

**British Orientalism and Classical Arabic Literature:
A Study in Reception, According to Jauss's Theory**

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**Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

The University of Leeds

School of Languages, Cultures and Societies

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March 2016

I confirm that the work submitted is my own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Acknowledgements

This thesis has benefitted from the great support and guidance of my main supervisor Dr. Sameh Hanna. I thank him so much for his special valuable insights that he provided through his discussion and useful feedback.

I would also like to thank my previous supervisors Professor Zahia Salhi and Dr. Duncan Wheeler who encouraged and supported me in shaping the first two chapters of the thesis.

I would especially like to thank Dr. Falih Al-Emara for his unlimited support and valuable comments and unfading discussions during the years of my study at Leeds University. My thanks also go to my friend Dr. Ibrahim M Ibrahim for his useful comments and support. I also extend thanks to my colleague Mr. Hassan Mizori. Many thanks go to Professor James Dickins who suggested me some basic references and discussed critical points in the upgrade report. I am grateful to Mrs. Karen Priestley for her help and support during my study.

Special thanks go to my family especially my mother, wife, brothers, and sisters who have always offered their great support.

Abstract

The primary aim of this thesis is to develop an aesthetic approach for the study of the British Orientalist discourse in relation to Arabic classical literature. The thesis explores three literary eras; Pre colonialism, colonialism, and Post colonialism, adopting Hans Robert Jauss's theorisation of 'literary history' as a theoretical framework. The theoretical framework of the thesis is, also, informed by Edward Said's seminal contributions to the subject, though without necessarily endorsing all his assumptions and conclusions.

The thesis is divided into six chapters. In Chapter 1, Jauss's assumption in its relation to literary history is explored, displaying how it can be a valuable framework to study the history of the British Orientalist discourse. Chapter 2 is designed to examine Edward Said's understanding of Orientalism, by exploring his supporters-opponents' views. The last three Chapters are organized to investigate the contributions made by the British Orientalists and critique of the impact these contributions had on our understanding of Arabic literature. The thesis is concluded by chapter six, which summarizes the important findings of the work.

The key finding of the study is that although there are disparate responses in dealing with classical Arabic literature, most British scholars belong to the same pure academic school of knowledge. This knowledge has accumulated systematically over a long period of research and it is still being built upon. What is most remarkable about this academic knowledge is that it was produced without political involvement.

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Transliteration Chart

This study adopts the DIN 31635 transliteration of the Arabic alphabet, which is a standard set by the Deutsches Institut für Normung (DIN). Below is a chart of the Arabic letters with examples and transliteration designed for this purpose. This chart is directly adopted from Al-Emara (2014).

Arabic Letter	Letter Name	Example	Gloss	DIN Form	Plain English
ا	'a	حال	State	ḥāl	Hal
أ	'ia	أمل	Hope	'amal	'amal
آ	a'aa	آية	Verse	'āya	'aaya
ء	aa	سَمَاء	Sky	samā'	samaa'
ب	ba	بَيْت	House	bayt	Bayt
ت	ta	تَوْبَة	Repentance	tawba	Tawba
ة	ta	فَتَاة	Girl	fatāt	Fataat
ث	ṭa	ثور	Ox	ṭawr	Thawr
ج	ja	جَبَل	Mount	jabal	Jabal
ح	ḥa	حَبْل	Rope	ḥabl	Habl
خ	ḵa	خَوْخ	Peach	ḵawḵ	Khawkh
د	Da	دَام	Bloody	dāma	Daama
ذ	ḍa	ذَهَب	Gold	ḍahab	Zhahab
ر	Ra	رَب	God	rab	Rab
ز	za	زَاد	Increase	zayn	Zayn
س	Sa	سَلِيم	Sound	sālim	Salim

ش	Ša	شوك	Thistle	šawk	Shawk
ص	ša	صوت	Voice	šawt	Sawt
ض	ḍa	ضال	Stray	ḍāl	Dal
ط	ṭa	طويل	Long	ṭawīl	Tawil
ظ	ḍa	ظل	Shadow	ḍil	Dhil
ع	‘a	عين	Eye	‘ayn	Ayn
غ	Ġa	غابة	Forest	ġāba	Ghaba
ف	Fa	فارس	Mare	faras	Faras
ق	qa	قوس	Arc	qaws	Qaws
ك	Ka	كأس	Cup	ka’s	ka's
ل	la	ليل	Night	layl	Layl
م	ma	مها	Maha	mahā	Maha
ن	na	نور	Noor	nūr	Nur
ه	ha	هلال	Crescent	hilāl	Hilal
و	wa	وقت	Time	waqt	Waqt
ؤ	‘a	سؤال	Question	s’āl	s'al
ي	ya	يسوع	Jesus	yasū‘	Yasu
ى	aa	هوى	Desire	haw	Haw
ىء	‘a	بريء	Innocent	barī’	bari'

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Chapter One

1. Introduction

1.1. General

This thesis seeks to address questions related to the history of British Orientalism. Drawing on Jauss's theorisation of 'literary history', this study aims to explore the contributions made by British Orientalists and critique the impact these contributions had on our understanding of Arabic literature. The theoretical framework of the thesis is also informed by Edward Said's seminal contributions on the subject, though without necessarily endorsing all his assumptions and conclusions. Said's understanding of Orientalism was the outcome of his study of the writings of a number of Orientalists from various fields of knowledge and with different intellectual trajectories. While some of Said's assumptions are generally sound, some others need to be critically evaluated, especially his tendency to make generalising statements about significantly different traditions of Orientalist scholarship like the French and British. While being aware of the wide array of fields the Orientalist scholarship has contributed to, this thesis focuses mainly on the Orientalist approaches to Arabic literature and its history.

Jauss's understanding of 'literary history' calls into question traditional literary historiography, which are mainly structured around the lives and works of authors. While traditional literary histories are premised on the assumption that literary meaning is a static entity that has been deposited by the authors in their texts, and hence the sole task of the literary historian is to retrieve this meaning from the author's biography and his/her text, Jauss's

understanding of literary history is premised on the assumption that literary meaning is a dynamic entity that is (re)shaped by the readers at different points in time in different generations. Thus, multiple meanings and interpretations are the result of the multiplicity of readings conditioned by the different historical circumstances surrounding the reading process. The thesis is also premised on Jauss's use of both the diachronic and synchronic axes in the study of the literary history, which gives the study a comprehensive framework that covers a significant number of scholars who contributed to orientalist scholarship.

Drawing on the work of Jauss (1982) and Said (2003) for the theoretical framework of this thesis is rationalised by the fact that both of them expressed a clear interest in philology that was founded in the mid-nineteenth century. This will be elaborated in the detailed analysis of some of the Orientalist studies in the third and fourth chapters. This link between the works of both scholars will contribute to consolidating the theoretical framework in the research.

Once again, this research is a study of Classical Arabic Literature as viewed by the British Orientalists throughout three eras of research—Pre colonialism, Colonialism, and Post colonialism—in terms of Jauss's theory of reception. Jauss hypothesizes that: "the challenge to literary studies of taking up once again the problem of literary history, which was left unresolved in the dispute between Marxist and Formalist methods" (1982, p.18).

At present, it is not just Arabic literary history that has increasingly fallen into disrepute, but other world literary histories such as German have experienced the same phenomenon. For example in Germany, Jauss has mentioned that:

In university course catalogues, literary history is clearly disappearing. It has long been no secret that the philologists of my generation even rather pride themselves in having replaced the traditional presentation of their

literature by periods, and as a whole with lectures on the history of problem or other systematic approaches (1982, p.3).

The primary aim of this research, as will be elaborated in this section, is practical and is carried out within the framework of the reception theory. An important challenge is that, to my knowledge, this is the first attempt to pursue this method in relation to Arabic. This means that there are no studies that can provide the researcher with guidelines or steps. In order to address this problem, the study depends directly on Jauss's key notions of the 'literary history' in his article 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory'.

1.2. Focus of the Study

This study focuses on the links between the aesthetic and historical approaches through the lens of Jauss's reception theory. At the same time, it employs the British Orientalists as an application sample. However, when the literary work (Arabic literature) is received by the reader (Orientalist, historian, and critic), he/she is going to appreciate its aesthetic aspects and then compare it to the previous works that he/she has read by the same writer(s).

This realization helps the reader follow the works of writer(s) from one generation to the next and to make a series of continuous perceptions that determine the historical importance of the work and its position in the aesthetic experience. In addition, it establishes an approach that embeds the researcher in the history of literature of a certain nation in a manner that eliminates the distance between the literary historian and the critic, since the historian was always viewed as being one or two generations behind by the critics.

The British Orientalists, who were specifically interested in classical Arabic literature, include:

- Edward Pococke (1604-1691)
- William Jones (1746-1794)
- Simon Ockley (1678-1720)
- Joseph Dacre Carlyle (1759-1804)
- Edward William Lane (1801-1876)
- Theodor Preston (.....1882)
- Edward Henery Palmer (1840-1883)
- Charles James Lyall (1845-1920)
- David Samuel Margoliouth (1858-1940)
- Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (1868-1945)
- Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb (1895-1971)
- Arthur John Arberry (1905-1969)
- Alfred Felix Landon Beeston (1911-1995)

- Robert Bertram Serjeant (1915 -1993)
- J. D. Latham

- S. Sperl

- E. James Montgomery

- R. Irwin

These scholars are Orientalists from different periods, who wrote, accomplished, and published in the field of classical Arab literature. Those Orientalists are viewed in this thesis as the readers of Classical Arabic literature, since the beginning of the British Orientalist academic knowledge in 1634 onwards to the present day.

1.3. Aims of the Study

As stated (in section 1.2 and 1.3) earlier, this study utilizes Jauss's theoretical assumptions about the aesthetics of reception for developing a new approach

to literary history. It also aims to theoretically and practically free the Orientalism discourse from the dogmatic premises of positivism and traditionalism, which were presented in books such as Johann Wilhelm Fück's *Die Araischen Studien in Europa* (1944), A. J. Arberry's *British Orientalists* (1960), C. E. Brosworth's *A century of British Orientalists* (2001) and, more recently, Robert Irwin's *Dangerous Knowledge, Orientalism and Its Discontents* (2006). The benefits that can be gained from Jauss's theses in the aesthetics of reception can be extended to various areas of Orientalism discourse. In particular, this study is expected to be useful for the following ideas:

- Presenting a comprehensive image of Orientalism in different stages and how the Orientalists perceived classical Arabic literature in different periods, Pre-colonial, Colonial, and Post-Colonial.
- Renewing literary history according to reception theory, which contributes to bridging the gap between historical distance and the latest developments in Arabic literature.
- Examining the thoughts and ideas of Orientalists, in order to reveal if these impact upon the contemporary Orientalists.
- Reviewing the important facts that made the Orientalist discourse fall into disrepute, especially after Edward Said's *Orientalism*, which was first published in 1978.
- Revealing if there is some sense of the political or ideological edge given to the Oriental material studied by the British Orientalists; can scholars on the literary history of Arabs ever be freed from its ideological context?
- Showing the validity of Said's ideas about the relationship between power and knowledge.

1.4. Motivation

The study has been primarily prompted by personal observations of what is happening in Arab and, in particular, Iraqi Universities, which still depend on the traditional method of teaching literary history. This method focuses only on factors related to the schema of 'life and work' of the authors. In addition, the literary historian has been prohibited from issuing any artistic and aesthetic judgments under the pretext of objectivity and sanctity of the texts. This aspect is not just apparent in the Arabs world, but has dominated in most literary history studies around the world over the last two centuries. In their book '*Theory of Literature*', Wellek and Warren emphasize that:

Most histories of literature, it must be admitted, are either social histories, or histories of thought as illustrated in literature, or impressions and judgments on specific works arranged in more or less chronological order. A glance at the history of English literary historiography will corroborate (1978, p.252).

This notion is the one most scholars believe; literary history "faithfully records the features of time and preserves the most picturesque and expressive representations of manners and transmits to posterity genuine delineation of life" (Warton-Morley, 1978, p.252)¹.

This method has been derived from Western approaches to the study of history, but the negative aspects of the approach will necessarily be reflected in the study of the literary history of the Arabs. Moreover, this literary history has taken place within the wide-ranging arena of Orientalist studies. Adopting the traditional approach means literary history has to be rewritten, because its method always ignores the role of the reader.

1.5. Research Questions

The research questions that will be answered in this study are:

1. To what extent can Jauss's theoretical assumptions about 'literary history' be useful in casting new light on classical Arabic literature as read by British Orientalists? And in what sense do Jauss's contributions help bridge the gap between literary theory and the study of literary history?
2. In what respect can a synchronic-diachronic approach contribute to our understanding of the history of Arabic literature as studied by British Orientalists?
3. How did Orientalists receive classical Arabic literature in different periods? And in what respect does their reception of the history of Arabic literature differ from traditional, mostly diachronic, approaches to literary history?
4. How viable are Said's assumptions about British Orientalism in general and those relating to the study of the history of classical Arabic literature in particular?
5. To what extent has ideology, in its political and religious forms, conditioned the British Orientalist academic discourse? To what extent can we think of two modes of Orientalist scholarship: one that has been motivated by the ideological agenda of the colonialist project and another that has attempted to detach itself from the influence of ideology?
6. What key contributions have British Orientalists made in (re)conceptualising classical Arabic literature, in both poetry and prose?

1.6. Jauss's Brief Biography

Although this study does not focus on authors' and scholars' lives, it is useful to highlight relevant points in Jauss's life, which affected his thought and knowledge. Hans Robert Jauss was born in 1921 in Göppingen. He is a German academic scholar, who is regarded as a remarkable theorist, philologist, and critic. However, Godzich, at his introduction of Jauss (1982b), remarks that it is difficult to characterize his position on the German scholarship (Jauss, 1982b, p.viii). He was a young man when the Second World War broke out, leading him to serve in the German army for two years (Rush, 1997, p.12). There is no doubt that this hideous war left a lasting legacy on his thinking and academic work. He saw how war destroyed everything around him and it encouraged him to rethink the tendencies for 'civilised' Europeans to fight each other. The contrast between the 'miserable' present and 'cheerful' past stimulated him to search for the reasons behind the mass destruction. As Rush argues, Jauss was interested in "the themes of past and present, time and remembrance" (1997, p.12), but it was Jauss's early life, not "from the time of his doctorate at the University of Heidelberg in 1952" (Rush, 1997, p.12), that influenced his interest in the relationship between present and past. In his early education, he decided to be a specialist "in Romance Philology, Philosophy, History and Germanistik (German literature and linguistics)" (Rush, 1997, p.11). He initially studied German literature and history. Then, his doctoral research concentrated on French literature and history, in which he focused on Marcel Proust (1871–1922), who was a French novelist, essayist and critic. He studied both German and French literature and history philologically. These belong to the same traditions as ancient Greek and Roman civilisations. In his next step, he did not stray far from this area, when he studied medieval literature.

The series of philological studies shows that Jauss was systematically planning to achieve his target of reformation. According to Godzich, " what such a project required was the reformation of the way in which we conceive of our relationship to literature, past and present" (Jauss, 1982b, p.ix).

Jauss adopted ideas from different fields of knowledge. For example, he utilized his master's (Hans-George Gadamer) efforts, who was interested in "re-examining the structure and function of hermeneutics" (Jauss, 1982b, p. ix). Ernst Robert Curtius, who wrote an influential publication entitled *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* in 1948, also had an influence on Jauss's interest in the medieval era, but "many young German were struck by the publication of Curtius" (Jauss, 1982b, p.viii). Another important work, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (1946) by Erich Auerbach sheds light on Jauss's conception of the medieval era and its literature, especially the comparison between Homer's *Odyssey* and its relation to Bible. In his distinguished publication '*Question and Answer: Forms of Dialogic Understanding*' (1989), Jauss philologically analyses a number of Biblical passages using the hermeneutic instruments to prove that the function of question and answer is dialogic. This notion paved the way for many theological arguments and studies about the history of Biblical exegesis². Finally, Jauss utilized ideas related to the renewal of the study of literary history. He was attracted by great histories belonging to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially the works of German historians, such as Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805), Wilhelm Von Humboldt (1767-1835) and Georg Gottfried Gervinus (1805–1871).

Each of the scholars influenced Jauss's theoretical and practical ideas related to the renewal of literary history. In the introduction of his inaugural lecture "*Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory*" delivered in 1967 at Constance University, Jauss opens his argument referring to those scholars as an example of how the notion of creativity can be accumulated across a series

of multiple readings through different times. He begins with "Schiller's answer to the question of his inaugural lecture at Jena on 26 May 1789; "What is and Toward What End Does One Study Universal History" (1982a, p.5). Then, he comments that Schiller's answer does not only express "the historical understanding of German idealism", but also it highlights critical ideas "of the history of our discipline" (1982a, p.6). The similarity between the past, which witnessed a decline in interest in literary history and the present situation, which suffers from a similar decline, led Jauss to revive Schiller's question and answer. Thus, Jauss attempted to reproduce "Friedrich Schiller's initial speech as a historian at Jena in 1789. The title Jauss chose, "What is and for what purpose does one study literary history?" which modifies Schiller's title only by the insertion of 'literary' for 'universal" (Holub, 2003, p.54).

By using the same procedure of question and answer, one wonders why Jauss used this approach. According to Holub (2003), Jauss sought to achieve two targets. First, Jauss attempted to encourage public opinion to revive the study of literary history, which "seemed moribund and consequently in need of a new orientation" (Holub, 2003, p.54). Second, Jauss wished to keep a strong connection between "the artefacts of the past and the concerns of present" (Holub, 2003, p.54).

Importantly, Holub's answer refers not to only Jauss's citation of Schiller, but also to his interest in all the scholars cited above, and their methods in dealing with historiography and literary history. In this context, Jauss uses Schiller as a starting point to complete the hermeneutic circle. Thereafter, Jauss mainly focused on Gervinus, who "can serve as our chief witness" (Jauss, 1982a, p.6) in order to prove that the hermeneutic circle consists of a series of developed and accumulated ideas. Schiller's historical understanding of German idealism was rendered to "the idea of national individuality" by Humboldt. Then, Gervinus came to make the 'idea of mode of explanation', of history his own, he implicitly places Humboldt's historical idea" (1982a, p.6). Those scholars—

Schiller (1789), Humboldt (1821) and Gervinus (1835)—are analysed chronologically by Jauss.

This approach indicates that Jauss was planning to achieve two main purposes. The first was to show that ideas of the humanistic discipline in general, and of literary history, in particular, are developed across different generations of scholarship. Each scholar or group of scholars introduce their own particular reading of the text and the world. In this manner, there is nothing truly new; each period creates its production of knowledge on basis of the previous generation. Thus, Jauss answers the question “What was ‘paradigmatically’ new that the aesthetics of reception brought to literary studies?”, asked when he was interviewed by Rien T. Segers in 1979 as follows:

As in other disciplines, a scholarly change of paradigms in literary studies is not an event that falls from heaven like some pure innovation. When a new paradigm is effective, this is judged by the new questions which it can formulate for old problems, by seeing whether it can solve them in new ways, by unknown problems which thereby come to light, and by seeing whether, in all these cases, methods can be developed which contribute to the enrichment of the scholarly tradition (Segers, Jauss, and Bahti, 1979, p.83).

Second, Jauss implicitly attempted to ensure that his revival project had the same reliability and credibility as Gervinus, who he widely praises. Jauss argues that Gervinus “authored not only the first scholarly presentation of a *History of the Poetic National Literature of Germans*, but also the first (and only) theory of historiography written by a philologist” (1982a, p.6). Gervinus achieved this status, because he utilized Humboldt’s main ideas and developed them “into theory with which Gervinus elsewhere also established the great task of a history of high literature” (Jauss, 1982, p.6). This statement reflects that Jauss was in a position to posit that he used the same procedure adopted by Gervinus, when he utilized Gadamer’s thoughts and ideas in hermeneutics. Gadamer put forward these in his seminal book *Truth and Method* (1960), in

which he developed a theory of the understanding of meaning. In turn, Gadamer “understands his contribution to hermeneutics as a continuation of Heidegger’s rethinking of being [in his publication *Being and Time 1927*]” (Holub, 2003, p.40). Thus, it is a process of communication between different generations of academics, and, therefore, a dialogue between scholars ‘as readers’ across different periods. In addition, in sections I and II of his introduction to the seven theses, Juss demonstrates practically how the multiple readings can contribute towards the optimal understanding of meaning and how the thoughts and ideas have been reproduced across time.

