citing from this document written by 1952 Egyptian Army revolutionaries.

In the second article entitled "A Defence of Poets of Dissent", first published in al-Risāla (September, 1964) and later included in the second edition of Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd (pp.497-505), al-Nuwalhī's plea for these poets is based in the main on the proposition that their dissension, however hurtful it may be, is not harmful to Arabism but beneficial to it if only it is properly understood. There are two types of nationalism, al-Nuwalhī says, one glorifies and the other reproaches. Although the former is important in kindling nationalistic feelings the other is of no less consequence. Indeed, it is essential as it draws attention to weaknesses reposing in a nation, thus making a forward step towards tackling them. If the Arabs are afraid to accommodate this type of nationalism then they are not mature, for mature nations accept self-criticism with magnanimity. Thus when English critics label an artist or his work as nationalistic, they have both types of nationalism in mind. In this way the British pride themselves in having Shelley, Byron, Oscar Wilde, H.G. Wells and Bernard Shaw as their literary artists even though they were some of the most harsh in their social criticism.

In their dissension in respect of Arabism and the Arab heritage in the spheres of religion, morality, literature and thought, these poets are no doubt extreme and unjustifiable, al-Nuwalhī concedes. Nonetheless, their depiction of Arab shortcomings in these spheres is not altogether wrong. As poets it is within the province of their art to strongly draw attention to shortcomings (and shortcomings there are in all the spheres they mention), so that the Arabs strive to purge themselves of

their shortcomings. Thus the Arabs can benefit from these poets by way of embarking upon sincere analysis of the reasons behind the poet's dissension. When this is done, then Arabism can be truly mature and its land becomes worthy of Arabs' true pride, al-Nuwaĥī concludes.

But literary freedom in al-Nuwaĥī's thinking is not synonymous with anarchy or irresponsibility, for a true artist is responsible to his art and society of which he is a member. The question arises, how is a literary artist responsible to his art and society? The answer of this question partly relates to freedom and its responsibility in respect of literary craftsmanship, and partly to the literary artist's commitment to his society. Talking about the first part of the question, al-Nuwaĥī asserts that when the writer of new poetry shakes off the bondage of the traditional form, which is superimposed as far as modern contents are concerned, he replaces the vacuum with a substitute imposing self-discipline as exemplified in internal rhythm and organic unity, both of which are probably more exacting and testing of the power of a poet. In this way, the new poets prove their capabilities in overcoming bondage and reaching out to freedom.⁽¹⁾ Clearly, al-Nuwaĥī conceives literary freedom as contrary to anarchy, for though that freedom by definition entails the absolute right of choice by the literary artist in executing his craftsmanship, that choice is never devoid of the discipline and responsibility emanating from true artistic

1. Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, p.362.

sensitiveness and original vision of nature and man's problems.⁽¹⁾ Thus in his freedom of choice in terms of technique and craftsmanship a literary artist is governed by a sense of responsibility to his art in accordance with his sincere feelings and true vision of nature both physical and human.

When we come to the second part of the question raised, literature and commitment, we enter an area that has absorbed great efforts from many a critic since the fifties throughout the Arab lands and particularly in Egypt, the most outstanding centre of cultural activities in these lands. As already shown in chapter one, Salāma Mūsā is considered by some writers to be in the forefront of those advocating the literary artist's commitment to the social and political struggle of his compatriots. In this he is no doubt influenced among other things, by socialist realism,⁽²⁾ a doctrine in which a writer is asked to depict contemporary society with an insight into its structure and to use his art in spreading communism.⁽³⁾ Although the idea was not accorded a sound theoretical basis by Salāma Mūsā he seems to have paved the way for M.A. al-'Ālim and 'Abd al-'Azīm Anīs who developed their ideas under the influence of their battle of words with Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and al-'Aqqād. The genesis of this battle goes back to an article written in al-Jumhūriyya by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (5/2/1954), under the title "Form of Literature and its Content".

1. Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, p.354.

2. Al-Rabī'ī, M., op. cit., p.62.

3. René, Wellek, Concepts of Criticism, p.346.

In it Ṭāhā Ḥusayn conceived the literary form in terms of words and literary content as meanings of those word. Both al-‘Ālim and Anīs seized the opportunity to counter this view and afterwards present their views on literature and commitment. In a summary to the results of the battle, they succinctly described their stance by saying that literature is a combination of form and content both of which are dynamic processes pervasively interacting upon one another so as to bring themselves out. In respect of commitment they see literary content as reflecting social attitudes and events and thus believe that a true literary artist must reflect them in his works.⁽¹⁾ In his reaction to their last assertion Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, though in principle accepting that literature conveys a social content, in effect interpreted their views as being nothing more than an attempt to restrict literary content to depicting misery, hunger and the need of the majority of people for a comfortable life.⁽²⁾ In other words, he charged them with imposing their doctrinaire socialism upon literary artists, a position he found himself unable to accept. In a recent work on Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, al-‘Ālim and Anīs' attempts are shown to have been lacking in sound theoretical basis, while their strength lies mainly in emotion and good intentions. Similarly, the weaknesses of their attempts in respect of their practical studies of specific works which they dismissed or accepted on what seems to be a purely ideological basis have

1. Al-‘Ālim and Anīs, Fī'l-Thaqāfa al-Misriyya, p.70.

2. Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā, Khiṣām wa-Naqd, Complete Works, vol.XI, p. 565.

been demonstrated.⁽¹⁾

M. Mandūr also contributed at about this period towards the efforts initiated by al-‘Ālim and Anīs before him. But Mandūr's views developed away from the polemical approach. It is not surprising, therefore, that he opposed the extreme view of the socialist realists who seemed to see in literature a tool for ideology, saying that it is imperative to respect any spiritual activity and that the sense of beauty in an individual is in need of nourishment, and that it is unreasonable to imprison literature within the area of ideological struggle forsaking all its other functions.⁽²⁾ This spirit is further revealed in Mandūr's article entitled "Ideological Approach in Criticism" in which he asserted his understanding of it by saying all that the approach hopes is for a literary artist, or artist in general to respond to the needs of his time and values of his society spontaneously, and this he would do if he truly understood his leading position in society. Realizing that social content is not enough, as indeed al-‘Ālim and Anīs did, he emphasized the importance of aesthetic values without which literature and art would lose their distinctiveness and influence.⁽³⁾

Against this short background we may proceed to examine

-
1. ‘Aṣfūr, Jābir, al-Marāyā al-Mutajāwira, pp.110-113, see also al-Rabī‘ī, M., op. cit., pp.76-80.
 2. Mandūr, M., Fi'l-Adab wa'l-Naqd, p.141.
 3. Al-Majalla, (January, 1963), p.15. The article is later included in al-Naqd wa'l-Nuqūd al-Mu‘āsirūn, pp.213-222.

al-Nuwaīhī's views on literature and commitment. In a work he wrote in 1958 as his contribution to the debate, al-Nuwaīhī described the question as the Arabs' major intellectual problem.⁽¹⁾ A year previously, his Poetical Trends in Sudanese Poetry included a chapter which was a contribution to the debate on both the practical and the abstract levels; later he revised part of the material in this chapter and included it in the 2nd edition of Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd under the title of "Social Reawakening". In addition he published some lengthy articles in al-Ādāb in 1971 in which he entered into correspondence with Marxist critics notably the Lebanese M. 'Ītānī.

It must be said from the outset that al-Nuwaīhī, as is characteristic of his liberal outlook, welcomed the penetration into the Arab world of socialist realism along with other socialistic ideas and maintained that by virtue of its newness it was likely to invigorate intellectual activities. At the same time he condemned certain extreme individualistic tendencies on the part of a number of Arab writers who, as a result of some Western influences, condoned a complete withdrawal from society into ivory towers.⁽²⁾ Claiming that literature had its pure aesthetic values, these writers, the identities of whom he did not mention, exempted the artist from any social responsibilities.⁽³⁾

1. Al-Fann wa-Masūliyyat al-Fannān, p.1.

2. Ibid, p.1 ff.

3. Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, p.177 and Wazīfat al-Adab, passim.

But as much as al-Nuwaīhī welcomed socialist realism he expressed some apprehensions about the possible dangers which might emanate from its misuse or misunderstanding, as happened during the era of Stalin in Russia. These possible dangers, as he sees them, are threefold:

1. The likelihood of a literary artist neglecting his specific society with its people and their problems in the quest to depict broad universal human objectives, thus falling into superficiality and vagueness. This is so because all the problems to be faced by a literary artist, al-Nuwaīhī says, must come from his particular society and must continue to be firmly tied to it, without this, however, preventing it from taking on universal significance.

2. The mania for pursuing social goals to the extent of annihilating personal distinctiveness - a basic distinguishing feature of any mature literary work - thus turning literature into repetitive carbon copies. For just as extreme individualistic tendencies in a literary artist are to be rejected so is also excessive socialistic tendencies which kill off personal initiative.

3. The likelihood of the mania mentioned turning a literary artist into a political propagandist at the expense of pursuing literary methods which enable his work to be accepted in the domain of literature.

According to al-Nuwaīhī, a considerable amount of literary

production published at the time (1958) was falling into the three dangers just mentioned. To support this contention, he quotes a long passage from an article by Ṣalāh 'Abd al-Ṣabūr, sarcastically entitled "al-Adab al-Hātif" (Loud-mouthed Literature).⁽¹⁾ Being a practical critic, mere theoretical pronouncements may well not have made a deep impression on al-Nuwaḥī if they were not matched with action. This is exemplified in the joint critical work of al-'Ālim and Anīswhere, despite pronouncements on the necessity of applying literary criteria in judging a work, a good number of good literary works were rejected and loud-mouthed works were accepted. This discrepancy between pronouncement and action may well have given credence to the suspicion expressed in a personal letter of support sent from Sudan by al-Nuwaḥī (dated 9th September, 1954) to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn. He saw the motto "Literature for life" - a reference to his mentor's adversaries in the battle on commitment - as truth used for deception. According to him, the advocates of this motto knew but only one pattern of life (presumably doctrinaire socialism) in the realisation of which they allowed themselves to subjugate literature and art.

Indeed it is precisely this subjugation that al-Nuwaḥī

1. Al-Ittijāhāt al-Shi'riyya fī'l-Sūdān, p.116 ff, see also Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.94-96. Writing at the time, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Quṭṭ (Fī'l-Adab al-Miṣrī al-Mu'āsir (pp.118-120)) though welcoming the emergence of socialist realism in Egyptian literature, could not help noting down many deficiencies in the literary production written under its influence. These deficiencies, as he sees them, relate to shallow handling of subject-matter and poor literary presentation.

quarrels about, but he is not against committed literature in the form of socialist realism per se. As a matter of fact, he wrote a good analysis of a poem written under the influence of such a doctrine.⁽¹⁾ His pronouncements on the subject, therefore, aim at insuring the liberty of the literary artist to write of his own volition along ideological lines. Furthermore, he sees artistic considerations as the only criteria against which literary works are really tested. If they do not possess artistic merits the works cannot be accepted, in al-Nuwaḥī's words, "in the domain of literature no matter how much they raise the banner of patriotism, shout nationalistic slogans or repeat cliches of revolution, liberation, progress...toiling masses and struggle of nations".⁽²⁾ Further still, although al-Nuwaḥī sees it ^{as} the responsibility of a literary artist to associate himself in his work with the struggle and aspirations of his people, he does not, consistently with his principle of maintaining variety in literature, accept the idea of restricting poetry, and so also literature in general, to tackling such themes, notwithstanding the artistic sincerity from which they emanate. Rather he also expects a literary artist to tackle such problems which concern contemporary Arabs as individuals in the face of old, universal questions of existence (e.g. free will and predestination, death and the after life) as well as penetrating into the deep phenomena of the human soul (e.g. faith, scepticism, love,

1. Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, pp.171-187.

2. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.96.

egotism and sacrifice).⁽¹⁾

This then is al-Nuwaḥī's critical stance on literature and commitment, a stance seen by some writers as one of the basic values underlying his critical contribution.⁽²⁾ There still however remain al-Nuwaḥī's views on literature and morals, a question that is complementary to the one just examined. To this question we now turn in the next section.

Literature and Morals

The idea of literature and commitment in the sense used by advocates of socialist realism in the Arab world and the relation between literature and morals go together in al-Nuwaḥī's thinking, at least in his al-Fann wa Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, which represents his comprehensive views on the question. We have already seen how al-Nuwaḥī demands of a literary artist that he should identify himself with his peoples' struggle and aspirations without this encroaching upon his freedom and turning him into a mere mouthpiece of the social or political order. Similarly a literary artist, according to him, is responsible for any moral consequences that his work may have on society. His freedom as an artist, though vital, is not completely exempt

1. "Al-Dīn wa'l-Mārkisiyya wa'l-Naqd", al-Ādāb, (August, 1971), p.62.

2. Rāghib, Nabīl, "al-Iltizām wa'l-Tajdīd fī'l-Fann al-Mu'āṣir", al-Risāla, (April, 1980), p.70.

from responsibilities, particularly considering the functions literature performs at both social and individual levels. Based on this understanding of the artist's moral responsibilities, al-Nuwaĥī rejects the view exemplified in the extreme application of 'art for art's sake' which sees the aesthetic nature of art as exempting the literary artist from moral responsibilities.⁽¹⁾ However, stressing this moral responsibility, al-Nuwaĥī cautions, should not be construed as a licence to resort to moral condemnation or censorship whenever the literary artist's views are found to be at variance with the prevailing traditions and values of society.⁽²⁾ This is because the nature of moral judgement is somewhat elusive, since even those moral concepts such as justice and compassion, on which there seems to be a consensus opinion, are compounded with difficulties when it comes to application.⁽³⁾

Because of the elusiveness of moral judgement, an artist may offer a great service by taking an opposing or critical stance about some prevailing norms in society. Though fallible, his opposing stance is often vindicated, which means that it is the norms he is criticising that needs to be re-examined so as to bring them into harmony with the changing needs of society.⁽⁴⁾ Underlying this statement is a demand that the literary artist

-
1. Al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, pp.69-70.
 2. Ibid., p.85.
 3. "Wa'l-Ān ilā al-Thawra al-Fikriyya", al-Ādāb, (March, 1970), p.6.
 4. Al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, pp.72-73.

should be accorded the necessary understanding and sympathy so that he can play his moral role. This role, as conceived by al-Nuwaḥī, is the contribution a literary artist makes in the process of re-examination of moral norms which are no longer in harmony with society's changing needs. It will be recalled that in Chapter Two we have outlined al-Nuwaḥī's dynamic view of morals and his view on the role of the Arab intelligentsia in initiating the process of effecting desired changes in the sphere of morality. A literary artist is no doubt a distinguished member of his society. According to al-Nuwaḥī, literature can effect desired changes in moral norms through enabling people to acquire flexibility of mind by interacting with other minds that hold contrary views to their own.⁽¹⁾

It will be superfluous to restate here al-Nuwaḥī's views on the literary artist's deep perception and understanding of human experience and his unique ability to express them in a literary work, or al-Nuwaḥī's views on the function of literature in widening one's imagination and sympathy for fellow human beings. However, these views are relevant to our discussion here, for the role of moral regeneration al-Nuwaḥī assigns to a literary artist is clearly based on those assumptions. This moral role which a literary artist may play is general. But in

1. Al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, pp.29-33; see also I.A. Richards, Principles of Literary Criticism, pp.44-57 whose view on the question al-Nuwaḥī summarised approvingly.

precise terms al-Nuwaġhī wishes a literary artist to carry out in his work a faithful and frank depiction of deplorable moral conditions which society covers up in a "conspiracy of silence".⁽¹⁾ Although society is inclined to cover up moral degeneration in its midst, he says, the history of literature shows that it benefits much more from it being uncovered in spite of initial unfavourable reaction to this. He is against the view that the literary artist's depiction of moral degeneration in society is only a means of further diffusing it. If anything this depiction, according to him is a step forward that is likely to bring about correction.⁽²⁾ To buttress his argument al-Nuwaġhī cites some specific works of literature which he claims to have performed the function just mentioned. The works include Henrik Ibsen's Ghosts and Bernard Shaw's Mrs. Warren's Profession.⁽³⁾ It is on this basis that al-Nuwaġhī seems to show some admiration for the moral courage of Bashshār and Abū Nuwās in challenging moral hypocrisy in their societies,⁽⁴⁾ and this also forms part of his plea for the "poets of dissent".

That a faithful and frank depiction by a literary artist of moral degeneration in society is likely to give rise to correcting

-
1. Al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, p.81.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid., p.82. On Ghosts see Beyer, Edward, Ibsen: The Man and His Work, pp.122-131, and on Mrs. Warren's Profession see Henderson, Archibald, George Bernard Shaw, His Life and Works, pp.300-304.
 4. Shakhsiyyat Bashshār, p.134; see also Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās, pp.164-167.

it, is a fairly reasonable moral role which such a work of literature may perform. Before al-Nuwaiḥī, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn had expressed a similar view.⁽¹⁾ However, it is worth pointing out that al-Nuwaiḥī's formulation of the view within this context stands in contrast to his sometimes over-optimistic assertion that literature is one of the main channels through which people have been able to change their moral values,⁽²⁾ without concretely describing how. But given al-Nuwaiḥī's view in Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās which sees the milieu in which artists often live as bohemian - where the traditions and moral values of society are challenged often for the sole purpose of challenge⁽³⁾ - how can such people be credited with the role of changing moral values for the better?

In al-Nuwaiḥī's thinking there does not seem to be a contradiction in this. As a human being, a literary artist may fall into moral lapses but he cannot be entirely immoral which means that he is in possession of something moral to give to others. If this proposition holds true in the case of ordinary persons how much more will it in the case of a literary artist

-
1. Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfa fī Miṣr, p.381.
 2. Al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, p.79; this assertion is similar to his view that one gets solutions to one's problems from literature, as noted above.
 3. P.73.

with his unique qualities.⁽¹⁾ Further, regardless of some moral lapses in his practical life, a literary artist is capable of raising his compatriots above moral degeneration for he is ever in quest of perfection.⁽²⁾ Thus far al-Nuwaḥī's views on the relation between literature and morals. But as to whether morality is to be taken into account or not when evaluating a specific work of literature, and if so how is that precisely to be done - al-Nuwaḥī's views on these questions and others related to them will be treated in a later chapter dealing with his views on evaluation of literature.

In summing up, al-Nuwaḥī views the relation between literature and society as being one of interaction and cross-influence in which society, through its complex forces and agents, influences the literary artist's personality and hence his work, and places at his disposal material he creatively exploits by using his individual genius, thus bringing something new in the form of a literary work which in turn influences society. In creating his work, a literary artist must have absolute freedom to choose his form and content without external imposition. This freedom is, however, tied to discipline associated with creativeness as well as to commitment to society's needs and aspirations. In terms of morality, he is to play, as indeed a true literary artist does, a role in the process of re-examining

1. Shakhsiyyat Bashshār, pp.203-205 and p.20 ff.

2. Faraj, Nabīl, op. cit., p.323 ff; see also Wazīfat al-Adab, p.131.

moral values with a view to harmonising them with the changing needs of society. He is also to embark upon a faithful and frank depiction of moral degeneration thus initiating a forward step towards effecting a solution. To play this difficult role he is entitled to expect that society will guarantee his freedom of expression and accord him sympathy and understanding.

CHAPTER FIVE

CRITICISM AND ITS EQUIPMENT

This chapter proposes to tackle al-Nuwayhī's concept of criticism and the function it is expected to perform, as well as his assessment of ancient Arabic criticism and rhetoric in so far as they are worthy to be made use of for sharpening one's critical faculty. Also it will deal with his criticism of official literary education and his efforts to re-orient criticism and literary study by describing the necessary tools with which to prosecute these endeavours fruitfully. Finally it will treat his ideas on the wider context of literature and conclude with an outline of some aspects of his critical methods with regard to arousing interest in literature.

The Concept of Criticism

Unlike literature, criticism does not seem to have received from al-Nuwayhī a clear attempt at definition. This does not, however, mean that he offers no conception of any kind of criticism and the function he expects it to perform. As a matter of fact, through his general discussion of criticism and his treatment of some specific critical issues one is able to discern his position on the above question. With this aim in mind let us, then, examine some citations from two of his works.

- 1) "our study of those literatures [Western] made us understand what literature is.... For rhetoricians [Arab] and ancient critics ...did not understand what literature is, its nature, aim, its origin in the human psyche, its function...the nature of artistic experience and its relation to actual experience...." (1)

- 2) "First is for a critic to approach the text and immerse himself in it to the utmost degree, and second is to come out of it while keeping a distance in a way that enables him to see it objectively: uncovering its elements, analysing its constituents and explaining its effects consciously, and evaluating it approximately so as to put it in its relative place amongst other literary production\$....A complete criticism includes the reader in both stages; if confined to the first, it will be an emotional and impressionistic discourse which may or may not succeed in rousing the reader, and if, on the other hand, confined to the second, it will be liable to the danger of frigidity, dullness and failure to put across the feelings that an artist wishes to communicate."(2)

- 3) "Undoubtedly, it is inadequate to confine criticism to [elucidating] the effect of literature on its receiver, for it is imperative to pay attention to its relation with the writer...; it is imperative to attempt explaining how it emanates from the writer in its very image, tracing back the elements of the image and its formation to its causes in the poet's individual make-up, and his various circumstances, physical and social."(3)

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, p.21.

2. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.111.

3. Ibid., p.112.

Our first citation points to those general concepts such as the definition of literature, its nature, its function, the characteristics of a literary artist, etc., which may be seen as relating to ^a general theory of literature. Clearly, al-NuwaYhī considers these questions as within the province of criticism and ones on which a critic must take a definite position if his criticism is to be on a firm 'philosophical' basis. On these questions and others related to them, we have seen al-NuwaYhī's ideas as outlined in chapters three and four. The ideas contained in these chapters are therefore to some degree broad bases upon which he builds his conception of criticism.

The second and third citations above, however, point to an attempt to present specifications of his conception of criticism, especially as this comes from a practical critic who is mainly interested in critical questions that have direct relevance to his day-to-day intercourse with specific works rather than in theoretical questions intrinsically. If taken jointly, these complementary citations reveal in the first place how al-NuwaYhī conceives complete criticism as consisting of two elements which are analysis (this pre-supposes interpretation) and evaluation of a given work of literature. The reader, whom criticism should serve, is to be kept in the process at a focal point by the critic, which means that he should be guided on how to receive the work as the critic himself did. It should, however, be added that a literary artist himself is bound to benefit from this kind of criticism if carried out by a critic who is truly qualified. By being shown where he excels or falters, a literary artist is in a

position to see his achievement objectively and thereby uncomplacently aspire to greater literary heights. In this way, criticism serves the literary artist as well. Although analysis implies evaluation (as no critic would bother to analyse a work without forming some opinion about its value) yet al-Nuwaḥī sees evaluation as a critical aim in its own right.⁽¹⁾

Secondly, analysis of a work of literature is seen by al-Nuwaḥī in terms of the critic's efforts to relate the work to the literary artist's personality and the various circumstances that surround him and contribute towards the realisation of the work. This process presupposes making use of extra literary knowledge that is likely to assist the critic in seeing the work in its proper perspective. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, the process involves handling complex literary devices upon which the literary artist relies in conveying his feelings and thoughts. Thirdly, the process of evaluation which can be hardly disentangled from analysis, as already indicated, involves appealing to values, both literary and human. Fourthly, immersion in a literary work and distancing oneself from it to guarantee objectivity entails the necessity of two types of education on the part of a critic, if he is to function effectively, the literary and the scientific. Finally, by demanding that the critic bring the reader into focus during the processes of analysis and evaluation, al-Nuwaḥī implicitly defines the kind of criticism he sees as the most beneficial, and also the methods

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.117.

or procedures with which to carry out such a criticism.

These five points, deduced from the above citations, may be considered roughly the scaffolding which supports al-Nuwaḥī's detailed conception of criticism. In this chapter and the next we shall see what the details or specifications are. Beginning from the last point, let us, then, explore the most beneficial criticism he conceives of.

Creative and Non-Creative Criticism

In the course of discussing the criteria on which a particular text would be included in or excluded from the domain of literature and which we noted above, al-Nuwaḥī attempts to apply these criteria to literary criticism so as to identify its place.⁽¹⁾ In this respect he seems to see criticism in two categories, one creative (khāliq) (or shall we say re-creative) and the other non-creative. In the first category the critic's aim is to convey to the reader his response to various types of literary pieces in a form similar to that of literature itself, i.e., its capability to evoke a similar response in the reader. In this case a literary piece, as al-Nuwaḥī himself points out, acts as an experience that evokes emotional feelings in the critic and demands expression, much in the same way as would happen to a literary artist. This category of criticism is considered by al-Nuwaḥī as within the domain of literature.

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.38-39.

However, one discerns two major distinctions between a literary work and criticism that helps to recreate the work in the reader's mind. One is the fact that the former owes its existence to direct intercourse with life through human feelings and actions, from which the work draws its material and gets its meaning. In the case of the latter, it owes its existence principally to the work; thus it is not competing with the work but complementary to it. The other distinction lies in the fact that a literary work may sustain its quality of "literariness" throughout, notwithstanding some fluctuation from one part of the work to another. But it is difficult to see how creative criticism would sustain this quality, bearing in mind that al-Nuwaḥī seems to reject mere impressionistic criticism, which may be regarded as likely to sustain this quality. It is perhaps in realisation of this fact that al-Nuwaḥī goes further to explain that a critical work may be partly creative and therefore literary, and partly non-creative and hence non-literary. Its literary part concerns those aims of a creative critic mentioned above while the non-literary part relates to those questions that have to do with the elucidation of the work's context, e.g., social and biographical information about the literary artist.⁽¹⁾

The other category of criticism which is outside the domain of literature involves dealing with such subjects as the development of literary genres or some useful information about

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.39.

literary artists. In other words, literary history and making use of approaches, such as the sociological, psychological, etc., in the study of literature are outside literature. Undeniably, such subjects often increase our understanding and appreciation of the literary works and they may even be indispensable to the researcher in literature, al-Nuwayhī concedes, yet they are not within the domain of literature in so far as they do not treat literary facts from the standpoint of inducing a literary effect in the reader's mind.⁽¹⁾

Of the two categories of criticism mentioned, al-Nuwayhī considers the first to be more beneficial and lasting in terms of literary and human values. Indeed he sees this kind of criticism as the most suitable to the circumstances of Arabic literature in which a countless number of texts await analysis and evaluation. However, this is a question to which we shall return later in this chapter. It is therefore understandable that he appears to admire most this kind of criticism in Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's critical heritage⁽²⁾ and this also explains his admiration for Sayyid Quṭb⁽³⁾ in spite of his low opinion of his literary education. Conversely, he laments the relatively insignificant proportion of such criticism in M. Mandūr's

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.39.

2. See al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, p.11 ff.

3. See Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabiī, pp.62 and 293 (footnote)

critical output.⁽¹⁾ It will be recalled that as early as his undergraduate years at the Egyptian University, al-Nuwaḥī became attracted to creative criticism to which he later contributed significantly. In all his book-length studies, with the exception of one or two, creative criticism forms an unmistakable feature, though in varying degree of details and quality. This is in addition to a number of articles on ancient and modern poetry. Undoubtedly, his two-volume work on pre-Islamic poetry shows al-Nuwaḥī at his best as far as this kind of criticism is concerned.

Up to this point, we have been exploring al-Nuwaḥī's categorization of criticism into creative and non-creative and his preferential view of the former to the latter. As to the methods or procedures through which al-Nuwaḥī prosecutes his function as a critic, this again we propose to tackle later in the chapter. But for now, it seems in order to raise some pertinent questions. If complete criticism, as conceived by al-Nuwaḥī, is a combination of two processes of analysis and evaluation of a given work of literature, in which the critic deliberately shares his experience with the reader, how does an Arab critic acquire the necessary equipment with which to carry out this function? Is there any guidance he could derive from

1. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.394-95; this kind of criticism in Mandūr's writing is exemplified in his "al-Shi'r al-Mahmūs" (Fī'l Mīzān al-Jadīd, pp.58-69), though al-Nuwaḥī differs with Mandūr in the degree of excellence the latter attributes to this poetry.

ancient Arabic criticism? If there is none, where does he find it and how? An attempt to answer these questions will lead us to examine al-Nuwaḥī's assessment of ancient Arab criticism as a source of guidance to contemporary Arab critics. Further, it will lead us to see his views on official literary education in Egypt from which most educated people gain their views and assumptions about literature. Further still, the attempt will lead us to see how precisely al-Nuwaḥī conceives the necessary tools with which an Arab critic should equip himself. We shall treat below the above questions in the order in which they were presented.

Al-Nuwaḥī's Assessment of Ancient Arabic Criticism and Rhetoric

In discussing al-Nuwaḥī's assessment of this subject it seems appropriate to approach it from a developmental point of view. Considering the fact that al-Nuwaḥī's main interest in Arabic literature lies in ancient poetry, particularly pre-Islamic poetry, the first kind of criticism with which he seems to be constantly in touch is the philological type which was embarked upon by ancient Arab philologists. Their criticism, which forms one of the rudimentary beginnings of ancient Arabic criticism, is overshadowed by linguistic considerations and logical argumentation at the expense of appealing to real literary values.⁽¹⁾ It is to be expected, therefore, that we find

1. See 'Abbās, Ihsān, Tārīkh al-Naqd al-Adabī 'Ind al-Arab, pp.46-56 where he presents a useful summary of this kind of criticism.

al-Nuwaḥī's work on pre-Islamic poetry strewn with criticism of these philologists. Although sometimes they used to go beyond mere linguistic commentary, al-Nuwaḥī says, ~~yet~~ their attention is mostly commanded by purely logical argument over correctness or otherwise of linguistic meanings. According to him, their failure in most cases to open up themselves to the literary values reposing in the Arab poetic heritage, which they commendably compiled, preserved and linguistically commented upon, plunged them into mistakes in their very field of interest.⁽¹⁾ Because of this, they often allowed themselves to tamper with texts so as to make them conform with their professional expectations, though this same criticism applies to prosodists and grammarians as well.⁽²⁾ However, in his disagreement with some commentaries offered by philologists, some of whom were nearer than him by ten centuries to the ancient poets, al-Nuwaḥī justifies himself on two grounds. The first is that the life of these commentators during the 'Abbasid period was in most respects different from that of pre-Islamic poets, thus making the relatively short time gap separating them from these poets, and the long time gap that removes him from them almost the same. Secondly, modern researchers in pre-Islamic poetry have at their disposal many research tools, historical and critical, which may compensate for the long time gap that separates them from pre-

-
1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, I, p.139. For some examples in which al-Nuwaḥī disagrees with these philologists see ibid., passim, e.g., pp.218 ff, 139-142; and Vol.II, p.614 ff.
 2. Ibid., II, pp.796-798.

Islamic poets.⁽¹⁾

Al-Nuwaḥī's criticism of ancient philologists is not, however, entirely negative, for he registers a number of instances in which they paid attention to literary values in their commentaries.⁽²⁾ In this regard he seems to admire them more for the attention they gave to the onomatopoetic lexicon in Arabic (though the subject seems more relevant to critics and rhetoricians), a literary device which is admirably exploited by ancient poets. In his efforts to crystallise this device in pre-Islamic poetry, al-Nuwaḥī made use, as a starting point, of philologists' findings.⁽³⁾

When we move further away from the stage of philological criticism to what a number of writers consider as maturer stages of ancient Arabic criticism, again we find al-Nuwaḥī's assessment of this criticism to be mainly negative. His criticism ranges from charging most ancient critics with over-intellectualisation, and confining their attention to one verse at a time when considering a poem, to making sweeping judgmental statements, paying only superficial attention to the relation between form and content, and eagerness to track down what they consider to be poetical plagiarism. In short, ancient Arabic criticism in the main fails to give a real response to sympathy

1. Al-Shi'ar al-Jāhiliī, I, p.215 ff.

2. Ibid., passim, e.g., p.218 ff; and vol.II, p.610.

3. Ibid., pp.69-79.

with or evaluation of literary pieces under study, and hence fails to sharpen the reader's literary faculty and enrich his capacity to respond to his experiences in life. Even when ancient critics showed some true literary response to the work they were studying, they were impressionistic, asserting their literary judgements without explanation or analysis,⁽¹⁾ says al-Nuwaḥī.

This almost totally negative picture al-Nuwaḥī draws regarding ancient Arabic criticism is too general. Although good scholarly works on the subject also point out the same shortcomings al-Nuwaḥī refers to, they do not fail to show many positive aspects of this criticism.⁽²⁾ One major reason behind the manner in which many modern Arab scholars belittle the critical accomplishment of ^{the} ancient Arabs lies, as Iḥsān 'Abbās shows, in the fact that their critical heritage is yet to be properly evaluated through a comprehensive historical approach,

-
1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.20; see also "A Reappraisal of the Relation between Form and Content in Classical Arabic Poetry", Atti 3 Cong Studi Arabi e Islamici, Ravello, 1966 (Naples, 1967), pp.527-528.
 2. See 'Abbās, Iḥsān, "Nazra fī'l-Naqd al-Qadīm", Fī'l-Naqd al-Adabī, (Beirut ?), 1981, p.156, first published in al-Ādāb, (January, 1961).

which would take into account various circumstances in which they wrote as well as factors that influenced their writings.⁽¹⁾ But to be fair to al-Nuwaḥī, it must be said that a year after publishing the views which we have just outlined, he seems to show sympathy to some aspects of this criticism as exemplified in the work of al-Qāḍī al-Jurjānī, though he does not radically alter the stance he took a year before.⁽²⁾

Rhetoric (Balāgha), which al-Nuwaḥī in an ambiguous statement⁽³⁾ claims to have given the basis to ancient criticism, also receives a negative estimation at his hands. According to him, the complete failure of literature teachers of the traditional school to sharpen the literary sense in youth is a practical testimony to the inadequacy of rhetoric as a critical tool.⁽⁴⁾ In its final development, rhetoric consists of three

-
1. In a serious attempt to meet this need Iḥsān 'Abbās produced his Tārīkh al-Naḡd al-Adabī 'Ind al-'Arab, (Beirut, 1971).
 2. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.110.
 3. Al-Nuwaḥī's statement: "The ancient criticism is based on the traditional sciences of rhetoric" (al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.14) may refer to the extant ancient critical heritage including the production of vigorous periods of Arab civilization, or ancient criticism of weak periods as revealed in the writings of the 'Ulamā' of the last century. The statement can only be meaningful in the latter sense, for it is a well known fact that rhetoric, which formed the critical tool of the 'Ulamā' before the Arab reawakening, was an offshoot of vigorous ancient criticism which afterwards became impervious to progress.
 4. Ibid., loc. cit.

branches which are: Ma'ānī, Bayān and Badī'. Ma'ānī or semantics is seen by al-Nuwayhī as more of logic and scholastic theology than rhetorical inquiry. Therefore, there is little it can offer in sharpening one's literary taste or directing one's attention to a real beauty in Arabic rhetoric. As for Bayān, he concedes that it revolves on sound figurative devices, such as similes and metaphors, but they were approached formalistically, i.e., they were viewed as rigid forms and unrelated to the poet's thought or emotional content. Even when the rhetoricians picked up the platonic concept of "conformity of speech to the appropriate situation" (Mutābaqat al-kalām li-muqtadā al-hāl) and Aristotle's comments upon it, they took it as only referring to the receiver but not the creative writer himself. Adding a personal note here, al-Nuwayhī recalls how as a student in secondary school he was induced to resort to the mechanical use of figures of speech. Besides, Bayān completely neglects some other literary devices with no figures in them, and these abound, quantitatively and qualitatively in ancient poetry, says al-Nuwayhī. By these literary devices he means onomatopoeia and alliteration.⁽¹⁾ In the case of Badī', this also involves ~~round~~ sound artistic devices if only used properly, al-Nuwayhī says. But the main deficiency in Badī', according to him, lies in its viewing devices such as allusion (tawriya), parallelism (muqābala), paronomasia (jinās), etc., as mere verbal ornament, whereas they have an organic function to perform which is to strike harmony between poetic form and content and thereby help

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, (Chapter II), pp.65-106.

in effectively evoking the reader's emotion.⁽¹⁾

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that al-Nuwaḥhī considers traditional Balāgha as well as ancient Arabic criticism to be a deficient tool unable to sharpen one's literary taste or nourish one's literary potential, and hence neither is able to serve as an effective guide in the study of Arabic literature.⁽²⁾ As a longstanding teacher of literature of no ordinary capabilities, al-Nuwaḥhī had the opportunity of seeing, year after year, the negative impact traditional Balāgha has had on young students of Arabic literature. Many of those that happened to pass through a 'traditional' Arabic education, like the present writer, in which traditional rhetoric plays an important part of the literary education, are likely to have much sympathy with al-Nuwaḥhī's assessment. It is perhaps this fact that chiefly induced Amīn al-Khūlī in the late forties to launch some efforts aimed at modernizing traditional Balāgha as

-
1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, pp.14-17. There are a number of similarities between al-Nuwaḥhī's attitude to ancient Arabic criticism and rhetoric and that of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn. See Cachia, Pierre, op. cit., pp.136, 139 and 157.
 2. But of course not all contemporary Arab critics would agree with al-Nuwaḥhī; A.K. Zakī (al-Naqd al-Adabī al-Hadīth, pp.20 [footnote] and 68-71), for example, shows how traditional rhetoric has a positive side, while Suhayr al-Qalamāwī (al-Naqd al-Adabī, [Introduction]) speaks of the feasibility of ancient criticism nourishing modern Arabic criticism.

revealed in his Fann al-Qawl. But his efforts, like many similar efforts remain largely academic without apparently having any effect on literary education in schools.

Official Literary Education in Schools

In our outline of Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, we have made some passing remarks on al-Nuwaḥī's criticism of official literary education in most Arab countries. Owing to the importance the subject assumes in the scheme of his criticism, as will be clear later, a closer look at it is called for. But before then some general remarks on al-Nuwaḥī as a teacher seem in order. We have already pointed out al-Nuwaḥī's inborn quality as a teacher which Ṭāhā Ḥusayn had spotted. This quality, developed by much reading in Western practical criticism, particularly English, and a long teaching career, made him an exceedingly fine teacher, especially in terms of enlivening his subject matter and winning audience response. This is true of literature and other subjects on which he happened to address an audience. In this respect, there are confidential reports on al-Nuwaḥī confirming this. In one of these reports, a paper he delivered verbally on Islamic law is described as "one of our liveliest, and his presentation received an exuberant response from a highly sophisticated audience". In another, his informal talk on the politics of developing nations is said to have made the subject "come alive in a way that few others are able to do".⁽¹⁾

1. Both reports are contained in the Dean's file, AUC.

Though academic by training and calling, this quality has been with him in all his literary writings in Arabic. These writings are executed with an eye to popularising ancient Arabic poetry and ensuring its continuity by supporting new, meaningful poetical innovations. This is in addition to his efforts at redirecting the literary endeavours of writers and teachers with only an Arabic educational background, so as to open up new vistas to their wishes to serve Arabic literature. He may be considered too outspoken and consequently often unrestrained in his language, yet his good intentions as well as his concrete contribution in the above respects seem well recognised. One may fully agree with I'tidāl 'Uthmān who describes al-Nuwaḥī as a critic and teacher;⁽¹⁾ al-Nuwaḥī himself apparently wishes to be remembered as both.⁽²⁾ Therefore, the terms 'academic critic' or 'academic criticism', often used in deprecatory sense, never apply to him.

Having thus disposed of these remarks, let us look briefly into al-Nuwaḥī's criticism of official literary education, a subject in which he appears to be consolidating, in his own way, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's efforts in this regard in the early part of this century.⁽³⁾ Both writers consider secondary schools as the most suitable initial stage at which literary training ^{can} ~~could~~ be

-
1. "Al-Duktūr al-Nuwaḥī, Nāqidan wa-Mu'alliman", Majallat Fusūl, vol.I, (October, 1980), pp.322-330.
 2. "Munāqashat Khamsat Kuttāb fī'l-Ādāb", al-Ādāb, (October, 1971), p.4.
 3. See Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā, Fī'l-Adab al-Jāhilī, pp.7-18.

implanted. If anything, al-Nuwayhī's consolidation indicates how slow the process of proper literary education is. Apart from passing remarks in a number of his works, al-Nuwayhī deals with the subject somewhat elaborately in his Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī⁽¹⁾ where it occupies a sizeable part of Chapter One.

In this chapter, al-Nuwayhī begins by showing how young Arab students are deprived of enjoying the richness of ancient Arabic literature ^{owing} ~~due~~ to the barren and spirit-killing method in which they are taught in secondary schools. Though purporting to be new, this method is in fact worse than the old method of teaching literary texts in which grammar, lexicon, rhetoric and prosody are the chief aims. The latter is certainly unexciting from the literary point of view, al-Nuwayhī concedes, yet it is based on solid information. That notwithstanding, teachers were asked to switch over to the new method. What al-Nuwayhī means by new method is the way in which school books on the history of Arabic literature are written, mainly by authors with no Western educational background. With the exception of al-Mujmal, a book revealing a sound taste for literature and a real understanding of its function in life and knowledge of the art of literary history (Ṭāhā Ḥusayn participated in its writing) all the other books should be in the dust-bin, says al-Nuwayhī.

For his criticism, he chooses three sample books, al-Wasīt by al-Sibā'ī Bayyūmī, al-Adab al-'Arabī wa-Tārīkhuh fī'l-'Asr

1. Pp.1-31.

al-Jāhilī by M.H. 'Aṭiyya and A.H. al-Zayyāt's Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī. His criticism of these books, especially the first two, may be classified under two broad headings, technical and purely literary. Technically, none of these writers is proficient in a Western language or literature⁽¹⁾ - a prerequisite, in his view, for any writer embarking on such work. Containing a haphazard mass of information and random literary judgements which are couched mainly in obscure literary style, the reader of these books would fail to get a clear idea of Arabic literature in general or of a literary period, a poet or a belletrist in particular, says al-Nuwaḥī. In addition, there is no attempt in them to encourage students to look up primary sources. On a purely literary basis, however, al-Nuwaḥī criticises the undue attention they give to prose at the expense of poetry while their selections of poetical texts, scant as they are, betray them as unqualified.⁽²⁾

-
1. Although al-Zayyāt had studied in France his study is said not to have had a noticeable impact on his approach to Arabic literature, (see A. Kamāl, Zakī, al-Naqd al-Adabī al-Hadīth, p.100); thus al-Nuwaḥī may well have a point in considering him like the rest.
 2. For a detailed criticism of the methodology of these books see al-Fayṣal, Shukrī, Maḥāḥaj al-Dirāsa al-Adabiyya fī'l-Adab al-'Arabī, pp.31-42.

It is on these books, and not schoolteachers despite their poor training,⁽¹⁾ that al-Nuwaḥī lays the primary responsibility for the poor literary response in students throughout most Arab countries, which prescribe these books in their schools. However, there are two other sets of books on which schoolteachers rely for the literary education they impart to their students. These are translations of Western works on principles of literary criticism on one hand and works written by ill-equipped writers on Arabic literature on the other.⁽²⁾ If the writers of books on literary history are mainly of the old school, the latter come from the new school. Thus al-Nuwaḥī links the state of literary education in schools to the entire literary scene in Egypt and most other Arab countries. Accordingly, by briefly dwelling upon his criticism of the latter sets of books (which we propose to do in a moment), we will find ourselves introduced to al-Nuwaḥī's ideas regarding the necessary tools with which Arab critics or writers should equip themselves, if they are to contribute meaningfully to the Arabic literary movement.

The Equipment of a Critic

As indicated in the previous section, al-Nuwaḥī's criticism of Western translated works on principles of literary criticism and also works written by ill-equipped Arab writers is launched

-
1. Al-Nuwaḥī acknowledges the devotion of schoolteachers to their work; their problem is only one of misdirection, (Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī), pp.9-11.
 2. Ibid., p.10 ff.

under the contention that the works have adverse effects on general literary education, in a similar way that deficient books on literary history have. While the latter books have a direct effect on students, the former books affect them indirectly, i.e., through the ideas imparted to them by their teachers who read these books,⁽¹⁾ probably as reference works or from mere curiosity to know more about the new method of studying literature. In this way, al-Nuwaḥī seems to see a correlation between the poor state of literary education in schools and the main literary activities outside them. Having already outlined his criticism of books on literary history, we shall now proceed to examine what he has to say on the other two sets of books, as well as his ideas on the critic's proper equipment.

In criticising translated works on Western principles of literary criticism, al-Nuwaḥī begins by sympathising with the good intentions of their translators, which were to fertilize Arabic literary study and criticism with new ideas likely to enhance literary taste and deepen the understanding of Arabic literature. In spite of this good intention, al-Nuwaḥī shows their efforts to be counter-productive. Specifically, he mentions two such works which are representative of the others, namely, L. Abercrombie's Principles of Literary Criticism and H.B. Charlton's The Art of Literary Study. How did this counter-production come about? According to al-Nuwaḥī, schoolteachers and their students viewed the whole exercise simplistically by

1. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, p.32 ff.

applying their principles to Arabic literature, forgetting the great disparity between the nature of English literature, for instance, and that of Arabic. This is in addition to their losing sight of the fact that these works are meant to help those who have actually studied the literary pieces the works are talking about and from which literary criteria and principles are deduced. Unproficient in any Western literature or language, the school-teachers are unable to ~~properly~~ ^{properly} understand most of the ideas presented in these books. So, ~~improperly~~ ^{imperfectly} acquired, these ideas are in turn imparted to students. In short, the end result is seen by al-Nuwaḥī to have been the compounding of mental confusion rather than the acquisition of a new understanding of Arabic literature. (1)

Even if Western literary criteria are properly understood, al-Nuwaḥī goes on, their application to Arabic literature will never be beneficial. This is because these criteria are deduced from literatures whose nature is substantially different from that of Arabic literature. He then explains how al-‘Aqqād, al-Māzinī and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, the most acclaimed of Egypt's literary critics, benefited Arabic literature through their intelligent study of English and French literatures. It is this study which had sharpened their literary taste and developed their critical faculty and consequently enabled them to achieve what they did. It is true that in their study they became trained in Western methods of literary study in addition to

1. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, p.33.

acquiring Western literary criteria and principles, al-Nuwayhī says, but they did not see these as absolute theories to be applied to another literature. Had they done so, he says, their study of Arabic literature would not have been so fruitful.⁽¹⁾

The adverse effects seen by al-Nuwayhī in the translated works mentioned go beyond schoolteachers and their students to include writers on Arabic literature, who identify themselves, at least in appearance, with the new school of literary study. Before looking into al-Nuwayhī's attempt to substantiate this claim, we must pause and ask a pertinent question. What precisely is al-Nuwayhī's attitude to Western criteria of criticism in terms of their benefit or otherwise to Arab critics? The fact that the above outline of his views on the subject seems to show his ambivalence, and the recurrence of the subject throughout most of his book-length studies, points to the validity of the above question. After comparing his various utterances on the subject and considering a searching interview which was directed to him not long before his death, one sees his stance in positive terms.⁽²⁾ What he prefers to see Arab critics with no Western training doing is to embark on a study of one of the Western literatures instead of confining themselves on mere theoretical works translated into Arabic. It is the study of a Western literature in itself that is capable of widening their critical horizons and helping them see which Western

1. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.34-35.

2. Faraj, Nabīl, op. cit., p.327 ff.

criteria would suit Arabic literature, says al-Nuwaĥī. Having himself carried out a kind of "paraphrase" translation of some English critical works, namely, J.A. Richards' Principles of Literary Criticism and T.S. Eliot's "Music of Poetry",⁽¹⁾ and traced some use of Western literary criteria in the works of al-'Aqqād and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, al-Nuwaĥī would be contradicting himself if his stance on the potential benefit of these criteria were anything else but positive. We shall return to this question later. But now we must examine briefly al-Nuwaĥī's attempt to substantiate his claim referred to above.

Shawqī Dayf's al-Fann wa-Madhāhibuh fī'l-Shi'r al-'Arabī (first published in 1945 [Cairo]) is used as an illustration of his claim.⁽²⁾ His central criticism of this work is as follows. Having sought to study Arabic poetry on modern Western lines with no modern tools other than works on Western principles of literary criticism and literary history, as evidenced in his footnotes, the writer failed to contribute to the extant knowledge of Arabic poetry. What the work does reveal, however, is an application of cosmetic aspects of Western methods, exemplified in the use of Western critical terms and others of the writer's invention, to an essentially traditional approach to Arabic poetry. Al-Nuwaĥī shows how the work has not been able to add anything substantial to the studies Egypt's major critics had already produced on poets such as Zuhayr, Abū Nuwās and Ibn

-
1. Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, pp.19-25; see also p.18 (footnote).
 2. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.40-53.

al-Rūmī. Similarly, it has been unable to add substantially to the existing knowledge about poets who were not studied by the above critics, e.g., the Andalusian poets.

Al-Nuwaḥhī then asks whether Shawqī Dayf's failure in his work to contribute to the knowledge, understanding and appreciation of Arabic poetry is due to natural incompetence or lack of devotion to his studies. His answer lies in the sentence with which we started our examination, i.e., the writer did not study any Western literature in itself; what he did study was works on Western criticism and literary history.

The Necessity of a Minimum Study of a Western Literature

Al-Nuwaḥhī's criticism of Shawqī Dayf's work brings us to the detailed solution he suggests in dealing with the problem which vitiates the efforts of the writers of such works, and indeed the modernising efforts of the Arabic literary movement in general. According to al-Nuwaḥhī, the minimum knowledge of a Western literature he considers essential for Arab critics and writers is a serious study of one literary period and two poets in a Western literature of their choice.⁽¹⁾ Confining his discussion ^{to} English literature, being the only Western

-
1. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.55-59. Talking about the limitations of Abū Sinna which he in part ascribes to the poet's limited general education, al-Nuwaḥhī adds "perhaps we can measure the extent of excellence in contemporary poets on the basis of the degree of their general education". See Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, p.226.

literature he had had the privilege of studying, al-Nuwaḥī considers the choice of an early English literary period as likely to help them in the study of pre-Islamic poetry, the Umayyad period and some literary aspects of the Abbasid period. On the other hand, a choice of a more recent English literary period for study, say beginning from about the 17th century, would help them understand the highly complex changes, social, economic, intellectual and literary, brought about as a result of mingling between Arabs and non-Arabs. Al-Nuwaḥī discourages choosing 20th century English literature as a subject of study; this is partly owing to its complexity, particularly if they are studying English literature for the first time, and partly because the conditions in the 20th century are completely different from what obtained in all literary periods of Arabic. However, a successful study of a literary period, al-Nuwaḥī cautions, must be such as to bring into complete harmony all the apparently contradictory phenomena which surround it.

In the study of two poets, on the other hand, al-Nuwaḥī considers the necessity of consulting a specialist in English literature who would direct them to two radically different poets in terms of their personalities, lives, education and of necessity their poetical works. After reading their works they would attempt to form an opinion about their artistic nature. Then they would refer to the views of English scholars and critics on the poets after which they would study the poet's biographies, interposing that study with constant reference to their works. Having now acquired a reasonable understanding of

the poets and their works, they would proceed to compare them.

After carrying out the above study, which according to al-Nuwayhī's estimate would take an average span of five years, the Arab critics and writers are now in a proper position to approach their study of Arabic literature. But there is one important caution, which is that they must attempt to forget their study of English literature and avoid any conscious efforts to impose on Arabic literature the results gained therefrom. Similarly, any similarities or differences that might exist between Arabic literature and English literature should not be made a subject of conscious study, rather this should be left to chance when it would come up subconsciously.⁽¹⁾

I have dwelt at some length on the above outline for two reasons. In the first place, we have seen how al-Nuwayhī dismissed ancient Arabic criticism as an ineffective guide in the study of Arabic literature. Therefore, it is essential for him to give an alternative guide showing precisely how it would function. Secondly, al-Nuwayhī's detailed description of his alternative guide appears to be autobiographical, at least to a certain degree, that is to say, this is more or less the scheme he had followed in his study of English literature while in Britain. Thus this outline has the added advantage of giving us a kind of shorthand description of his literary education

1. In his al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, I, pp.22-24, al-Nuwayhī returns to this topic giving more details on the benefits of such a study.

at the time as well as the methods he had adopted, which seem to have benefited his study of the pre-Islamic to Abbasid literary periods, and his studies on Bashshār, Abū Nuwās and Ibn al-Rūmī.

As to the extent to which his suggestion was accepted or put into practice, it is very difficult to assess. However, it will be recalled that in our outline of Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, we have discussed one review of the work written after its first publication. That review may well have been typical of the reaction with which some part of the work was received among conservative literary circles. In 1965, however, an article by a noted critic mentions how al-Nuwaḥhī's "onslaught on some academics, in his Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, had its effect in liberating many writers from the noose of traditional methods".⁽¹⁾ Although not elaborated, this statement is important coming, as it does, from an academic with Western training. Based on this general evidence, it may seem reasonable to say that al-Nuwaḥhī's efforts outlined above have at least dissuaded some writers and critics from ^{employing} the deficient methods he criticized to the methods he suggested in greater or lesser degree.

Though the minimum grasp of a Western literature which al-Nuwaḥhī stipulates seems sound, it appears to be difficult for many writers to concretize, bearing in mind that they will study it in their spare time. It is perhaps in realisation of

1. Zakī, A. Kamāl, "al-Abhāth", al-Ādāb, (August, 1965), pp. 11 and 77.

this fact that many years later al-Nuwaḥī gives an alternative solution⁽¹⁾ which is less demanding and therefore comparatively less fruitful yet much better, in his view, than Arab writers confining themselves to the study of Western critical theories and literary history. This alternative lies in the study of certain Western literary works of a practical nature in which the reader will be taught gradually how to begin a serious study of poetry or literature in general. Such works show the reader how to carry out analytical and evaluative processes in studying a literary work. It is worth saying here that al-Nuwaḥī's work on pre-Islamic poetry has to a great extent followed the methodical approach of the above works.