Returning to the Juss’s academic life, one can note that Juss devoted most of his life to serving as an educational reformer. His contribution to reception theory is part of the whole university reform project. Juss believed that the reform efforts should be “at three levels: the democratization of an institution; the restructuring of an education in the historical discipline into the training for a profession; and the revision of scholarly and theoretical self-understanding” (1982b, p. XXX). He worked tirelessly to achieve this task, individually and within research groups, but he faced difficulties. Thus, “his hope soon turned to disappointment as the university reform was reversed and institutional resistance hindered research possibilities. Economic and administrative efficiency determined restrictive university policy” (Rush, 1997, p.15).

This restrictive policy is roundly criticized by Juss, who struggled to carry out his revival of the educational university system. In 1979, he blamed the technocratic educational ideal which “leads to a knowledge of things that gains its strength from the capacity and power to do things, not however from an understanding of other men, without which all social action must decay into the egoism of power and profit” (Segers, Juss, and Bahti, 1979, p.93). In order to resolve this extant social and political problem, Juss returned to the

past proposing the aesthetic educational approach used by Schiller in *Letters upon the Aesthetic Education of Man* (1794).

As can be seen, Jauss, in contrast to most of his generation, insists on returning to the past to find answers for present problems. However, the return to the past does not mean that Jauss's approach is necessarily a "conservative or reactionary critical maneuver" (Holub, 2003, p.54).

It can be concluded that Jauss can be practically characterized as an educational reformer, but academically he is a theorist and critic, whereas, "politically, his attitude could be characterized as liberal-reformist" (Jauss, 1982b.ix). The next section examines Jauss's attempt to develop a new approach to literary history.

1.7. Literary History and Reception Theory

The main purpose of this study is to pursue a theoretical and practical investigation using 'reception theory' within the context of British Orientalist discourse. This is due to the belief that literary history has relied on the metaphysical perception of time, which is based on the concept of 'presence'. The presence of meaning in the text and the presence of the author in a literary work, have led many to adopt a historical approach in what can be seen as a 'search of fact'. Therefore, "this literary history [approach] arranges its material uni-linearly, according to the chronology of great authors, and evaluates them in accordance with the schema of 'life and works'" (Jauss, 1982a, p. 4).

This historical approach was unable to answer questions that emerged in the field of literary study, such the diverse modes of reception of any artistic work by different 'addressees' (e.g., reader, receiver, listener, critic, and audience). Thus, Jauss argues that:

The quality and rank of literary work result neither from biographical or historical conditions of its origin, nor from its place in the sequence of the development of a genre alone, but rather from criteria of influence, reception, and posthumous fame, criteria that are more difficult to grasp (1984, p.5).

It is clear that the impact on the reader, rather than the agency of the author, is key to understanding the dynamic of literary works. Clarke (1992) rightly observes that "Jauss proposes a literary historiography oriented towards the reception, rather than the production, of literary works which would restore the connection between art and history without reducing art to a mere reflex of human activity" (p.1). In contrast, a literary historian has to contribute by giving his/her interpretation as a participant in the process of evaluation of readings. Therefore, if he is:

Bound by the ideal of objectivity, limits himself to the presentation of a closed past, leaving the judgment of literature of his own, still unfinished age to the responsible critics and limiting himself to the secure canon of "masterpieces," he remains in his historical distance most often one or two generations behind the latest development in literature. At best, he partakes of contemporary engagement with literary phenomena of the present as a passive reader (Jauss, 1982a, p.5).

The reception theory perspective reveals the strong relationship between literary history and reception. "For here, Jauss calls upon the experience, not the neutrality, of the interpreter, defining the writing of literary history in a Gadamerian fashion as the 'fusion of horizons' rather than the objectivity description of their succession in time" (Holub, 2003, p.65).

It is clear that Jauss believed that objectivity and neutrality could lead the literary historian to fall into disrepute, due to the fact he/she is still a passive reader. In order to avoid assuming the aspects of this 'passive objectivity' Jauss argues that:

The insight that the historical essence of the work of art not only in its representation of expressive function but also in its influence must have two consequences for a new founding of literary history... [Thus] the relation of work to work must now be brought into this interaction between work and mankind, and the historical coherence of works among themselves must be seen in the interrelations of production and reception (1982a, p.15).

Obviously, this argument clearly reveals the relationship between the work and its reader and at the same time, it comprehends the relationship between literature and history. As a result, Jauss has attempted to bridge "the gap between literature and history, between historical and aesthetic approaches" (1982a, p.18).

1.8. A Fusion of the Horizon or a Reader's Expectation

There is no doubt that Jauss benefits from other scholars who have developed such concepts as 'reference' and 'horizon', and was specially inspired by Gadamer's formulation of 'horizon of expectation' in relation to literary history. Thus, the 'historical horizon', emphasized by Gadamer, is relied upon by Jauss in much of his interpretation theory. It should be noted that Gadamer borrows the word 'horizon' from Husserl (Hogan, 1989, p.28) but Jauss creates a new relationship between literary understanding and historical knowledge in order to reveal the role of the reader in the production of meaning. This meaning may form in more than one horizon, which suggests that:

Every finite present has limitation. In this sense, one may speak of an individual who has no horizon, who overvalues what is nearest to him; in contrast, one who has a horizon may be aware of the relative significance of those things which are near him, large or small (Jauss, 1982a, p.8).

Robert Holub (2003) can be considered the most prominent scholar who criticized Jauss's theory in some detail. He claims that:

The diachronic planes that Jauss adapted from evolutionary model would be complemented in his new version of literary history by synchronic aspects. In this regard he proposes that literary historians examine selected "cross-sections" of literary life in order to ascertain which works at any particular time stand out from the horizon and which works remain undistinguished (2003, p.65).

According to Holub, it is obvious that Jauss was keen to benefit from linguistics in order to formulate a new notion about the term 'the historicity of literature' depending on the relationship between diachronic and synchronic planes (2003, p.66). However, Holub did not refer to those intersections to which Jauss referred when he argued: "The evolution of literature, like that of language, is to be determined not only imminently through its own unique relationship of diachrony and synchrony, but also through its relationship to the general process of history" (1982a, p.18).

Thus, Jauss uses the terms 'synchronic planes' and 'diachronic planes' in a different way from that of Holub. The latter refers to the historicity of literature, while Jauss uses the terms in the definition of the literariness of literature which is "conditioned not only synchronically by the opposition between poetic and practical language, but also diachronically by the opposition of the givens of the genre the preceding form of literary series" (Jauss, 1982a, p.17) as well as the historicity of literature. In this connection, Jauss reveals that it is:

possible to place the 'literary series' and the 'non-literary series' into a relation that comprehends the relationship between literature and history without forcing literature, at the expense of its character as art, into a function of mere copying or commentary (1982a, p.18).

This makes Jauss's approach more comprehensive and inclusive than that of Holub as he includes the social function to the study of literary history (1982a, p.39). Accordingly, it can be seen that Jauss places an emphasis on the relationship between 'the historicity and the literariness' through the

connection between synchronic and diachronic planes in order to orient the literary history towards an aesthetic approach.

1.9. The Historical and the Aesthetic Approaches

Although there is a distinctive difference between the traditional historical and aesthetic approaches, Jauss attempted to merge them as a pattern of communication. His use is derived from scholars such as Husserl, Heidegger, Gadamer, and Jakobson in philosophical, linguistic, and hermeneutic studies, especially in his historical and the aesthetic consideration of literature. However, in general "he has argued from the start that the recognition of the formal and aesthetic aspects of a text is not to be separated from historical investigations having to do with its reception" (De Man, in Jauss, 1982, p.xvii). In this context, Jauss combines his ideas about the relationship between the reader (historian or critic) and the literary work in order to bridge the gap between literature and history based on the importance of the role of the reader in reception theory. In addition, he was extremely interested in collecting terms from different fields to achieve his aim. Thus, he argues that:

The perspective of the aesthetics of reception *mediates* between passive reception and active understanding, *experience* formative of norms, and new production. If the history of literature is viewed in this way within the horizon of a *dialogue* between *work* and *audience* that forms continuity, the opposition between its *aesthetic* and its *historical aspects* is also *continually mediated*. Thus the thread from the past appearance to the present experience of literature, which historicism had cut, is tied back together (1982a, p.19, emphasis added).

However, Jauss was not working alone to develop reception theory and its aesthetic consideration. Another German critic, Wolfgang Iser, also contributed to establishing a new concept about the relationship between the literary work and its reader. Iser employs notions in his 'theory of aesthetic response' which assumes a familiarity with both hermeneutic and linguistic terminology. He perceives that "the literary work has two poles, which we

might call the artistic and the aesthetic; the artistic pole is the author's text and the aesthetic is the realization accomplished by the reader" (1980, p. 21). Relatedly, Jauss argues that "the relationship of literature and readers has aesthetic as well as historical implications" (1982a, p.20). In this context, Jauss depends on the notion of Picon who believes that "the aesthetic implication lies in the fact that the first reception of a work by the reader includes a test of its aesthetic value in comparison with the works already read" (Cited in Jauss, 1982a, p.20).

Undoubtedly, both Jauss and Iser benefited from hermeneutic and phenomenological theories, terminologically and thematically, which were well established in Germany after the end of World War II, especially with the notions that link between the reader as a 'subject' and the text as an 'object'. For example, Iser realizes that the essence of the reading of every literary work is:

the interaction between its structure and its recipient. This is why the phenomenological theory of art has emphatically drawn attention to the fact the study of literary work should concern not only the actual text but also, and in equal measure, the actions involved in reading that text (1980, p.20).

Although Jauss and Iser derive their ideas from the same philosophical background (phenomenology), their implementation is different, due to the fact that "reception theory posed once more problems of defining the work by its effect, of the dialectic of effect and reception, of canon formation and restructuring and dialogic understanding through the distance of time (mediation between different horizons)" (Jauss, 1990, p.53). Therefore, it can be concluded that Iser concentrated on 'the act of reading' whereas Jauss was interested in 'the act of reader (historian and critic)'.

1.10. Theoretical Framework

The methodology for the study, which is basically a theoretical and practical endeavour, is discussed in this section. The discussion includes an overview of a number of theses which Jauss suggests which could be methodologically grounded in order to renew the literary history approach. An outline of this methodology is:

Thesis 1. A renewal of literary history demands the removal of the prejudices of historical objectivism and the grounding of traditional aesthetics of production and representation in the aesthetics of reception and influence. The historicity of literature rests not on an organization of 'literary facts' that is established *post festum*, but rather on the preceding experience of the literary work by its readers (Jauss, 1982a, p.20).

Obviously, the reader is widely present not just in the literary criticism, but also in various fields of knowledge and culture, due to his/her role in both the processes of production and consumption. Therefore, this study adopts the notion that the literary historian, as 'the last reader' in a successive series, has to amend the previous reading according to his/her consciousness, leaving aside preceding judgments. For example, Said believes that:

Orientalism is better grasped as a set of constraints upon and limitations of thought than it is simply as a positive doctrine. If the essence of Orientalism is an ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority, then we must be prepared to note how in its *development and subsequent history* Orientalism deepened and even hardened the distinction (2003, p.42, emphasis added).

Hence, Said implicitly criticizes the method, which has been adopted by Orientalists in dealing with the Orient as 'historical knowledge', as he believes they could not eliminate their own prejudices. In this sense, then, Said is consistent with Jauss about the role of the reader in creating a new horizon of reading, regardless of whether the result is positive or negative. That means that "the coherence of literature as an event is primarily mediated in the horizon of expectation of the literary experience of contemporary and later

readers, critics, and authors" (Jauss, 1982a, p.22). It can be concluded that this study collaborates with other readers—Orientalists, historians, and authors—to create a new horizon of expectations in order to introduce an objective reading. Thus:

Thesis 2. The analysis of the literary experience of the reader avoids the threatening pitfalls of psychology if it describes the reception and the influence of a work within the 'objectifiable' system of expectations that arises for each work in the historical moment of its appearance, from a *pre-understanding of the genre, from the form and themes of already familiar works, and from the opposition between poetic and practical language.* (Jauss, 1982a, p.22, emphasis added).

In this context, Jauss again emphasizes the role of the reader in introducing objective reading through "objectifying the horizon of expectations". Thus, it can be seen that reforming of the horizon of expectations for the Orientalist experience depends on:

Three generally presupposed factors, first, through familiar norms or the immanent poetics of the genre; second through the implicit relationships to familiar works of the literary-historical surrounding; and the third, through the opposition between fiction and literary, between the poetic and the practical function of language, which is always available to the reflective reader during the reading as a possibility of comparison (Jauss, 1982a, p.24).

Therefore, Orientalists can evoke the horizon of expectations of the popular novelistic, poetic, linguistic, cultural, and historical schema of western conventions to produce a new horizon of expectations for Arabic literature. For example, Nicholson (1907) in his book *A Literary History of the Arabs* evokes, compares, and draws parallels between the historical horizon of Arabs and what he knows about his historical horizon as a 'British Orientalist'; for instance, he compares two historical situations when he states that:

The triumphant advance of the armies of the Revolution towards Damascus recalls the celebrated campaign of Caesar, when after crossing the Rubicon he marched on Rome. Nor is Abu Muslim, though a freed-man of obscure parentage—he was certainly no Arab—unworthy to be compared with the great patrician (1907, p.252).

Obviously, the comparison can add historical objectivity to the horizon of literary expectations, which sustains and predisposes its audience in a very specific kind of reception.

Thesis 3. Reconstructed in this way, the horizon of expectations of a work allows one to determine its artistic character by the kind and the degree of its influence on a presupposed audience, if one characterizes as aesthetic distance the disparity between the given horizon of expectations and the appearance of a new work, whose reception can result in a "change of horizons" through negation of familiar experiences or through raising newly articulated experiences to the level of consciousness, then this aesthetic distance can be objectified historically along the spectrum of the audience's reactions and criticism's judgment (spontaneous success, rejection or shock, scattered approval, gradual or belated understanding) (Jauss, 1982a, p.25).

Thesis 3 is closely related to thesis 2, because both deal with the reconstruction of the horizon of expectations. However, the latter is concerned with the link between the horizon and objectivity, whereas the former concentrates on an aesthetic distance; "the distance between the horizon of expectation and the work, between the familiarity of previous aesthetic experience and the horizontal change" (Jauss, 1982a, p.25).

A further example is found in Nicholson's *A Literary History of the Arabs* (1907), which raises more than one horizon of expectation. In this, Nicholson compares between historical events that occurred in the Abbasid period and events in Shakespeare's play '*Julius Caesar*', although it is a literary work:

To complete the parallel, we may mention here that Abu Muslim was treacherously murdered by Mansur, the second Caliph of the House which he had raised to the throne, from motives exactly resembling those which Shakespeare has put in the mouth of Brutus; So Caesar may:

Then, lest he may, prevent. And since the quarrel
Will bear no colour for the thing he is,
Fashion it thus: that what he is, augmented, [...]. (1907, p.252).

This means that the literary historian can contribute through his/her judgment to the creation of the aesthetic distance, which may become a measure of the historical analysis. For example, when Nicholson introduces the similarity between the historical event derived from reality and the literary event derived from a Shakespearean plot, he intends to bring the reader's understanding to realize the actual horizon as approximately as possible.

Thesis 4. The reconstruction of the horizon of expectations, in the face of which a work was created and received in the past, enables one on the other hand to pose questions that the text gave an answer to, and thereby to discover how the contemporary reader could have viewed and understood the work. This approach corrects the mostly unrecognized norms of a classicist or modernizing understanding of art, and avoids the circular recourse to general "spirit of the age". It brings to view the hermeneutic difference between the former and the current understanding of a work; it raises to consciousness the history of its reception, which mediates both positions; and it thereby calls into question as a Platonizing dogma of philological metaphysics the apparently self-evident claims that in the literary text, literature is eternally present, and that its objective meaning, determined once and for all, is at all times immediately accessible to the interpreter (Jauss, 1982a, p.28).

In thesis four, when Jauss discusses the horizon of expectations, he concentrates strongly on the reconstruction of that horizon in order to achieve continuity from the past to the present and through to the future. Literary history has suffered for a lengthy period from the dominance of 'historical objectivism' which was greatly responsible for tardiness. Jauss's approach means that there is no gap between various historical periods. Therefore, this study analyses Orientalism as a discourse, which began in a specific period in the past and continues to the present without interruption. This step forms the basis for continuity. Thus, the literary historian contributes to the change

in literary theory. This idea is similar to Gadamer's notion about the relationship between the present and past, when he argues that:

The horizon of the present is continually in the process of being formed because we continually have to test all our prejudices. An important part of this testing occurs in encountering the past and in understanding the tradition from which we come. Hence the horizon of the present cannot be formed without the past. There is no more an isolated horizon of the present in itself than there are historical horizons which have to be acquired (2006, p.305).

It is clear that both Jauss and Gadamer have utilized Husserl's idea about phenomenological time, which overlaps its dimensions. Husserl believes that awareness of the present inevitably requires awareness of the past (Gadamer, 2006, p.237).

Thesis 5. The theory of the aesthetics of reception not only allows one to conceive the meaning and form of a literary work in the historical unfolding of its understanding, it also demands that one inserts the individual work into its "literary series" to recognize its historical position and significance in the context of experience of literature. In this step from the history of reception of works to an eventful history of literature, the latter manifests itself as a process in which the passive reception is on the part of authors. Put another way, the next work can solve formal and normal problems left behind by the last work, and present new problems in turn (Jauss, 1982a, p.32).

Hence, my thesis aims to act as the individual work, which can be inserted into what Jauss calls 'literary series' in order to be distinguished in its historical position in literature. The previous studies such as Johann Wilhelm Fück's *Die Araischen Studien in Europa* (1944), A. J. Arberry's *British Orientalists* (1960), A.F. Burton's *British Orientalists* (2001) and, more recently, Robert Irwin's *Dangerous Knowledge, Orientalism and Its Discontents* (2006) can all be linked to the present and future work. The work continues in order to leave no historical gap between the past, present and future. This means that the role of present literary historian represents as a mediator between past and future to complete the aesthetic experience series. According to Jauss, future

work the next work can solve formal and normal problems left behind by the last work, and present new problems in turn.

In addition, Jauss attempts to refute claims that the literary text is eternally present and its objective meaning fixed from Plato to Gadamer in order to focus on the interaction of the reader (audience, critic, new producer) with the work. Therefore, in theses six and seven, Jauss again emphasizes historical events are not just understood according to their diachronic and synchronic relationship but depend on the relationship of the inseparable literary development to a general process of history. This belief promotes new research to overcome existing problems of emphasis on the historical setting of the literary work and neglect the role of the reader, and to avoid mistakes resulting from that found in previous studies. In other words, this study counteracts the previously held negative view, which has combined the literary history for a long time with the historiographical approach. It was more concerned with the objectivity of the literary act than the reader's aesthetic experience.

Thesis 6. The achievements made in linguistics through the distinction and methodological interrelation of diachronic and synchronic analysis are the occasion for overcoming the diachronic perspective- previously the only one practiced- in literary history as well. If the perspective of the history of reception always bumps up against the functional connections between the understanding of new works and the significance of older ones when changes in aesthetic attitudes are considered , it must also be possible to take a synchronic cross-section of a moment in the development , to arrange the heterogeneous multiplicity of contemporaneous works in equivalent, opposing, and hierarchical structures, and thereby to discover an overarching system of relationships in the literature of a historical moment. From this, the principle of representation of a new literary history could be developed, if further cross-section diachronically before and after were so arranged as to articulate historically the change in literary structures in its epoch-making moments (Jauss, 1982a, p.36).