The Necessity of General "Scientific" Knowledge to a Critic

A minimum general grasp of a Western literature apart, al-Nuwaḥī also demands of an Arab critic and writer that he acquire a general "scientific" knowledge. In making this demand, al-Nuwaḥī says, he realises that his readers will react with disbelief, in contrast to the first demand which would appear fairly reasonable to many even if they do not attempt to put it into practice. Here one must bear in mind that al-Nuwaḥī put these ideas forward in the late forties, and even two decades later still saw his position as being as valid as ever. As a matter of fact, a number of works on the problems of modern Arabic criticism published during this period support al-Nuwaḥī's

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.209 ff (footnote).

position, while being further evidence of the slow process of proper literary education.⁽¹⁾ At any rate, al-Nuwaḥī considers it necessary to argue for the necessity of a general scientific knowledge to a literary critic and writer.

Al-Nuwaḥī's argument is based on two grounds. In the first place, he again refers to the literary achievements of Egypt's major critics in ^{the} creative revival of ancient Arabic literature. To achieve this, he says, they had to acquire an intelligent grasp of a Western literature on one hand, and a scientific spirit of mind on the other. He then explains that the only way to acquire this spirit is through a general grasp of various results of scientific knowledge, which enabled them to shed various prejudices, religious and national, in their study of Arabic literature. Hence their ability to ~~properly~~ ^{Properly} understand and enlighten others on the aesthetic values of that literature. Secondly, the nature of literature itself and the function of its critic demands such knowledge. As literature is the expression of man's feelings towards certain experiences, situations or reflections on his surroundings, this very fact demands such knowledge without which there will be no complete understanding and hence no appreciation of literature.⁽²⁾ Moreover, a mere literal understanding of a piece of literature may often require a reasonably general grasp of scientific facts.

1. C.f. al-Dā'īm, A.A., "‘Azmat al-Naqd al-Adabī", Fī'l-Naqd al-Adabī, pp.159-177 (first published in al-Ādāb, [January, 1961]).

2. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.56-67.

This is partly due to the sensitivity and sharp vision of a literary artist which enables him to discover a number of facts about phenomena of existence, and partly to the fact that his literary expression is influenced by emotional, biological and mental formation which ^{the artist} ~~he~~ himself may not be fully aware of. In both cases only scientific knowledge will enable a critic to understand fully and correctly the questions involved.⁽¹⁾ After all, "it would be wrong to suppose an impassable barrier between the intellectual and the aesthetic faculty. Undoubtedly, as the former gets more powerful the latter increases in sharpness."⁽²⁾

So much for al-Nuwaḥhī's argument for the necessity of a general scientific knowledge for critics or writers. He considers a general grasp of the results of Biological sciences and Anthropology as the minimum requirement. While Biological sciences would introduce ^{the} critic to among other things, various kinds of creatures, including man, their evolution and relation to their environment, Anthropology, on the other hand, would introduce him, through its integration of a wide range of specialities, to physical, biological, behavioural and social sciences. In this way a critic would be in a proper position to understand literature which is a by-product of the issues that constitute the interests of the above sciences.⁽³⁾ In

-
1. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.68-72.
 2. "Towards the Reappraisal of Classical Arabic Literature and History", IJMES, II, 1980, p.203.
 3. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.74-76; see also Encyclopaedia Britannica, II, under Anthropology, p.35.

practical terms, al-Nuwaḥhī shows how an intelligent grasp of the above scientific facts enabled al-'Aqqād and al-Māzinī, particularly the former, to give a vivid portrayal of Ibn al-Rūmī in terms of the poet's physical appearance and psyche.⁽¹⁾

The Relevant Context of Literature

In the preceding section we have seen al-Nuwaḥhī's description of the minimum extra-literary knowledge, especially scientific, which a critic should acquire. However, if a critic is able to acquire more of such knowledge his criticism is likely to be more fruitful. A knowledge of music, painting, astronomy or philosophy, for example, will ensure a certain pleasure and a degree of wider outlook in a critic's work, al-Nuwaḥhī seems to believe.⁽²⁾ To avoid any doubt here, one must quickly add that no amount of such knowledge can confer literary value on a piece of literature that has none. But to speak of extra-literary knowledge in terms of its insightful potential for literature is one thing, while it is quite another to say that literature has a relevant context in which it must be put in order to see it in its proper perspective. It is on the latter question that this section sets ^{out} to examine al-Nuwaḥhī's ideas.

-
1. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.128-158; see also al-'Aqqād, Ibn al-Rūmī, pp.92-135 and al-Māzinī, Ḥasād al-Hashīm, pp.242-258.
 2. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.383, 391 and 70 ff.

These ideas found expression in his studies on Bashshār, Abū Nuwās and in Part Two of his Wazīfat al-Adab. In addition, his works on poetical trends in Sudan and on pre-Islamic poetry contain some insights into the subject. From his practical studies and his generalisations, one sees biography and general social conditions as constituting the relevant context of literature to al-Nuwayhī. In a preceding chapter, it will be recalled, we touched upon this subject but only in the light of relation between literature and the literary artist on one hand, and society in its widest sense on the other. However, as some useful ground relevant to our present discussion has been established there, it is in order to highlight it here and build up our discussion on it. According to al-Nuwayhī, a literary work emerges carrying with it a stamp of its creator's personality which includes his physical, intellectual and emotional formation and a host of various experiences and events he passed through. However, a literary work is not entirely the handiwork of the individual or of the personal factors we have mentioned, for there are general social conditions which also influence the personality of a literary artist and his work, notwithstanding the degree of his genius. From one literary artist to another there may be a strong tilt to one aspect or another, but nevertheless, the combined influence of the two aspects mentioned is always there.

Let us, then, proceed and take biography and general social conditions in turn so as to see the relevant context they may provide in understanding literature, as viewed by al-Nuwayhī.

But it must be made clear that the two aspects, as seen by him, are overlapping and our attempt to separate them is only for convenience. That al-Nuwaḥhī sees the biography of a literary artist as a relevant context which would set his work in proper perspective is clearly demonstrated in his studies on the three ancient poets mentioned. In these studies, we see him moving from the poet's work to his biography and back again in order to understand both. This movement clearly shows how he considers the exegetical value of biography in enabling a critic understand the work. Similarly in al-Nuwaḥhī's description of the methods through which a minimum study of a Western literature should be carried out, biography, as shown already, performs the above exegetical role. But does this mean that there is always a one-to-one relation between a literary work and its author's biography? Or, to put it bluntly, is a literary work a mirror of the author's life? Al-Nuwaḥhī's reply to Muṣṭafā Nāṣif on this question is firmly negative. This is because a literary work is not a mere photo-copy of the artist's course of life, but on the contrary may be an idealisation or a masking of that life.⁽¹⁾ This means that biographical data must be handled cautiously and with intelligence and critical acumen if it is to have an exegetical value. When this requisite understanding is lacking there is bound to be misrepresentation or distortion of a literary work, as evidenced, for example, in some studies on Bashshār and Ibn al-Rūmī.⁽²⁾

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.131 and 144.

2. See Shakhsiyyat Bashshār, p.160 and Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.151 and 312.

Also relating to biography as a relevant context to literature is the attempt by the critic to lay bare the deep meaning underlying a literary work. Existing in the literary artist's unconscious, this deep meaning consequently finds its way to the work. It is in connection with this that the critic may attempt to use psycho-analysis in studying literary personalities as revealed in their works. In Chapter Two we have already outlined al-Nuwaḥhī's use of psycho-analysis in his work on Abū Nuwās, mainly as a result of which he comes to be considered in the forefront of Egyptian critics who use this approach. However, it seems somewhat misleading to speak of al-Nuwaḥhī's use of psycho-analysis in the above work as though it is the only approach he uses throughout the work.⁽¹⁾ In point of fact, as shown in the said outline, the work reveals, as is characteristic of al-Nuwaḥhī's studies, an integration of the results of a number of disciplines apart from psycho-analysis. However, not every literary personality will justify a critic's use of psycho-analysis, al-Nuwaḥhī says. The understanding of a 'straight-forward' and temperate personality like the Umayyad poet, 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a, will not demand its use. Conversely, a complex personality with a neurotic temperament like Abū Nuwās, will justify it.⁽²⁾ But neurotic temperament is not the only requisite for a proper use of psycho-analysis in studying a

-
1. See Zakī, A. Kamāl, al-Naḥd al-Adabī al-Ḥadīth, p.184.
 2. Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās, p.176; see also "Ughniya min Vienna", al-Ādāb, (February, 1965), p.18 ff. On al-Nuwaḥhī's replies to critics for his use of psycho-analysis see ibid., (Appendix) pp.175-258. In his al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, (Vol.I, pp.149-155),

literary personality, for the record of the artist's life, especially the early years, is another requisite.⁽¹⁾ Both requisites mentioned are fulfilled in the case of Abū Nuwās. Hence, al-Nuwaḥhī's view that it is impossible to ^{gain a} profound understanding ^{ing of} this poet's personality and the characteristics of his poetry without paying the utmost attention to his sexual disorder and its resultant effects on him as a man and a poet.⁽²⁾ Whether this attempt is possible or impossible does not seem to be the main issue. The main issue is to show how the use of psycho-analysis would actually give more insight into a literary personality and his work. In this respect al-Nuwaḥhī's work on Abū Nuwās is considered to have enriched our understanding and appreciation of his personality and poetry.⁽³⁾

Perhaps this is the appropriate place to carry out a quick

al-Nuwaḥhī shows dissatisfaction with some writers' use of psychology and philosophy in interpreting the Nasīb in the pre-Islamic qasīda. Basing his argument on the law of minimum hypotheses, he considers this use as pretentious and unnecessary since the phenomenon could satisfactorily be explained in literary terms as well as in terms of social life in Arabia before Islam.

1. Morrison, Claudia, C., Freud and the Critic, p.118.
2. Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās, p.55.
3. Zakī, A. Kamāl, op. cit., p.185 ff. In this regard A. Kamāl Zakī seems to ^{rate} ~~estimate~~ al-Nuwaḥhī's work ^{above} ~~over~~ that of al-'Aqqād, see ibid., p.177.

comparison between al-Nuwayhī's work on Abū Nuwās and that of al-'Aqqād on the same poet. Both writers discern and register the existing conflict in the poet's personality and poetry, but differ in interpreting the source of the conflict along psycho-analytical lines. While al-Nuwayhī relates it mainly to an oedipus complex al-'Aqqād interprets it in terms of narcissism. On the other hand, they both give attention to wider social effects on the poet's personality, but whereas al-Nuwayhī considers the degree of these effects in relation to the poet's individual make-up to be in the ratio of one-to-one, al-'Aqqād makes no attempt at such an assessment. As far as disciplines other than psycho-analysis are concerned, we see al-Nuwayhī appropriating the conclusions of Anthropology and Comparative Religion while al-'Aqqād remains in the orbit of psycho-analysis. In interpreting the poet's personality, al-'Aqqād makes use of the entire poetical motifs of Abū Nuwās including those in which there does not seem to be a real contribution from the literary point of view, e.g., panegyric, hunting, etc., seeing them all in terms of exhibitionism which, according to him, constitutes the driving force behind every kind of Abū Nuwās' poetry. Al-Nuwayhī, on the other hand, confines himself to the poet's motifs of love, wine and piety (Nusuk) which constitute the major part of his poetry and seem to be more than any other motif a real contribution to Arabic poetry. Moreover, it is these motifs which really reveal the conflict in Abū Nuwās' personality. This conclusion gains support from al-Nuwayhī's treatment of an altogether different personality, i.e., Bashshār. In studying this poet, he

concentrates on the motif of love to the exclusion of all other motifs which he considers in terms of mere imitation or earning a living.⁽¹⁾

If one may venture a normative judgment, al-Nuwa'ihī's interpretation and analysis of Abū Nuwās' personality is more complex and enriching in terms of giving insight into the poet's work. It is worth pointing out that al-Nuwa'ihī's work abounds in aesthetic appreciation,⁽²⁾ though admittedly not on the scale we meet in Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili - a feature not existing in al-'Aqqād's work.⁽³⁾ Although al-'Aqqād states clearly that it is not his intention to study Abū Nuwās' poetry, one wonders whether such use of psycho-analysis does not unduly divert attention from the work towards whose ^{understanding} this discipline is supposed to contribute.

-
1. Shakhsiyyat Bashshār, p.273.
 2. According to al-Nuwa'ihī, the poet and his work constitute one unit in which one part throws light on the other, Wazīfat al-Adab, p.199; this may well mean the necessity of not neglecting aesthetic treatment at the expense of a psycho-analytical approach or any other approach for that matter.
 3. Al-'Aqqād, Abū Nuwās, p.162. Tāhā Husayn among other things criticises al-'Aqqād's neglect of Abū Nuwās' poetry in his work, see Khīṣam wa-Naqd, Complete Works of Tāhā Husayn, vol. XI, p.695.

So much for al-Nuwaḥhī's ideas on the use of biography as a relevant context to literature. As for wider social conditions, these act in much the same way as biography, i.e., in providing some exegetical insights for a proper understanding of the work under study. Needless to say, al-Nuwaḥhī does not consider literature as a reproduction of social life, as shown in the previous chapter. But this is not to under-estimate the exegetical value a critic may derive from his grasp of general social conditions, if only used intelligently as mentioned in the case of biography.

As a practical critic, al-Nuwaḥhī mentions three inter-related stages in which a critic pins down the social conditions of the work he studies. First is the acquisition of some historical information that would help a critic in the initial understanding of the work and putting it in its relevant context. Then comes the stage of a profound study of the work, say poetry, while remembering its special means of transforming social material; the result of this study would then be used in deepening the understanding of the social context through modification and/or addition. Finally comes the stage of comparison between the work and the social conditions in which it was produced. In this way, both harmoniously enable us to gain a profound insight into the work.⁽¹⁾ Although the process

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.127 ff.

described may well be peculiar to al-Nuwaḥhī, yet it is important in that it shows us in what way he sees the use of general social conditions as a relevant context for literature.⁽¹⁾

In our outline of al-Nuwaḥhī's studies on the three ancient poets frequently referred to, we have shown how he makes use of general social conditions in an attempt to understand their personalities and works. Probably owing to the nature of the subject, al-Nuwaḥhī's Poetical Trends in Sudan contains his greatest use of general social conditions. In it, as shown in chapter two, social conditions are heavily made use of to explain the emergence of three poetical trends in Sudan as well as the lives of the poets representing them. In his largely aesthetic study of pre-Islamic poetry, he always keeps in view the general social conditions under which this poetry was produced. He also makes a demand on the reader to attempt imaginative reading so as to achieve a kind of empathy which would ensure that he has a proper understanding and appreciation of this poetry.⁽²⁾ This fact equally holds true for his study on new poetry in which he traces the origins of the movement to, among other things, wider social conditions.⁽³⁾ In this way, both biography and general

-
1. On al-Nuwaḥhī's exchange with M. Nāṣif on this subject see Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.125 and 131; see also M. Nāṣif, Dirāsat al-Adab al-'Arabī, pp.98 and 188 ff.
 2. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, passim, e.g. pp.209-210, vol.II, pp.554-556.
 3. Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, e.g. pp.453-483.

social conditions serve as a relevant context that helps a critic to put the work he is studying in its proper perspective and thereby ensure as much as possible its correct understanding and hence its appreciation.

A moment ago, we mentioned al-Nuwayhī's demand on the reader, as part of his efforts to put pre-Islamic poetry in its wider social context, that he should attempt imaginative reading. This point leads us to outline briefly some aspects of his critical methods in this respect.

Some Aspects of al-Nuwayhī's Critical Methods

In this chapter we have discussed al-Nuwayhī's preference for the kind of criticism he calls creative, his recognised capability as a teacher and his criticism of official literary education in schools, which in part has to do with the manner in which this education is being imparted. These discussions are likely^{to} and legitimately^{do} raise questions about the critical methods of al-Nuwayhī himself and whether they can provide a better alternative to the methods he criticises. Hence the justification of this section. In view of the fact that his work on pre-Islamic poetry reveals, more than any of his other works, a deliberate and detailed treatment of these methods, this section naturally derives most of its material from it.

To begin with, let us cite a quotation which will lay bare al-Nuwayhī's understanding of the kind of efforts literature,

particularly poetry, demands from its reader, in addition to following the critic's guidance, in order to achieve a response which will make intercourse with literature a worthwhile business:

"Poetic creation is not an individual affair coming solely from the author, rather it is an experience in which both the author and the receiver of his work share. If this proposition is to some extent true of all types of literature it is more so in respect of poetry, for a good poetry, always and without exception, is based on an intensive use of language, a fact unfortunately being neglected in most official literary education in Arab schools. Consequently, most students of these schools are satisfied with the basic meaning of poetry, i.e., its mere denotations, thus neglecting to exercise their imagination to the fullest which would otherwise enable them to share all the emotions that the poet wishes to evoke in them. ... The result would appear as though they did not study poetry; how could they, when they did not get from it the real pleasure ... which it could bestow on our emotion and aesthetic taste...?"⁽¹⁾

This long citation underlines to us the nature of poetic language as intensive in contradistinction to the expansive use of language in prose. This means that the kind of shorthand language poetry uses demands extra imaginative efforts on the part of the reader if he is really to penetrate into the poet's world. In other words, the full meaning of poetry will not unfold itself until there is a co-operation between the poet and the receiver of his work. But for a reader to be able to play his part in this co-operation he often needs expert advice, and hence the involvement of the critic. From this it would appear

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.162 ff.

that criticism is a three-way process involving the literary artist, the critic and the reader. Al-Nuwa'ihī himself has clearly this understanding in mind, especially as he considers creative criticism the most beneficial.⁽¹⁾ One aspect of his efforts to bring forth this kind of criticism is the attention he accords to poetry reading in a way which is, to my knowledge, unknown to previous contemporary Arabic criticism.

(a) Poetry Reading as an Art

According to al-Nuwa'ihī, ancient Arabic poetry, in contrast to modern poetry, mostly needs to be read aloud or often sung in order to be fully enjoyed.⁽²⁾ But what is exactly the correct way of reading poetry? To al-Nuwa'ihī, an ideal answer to this question can only be given through actual reading rather than mere description on paper. He points out this fact repeatedly and often draws a kind of solace in the fact that those who actually listen to him reading poetry agree with him about his claims about its rhythm and melody and their harmony with the poet's thought-emotional content.⁽³⁾ There is, however, a general

-
1. See for example, Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, p.254 and al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, II, p.862.
 2. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, pp.92 and 146; vol.II, p.839; see also "al-Dīn wa'l-Mārkisiyya wa'l-Naqd", al-Ādāb, (August, 1971), p.69. This suggests the lyric nature of the former and the conversational nature of the latter.
 3. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, pp.88-93; see also Shakhsiyyat Bashshār, p.174 (footnote).

criterion which distinguishes a correct and natural reading of poetry from a forced or artificial reading. This criterion lies in the ability of the reader to bring into real harmony his manner of reading with the poetic content, by referring to a similarly actual life experience from which such a content emanates. In this way, no particular manner of delivery will be forced on the entire poem, either by excessive oratory or extreme sentimentality.⁽¹⁾ The reading of Arabic poetry, especially at public gatherings, is shown by al-Nuwaḥī to be moving from one extreme to another. According to one assumption, martial poetry or hamāsa calls for excessive oratorical reading while a delicate motif, say love mixed with a sense of suffering, requires the other extreme. Al-Nuwaḥī shows the error of this assumption as it neglects the wealth in variety of rhythm and melody which exists in ancient Arabic poetry. In practical terms, he shows how the two kinds of poetry mentioned should be properly read by giving specific examples from the poetry of al-Mutanabbī.⁽²⁾

It is on the basis of the general criterion mentioned above that al-Nuwaḥī proceeds to describe his reading of ancient Arabic poetry, exposing its variety of tones by relating the thought-emotional content it seeks to convey to 20th century Arab life situations, especially in Egypt. Not totally

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, II, p.658.

2. "Al-Muḥākāt al-Lafziyya", al-Thāqafa, (28th January, 1964), pp.12-13; "Kayf Naqra' al-Shi'r al-'Arabī", al-Thaqāfa, (4th February, 1964), pp.17-18; see also al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, II, pp.655-657.

unexpectedly his reading was considered by some critics to be a forced exercise because it was not possible to pin down the tones in which the ancient Arabs read their poetry, and that what is read in a particular tone may as well be read in another.⁽¹⁾

Replying to this criticism, al-Nuwa^hī considers the impossibility of giving a scientific proof on matters such as rhythm and melody of ancient Arabic poetry, if indeed they are sought. At best, his claim is no more than probability and that is based on the observation of real life situation on one hand, and penetration into the poetic content on the other.⁽²⁾

-
1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, II, p.812. In a footnote, al-Nuwa^hī mentions how two visiting English lecturers showed the possibility of reading a particular literary text in different tones some of which are totally wrong whereas some are the nearest to the correct reading which is likely to reveal the author's real emotion and aim. See ibid., p.819.
 2. In their Theory of Literature (pp.144 ff) Wellek and Warren point to the diverse and subjective nature of reading poetry; see also Ibrāhīm Anīs, Mūsīqā al-Shi'r (pp.166-168) in which he shows the diversity of pronouncing vocal sounds among modern Arabs in their reading of poetry and other literary species as well as in the recitation of the Qur'ān. Al-Nuwa^hī is certainly aware of all these facts. The important thing to be noted, however, is the fact that in his drive to recreate ancient Arabic poetry he does not consider his version of reading to be the only correct one. Rather he expects his version to be examined on its merits by testing it against

/...

With regard to illustrating the rhythm and tones of ancient Arabs with those of contemporary Arabs who speak colloquial Arabic, this is just meant as an approximation and does not in any way suggest that the two are identical. The acceptance of a critic's version of reading, therefore, depends on the reader's literary taste, life and artistic experiences, al-Nuwayhī says. However, it must be realised that despite the existing gulf between ancient literary Arabic and modern colloquial Arabic, there are still strong ties, linguistic, environmental and emotional, between the two. This is in addition to the fact that human languages have among them a certain degree of similarity in respect of basic emotional tones, e.g. statement, question, exclamation. If such basic similarities do exist between these languages how much more is this so in the case of the ancient Arabic language and modern colloquial Arabic which are tied by a mother-daughter relationship.⁽¹⁾ More will be said on this question in the next chapter.

(b) The Use of Modern Colloquial Arabic as an Illustrative Device

Apart from the use of modern colloquial Arabic just mentioned, al-Nuwayhī also turns to it in several other ways,

the criterion mentioned above. Undoubtedly what underlies this approach is his genuine efforts to recreate ancient Arabic poetry.

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, II, pp. 813-815.

all in an apparent effort to recreate ancient Arabic poetry for a wider section of Arab readers, especially the young. But two other factors also account for this use. First he considers ancient literary Arabic as not different in kind from the daily speech used during that period, notwithstanding its refinement and difficult vocabulary for modern Arabs. Secondly, he considers that a proper listening to and reading of ancient Arabic poetry would reveal the warmth found in true human speech which has its source in actual human experience, though, of course, much of this warmth must have been lost for ever through the passage of many centuries and the gulf which exists between that language and its tone and those of modern Arabs. (1)

However, the difficult vocabulary in ancient Arabic poetry which ^{is} ~~sounds~~ like tongue-twisters also induces al-Nuwa^Yhī to turn to modern colloquial Arabic. Here al-Nuwa^Yhī shows that the poet's use of such words, in the examples he analyses at least, are not due to his being uncivilised but because the thought-emotional content of his poem demands it, much in the way that modern Arabs do in their daily speech when a suitable occasion arises. (2)

In an effort to recreate the liveliness of some special poetic expressions rich in associations and connotations, al-Nuwa^Yhī also turns to modern colloquial Arabic so as to pick up approximate equivalents, as shown for instance in his study of

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, II, pp.782-785.

2. See al-Nuwa^Yhī's analysis of 'Alqama's depiction of his she-camel, ibid., vol.I, especially pp.326-331.

Bashshār's rā'iyya.⁽¹⁾

(c) Activation of the Potential of the Reader's Imagination

Being an imaginative art, poetry cannot be fully understood and appreciated unless it is read with imagination. If this proposition is true of all poetry it is more so in the case of ancient Arabic poetry whose dominant quality is in "its minute and vivid pictorial imagery".⁽²⁾ This apart, there is the necessity of acquiring a historical sense on the part of the reader, with its attendant awareness of the enormous changes in connotations and nuances of the classical Arabic language. It is in realisation of the importance of activating one's imagination that al-Nuwaḥī devotes to it two introductory chapters⁽³⁾ in addition to interposed references. Clearly, al-Nuwaḥī is not saying a new thing when he demands of the reader of ancient Arabic poetry that he should activate his imagination. Nevertheless, it is important that he stresses and integrates this use of imagination within the overall scheme of his critical methods. As adults, he points out, our linguistic intercourse tends to lay more emphasis on the intellectual use of language at the expense of its imaginative use, i.e., attempting to create a mental image of the linguistic utterance we read or listen to.

-
1. Shakhsiyyat Bashshār, pp.175-178, see also ibid., vol.II, pp.842 ff and 873 ff.
 2. "Towards the Reappraisal of Classical Arabic Literature" IJMES, II, (1980), p.202.
 3. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, (Chapters 3 and 4), pp.107-148.

Hence the difficulty as well as the importance of activating our dormant imagination through constant and serious practice without which no full enjoyment of poetry, especially ancient, will be attained.⁽¹⁾

One unmistakable feature of this method, which reveals itself in most of al-Nuwaḥhī's book-length studies, lies in his narration of personal experiences and memories so as to induce the reader to ~~mentally~~ follow suit. By so doing, al-Nuwaḥhī hopes, the reader will be able to see things, as much as possible, with the poet's eyes. In addition, he aims ~~to~~ always ^{to} relate literature to the life of the reader - an aim he considers to have been neglected in official literary education. Another feature of this method is exemplified in al-Nuwaḥhī's turning to a kind of literary paraphrase of some verses. Although this feature is not sustained owing to the great attention he gives to text analysis, when he resorts to it he reveals a remarkable literary skill capable of seizing the reader's imagination, especially when the paraphrase draws from a popular art like cinema.⁽²⁾

Thus far we have considered some aspects of al-Nuwaḥhī's critical methods in as much as they relate to his attempt to enliven the subject of literature and emphasise its important place in the life of its readers. But to attempt to handle here

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, pp.109-112.

2. Ibid., pp.170 ff and 285; vol.II, pp.497-499.

his wider critical methods and those of literary study generally would exceed the limits of the present study. Considering the fact that al-Nuwaḥhī is predominantly a practical critic who integrates various approaches in his literary studies, only an independent study would appear to do justice to this subject. However, we shall return to this subject in the next chapter; for the moment, suffice it to say that the aspects of his methods outlined above seem to have gained support and even admiration from a number of critics,⁽¹⁾ though some on the other hand, showed uneasiness about his use of colloquial Arabic⁽²⁾ as already pointed out. However, it is al-Nuwaḥhī's conviction that the recreation of ancient Arabic poetry will not be feasible without imagining similar or approximate situations, which that poetry seeks to depict, from contemporary Arab life. In addition, the fact that he communicates his method of reading poetry in writing necessitates that he should resort to colloquial Arabic. At any rate, his use of colloquial Arabic in his works as an illustrative device is negligible when compared to other passages in which he does not resort to such a use, which emphasises the illustrative nature of this use.

To sum up al-Nuwaḥhī's ideas discussed in this chapter, he demands of a literary critic, if he is to function effectively,

-
1. See for example Zakī, A. Kamāl, "Al-Abḥāth", al-Ādāb, (August, 1965), pp.11 and 77; al-Dīdī, 'Abd al-Fattāh, "Al-Abḥāth", ibid., (June, 1965), p.8.
 2. Cf. Filastīn, Wadī', "Lā yā Duktūr Nuwaḥhī", al-Ādāb, (November, 1971), p.75; Shams, M.M., "al-Nāqid al-Waṣṣāf", al-Thaqāfa, (12 May, 1964), p.21.

that he should equip himself with a minimum grasp of a modern Western literature and a general scientific knowledge. This equipment appears more necessary when it is taken into consideration that ancient Arabic criticism and rhetoric have little to offer as effective guides for contemporary Arab critics and writers. With such equipment Arab writers and critics will be in a proper position to recreate ancient Arabic literature, for they will by then have acquired wider critical horizons which will enable them apply to that literature relevant principles deduced from its very nature. When critics and writers of this calibre emerge there will follow a remarkable improvement in literary research works and textbooks for schools and colleges, which in turn will produce a beneficial impact on literary education on a scale greater than it has been hitherto.

CHAPTER SIX

LITERARY ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

Prologue

In this chapter we shall continue our exploration of al-Nuwaḥī's detailed conception of criticism begun in the preceding chapter. We have seen his views on putting a work of literature in its relevant context and making use of extra-literary knowledge with a view to gaining more insight into the work. However, a real literary criticism, having prepared the ground by assembling its tools which the above mentioned activities really are (Wazīfat al-Adab, p.163), must proceed to come to grips with the work of literature embodied in the language medium. After all it is the work which justifies our interest in the biography of the writer, his environment and any other non-literary scholarship that may help us gain more insight into his work. The present chapter proposes to tackle al-Nuwaḥī's handling of literary analysis and evaluation and the criteria or principles underlying it.

We have noted above the difficulty of separating the analysis of a literary work from its evaluation and al-Nuwaḥī's consideration of evaluation as a critical aim in its own right. Evaluation for al-Nuwaḥī, if we may somewhat anticipate the results of our investigation, means the grading of literary works (or pieces) in accordance with their degree of excellence

in performing as literary works, on the basis of certain literary and human criteria. Having said this, we must now turn to the main business of the chapter which is how al-Nuwaḥī handles the complexity of language resources through which literary works manifest whatever values may repose in them.

Language as the Vehicle of Literature

It would seem appropriate to begin by recapitulating al-Nuwaḥī's passing references to language in the course of our previous discussions, after which a detailed treatment of his handling of language as a medium of literature will follow. In his definition of literature, discussion of the nature of literature in relation to cognitive knowledge and the criteria which distinguish literary from non-literary works, the language medium plays a decisive role in that it enables literature to assert itself. Also the fact that he considers literature via language as an expression of the literary artist's 'world view', recognising the difference in the use of language in literature, cognitive knowledge and daily speech, and ascribing to poetry the function of preservation, revitalization and enrichment of language in general and the development of the power of imagination - all these facts indicate the importance of language in al-Nuwaḥī's critical thinking. Now we must proceed to explore in detail how exactly he views and handles language as a literary medium.

To al-Nuwaḥī the ability of human beings to manipulate

language in matters of feeling and thought is an important aspect of their superiority to lower animals. Human beings themselves, however, differ in the degree to which they attain 'complete' humanness in accordance with the degree to which they are able to exploit and manipulate language. Hence by virtue of their being the most perfect of us all in using language to depict our most subtle feelings and thoughts, the poets are entitled to the position in which we place them.⁽¹⁾ Thus al-Nuwa'ihī seems to see in the poets' use of language a unique quality not found in any other literary use of language, and this uniqueness would appear to lie in its intensive nature. Compared with a novelist, for example, who unfolds to the reader, by his essentially expansive use of language, almost everything which he wishes to say and all aspects of his depiction, a poet, al-Nuwa'ihī says, restricts himself to a terse and concentrated expression and thereby invites the reader himself to reach out to the poet's 'world view' through the help of complex language resources, e.g. denotative and connotative meanings, the use of imagery, and rhythmic and melodic resources,⁽²⁾ all of which interdependently combine to give the poem a unified system. Although they are closely interdependent as the elements of any system must be, a critic is forced to treat language resources separately, at least temporarily, so as to achieve a reasonable analysis of the poem. It is after this separate treatment that the critic would synthesize them in order to demonstrate their

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.163 ff.

2. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.162; see also Wazīfat al-Adab, p.76

unified effect, as we shall attempt to show below.

The Music of Poetry

That words through which literature achieves its purposes and effects consist of speech sounds and meaning is a well known fact. As a literary genre, poetry uses words to produce some kind of rhythm with a certain degree of regularity. This regularity distinguishes the rhythm of poetry from that of prose which also has its rhythm, for every word and every sentence has a certain rhythm. The underlying difference between the two types of rhythm can be traced to the fact that in poetry the feeling is more intense, and hence the need for regular rhythm to match the intensity and vibration of the feeling is more obvious than is the case in prose.⁽¹⁾

It is in recognition of the role of rhythm in poetry that ancient Arab critics include metre and rhyme in their conception of poetry. However, metre does not seem to have received much attention from ancient Arab critics who considered it to be in itself the object of prosody; nor did rhyme, which they viewed more as a division between metrical units than a poetic element

1. Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, pp.30-38. It is worthy of note that the so-called qasīdat al-nathr is considered a misnomer by al-Nuwalhī. Since it rightly belongs to literary prose there is no justification in calling it a poem. See Nabīl Faraj, op. cit., p.327.

in itself. (1)

If this is the fate of metre and rhyme at the hands of these critics it is hardly surprising to find them not effectively utilizing some phonetic observations put forward by philologists, which would have otherwise enriched their study of Arabic poetry. An instance of these observations, according to al-Nuwaḥhī, is the philologists' ^{identifying} ~~establishing~~ a class of words on the basis of their mimicry, e.g. the dawīyy of wind, the ḥafīf of trees, the sahīl of horses and the kharīr of water. Another instance relates to a class of verbal nouns which through their sounds denote commotion and action, e.g. jawalān, fayadān and lama'ān. (2) More will be said on this below.

The Application of Modern Phonetic Studies to the Study of Music of Poetry

In contrast to the absence of effective use of the phonetic observations of philologists in ancient literary criticism, the

-
1. Cantarino, Vicente, Arabic Poetics in the Golden Age, p.46. However, in his Minhāj al-Bulaghā Ḥazim al-Qarṭājannī studied prosody on new lines; see Iḥsān 'Abbās, Tārīkh al-Naḡd al-Adabi 'Ind al-'Arab, p.561 ff. M.S. 'Ayyād (Mūsīqā al-Shi'r al-'Arabī, p.152) attributes this neglect to the way critical issues concerning poetry and prose were formulated as a result of which the relation between metres and poetic content was neutralised.
 2. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.69 ff.

results of modern phonetic studies have been systematically applied to the study of Western poetry. Undoubtedly al-Nuwayhī benefited from this methodology when he applied it in his study of ancient and contemporary Arabic poetry, especially the former. His work on pre-Islamic poetry is probably the first of its kind in that it systematically applies the results of phonetics and some elements of the science of music to the appreciation of that poetry. It is to be expected therefore that al-Nuwayhī declares that it is the obligation of "every serious student of poetry to begin with a good study of Phonetics ..."⁽¹⁾.

In his study of the music of pre-Islamic poetry al-Nuwayhī distinguishes between the general or prosodic rhythm manifested in poetic metres through the succession of feet (taf'īlas) on one hand and the internal rhythm on the other, i.e. the succession of words as linguistic units and the sequence of individual speech sounds in each word, which together combine to produce melody.⁽²⁾ While the prosodic rhythm received due

1. "A Reappraisal ...", op. cit., p.527.

2. Tanghīm, al-Nuwayhī's translation into Arabic of 'melody', received his prime attention as he believed that it had been neglected by Arab prosodists. Wellek and Warren (Theory of Literature, p.16) see the use of the term 'melody' in the study of the music of poetry as misleading, for melody in music, which is determined by fixed pitches and definite intervals, is not parallel to intonation in language with its wavering and quickly changing pitches. Perhaps this is

attention from Arab prosodists they neglected the internal rhythm. A good study of the music of poetry, however, must pay attention to both types of rhythm. For two lines of poetry may both belong to a particular metre but differ considerably in their internal rhythm and therefore in the thought-emotional content they attempt to convey. The following line in which Imru' al-Qays depicts his energetic horse as: (2)

Fiery he is, for all his leanness, and when
his ardour boils in him, how he roars - a
bubbling cauldron isn't in it! [1]

agrees in general rhythm with 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a's line which also depicts his horse but at its complete exhaustion:

The bay suffered the racing when I exhausted him,
He almost said it if only he could talk! [2]

Although both lines are in the Tawīl metre the musical differences between them are unmistakable, a fact attributable to the differences in their internal rhythm (which proceeds from the

what induces Ibrāhīm Anīs to use 'intonation' for tanghīm, see Anīs, Ibrāhīm, Mūsīqā al-Shi'r, p.151.

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, p.39 ff; also Anīs, Ibrāhīm, op. cit., p.329.
2. The translation is from A.J. Arberry's The Seven Odes (v.56), p.65. The text of Arabic verses cited is to be found in Appendix A.

different phonetic features of sounds individually and in sequence) and consequently in their thought-emotional content.⁽¹⁾

Thus the phonetic features or properties of individual sounds whether consonants or vowels, in their various articulatory places (labials, alveolars, interdental, etc.), the air-stream mechanisms involved in emitting them (voiced, voiceless, nasal, etc.), the sequence of these individual sounds in different words and sentences, that is to say the quantity of sounds which forms the basic feature of Arabic prosody, and finally the resultant music qualities of pitch (higher or lower) and stress (stronger or weaker) - all these elements combine together to produce poetic melody which moves with the modulation of the poet's thought and emotion.⁽²⁾ In introducing such phonetic material into his study of pre-Islamic poetry, al-Nuwaḥī seeks to inject a new life into this poetry, recreating through close and sensitive reading, and revealing the freshness of the true life experiences from which it emanated. This recreation becomes more necessary when it is realized that the ancients left no satisfactory record of the way they read or sung their poetry, which makes their poetical legacy akin to musical notes lacking detailed melodic description. To throb with life, these musical notes need a clever musician.⁽³⁾ This is however by way of a passing remark, since more is to come on this

-
1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.40 ff; Dīwān 'Umar, (v.1), p.341.
 2. Ibid., p.42 ff; II, p.677 ff.
 3. Anīs, Ibrāhīm, op. cit., p.166.

question. At the moment we must proceed to examine how al-Nuwaḥī exploits phonetic material in his largely aesthetic appreciation of the music of poetry.

Examining the phonetic features of consonants, he shows how the combination of certain consonants in a particular word or group of words render their pronunciation heavy. Although this phenomenon is noted by classical rhetoricians they consider it a defect and inimical to their definition of fasāḥa. Thus the second of the following lines by Imru' al-Qays:⁽¹⁾

She shows me her thick black tresses, a dark
embellishment
Clustering down her back like bunches of a
laden date-tree,
Twisted upwards meanwhile are the locks that
ring her brow,
The knots cunningly lost in the plaited and
loosened strands; [3]

is considered by them as an example of ugly dissonance for the line contains a word the sounds of which are discordant, i.e. (mustashzirāt). To al-Nuwaḥī, however, since this word is organic to the picture the poet wishes to depict the claim of the rhetoricians is untenable. He writes:

"Admittedly, the word mustashzirāt is a tongue-twister, but one may wonder whether it is not required by the great picture which the poet wants to draw of that great crown of hair: thick, heavy, crowding with unruly locks,

1. Arberry, A.J., op. cit., (vv.34-35), p.63.

some entwined and some loose, some rising high up and others sunk under the heavy mass. This will be more evident if one remembers the verse immediately preceding, which also describes the rich hair and likens it to the heavy and intertwined clusters of dates on a date-palm. The word muta'athkil sounds heavy and clumsy ... yet it also harmonizes with the intended picture and expresses the poet's pleasure at remembering pushing his fingers through that lovely thick mop. Listen especially how the letter th picks up and reverberates the sound of the two th's in the word athithun. (1)

In like manner the heavy dissonance in the following line of Ta'abbata Sharran is intended for aesthetic considerations:

Barely does he store away a provision save a remainder, for indeed the rib cartilage stuck out and the intestines cohere [4]

The phrase nashaz al-shursuf is certainly a heavy dissonance, yet the poet's picture requires it, "how otherwise could the poet have portrayed the sticking-out chest-bones of the hungry, emaciated vagabond?" (2)

Like the combination of consonants, the vowels, al-Nuwayhī shows, also partly account for the assonance or dissonance required by the poet's shades of thought and emotion. In this respect the u vowel noted in passing by the ancient Arabs as

-
1. "A Reappraisal ...", op. cit., p.529; see also al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, pp.44-46.
 2. "A Reappraisal ...", op. cit., p.529; Abū Tammām, al-Ḥamāsa II, (v.5), p.27.

the heaviest vowel in Arabic has an important role in drawing the picture al-A'shā conveys in the first hemistich of this line:

A fine-looking lady, of delicate upbringing
and fleshy elbows, as if her soles were shod
with thorns [5]

Disregarding for a moment the role of the sequence of 'heavy' consonants in drawing this sound-picture, the succession of seven u vowels in proximity to one another (especially in the case of the first six) seems to have an obvious effect in depicting the stoutness and general physical proportions of the poet's beloved. This is so because to articulate these vowels requires a consecutive lip-rounding upwards which portrays the picture al-A'shā wishes to convey. (Whether the reader shares the taste of the poet ~~in his taste~~ is beside the point - the important thing is the poet's success in portraying the picture.)⁽¹⁾

The above observation on u vowels similarly applies to Zuhayr's line describing a she-camel engaged in watering an orchard:

Behind her a driver urging her on, if she
fears his blows she stretches out her back
and her neck. [6]

Here, the last three words in the second hemistich, which carry five u vowels in proximity to one another, contribute in

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, p.48 ff; al-Tabrīzī, Kitāb Sharh al-Qasā'id al-'Ashr, (v.10), p.142.

depicting a sound-picture of a particular forward movement of the she-camel in fear of her driver reaching out and beating her. (1)

Beside individual sounds al-Nuwaḥī examines the syllables distinguishing short syllables from long ones. A short syllable is composed of a consonant followed by a vowel, for example, the conjunctive wa and the preposition bi. A long syllable, on the other hand, is of two types, closed and open. The first consists of a consonant, a short vowel and another consonant, for example the interrogative kam and the jussive verb qum, while the second is composed of a consonant and a long vowel like the negative mā and the preposition fī. The arrangement of short and long syllables in metrical feet, with no value placed on their accent as is the case in English, induces al-Nuwaḥī, like many other writers, to accept the view that Arabic prosody is basically quantitative. (2) We say basically for this quantity which is the main surface feature of the system is, as al-Nuwaḥī demonstrates, supplemented by a rich variety in internal rhythm. We shall discuss this below. But how does the above distinction of syllables affect the music of poetry? Al-Nuwaḥī says:

"Now the traditional prosodists have equated these two sorts of a long syllable, the closed and the open, as they are of equal quantity in

-
1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, I, pp.50; 135.
 2. Ibid., p.53; see also C.J. Lyall, Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry (Introduction, p.xlvi).

the taf'īla, and have given them one name, sabab khafif. Yet they are very different in their melody. ...The open syllable, ending in a long vowel, allows the modulation of the voice and the reverberation of the echo; it also allows the reader to lengthen his voice for as long as he thinks the content of thought and emotion requires. The closed syllable, ending in a consonant, allows the emphasizing of the sound of that consonant. A poet favours one or the other, or alternates them, according to the dictates of his thought-emotion content." (1)

Thus al-Mutanabbī's line:

And do not reckon glory as a wine-skin and
a singing girl, for glory resides only in
the sword and virgin violence.

is entirely composed of closed syllables except for the beginning lā. This enables the poet "through the emphasis of the consonants (of which he used several explosives), to portray the harsh cuts, the cruel jabs, and thrusts of the sword as it tears through the flesh". To read the line correctly it has to be "in rapid, harsh emissions of the breath to imitate the successive forward thrusts of the sword". (2) Conversely, in the immediate line following the above:

-
1. "A Reappraisal ...", op. cit., p.520 ff. On the basis of al-Khalīl's equation between the two types of a long syllable K.A. Abu Dīb (Fī'l Binya al-Ṭqā'iyya li'l Shi'r al-'Arabī, p.328) hypothesizes that the systematizer of Arabic prosody may well have had stress at the back of his mind when he theorised about Arabic prosody.
 2. "A Reappraisal ...", op. cit., p.521 ff.

And striking the necks of kings, and that
there should be seen to you black dust and
mighty host. [7]

the poet "uses six open syllables, which picture the great dust clouds rising high in the sky in stratum upon stratum. But suddenly at the end of the verse, where he uses two heavy words containing no long vowels to describe the huge army, he brings us back down to earth to hear the heavy tread of that army". Accordingly, a correct reading of the line "must be ... in slow long unstressed movements which give full value to the long vowels and thus depict the vast horizontal sways of the sword and the vertical rising of the dust clouds, until we reach the final two words which resort to stressed closed syllables to depict the heavy tread of the army on the ground."⁽¹⁾

Al-Nuwaḥhī's musical analysis of the above lines is hoped to have demonstrated the rich variety of internal rhythm he claims to exist in ancient Arabic poetry, in spite of the quantity of metrical units in a particular metre. Two lines of poetry, it is shown, may share a common prosodic metre and yet differ in their melodies. More of such analysis will follow. Undoubtedly this analysis draws from the critic's keen, sensible and close reading of poetry, hence al-Nuwaḥhī's desire to guide the reader how to carry out the process. According to him, the

1. "A Reappraisal ...", op. cit., p.521 ff. See also al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, pp.51-54. The translations of al-Mutanabbī's lines are from A.J. Arberry's Poems of al-Mutanabbī, (vv.6-7) p.38.

duration which quantity of sounds itself takes would vary from one context to another, be it in poetry or every-day speech. The duration of a word like rāh in an ordinary statement as al-tilmīdh akhadh kutubah wa-rāh would vary in a strongly emotive sentence like Ibnī rāh! in which case the duration the word would take in the second sentence is longer, the stress stronger and the pitch higher. (1)

Based on this phonetic material, al-Nuwaḥhī's analysis of the following line by Abu Dhu'ayb al-Hudhalī: (2)

I answered: "That which my body ails is but only this - my sons have perished from out the land, and return no more. [8]

demonstrates how the sequence of sounds in different words harmonizes with the poet's shades of thought and emotion. His use of five glottals, especially the four hamzas which emit from the inmost glottis (thus making hamza one of the most difficult sounds in Arabic to articulate), (3) the explosive dāl particularly at the initial and the end of the second hemistich, in addition to a number of long vowels which allow for the lengthening of voice, all these go a long way in depicting the burst of the poet's bitter sense of loss which he had tried to suppress for so long. Further in the first hemistich the poet uses the three

-
1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, II, p.679.
 2. The translation is rendered by C.J. Lyall, The Mufadallīyāt, II, (v.4), p.356.
 3. See Anīs, Ibrāhīm, Mūsīqā al-Shi'r, p.28.

vowels known to Arabic (a, i, u) in that order, to portray the progression of this burst in three waves of emotion each of which terminates with one of the vowels. Accordingly the duration of these vowels, the stress and the pitch doubly increase as one moves from one vowel to another.⁽¹⁾

On similar analytic lines al-Nuwayhī examines the line of al-A'shā:

Said Hurayra when I came visiting her:
My woe and misfortune, oh man! [9]

Falling within a nasīb section in which al-A'shā pretends to lament his beloved though he is in merry mood, the poet reaches in this line a climax in his parody of a coquettish lady. Ancient Arabs themselves, al-Nuwayhī points out, record their observation on the line to the same effect. Accordingly he divides the second hemistich into three waves of sounds each increasing in this tone over its antecedent (Waylī 'alayka! Wa-waylī minka!! Yā rajulu!!!), drawing attention to the explosive k terminating each of the first two waves of sounds and on which the poet almost certainly lingered to emphasize the tone, lengthening finally the last waves of sounds with full value of the tone required.⁽²⁾

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, II, pp.679-683.

2. Ibid., p.849; al-Tabrīzī, op. cit., (v.21), p.142.

To recapitulate, there are two basic elements in the music of poetry according to al-Nuwaġhī. One is the general or prosodic rhythm which proceeds from the succession, on the surface level, of feet in a particular metre and the other is the internal rhythm arising from the sequence of sounds in different words as linguistic units with their own rhythm. From the interplay of these basic elements there arises the melody which harmonizes with the delicate shades of the poet's thought and emotion. Thus through the first element a poem achieves musical unity while the second element gives it musical variety.

Alliteration and Onomatopoeia

From the above it is evident how the speech sounds harmonize with the modulation of the poet's thought and emotion, not only in individual words but also in a group of words existing in proximity to one another in successive lines. This leads us to examine al-Nuwaġhī's treatment of two verbal media neglected in classical rhetoric and criticism although they have an important role in the music of poetry. These media are alliteration and onomatopoeia. But before looking into this question it must be said that the melodic aspect in the music of poetry which al-Nuwaġhī emphasizes is not entirely neglected by classical Arab critics and rhetoricians. On the contrary, they observed different melodies in poetry but only in a general way and their observation is usually couched in vague language.⁽¹⁾

1. See, for example, al-'Askarī, Kitāb al-Sinā'atayn, pp.24-27.

Himself acknowledging this fact al-Nuwaḥī writes: "Admittedly our classical critics paid some attention to the relation between form and content, but in most cases it was meagre attention They hardly say more than that 'strong' or 'noble' or 'majestic' meanings need similarly strong or noble or majestic words, and that tender and gentle and humble meanings need words with corresponding sounds".⁽¹⁾

On alliteration in which words agree in one sound at their initial or middle, al-Nuwaḥī expresses surprise at how this poetic device escapes the attention of classical critics and rhetoricians in spite of its high frequency in classical poetry; this is the more so if one considers that they recorded their observations on paronomasia (jinās) and prose rhyme (saj'), both of which have a similarity to alliteration. But unlike the purely ornamental view of rhetoricians about jinās and saj' among other verbal media, al-Nuwaḥī demonstrates the organic role of alliteration in depicting the poet's shades of thought and emotion.⁽²⁾ Take al-Jumāḥ's line for example:⁽³⁾

But when she attacks, then is she a lioness
with whelps, short haired, that defends her
brake so that it cannot be approached. [10]

Here the poet uses alliteration in three places all of which

-
1. "A Reappraisal ...", op. cit., p.527; see also al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.42.
 2. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.65 ff.
 3. The Mufaddaliyāt, II, (v.5), p.8.

according to al-Nuwaiḥī's analysis are essential to the poet's thought and emotion. The first emphasizes the frivolity of the poet's beloved wife, the second the ferocity of her attack and the third the irony in the poet's pretended fright.⁽¹⁾ Similarly in the following line of al-A'shā:

Indeed I went to the wineshop early in the
morning accompanied by a lad, sturdy,
sprightly, sharp-headed, light and agile. [11]

which aroused the objection of ancient and contemporary critics for its alleged redundancy,⁽²⁾ the poet alliterates five words involving shīn sound to depict his gait and merry mood. Through these alliterated words "with their special rhythms and stresses, he portrays that strutting ... gait. With his six successive shīns he imitates the stammer of drunks, the chief characteristics of whose talk is the assimilation of all sibilants into a shīn sound. ... Once we realize this the verse is one of the gayest and most effective communicators of mood in ... [Classical Arabic Poetry]".⁽³⁾ Clearly the success of alliteration, one notes, lies in the poet's good distribution of repeated sounds

-
1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, II, p.799 ff.
 2. See for example Ibn Qutayba, al-Shi'r wā-l-Shu'arā', I, p.16.
 3. "A Reappraisal ...", op. cit., p.532; al-Tabrīzī, op. cit., (v.25), p.146. As far back as his Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī al-Nuwaiḥī notes the use of alliteration in classical Arabic poetry. See his analysis of a line from Ibn al-Rūmī's elegy (p.370 ff).

in certain words as a good musician distributes certain melodies in his notes.⁽¹⁾

On onomatopoeia, a term al-Nuwaḥhī extends to cover the whole range of depiction by sound, he also laments its neglect in classical rhetoric and criticism though it has a high frequency in ancient poetry generally and pre-Islamic poetry in particular. With an obvious exaggeration he adds that this verbal medium is more important than their studies on simile, metaphor and metonymy. It must be said though that before al-Nuwaḥhī 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭayyib notes the high frequency of alliteration and onomatopoeia in classical Arabic poetry and also notes their total neglect by ancient Arab critics and rhetoricians but curiously enough, he explains away this neglect.⁽²⁾

Having claimed the high frequency of onomatopoeia in classical Arabic poetry, al-Nuwaḥhī is quick to point out its originality in that poetry, demonstrating how the philologists observed and recorded its basis. Understandably the philologists confined their observation within individual words. Citing Ibn Jinnī at length, (Al-Nuwaḥhī mentions that his approach to onomatopoeic effects in poetry is basically like Ibn Jinnī's except that the latter limited himself to single words while he extends the approach to larger segments in poetical

1. Anīs, Ibrāhīm, op. cit., p.41.

2. See A. al-Ṭayyib, al-Murshid ilā Fahm Ash'ar al-'Arab, II, pp.140-41 and 233-234. In al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, p.69 al-Nuwaḥhī himself notes A. al-Ṭayyib's presentation of good examples of alliteration in classical Arabic poetry.

composition), al-Nuwayhī explicates the latter's analysis of mimicking words. He does not however go along with Ibn Jinnī in claiming that the entire lexical composition of the Arabic language originates from a deliberate mimicking of nature. For apart from the fact that some linguists put forward a number of speculations about the beginnings of language other than mimicking, language must reach a certain developmental stage in which there would be no relation between the sounds of words and their referents.⁽¹⁾ Nevertheless al-Nuwayhī is convinced that having retained much more of its primitive beginnings than many other modern languages, the Arabic language is comparatively richer in onomatopoeia, and that ancient Arab poets used this medium in their composition by exploiting the most suitable consonants, vowels, syllables and words and turning them into patterns of sounds to harmonize with their shades of thoughts and emotions. This harmony, al-Nuwayhī explains, is partly spontaneous and unconscious and partly conscious and deliberate, and he points out that such a view is consistent with the observation of ancient scholars on some poets whom they label 'the slaves of poetry' because of the great attention they paid to their composition. Different readings of a number of ancient verses may well have been due to the poets' revision in their composition.⁽²⁾ In any case one must remember that a poet is a "human being who has both the faculty to feel intensely and the ability to find words which communicate that intense feeling".⁽³⁾

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, pp.75-76.