It is understood that this is a circular argument; specifically, insofar as the terms diachronic and synchronic analysis are concerned. This may support this study by offering one effective solution to avoid the negative isolation between the different historical periods. For example, the study synchronically examines the Orientalists' works in the pre-colonial period but does not diachronically neglect works produced in the colonial and post-colonial periods. Hence, post-colonialism is historically related with other periods, simply because "Orientalism transmits or reproduces itself from one epoch to another" (Said, 2003, p.15).

This method can reduce the aesthetic distance between the various periods. As a result, the distance or the gap between literary history and literary theory is also reduced.

Thesis 7. The task of history is thus only completed when literary production is not only represented synchronically and diachronically in the succession of its systems, but also seen as 'special history' in its own unique relationship to "general history". This relationship does not end with the fact that a typified, idealized, satiric, or utopian image of social existence can be found in the literature, manifests itself in its genuine possibility only where the literary experience of the reader enters into the horizon of expectation of his lived praxis, performs his understanding of the world, and thereby also has an effect on his social behaviour (Jauss, 1982a, p.39).

This is the final element in Jauss's theory of the renewal of literary history. In this point, shows the relationship between literature and audience according to aesthetic viewpoints. Meanwhile, he indirectly refutes allegations of critics, such as Holub, who claim that the theory of aesthetic reception is only valid within a literary work. For example, Holub argues that:

A literary history based on the diachronic and synchronic moments just outlined would still be deficient because it would remain within a literary realm. It could, moreover, foster the notion that literary history can be understood and written independently of social developments (2003, p.66).

Functionally, this study follows the different historical periods of Orientalism in order to identify the depth of the relationship between the historical work and the audience, which has a socially formative function. Whereas, theoretically, this study adopts the majority of Jauss's thesis, while simultaneously, practically benefiting from a number of Said's ideas in '*Orientalism*', especially the notion of 'discourse' that he employed by relying on Foucault. As Said believes "without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage –and even produce– the orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period (2003, p.3).

Obviously, Said implicitly infers that Orientalism as a discourse has to involve the relationship between knowledge and power; hence "the relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony" (Said, 2003, p.5). This idea is considered "the most striking novelty of Orientalism, which gave it its essential prestige in avant-gardist cultural theory" (Ahmad, 1992, p. 177).

1.11. Definition and Scope

There is no doubt that research on Orientalism faces a number of theoretical and practical difficulties which stem from definition, approach, methodology, length of time, and multiple branches of knowledge (academic, literary, politics, arts, economy, etc.). Despite these difficulties, certain scholars have continued with their research. Said, an outstanding author, wrote about Orientalism in the past few decades. He offers three definitions of the term 'Orientalism', starting from its general meaning and ending with the academic concept, which he employs, altogether, throughout the 1978 publication of

Orientalism. Although, Said believes that all the definitions are interdependent, he was very keen to distinguish between them. The first definition is:

Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient-and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist –either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism (Said, 2003, p.2).

According to Said's *Orientalism* (2003), this is the simplest and most general definition of Orientalism. However, Said adds or particularizes another two definitions in order to reformulate the final concept for Orientalism. Thus his second definition is:

A style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'. Thus a very large mass of writers, among whom are poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators, have accepted the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts concerning the Orient, its People, customs, 'mind', destiny, and so on. This Orientalism can accommodate Aeschylus, say, and Victor Hugo, Dante and Karl Marx (2003, p.2-3).

It appears that the second definition does not differ from its antecedent. However, Said expands the framework of the term when ten lines later he introduces a third definition, in which Orientalism refers to "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (2003, p.3). Because of the definitions, Said is criticized by Aijaz Ahmad who claims that "Said offers not one but three- mutually incompatible- definitions of the term Orientalism" (1992, p.179). However, Ahmad's view was not accurate, because Ahmad himself previously praises Said's research. Ahmad states that Said:

was novelty enough. But what was even more novel was, decidedly, Said's audacity of combination. Who, after all, had ever thought that Lamartine and Olivia Manning, Chateaubriand and Byron, Carlyle, Camus, Voltaire, Gertrud Bell, the anonymous composers of *El Cid and Chanson de Roland*, Arabists like Gibb, colonial rulers such as Cromer and Balfour, [...] all belonged in the same archive and composed a deeply unified discursive formation! What was new, I must repeat, was the *combination* (1992, p.177).

The idea 'combination', in particular, is critiqued by Irwin, who states that:

I do not believe that the novelist Flaubert and Arabist and Islamic Sir Hamilton Gibb were really contributing to essentially the same discourse or were the victims of it. However, the distinction between academic and artistic production is, of course, not hard-edged (2006, p.8).

From this, it can be concluded that certain critics did not agree with Said's view of Orientalism; as a result, Said (1995, 2003) was obligated to refute their allegations in each new edition of his book, which is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

The present study adopts all three of Said's definitions, but, focuses solely on academic Orientalism, especially in relation to the scholars interested in the literary history of the Arabs. Furthermore, in terms of the historical period, this study takes the seventeenth century as the starting point, which was the first attempt at studying the literary history of the Arabs.

Chapter Two

Review of Related Literature

2.1. Previous Studies

The authorship movement of the history of British Orientalism in relation to Arabic culture, literature and heritage, can be divided into two types. The first is historical studies, which were often written by British scholars. This research focuses on the efforts and positive role of British Orientalists in dealing with Arabic literature, culture, history and heritage. This group includes Bernard Lewis (1941), A. J. Arberry (1943, 1948, 1960), C. Edmund Bosworth (2001) and Robert Irwin (2006). In addition, these publications provide many details of the authors' lives and their works, connecting them with the political and social milieu of the authors' period. This method of scholarship is known as the traditional literary history approach, or the historiographic approach. The second type is critical studies, which were mostly written by Arab and Muslim scholars, such as Anouar Abdel-Malek (1963), L. A. Tibawi (1964), and Edward Said (1978). These writings focus on the negative aspects of British Orientalist authorship. Critical studies scholars believe that most Orientalists distort the real image of Arabic literature, culture, history, and heritage.

Both groups attempt to promote their own perspective, through the selective use of examples. For example, Arberry (1960) refers to seven well-known scholars, Simon Ockley, William Jones, Edward Lane, Edward Palmer, Edward Browne, Reynold Nicholson, and himself, while he neglects others, such as Edward Pococke, J. D. Carlyle, Theodor Preston, and D. S. Margoliouth. In the same manner, Said (1978) selects British scholars, who were engaged with political issues, such as William Edward Lane and Hamilton Gibb. The main difference between the two groups is that the first is more concerned with

literary history. In the writings of the first group the reader finds a historical thread of events, which brings the subject together under the framework of general history. In contrast, the second group is interested thematically in the criticism of Orientalism. This critique represents the central idea of these publications.

Lewis's first publication, in 1941, was a booklet entitled *British Contributions to Arabic Studies*. In the publication, Lewis, as a specialist in history, attempts to summarize the British interest in Arabic studies since the Middle Ages. He divides these efforts into four periods. In 26 pages, Lewis presents a brief outline of the British scholars' academic lives and works through a narrative approach. Although the paper is described by the publisher as an illustrated booklet, it contains well-organized historical details, which can help students and ordinary readers to gain a basic knowledge about British Orientalists. The work is prefaced by Arberry, who wrote a book in 1944 which provide further details about the same topic. Arberry, in *British Orientalists*, adopted the same historical approach with portraits, pictures and other figures. Arberry begins his book with an introduction including the definition of Orientalism and the importance of Arabic, Persian and Turkish studies.

Arberry's work is more closely related to literary history than general history, which is the context of Lewis's work. However, the main difference between the two works is that the Lewis organizes his work chronologically in the manner of traditional historiography. The use of the chronological approach shows that Lewis was keen to follow the rules of traditional method of historiography. The study is divided into four sections: the beginning of Orientalism; the eighteenth century; the nineteenth century; and the nineteenth century and after. In contrast, Arberry (1943) organizes his study according to geography in order to trace the Orientalists' contributions. Thus, he divides his study into three areas: Arabia and Persia; India; and Indonesia and the Far East. However, both works provide a brief narrative about

Orientalists' academic lives and works without taking into account the political and social milieu as did traditional literary historians. Thus, Arberry remarks that, "in so brief a space [he refers to his present work] it is not possible to record even leading names" (1943, p.33).

Arberry was fully aware that his work did not cover the whole movement of British Orientalists' contributions in the field of Arabic and Persian literature. Therefore, in 1948 he published another booklet, which deals with British scholars at Cambridge University. Once again, Arberry focused on the scholars' academic lives and provided highlights of their works. However, Arberry was not satisfied that the 32 pages were sufficient to cover the important area of British Orientalists. He always thought that "an Encyclopaedia of Oriental Studies will be written, and then each patient and laborious worker in this mighty harvest of knowledge will receive his wages of appraise" (1943, p.33). In this context, he published his major work in 1960, entitled *Oriental Essays, Portraits of Seven Scholars*. This book includes seven well-known scholars, who devoted themselves to Arabic and Persian literature and languages. The six scholars and Arberry are ordered chronologically. This publication is considered to be the first serious historical study to detail a clear and extensive picture about British scholars and their efforts from the beginning of the Orientalist knowledge movement to the time of Arberry. However, he neglects important British scholars, such as Edward Pococke, Joseph Dacre Carlyle, Theodor Preston, Charles James Lyall and David Samuel Margoliouth. In addition, as with his previous publications, he focuses on the autobiographical and bibliographical details avoiding any critical and historical analysis of their works.

However, Arberry did succeed in creating his own academic Orientalist project, which criticized the existing populist branch of Orientalism. Thus, Arberry is a self-critical academic, who openly criticizes novelists, film makers, politicians, adventurers, and journalists. According to Arberry (1960, p.253) those non-

professional Orientalists transmitted a distorted image about the history, heritage and culture of Arabs and Muslims to the Western reader. Therefore, it can be seen that Arberry distinguishes between the different outcomes of two different sets of British Orientalists. He praises the serious academic endeavours but at the same time he criticizes those who created distorted populist images. Another important point raised by Arberry is the suffering of British Orientalists who were mostly ignored by the successive governments at home.

These points give Arberry's research a higher degree of importance than that of similar works on the history of British Orientalism in its relationship to Arabic-Islamic literature. In this context, this thesis quotes many historical and academic details from Arberry.

Of course, there are a number of other important studies in this field, such as Bosworth's edited volume *A Century of British Orientalists* (2001) and Irwin's *Dangerous Knowledge* (2006). However, these books were written using different historical methods. The former merely contains biographical and bibliographical information about thirteen well-known British scholars, who came from different areas of Orientalist knowledge and different periods; "late Victorian, Edwardian, and early Georgian" (Bosworth, 2001, p.5). Ten of the Orientalists are discussed by different authors, and three by the editor. The thirteen Orientalists are ordered according to their fame in their own time (Bosworth, 2001, p.5); Harold Walter Baily (1899-1996), Alfred Felix Landon Beeston (1911-1995), Edward Granville Browne (1862-1926), Gerard Leslie Makins Clauson (1891-1974), Godfrey Rolles Driver (1892-1975), Samuel Rolles Driver (1846-1914), Alan Henderson Gardiner (1879-1963), Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb (1895-1971), Francis LIewellyn Griffith (1862-1934), Vladimir Fedorovich Minorsky (1877-1966), Ralph Lilley Turner (1888-1983), Arthur David Waley (1889-1966), and Richard Olaf Winstedt (1878-1966). As can be seen from the dates, no chronological order connects the

scholar with each other. They are just arbitrary samples, gathered from different areas of expertise and periods. This kind of authorship can be categorized as an attempt to archive Orientalist lives and works rather than create an historical study.

In contrast, Irwin's work is a historical study, which covers a long period of Orient-Occident relations, starting from *The Clash of Ancient Civilizations* (Roman-Persian) to the present day in the chapter *Muslims Writing after Said*. According to the title, it appears that Irwin intended to make his study a controversial survey between two trends of Orientalist knowledge. Thus, he describes Orientalism as dangerous knowledge. However, he acknowledges that his book "would not been written but for Edward Said's earlier book *Orientalism*, which was first published in 1978" (Irwin, 2006, p.3), and Said's insistence in his later afterword to maintain his 1978 ideas and judgements without amendment (2006, p.3). Then, in order to show how Orientalism can be dangerous he highlights conflict in ancient history to prove that the 'clash of civilizations' has been the norm across the centuries.

Overall, Irwin traces the first contacts between the West and East, in order to produce an in-depth historical view of Orientalism and its roots. However, his approach of discussing everything about Orientalism confuses the reader thorough the complexity of many events and too-detailed information. In addition, he deals with European Orientalism, including British Orientalism, Danish Orientalism, Dutch Orientalism, French Orientalism, German Orientalism and Spanish Orientalism, as one unit. Then, he adds Russian and American Orientalists. Furthermore, he classifies Orientalists according to their ideology and beliefs. For example, he categorises them as imperialist Orientalist, Christian Orientalist, and Nazi Orientalist (Irwin, 2006, pp. 199, 201, 234). These issues comprise eight of the ten parts of Irwin's book. In the final two parts, he discusses Said's assumptions and thoughts, along with certain Arab scholars critical of Orientalism, calling them "Enemies of

Orientalism". In these two parts, Irwin critiques Said and his supporters, but most of the criticisms have previously been argued by other scholars.

Although Irwin, as an expert in history, presents a wide range of historical detail about Orientalism, his publication suffers from a lack of concrete evidence with which to convince his readers. In fact, Said's evidence is primarily gained from practical analyses of the texts, but one often did not find this kind of analysis in Irwin's book, especially in arguing of Said's views. This is the main difference between Said, as a critic, and the historians, such as Irwin and his master, Bernard Lewis, who criticize his views. The latter group are experts in the history of Orientalism, but they cannot refute Said's arguments, who built his argument on the theoretical and practical approaches of criticism.

As a result, the publications discussed above tend to deal with the British Orientalists' efforts according to the traditional approach which primarily focuses on the authors' lives and works. This means that these studies neglect two fundamental parts of the production process. There are three essential elements in the production of any literary work; the author, the text and the reader. The publications discussed merely focus on the authors. This process results in an archival classification of the works studied by the authors. The research is not concerned with the contents of the original works, but merely speak around the text, in terms of the title, date, contents, size, and published location. A sample of this method of dealing with texts can be seen in the following quote from Lewis's works about Edward Pococke:

Pococke produced a large number of interesting works, of which the following may be cited.

1. *Specimen of the History of the Arabs*. An extract from the history of Abū 'l Faraj , followed by a series of detailed studies on various aspects of Arab history, science, literature, and religion. This book is one of the most important in Orientalist literature, and was for long universally recognized as such. It was printed in Oxford in 1649, and reprinted in 1806.

2. *Lāmīyat al-‘Ajam*. A critical edition of the classical Arabic poem of Tughrā’ī, accompanied by a translation, and very full explanatory notes. Printed in Oxford in 1661.
3. *Al-Mukhtasar fi-d-Duwal*. The full Arabic text of the history of Abū 'l Faraj with a translation" (1941, p.14).

The text and the reader are neglected in these publications. Thus a new approach is required to include these elements in order to analyse British Orientalists' writings. This study suggests that Jauss's assumptions about literary history is a suitable approach as it focuses attention on the text and the reader, without neglecting the role of the author (this approach is discussed in-depth in later sections).

As discussed in the introduction, this thesis examines the history of British Orientalism and its relationship to classical Arabic literature. This means that history and literature are present throughout the thesis. The historical element is conducted through two aspects. First, the study is chronological, starting with the early seventieth century, which corresponds with the pioneering movement in classical Arabic literature in Britain, to the present day. Second, this long period of British Orientalism is divided into three main periods (Pre colonialism, colonialism, and Post colonialism), which are based around the relationship between the emergence of Orientalist knowledge and colonialism. In the three periods many British Orientalist scholars studied classical Arabic literature, which was produced in the pre-Islamic period to the late Abbasid era around 650 AH. Thus, history is adopted as a determining frame for the events and works in a chronological manner.

2.2. Orientalism: Historical Background

Orientalism is one of the most controversial epistemic fields of contemporary knowledge and has elicited a great deal of comments, which have been contained in a variety of articles, academic research, books, theses, and other publications. In general, there are meanings of the word 'Orientalism' related to politics, religion, arts, literature, social science, history, sociology, law, economics, international relations, etc.

This section briefly presents ideas about the original meaning of the word 'Orientalism' and how it acquired a new and partly different meaning. Historically and idiomatically, the concept of Orientalism evolved in several stages. According to Arberry (1943, p.8): "The original connotation of the term Orientalist was, in 1683, 'a member of the Eastern or Greek Church': in 1691 Anthony Wood described Samuel Clark as 'an eminent Orientalian' that he knew some Oriental languages". While Rodinson states that the word "'Orientaliste' appeared in English around 1779 and in French in 1799, while the name 'Orientalisme' was accepted in the dictionary of the French academy in 1838" (1987, p.57).

In addition, John MacKenzie mentions that the word Orientalism, in the final quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, "came in the context of British Rule in India, to acquire a third meaning to refer to or identify 'conservative and romantic' approach to the problems of government, faced by the officials of the East India company". (Cited in Macfie, 2002, p.3). From that time until decolonization followed the end of the Second World War (1939-45), the meaning of the term Orientalism, as given in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which semantically defines an

Orientalist as "one versed in oriental languages and literature" (cited in Arberry, 1943, p.8) remained unchanged (Macfie, 2002, p.4).

Thereafter, definitions of 'Orientalism' has witnessed considerable changes when certain scholars argued that the mission of Orientalists was not confined to learning Eastern languages and understanding its literature but there were accompanying tasks. Therefore, the following quotation can be considered as a best example to illustrate the apparent and profound content of the term. Returning to the early function of Orientalism, in a letter dated 9 May 1636 addressed to the founder of the chair of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, a number of Orientalists stated:

The work itself we conceive to tend not only to the advancement of good *literature* by bringing to light much knowledge which as yet is locked up in that *learned tongue*, but also to the *good service of the King and state* in our *commerce* with the Eastern nations, and in *God's good time* to the enlargement of the borders of the Church, and *propagation of Christian religion* to them who now sit in the darkness (Arberry, 1948, p.8; 1960, p.14, emphasis added).

This commandment can summarize the purpose and the benefits that may be obtained from Orientalists' efforts. At the same time, these illuminations provoked certain scholars and intellectuals, especially those who came from countries that were colonized to examine the merits of Orientalist's works. These included Anouar Abdel-Malek, A.L. Tibawi, Talal Asad, Homi K. Bhabha, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and the most outstanding figure Edward W. Said. Those Occidentalists conducted important studies that expanded the domain of Orientalism to include:

A corporate institution, designed for dealing with Orient, a partial view of Islam, an instrument of Western imperialism, a style of thought, based on an Orient and Occident, and even an ideology, justifying and accounting for the subjugation of blacks, Palestinian Arabs, women and many others supposedly deprived groups and peoples (Macfie, 2002, p.4).

According to Mackenzie (1995), this category of scholars and intellectuals has led "Orientalism into one of the most highly charged words in modern scholarship" (cited in Macfie, 2002, p.4). Hence, it is no surprise that the word 'Orientalism' is often combined with words such as crisis, danger, conspiracy, predicament, assaults, dominance, hegemony, power, colonialism, imperialism, and, even, disbelief. As Said argues Orientalism refers to several overlapping domains:

Firstly, the historical changing and cultural relationship between Europe and Asia, a relationship with a 4000-year-old history; secondly, the scientific discipline in the West according to which beginning in the early 19th century one specialized in the study of various Oriental cultures and traditions; and, thirdly, the ideological suppositions, images, and fantasies about a currently important and politically urgent region of the world called the Orient. The relatively common denominator between these three aspects of Orientalism is the line separating Occident from Orient, and this, I have argued, is less a fact of nature than it is a fact of human production, which I have called imaginative geography (1985, pp.89-107).