2. Ibid., pp.77 ff and 98.

3. "A Reappraisal ...", op. cit., p.538; see also Wellek and Warren, op. cit., p.163 ff ^{in their} reply to modern linguists' undue minimization of onomatopoeia.

At the practical level al-Nuwaḥī demonstrates a good number of onomatopoeic effects in the course of his textual study of several qasidas⁽¹⁾, in addition to other examples which he elaborately analyses in the early part of his work on pre-Islamic poetry.⁽²⁾ We shall restrict ourselves to considering two examples. One is the following line by al-Ḥādīra:⁽³⁾

And oft-times have I hastened the cooking of
the half-done meat under which the cauldrons
bubble, for a party of hungry folk. [12]

In the first hemistich of the above line, al-Nuwaḥī shows how the sequence of particularly 'heavy' consonants in the first three words paints a sound-picture of the bubbling water and the burning of fire-wood while the half-done meat is being cooked. (Here the 'ayn sound in the first word is echoed by that of ghayn in the second and the emphatic rā' is vibrated by the long rā' in the third word, while the dad sound is echoed by that of jīm). In the second hemistich the poet uses the same or similar 'heavy' consonants thus reinforcing his sound-picture in the first hemistich.⁽⁴⁾ The other example is the line from

-
1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, for example pp.271, 326-41; II, for example, pp.830-32, 685-86.
 2. Ibid., pp.85-106.
 3. The Mufaddalīyāt, II, (v.20), p.18.
 4. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.271.

Zuhayr's hamziyya poem: ⁽¹⁾

Herding them as goats as they flee like
A falling bucket whose rope breaks. [13]

In it the poet depicts a sound picture of the fleeing of a wild ass and his female mates in search of water. The forceful action denoted by the verb at the initial of the first hemistich and the sequence of (h, y and w) in the sentence (fa-hiya tahwī huwiyya) give a sound-picture of a momentarily abrupt loss of breath from dropping or falling down. ⁽²⁾

Having gone thus far in our examination of al-Nuwaḥhī's general conclusions about the music of poetry, it may well be appropriate to stop and make some remarks of general nature. As we have seen, the music of poetry received considerable attention from al-Nuwaḥhī. Himself realising this, he explains that the music of poetry constitutes the first level through which this literary genre finds its way into the soul of its receiver. ⁽³⁾ In his textual study of several qasīdas al-Nuwaḥhī seems to see, rightly, enormous patterns of music since each poem would appear to have a rhythm unique to it notwithstanding a general or prosodic rhythm it may share with other poems. A thorough study of the music of poetry, as pointed out by

-
1. Translated by Arthur Wormhoudt in Dīwān Zuhayr, Dīwān al-Hallāj, (v.22), p.6.
 2. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, II, p.483 ff.
 3. Ibid., I, p.107.

M.S. 'Ayyād, is therefore a continuous investigation which starts with the critic's broad generalisation and then narrows down to the consideration of many musical patterns which one particular poet uses generally and in individual cases.⁽¹⁾ One other thing is that from various examples above it is hoped to have been made clear how al-Nuwaǧhī always associates the music of poetry with its meaning, for as far as he is concerned this music cannot be perceived completely in abstract or vacuum.⁽²⁾

A question now arises: how objective is al-Nuwaǧhī's analysis of the music of poetry? In as much as he draws from phonetic data in which material properties of speech sounds are demonstrable his method is basically objective. But one should remember that an aesthetic approach to the music of poetry (which al-Nuwaǧhī's is) can never be without some subjective elements. However, since the general framework of his method is based on an objective knowledge and enhanced by "the armed vision"⁽³⁾ of a sensible and intuitive critic it commands respect. Doubtless he unveils rich but hitherto unexplored avenues of looking at classical Arabic poetry generally and its music in particular. He truly recreates this poetry by bringing his literary and non-literary education to bear on that poetry and hence his personal qualifications of keen sensibility, sharp intuition and close reading. It is of

1. 'Ayyād, M.S., op. cit., p.161 ff.

2. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, p.69.

3. Title of a book by S.E. Hyman.

little consequence to say that his method confers a contemporary flavour upon a poetry composed many centuries ago, for the very process of literary recreation of ancient poetry entails to a no small degree that the critic must view its significance in terms of his contemporary period.

Having made these general remarks we must proceed to briefly examine al-Nuwaḥī's views on some aspects of Arabic prosody and their place in the overall music of classical Arabic poetry. These are the metres, with regard to the degree of feelings or emotions that suit them, prosodic irregularities or deviations and the rhyme. To this we turn in the following sub-section.

Metre, Rhyme and their Harmony with the Poet's Thought and Emotion

Like other contemporary writers before him,⁽¹⁾ al-Nuwaḥī considers in his study of the music of poetry the relationship between the poet's thought and emotion and the prosodic metres he employs in his composition. But unlike some of these writers who more or less relate specific themes or feelings to particular metres, al-Nuwaḥī relates different metres to the degrees of

1. See al-Bustānī, S., Tarjamat Ilyādhat Hūmīrūs (Introduction, pp.90-85); al-Shāyib, Ahmad, Usūl al-Naḡd al-Adabī, (pp.322-24); al-Ṭayyib, 'Abd Allāh, al-Murshid ilā Fahm Ash'ār al-'Arab, I, (pp.74-484).

feelings and pitches of emotions. Even in this case he sees the perception of this relationship as an impression which would need more research.⁽¹⁾ At any rate the critic, as noted above, must transcend this prosodic rhythm to investigate the deeper level of rhythm. According to al-Nuwayhī, various metres convey different impressions. He writes:

"Al-Tawīl, with its slow, quiet rhythm, is more suitable for moderate, controlled emotions which are mixed with an element of meditation. ... Al-Khafīf also suits dignified and contemplative states of mind, while al-Kāmil suits strong, active emotion. ... When the emotion increases in vigour, it finds a suitable medium in al-Wāfir with its abundance of quick, short vowels When the emotion reaches the degree of great agitation, or jerky fluctuation between ebullition and control, it finds a fit medium in al-Munsariḥ...." (2)

It will be noted that al-Nuwayhī's observation above is confined to five prosodic metres, i.e. Tawīl, Khafīf, Kāmil, Wāfir and Munsariḥ. The first four metres, in Ibrāhīm Anīs's survey, constitute the most widely used metres with varying degrees of frequency among them.⁽³⁾ Out of the nine qasīdas included in al-Nuwayhī's study on pre-Islamic poetry four are in the Kāmil metre, two each in Tawīl and Basīṭ and one in Wāfir.

1. Al-Shi'ar al-Jāhilī, I, p.62

2. "A Reappraisal ...", op. cit., p.525.

3. Anīs, Ibrāhīm, op. cit., p.191 ff.

On deviations in prosodic metres, al-Nuwayhī generally views them as having effects in somewhat toning down the conspicuousness of rhythm and reducing monotony, both of which, he believes, are inherent in Arabic prosodic rhythm especially after it was subjected over many centuries to over-use. Hence the ancient poets resorted to these deviations so considerably that their successors since the second century A.H. never matched them on that score.⁽¹⁾ However, in his textual study of some poems al-Nuwayhī shows the underlying aesthetic considerations in poets having recourse to these deviations.

Discussing al-Jumayh's poem composed in Kāmil, al-Nuwayhī notes that the poet has recourse to a form of Kāmil in which a short and a long syllable are omitted in the last foot of both hemistichs, terms by prosodists hadhadh. This is in addition to reducing, throughout the poem, two short syllables in the last foot in the second hemistich into a long syllable, or Idmār as called by prosodists. This irregular form with its abrupt break in the rhythmic flow fits, says al-Nuwayhī, the poet's depiction of a nomadic Arab in his rage.⁽²⁾ Conversely, a poet using an irregular form of a metre may switch over in his last line to the use of a complete foot in the first hemistich so as to signal the exhaustion of his feelings and therefore the conclusion of the composition. Yazīd Ibn al-Khadhdhāq

1. Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, p.232.

2. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, II, p.532 ff.

employed this device though retaining the deviation in the second hemistich because of the rhyming word. This also holds true in the case of al-Jumayh's poem referred to above as revealed in a second reading of its last line; and the same is true in the case of other poems encountered by al-Nuwa'ihī. He thus sees a similarity in this phenomenon between Arabic versification and that of English in which a foot may be added or deleted in the last line of a poem for the same aesthetic consideration.⁽¹⁾

With regard to rhyme and its function in the music of poetry, al-Nuwa'ihī's account is brief, saying that ancient prosodists dealt with the subject comprehensively as they did with metres, except that they neglected to relate their study to the poet's thought and emotion. In this respect it does not seem to occur to them that what they term 'deficiencies of rhyme' may well be a deliberate variation of rhythm by the poet and not a reflection of his inability to conform to a 'correct rhyme'.⁽²⁾ It should be noted that even among the pre-Islamic poets monorhyme often had adverse aesthetic effects on their composition.⁽³⁾ Although the relationship between rhyme and the poet's state of mind is beginning to be reflected in contemporary writing the subject

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, II, pp.549 ff and 563 ff.

2. Ibid., I, p.62 ff.

3. Ibid., II, p.464. This point may be pursued in M.C. Lyons and P. Cachia, "The Effects of Monorhyme on Arabic Poetic Production", JAL, vol.I, (1970), pp.3-13.

needs more research.⁽¹⁾ According to al-Nuwaḥī's general observations, a good number of ancient elegies take the letter 'ayn as their rhyme, which with its articulatory features indeed harmonizes with the general sense of bitterness and pain.⁽²⁾ Similarly, he observed the use of the letter sīn as a rhyme in many ancient poems whose basic emotion is one of grief or distress.⁽³⁾

Away from general observations al-Nuwaḥī confines himself to the illustration of the musical function of rhyme in conjunction with prosodic and internal rhythms in their harmony with the poet's state of mind in a particular poem, as evidenced in his analysis of Zuhayr's verses on a water-scoop (sāniya) as well as his general reference to a poem by Shawqī with a similar motif and the same rhyming letter.⁽⁴⁾ It must however be said that in the majority of qasīdas al-Nuwaḥī studied in his work on pre-Islamic poetry he kept silent on the musical function of rhyme, probably because the reader, having received some guidance, is supposed to carry out that himself.

1. See M.S. 'Ayyād, Mūsīqā al-Shi'r al-'Arabī, pp.99-148 for a good account on rhyme.

2. See al-Nuwaḥī's discussion of this point in his analysis of Abū Dhu'ayb's poem, al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, II, pp.662-63.

3. In Shakhsiyyat Bashshār (p.226) al-Nuwaḥī shows how this rhyming letter suits the poet's state of mind as revealed in a love poem.

4. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, pp.134, 138; Shawqī's poem referred to is in al-Shawqiyyāt, II, pp.63-73.

The Connotative and Associative Powers of Words

Having dealt at some length with al-Nuwaǧhī's ideas on the music of poetry in the preceding section we propose to examine here briefly his ideas on a closely related question of connotations and associations of words and the poet's exploitation of them along with other ingredients which go into making a good poem. According to al-Nuwaǧhī, pre-Islamic poets exploit the wealth of connotations in words to such an extent that their poetical composition is endowed with unique quality of terseness and depth. (1) Undoubtedly one of the characteristics of any good poetry, a good exploitation of these resources represents an important means through which the poet's 'world-view' is revealed. (2)

This perhaps partly explains why al-Nuwaǧhī dwells on words and expressions used by poets, analysing their nuances and associations to such an extent that his procedure is often criticised as too demanding on the contemporary reading public. (3) To al-Nuwaǧhī, paying the utmost attention to words as building materials for the poet is or should be a basic concern of the literary critic. This explains his severe criticism of M. Nāṣif,

-
1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.170; see also al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, passim.
 2. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, pp.162, 398; also Wazīfat al-Adab, p.163.
 3. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.162; al-Nuwaǧhī's analysis of the initial line of al-Hādīra's poem, for instance, occupies seven pages. See al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, pp.167-73.

who despite a declaration that literature is but a linguistic activity, treats the highly intensive language of pre-Islamic poetry in an off-hand manner.⁽¹⁾ Al-Nuwaḥhī's attention to words is not bounded by the linguistic commentaries of ancient scholars, in which he only chooses one interpretation or reading over another as dictated by aesthetic considerations,⁽²⁾ but he often extends his search to various dictionaries either because the ancients remained silent or offered an unsatisfactory interpretation. For an understanding of a particular word may prove crucial in getting a rewarding aesthetic appreciation of an entire theme in a poem.⁽³⁾ As part of this attention to words al-Nuwaḥhī urges the reader to be aware of words that had ^{under} gone radical semantic changes in their historical sense, and to visualise as much as possible their nuances.⁽⁴⁾ We say as much as possible for clearly the nuances of many words used by ancient poets had gone with their age forever.

-
1. Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.162-179; see also M. Nāsif, op. cit., pp.247-250; 253-257. It is worth noting in this regard that al-Nuwaḥhī's position is in line with that of M. Mandūr whom al-Nuwaḥhī criticises for declaring that literature is but a language art and it should be treated thus and nothing else. But still an important difference of attitude exists between the two critics with regard to applying extra-literary knowledge to criticism. See Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, p.390 ff; M. Mandūr, Fī'l Mīzān al-Jadīd, pp.172-180.
 2. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, e.g. p.177 ff; II, p.479 ff.
 3. Ibid., I, p.384 ff; II, p.802 ff.
 4. Ibid., I, pp.267-68; 283-85.

If the use of intensive language (which includes the use of the connotative and associative powers of words) is a quality of good poetry, it may be presupposed that an expansive or prosaic use of language in poetry is at least viewed with low regard. But this is by no means absolute, for a poem of any reasonable length, as al-Nuwaḥī seems to be saying along with T.S. Eliot,⁽¹⁾ must of necessity consist of some parts which are prosaic but in spite of this contribute towards the overall structure of the poem. On this principle the difference of quality in Abū Dhu'ayb's 'ayniyya, especially its last part,⁽²⁾ Zuhayr's hamziyya⁽³⁾ and M.I. Abū Sinna's "Tears and the Sword"⁽⁴⁾ are all acceptable as none of these poets descends low in being prosaic. This would lead us to examine al-Nuwaḥī's generalisations

-
1. The principle implicit in al-Nuwaḥī's position is Eliot's statement: "... in a poem of any length there must be transitions between passages of greater and less intensity, to give a rhythm of fluctuating emotion essential to the musical structure of the whole; and the passages of less intensity will be, in relation to the level on which the total poem operates Prosaic ...", "The Music of Poetry" (1942) in On Poetry and Poets, p.32.
 2. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, II, p.787 ff.
 3. Ibid., p.509.
 4. Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, p.212. For a perceptive exposition of denotations and connotations in poetry and their role in the actualization of organic unity, see M.M. Badawī, Dirāsāt fī'l Shi'r wa-l Masrah, pp.23-44.

on imagery in pre-Islamic poetry.

Imagery in Pre-Islamic Poetry

We mentioned above al-Nuwaḥhī's conception of imagination in literary creation, in which he noted how the literary artist exploits imagery to convey his vision clearly and deeply, in the process of which he enables us to perceive harmony in various phenomena of existence. In pre-Islamic poetry, al-Nuwaḥhī shows, the poets exploit pictorial imagery to such an extent that it is the dominant quality of that poetry⁽¹⁾ and, at the same time, one of its limitations as noted above. Given this fact, the evidence of which al-Nuwaḥhī claims to be visible in almost any poem of that age, it is untenable to confine this poetic quality to Ibn al-Rūmī.⁽²⁾ But imagery in pre-Islamic poetry is basically visual, in which the poets depict minutely a vivid picture of their lives and surroundings, including a host of manifestations of physical nature which is alleged to have been neglected or given scant attention by these poets.⁽³⁾

-
1. "Towards the Reappraisal of Classical Arabic Poetry and History", IJMS, p.202; see also al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.108.
 2. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.252-53; see also al-'Aqqād, Ibn al-Rūmī, p.258.
 3. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, pp.237-245; also al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.386. On the allegation referred to see, for instance, al-Shābbī, al-Khayāl al-Shi'rī 'Ind al-'Arab, pp.46-53.

The pictorial imagery in pre-Islamic poetry may be silent or moving and in either case it is not mechanical but imbued with life as the poets pour into it their very souls.⁽¹⁾ Take, for example, the following silent picture of a wine-jug depicted by 'Alqama:⁽²⁾

Their wine-jug is like a gazelle standing up on
a height, bound round the
spout with strips of linen, wherewith to strain
through the wine:
shining white is it - its guardian has brought
it forth to the sun-light,
with sprays of sweet basil twined round it,
perfumed with aromatics. [14]

With no pretence of matching al-Nuwayhī's elaborate aesthetic analysis of this imagery, we may summarise his appreciation as follows. The visual image of a wine-jug and a gazelle, as he shows, draws its beauty not only from the minute depiction underlying it but also from the vivacity which makes it life-like. This will be more apparent when one realises that the poet superimposes (in terms of the present day cinematic technique) the picture of the wine-jug about to be drunk (after its content "has not been seen by men's eyes for a year", as the poet mentions in a preceding verse) on that of a young and enchanting gazelle vivacious with life. Thus the success of the picture in portraying the poet and his selected friends awaiting longingly the joyous moment they are about to enter upon.⁽³⁾

-
1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, pp.379-381.
 2. The Mufaddaliyāt, II, (vv.44-45), p.337.
 3. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, pp.113-120.

With regard to pictorial imagery involving movement, we have had several examples above, notably perhaps Zuhayr's line depicting the fleeing of a wild ass and his female mates. In this imagery, however, the poet employed a sound-picture in which his prosodic and internal rhythm enabled him to succeed in depicting his desired picture. In some cases a poet may resort to visual imagery to depict a movement, especially when his rhythm is not of much help, as done by Abū Dhu'ayb in these lines:⁽¹⁾

And he drove his mates this way and that way from
the Harra's rim:
Bathr was his end, but he liked not straight by
the road to go.
They seemed, below in the hollow vale of Nubāyi' and
the ravines that lead to Dhu-l 'Arja's steep, a
fresh plundered herd:
Like a sheaf of arrows together pent the she-asses
sped,
While he, the dealer, would shuffle all and proclaim
the cast,
Like a stone the sword-smith turns above and below
his steel
to whet bright its surface, in motion ever, though
bigger far. [15]

These three visual images, i.e. the wild ass's state of fear and anxiety which induces him to hastily and forcibly drive his female mates this way and that like plundered herd, or as a dealer masterly in shuffling arrows at gambling, or, further, like the stone on which the sword-smith turns his steel, lightly, swiftly and forcibly - these images, different though they are, al-Nuwaiḥī shows, together contribute increasingly towards clarifying the particular movement the poet wishes to convey. His recourse to visual images to depict this movement, which could be more suitably conveyed by a sound-picture, may well be due to

1. The Mufaddaliyyāt, II, (vv.23-26), p.357.

the inadequacy of the Kāmil metre with its undeviating forcible rhythm, to convey the complicated movement in the desired picture. This observation gains support from the same device being employed by 'Alqama to depict the fleeing of a male ostrich,⁽¹⁾ and by a contemporary poet, Ahmad Shawqī, to describe the progression in the speed of a plane after taking off and the reverse situation when it is landing.⁽²⁾ On the other hand, the Basīṭ metre, with its quick rhythm interposed with some degree of slowness, seems to match the movement Zuhayr wishes to convey in his seven-verse description of a water-scoop used in the orchard. Thus he had no recourse to visual imagery in his description except in verse six where he likens the jumping of the frogs in their merriment at the flow of water to that of playing children.

From the foregoing aesthetic observations al-Nuwayhī draws this conclusion: Whenever the prosodic rhythm of a poem fails the ancient Arab poet, in his effort to depict a sound-picture of a particular movement, he resorts to visual imagery as a compensatory alternative. Had his poetic tradition allowed the use of different metres in one poem he would have availed himself of the opportunity.⁽³⁾ Ingenious through they are and apparently applicable to the few examples cited, these observations, one may remark, would need further research before

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, pp.360-62.

2. Ibid., p.365; see also Ahmad Shawqī, al-Shawq Iyāt, II, pp.5 and 88.

3. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, pp.122-146; II, pp.729-37.

a more reliable conclusion is to be reached on this question. This remark may not be at variance with al-Nuwayhī's position, who in his introduction appropriately calls on the reader to reassess his conclusions against the extant poetry of the pre-Islamic age, of which his work deals with but a very tiny fraction.⁽¹⁾ On the other hand, one will not fail to note that underlying al-Nuwayhī's observations is his belief that the prosodic form imposed by convention on ancient poets is not without some curtailment of the poet's creativity. If this is correct then it is the more reason why the efforts of the New Poets in remoulding this form to match their new ideas and vision of life should receive support and encouragement.

Unity in the Ancient Arab Qasīda

We noted above al-Nuwayhī's criticism of ancient Arab critics for their fragmentary approach in studying a poem, his consideration of the role of imagination in enabling a poet or a literary artist to project a balanced aesthetic effect to the reader and the closely related question of the necessity of effectuating unity between the various parts of a literary work whose value would rank higher when organic unity is achieved. Having examined in this chapter different but closely related levels of literary analysis by al-Nuwayhī and the underlying ideas on a number of ingredients that go into making a good poem, it is appropriate to next turn to his views on unity in the

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.26.

ancient qasīda, whether this unity exists, its nature if it does exist, and other related questions.

Perhaps Ṭāhā Ḥusayn is one of the first modern Arab critics to tackle the question of unity in the ancient qasīda. Although he appears to be referring to organic unity and its actualization in Labīd's ode, his terminology and the paraphrase of the ode itself would seem to suggest confusion in his understanding of the concept as used in Western criticism, or a well-intentioned exaggeration in order to induce contemporary Arab youth to read their poetic heritage instead of showing more inclination to Western literature.⁽¹⁾ Since this position was taken by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn there has been a good deal of writing on the subject. Contributing to the subject in the late fifties, M. Badawī shows the absence of organic unity in Labīd's ode and maintains that it is absent in at least the majority of extant Arabic poetry. He goes on to claim that modern Arabic poetry in its recent development is almost the only Arabic poetry which sometimes really achieved organic unity, giving al-Shābbī's poem titled "A New Dawn" as an example.⁽²⁾

With pre-Islamic poetry constituting al-Nuwayhī's most special literary interest it is to be expected that he would contribute to this subject, as he did. His first reference to the question in print would seem to be the one he made in

-
1. See Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā, Hadīth al-Arbi'ā, I, Complete Works, vol.II, pp.34-43.
 2. Badawī, M., op. cit., pp.1-44.

connection with his attempt to remove the wrong impression he claimed to have been created by al-'Aqqād and al-Māzinī, to the effect that Ibn al-Rūmī among all other ancient Arab poets is characterised by achieving unity in his poems. Even if there are new dimensions in structuring his poems, says al-Nuwaḥhī, Ibn al-Rūmī's conformity to Arab poetic tradition by far outweighs his tendency to break away from it. With regard to the specific question of achieving unity in Ibn al-Rūmī's poems al-Nuwaḥhī maintains that the general unity in the major part of his poems is no more than what obtains in an average Arabic poem whose lines are strung by a single metre and rhyme and by the thread of the general idea running through the entire poem or each of its various parts.⁽¹⁾ This general reference to unity in the ancient qasīda later received amplification in his work on pre-Islamic poetry. What follows is an outline of the salient points in his treatment of the subject.⁽²⁾

Like M. Badawī al-Nuwaḥhī sees the necessity of explaining the concept of organic unity as used in Western criticism, for it appears to have been misunderstood by many writers including Ṭāhā Ḥusayn. According to him organic unity is not actualized in the majority of ancient long qasīdas. Even the sustaining of close connection between ideas achieved by Labīd in his nasīb is not actualized by many ancient poets; he cites Zuhayr in his

-
1. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, p.254 ff; see also al-'Aqqād, Ibn al-Rūmī, p.272; al-Māzinī, Hasād al-Hashīm, p.232 ff.
 2. See al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, II, pp.435-50.

hamziyya poem as an example. (His treatment of this qasīda will be considered later in this outline.) For organic unity to be actualized, al-Nuwaḥī explains, the various aspects of the poem's emotional content must be really harmonious with one another so that the artistic objective of the poem is not polarised in such a way that each part of the work could stand independently of the other constituent parts. The non-fulfilment of this important pre-requisite is one of the two reasons which to al-Nuwaḥī accounts for organic unity not being achieved in the majority of ancient Arab long qasīdas. In the 'ayniyya of al-Ḥādīra, he maintains by way of illustration, the theme of nasīb and the subsequent theme of boasting are emotionally inharmonious in the eyes of a modern reader. The same thing could be said of 'Alqama's mīmiyya in which a modern reader would hardly perceive any emotional harmony between the poet's lamentation for Salmā, his beloved, and the subsequent boasting about his she-camel.

The other reason is two-fold, and like the first one, it relates to Arab poetic tradition. On one hand, the convention which demands a complete unity of each verse in terms of wording and idea⁽¹⁾ increasingly reinforces a continuous swing away from the cohesiveness of the qasīda as a complete whole. This phenomenon deteriorated in subsequent literary periods after the pre-Islamic age whose poets, unlike their successors, may be pardoned if not justified for structuring their poetry the

1. See for example Ibn Rashīq, al-'Umda, I, p.261 where he declares his preference for a complete unity of each verse in a poem.

way they did. On the other hand, the prosodic pattern of the qasīda based on a single metre and rhyme, which might appear as likely to contribute in achieving organic unity, is in fact a threat to it for the poet tends to be deceived by this super-imposed pattern of unity at the expense of developing internal unity as entailed by the concept of organic unity. Here again the pre-Islamic poets might be justified unlike their successors whose lives had radically changed from being nomadic.

Having candidly admitted that the majority of ancient Arab long qasīdas did not achieve organic unity, al-Nuwayhī considers it unjustifiable to demand of the ancient poets that they should achieve it. On the contrary, the demand can only be justifiable in the case of modern poets while the ancient composition should be appreciated within its limitations. For the literary taste of the ancient Arabs perfectly accepted among other things the mixing of different themes in a single qasīda. However, this should not be construed as forfeiting the right of the moderns to see ancient poetical composition in their terms, but only as emphasizing that the use of this right can only be justified after making genuine efforts to see this composition in its historical perspective. Only from this sympathetic vantage point can the moderns derive the greatest possible enjoyment of ancient poetry and make use of its achievements and limitations in developing modern poetry. In consequence of the above there must be a search for a new standard of unity which we should expect the Arabic qasīda to fulfil, a standard that proceeds from the nature of Arabic poetry itself.

On the basis of the above, a new standard of unity is put forward by al-Nuwaḥhī, a standard that points to the existence of a special harmony and cohesion in the ancient qasīda. This standard is, however, unconnected with the explanation advanced by some ancient critics on the sequence of themes in the qasīda (this is an obvious allusion to Ibn Qutayba in al-Shi'r wa-l Shu'arā', I, p.21 ff), which though not entirely unreasonable in respect of authenticity of the nasīb may not fully explain the sequence of the other themes and the connection of ideas in a single theme. Initially, says al-Nuwaḥhī, each single part of the qasīda is to be studied and appreciated as an entity. If we accept this and really delve into the mentality of the ancient poet and his 'philosophy' of life the image of the qasīda as a degenerate artistic creation will no longer be tenable. Al-Nuwaḥhī's new standard, labelled the unity of vitality (al-wahda al-hayawiyya), is justified by him to differentiate it from the organic unity and the unity of ideas advanced by ^{the} ancient Arabs and echoed by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn.

From his generalisation on this question and his detailed analysis of several qasīdas the main criterion would appear to be that the poet should convince us that his thoughts and feelings are genuine, and that the emotional change or conflict in them from one part of the qasīda to another is due to a real change in these thoughts and feelings and not because of mere artificiality. If this statement embodies the core of al-Nuwaḥhī's standards one notes that it is basically anticipated by C.J. Lyall, who says of the polythematic nature of the qasīda and how its themes

are bound together:

"The Arabian ode sets forth before us a series of pictures, drawn with confident skill and first-hand knowledge, of the life its maker lived, of the objects among which he moved, of his horse, his camel, the wild creatures of the wilderness, and of the landscape in the midst of which his life and theirs was set; but all, however loosely they seem to be bound together, are subordinate to one dominant idea, which is the poet's unfolding of himself, his admirations and his hates, his prowess and the freedom of his spirit."⁽¹⁾

It is true that the positions of the two writers, which were reached independently, proceed from different contexts and they vary in matters of detail (Al-Nuwaiḥī in a rather polemical tone speaks of the existence of a special unity and cohesion in the ancient qasīda while Lyall simply seeks to explain the general character of the qasīda.) yet their conclusion is ultimately and basically the same.

To illustrate his concept of the unity of vitality clearly, al-Nuwaiḥī presents a detailed study of Zuhayr's hamziyya. What follows is a brief outline of his study but I shall only touch upon those general aspects relating to cohesion or integration which he perceives in the sequence of the six parts of which the qasīda is composed.⁽²⁾ Inevitably I shall leave out al-Nuwaiḥī's detailed analysis of Zuhayr's poetic devices the success of which

-
1. Lyall, C.J., Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry, (Introduction, p.xviii).
 2. See al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, II, pp.451-528.

contributes, no doubt, towards the qasīda satisfying the above standard.

The Unity of Vitality in the Hamziyya of Zuhayr

The overriding emotion in this qasīda, al-Nuwa^hī shows, is one of high spirits and youthful gaiety; hence it contrasts with the poet's mu'allāqa and later poetry in which Zuhayr is revealed as an elderly and composed gentleman. In its nasīb part (vv.1-13) this qasīda contrasts with that of Labīd; while the verses of the nasīb in the latter qasīda are closely connected as shown by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Zuhayr's verses are capable of being reordered without distortion. Indeed reordering some of the verses would enhance their logical sequence. But then this disunity is attributable to the poet's state of mind. Here is a poet who, in his youth and merry mood, is required by a strict poetic convention to begin his composition with lamentation regardless of its suitability to his present need. To reconcile these conflicting positions without being insincere, the poet casts his imagination back to recapture one of his past loves, which he does, though not entirely without some visible signs of the imposition of the subject upon him. Nonetheless the verses reveal a genuine depiction of his old beloved and her abandoned dwellings, while on the other hand they repeatedly reveal the poet's efforts to overcome the past memory and face his concerns of the moment. As a consequence of this dichotomy the smooth flowing of ideas in this part of the qasīda is greatly affected. Nowhere does the rigidity of convention reveal its effect on the

poet more than in line 13 in which Zuhayr, in an apparent effort to move into another theme, uncouthly declares his resolution to part with the love whose memory he tried to revive just a moment ago.

Here al-Nuwaḥhī reveals his objection to the idea of 'good transition' (husn al-takhallus) as advanced in ancient Arab criticism and rhetoric,⁽¹⁾ which is often merely artificial especially during the Abbasid period. He does not however disapprove of this device when it is natural and convincing.⁽²⁾ Having said this, it is worth stressing that al-Nuwaḥhī's concept of unity of vitality is not connected with 'good transition' but is in spite of it. Hence he sees Zuhayr's dual transition in the next three verses (vv.14-16 which constitute parts 2 and 3 of the qasīda) as unhelpful in bringing harmony between the various parts of the qasīda. In the first transition (v.14) the poet seeks solace from his troubles in riding his she-camel, and secondly he likens the speed of this she-camel to that of an ostrich (vv.15-16) which in turn receives a brief description in which his debt to 'Alqama is obvious. On further reflection, however, one wonders if the poet is not really wandering in search of a life experience capable of arousing his interest and creative power; hence he moves from nasīb to a description of the she-camel and then an ostrich until he finds what he really wants

1. On takhallus see, for example, Ibn Rashīq, al-'Umda, I, pp.234-239; 263-64.

2. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, I, p.323.

in the next theme, i.e. the description of a wild ass. As this qasīda is one of Zuhayr's early works and because in addition he is contending with strict poetic conventions, the clumsy transition we see here would seem understandable. This is why in his later poetry when he appears more confident in himself and his art he directly moves into his next theme after the nasīb without employing any forced transitional device.⁽¹⁾

In the next 15 verses (vv.17-31) Zuhayr finds a theme (part 4) which really arouses his interest, as mentioned before, and in which he gives a vivacious portrayal of the recurrent cycle of the wild ass. As a reflection of his merry mood, the poet ends his portrayal happily with the wild ass and his mates finding once again a place of water and pasture. In this he contrasts with other poets who, in their treatment of the same theme, end the portrayal tragically. In part five (vv.32-35) Zuhayr depicts himself and selected friends in their enjoyment of the pleasures of life: food, drink, scent and music. Having warmed up in the previous part, the poet sees no need to resort to any transitional device to enable him to tackle the theme of this part which, according to al-Nuwayhī, constitutes the main poetic objective of Zuhayr's composition of this qasīda. Little wonder then that he places it exactly in the middle of the qasīda as its chief attraction. Although the ancients state that the concluding part, i.e. the satire (hiǰā') following the above verses is the reason for the composition, it may well be

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, II, p.583.

that the poet seized the occasion as a pretext to express his feelings in these four verses which al-Nuwaġhī claims to be the main poetic objective in the qasīda.

In the hijā', the longest part of the qasīda (vv.36-65) Zuhayr again makes no use of a transitional device. But how does hijā' harmonise with the high spirits claimed to be the dominant emotion in this qasīda? To al-Nuwaġhī what we see in these verses is a different kind of hijā', more of a derision or mild contempt than a serious anger. Viewed from this perspective, the hijā' part is not necessarily in conflict with the poet's dominant emotion as it appears on the surface.

This section will not be complete without making a general reference to al-Jumayġ's 13-line qasīda (The Mufaddaliyāt I, (No.CIX), pp.717-20) having hijā' as its subject. Al-Nuwaġhī sees in it the actualisation of the Western concept of organic unity. According to him the shortness of the qasīda enables it to achieve organic unity but this is by no means the decisive factor. For although short, it consists of three different waves of emotion. First is the poet's sarcasm and condemnation of the treachery of Banū Rawāḥa, second is his expression of an overwhelming desire for revenge with which he threatens the entire tribal grouping of Ghatafān of whom Banū Rawāḥa formed a part and finally comes his sense of grief for the loss of Naḍla, his tribesman. Each of these feelings, al-Nuwaġhī shows, organically develops from its antecedent and together they lead to one focal point of the poet's thoughts and emotions, which is the effect

the treacherous slaying of Nadla had on him, thus making a harmonious aesthetic impression on the reader.⁽¹⁾ This qasīda contrasts with that of Yazīd Ibn al-Khadhdhāq (The Mufaddaliyāt, I, (No.LXXVIII), pp.593-96). Although the latter qasīda is similar to the former in length and theme it confines itself to the poet's expression of anger against al-Nu'mān, king of al-Hīra. With no variety of feelings to be subjected to artistic and organic unity as revealed in the former, it gives a lower degree of emotional and aesthetic satisfaction to the reader.⁽²⁾

To close this section, it may be remarked that in his study of pre-Islamic poetry al-Nuwaīhī synthesizes, in general remarks, the various poetic ingredients of a theme in the qasīda he analyses, and also impresses upon the reader that he should do the same. This seems consistent with his view that each part of the ancient qasīda should initially be studied and appreciated as an entity and that speaking of one poetic ingredient at a

-
1. See al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, II, pp.532-51. In this connection the rā'iyya of Bashshar to which we made several references is considered by al-Nuwaīhī to have actualized organic unity. See "Munāqashat Khamsat Kuttāb ...", al-Ādāb, (October, 1971), p.71. Al-Nuwaīhī mentions this in reply to 'Abd al-Latīf Sharāra who sees the poem as aesthetically incohesive. See A. Sharāra, "al-Abhāth", al-Ādāb, (August, 1971), p.65.
 2. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, II, pp.552-64.

time is only a critical necessity to facilitate analysis.⁽¹⁾ But given al-Nuwalhī's analysis of Zuhayr's hamziyya, and several other qasīdas on similar lines, he undoubtedly demands of the reader that he should synthesize the various constituent parts of the qasīda. Of necessity though, the aesthetic effect the qasīda as a whole would leave on the reader is different in kind to that of a poem which achieves organic unity.

Criteria of Literary Evaluation

1. "Sincerity is a prerequisite of literature, ... when it is fulfilled we accept the literary production in principle after which we re-examine it on the basis of other criteria; we judge it against the extent of its use to human beings in fulfilling their happiness and progress or bringing them nearer to it. On this basis we could rate literary productions on different scales, for literature is not entirely of the same degree of value. We may reject a production previously accepted in principle owing to its sincerity, because we find its harm or viciousness outweighs the pure literary pleasure it provides."⁽²⁾

-
1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, pp.145-48; II, p.753 ff.
 2. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.86.

2. "A literary artist capable of combining in his work a sincere feeling, high moral significance, a noble social mission and excellent and fresh literary presentation is doubtless worthy of attaining the highest degree of literary accomplishments, he is worthy of providing us with the complete artistic pleasure and satisfaction we do not get from a non-specialist artist however sincere, or from a literary artist like Abū Nuwās who may prove equal in purely literary terms although descending low in moral and social terms. ... Another important reason I proclaim in respect of my preference for Zuhayr is the quantity. For Zuhayr provided us with a number of excellent gasīdas in which no other poet competes with him. Among pre-Islamic poets including Imru' al-Qays I do not know of any other poet who left us seven long gasīdas having the same excellence despite their length." (1)

Seven years elapsed between the above citations. The first is pronounced in connection with emphasizing truth as a pre-condition of initial acceptance of a particular work as literature, after which other criteria would follow to determine the literariness or otherwise of the work or to determine its degree of value. The second citation, however, is in respect of the criteria by which al-Nuwa^hī rates Zuhayr above all other pre-Islamic poets. Both citations are clearly complementary. In this section we propose to outline briefly al-Nuwa^hī's criteria of literary evaluation.

Truth in Literature

The concept of truth in literature as defined by al-Nuwa^hī

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhiliī, II, pp.646-47.

is "essentially sincerity, the sincerity of the literary artist to his feelings in depicting them as they really occur to him".⁽¹⁾ In addition to devoting a complete book to this concept as shown in Chapter Two, it pervades in various ways al-Nuwaḥhī's book-length studies. To him the sincerity of the literary artist constitutes one of the major values to be sought in good literature, the other being simplicity as opposed to artifice.⁽²⁾

With the mention of simplicity as a major value in literature it may not be amiss to mention that simplicity, in the sense of poetry depicting simple and non-heroic life experiences, seems to earn al-Nuwaḥhī's evaluation above heroic poetry with its oratorical or grand style. Although this kind of poetry, when it is true and sincere, has a legitimate place in certain stages in the literary development of a people (presumably at a primitive stage or in time of war or such circumstances), it does not constitute, in his view, the best kind of poetry in terms of maturity and depth.⁽³⁾ One should note here that part of al-Nuwaḥhī's defence of the new poetry centres on the efforts of these poets to change the popularly held heroic view of poetry in terms of subject matter and style, by depicting simple life experiences which most of us live and depictions of which

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.50.

2. "Why Teach Arabic?", a talk given by al-Nuwaḥhī to the students of the English Language Institute, AUC, 8th December, 1969, p.5.

3. "Al-Dīn wa-l Mārkiṣiyya wa-l Naqd", Al-Ādāb, (August, 1971) p.61.

abound in true ancient Arabic poetry itself. In any case poetry does not derive its aesthetic beauty from the heroic nature of its subject matter but from the poetic handling of the subject whatever it is.⁽¹⁾ Basing himself on his understanding of the value of simplicity as outlined above, al-Nuwayhī calls for a revaluation of ancient Arabic poetry. He writes:

"A revaluation of our entire poetical heritage had also to be begun, with the purpose of demoting those poets whose only or chief merit is verbal pomp or dexterity, and to evaluate to higher pinnacles of appreciation those other poets whose chief merit was their simplicity and sincerity and their original contribution to a new understanding of the human situation. In such a revaluation a man like al-Mutanabbī, almost fanatically revered with religious fervour, would come down considerably, while others more humbly treated in conventional estimation would come high up."⁽²⁾

After this digression we must continue our examination of al-Nuwayhī's criterion of sincerity. Having already mentioned his view of sincerity as a determinant of accepting or rejecting a work as literature, one must add that this criterion elaborates but does not supersede his dual criteria (noted above) distinguishing literature from non-literature. But to a Western reader the sincerity of a literary artist would appear to be something to be taken for granted irrespective of the compounding difficulties in determining it. (We shall pose a question later

1. See Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, pp.65-83.

2. "The Battle of the New Poetry", The Texas Quarterly, (vol.9, no.2, 1965), p.152 ff.

on the nature of these difficulties.) In the context of Arabic literature, however, al-Nuwaḥī's emphasis on sincerity will be better appreciated if viewed against his contention that for the past eight centuries in the life of Arabic literature "the poets and belletrists contrived to cover up their paucity of true, new content by the artifice of their elaborately decorative style ..." ⁽¹⁾, and that the fate of Arabic poetry had been "deterioration into mere repetitious bombast where the great pomp of the sound managed to disguise the inner emptiness and staleness of the content". ⁽²⁾ Whether al-Nuwaḥī exaggerates the degree of insincerity in the decadent periods of Arabic literature or not, the fact remains that the tradition of Arabic poetry is notable for its remarkable continuity ⁽³⁾ even during a period which may be called a golden age. Consequently the creativity of a would-be poet was basically narrowed within the bounds set by the great masters of the past. This fact is undoubtedly one of the reasons why al-'Aqqād, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and al-Māzinī, in their efforts to modernise Arabic literature, stressed the importance of sincerity as a criterion of good literature, but despite these efforts the association between literature, especially poetry, and 'falsity' is found by al-Nuwaḥī to be persistent in the minds of many. ⁽⁴⁾

-
1. "When the Twain Meet ...", The Centrality of Sciences and Absolute Values, p.901.
 2. "The Battle of the New Poetry", op. cit., p.149.
 3. Badawī, M.M., "From Primary to Secondary Qaṣīdas", JAL XI, 1980, p.8.
 4. Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.41-42.

But considering the fact that the sincerity of a literary artist is such that we cannot really assess it in most cases, how can we really distinguish between sincere and 'false' feelings in literature? Replying to M. Nāṣif who poses a similar question and calls for substituting for sincerity a more definable concept, al-Nuwaḥhī concedes the compounding difficulties in such a distinction, but maintains nonetheless that the difficulties are not insurmountable, for the literature bequeathed to us by previous generations will help us in that respect.⁽¹⁾ In this connection there is much relevance to al-Nuwaḥhī's indicators which could guide the reader to identify genuine from counterfeit in literature and which we outlined very briefly in Chapter Two. However, in the final analysis, al-Nuwaḥhī says, a well-cultivated literary taste is the indispensable touchstone in this matter. This is not to slight the importance of criteria or principles upon which a critic must base his literary study and evaluation, but only to underline the fact that literary evaluation is subject to difference among various critics.⁽²⁾ What al-Nuwaḥhī seems to be saying is that literary evaluation cannot be wholly stripped of personal factors in the critic. But given the importance the process of analysis assumes in al-Nuwaḥhī's conception of criticism, one would see that the degree of differences in evaluating literary production

1. Wazīfat al-Adab, p.200; see also M. Nāṣif, op. cit., pp.322 and 358-59.

2. Wazīfat al-Adab, pp.78-79; see also Shakhsīyyat Bashshār, p.250.

would be much narrowed down. For a literary work, as we have seen, has some objective properties which can and must be demonstrated by a critic if his evaluation is to be reasonable and fairly persuasive.⁽¹⁾

We have mentioned that to al-Nuwaḥhī sincerity determines the initial acceptance of a work as literature or helps to determine the degree of its value among similar literary works. This means that in addition to its being a prerequisite for accepting a particular work as literature, the concept of sincerity is a general criterion on the basis of which the works accepted as literature are rated in accordance with their literary merits or performance as literature. A significant part of these merits or performance has to do with the work's possessing the complex ingredients that combine to make a good poem or literary work, as the early part of this chapter attempted to show in al-Nuwaḥhī's literary analysis. To al-Nuwaḥhī the sincerity of a literary artist, therefore, entails or should entail his capacity to convince his readers that he has freshness of ideas and a distinct literary style. For one of the unmistakable characteristics of a true literary artist is his ability to tackle his artistic experience from a fresh outlook which manifests itself in a distinctive literary style.⁽²⁾ Even in the case of ancient Arabic poetry which is overwhelmed

1. Shakhsiyyat Bashshār, p.248.

2. Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, pp.190-191; see also "al-Shi'r wa'l-Ḥadāra", al-Ādāb, (May, 1971), p.6 ff.

by strict conventions, true poets were never content to repeat one another but endeavoured to give something fresh however little. The depiction of a wild ass, for instance, is a recurrent theme in the ancient qasīda but Zuhayr and Abū Dhu'ayb were able to add something new to their predecessors.⁽¹⁾ Basing himself on this understanding, al-Nuwayhī slights M.H. Ismā'īl whom he finds in his collection Qāb Qawsayn not adding anything substantial over his earlier poetical accomplishment.⁽²⁾ Conversely he encourages a younger poet, M.I. Abū Sinna, whose Qalbī wa-Ghāzilāt al-thawb al-Azraq despite many limitations, reveals the poet's capacity for fresh ideas and distinct style.⁽³⁾ Indeed, this understanding is at the core of al-Nuwayhī's vehement defence of the movement of New Poetry which he sees as the only avenue through which new vistas of real developments will be opened up to Arabic poetry.

Al-Nuwayhī's idea on the literary artist's sincerity need not be stretched too far as far as ancient Arabic poetry is concerned. During the Umayyad period, for example, the concept of sincerity did not, nor should it, have much relevance to much panegyric produced as mere trade ware at the time.⁽⁴⁾ However it will help to illuminate al-Nuwayhī's position on this point

-
1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, II, p.719.
 2. Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, pp.191-192.
 3. Ibid., pp.415-416.
 4. Badawī, M.M., "From Primary to Secondary Qasīdas", JAL XI (1980), p.9.

when it is realised that the only panegyric which earns his respect is the 'unpolluted' Arab panegyric represented by Zuhayr, which, he believes, ensued from the poet's real admiration of the persons he eulogized for their noble social mission and not merely for their financial rewards.⁽¹⁾

The Consideration of Quality and Quantity

As we have seen al-Nuwa^Yhī rates Zuhayr above other pre-Islamic poets on account of the poet's seven excellent qasīdas among other things.⁽²⁾ This is a declaration from al-Nuwa^Yhī

-
1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, II, pp.617-620. It is worth noting here that in an obvious reply to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, al-Nuwa^Yhī takes the concept of sincerity and its actualization in pre-Islamic poetry to refute his mentor's thesis on fabrication in that poetry. "The Pre-Islamic poetry", says al-Nuwa^Yhī, "... is a true mirror of its environment, the social conditions of the community and the life of its people.... When its artistic excellence, which is based on sincerity, is considered, it becomes completely impossible to see this poetry or the bulk of it as fabricated. Who would believe that this sincerity and artistic excellence could emanate from the fabrication of narrators?" See ibid., p.780.
 2. It is interesting to compare al-Nuwa^Yhī's highest literary regard for Zuhayr with Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Ṣabūr who, listing his favourite pre-Islamic poets, registers a personal disinclination to the same poet. See S.'Abd al-Ṣabūr, Ḥayātī fī'l-Shi'r, p.155.

that he considers the quantity factor in his evaluation. But this is not to say that quantity per se is in itself a criterion, for in the final analysis it is the quality of the literary production that counts, not quantity. However, when two poets or literary artists are equal in the quality of their works but one of them produces more works the quantity factor helps to determine the placing of one above the other. For this reason it would seem untenable to al-Nuwaḥī to say that if Shakespeare had only left "Hamlet" that play would have been enough to earn him the reputation he achieved. For one of the main factors behind this reputation, al-Nuwaḥī argues, lies in the number of excellent works he wrote⁽¹⁾. Not entirely unconnected with the criterion just considered is al-Nuwaḥī's higher literary regard for a poet when he proves more resourceful in his treatment of subject matter. Implicitly, this is al-Nuwaḥī's position in respect of 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a and Bashshār. Although both poets excel in love poetry in which the former influenced the latter the horizon of the former in respect of that theme is wider and richer.⁽²⁾ This is again in consistence with al-Nuwaḥī's demand for maintaining variety in literature. Accordingly, Abū Nuwās' poetry though not lacking sincerity and

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, II, pp.647-48.

2. Shakhsiyyat Bashshār, p.277. On al-Nuwaḥī's study of Bashshār's love poetry see ibid., pp.205-252; on his study of that of 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a see his two-part article titled "Fann 'Umar", al-Ādāb, April and May, 1965 (pp.18-21 and 18-23).

literary merit its range is seen by al-Nuwaǧhī to be confined to wine, homosexual love and piety. The poetry of Ibn al-Rūmī and al-Maʿarrī, in contrast, encompasses almost everything in their societies.⁽¹⁾

The Place of Non-Literary Values in Literary Evaluation

One of the principles on which al-Nuwaǧhī bases his highest literary regard for Zuhayr, it will be recalled, is the poet's high moral sense and noble social mission. For Zuhayr, as is well known, was a peaceful man who rose above many of the jāhiliyya values by his discouraging of war and promoting peaceful co-existence, an obviously important precondition for any human development and progress. In considering this non-literary factor in his overall evaluation of Zuhayr, al-Nuwaǧhī shows that non-literary values have a positive role in his literary evaluation. But this position is a development from his view on the matter when he first published his Shakhsiyyat Bashshār (1951). "In the sphere of literary criticism", says al-Nuwaǧhī at the time, "Art - whether we like it or not - is not judged in accordance with ethical or moral values. The only correct criterion in literary criticism is that of Art pure and simple".⁽²⁾

-
1. Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, p.278 ff. On the same line is al-Nuwaǧhī's noting of the variety of experiences in M.I. Abū Sinna's collection not found in the same degree in other collections of the poet's contemporaries; see Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, pp.220-224.
 2. Shakhsiyyat Bashshār, p.192.

Commenting on this development, he mentions that his view on the relationship between Art and morals has changed so greatly that he no longer upholds the statement just cited.⁽¹⁾ His new position on this matter is that Art is ultimately one of many human activities which should aim at increasing man's material and spiritual happiness and to exempt Art from pursuing this objective will not be beneficial to man.⁽²⁾ Literary values themselves which most of his works attempt to lay bare are inextricably interwoven with many non-literary values which include among other things social, spiritual, intellectual and political considerations.⁽³⁾ Although the above development is clearly recorded in the second edition of Shakhsiyyat Bashshār (1971) it is al-Fann Wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān (1958) that first indicates it. As mentioned above, this work is a free summary of I.A. Richards' Principles of Literary Criticism. It is not therefore unreasonable to suggest that the development partly took place under Richards' influence.

To go back to al-Nuwaḥhī's consideration of moral and social

-
1. Shakhsiyyat Bashshār, p.196.
 2. Ibid., pp.196-197.
 3. Ibid., p.197 ff. This view contrasts with that of many a classical critic on the matter. 'Alī Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jurjānī, for example, though a qādī, allowed himself to say in defence of al-Mutanabbī's heretical poetry: "Religion is apart from poetry". See al-Qādī al-Jurjānī, al-Wasāta, p.64.

values in evaluating Zuhayr, he made it clear that this consideration is not so much a criterion to distinguish literature from non-literature but as a determinant of the degree of value in a particular literary production.⁽¹⁾ Hence literature cannot be regarded great unless it shows concern for such general human values as widening the scope of sympathy among fellow human beings, liberating the oppressed, and in short, all the humanistic values.⁽²⁾ Again all these values are consistent with al-Nuwaḥī's liberal humanistic outlook which we noted earlier. It is no mere coincidence therefore that the forthcoming volume in memory of al-Nuwaḥī to be published by the American University in Cairo is titled In Quest of Islamic Humanism: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Muhammad al-Nuwaḥī.

In outline the above are al-Nuwaḥī's main dimensions of literary evaluation as a critical objective to be pursued in itself. One notes that although in theory al-Nuwaḥī declares evaluation to be an intrinsic critical pursuit, in practice his literary analysis by far outweighs evaluation. As a matter of fact apart from his high rating of Zuhayr among other pre-Islamic poets he does not venture, probably wisely, to go to such lengths in respect of other poets he studied. His evaluative statements on the poets mentioned above are somewhat

1. Al-Shi'r al-Jāhili, II, p.647.

2. Al-Fann Wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, p.49; compare with I.A. Richards in Principles of Literary Criticism, p.72.

casual, and in any case he made no attempt to spell out his principles or criteria as he did in respect of Zuhayr. However, these evaluative statements point to some criteria or principles which al-Nuwalhī takes into account in his literary evaluation and it is therefore legitimate to consider them in his overall scheme of literary evaluation. Having said this, one should remember that the two processes of analysis and evaluation though they may be pursued as different critical objectives are mutually inclusive.

As we have seen there are two broad evaluative criteria mentioned by al-Nuwalhī. The first is the criterion of sincerity which in addition to being a distinguishing factor between literature and non-literature allows for rating various works on the rungs of the literary ladder. Branching out from this broad criterion he includes the sub-criteria of the extent of literary handling as analysed in this chapter, freshness of ideas, depth of vision, width of outlook on life or variety of vision and the quantity of works having quality. Following sincerity is another equally broad criterion, which though al-Nuwalhī does not elaborate on it much, entails some sub-criteria on the basis of which literary works may be evaluated. This criterion is that of seeing literary works against general human values and the extent to which the works serve to promote these.