Another commonly used term is 'Arabists', which can be used in the same context as Orientalists. For example, "In England, in the past, the word Arabist was normally used in the same way as Iranist or Hispanist or Germanist—to denote a scholar professionally concerned with the language, history, or culture of a particular land and people" (Lewis, 1982, p.3). This term is contained in a number of Orientalist's works, particularly those concerned with culture, language, religion, politics, etc. of Arabs, especially in Spain, to refer to Spaniards interested in Arabic. Since the beginning of the tenth century AD, the Arabists helped to develop the theoretical knowledge about the existence of human being and rescued the treasure of a few Latin books (Rodinson, 1987, p.26).

2.3. Origins of Orientalism

Scholars differ about the origins of Orientalism. Overall, the concept of Orientalism is stretched to suit the particular aims of the authors who defined it from varying perspectives. For instance, according to Johann Fuck's *History of Orientalism movement* (2001, p.90), in England, the Arabic language has been studied with the aim of theological substance. This view is sustained through the definition of Orientalists proposed by Abdullah Laroui and adopted by Donald Little, who states that "an Orientalist is defined as a foreigner-in this case a Westerner-who takes Islam as the subject of his research" (1979, p.112). However, he argues that:

Tibawi believes, by hostility to Islam as a rival religion to Judaism and Christianity. This hostility was first displayed openly, in the form of polemics, holy war and missionary activities aimed at converting or destroying Muslims. Later, however, commercial and political consideration led Westerners to study Islam and Muslim peoples in order to subject them to imperialist control (1979, p.112).

Thus, Tibawi does not deny the impacts of other factors on the emergence of Orientalism, but he stresses that the religious factor was the basis on which Orientalism was established; in other words, he historically orders these factors.

In contrast, scholars who identify themselves as Marxists, of which Anour Abdel Malek and Edward Said are the most prominent, link the origin of Orientalism with imperialism. These scholars tend to give priority to the political factor. For example, "Orientalism for Abdel-Malek has been from the beginning the intellectual handmaiden of colonialism and has been dominated by its assumptions and tools whether it consciously espoused its goals or not" (Little, 1979, p.115). Similarly, Said emphasizes the close the relationship between politics and the origin of Orientalism, not just in his book *Orientalism* but also in '*Orientalism Reconsidered*', in which he argues:

It seems to me patently impossible to dismiss the truth of Orientalism's political origin and its continuing political actuality; we are obliged on intellectual as well as political grounds to investigate the resistance to the politics of Orientalism, a resistance that is richly symptomatic of precisely what is denied (1985, p.90).

This insistence on the link between Orientalism and its political origins, has led certain scholars to accuse Said of being a politician rather than an objective researcher. For example, Sadik Jalal Al-Azm titled an article "*Edward Said is a Politician in Orientalism*" (2009).

Michael Richardson has also objected to Said because the "anthropological images of the Orient are largely absent from Said's account. It would, however, be naïve to believe that anthropology is, or can be, exempted from the wider implications of his critique" (1990, p.16). However, Fred Halliday claims that "there are difficulties with the posting of such a general category, on any of the [Said's] three definitions" (1993, p.151). Therefore, Halliday adopted another approach, which he considered to be more relevant to the social sciences.

In conclusion, because of the nature of Orientalism, one cannot attribute one cause to its appearance, but many factors combine to construct it. However, one reason may prevail over other reasons at particular points, but that reason can never be the sole explanation. In summary, each factor is interrelated with the others, but varies in effect depending on the timing of their appearance.

2.4. Orientalism: Pre and Post Saidism

In general, historiography, using historical events is more effective than using dates, such as the beginning of World War I in 1914. Dates can determine or separate two stages that are radically different from each other. However, the

use of dates does not apply to literature or any other field of knowledge, because roots are so extensive and intersecting in the two phases. Literature and knowledge are also influenced by the path of human history and therefore cannot be produced as separate fragments. Thus, cultural phenomena have extensions in the 'pre' and 'post' event. Therefore, the terms 'pre' and 'post' are used to prove presence in the world of literature, criticism and other fields of knowledge. This is because "Post implies that is behind us, and the past implies periodization" (Breckenridge & Van der Veer, 1993, p.1).

In the case of Orientalism, 'Saidism' is the interval between the previous and subsequent stages of Orientalism. In addition, there is no doubt that Said has achieved widespread fame in contemporary critical theory, especially in Orientalism. Moreover, Said's work has mostly divided intellectuals and scholars into two groups: supporters and opponents.

Chronologically, Orientalist studies can be classified into two kinds. The first is, historical studies which were written by Western Orientalists, especially which in England, France, and Germany. Arberry's '*British Orientalists*', which was published in 1943, contained a brief biography about British Orientalists and their works; it is approximately 50 pages long. The following quotation reveals Arberry's approach:

The first noteworthy Arabist of this new age was William Bedwell, who wrote of Arabic that it was "the only language of religion and chief language of diplomacy and business from the Fortunate Isles to the Seas": he produced the first English version of the Koran. [...] The leading Arabist of the seventeenth century was however Edward Pococke, pupil of William Bedwell, who travelled extensively in the Near East and acquired a profound knowledge of both written and spoken Arabic (1943, p.16).

In 1950 in France, Raymond Schwab (1984) wrote an important book titled '*The Oriental Renaissance, Europe's Rediscovery of India and East, 1680-1880*'. Said's comments, in the foreword to this book, introduces its ideas. He

states that "Schwab brings a rare gift for dealing with very concentrated and meticulously gathered detail.... The detail in such instances is the detail of influence—how one writer or event bears on another" (1984, p. viii). In German, Johann Fuck's *'Die Arabischen Studien in Europe'* (1955) is similar to Arberry's. However, Fuck's book is larger and more comprehensive in its coverage of the research area, because it included all European Orientalists.

It can be clearly seen that the three books deal with Orientalists or Orientalism from a Western perspective. Thus, directly or indirectly, these publications contributed to the emergence of the second kind of studies. Western writers have tended to look at the positive aspects of Orientalism, but Eastern writers have focused on the negative side of Orientalism or what is termed 'a critique of Orientalism'.

Political and religious Orientalist studies were the most prominent focus of the second type. These were written by Arab scholars, who had studied in western universities, and include A. Abdel-Malek, *'Orientalism in Crisis'* (1963), and A. L. Tibawi, *'English-Speaking Orientalists'* (1964). Although those works are articles not books, they contained the first signs of the Orientalist critique. However, these critiques had two different views: "Whereas Abdel-Malek approaches the question of Orientalism from a left-wing point of view, A. L. Tibawi—a Palestinian Arab historian educated at the University of London—approaches it from the point of view of student of Islam and a believer" (Macfie, 2000, p.57).

These attempts were the foundation that paved the way for the advent of a new theory, which ended with Said's ingenuity in creating a comprehensive theory by which analyse the entire Orientalist discourse. Said, in *'Orientalism'*, acknowledges the contributions of A.L. Tibawi, Abdullah Laroui, Anouar Abdel Malek, Talal Asad, S.H. Alatas, Fanon and Cesaire, Pannikar, and Romila Thapar; "all of whom had suffered the ravages of imperialism and colonialism,

and who, in challenging the authority, provenance, and institutions of the science that represented them to Europe" (1985, p.93).

The main difference between Said and pre-Saidism scholars is that Said was a cultural and literary critic, while the others were historians. He believes that "cultural discourse and exchange within a culture that what is commonly circulated by it is not 'truth' but representations" (2003, p.21). For him, "analysis of the Orientalist text therefore places emphasis on the evidence, which is by no means invisible, for such representations as representations, not as 'natural' depictions of the Orient" (2003, p.21). This statement prompted Lewis (as a historian) to criticize Said's approach in his commentary: "truth does not matter, facts do not matter. All discourse is a manifestation of power relationship, and all knowledge is slanted" (cited in Macfie, 2002, p.134).

Correspondingly, it can be noted that Said does not neglects the historical aspect but "Said's desire to combine very familiar emphases in literary-critical ways of reading (style, figures of speech, setting, narrative devices, historical and social circumstances) with a post-modernist emphasis on 'representations *as representations*'" (Ahmad,1992, p.185). In this context, Said believes that:

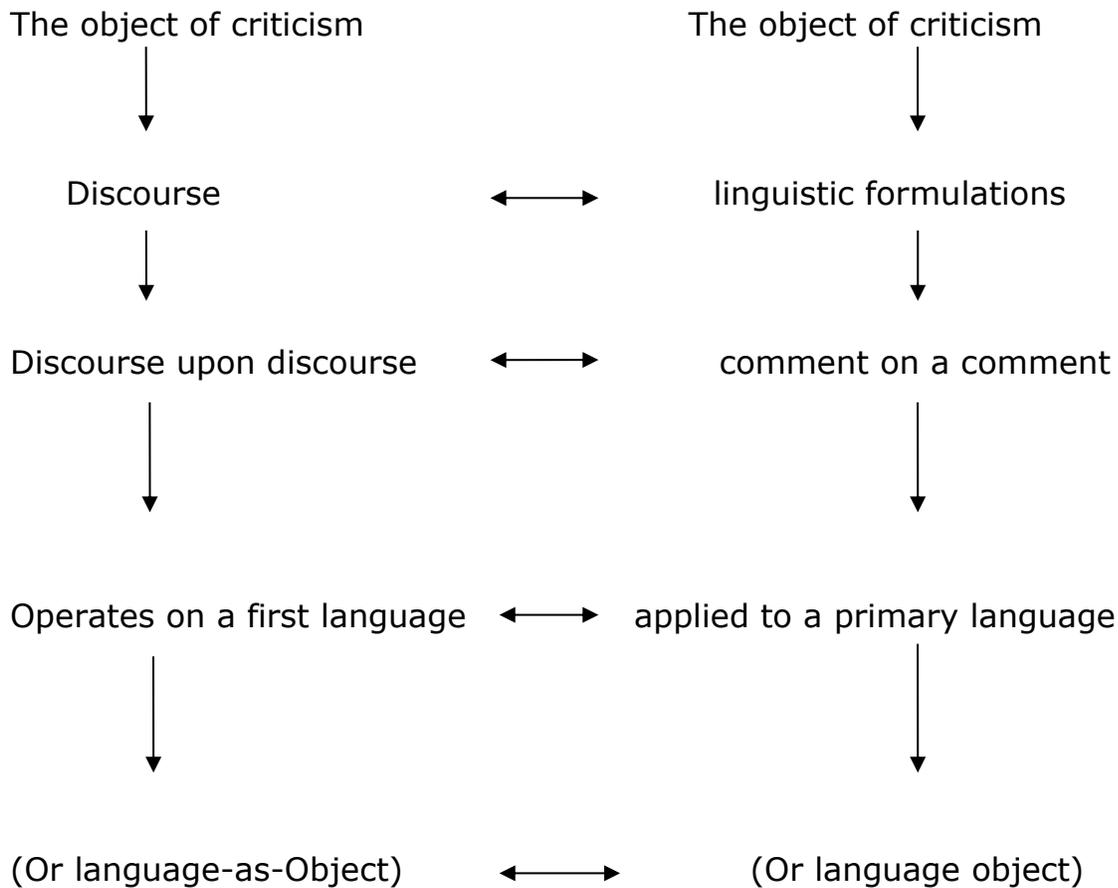
Evidence is found just as prominently in the so-called truthful text (histories, philological analyses, political treatises) as in the avowedly artistic (i.e. openly imaginative) text. The things to look at are style, figures of speech, setting, narrative devices, historical and social circumstances, not the correctness of the representation nor its fidelity to some great original (2003, p.21).

Furthermore, Said undoubtedly benefited from scholars' arguments about the principles of 'New criticism'. These include Roland Barthes who insists on the close relationship between language (as an object) and criticism. He provides two definitions about this relationship. First, he argues criticism "deals not with 'the world', but with the linguistic formulations made by others; it is

comment on a comment, a secondary language or meta-language, applied to a primary language (or language-as-Object)" (cited in Lodge, 1972, p.649). Whereas in the second definition, criticism is not 'the world' but "a discourse, the discourse of someone else: criticism is discourse upon discourse; it is a second language, or a meta-language, which operates on a first language (or language object)" (Barthes, 1963, p.2).

Through these definitions, it can be seen that language does not deal with the literary and historical phenomena according to their relationship to 'truth' or 'reality' (as Lewis and other historians believe). Hence, "Criticism is more than discourse in the name of "true" principles" (Barthes, 1963, p.2).

The following diagram illustrates the different terms; which Barthes uses:



The left column shows Barthes's first definition of 'the object of criticism', whereas the right column shows the second. Both refer to the close relationship between both sides of the creative process. Therefore, Barthes elaborates that:

If criticism is only a meta-language, its task is not to discover forms of "truth" but forms of "validity". In itself, a language cannot be true or false; it is either valid or non-valid. It is valid when it consists of a coherent system of signs. The rules governing the language of literature are not concerned with the correspondence between that language and reality (cited in Lodge, 1972, p.649).

This critical cognitive approach has given Said's method greater coherence. This is because "he learned this skill of close reading in the pedagogical laboratory of 'New Criticism'; he has applied it in the wider and even more exacting field of comparativism; and now exercises it with wit, erudition, persuasive prose style, and liberal leanings" (Ahmad, 1992, p.186).

In addition to these critical devices (style, figures of speech, setting, etc.), Said, in his critique, depends on language itself which is "a highly organized and encoded system, which employs many devices to express, indicate, exchange message and information, represent, and so forth" (Said, 2003, p.21).

It can also be seen that most Orientalist approaches focus on a single issue such as religion, politics or ideology, whereas Said (2003) adopts the deconstructive approach to analyse the Orientalists' discourse, which "is the result of interaction between knowledge and power, which are connected to each other in a never-ending circle" (Teitelbaum & Litvak, 2006, p.25).

In order to examine how Said's assumption is applied to just a few Orientalist British scholars, the theoretical background of Said's thought in his main remarkable work '*Orientalism*', should be known first. Said clearly mentioned that he employed "Michel Foucault's notion of discourse, as described by him

in *The Archaeology of Knowledge and Discipline and Punish, to identify Orientalism*" (2003, p.3). Foucault's idea of discourse is "very different from other (especially Anglo-American) conceptions of discourse" (McHoul and Grace, 1993, p.26).

The concept of 'discourse' in linguistics is quite different from Foucault's use. In linguistics, 'discourse' has roughly the same old meaning which has been used for a long time. It is the use of language, in written text or in speaking, where the thoughts and ideas were exchanged in specific areas. Depending on this notion, one can find many kinds of discourses, such as political, religious, philosophical, legal, medical discourse etc.

However, in Foucault's use, "the term 'discourse' refers not to language or social interaction but to relatively well-bounded areas of social knowledge" (McHoul and Grace, 1993, p.31). This knowledge is always produced by power.

Returning to Said, Orientalist knowledge was produced by the colonial power. Thus,

without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period (2003, p.3).

Here, Said could be right that Orientalism should be examined as, a knowledge, which was produced by power, but Foucault's notion of power has two sides, one for domination and other for resistance. According to Bällan (2010) "Foucault says that 'where there is power there is resistance'. This means that (..) where there is power, there is always someone who resists it" (p.37). It is true that some Orientalists had been involved with the ideology of domination, but there were many, who resisted the power of domination, such as Browne, who openly stands against the policy of Britain towards Iran. In addition, some

Orientalists joined the oriental studies by individual motivation, such as Nicholson and Arberry.

Depending on the notion of discourse, another fundamental difference is that Said (2003) does not differentiate between historical stages of Orientalism, nor did he acknowledge that the nature of Orientalism changed. However, Tibawi believes that "this characterization to quarrel with and would probably accept it as valid for the whole range of Orientalism, both past and present" (cited in Little, 1979, p.116). However, Tibawi, grounded on a religious point, considers that "Orientalism has proved to be a most retentive framework" (1964, p.36). By contrast, "Abdel-Malek's more characteristically Marxist contention that the nature of Orientalism has changed in the recent past as a direct result of the victory of the national liberation movements in the ex-colonial world" (Little, 1979, p.116). According to Said, there is no traditional or modern Orientalism, since Orientalism as a discourse is a comprehensive system Knowledge.

Mackenzie (1994), in his article 'Edward Said and the Historians', argues that Said "has effectively essentialized the West, in much the same way that he accuses the West of essentializing the East. In the process he has produced a stereotypical picture of West culture, hermetic and unchanging" (cited in Macfie, 2002, p.135).

The different point of view between historians, such as John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession* (1980), and David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (1969), has taken place. Their contradictory stand over the importance of chronology which Said denies, "can be shown that the Orientalists of the Enlightenment had little in common with the Orientalism of the period of Anglican-Orientalist controversy" (Macfie, 2002, p.136).

Said (2003) avoided the dividing his book chronologically as can be seen from the titles of some of the chapters, such as chapter three '*Orientalism Now*'. In this case, 'Now' refers to no specific time, because a reader cannot determine the exact time, as it depends on when the text is read. In addition, Said (2003) appears to exempt history (or historical writing from the determining influence of 'vision' (or the western will to power), he assumes that all other kinds of colonial textuality operate uniformly and equivalently as mediations of Orientalist 'vision' (Gilbert, 1997, p.54).

This view is reinforced by Said, who confirms his previous views in each new edition of '*Orientalism*'. In addition, Said's vision has stemmed from the vision of Orientalists themselves, which considers Orientalism "as a discipline, as a profession, as specialized language or discourse, Orientalism is staked upon the permanence of the whole Orient, for without 'the Orient' there can be no consistent, intelligible, and articulated knowledge called Orientalism" (Said, 2003, p.239).

Said's vision has created a new phenomenon in the epistemological theories of contemporary criticism, which spawned two groups of scholars. If previous studies on Orientalism were growing slowly, the studies that followed '*Orientalism*' created an accelerated movement and sharp reactions between supporters (Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, Robert Young, etc.) and opponents (Bernard Lewis, Robert Irwin, Ibn Warraq, etc.).

Following the publication of '*Orientalism*', numerous studies have been published in both the West and the East in relation to its beliefs. Thus, "academic scholarship on the Middle East has been profoundly altered by this book. Its success was a combination of several processes, including a great enthusiasm for the Third World in the American academy" (Teitelbaum & Litvak, 2006, p.23). The importance of '*Orientalism*' has provoked two kinds of studies; those that are supportive of Saidism and those that are anti-

Saidism. The first of the supporters' books appeared in the USA and include Gayatri Spivak, who describes Said's book as "the source book in our discipline"; Homi Bhabha, who argues that the text "inaugurated the postcolonial field"; and Robert Young who describes the scholars as 'the Holy Trinity' of postcolonial critics (cited in Gilbert, Stanton, & Maly, 1997, pp.21-27).

The opposition school to Said includes scholars such as Bernard Lewis, Sadik J. Al Azm, and Robert Irwin. These scholars are known as the SOAS group, which Ibn Warraq joined later. The discontents began to attack Said personally. Sadik J. Al-Azm was the first scholar to confront Said and refute his views. Then Bernard Lewis, who was already famous, took on the task of attacking Said (2003) while defending the West. Moreover, Lewis's critiques were repeated by his students, namely Robert Irwin, Marten Kramer, and Ibn Warraq.

The focus of this section is on the body of arguments presented by Lewis (1982). For example, in his article '*The Question of Orientalism*', Lewis argues that:

A historian of science is not expected to be a scientist, but he is expected to have some basic knowledge of the scientific alphabet. Similarly, a historian of Orientalism—that is to say, the work of historians and philologists—should have at least some acquaintance with the history and philology with which they were concerned. Mr. Said shows astonishing blind spots. He asserts that "Britain and France dominated the Eastern Mediterranean from about the end of the seventeenth century on [sic]" (p.17)—that is, when the Ottoman Turks who ruled the eastern Mediterranean were just leaving Austria and Hungary (1982, p.12).