To sum up, the real business of literary criticism for al-Nuwalhī starts with the critic's grappling with the literary work embodied in the language medium, after the preparatory work

of putting it in its proper perspective through the use of various relevant disciplines. This business entails objective analysis of the work as much as possible and evaluating it. Evaluation which al-Nuwaĥī declares to be critical pursuit in its own right receives less attention than analysis. In his scheme of evaluation there are two broad criteria of sincerity and applying general human values. Underlying these criteria are some sub-criteria which al-Nuwaĥī spells out in the case of sincerity, but which he does not elaborate in the case of applying general human values.

CONCLUSION

The scope of al-Nuwa'ihī's literary criticism as presented in the preceding pages is primarily confined to the study and reevaluation of ancient Arabic poetry in general and pre-Islamic poetry in particular. With the emergence of the innovative movement exemplified in the new poetry, al-Nuwa'ihī was one of its most enthusiastic supporters at a time when it was facing ferocious opposition from powerful antagonists. For like Ṭāhā Husayn, his mentor, al-Nuwa'ihī sees the real preservation of the best of the Arab poetical heritage as lying in the embarking by subsequent poets upon meaningful innovative changes which will enrich the pool of Arab poetic genius. To bar these innovative changes, in their view, would be tantamount to making this heritage impervious to change, which would lead to its stultification. Embedded in this dynamic viewpoint is the idea of the co-existence of continuity and change, so that the best of the 'old' is brought into harmony with the best of the 'new' to satisfy the new demands of a particular age in matters of thought, art and literature. Thus an accurate understanding and appreciation of the literary heritage will form a basis for satisfying the demands of the present. Although al-Nuwa'ihī concedes the giant strides made by modern Arabic literature as a result of cultural contact with the West, he considers the bulk of the borrowing from the West to be superficial because it is not being fully integrated into the achievements of Arab literary past. Only when this is achieved can modern Arabic literature really contribute to the common pool of universal human

culture.⁽¹⁾

Given this understanding, a serious study of the Arab poetical heritage on methodical lines such as those adopted by al-Nuwaḥhī in his work on pre-Islamic poetry is the first reliable step towards achieving the above goal. For one thing it will accurately show the moderns the achievements and limitations of their forbears, which they can harness along with whatever they may borrow from foreign culture in developing their own poetry. In this respect it is illuminating to mention al-Nuwaḥhī's call in the mid-sixties for Arab literary artists, who appear worried about the failure of their works to achieve international recognition, to eschew that ambition for the moment and devote their efforts towards developing fully their national genius. When they really do that their works, al-Nuwaḥhī says, will transcend national boundaries to achieve universal significance, for universal literatures are really national literatures in the first place.⁽²⁾

However, it must be said that in his strong support for innovative changes in modern Arabic poetry al-Nuwaḥhī himself goes beyond the bounds of moderation when he envisages the possibility of this poetry being based on accentual rhythm like English poetry, without fully explaining how and without seeming

1. See al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī, I, p.325.

2. "Al-Qawmiyya qabl al-'Ālamiyya", al-Majalla, (November 1967), pp.9-18.

to recognise fully the implications of such an idea for the simultaneity of continuity and change which he advocates. Perhaps not surprisingly, Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Ṣabūr describes the idea as criticism outstripping poetic creation itself.⁽¹⁾ This does not however lessen the value of the ideas of al-Nuwaḥī on the rhythmic and linguistic basis of the new poetry, as is evidenced by the serious attention being given to these ideas by writers in this area of study.⁽²⁾

One general feature pervading al-Nuwaḥī's criticism, as we have seen, is the way in which he appears in the role of a teacher deeply concerned with how literary education should be properly disseminated. Thus in his works there are conscientious efforts to correct the methods of literary education in schools and to direct the efforts of poorly equipped teachers or writers to more fruitful avenues of serving the cause of the modern literary movement. This feature is by no means unconnected with his inborn ability as a teacher as well as his long-standing teaching career. He may be considered to be sometimes severe

-
1. This is contained in a review by 'Abduh Badawī of a radio symposium on al-Nuwaḥī's Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, titled "Alā Hāmish Nadwa", al-Risāla, no.1079 (17th September, 1964), pp.53-54. See also Munah Khūrī, al-Shi'r Bayn Nuqqād Thalātha, (Introduction), pp.10-11.
 2. Cf. Beik, Kamal Kheir who fully deals with these ideas in his Le Mouvement Moderniste de la Poesie Arabe Contemporaine, (chapter IV, pp.339-390); Abū Dīb, Kamāl, Fī'l-Binya al-Īqā'iyya li'l-Shi'r al-'Arabī, passim, especially pp.8-13.

in his criticism of the methods followed by these peoples but his good intentions and positive contribution in this regard seem to have met with recognition. In particular, through his sound education, literary and otherwise, his keen sensibility, close reading, critical acumen and adoption of methods and procedures unique to him in contemporary native criticism he is able to imbue literary texts, especially ancient texts, with life and vivacity and thus to arouse considerable interest in the reader if he is able to respond adequately to the demands of these methods and procedures. No doubt some aspects of his methods or procedures are not entirely free from personal eccentricities, especially his occasional over-elaboration and his constant interposition of personal memories and experiences. This notwithstanding, he proves himself a worthy promoter of the efforts begun by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn to re-evaluate and popularise ancient Arabic poetry.

Another aspect of al-Nuwaḥī as a teacher which is closely related to the first is his view of literature in general and poetry in particular as a serious discipline carrying with it various educational benefits in addition to the aesthetic reward one gains through contact with it. Here al-Nuwaḥī's views on the functions of literature are relevant. Of special importance among these functions is perhaps that of literature as an apparatus through which sympathy is extended among fellow human beings at individual and social levels, and as a means by which healthy views and attitudes are acquired and by which decaying values can be changed for the better. The importance of the

role assigned by al-Nuwaǧhī to education embodied in literature seems clear. A.H. Green therefore is right when he writes of al-Nuwaǧhi: "...he shared the liberal's optimistic, almost naive, faith in the power of education and the rightness of democratic procedure as the best vehicles for promoting needed social change"⁽¹⁾. However, we would not necessarily endorse the overtones of this statement which seem to minimise the power of education in transforming individuals and society.

Turning to the critical thoughts underlying al-Nuwaǧhī's criticism which in this study we have attempted to piece together, we find that one dominant feature characterising them is their practical nature and the avoidance of speculation. This is also largely true of his more theoretical works, Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd and Wazīfat al-Adab. As mentioned in the preamble to the second part of this study, this feature could be explained by his inclination to textual study rather than theorising; even where the discussion of theories becomes necessary he tends to present them in a simplified fashion, no doubt to cater for the needs of his audience. We should remember that the above books, with the exception of the first, were first delivered as lectures to students who were almost certainly preparing themselves for a Postgraduate Diploma in the Arab League's Institute of Higher Arabic Studies. In view of the fact that these students were representative of many other students and of the reading public

1. Green, A.H., op. cit., p.10.

outside the institute, the levels of these lectures were maintained when they were eventually published as books. In this connection it will not be amiss to note that al-Nuwaġhī's Arabic articles, in contrast to similar ones written in English, would appear to a sophisticated reader unnecessarily insistent and repetitive.⁽¹⁾ However, this is not to say that al-Nuwaġhī's works are shallow and therefore incapable of attracting the interest of specialists. On the contrary, all the available evidence shows the seriousness with which specialists view his works. This means that although his works address general readers in the first place they do not lose the attention of the specialists in Arabic literature as a result.

There are other two interrelated features of al-Nuwaġhī's critical thoughts. The first is their all-embracing approach to the literary work in which the social agents and the individual personality and genius of the literary artist interact to produce the work of literature, thus making it necessary for the critic to study and understand this interaction if he is really to understand the work and appreciate it. Secondly, these thoughts have a good deal of coherence. Al-Nuwaġhī's cross reference to

1. Al-Nuwaġhī himself points out this fact in an introduction to a conference paper entitled "Some Characteristics of Form and Content in the New Poetry as Revealed in a Selected Poem". The paper is a translation of an earlier Arabic article on Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Ṣabūr's "Ughniya min Vienna" included in Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, pp.145-170.

and quotation from his earlier works, in addition to the way in which he himself points out developments in his ideas such as those noted in respect of the inseparability of literary and non-literary values, have all no doubt made this coherence more visible. Pointing out these features in 1972, Ahmad K. Zakī writes:

"Indeed al-Nuwaḥī is not establishing a new critical principle when he considers that 'psyche' and 'society' are the core of the work of art ..., nonetheless he presents a coherent framework for his criticism and literary studies which, on one hand, reveal the complexity of artistic creation and its relationship to the mind of the writer, and on the other increase our understanding of literary works on firm artistic principles."⁽¹⁾

One fact pointed out by this citation is that al-Nuwaḥī is not original in envisaging "psyche" and "society" as the core of the literary work. One might add that many of the critical thoughts expressed by al-Nuwaḥī are not original, and indeed he never claimed originality for his ideas. On the contrary he acknowledged his indebtedness to his literary education in Egypt and his later contact with English literature and other aspects of Western culture through English, which opened up new vistas in his understanding and appreciation of his native literature. Without pressing the question of originality too much one may observe in passing that few if any contemporary Arab critics can lay claim to originality in their ideas. Having said that, one must add that the success of a critic, whether Arab or non-Arab

1. Zakī, A. Kamāl, op. cit., p.188 ff.

is not solely or mainly to be measured against the originality of the thoughts which move his criticism. It is a great achievement for any standard for a critic to be able, as was al-Nuwaḥhī, to properly utilize enlightened and suitable ideas foreign to his native culture to reevaluate the poetical heritage of his people and sustain or direct the efforts of contemporary poets in his native literature to open up new creative avenues. Undoubtedly these dual objectives underlie the major values which are embodied to a great degree in al-Nuwaḥhī's works.

What remains for this conclusion is to briefly consider the literary benefits al-Nuwaḥhī derived from the work of certain writers, Arab and non-Arab, by whom there is mounting evidence that he was inspired. Although tracing influence is not one of the aims of this study we consider it useful to indicate al-Nuwaḥhī's benefit from other people's views and ideas. First in our inventory of these writers are naturally the three Egyptian critics, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, al-‘Aqqād and al-Māzinī. In this study we have already noted the relationship of al-Nuwaḥhī to these critics and therefore this need not detain us long. It must be pointed out, however, that al-Nuwaḥhī's initial contact with Western literary ideas was through these critics and that what his later first-hand contact did was to consolidate many of these ideas and add to them new ideas and methods or approaches not available to the generation of these critics or not exploited by them. Al-Nuwaḥhī himself hinted at this as noted in respect of some early critical articles by al-‘Aqqād. In addition to benefitting from their studies of poets which he later re-

assessed, his other benefits from them include the objective consideration of the Arab poetical heritage and the shedding of various prejudices in the process, the use of extra-literary knowledge in criticism, the defence of the freedom of expression by the creative writer and the critic and the stressing of the values of truth, freshness of ideas and simplicity as opposed to artifice.

Of these critics Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's impact on al-Nuwayhī is the strongest for obvious reasons. Al-Nuwayhī's enormous interest in ancient Arabic poetry and his efforts to re-evaluate and popularise it owe much to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, his mentor. He also owes to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn his predominantly aesthetic handling of literary texts which he studies (although here his utmost attention to the detailed analysis of his literary response contrasts with his mentor's which is often impressionistic) and his envisaging of a work of literature as a by-product of interaction between individual and social factors in the mind of the literary artist, which must be studied if the work is to be properly understood and appreciated, and many other ideas. On the other hand, there are many points of difference between the disciple and his mentor. Apart from differences in matters of detail about critical methods and procedures⁽¹⁾ al-Nuwayhī publicly, though softly but firmly, countered a number of ideas or views adopted by Ṭāhā

1. Jābir 'Aṣfūr, op. cit., pp.323-484 explores at greater length the characteristics of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's critical methods and procedures.

Husayn. These include the question of the authenticity of the major part of pre-Islamic poetry, unity in the ancient qasīda, the assessment of Bashshār as a poet and the use of psychoanalysis in literary criticism.

Next in our inventory are I.A. Richards and T.S. Eliot who stand out among Western writers as having the most visible effects on al-Nuwaḥhī's critical ideas. Already mentioned in different places in this study is al-Nuwaḥhī's summary of I.A. Richards' Principles of Literary Criticism and his adoption of many ideas expressed in this work. It should be noted that al-Nuwaḥhī's summary was delivered as a series of lectures to introduce Arab students to some aspects of Western literary criteria. The choice of Richards' work therefore suggests some congeniality between the two in addition to al-Nuwaḥhī's belief that the ideas of Richards which he summarised are relevant to the nature of Arabic literature, and in particular to the elucidation of the question of literature and commitment which is the ostensible reason he gives for his summary.⁽¹⁾ At the mention of congeniality one may note that both al-Nuwaḥhī and Richards have in common a broad interest in exploring the nature of relationship between the reader and the poem,⁽²⁾ i.e. questions directly relevant to teaching literature, each of course in his

1. See al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, pp.4-5; al-Nuwaḥhī also mentions that he confines his summary to those ideas relevant to his needs and easy for a general Arab reader to follow.

2. Hyman, S. Edgar, The Armed Vision, p.279.

special way. When al-Nuwaḥhī was asked to give his reason for applying Richards' ideas to ancient Arabic literature although he himself repeatedly warned against doing this, he replied that what he warned against was blind application of Western literary criteria and that making use of such criteria when suitable and relevant was something he called upon creative writers and critics to do, and that he found Richards' ideas on the functions of literature (and inevitably many other questions underlying these functions) suitable, and in any case Richards' ideas were not the only Western literary ideas he considered suitable to Arabic literature.⁽¹⁾

From all indications al-Nuwaḥhī seems to make use of Richards' ideas in the works which followed al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān or indeed those which preceded it as will be shown, in particular when he generalises about literature or deals with some specific problems of a general nature. These ideas are often transformed so much so that they do not seem to be originally Richards'. To illustrate this point, in Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī there seems to be a subtle echo of Richards' idea which sees arts as "the supreme form of the communicative

1. Faraj, Nabīl, op. cit., pp.327-28.

activity",⁽¹⁾ but modified and exploited in a different context. Undoubtedly some of al-Nuwaḥhī's generalisations on the nature of literature, communication as an essential part in literary creation and the consideration of non-literary values in evaluating literature - all these benefited from Richards' views on the question. Similarly al-Nuwaḥhī's detailed criticism of M. Nāṣif's Dirāsat al-Adab al-'Arabī is indebted to Richards' criticism of "The Phantom Aesthetic State".⁽²⁾

When we come to T.S. Eliot as a source from which al-Nuwaḥhī's criticism drew some benefit we find that the scope of this benefit is primarily confined to al-Nuwaḥhī's work on the new poetry whereas that of I.A. Richards is primarily within his treatment of the Arab poetical heritage. Thus in his Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd al-Nuwaḥhī begins with a free translation of T.S. Eliot's "The Music of Poetry" much in the same fashion as

1. Richards, I.A., Principles of Literary Criticism, p.26.

Compare this statement with al-Nuwaḥhī's key idea in Thacāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, (p.4): "Ḥurim Shabābunā al-Adab fa-ḥurim al-thamara al-'Ulyā li'l-hayāt al-Insāniyya, or with a slightly modified form of this idea (ibid., p.399): "Fa'l-Adab ... huwa al-thamara al-'Ulyā li-tajārib al-hayāt al-Insāniyya". Also compare with al-Nuwaḥhī's Arabic rendering of Richards' statement in al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān (p.24): "Fa-inna al-funūn hiya al-adāt al-'uzmā li-naql al-tajārib, li-kawnihā al-Sigha al-'Ulyā al-lati tatashakkal fihā al-qudra al-adā'iyya li'l-insān".

2. Title of a chapter in Richards' Principles of Literary Criticism, pp.11-18.

he does in his translation of I.A. Richards' Principles of Literary Criticism. He omits some aspects of Eliot's article which he believes are in no way suitable to Arabic and consequently he has to reorganise the sequence of some ideas contained therein. Justifying his action, he points out that the majority of Arab readers require the guidance of the critic, who translates works on Western literary ideas, to show what is applicable to Arabic and what is not.⁽¹⁾ Clearly T.S. Eliot's dynamic view of the forms of poetry and the necessity of remoulding them to suit new demands and needs, and his insistence on poetry not straying far from everyday speech are ideas which form the nucleus of al-Nuwaḥī's defence and justification of the new poetry movement.⁽²⁾ Further, in his textual studies, as noted in this study, we see al-Nuwaḥī exploiting Eliot's idea which justifies the co-existence in a poem of parts that are of high intensity and others of less intensity. Further still in Shakhsiyyat Bashshār we find al-Nuwaḥī justifying Bashshār's

1. Hence al-Nuwaḥī's criticism of Laṭīfa al-Zayyāt for her rather indiscriminating translation of some articles by Eliot, see Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, p.18 (footnote).
2. Reacting rather unduly sensitively to M.A.L. al-Saḥratī's indication that his ideas on the necessity of poetry keeping contact with everyday speech are based on those of T.S. Eliot, al-Nuwaḥī expresses the wish that al-Saḥratī had enough space to point out that he (i.e. al-Nuwaḥī) is not copying Eliot blindly. See al-Saḥratī, M.A.L., Dirāsāt Naqdiyya, p.27; also Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, p.389.

simplistic verses on Rabāba, his slave-girl, by citing Eliot whose poetry and criticism endorse the tackling of such simple themes in poetry.⁽¹⁾

Al-Nuwaḥhī's benefits from the above writers and no doubt from many other writers whose marks are less visible in his criticism, is the legitimate type of benefit resulting from suitable cross fertilisation of ideas which he has long advocated, be it from native Arab culture or foreign Western culture. Discussing this sort of benefit which Ṭāhā Ḥusayn drew from his contact with Western culture, al-Nuwaḥhī writes:

"Ṭāhā Ḥusayn made a good study of French literature and acquired an intelligent understanding of Western criteria as practised in and applied to Western literature itself. This broadened his view and sharpened his critical faculty. Then, forgetting for a while his acquired knowledge, he came back to Arabic literature, and, with his developed insight, was able to make a fresh evaluation of its distinctive aesthetic quality. ... On the purely intellectual side, his debt to the orientalist's methodology was indeed great However in the field of sheer aesthetic appreciation, he had only that indirect influence of Western literature itself, which acted as the catalyst for his native genius. ... All the same, it must be reiterated that even this aesthetic appreciation could not have been possible to Ṭāhā Ḥusayn to such a degree of keenness and depth had he not made a good firsthand study of some other literature. That appeal was there all the time waiting to be discovered and presented, and yet not one of the traditionally educated scholars was able to perceive it, or in any case to present it in a convincing, infectious exposition."⁽²⁾

1. Shakhsīyyat Bashshār, pp.101-103.
2. "Towards the Reappraisal of Classical Arabic Literature and History", op. cit., p.203.

I have cited this passage at length for its content, I believe, also fits al-Nuwalhī himself to a large degree. There is however one important clarification to be made which is that al-Nuwalhī first benefited from the Arab writers we have mentioned, among whom Ṭāhā Ḥusayn comes to the fore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. PRIMARY SOURCES : AL-NUWAYHĪ'S WORKS

(Articles collected in toto or substantially in books are excluded here. The editions of books used are the ones given in square brackets against the first editions.)

"Animals in Ancient Arabic Poetry (Excluding the Camel and Horse)", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, SOAS, University of London, February, 1942.

"Abū Dalāma: Shā'ir Mājin fī al-Balāṭ al-'Abbāsī", Arabic Listener (B.B.C., Wembley, England), vol.3, no.6, (21 June, 1942), pp.14-15.

"A'midat al-Ḥikma al-Sab'a" (review of T.E. Lawrence's Seven Pillars of Wisdom), al-Adab wa-al-Fann (London), vol.3, (1945), no.1, pp.36-45; no.2, pp.50-61; no.3, pp.52-61.

Arabic From Scratch (co-author) London, (War Office), 1942.

"Ta'līm al-Inklīziyya li'l-Kibār", al-Adab wa-al-Fann, vol.2 (1944-45), no.4, pp.108-14; vol.3 (1945-46), no.1, pp.107-15, no.4, pp.111-21.

Al-Mustashriqūn al-Baṛitāniyyūn (a translation of A.J. Arberry's British Orientalists), London, 1946.

Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī, Cairo, 1949 [2nd edn., Beirut, 1969].

Shakhsiyyat Bashshār, Cairo, 1951 [2nd edn., Beirut, 1971].

Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwās, Cairo, 1953 [2nd edn., Beirut, 1970].

Al-Mar'a wa-Taqaddum al-Mujtama', Khartoum, 1955.

Al-Ittijāhāt al-Shi'riyya fī'l-Sūdān, Cairo, 1957.

Tabī'at al-Fann wa-Mas'ūliyyat al-Fannān, Cairo, 1958 [2nd ed.,
Cairo, 1964].

Bayn al-Taqlīd wa'l-Tajdīd: Buhūth fī Mashākil al-Taqaddum, (ed.),
Cairo, 1962.

"Mashākil Tahrīr al-Mar'a fī al-Mujtama' al-'Arabī wa'l-Muslim",
in M. al-Nuwalhī (ed.) Bayn al-Taqlīd wa'l-Tajdīd,
(Cairo, 1962), pp.262-89.

Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd, Cairo, 1964 [2nd edn., Beirut, 1971].

"Al-Muhākāt al-Lafziyya aw-Hikāyat al-Lafz bi-Jarsihī li'l-Ma'nā",
al-Thaqāfa, no.28, (28 January, 1964), pp.12-13.

"Al-'Aqqād Nāqid al-Shi'r", al-Thaqāfa, no.40 (21 April, 1964),
pp.17-23.

"Hal Ughliq Bāb al-Ijtihād fī'l-Naqd?", al-Thaqāfa, no.45,
(26 May, 1964), pp.13-16.

"Al-Tajriba al-Wāqī'iyya wa'l-Tajriba al-Fanniya wa'l-Qawmiyya al-'Arabiyya", al-Thaqāfa, no.48, (16 June, 1964), pp.17-19.

"Al-Ilhām al-Shi'rī Bayn al-Masīhiyya wa'l-Islām", al-Risāla, no.1072, (30 July, 1964), pp.10-12.

"Kayf Naqra' al-Shi'r wa-Narbuṭu Shaklahū bi-Madmunih", al-Risāla, no.1074, (13 August, 1964), pp.19-23.

"Min Turāthinā al-Shi'rī: Fann 'Umar", al-Ādāb, vol.13, no.4 (April, 1965), pp.18-21; vol.13, no.5 (May, 1965), pp.18-23.

"In Defence of the New Poetry", a paper presented at the second Congress of ~~the~~ Arabic and Islamic Studies (Cambridge, England; August, 1964).

"The Battle of the New Poetry", The Texas Quarterly, vol.9, no.2, (Spring, 1965), pp.148-57.

Al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī; Manhaj fī Dirāsatih wa-Taqwīmih, 2 vols., Cairo, 1966.

Wazīfat al-Adab Bayn al-Iltizām al-Fannī wa'l-Infiṣām al-Jamālī, Cairo, 1967.

"A Reappraisal of the Relation between Form and Content in Classical Arabic Poetry," Atti del Terzo Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici (Ravello, 1966), (Naples, 1967), pp.519-40.

"Al-Qawmiyya qabl al-'Ālamiyya", al-Majalla (Cairo), no.131, (November, 1967), pp.9-18.

"Why Study Arabic Poetry?" a lecture delivered at Harvard, December, 1967.

"Fundamentals of Economic Justice in Islam", paper delivered at a conference on Islam and Modern Economic Problems, sponsored by the Muslim Students Association of U.S.A. and Canada (Pawling, New York; April, 1968).

"Al-Fadīla Bayn al-Badw wa'l-Ḥaḍar: Hal Naḥnu Arfa' Akhlāqan min al-Gharbiyyīn?", al-Ādāb, vol.17, no.7, (July, 1969), pp.3-7; 79-8

"Why Teach Arabic?" A talk given to the students of the English Language Institute, AUC, 8th December, 1969.

"Naḥwa Thawra fī al-Fikr al-Dīnī", al-Ādāb, vol.18, no.5, (May, 1970), pp.25-31; 98-107.

"Towards a Revaluation of Muḥammad, Prophet and Man", The Muslim World, vol.60, no.4, (October, 1970), pp.300-13.

"Al-Wāqi'iyā lā-Ta'nī al-Tashā'um", al-Ādāb, vol.19, no.1,
(January, 1971), pp.79-80.

"Alā Hāmish Mahrajān al-Mirbad al-Shi'rī: al-Shi'r wa'l-Ḥadāra",
al-Ādāb, vol.19, no.5, (May, 1971), pp.4-7.

"Al-Dīn wa'l-Mārkisiyya wa'l-Naqd", al-Ādāb, vol.19, no.8,
(August, 1971), pp.8-12; 60-4.

"Munāqashat Khamsat Kuttāb fī al-Ādāb: Min al-Mārkisiyya ilā
al-Akhlāq", al-Ādāb, vol.19, no.10, (October, 1971),
pp.2-4; 65-71.

"The Phenomenon of Dhikr: One Islamic Point of View", a paper
presented at a colloquium on "The Phenomenon of Dhikr:
An Interdisciplinary Approach" (American University
in Cairo; December, 1971).

"Ibn Khaldūn's Interpretation of History: Some Lessons for the
Modern Arabs", a paper presented to a seminar sponsored
by the Centre of Middle Eastern Studies (University
of Chicago; February, 1973).

"Al-Dīn wa-Azmat al-Taṭawwur al-Ḥadārī", al-Ādāb, vol.22, no.5,
(May, 1974), pp.79-86.

"Problems of Modernization in Islam", The Muslim World, vol.65,
no.3, (July, 1975), pp.174-85. Reprinted as "Problems

of Cultural Authenticity and Modernization in Islam", in S.E. Ibrahim and N.S. Hopkins (eds.), Arab Society in Transition (Cairo, American University in Cairo, 1977), pp.581-91.

"Comparisons of Christian and Islamic Readjustment to Contemporary Conditions", a paper presented to a colloquium held at St. Andrews Church (Cairo, February, 1975).

"When the Twain Meet: Problems and Opportunities of a Western University in an Eastern Society", The Centrality of Science and Absolute Values (New York: The International Cultural Foundation, 1976), vol.2, pp.889-915.

"The Religion of Islam: A Presentation to Christians", International Review of Mission, vol.65, no.258 (1976), pp.216-25. Reprinted in Reprints (Kenya, Gaba Publications), no.136 (1976), pp.216-25.

"Some Recent Attempts towards a More Liberal Interpretation of the Qur'ān and Modernization of Islamic Jurisprudence", Journal of the Middle East (Cairo, 'Ain Shams University), vol.3, (1976), pp.59-70.

"Qiṣṣatī Ma' al-Ādāb", al-Ādāb, vol.25, no.12, (December, 1977), p.36.