Thus, it is clear that Lewis is looking for flaws that would undermine the value of Said's methodology, because Lewis himself "has a tendency to lump things under a broad rubric together that are actually diverse and perhaps not much related to one another" (Cole, 2003, p.151). However, such lapses do not

affect the essence of the work. In addition, Said (2003) does not describe himself as a historian nor does he adopt the historical approach, rather he is a critic. Moreover, although historical knowledge can prove the facts, it does not provide an explanation or interpretation of what is happening in history. This is because it is necessary to understand the reason or motive that stands behind the historical event. "Orientalism as history exists and has existed outside of Said's personal conception of it. Historical Orientalism had a concrete reality, was complex, internally diverse, changed over time, and was never monolithic. It was quite independent of Said's `discourse'" (Kopf, 1980, p.49). In addition, Said, in the methodological section of his book, refers clearly to this point when he states that:

It has seemed to me foolish to attempt an encyclopaedic narrative *history of Orientalism*, first of all because if my guiding principle was to be "the European idea of the Orient" there would be virtually no limit to the material I would have had to deal with; second, because the narrative model itself did not suit my descriptive and political interests; third, because in such books as Raymond Schwab's *La Renaissance Orientale*, Johan Fock's *Die Arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20 Jahrhunderts*, and more recently, Dorothee Metlitzki's *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* there already exist encyclopedic works on certain aspects of the European-Oriental encounter such as make the critic's job, in the general political and intellectual context I sketched above, a different one (1980, p.15, emphasis added).

Through an analysis of the observations, proposed by Lewis (1982), one can recognize that he was not persuasive in his arguments, particularly when he mixed between the methodological observations and other cognitive lapses. Another quotation shows the non-objectivity in Lewis's argument, because he claims that:

Mr. Said's knowledge of Arabic and Islam shows surprising gaps. The one Arabic phrase which he quotes is misspelled and mistranslated (p.129) and several of the few other Arabic words which appear on Mr. Said's pages are similarly misrepresented. He explains the Islamic theological term 'tawhid' as meaning "God's transcendental unity" (p.269), when in

fact it means monotheism, i.e., declaring or professing the unity of God, as the form of the Arabic word indicates (1982, pp.12-13).

Once again, Lewis uses a weak argument, because if one makes an error in the denotation of a word or phrase in his native language, it does not mean that he is unable to fully understand his knowledge of the Arabic language. It is really strange that Lewis wields such an accusation against Said.

It seems that Lewis, as well as his students, was very severe and not objective in their attacks on Said. Lewis's attack is not justified because 'God's transcendental unity' is just as reasonable a translation of '*tawhid*' as is 'monotheism, i.e., declaring or professing the unity of God'. Sadiq Jalal al-Azm also "attacked Said for the anti-intellectualism of this view. Since German and Hungarian researchers are not connected to imperialism, Said conveniently leaves them out of his critique" (cited in Teitelbaum & Litvak, 2006, p. 23). Thus, Al-Azm repeats the notion highlighted by Lewis, when he states that "the Germans are not the only scholars omitted from Mr. Said's survey. More remarkably, he has also omitted the Russians" (Lewis, 1982, p.13). Furthermore, Robert Irwin raises the same issues and ideas, which were mentioned by Lewis and Al-Azm, but with further historical detail.

Robert Irwin's book '*For the Lust of Knowing, the Orientalists and their Enemies*' was first published in England (2006) but was retitled '*Dangerous Knowledge, Orientalism and Its discontents*', when it was published in the USA in 2008, although he kept the same text. In addition:

Irwin has also criticized Said's geographical locations in *Orientalism* by stating that his study conveniently ignored the domination of 19th century Oriental studies by countries like Germany that did not explicitly possess an Eastern empire. Irwin supports Lewis's assertion that British and French Orientalists from the late eighteenth century were not directly influenced by Western imperialism (Gill, 2010, p.13).

Thus, Lewis's supporters have nothing new to add. They are more interested in history than other fields of knowledge depending on nineteenth century concepts, such as full objectivity, which "demands that the historian ignore the standpoint of his present time, the value and significance of a past age must also be recognizable independent of the later course of history" (Jauss,1982a, p.7). Therefore, they accused Said that "his background as a literary critic (and not as a historian), led him to argue that the 'things to look at are style, figures of speech, setting, narrative devices, historical and social circumstances'"(Teitelbaum & Litvak, 2006, p.23).

Another example of Lewis's students repeating the same allegations at every opportunity is seen in a book edited in 2011, *'Orientalism and Conspiracy, Politics, and Conspiracy Theory in the Islamic World: Essays in Honor of Sadik J. Al-Azm'*. Repetition is the most prominent feature of Lewis's students. Thus, Al-Azm follows the same path as Irwin. Al-Azm published an article '*Edward Said as Politician in his Book Orientalism*' on the 'Modern Discussion' on 19 August 2009, no. 2743. Then, he re-published the complete article under a new title '*Orientalism and Conspiracy*' in the 2011 '*Orientalism and Conspiracy, Politics, and Conspiracy Theory in the Islamic World*'. Here, it is noticeable Said was an easy target of criticism for instance; Al-Azm only mentioned Said and his book in the following paragraph:

It would be most inappropriate for me to leave this topic of discussion without saying something about or related to Edward Said's sharply debated and most influential book *Orientalism*—a book that is still alive and kicking after the passage of more than a quarter of a century since its publication (Graf, Fathi and Paul, 2011, p.8).

In the article, Al-Azm describes events from his life and work, in order to reveal the origin of conspiracy:

I had always thought that Arabs are the worst offenders around when it comes to the addiction to conspiracy theories, particularly when it comes to history, politics and international affairs, until one day Fred Halliday of the London School of Economics corrected me by insisting that that privilege belongs to Iran and the Iranian, by right. This set me thinking about the role of Shiism, for example, in intensifying this Iranian super addiction to conspiracy explanations, considering that power was in fact usurped from Imamu Ali and his heirs through a series of dirty conspiracies (Graf, Fathi and Paul, 2011, p.18).

By creating a random connection between Orientalism, Edward Said, Iran, Imam Ali, shaiism and conspiracy, Al-Azm is trying to make a contemporary interpretation.

Thus, the debate is between historical narration and Said's academic criticism, which during the 1980s, "became a nearly sacred doctrine in the American academy" (Teitelbaum & Litvak, 2006, p.26). Although Said (1985) did not explicitly mention Al-Azm's name when he responded to his critics, one can reveal that his responses refute Al-Azm's allegations. Said argues that:

There has been a comic effort by some Arab nationalists to see the Orientalist controversy as an imperialist plot to enhance American control over the Arab world. According to this seriously argued but extraordinarily implausible scenario, we are informed that critics of Orientalism turn out not to be anti-imperialist at all, but covert agents of imperialism. The next step from this is to suggest that the best way to attack imperialism is either to become an Orientalist or not to say anything critical about it. At this stage, however, I concede that we have left the world of reality for a world of such illogic and derangement that I cannot pretend to understand its structure or sense (1985, pp.99-100).

Although, Said and his supporters also lapse into exaggerations and amplifications, while Said's book includes flaws, it is impossible that any work can cover all issues and questions comprehensively. Thus, one can diagnose failings in the methodology of Said and his supporters. However, this exaggerated by polemical authors such as Teitelbaum and Litvak, who argue that "there is a paradox in the fact that a large part of Said's supporters joined

with the Islamists or with supporters of the status quo by rejecting any criticism of the Arab world as 'Orientalism'" (2006, p.26). In fact, Said was extremely critical of the Arab world.

In this respect, Said's extremely critical approach of the Arab World is one of the few examples of authors, such as Muhammad Abdu and Jamal al-Din Al-Afghani, who adopted a similar approach in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, those endeavours could not constitute a real intellectual trend that may take or impose a wide range of influence on the political and social dimensions in their societies, like what happened in Europe. Hence, one cannot blame just the Orientalists or others. Thus, Teitelbaum and Litvak were correct to criticize Said and his supporters, particularly on the following point:

It is equally ironic that it is Arab leftists who often criticize their society and raise arguments similar to those of Elie Kedourie, who is denigrated as an "Orientalist" by Said and his supporters. This kind of agreement, of a conservative intellectual like Kedourie and radical Arab critics attacked by Said raise the question of who is helping the Arabs in the long run—those willing to sincerely engage with crises plaguing Arab society, or those who whitewash them by saying that criticism represents a distorted Western approach (2006, p.26).

Although there are flaws in Said's vision, 'Orientalism' contributed effectively to detecting the close relationship between knowledge (Orientalism) and power (political aspect; imperialism, hegemony, colonialism, etc.). This interdependence still plays an important role in influencing political and social life in the Middle East. A similar example of polemical intentions can be found in Binyamin Netanyahu's political development of the ideas of Bernard Lewis. On 27 September 2012, Netanyahu addressed the UN:

There is a great scholar of the Middle East, Prof. Bernard Lewis, who put it best. He said that for the Ayatollahs of Iran, mutually assured destruction is not a deterrent, it is an inducement. Iran's apocalyptic leaders believe that a medieval holy man will reappear in the wake of a

devastating Holy War, thereby ensuring that their brand of radical Islam will rule the earth. That is not just what they believe. That is what is actually guiding their policies and their actions.

Thus, Netanyahu claims that Iranians, who are Twelver Shiite Muslims, believe that a medieval holy man (Al-Mahdi, a descendant of the Prophet) will reappear in the wake of the devastating holy war. This claim is completely inaccurate and far from mainstream Shiite beliefs. It is forbidden in the Twelver Shiite belief to hasten the appearance of Mahdi. Therefore, "Shiite believe that holy war could no longer be fought in the absence of an Imam" (Cole, 2002, p.171). Thus, it is ironical that Netanyahu's views more closely reflect those of American Christian fundamentalist than Shiite views. Christian fundamentalists represent:

A major political constituency—representing much of the current president's core vote—in the most powerful nation on Earth, which is actively seeking to provoke a new world war. Its members see the invasion of Iraq as a warm-up act, as Revelation (9:14-15) maintains that four angels "which are bound in the great river Euphrates" will be released "to slay the third part of men" (Monbiot, 2004).

Undoubtedly, this example shows the important role of Orientalists, such as Lewis, who is the main character in the 'Anti-Saidism' school. In addition, this role is still active in steering political issues in the Middle East. Finally, it should be mentioned that Said (2003) has succeeded in proving the credibility of his theory, particularly with regard to its political and ideological dimensions.

2.5. Research Area

Although a number of studies have addressed Orientalism or Orientalists, there have been few attempts to address British Orientalism. As is shown earlier, most Orientalist studies used the pure historical method which focuses on the life of the authors and their works. Moreover, the approach is concerned with historical detail about time, place, and events. In addition, previous

Orientalist studies are distributed between historical studies and other disciplines, such as politics, sociology and art. There is no specialized study that critically observes the efforts of Orientalists in the study of classical Arabic literature.

This research adopts a different approach from previous studies in terms of approach and subject. The main focus is to illustrate and put in perspective some of the discussions and arguments which resulted from Orientalist academic studies and their dominance in British academia. It also highlights some of the positive and negative results that arose from the different historical periods.

The thesis takes into account the fact there because of the nature of Arabic literature, there are overlapping themes between literature, religion and language. According to Arberry:

The literatures of the East derive their inspiration from the religions of the East: the forms these literatures have taken are defined by the innate genius and physical environments of the Oriental peoples. Islam, born of the arid vastness, the instant perils, the hardship and unfriendliness of the burning wastes of Arabia, teaches that God is omnipotent but also all-compassionate, that man is utterly dependent upon Allah's will but may also aspire to gain eternal bliss. These fundamental doctrines have left their impress on all the literature of the Muslim world (1943, p.9).

Furthermore, there has been much debate about the link between language and religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam). For example, "In England, the Arabic language has been practiced with the aim of theological substance" (Fouck, 2001, p.90). In addition, Tibawi argues that:

Any Arabic or Islamic studies that were cultivated for any of these reasons –polemic, missionary, commercial, diplomatic, scientific, or academic– continued for a long time to be coloured by some measure of the same deep-rooted animosity. Indeed, the very first holder of the chair of Arabic at Cambridge planned, even though he never completed, a refutation of the Quran (1964, p.27).

In summary, this study is not a pure critique nor is it a traditional history study. The aim is to study the Orientalists' discourse and its relationship to classical Arabic literature. It is planned to avoid much of the criticism addressed to preceding studies, particularly Said's cultural criticism approach. The current approach depends on and corresponds to Jauss's theory of reception.

Chapter Three

Classical Arabic Literature in the Era of British Pre Colonialism

3.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the emergence of early historical contact of cultural association between East and West. In particular, it aims to explore the early interest of the British academia in Arabic literature. It starts from the establishment of the first chair in Arabic at Oxford University in 1634 onwards to the end of eighteenth century. The chapter focuses on three pioneering scholars: Edward Pococke (1604-1691), Simon Ockley (1678-1720), and Joseph Carlyle (1759-1794). Historical and comparative approach as well as critical analysis of their responses are adopted rather than focusing on their detailed lives and their social and political circumstances.

3.2 Early East-West Contacts

In general, most scholars agree that the cultural association between East and West has deep historical roots. However, there is disagreement about the location and time of the first cultural contact. For example, Said argues that the first cultural contact between the Orient and West started with the *Iliad* when "two of the most profoundly influential qualities associated with East appear in Aeschylus's *The Persians*, the earliest Athenian play extant. And in *The Backhoe* of Euripides, the very last one extant" (2003, p.56). However, Lewis argues that "the Crusades were the first occasion when the Arab East and Christian West were brought into close association, and some cultural exchanges must have taken place" (1941, p.9). In contrast, Maxime Rodinson (1987) argues that the real contact between Arab East and Europe begins in

the west, particularly in Spain. He sets the beginning in the early tenth century, when scholars such as Gerbert of Aurillac studied in Spain and "disseminated a wealth of technical and scientific information. Muslim scientific knowledge acquired through Latin translations of Arabic works gradually began to find its way to England, Lorraine, Salerno, and above all, Spain" (Rodinson, 1987, p.12). It is also reasonable to take account of Arberrý's argument of the first contact between English scholars and Arabs because Arberrý was interested in history and culture of Arabs. He argues that:

The first Englishman known for certain to have been a scholar of Arabic was Henry II's tutor, Adelard of Bath, who travelled widely in Spain and Syria and translated a number of Arabic texts into Latin. Others who sailed from these shores in the renaissance. Returned to enlighten their fellow-countrymen include Daniel of Morley and the great Michael Scotus, astrologer and alchemist, whose translations of Aristotle from the Arabic attained a just celebrity and were of a great value during first renaissance (1943, p.12).

Robert Irwin in his book *Dangerous Knowledge* (2008) divides the east-west cultural contacts into a number of historical eras. Academically, there have been a number of historical phases in the study of cultural contacts between the east and the west. The first serious attempt in academia begins with individual attempts in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. This was when "the first noteworthy Arabist of this new age was William Bedwell [1563-1632], who wrote about Arabic that it was 'the only language of religion and chief language of diplomacy and business from the Fortunate Isles to the China Seas'" (Arberrý, 1943, p.16). Moreover, a number of younger scholars began to interest themselves in Arabic, such as Abraham Wheelocke (1593-1654), and Edward Pococke (1604-1691) (Holt, 1957a, p.444).

The Arabic language "was a neglected subject in Europe in the sixteenth century and its students were confronted by a variety of difficulties"

(Hamilton, 1985, p.1). However, these early attempts can be considered the start of an era which saw the establishment of the first chair of Arabic at a university in England. Edward Pococke was the first scholar to lecture in Arabic and held the first chair of Arabic language established at Cambridge University in 1632. This was followed by another chair being created at Oxford in 1636 (Arberry, 1943, p.16; Holt, 1957a, p.444).

Although the earliest studies of Arabic were connected with the movement of cognitive exploration that characterized the spirit of the seventeenth century in England, this research was motivated by several factors. One of the most important factors was religion. This was because:

The papacy and many Christians sought to unite the Eastern and Western churches by studying their languages and texts [...]. Biblical exegesis, a subject of the first rank in discussions between Protestants and Catholics, also contributed to an appreciation of Eastern philology (Rodinson, 1987, p.42).

As a result, many pioneers of British Orientalism came from a religious background. Thus:

The value of Arabic in giving a better understanding of biblical text and throwing new light on Hebrew was stressed by Bedwell (1612), Pasor (1626), Pococke (1661), Castell (1667), and Hyde (1692). This theme continues in the following century as Ockley at Cambridge and Hunt at Oxford bear witness (Holt, 1957a, p.446).

Not only did understanding biblical text motivate a number of the earliest Orientalists but also a similar impact occurred with the Quranic text. Thus, Tibawi points out that "one of his early successors in eighteenth century wrote a pioneering *History of the Saracens*, but also recommended that the Quran should be read in order to contradict or refute it" (1963, p.27).

Obviously, the learning and teaching Arabic language does not seem to be essential for polemic between Christians and Muslims. However, the doctrinal

rivalry between Catholic and Protestant encouraged and prompted a number of English scholars (Bedwell and Pococke) to learn Arabic, during "the extent and success of Catholic missionary work during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries" (Holt, 1957a, p.446). This theological point of view is also confirmed by Arberry when he quoted a letter dated 9 May 1636 addressed to the founder of the chair. The writer states:

The work itself we conceive to tend not only to advancement of good literature by bringing to light much knowledge which as yet is locked up in that learned tongue, but also to the good service the King and State in our commerce with the Eastern nations, and in God's good time to the enlargement of the borders of the Church, and propagation of Christian religion to them who now sit in darkness (Arberry, 1948, p.8 and 1960, p.14).

Another factor that strengthened the religious motivation springs from the nature of Arabic language. This is because there is a dialectical correlation between this language and the realm of theology. Basically, "the success of Muhammad and the conquests made by Islam under the Orthodox Caliphs gave an entirely new importance to this classical idiom. Arabic became the sacred language of the whole Moslem world" (Nicholson, 1907, p.xxiii). In addition, the majority of Muslims believe that Quran is a linguistic miracle; hence, Arabic must be understood through a religious perspective. This means that the nature of the Arabic language imposed theological considerations for the early Orientalists. This can be deduced from Arberry's statement:

The Arabic language, ingenious in structure, at once rigid and sensitive, with its almost unlimited vocabulary to which all the tribes contributed their share of synonyms, being by theological definition a perfect instrument – for the Koran is held to be the very word of God - thus became a subject worthy of study; no occidental literature can in any way bear comparison with Arabic in the fields of grammar, rhetoric, lexicography and all the branches of philosophy (1943, p.9).

Thus, the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries in England "saw a new flowering of science and erudition serving various political, ideological, and economic interests that financed and supported this scholarship" (Rodinson, 1987, p.41).

A second phase started in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when an equally significant renewal in the study of Arabic occurred by a new era of Orientalists. This epoch is considered as a real revolution in philology, which produced a new generation of Orientalists who were very interested in comparative science "based on the premise that languages belong to families, of which the Indo-European and the Semitic are two great instances" (Said, 2003, p.98). In this era Said argues that "almost without exception, every Orientalist began his career as a philologist" (2003, p.98).

Thus, while the first generation of Orientalists came from a primarily theological background, the second generation belonged to the scientific renaissance. The two generations divided into two groups; one religious and another secular. This means that a debate among scholars about the three monotheistic books (Bible, Torah and Quran) turned into a struggle. For instance, "the argument against 'medieval obscurantism', which had continued since the Renaissance, hereafter became a battle against Christianity itself, which seemed unable to disassociate itself from the ideology built during the Middle Ages around its main original themes" (Rodinson, 1987, p. 45). Undoubtedly, this debate contributed to encourage an interest in the study of the Latin, Hebrew and Arabic languages, because "it had been obvious for a long time that certain languages were similar to each other: the languages derived from Latin, and Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic" (Hourani, 1991, p.27).

It can be concluded that many factors contributed to the interest in the Arabic language, but it seems that the religious factor was the original motivating

one. Therefore, because "of the close connection between religion and study of Arabic, it is significant that many of the early Arabists were themselves clerics, such as Bedwell and Pococke" (Holt, 1957, p.446). However, it can also be taken into account that other factors were not inseparable from each other.

3.3. The Orient as a Textual Universe

The relationship between the text and the world (visual realistic or imaginary) has been a matter of debate between philosophers since Plato. Two of the most important questions are: Does the text transmit the real world as it is or does it depict another form which mimics the reality? And does the simulation represent the ideal form of reality or does it remain incomplete in its representation?

Another important aspect of the debate is, what are the relationships between texts and author on the one hand and between text and reader on the other. Both aspects have resulted in another classical debate which "aimed at finding in a text either what its author intended to say or what the text said independently of the intentions of its author" (Eco, 1990, p.180). Thus the relationship between the three factors, text, author and reader, is important. All three pillars contribute to understanding the creative process, regardless of which kind of reader (assumed, implied, real, etc.). Thus, Eco argues that:

The empirical reader is only an actor who makes conjectures about the kind of model reader postulated by the text. Since the intention of the text is basically to produce a model reader able to make conjectures about it, the initiative of the model reader consists in figuring out a model author that is not the empirical one and that, in the end, coincides with the intention of the text (1990, p.180).

Depending on what mentioned above, Orientalists' text can be subjected to the same procedural mechanisms in order to interpret it. Moreover, "a text is

an open-ended universe where the interpreter can discover infinite interconnections" (Eco, 1990, p.180).

In that context, the European renaissance in the sixteenth century witnessed a widespread movement of philological research in order to understand and interpret the religious texts, in particular the Bible because "Biblical exegesis, a subject of the first rank in discussions between Protestants and Catholics" (Rodinson, 1987, p.42). This interest in religious texts led to the emergence of another interest which concentrated on the languages in which the religious texts were written, such as Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic. Consequently, there was a proliferation of cognitive research, which produced:

A line of scholarly endeavor closely connected with philology was biblical criticism: that is to say, the study of the texts of the Old and New Testaments by precise linguistic analysis, in order to ascertain when and by whom they were written, how they are related to each other, and what the historical reality is which they reflect, whether directly or indirectly. This line of investigation was to lead to results, which were to be important for the study of Islam (Hourani, 1991, p.253).

Hence, although the pioneers of Orientalism were interested in the Oriental texts they "were not greatly concerned with the critical studies of texts or the verification of sources. They wanted information in compendious form on the historical background of Muslim civilization" (Holt, 1957a, p.451). It is for this reason that Said argues "the impact of the Orient was made through books and manuscripts, not, as in the impress of Greece on the Renaissance, through mimetic artefacts like sculpture and pottery. Even the rapport between an Orientalist and Orient was textual" (2003, p.52).

This movement of the collection of manuscripts has combined with another movement of translation. A remarkable activity in translation from Oriental Languages into European languages was initiated. In addition, translation was

inseparable from the linguistic activity, which began in the middle of eighteenth century because of two reasons: first:

It had been obvious for a long time that certain languages were similar to each other: the languages derived from Latin, and Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, however, a new theory was put forward. In 1786 Sir William Jones (1746-94), ... pointed out that there were similarities of vocabulary and structure between Sanskrit, some European languages, and perhaps Old Persian as well (Hourani, 1991, p.253).

Second, philology, as a field of science, deals not only with the languages itself but is interested in "what has been written in them: the texts which are a legacy of the past, and in particular those which express a collective view of the universe and man's place in it" (Hourani, 1991, p.254). Therefore, the translated text is considered to be a creative universe which is rendered by the philologist from the original language into European languages, regardless of whether or not this text conforms to reality. Furthermore, according to Benjamin in his article '*The Task of Translation*', "no translation would be possible if in its ultimate essence it strove for likeness to the original" (cited in Venuti, 2000, p.19).

In order to offer a better understanding of what had been produced about the Arab heritage, it is useful to understand Bhabha's view about the concept of translation. He provides an accurate description of the output in the early seventeenth and the late eighteenth century. He argues that "the present of translation may not be a smooth translation, a consensual continuity, but the configuration of the disjunctive of the transcultural, migrant experience" (Bhabha, 1994, p.226).

According to Venuti, some texts are not translatable:

because the relationship between content and language is quite different in the original and the translation. While content and language

form a certain unity in the original, like a fruit and its skin, the language of the translation envelops its content like a royal robe with ample folds (2000, p.19).

Although the Orientalists translated enormous volumes of texts of religion, literature, culture, philosophy, history, etc., they were unable to produce a fully-developed knowledge about the Orient and in particular the Arab world.

This is because the Orientalist is:

Standing before a distant, barely intelligible civilization or cultural monument, the Orientalist scholar reduced the obscurity by translating, sympathetically portraying, inwardly grasping the hard to reach object. Yet the Orientalist remained outside the Orient, which, however much it was made to appear intelligible, remained beyond the Occident (Said, 2003, p.222).

Understanding the Orient is still elusive because of many factors, including those related to race, culture, natural and social environment. Moreover, the gap in the knowledge is exacerbated by the disparity between the text and the real world.

3.4. Pioneer Orientalists and Arabic Literature

The first significant Orientalist contact with classical Arabic literature came in the early seventeenth century when manuscripts from the Arab world became a subject of interest. It is important to note that the pioneer Orientalists were generally interested in collecting manuscripts which included knowledge about Arab culture, such as history, religion, geography, mathematics, philosophy, literature, and astronomy. This first academic movement spawned a later generation of Orientalists who were definitely different from the first Orientalists in the late eighteenth century. The new Orientalists did not "seek Arab teacher in order to acquire knowledge of general science" (Lewis, 1942, p.12), as Europe had witnessed great changes in various fields of knowledge. Hence, "the English scholar now studies Arabic, not for what the Arab scholar

can teach him of philosophy and science, but for Arabic culture itself" (Lewis, 1942, p.12).

It should be noted that the original pioneers, who were interested in Arabic language, were not exclusively specialized in literature. Thus, it is difficult to agree with Lewis who claims that "for the first time Englishmen begin to make a serious study of Arabic language and literature" (1942, p.12). For example, William Bedwell (1561-1632), who is regarded as the 'father of Arabic studies' in England by Lewis, had a wide range of interests such as "Etymology, mathematics, menstruation, chronology, topography, early English poetry, Semitic languages, and divinity" (Hamilton, 1985, p.55). Moreover, most Arabic studies published by the first Orientalists tended to be generalized and selective rather than serious studies. Serious studies in Arabic literature were started in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by D. S. Margoliouth (1858-1940) and R. A. Nicholson (1868-1945).

However, the first set of Orientalists created the foundations for research into this literature. The attempts were carried out a number of prominent Orientalists: Edward Pococke (1604-1691) in '*Tograï*', Sir William Jones (1746-1794) in his work '*The Moallakat*' and J. D. Carlyle's (1759-1804) book '*Specimens of Arabian Poetry*'. These works shared a number of common characteristics, such as selectivity, which means that an Orientalist's selection (taking samples or specimens) depends on his/her personal interest. However, this approach can promote an inaccurate generalization of the Orient; for instance, "an observation about a tenth-century Arab poet multiplied itself into a policy towards (and about) the Oriental mentality in Egypt, Iraq, or Arabia" (Said, 2003, p.96).

Another shared characteristic is hybridization or localization, which means making the texts closer to the reality of the culture of the language into which the text is being translated. Most Orientalists were keen to portray the

atmosphere of the Arabic text as closely as possible to the sense of Englishness in order to produce a better understanding for the English reader. As a result, "the history of Orientalism has both an internal consistency and a highly articulated set of relationships to the dominant culture surrounding it" (Said, 2003, p.22).

In addition, the Renaissance witnessed a British tendency towards documentation, when philologists "devoted themselves to preserving and printing authoritative editions of ancient manuscripts (Harpham, 2011, p.45). This trend led to an unprecedented interest in archiving in terms of the collection, classification, categorization of hundreds of precious manuscripts in various forms of knowledge. Hence, "readers and students of Islamic history in the seventeenth century were not greatly concerned with the critical studies of texts or the verification of sources. They wanted information in a compendious form on the historical background of Muslim civilization" (Holt, 1957a, p.451). Through this method of archiving, Orientalist pioneers laid the path for the understanding of the Orient for subsequent generations. For instance, Manoff in her article; *'Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines'* argues that:

Fascination with the records of the British Empire is not limited to official documents; it also extends to a vast literature produced by civil servants of the Empire and by other Victorian and turn-of-the-century writers, including Rudyard Kipling, H. Rider Haggard, T.E. Lawrence, and H.G. Wells (2006, p.15).

These various branches of knowledge, along with other branches, are analysed in a greater depth in different aspects of Orientalist publications about Arabic literature.

Edward Pococke³ was one of the leading of the original Orientalists who were interested in the classical Arabic literature. His interests can be divided into two types, poetry and prose. From his early travels to the East, when he went to Aleppo in 1630, "Pococke's chief exercise was the transcription and

translation of al-Maydani's collection of proverbs" (Holt, 1957, p.448). According to Twells (1816) Pococke collected over 6,000 proverbs "containing the Wisdom of the Arabians, and referring to the most remarkable passages of their history" (1816, p.6).

Because of his theological background, Pococke appears to have been look for the literary topics which were consistent with his religious aspirations. Indeed, he "shared his contemporaries' interest in Arabic proverbs and cites many in the course of his notes" (Holt, 1957a, p.454). Moreover, Pococke's first lecture was in 1636 at Oxford on 'the proverbs of Ali', which included moral themes, such as virtues, dignity, wisdom, and immortal human values. Twells refers to "another very useful Exercise for the same purpose, on which he then bestowed much Pains and Time, was the translating of several Arabic books" (1816, p.6) such as *'The Traveller: An Arabic Poem, Tograil'* (1661) and *'An Account of the Oriental Philosophy Showing The Wisdom of Some Renowned Men of the East, Hai Ebn Yakdan'* (1671). Moreover, Pococke confirmed this motive when he stated that:

One reflection more I would draw from this poem [Tograil]. That the Traveler's sentiments of virtue and honour, justice and integrity; and the discountenance he gives to an unrestrained, licentious freedom, are so commendable, and worthy of imitation, that an immoral Christian, who sacrifices to his untutored passions whatever is chaste and virtuous, just and honourable; appears in a very mean, contemptible view, if you compare him with our Mahometan (1661, p.8).

Although Pococke's literary writings were not a specialized study in classical Arabic literature, his works contributed to a new understanding of these texts in seventeenth century Britain. At the same time, his work shows that he was the first Orientalist to interact with work that came from completely different religious and cultural background. In order to give insight about Pococke's contributions to classical Arabic literature, it is best to begin with his first publication, *'The Traveller'*.

3.5. The Traveller: Pococke's Reading of Tograi's Poem

Tograi, also known as *Lamiat Alajem*, is a poem which was famous in the East before receiving attention in the West. As Carlyle commented, "It is celebrated by the historian, commented upon by critics, and quoted by the people" (1798, p.151). Because of its moral subjects, this poem attracted Orientalists' attention, including Pococke in the early seventeenth century, and Joseph Dacre D. Carlyle (1754-1804) in the late eighteenth century. The latter based his research on the poem entirely "from the edition of Dr. Pococke" (Carlyle, 1798, p.151). Furthermore, *Tograi* serves as a good example of the literary event which "can continue to have an effect only if those who come after it still or once again respond to it—if there are readers who again appropriate the past work or authors who want to imitate, outdo, or refute it" (Jauss, 1982a, p.22).

Orientalists' interest in this poem, "which is given us of good conduct in several stages and situations of life" (Pococke, 1661, p.8), demonstrates that *Tograi* is a major literary event. This literary event "is primarily mediated in the horizon of expectation of literary experience of contemporary and later readers, critics, and authors" (Jauss, 1982a, 22). Hence, this poem has gained the attention of Orientalists in different eras, in which they explain, comment upon, and analyse it.

In his preface to the Arabic version of the poem, Pococke gives general details about the author and his poem in order to make it more appropriate to the cultural atmosphere of his contemporary readers. He followed this detail with a translation of more than 20 pages of the poem, including his notes.

In order to establish which analytical approach was adopted by Pococke, the translation of the text is examined in more depth. A detailed look at the work reveals that the author was very careful in dealing with the text, because he

dealt with it like an archaeologist treating an ancient fossil. The analysis of Pococke reveals that Pococke's comments were carried out in a meticulous manner by a great philologist at a lab of linguistics.

Despite the small size of the original poem, Pococke showed considerable effort and great patience in tracking the profound implications of the vocabulary used in the original. He gives a detailed explanation of each line of the poem in order to keep the Arabic poetic sense. The following quote illustrates the motives which lie behind his choice of the text, while also revealing Pococke's tendency to hybridize the Arabic text:

From the small specimen, (as to appearance it really is) which is given us of good conduct in the several stages and situations of life; every prudent, thinking person, by a serious, deliberate attention, will perhaps discover as much, if not more, to real advantage, than in tracts of larger size - and I shall think my time not ill spent, by clothing our Arabian in an English habit, should any benefit arise from it with respect to public or private behaviour (1661, p.8).

Although the text is only a small sample, Pococke has "taken the liberty of enlarging, where the sense is contracted" (1661, p.2). Therefore, Pococke, consciously or unconsciously, tended to underpin his text with certain documentary techniques. Hence, he produces an etymology of each word using works by Arab scholars such as Firawzbadius, Zamachshari, and Al-Damiri, who had published distinguished dictionaries. However, not content with merely using the dictionaries, Pococke went further in enhancing the lexical meaning through clarifications about the cultural differences. For instance, although he explains what the surname 'Abu-Ismael' means, he adds cultural information about why Arabs call men by such names. Furthermore, he makes a comparison between languages such as Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin, which were known by using this kind of nomination.

Another feature of the process of archiving information is the collocation of definitions. For example, he gives three explanations when he defines the

name of the author. He states that "the real name of our poet was, Hosain, of Ispahan, the metropolis of Persia. He was Vizir or prime minister to king of Mausil, the metropolis of Mesopotamia" (1661, p.1).

On occasions, Pococke stretches his explanations. Hence, he falls into digression, which is considered as another characteristic feature of documentation. The following excerpt is an example:

A poem in Arabic, is, *Kasidaton*: From *Kasda*, to propose, to apply the mind to, and to break. Because a poet *yaks do*, proposes to himself the composition: *yowcilo*, applies his mind to the forming of it: *Yaksoro wa yaktioha*, break, or, separates it from other kinds of speech. There is another word for poetry, *shiron*. From whence a poet is named *Al-shairo*. But sometimes interpreted in bad sense; intimating a person whose language is vain and irreligious. This we understand from Mahomet himself, (Pococke, 1661, p.2).

In this example, Pococke is influenced by Arabic authors, such as Aljahiz and Al-Maidani, who adopted the same style in their writings. Moreover, there is another documentary point which may support this claim. Pococke employed verse in his annotations in order to provide evidence for his denotations in the text. Most classical Arab authors believe that poetry has more creditability than prose, because of the role of poetry and the poet in their tribal communities. Pococke alluded to this when he argued that Arabs "gloried in nothing so much as in the sword, in hospitality, and in eloquence. And whenever anyone had distinguished himself for this skill in poetry, the tribe he belonged to paid him the greatest respect imaginable" (1661, p.3).

In the course of his annotations, Pococke often introduces lines of famous poets, such as *Abu Temam*, *Al-Motanabbi*, and *Abu-'l-ola Al-Moarri* in order to provide supplementary meaning to the original lexical meaning. For example, he quotes and translates lines from Al-Motanabbi's poem to support his explanation when he added that "the sun: Shamson, of the feminine gender, tho' a masculine termination. In allusion to which the poet Motanabbi writes:

"A Noon feminine is no dishonor to the name of the Sun, nor a masculine any glory to the Moon" (Pococke, 1661, p.21).

In addition to his documentary characteristics, Pococke strived to use repetition as a further technique. He tended to repeat certain words at the beginning of sentences in order to show the author's aims. For example, 'not' in the following quotation:

By *not* placing too high an esteem on any enjoyment of life. *Not* priding ourselves in tales and honours. *Not* glorying in rich treasures. *Not* tyrannizing in power and dominion. *Not* trifling our hours in indolence and inactivity. *Not* trusting too much to the strength of youth (...) *not* to conceive too favourable an opinion of the times (Pococke, 1661, p.8, emphasis added).

In a further example, he makes a comparison between what has been done on the left and what will be done on the right. He balances between both sides of knowledge in the text. Then, he links them through this sentence which is also divided into two halves. He stated:

The great point our author aims at, (and which we would do well to imitate) is:

To make ourselves as easy and unconcerned as possible under all changes of circumstances. *To* submit to ordinary disposals of providence. *To* live without envy at other men's prosperous condition [...] nor *to* wonder if those of inferior [...] and all above, *to* have a constant regard to our rational faculty, so far *to* preserve it. *To* make every opportunity of exerting its amiable qualities. *To* guard it as our best and most valuable treasure [...] *to* make all its endowments shine in strongest light (Pococke, 1661, p.8, emphasis added).

With careful consideration, Pococke "surveyed a series of textual fragments, which he thereafter edited and arranged as a restorer of old sketches might put a series of them together for the cumulative picture they implicitly represent" (Said, 2003, p.176). Pococke's way of dealing with literary texts reflects the important role of language as a tool for archiving and documentation in the classical age, because:

The idea of space gained importance, and the ideas of Contiguities and tables of relationships received increased focus. A crucial change had taken place which situated language within representation. This was the domain where language offered its own form as the obscure content of reality (Hynes, 2006, p.6).

In addition, the method of research adopted by Pococke is similar to the contemporary historians' approach in that:

History now organizes the document, divides it up, orders it, distinguishes between what is relevant and what is not, defines unities and describes relations. The document is no longer for history an inert material through which it tries to reconstitute what people have done or said, the events of which only the trace remains (Hynes, 2006, p.2).

Another shared characteristic of the original Orientalists is a hybridization or localization of the texts. Pococke and other Orientalists converted and transferred enormous literary manuscripts from their original into other contexts in a number of ways, including translation, changing themes, and altering the genre. According to Childs and Fowler the original connotation of the term 'hybridity' emerged:

within post-colonial studies as a response to static and essentialist notions of identity of race and nation promoted by colonial discourses, and also such anticolonial discourses as NATIONALISM and NÉGRITUDE. Ironically, however, the term hybridity was itself formerly deployed within colonial discourses on mixed race offspring and thus constituted a central term in discourses of colonial racism (2006, p.112).

In the sense, Pococke argues that "by clothing our Arabian in an English habit, should any benefit arise from it with respect to public or private behavior" (1661, p.8). Thus, he introduced three changes in the original text in order to make it more appropriate to the sense of Englishness. First, he gives the poem a different title, 'Traveller'. Undoubtedly, this title is appropriate to the situation experienced by the author, who suffered from the hardships of travel in order to obtain the elevated status to obtain authentic knowledge. Moreover, the era in which Pococke wrote was a time of travel and exploration,

especially scientific expeditions. Therefore, the choice of title was relevant. Second, he changes the rhyme of the poem, although he uses the same iambic meter. Third, he endeavours to represent the poet's thoughts, "which indeed are very elegant, so as to make them entertaining to an English reader" (1661, p.2). Above all, translation itself is a kind of hybridity, because it is:

the performative nature of cultural communication. It is language in *actu* (enunciation, positionality) rather than language in *situ* (enonce, or propositionality). And the sign of translation continually tells, or '*tolls*' the different times and spaces between cultural authority and its performative practice (Bhabha, 1994, p.228).