"Islamic Law: Fact and Fiction", a paper presented to a colloquium held at the von Grunebaum Centre for Near Eastern Studies, University of California (Los Angeles; November, 1977).

"Liberation of the Arab Woman within the Limits of Islamic Law", al-Rā'ida (Institute of Women's Studies, Beirut University College), June, 1978, pp.6-7.

"Problems of Modern Poetry", Amwāj: A Journal of Literature and Art (University of Alexandria), no.6, (June, 1978), pp.170-9.

"Min Awrāq Kurrāsati", al-Masā', 30th June, 1978.

"Ta'dīl Qānūn al-Ahwāl al-Shakhsiyya fī Niṭāq al-Sharī'a", al-Halqa al-Dirāsiyya 'an Wad' al-Mar'a al-Qānūni fī'l-Usra wa-'Alāqatihī bi-Ittijāhihā Nahwa al-Injāb, (Cairo; Egyptian Family Planning Association, 1978), pp.79-142.

"Religion and Modernization: the General Problem and Islamic Responses", The Search for Absolute Values in a Changing World, (New York: International Cultural Foundation, 1978), vol.1, pp.93-120.

"The Role of Religion in Politics and Society: Comments from a Modern Muslim", in J. Gremillion (ed.), Food/Energy and the Major Faiths, (New York, 1978), pp.133-9.

"Redemption from Christianity to Islam", a paper presented to the Seventh International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences, (Boston, November, 1978).

"Changing the Law on Personal Status in Egypt within a Liberal Interpretation of the Shari'a", Middle East Review, (New York), vol.2, no.4, (Summer, 1979), pp.40-9.

"Towards the Reappraisal of Classical Arabic Literature and History: Some Aspects of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's Use of Modern Western Criteria", International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, vol.2, no.2, (April, 1980), pp.189-207.

Al-Nuwalhī's personal files.

2. SECONDARY SOURCES

(Many of the following constitute a selection of pieces written in review of or reaction to al-Nuwaḥhī's articles in Arabic journals. However, included here also are articles in journals or books as well as parts of books devoted to some of al-Nuwaḥhī's works.)

'Abd al-Mun'im, Mujāhid, "al-Abḥāth" [on al-Nuwaḥhī's review of Abū Sinna's Qalbī wa-Ghāzilāt al-Thawb al-Azraq], al-Ādāb, vol.15, no.12 (December, 1967), p.3.

al-'Ālim, M.A., "al-Abḥāth", [on al-Nuwaḥhī's article "al-Shi'r al-Jadīd wa'l-Naqd"], al-Ādāb, vol.14, no.5, (May, 1966), pp.13; 76.

Badawī, 'Abduh, "Liqā' 'alā Ḥubb", al-Risāla, no.1078, (10th September, 1964), pp.48-51.

_____, "'Alā Hāmish Nadwa", al-Risāla, no.1079, (17th September, 1964), pp.43-45.

_____, "Ḥawla al-Adab fī Usbū'" [on al-Nuwaḥhī's article "al-Ilhām al-Shi'rī Bayn al-Masīhiyya wa'l-Islām"], al-Risāla, no.1072, (30th July, 1964), pp.50-51.

Bahīrī, 'Āmir M., "Naqd Dīwān Mādḥā Aqūl lakum li-Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Ṣabūr", al-Thaqāfa, no.34 (10th March, 1964), pp.47-49.

Beik, Kamāl Kheir, Le Mouvement Moderniste de la Poesie Arabe

Contemporaine (Chapter IV, pp.339-390). Publications Orientalistes de France, 1978; (translated into Arabic by a number of the author's friends as: Ḥarakat al-Ḥadātha fī'l Shi'r al-'Arabī al-Mu'āsir [Beirut?], 1982.)

al-Būhī, Kāmil, "al-Abḥāth", [on al-Nuwaḥī's series of articles about M. Nāṣif's advocacy for 'Art for Art's sake'], al-Ādāb, vol.14, no.9, (September, 1966), p.13.

al-Dasūqī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, "Ta'liqāt ilā al-Duktūr M. al-Nuwaḥī", al-Shi'r, no.9 (September, 1964), pp.123-127.

al-Dīdī, 'Abd al-Fattāh, "al-Abḥāth", [on al-Nuwaḥī's article "Fann 'Umar"'], al-Ādāb, vol.13, no.6 (June, 1965), p.8.

Faraj, Nabīl, "al-Duktūr M. al-Nuwaḥī", Mawāqif Thaqāfiyya, (pp.317-332), Cairo [1980?].

Fathī, Ibrāhīm, "al-Abḥāth", [on al-Nuwaḥī's article "al-Dīn wa'l Mārkiyya wa'l Naqd"'], al-Ādāb, vol.19, no.9, (September, 1971), pp.14; 58.

Filastīn, Wadī', "Lā yā Duktūr Nuwaḥī", al-Ādāb, vol.19, no.11, (November, 1971), p.75.

Ghanāyim, M.M., "Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī", al-Sharq, vol.12, nos.3-4 (July-December, 1982), pp.29-35.

Green, A.H., "Muḥammad al-Nuwaḥhī, 1917-1980", to be included in a forthcoming book to be published by the American University in Cairo titled: In Quest of Islamic Humanism, Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Muḥammad al-Nuwaḥhī.

Ḥasan, 'Abd al-Jalīl, "al-Abḥāth", [on al-Nuwaḥhī's article "Nahw Thawra fī'l-Fikr al-Dīnī"], al-Ādāb, vol.18, no.6 (June, 1970), p.82.

Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā, "Bu's Abī Nuwās", Khiṣām wa-Naqd, vol.XI, Complete Works of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (pp.683-690), 1st edn., Beirut, 1974.

Ibrāhīm, Aḥmad A., "Thaqāfat al-Nāqid al-Adabī", al-Risāla, no.903 (23rd October, 1950), pp.1208-1213.

Ismā'īl, 'Izz al-Dīn, "al-Abḥāth" [on al-Nuwaḥhī's article "Ughniya min Vienna"], al-Ādāb, vol.13, no.3 (March, 1965), pp.94-95.

'Īsā, Ṣalāḥ, "al-Abḥāth" [on exchange between al-Nuwaḥhī and five contributors to al-Ādāb on literature, religion, morals and Marxism], al-Ādāb, vol.19, no.11, (November, 1971), pp.30; 65-67.

'Ītānī, Muḥammad, "Bayn al-Māddiyya al-Jadaliyya wa'l-Intiqā'iyya al-Mithāliyya", al-Ādāb, vol.19, no.9 (September, 1971), pp.12-13; 67-69.

- 'Itānī, Muḥammad, "Kalima Akhīra ilā al-Duktūr al-Nuwaḥhī;
al-Māddiyya al-Jadaliyya la Ghuluww wa-la Tahriḥiyya",
al-Ādāb, vol.19, no.11 (November, 1971), pp.35-40.
- Khidr, 'Abbās, "Ta'qīb", al-Wāqi'iyya fī'l Adab, (pp.42-44),
Baghdād, 1967.
- Khulayf, Yūsuf, "Ḥawla Kitāb M. al-Nuwaḥhī, al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī",
al-Majalla, (Cairo), no.126, (June, 1967), pp.98-104.
- Muruwwa, Ḥusayn, "Ma' al-'Aqqād fī Abī Nuwās wa'l Duktūr
M. al-Nuwaḥhī fī Nafsiyyat Abī Nuwas", Dirāsāt Naqdiyya
fī Daw' al-Manhaj al-Wāqi'ī, (pp.242-262), Beirut,
1965.
- al-Naqqāsh, Wahīd, "al-Abḥāth" [on al-Nuwaḥhī's series of articles
about M. Nāṣif's advocacy for 'Art for Art's sake'],
al-Ādāb, vol.14, no.7 (July, 1966), p.15.
- al-Quṭṭ, 'Abd al-Qādir, "Min Qadāyā al-Shi'r", Qadāyā wa Mawācīf,
(pp.99-105), Cairo, 1971.
- Rāghib, Nabīl, "al-Iltizām wa'l Tajdīd fī'l Fann al-Mu'āṣir",
al-Thaqāfa, no.79, (April, 1980), pp.70-71.
- al-Saḥratī, M.A.L., "Shi'r al-yawm wa-Qadiyyat al-Shi'r al-Jadīd",
Dirāsāt Naqdiyya, (pp.25-30), Cairo, 1973.

al-Sukkarī, Shawqī, "al-Abḥāth" [on al-Nuwaḥhī's review of
M.H. Ismā'īl's Qāb Qawsayn"], al-Ādāb, vol.14, no.6,
(June, 1966), p.13.

Shārāra, 'Abd al-Laṭīf, "al-Abḥāth" [on al-Nuwaḥhī's article
about Bashshār's rā'iyya poem], al-Ādāb, vol.19, no.8,
(August, 1971), p.65.

Shams, M.M., "al-Nāqid al-Waṣṣāf", al-Thaqāfa, no.43, (12th May,
1964), p.21.

_____, "Bal Waqūr Yad'ū ilā al-Ijtihād al-Waqūr",
al-Thaqāfa, no.47, (9th June, 1964), pp.23-25.

Yāsīn, al-Sayyid, "al-Abḥāth" [on al-Nuwaḥhī's article "al-Faḍīla
Bayn al-Badw wa'l Ḥaḍar, hal Naḥnu Arfa' Akhlāqan min
al-Gharbiyyīn"], al-Ādāb, vol.17, no.8, (August, 1969),
pp.13; 57-58.

Zakī, A. Kamāl, "al-Abḥāth", al-Ādāb, vol.13, no.8, (August, 1965),
pp.11; 77.

_____, "al-Abḥāth", al-Ādāb, vol.13, no.9, (September,
1965), p.53.

_____, "al-Abḥāth", al-Ādāb, vol.13, no.10, (October,
1965), p.10.

Zakī, A. Kamāl, "al-Abhāth", al-Ādāb, vol.13, no.12, (December, 1965), pp.1-2.

(The above four articles deal with al-Nuwayhī's series of articles on pre-Islamic poetry.)

3. GENERAL REFERENCE WORKS

Abū'l Anwār, M., al-Hiwār al-Adabī Hawl al-Shi'r, Cairo, n.d.

Abū Dīb, K., Fī'l Binya al-Īqā'iyya li'l Shi'r al-'Arabī,
1st edn., Beirut, 1974.

Abū Nuwās, Dīwān, ed. A.A. al-Ghazālī, Cairo, 1953.

Abū Sinna, M.I., Qalbī wa-Ghāzilāt al-Thawb al-Azraq, Beirut, 1965.

Abū Tammām, al-Hamāsa, II, with Tabrīzī Commentary, Cairo,
1296 A.H.

Ahmed, Jamal, M., Intellectual Origins of Egyptian Nationalism,
London, 1960.

Anīs, Ibrāhīm, Mūsīqā al-Shi'r, 2nd edn., Cairo, 1965.

Amīn, Ahmad, "Kayf Yarqā al-Adab", Fayd al-Khātīr, I, (pp.46-
52), Cairo, 1965.

_____, "Jināyat al-Adab al-Jāhilī 'alā al-Adab al-'Arabī",
Fayd al-Khātīr, II, (pp.238-282), Cairo, 1965.

_____, Hayātī, 6th Print, Cairo, 1978.

al-Amīn, 'Izz al-Dīn, Nash'at al-Naqd al-Adabī al-Hadīth fī
Misr, 2nd edn., Cairo, 1970.

Arberry, A.J., The Seven Odes, London-New York, 1957.

_____, Poems of al-Mutanabbī, Cambridge, 1967.

‘Abbās, Iḥsān, Tārīkh al-Naqd al-Adabī ‘Ind al-‘Arab, 1st edn.,
Beirut, 1971.

_____, "Nazra fī'l Naqd al-Qadīm", Fī al-Naqd al-Adabī,
No.5 in Ḥaṣād al-Fikr al-‘Arabī al-Ḥadīth series,
(pp.147-157), [Beirut?], 1981.

‘Abd al-Ṣabūr, Ṣalāh, Hayātī fī'l Shi‘r, Beirut, 1981.

al-‘Ālim, M.A. & A.A. Anīs, Fī al-Thacāfa al-Misriyya, Beirut, 1955.

al-‘Ālim, M.A., "Tajriba Shi‘riyya Jadīda", al-Ādāb, vol.20,
no.6, (June, 1972), pp.20-23.

al-‘Aqqād, A.M. & al-Māzinī, I.A., al-Dīwān, fī al-Adab wa'l Naqd,
Cairo, n.d.

al-‘Aqqād, A.M., Sā‘āt Bayn al-Kutub, 2nd edn., Beirut, 1969.

_____, Ibn al-Rūmī, Hayātuh min Shi‘rih, 6th Print, Cairo,
1970.

_____, Abū Nuwās, al-Ḥasan b. Hānī’, Cairo, n.d.

_____, Fī Baytī, Beirut, 1971.

al-‘Askarī, Abū Hilāl, Kitāb al-Ṣinā‘atayn, eds. A.M. al-Bajāwī
& M.A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1952.

‘Aṣfūr, Jābir, al-Marāyā al-Mutajāwira; Dirāsa fī Naqd Tāhā
Husayn, Cairo, 1983.

‘Ayyād, M.S., Mūsīqā al-Shi‘r al-‘Arabī; Mashrū‘ Dirāsa ‘Ilmiyya,
2nd edn., Cairo, 1978.

Badawī, M.M., Dirāsāt fī'l Shi‘r wa'l Masrah, Cairo, 1961.

_____, "From Primary to Secondary Qaṣīdas", J.A.L.,
vol.XI, 1980 (pp.1-31).

Bashshār, Ibn Burd, Dīwān, 4 vols., ed. M. Ibn ‘Āshūrā’,
Tunis, 1976.

Beyer, Edvard, Ibsen: The Man and his Work, translated by
Marie Wells, Souvenir Press (E & A) Ltd., 1978.

Blum, Gerald S., Psychoanalytic Theory of Personality, London, 1953.

Boullata, I.J., The Beleaguered Unicorn: A Study of Tawfīq
Ṣāyigh, J.A.L., vol.IV, 1973, (pp.69-93).

al-Bustānī, Buṭrus, Udabā’ al-‘Arab, III, Beirut, n.d.

al-Bustānī, Sulayman, Tarjamāt Ilyādhat Hūmīrūs, Cairo, 1904.

Cachia, P. Tāhā Ḥusayn: his Place in Modern Egyptian Literary Renaissance, London, 1956.

Cantarino, Vincente, Arabic Poetics in the Golden Age, Leiden, 1975.

al-Dā'im, A.A., "Azmat al-Naqd al-Adabī", Fī al-Naqd al-Adabī, No.5 in Ḥaṣād al-Fikr al-'Arabī al-Ḥadīth Series (pp.159-177), [Beirut?], 1981.

al-Dasūqī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Jamā'at Apollo wa-Atharuhā fī'l-Shi'r al-Ḥadīth, 2nd edn., Cairo, 1971.

_____, Tatawwur al-Naqd al-Adabī al-Ḥadīth fī Miṣr, Cairo, 1977.

al-Dasūqī, Muḥammad, Ayyām Ma' Tāhā Ḥusayn, Beirut, 1978.

al-Dasūqī, 'Umar, Fī'l Adab al-Ḥadīth, 2 vols; vol.1, 8th Print, Cairo, 1970; vol.11, 7th Print, Cairo, 1970.

Dīwān Zuhayr, Dīwān al-Ḥallāj, translated Arthur Wormhoudt, William Penn College, 1975.

Dīyāb, 'Abd al-Ḥayy, 'Abbās al-'Aqqād Nāqidan, Cairo, 1965.

al-Dabbī, The Mufaddaliyyāt, ed. translated C.J. Lyall, 2 vols., Oxford, 1918-1921.

Dayf, Shawqī, al-Adab al-'Arabī al-Mu'āsir fī Miṣr, 6th Print, 1976.

Eliot, T.S., "The Music of Poetry" (1942), On Poetry and Poets
(pp.26-38), London, n.d.

Ellis, John M., The Theory of Literary Criticism: A Logical
Analysis, University of California Press, London, 1977.

Encyclopaedia of Britannica, Article: Anthropology, 1969.

Fahmī, M. Ḥasan, Tatawwur al-Shi'r al-'Arabī al-Ḥadīth fī Miṣr,
Cairo, 1958.

Fayyād, Niqūlā, 'Alā al-Minbar, I, Beirut, 1938.

al-Fayṣal, Shukrī, Manāhij al-Dirāsa al-Adabiyya fī'l Adab
al-'Arabī, 5th Print, Beirut, 1982.

Fromkin & Rodman, An Introduction to Language, 2nd edn.,
London, 1978.

Gibb, H.A.R., Studies on the Civilization of Islam, eds. S.J. Shaw
& W.R. Polk, London, 1962.

Haykal, Ahmad, Tatawwur al-Adab al-Ḥadīth fī Miṣr, 2nd edn.,
Cairo, 1971.

Haykal, M. Ḥusayn, Thawrat al-Adab, Cairo, 1978.

Henderson, Archibald, George Bernard Shaw; His Life and Works,
London, 1911.

Heyworth-Dunne, J., An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt, London, 1939.

_____, "Printing and Translations under Muḥammad 'Alī", J.R.A.S., (pp.325-349), 1940.

Hudson, W.H., An Introduction to the Study of Literature, 2nd edn., London, 1915.

Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā, Tajdīd Dhikrā Abī'l 'Alā', 3rd Print, Cairo, 1937.

_____, Fī'l Adab al-Jāhilī, Cairo, 1958.

_____, Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfa fī Miṣr, Cairo, 1938.

_____, Hadīth al-Arbi'ā' (3 vols.); vol.II, Complete Works of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, 2nd edn., Beirut, 1974.

_____, Khisām wa-Naqd, vol.XI, Complete Works of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, 1st edn., Beirut, 1974.

_____, Min Ḥadīth al-Shi'r wa'l Nathr, Cairo, 1965.

_____, "al-Adab al-'Arabī Bayn Amsih wa-Ghadih", Alwān, (pp.5-32), Cairo, 1958.

Hyman, S.E., The Armed Vision, New York, 1955.

Ibn Qutayba, al-Shi'r wa'l Shu'arā', 2 vols., ed. A.M. Shākir,
Cairo, 1944-1950.

Ibn Rashīq, al-'Umda fī Mahāsin al-Shi'r wa-Ādābih wa-Naqdih,
ed. M.M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, 2nd edn., Cairo, 1955.

Ibn al-Rūmī, Dīwān, Selection, Classification by K. Kīlānī,
Cairo, n.d.

Ismā'īl, 'Izz al-Dīn, al-Usus al-Jamāliyva fī'l Naqd al-'Arabī,
Cairo, 1974.

_____, "al-Shi'r wa-Naqduh", al-Thaqāfa, no.33, (24th
December, 1963), pp.15-16.

_____, "Muqaddimat al-Qaṣīda al-Jāhiliyya fī Ḍaw' al-Tafsīr
al-Nafsī, al-Shi'r, no.2 (February, 1964), pp.6-14.

'Īd, al-Sayyid, H., Tatawwur al-Naqd al-Masraḥī fī Miṣr, Cairo,
1965.

al-Jurjānī, al-Qādī 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, al-Wasāta Bayn al-
Mutanabbī wa-Khusūmih, eds. M.A. Ibrāhīm &
A.M. al-Bajāwī, 2nd edn., Cairo, 1951.

Khalaf Allāh, M. Aḥmad, Min al-Wijha al-Nafsiyya fī Dirāsāt
al-Adab wa-Naqdih, Cairo, 1947.

Khūrī, Munah A., Poetry and the Making of Modern Egypt, Leiden, 1971.

Khūrī, Munah, al-Shi'r Bayn Nuqqād Thalātha, Beirut, 1966.

Lyall, C.J., Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry, London, 1885.

Lyons, M.C. and P. Cachia, "The Effect of Monorhyme on Arabic Poetic Production", J.A.L., vol.I, 1970, (pp.3-13).

al-Ma'iddāwī, Anwar, "al-Mas'ūlūn 'an Qatl al-Adab", al-Risāla, no.942 (3rd July, 1951), pp.842-46.

al-Malā'ika, Nāzik, Qadāyā al-Shi'r al-Mu'āsir, 5th Print, Beirut, 1978.

Mandūr, Muḥammad, Fī'l Mizān al-Jadīd, 3rd Print, Cairo, n.d.

_____, al-Naqd wa'l Nuqqād al-Mu'āsirūn, Cairo, n.d.

_____, Fī'l Adab wa'l Naqd, Cairo, n.d.

_____, al-Shi'r al-Miṣrī Ba'd Shawqī, Cairo, n.d.

al-Manfalūtī, M.L., Mukhtārāt al-Manfalūtī, 2nd edn., Cairo, 1937.

al-Maqdisī, Anīs, al-Funūn al-Adabiyya wa-A'lāmuhā fī al-Nahda al-Hadītha, Beirut, 1963.

- al-Marṣafī, Ḥusayn, al-Wasīla al-Adabiyya, II, Cairo, 1875.
- al-Māzinī, I.A., Ḥaṣād al-Hashīm, 7th Print, Cairo, 1961.
- _____, Bashshār Ibn Burd, Cairo, 1971.
- Marzūq, Ḥilmī 'Alī, Tatawwur al-Naqd wa'l Tawkīr al-Adabī al-Hadīth fī Miṣr, Cairo, 1966.
- Morrison, Claudia C., Freud and the Critic, Chapel Hill, 1968.
- Na'īma, Mikhā'il, al-Ghirbāl, Cairo, 1923.
- Najm, M. Yūsuf, "al-Funūn al-Adabiyya", al-Adab al-'Arabī fī Āthār al-Dārisīn, Faculty of Arabic Studies, American University, Beirut, 1961.
- Nallino, Carlo, Tārīkh al-Ādāb al-'Arabiyya min al-Jāhiliyya hattā 'Asr Banī Umayya, 2nd edn., Cairo, 1970.
- Nāsif, Muṣṭafā, Dirāsāt al-Adab al-'Arabī, Cairo, n.d.
- Nicholson, R.A., A Literary History of the Arabs, 2nd edn., London, 1930.
- al-Qalamāwī, Suhayr, al-Naqd al-Adabī, Cairo, 1959.
- Qamīha, Jābir, Manhaj al-'Aqqād fī'l-Trājim al-Adabiyya, Cairo, 1980.

al-Quṭṭ, 'Abd al-Qādir, Fī'l-Adab al-Miṣrī al-Mu'āṣir,
Cairo, [1955?].

al-Rabī'ī, Maḥmūd, Fī Naqd al-Shi'r, 3rd edn., Cairo, 1975.

al-Rafī'ī, M.S., Wahy al-Qalam, III, Cairo, n.d.

Richards, I.A., Principles of Literary Criticism, 13th impression,
London, 1952.

Safran, N., Egypt in Search of Political Community, Cambridge,
Mass., 1961.

al-Sahrati, M.A.L., al-Shi'r al-Mu'āṣir 'alā Daw' al-Naqd
al-Hadīth, Cairo, 1948.

Sa'īd, Amīn, Tārīkh Miṣr al-Siyāsī, Cairo, 1959.

Samaylovitsh, Ahmad, Falsafat al-Istishrāq wa-Atharuhā fī
al-Adab al-'Arabī al-Mu'āṣir, Cairo, 1980.

Schiller, J.P., I.A. Richards' Theory of Literature, New Haven -
London, 1969.

Semah, David, Four Egyptian Literary Critics, Leiden, 1974.

al-Shābbī, Abū'l-Qāsim, al-Khayāl al-Shi'rī 'Ind al-'Arab,
Tūnis, 1961.

al-Shārūnī, Yūsuf, "al-Lāma'qūl fī Adabīnā al-Yawm", al-Majalla
(Cairo), no.97, (January, 1965), pp.66-67.

al-Shāyib, Aḥmad, Uṣūl al-Naqd al-Adabī, 3rd edn., Cairo, [1946?].

Shawqī, Aḥmad, al-Shawqīyāt, 4 vols., Cairo, 1951-56.

al-Tabrīzī, Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-'Ashr, ed. C.J. Lyall, Calcutta,
1894.

Ṭabāna, Badawī, al-Tayyārāt al-Mu'āsira fī'l-Naqd al-Adabī,
2nd edn., Cairo, 1970.

al-Ṭayyib, 'Abd Allāh, al-Murshid ilā Fahm Ash'ār al-'Arab,
2 vols., 1st edn., Cairo, 1955.

'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a, Dīwān, Beirut, 1978.

Wellek and Warren, Theory of Literature, New York, 1949.

Wellek, René, Concepts of Criticism, ed. Stephen G. Nicholson, Jr.,
Yale University Press, London - New Haven, 1963.

Zakī, A. Kamāl, al-Naqd al-Adabī al-Ḥadīth; Uṣūluh wa-Ittijāhātuh,
Cairo, 1972.

al-Zayyāt, A. Ḥasan, Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, Cairo, 1978 Print.

al-Zubaidī, A.M.K., "al-'Aqqād's Critical Theories ..."
unpublished Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1966.

APPENDIX A

List of Poetical Quotations Cited in Chapter VI

- (1) على الذيل جياش كأن اهترامه x إذا جاش فيد حميه غلى مزجل
(2) تشكى الكميت الجرى لما جهده x وبيت لويسطبع أن يتكلما
(3) وفرع يزين اليمت أسود فاحم x أثبت كغثو النخلة المتعطل
(4) غدائره مستشيرات إلى العلد x تضل العقاص في مشى ومرسل
(5) قليل ادخار الزاد إلا تغلة x فقد نشر الشرسوف والتصق ابعها
(6) هزكولة فنو ذرم مرافقها x كان اخصما بالشوك فتعل
(7) وخلفها سائق يحدو إذا خشيت x منه اللماق تمد الصلب والعنقا
ولا تحسبن المجد زقا وقينة فما المجد إلا السيف والعنكة البكر
وتضرب أعناق الملوك وأن ترى x لك البهوات السود والعسكر المجر
فأجبتها: أما لجسى أنه x أودى بى من البلاد فودعوا
(8) قانت هيرة فاجت زارها x ويلى عليك ويلى منك يا رجل
(9) أما إذا حردت حردى ففجرية x جرداء تمنع غيلا غير مقروب
(10) وقد غدوت إلى المانوت يتبعنى x شاو مثل شلول مثل شول
(11) ومعرض تغلى المراحل تحته x محجلة طبخته لرهط جوع
(12) فشح بها الأما عزفهي تهوى x هوى الدلو أسلمها الرشاء
(13) كأن ابريقهم ظبي على شرف x مقدم بسبا الكتان مرثوم
(14) أبيض أبرزه للضع راقبه x مقلد قصب الریحان مفعوم
(15) فاقستهن من السواء وماؤه x يسر، وعانده طريق مبيع
فكانها بالجزع بين نبات يع وأولات ذى العرجاء نعب جمع
وكانت رباة وكأته يسر يفيض على القداح ويصدع
د كما هو يدوس متقلب x فى الكف، إلا أنه هو أضلع