Obviously, Pococke was keen to maintain the essence of the text. In contrast, Carlyle altered the sensation or mode of this poem to make it more appropriate to the prevailing culture of his time. He reshaped it, structurally and thematically, in order to put it in a dramatic context that was very familiar in England at that time. He writes, "The *scene* lies in the *desert*, where the *poet* is supposed to be travelling along with a caravan. The time is *midnight*, and while he is kept awake by his sorrows, his *fellow-travellers* are slumbering around him" (Carlyle, 1780, p.150, emphasis added). Obviously, this quotation focuses the reader's attention directly into the realm of the new genre, drama. Jauss emphasises this point:

A corresponding process of the continuous establishing and altering of horizon also determines the relationship of the individual text to the succession of texts that forms the genre. The new text [lyric poem] evokes for reader (listener) the horizon of expectations and rules familiar from earlier texts [drama], which are then varied, corrected, altered, or even just reproduced. Variation and correction determine the scope, whereas alteration and reproduction determine the borders of a genre-structure (1982, p.23).

In his preface to this poem, Carlyle begins to hybrid the text by mentioning most of the elements of drama, such as setting (place: desert, time: midnight), and characters (poet and his fellow-travellers), and he followed

these with a summary of actions (1796, p.150). This hybridisation was supported in his introduction of *Specimens of Arabian Poetry*, in which Carlyle writes:

As no examples taken from any Epic or Dramatic poems, are found amongst the specimens here selected, it may be supposed that the Arabians unacquainted with the two most noble exertions of the poets' art; and should we confine our ideas of these to common notion, a relation in verse of some action, either given by the author himself, or by personages introduce upon stage for that purpose, (..) but if our definition of these kinds of poetry be not so strictly limited, we shall meet many Arabian productions which may justly claim to be ranked amongst Epic or Dramatic poems (1796, p.v).

In addition, his translation takes the poem closer to the sense of romantic poetry. The first three stanzas reflect thematically and structurally the romantic sense of English poetry:

"No kind supporting hand I meet,
But Fortitude shall stay my feet;
No borrow'd splendors round me shine,
But Virtue's lustre all is mine;
A Fame unsullied still I boast,
Obscur'd, conceal'd, but never lost-
The same bright orb that led the day
Pours from the west his mellow'd ray.

ZAURA, farewell! No more I see
Within thy walls, a home for me;
Deserted, suprn'd, aside I `m toss'd,
As an old sword whose scabbard's lost:
Around thy walls I seek in vain

Some bosom that I will soothe my pain-

No friend is near to breathe relief,

Or brother to partake my grief.

For many a melancholy day

Thro' desert vales I've wound my way;

The faithful beast, whose back I press,

In groans laments her lord's distress;

In every quiv'ring of my spear

A sympathetic sigh I hear;

The camel bending with his load,

And struggling thro' the thorny road,

Midst the fatigues that bear him down,

In HASSAN'S woes forgets his own;"

(Carlyle, 1796, p.151).

Comparing Carlyle's translation with that of Pockocke, it can be recognized that the translations are in two different English styles. The following three stanzas of Pockocke's translation reveals the differences between them:

I

"In all the various Changes Of Life, and Scenes of Action
Just Sentiments establish'd On firm and sure Foundations,
As Guardians, have perserv'd me From trifling Conversation.
T' appear in Robes of Virtue, All outward pomp disdaining,
Hath been my chief Ambition, My Greatest, Best of pleasures,

II

The path that lead to Honour	Are one consistent progress:
Not intricate and dubious,	But regular and simple.
Thus does Glory ending	Equal it's first Advances.
So when the Sun's declining	Towards his Western Circuit,
Hi Rays shine clear and beauteous,	As in his High Meridian,

III.

Should my uncertain Courses	Be Subjects of Enquiry;
Wii it not be sufficient,	If I return this Answer?
No sociable Domestic,	No Male..or Female Camel"

(Pococke, 1661, p.9).

It can be clearly seen that Carlyle renders the mode of this poem into the romantic atmosphere, whereas Pococke transmits the reader to an atmospheric adventure in a traveling mode. This means that both translators attempted to reconstruct his individual horizon of expectations according the 'sprit of the age'. Hence, this process:

brings to view the hermeneutic difference between the former and the current understanding of the work (...) it thereby calls into question as a Platonizing dogma of philological metaphysics the apparently self-evident claims that in the literary text, literature [Dichtung] is eternally present, and that its objective meaning, determined once and for all, is at all times immediately accessible to the interpreter (Jauss, 1982, p.28).

From this premise, it is clear that the interplay between reader and text is evident on the level of hybridization which was a prominent characteristic feature of the Orientalists' writings throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

The next section is designed to show in detail how the same text may reflect two different readings (Pococke and Carlyle).

3.6. Same Text and Different Readings: Pococke and Carlyle

This title explores two different Orientalist readings produced, by Pococke and Carlyle⁴. Two different readings of the same text can reveal the fact that size, form, and genre of text do not determine the artistic and aesthetic value of the literary work. According to Jauss, "literature and art only obtain a history that has the character of a process when the succession of works is mediated not only through the producing subject but also through the consuming subject—through the interaction of author and public" (1982, p.15).

This view is consistent with the next point adopted by Pococke. In his reading of the poem *Tograi*, for example, Pococke argues that a small specimen may give a "good conduct in the several stages and situations of life; every prudent, thinking person, by a serious, deliberate attention, will perhaps discover as much, if not more, to real advantage, than in tracts of large size" (1661, p.8). In this case, there is no doubt that Pococke implicitly points out the important role of the reader (who should be clever) and the social dimension in determining these values.

In this context, Pococke comes into contact with another aspect promulgated by Jauss by focusing on the social function of literature. This "manifests itself in its genuine possibility only where the literary experience of the reader enters into the horizon of expectation of his lived praxis, performs his understanding of the world, and thereby also has an effect on his social behavior" (Jauss, 1984, p.39). Furthermore, Pococke demonstrates that the happy effect which "may be produced, would we but from to ourselves the same just sentiments with those of the poet" (1661, p.8).

Consequently, Pococke did not hide his feelings in his analysis. He used the same reflexive pronouns in many sentences and phrases making an internal dialogue such as, 'experience teaches us', 'we would do well to imitate', and

'to make ourselves easy and unconcerned'. This means that he was entirely integrated in and compatible with the original poet's sense. Hence, he produced a different response from Carlyle. In addition, Poccocke introduces a serious critical analysis throughout the poem. During the course of his analysis, he highlighted every idea in order to point out a new theme. Moreover, he gave a clear and full account of the poem's themes including the uncomfortableness of solitude, the torment of love, the inconstancy of friendship, the mortification that attends ambition, the unkindness of fortune, and the government of the tongue. This work was followed by a survey of a number of moral lessons, which were employed by the poet.

In brief, Poccocke was diligent and careful to engage himself in the realm of poem in order to illuminate its meaning. In the following quotation, Poccocke reveals a sample of his approach used to grasp the poet's intention:

To prevent any mean, desponding notions, he [the poet] represents to us the kind influence of hope. This will ease us under the heaviest burdens, and silence the noise of our restless fears. But notwithstanding all our endeavors to make life agreeable; he cannot but acknowledge that much inconstancy is what we must expect. This he had sufficiently experienced from time: Which with all its flattering intervals afforded him no solid enjoyment either in youth, or old age? (1661, p.5).

It can be clearly seen that Poccocke showed a critical interest in reading especially in his literary works. In fact, Poccocke's translation corresponds with the religious treatises that were familiar in England during the Protestant Reformation (16th–17th centuries). According to Fry (2012, p.30) this kind of reading, which he called the circularity of interpretation:

Involves moving from a part to a preconception about the whole, back to the next part, back to a revised sense of the whole, and so on in a circular pattern. This circularity can be also understood as an interchange between the present and the past- between my particular

historical horizon and some other historical horizon that I am trying to come to terms with.

Pococke, as a theologian, exerted distinct efforts to grasp the meaning of the poem and the author's intention. His admirable reading, which is highly harmonious and emotionally integrated with the original text, reflects a new view of literary analysis that has an accuracy and comprehensiveness, as well as a significant critical sense. By the same token, this kind of analytical reading is not peculiar to Pococke who was familiar with the interpretation of the religious text 'Bible'. "In other words, in hermeneutics, religion came first because for the laity sacred texts were the only texts that it was crucial to understand" (Fry, 2012, p.28).

In contrast, Carlyle did not apply any further serious research to the text. This was despite the large interval between the two translations (1661 to 1780), when it would be expected Carlyle would have produced an extensive, comprehensive and more accurate translation. However, Carlyle was content to add a brief summary about the author's life and text. In addition, his Arabic text was full of spelling and grammatical errors, despite Carlyle claims he took the entire poem from Pococke's edition (1796, p.151). The examples in Table 3.1. show the lack of Carlyle's attention to the Arabic language.

Once again, generalising can be detected through Carlyle's reading, when he goes much further in his critical view about the 'popularity' of the poem, although he rarely issued a critical attitude in his publication. He argues that:

The extreme popularity of this production is a striking proof of the decay of all true taste amongst the Orientals; it were otherwise impossible that they could prefer the laboured conceits and tinsel ornaments of Abou Ismael to the simplicity of bards of Yeman, and the elegance of the poets of Bagdad (Carlyle, 1796, p.151).

In this context, it can be argued that Carlyle's translation was not accurate, or, at least, not objective, for two reasons. The first reason is because his

knowledge of the Arabic language and poetry was not adequate to avoid a number of important errors. The second reason is Carlyle's weak critical judgment about one poem, resulted in his imprudent generalization about all Orientals.

Table 3.1. Sample of Spelling Errors in Carlyle's Publication

Correct	الصواب	Error	الخطأ
shattat	شطط	šatāt	شطاط
ramāh	رماه	ḥamāh	حماه
behā	بها	behim	بهم
yalqā	يلقى	alqay	القي
'aynī	عيني	'anī	عني
ra'd	رأد	wa'd	وَأد
alhaw	الهوى	alkara	الكرى
lal'laa	للعلی	lal'ee	للعي

It is true that Arabic poetry is different from English poetry in aspects such as the variety of rhyme and metrical patterns, which provide challenges for the translator. However, it is possible to understand or translate Arabic poetry accurately. According to Sacy, "such poetry as this was nourished by 'opinions, prejudices, beliefs, superstitions' which we can acquire only after long and painful study" (cited in Said, 2003, p.128).

Therefore, translating and studying Arabic literature, especially poetry requires extraordinary application and truly distinctive knowledge.

Unfortunately, Carlyle was not a successful mediator in transforming *Tograi* from Arabic into English, in the context of significantly different climatic, social, and historical conditions.

The following section sheds light on most of the misunderstandings that were committed by Carlyle, and provides a more comprehensive analysis by which to understand them.

3.7. 'Specimens of Arabian Poetry' as Carlyle's 'Non-Objective Reading'

This section analyses Carlyle's reading in his literary work about Arabic poetry. As discussed in the previous section, Carlyle was not a professional Orientalist, who was keen to devote himself to do the best. His publication reveals the less interest in Arabic language and its literature, compared to Pococke (1661) and Ockley (1708).

Two terms, 'the specimens' and 'the fragments', are found in the majority of the Orientalists' works which were written about Arab culture. These two terms were used in the earlier publications in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by British Orientalists such as Pococke (1604–1691) (e.g. '*Specimen Historiae Arabum*', '*Specimen of the Arabic Proverbs*', and '*Specimen of Maimonide*'), Edward Pococke junior (1648–1727) (e.g. '*A Fragment of Abd-El-Latif's work on Egyptology*'), and Carlyle (1759–1804) (e.g. '*Specimens of Arabian Poetry*').

Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838), in France, adapted the term 'fragment' to develop another concept about the necessity of using fragments for grasping an understanding of Oriental writing. As Said remarks, "Sacy assigned a wide range of debate to prove that the study of the oriental writing as a 'fragments'

is more useful than to be taken in whole" (2003, p. 128). It can be argued that the fragments of writing or specimens of works introduce a good understanding of Oriental culture, but only if the Orientalists were professional scholars. However, it is difficult to argue that Sacy's theory provides a definitive answer for understanding the oriental culture based on sophisticated productions such as Arabian poetry. In this case, misunderstandings can be compounded if the Orientalist was a non-professional scholar such as Carlyle, who committed numerous serious linguistic mistakes ranging from the names of the poets to spelling mistakes.

A brief survey of Carlyle's publication serves to illustrate this point. For example, in his introduction Carlyle suggests that the productions will be chronological (1796, p. A), but he had made a number of errors in the ordering of the poets. For instance, he had placed Husain Al-Aasady, who lived in the Abbasid epoch (752-1118 CE) directly after Lebid ben Rabiath who died in the pre-Islamic period (500 – 630 CE). Then, he introduced two poems from the Umayyad era (661-752 CE); the first is by Abd Al Malec Al Harthy and the second is attributed to Abu Saker Al Hedhily. After that, he returned to the pre-Islamic period, when he presented a very famous poem by Hatem Al-Tai.

In addition, Carlyle did not make any great effort to collect his specimens from the authentic and original sources of literature; instead, he based his research on the work of historians. This approach resulted in him falling into a number of pitfalls such as arbitrariness. For example, most poems in the collection were not those of famous poets, but were produced by famous people such as princes, commanders, scientists, ministers and religious men. Here, it can be argued that these collections represent the real specimens or the fragments of Arabian poetry.

Another aspect which is more surprising is the matter of generalised critical judgments, which are not consistent with the form and content of the

collection's context. In other words, Carlyle's critical judgment seems to be influenced by what was common in his era. Comparison and analysis reveals a huge disparity in the critical issues in the main introduction but a total absence in the individual introductions related to each poet. The following quotation underlines the point:

The English reader will perhaps be surprised to find, in these productions, so few of *lofty epithets and inflated metaphors* which are generally considered as characteristic of the oriental mode of composition; he will probably be more surprised to hear, that during the flourishing periods of Arabian literature, this *bombast style* was almost unknown, and that the best writers, both of poetry and prose, expressed themselves in a language as chaste and simple as that of Prior or of Addison (Carlyle, 1796, p.ii-iii, emphasis added).

In this quote, Carlyle is more interested in the 'Englishness atmosphere', despite the fact he is critiquing Arabic poetry. Consciously or unconsciously, he focuses on satisfying the English reader and his/her mood. Furthermore, he was heavily influenced by the English cultural sense, especially in relation to his critical judgments, which was prominent at the end of the seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth century. These critical judgments related to English poetry and the general style of writing and figure of speech at that time. However, Carlyle generalized this approach to include Arabic poetry which was written in a different era and different culture.

These critical judgments can be seen in Spart's critical essays, 'The *History of the Royal Society (1664)* and *Account of the Life and Writings of Abraham Cowley (1668)*'. Spart strongly criticized the style of extravagant eloquence and the misuse of metaphor. Thus, he suggests that:

The only remedy that can be found for this extravagance and that has been a constant resolution to reject all *amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style*; to return back to the primitive purity and shortness, when men delivered so many things almost in an equal number of words. They have exacted from all their members a close, naked, natural way of speaking, positive expressions, clear senses, a native

easiness, bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness as they can, and preferring the language of Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that of Wits or Scholars (Spingarn, 1908, p.118, emphasis added).

There is no doubt that these stringent restrictions, established by critics such as Spart, contributed towards a new vision about the use of metaphor, figurative speech and verbal ornamentation in verse, as well as prose. These commandments were widely accepted by the majority of poets after the mid-seventeenth century. The most prominent poets mentioned by Carlyle were Matthew Prior (1664–1721) and Joseph Addison (1672–1719). Hence, the comparison between what happened in this era in Britain and what had been produced in various stages of Arabic literature is not feasible or, at least, it is not objective.

According to Nicholson the verbal conceits, equivoques, paronomasia, alliterations, pun, and metaphor "are intimately connected with the genius and traditions of the Arabic tongue, and therefore stand on a very different footing from those euphuistic extravagances which appear, for example, in English literature of Elizabethan age" (1907, p.336).

Returning to the '*Specimens of Arabian Poetry*', Carlyle concentrated on poets' anecdotes that were taken from historical sources rather than annotations about the poems. This could be because he did not have the ability to analyse or criticize Arabian poetry or that he was unable to deal satisfactorily with the Arabic language and its precise detail. This is evident in his attempts to grasp the meaning of verses of the Quran, which is written in a less complicated style than Arabic poetry. Therefore, it is not strange that he launched a bitter attack upon the Quranic style which he described as "a wearisome confused jumble, crude, incondite; endless iterations, long-windedness, entanglement; most crude, incondite, insupportable stupidity, in short" (cited in Said, 2003, p.152).

Furthermore, another characteristic feature noted in Carlyle's main introduction is his generalization of his critical judgments. He tends to generalize his views without using evidence, citations, documents and examples. Also, the chronological order such as dates and periods was totally absent.

It is worth quoting two critical judgments made by Carlyle about Arabian poetry: "The greater degree of facility in compositions of this kind tied down to no rules and subject to no restrictions but what writers fancy may impose, must no doubt considerably detract from the praise that is due to them"; and "The difference in climate and in manners between Arabia and Europe has occasioned a smaller dissimilarity in most of the higher sorts of poetry than we could naturally expect" (1796, p.vii). Therefore, it is apparent that Carlyle is one of the Orientalists pioneers who "conceive of humanity either in large collective terms or in abstract generalities. [Some] Orientalists are neither interested in nor capable of discussing individuals; instead artificial entities" (Said, 2003, p.154).

From the discussion, it can be concluded that Carlyle's research was not valuable or at least he was a non-professional Orientalist which resulted in Arberry excluding him from his important *'Oriental Essays, portraits of Seven Scholars'* (1960), which included Simon Ockley (The Pioneer), William Jones (The Founder), Edward William Lane (The Lexicographer), Edward Palmer (The Linguist), Edward Browne (The Persian), Reynold Nicholson (The Dervish), and A.J. Arberry (The Disciple). Previously, Arberry followed this methodology in *'The Seven Odes'* (1957), in which he chose a subtitle for each poet such as 'The Wandering King' for Imr Al-Qais, 'Whom the Gods Love?' for Tarafa, 'The Moralist' for Zuhair, 'The Centenarian' for Labid, 'The Black King' for Antara, 'The Regicide' for Amr, and 'The Leper' for Al-Harth. This approach indicates that Arberry implicitly acknowledges that there are seven outstanding British Orientalists in line with the Arab having seven famous

poets. The next section examines different experience of the pioneer 'Okcley', who shocked his European audience.

3.8. Circularity of Response or Reproduction of the Same Texts: Okcley's Response

The significant move towards the collection of manuscripts began early in the seventeenth century. Immense, invaluable Arabic collections were gathered from the Orient, which covered various fields of knowledge. In England, for example, numerous scholars collected original Arabic sources. According to Russell, "this enterprise involved theologians, whether Catholic or Anglican, Puritan or Quaker; scholars, whether Royalist or Parliamentarian; physicians, astronomers, mathematicians, and philosophers" (1994, p.1).

However, this unremitting campaign of manuscript collection was not accompanied by a corresponding increase in research. Thus, it can be argued that the main purpose of the collective movement was to hold and store the wealth. For example:

When the Bodleian opened its doors to the public in 1602, it possessed only one Arabic manuscript, but the end of the period under review its holding of Arabic manuscripts amounted to something in the region of one thousand five hundred volumes, covering all the various traditional fields of Arabic learning (Russell, 1994, p.128).

This important library provided a valuable resource to Simon Ockley, (1678-1720)⁵ who was one of the most remarkable Orientalists, not just in England, but in Europe. Ockley himself affirmed the important role of the library, when he mentioned that he "was obliged to go to the Bodleian Library, which is without question, the best furnished with Oriental Manuscripts of any in Europe" (cited in Arberry, 1960, p.31). Ockley achieved a widespread reputation, although he "never travelled outside the narrow borders of his native land" (Arberry, 1960, p.47).

Thus, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not witness a radical change of a specialized knowledge about Oriental culture, in particular Arabic literature. In other words, "the growth of knowledge is a process of selective accumulation, displacement, deletion, rearrangement, and insistence within what has been called a research consensus" (Said, 2003, p.176). In addition, the selective knowledge reproduced by Ockley, in, for example, *'History of the Saracens'* (1708) shocked his European audience. "For not only did Ockley make this Islamic pre-eminence clear in his work" (Arberry, 1960, p.30), he also "gave Europe its first authentic and substantial taste of the Arab viewpoint touching the wars with Byzantium and Persia" (Said, 2003, pp.75-76).

Ockley published three important works in English, two of which had already been published in Latin by Dr Edward Pococke and his son. The first work is *'Improvement of Human Reason Exhibited in the Life of Hai Eben Yokdhan'* and the second is *'Sentences of Ali, Son-in-Law of Mahomet'*. In relation to this phenomenon, questions such as 'What is the main purpose of such circularity?' and 'What is the profit which can be gained from the reproduction of the same texts?' are raised. This is emphasised by the fact that the first work had been translated twice prior to Ockley's publication. Ockley helps to answer these questions in the following quote:

It was not willing (though importuned) to undertake the translating it into English, because I was informed that it had been done twice already; once by Dr. Ashwell, another time by Quakers, who imagined that there was something in it that favoured their Enthusiastick Notions. However, taking it for granted that both these translations were not made out of the original Arabick, but out of Latin; I did not question but they had mistaken the sense of the author in many places. Besides, observing that a great many of my friends whom I had a desire to oblige, and other persons whom I would willingly incline to a more favourable opinion of Arabick learning had not seen this book; and withal, hoping that might add something by way of annotation or appendix, which would not be altogether useless; I at last ventured to translate it a-new (1708, p.15).

Ockley was keen to reveal a new positive side to Arab culture, as he was dissatisfied by the output of other Orientalists. Thus, he shocked his contemporary European audience. At the same time, he gained a widespread reputation with professional Orientalists such as Arberrry and Gibbon who considered him "the first interpreter in Europe of the inner meaning of Arab civilization. He built a bridge between East and West, a bridge of greater sympathy based upon better informed understanding" (Arberrry, 1960, p.47).

A review of Ockley's work *'Hai Ebn Yaqhdhan'* reveals his efforts. Ockley restored the Arabic sense to the text that was totally absent in other translations. Ockley meditates every word, phrase and term by adding explanations and analysis, even though these additions resulted in digression. He follows his predecessor Dr Edward Pococke in his approach, in being influenced by the style of Arab authors. The following quotation shows perfectly Ockley's style of annotation:

The doctrine of the Suphians, the Suphians are an Enthusiastik sect amongst the Mahometans something like Quietists and Quakers; these set up a stricter sort of discipline, and pretended to great Abstinence and Contempt of the World, and also to a greater familiarity and stricter union with God than other sects; they used a great many strange and extravagant actions and utter blasphemous expressions. Al Hosain Al Halagi was eminent amongst them about the year of the Hgira 300. I was he that wrote in one of his epistles, blessed is he that possesses the shining light, etc and pretended that God dwelt in him. The learned among the Arabian are not agreed, about the derivation of the word Sufi, Sophian. It seems not be known among them till about 200year of the Hegira. The most probable interpretation of it is from the Arabic word Suph, which signifies Wool, because those that followed this sect refused to wear silk and clothed they only with wool. Dr. Pococke and Golius follow this interpretation; tho' the latter in his lexicon seems to doubt whether it is derived from the Greek OWQDS or from the Arabic Suph. The Sultan of Persia is often called the Sophy, because Ismael the first sultan of the family now in Persia who began to reign in the 605 year of the Hegira that is our Lord the 1557 was of this sect (1708, p.18).

From this, it can be inferred that Ockley refreshed a number of works which had suffered from neglect and ignorance. Thus, he is a key figure who revived the new knowledge about Orient, especially the Arab culture at this time.

3.9. Conclusion

From this review of the different leading figures of Orientalism, it is apparent that their reflections on Arabic literature were not unitary. There are clear differences in the various levels of understanding and reaction among them. Their contributions range from significant importance by the likes of Pococke (1661) and Ockley (1708) to ignorance in the case of Carlyle. In the early sixteenth century a number of Orientalists took Arabic language as one of the mediums for conveying religious ideas and teachings. This movement "was viewed primarily as a handmaiden of biblical exegesis, to elucidate difficulties in the Hebrew text or Israelite customs" (Toomer, 1996, p.313).

However, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, Arabic studies faced a decline in interest. "Not only was there no provision for teaching it at the Universities, but even those who wished to study it privately faced formidable difficulties "(Toomer, 1991, p.53).

During the Ottoman era in the late seventeenth century, lead in general to the subordination of the Middle Eastern and Islamic culture in particular, the status of Arabic studies witnessed a decline of interest. According to Lowe, the emphasis on the Orient was based on economic profit that was derived from the contact with cultures that were deemed to be violent and primitive rather than on cultural values and their importance (1991, p.37).

In general, the main concern in the seventeenth century was with the historical background of the texts rather than any critical analysis of the texts in terms of the cultural and Islamic heritage. This is because students and

readers were directed to study literature from a historical viewpoint (Holt, 1957, p.451). However, a shift from the textual argument occurred at the end of the seventeenth century into the eighteenth century. According to Holt, "after the restoration the interests of Anglican theologians moved away from minute textual arguments to greater concern with ethics and the use of reason" (cited in Toomer, 1991, p.307).

Chapter Four

Classical Arabic Literature in the Era of British Colonialism

4.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the emergence of philology as an important methodological approach in colonialism era. This approach has been widely adopted by British and others Western scholars. Thus, this era can be described as the age of philology. Philology, as this chapter sets out, has roughly dominated the field of humanistic studies in this epoch. Hence, section 4.2 is devoted to tracing the historical survey about its epistemological background and the main factors, which lied behind it. It focuses on Jone's effort as one of the main founders of this approach. In section 4.3 there is an extensive theoretical investigation to tracing the deep roots of philology and its impact on the humanistic studies. Practically, the importance of the British philology is also highlighted focusing on some British philologists, such as Lyall and Margoliouth.

This chapter emphasises on the efforts of new generation of British Orientalists, who devoted themselves to establish a professional academic Orientalist knowledge, such as Lyall, Palmer, Preston, Nicholson, and Arberry. At the same time, the chapter examines whether there is any impact of political colonial agenda upon the study of Arabic language and its classical literature. In addition, this chapter seeks to differentiate between academic knowledge and the ideological ones throughout the answering questions such as: Is there any direct relations between the study of Arabic classical literature and the ideology of political colonialism? To what extent the literary work can be exploited to serve ideological purposes? How do British Orientalists in colonial era differ, in dealing with classical Arabic literature, from the previous, and the next eras?

Finally, this chapter explores chronologically the British Orientalist knowledge. It begins from the oldest scholar, as Jones, onwards to the modernist scholar, as Arberry, however, the diachronic and synchronic axes are used in order to classify their efforts.

4.2. Seeking the Origins of Oriental Languages and Their Literature

The previous chapter reveals that the interest in the Oriental culture was influenced by political, ideological, economic and, to some extent, social variables that were occurring in Europe. However, the religious factor was the most prominent of the influencing factors. Thus, the legitimacy of Orientalist knowledge is mainly derived from a religious perspective. In addition, most Orientalists come from a religious background. These issues contributed both positively and negatively to the changes in the level of interest in the Arabic language and literature. These influences continued from the Renaissance to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

However, it must be taken into consideration that "neither literature, nor politics, nor philosophy and the sciences articulated the field of discourse, in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, as they did in the nineteenth century" (Foucault, 2001, p.25). The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed a significant advance in the fields of science and humanistic studies, which contributed, to reshaping and reframing the essence of knowledge discourse. One of the most prominent fields was philology. It had flourished synchronously with the emergence of three major foundations of European concepts; Western superiority, imperialism, and pragmatism (Rodinson, 1987, p. 52)

Furthermore, the coincidence of the emergence of romanticism and philology in the West gave a new dimension to the Orientalist interest in Oriental languages and literature. However, according to Schwab, there are "central active changes that take place in knowledge about language from being a

religious issue to being a linguistic, scientific, and even a racial one" (Cited in Said, 1984, p.260).

Here, it should be mentioned that seeking the origins of Oriental languages and their culture directly led certain European scholars to rethink the origin of European languages and culture. As a result, a number of European scholars probed more deeply into the resemblances between Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit. One of the most distinguished philologists was the British Orientalist Sir William Jones (1746-94) who adopted the philological approach to scrutinize the relationships between these three languages. At the same time, Jones's investigation "provided linguists with a new task that took them far beyond Homer and ancient Greece. The reconstruction of the history of mankind through comparative linguistic study led directly to spectacular and altogether unexpected discoveries about linguistic genealogies" (Harpham, 2011, p.42).

Although Jones was considered the founder of the linguistic genealogies and he first thought "Greek and Latin to be the most beautiful and perfect languages of all time [...] he never viewed language as worthy of study per se, but only as a tool and a means to an end" (Cannon, 1990, p.34). However, later scholars, especially German philologists, such as Franz Bopp (1791-1876) tried to reveal a strong relationship between the origin of languages and the race of their speakers. According to Rodinson (1987), "the result of the work done by Bopp and his followers was to give language, indeed to each specific language, a key role. A people was assumed to identify with its language; it could be related to one another" (p.61).

At this stage, most European philologists such as Wolf, Schiller, Holderlin, Goethe, and Hegel, began to concentrate on the classical civilizations especially those belonging to Greece and Rome (Harpham, 2011, p.38). However, other scholars especially the British Orientalists such as William

Jones, Theodore Preston, William Wright, Charles James Lyall, Samuel Margoliouth, Reynold Nicholson, devoted themselves to identifying the origin of Oriental languages, literature and culture, particularly classical Arabic. Moreover, British philologists, unlike German and French scholars, never associated race theory with the origin of Arabic language.

4.3. The Age of Philology

Undoubtedly, philology is one of the most comprehensive, extensive, and stretched terms. This is because it has been used over a long period, at various stages and in different ways. The term 'philology' has therefore expanded and overlapped with other fields of knowledge. Historically, scholars divided it into two periods: the first is classical philology with its roots around the 4th century BC in Ionian and Alexandria when "the science of philology and criticism is brought into being, since the old literature required to be explained before it could be fully appreciated" (Hall, 1913, p.31). The second is termed new philology and was "invented at the end of eighteenth century by F.A. Wolf, who applied to the texts of Homer the methods of meticulous textual scholarship recently developed for the study of the Bible" (Harpham, 2011, p.36). Therefore, it can be argued that philology was a science, which found a new way to coexist between secular studies and biblical exegesis (Olender, 1992, p.15).

Subsequently, it is obvious that scholars interested in ancient Greek literature (Epic, Lyric, and Elegiac) have used both senses of the term. However, this did not preclude an academic interest in other languages and literatures. European scholars of the late eighteenth century to include other languages, whether classical or modern, standard or dialects, including Sanskrit, Germanic, Persian, Chinese, Arabic, and Celtic, eventually reshaped philology. As Gurd argues: "In fact, every definition of philology remains part of its

history: to be a philologist means to appropriate a term and to revive or recover a practice" (2010, p.2).

It could be also argued that the classification of philology into 'old' and 'new' is superficial or at least a chronological division, as neither category is related to the essence of the term and its function. In other words, philology as a scientific field continues to deal with the themes of language, literature and culture but a time of an acceleration in the growth of usage. This point is underlined by Harpham:

Philology became new or modern when it found a way to conjoin a limited empiricism to a speculative practice with no limits at all, when it discovered the route that led from the close study of the text to the language of the text, and from there to the author, the culture the author inhabited, other cultures, the origins of cultures, and finally to human origins and the mysteries surrounding those origins (2011, p.39).

In the last three decades of the eighteenth century, philology began to develop a new scientific approach to the study of languages. According to Renan, philology was considered as an "exact science of mental object. It is to sciences of humanity what physics and chemistry are to the philosophic science of bodies" (Cited in Said, 2003, p.132). Moreover, Renan believes that 'the founders of modern mind are philologists' (Said, 2003, p.132). Here, scholars use philology as a scientific method of their investigation, depending on the analysis of language in its historical context. By studying the language in its historical context, one can discover some cultural, religious, political, and social facts about the past of any ancient nation. As a result, the study of languages and their origins reached to the peak of interest. Here, the study of oriental languages has led to find a strong association between Orientalism and Philology.

In this context, the British philologist William Jones (1746-94) is considered to be the founder of British Orientalism (Arberry, 1960, p.48). Indeed, at this

time British philologists, who were in essence Orientalists, devoted themselves to preserving and printing authoritative editions of valuable ancient Arabic manuscripts, as will be illustrated in detail later. Thus, it is strange that Said (1983, P.268) agrees with Matthew Arnold who used the example of John William Donaldson to argue that philology was on the decline in Britain throughout the nineteenth century. The book 'Jashar' (1854) by Donaldson, a doctor at the University of Cambridge, was condemned by German critics. However, his work does not represent or reflect the real efforts of British philology at that time. From the beginning of nineteenth century, there were considerable efforts to study the Oriental heritage and culture in Britain, with most British Orientalists editing classical manuscripts in various fields of knowledge. No better proof can be given than the more than 40 British Orientalists devoted to serving and saving the original and authentic Oriental sources, especially Islamic ones. These Orientalists included Sir William Jones (1746-1794) W. Wright (1830-1889), W. Robertson Smith (1846-94), Sir C. J. Lyall (1845-1920), Mrs. C. H. H. Macartney (1842-1924), A. Nicholson (1868-1945), E. G. Browne (1862-1926), D. S. Margoliouth (1858-1940), and H. A. R. Gibb (1895-1971).

Said's point came into focus with his publication *The World, the Text, and the Critic* in which he emphasizes the relationship between philology and Orientalism in two chapters, one of which is entitled 'Islam, Philology, and French Culture: Renan and Massignon'. Again, Said has fallen into the same trap as he did in *Orientalism*, when he assumed that "Macaulay's famous 1835 denigration of literature in Sanskrit and Arabic language can be regarded as expressing a general European view of modern Oriental inferiority" (1983, p. 270). Said was seemingly oblivious or unaware that Macaulay was not a philologist. Also, he (1978, 1983, 2003) never referred to role of the outstanding British philologist, William Jones, who dedicated himself to revealing the significant status of Eastern languages and literature in

contributing to and developing a new field of global human studies. The following passage clearly shows the real impulse of Jones's efforts:

It has been my endeavour for several years to inculcate this truth, that, if the principal writings of the *Asiaticks*, which are reposted in our public libraries, were printed with the usual advantage of notes and illustrations, and if the languages of the *Eastern* nations were studied in our great seminaries of learning, where every other branch of useful knowledge is taught to perfection, a new and ample field would be opened for speculation; *we should have a more extensive insight into the history of the human mind*; we should be furnished with a new set of images and similitudes; and a number of excellent compositions would be brought to light, which future scholars might explain, and future poets might imitate (Cited in Cannon, 1990, pp.47-48, emphasis added).

It can be clearly seen that Jones was different from German and French scholars who believed that there were just two languages that scholars should be interested in: Greek and Latin. Moreover, "once Jones had discovered that there was literature in Arabic and Persian, he rejected the idea of their supposed inferiority but could not communicate the values to Europe until the bias was eliminated" (Cannon, 1990, p.35). Jones's positive view was followed by another shocking view when "he dared to put Persian literature on the same level as Greek and Latin" (Arberry, 1960, p.79).

These views played a significant role in eliminating some of the negative prejudices of the earlier centuries about Eastern culture. Hence, it is not strange to hear that Professor R. M. Hewitt, who was interested in history, declare in an essay published in 1942 that Sir William Jones altered the "whole conception of the Eastern world" (1942, p.76)

British scholars subsequently reiterated Jones's positive views about Arabic language and its literature. For example, Sir Charles. J. Lyall said that:

no race has ever expressed itself more completely, or with greater faithfulness, in its national literature, an appreciation of which is therefore indispensable to any adequate view of the part played by the Arabs in the history of Mankind" (1918, p.vii).

Nicholson, another British scholar, always expressed enthusiasm about the nature of Arabic language. He suggested that Orientalists should be patient to grasp aspects such as assonances, alliterations, and paronomasia and impatience "should not blind us to the fact that they are connected with genius and traditions of the Arabic tongue" (1907, p.336). He then went further to change misconceptions about the Prophet when he stated that "personally, I feel convinced that he was neither a shameless impostor nor a neurotic degenerate nor a socialistic reformer, but in the beginning at all events, a sincere religious enthusiast, as truly inspired as any prophet of the Old Testament" (1907, p.179).

Another example of a British Orientalist is Arberry, who believes that "all the languages of Islam possess important historical literatures" (1943, p.10). Thus, these views clearly reflect the real opinion of the British academia. Therefore, Said was exaggerating when he states that:

It is nevertheless strikingly true that for the most part of Orient-in this case the Islamic Orient- was more regularly associated in England either with the problems of empire or with the corruptions of fancy than it was with the prestige of high culture, systematic learning, and philological discipline (1983, p.270).

Again, it is quite surprising that Said generalized his criticism without acknowledging the achievements of Jones, especially in relation to his work on the Arabic language and its literature. According to Cannon the initial goal of Jones's positive views was to refute ideas of inferiority. For example, "Arabic is expressive, strong, and sonorous, and perhaps has the largest vocabulary. Also, the Arabs' natural poetic genius, delicacy, and sentiments had helped change their language into one of the softest and richest" (1990, p.35).

Paradoxically, in *'Return to Philology'* Said adopts Jones's idea of strongly recommending to European scholars that "we should have a more extensive

insight into the history of the human mind" (2004, pp.47-48). Undoubtedly, Jones's view can be considered as the origin of certain important humanistic thoughts. For example, Said (2004) proposed a definition for the term humanism which is entirely applicable to Jones's suggestions in his two critical essays about the Oriental culture. Thus, Said argues that humanism "is the exertion of one's faculties in language in order to understand, reinterpret, and grapple with the products of language in history, other languages and other histories" (Said, 2004, p.28).

Brennan (1994) published an essay '*Places of Mind, Occupied Lands: Edward Said and Philology*' in which he attempted to answer the question, Why does Said seem to be selective in dealing with thinkers or writers? Brennan argues that Said "is drawn to writers and thinkers whose politics are so unlike his. Why, for example, does he dwell on Swift rather than, say, Blake, or why Conrad when there are writers like Paul Nizan around" (1994, p.84).

In the same manner, Harpham in a chapter entitled '*Roots, Races, and Return to Philology*' does not refer to Hans Robert Jauss, but discusses, in great detail, works of Paul de Man and Said; although, arguably the return of philology did not come from either Said (2003) or de Man (1982), but from Jauss. For example, in 1964, Jauss published an article entitled '*Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory*' in which he argued that:

In our time literary history has increasingly fallen into disrepute, and not at all without reason. The history of this worthy discipline in the last one hundred and fifty years unmistakably describes the path of a steady decline. Its greatest achievements all belong to the nineteenth century. To write the history of a national literature counted, in the times of Gervinus and Scherer, De Sanctis and Lanson, as the crowning life's work of the *philologist* (Jauss, 1982a, p.3, emphasis added) ⁷.

Subsequently, both de Man and Said (1983, 2003, 2004) employed Jauss's hypotheses; in 1982 de Man wrote a critical introduction to the English version

of Jauss's publication '*Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*'. Said has also repeated the same ideas related to philology and the reader.

It can be concluded that the end of eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries witnessed rapid changes in the various fields of knowledge in Europe, which continued to the 20th century. One of the most these disciplines was philology.

4.4. British Philology and the Origins of Arabic Literature:

Sir William Jones's Effort

As discussed above, Sir William Jones's⁷ endeavours can be considered to be the beginning of the study of philology in Britain in relation to Asiatic literature, especially classical Arabic and Persian poetry. This interest led him not just to seek the origins of this poetry but to construct a new theory for the poetry of humanity. He employed "the lyric not only as the original poetic form, but as the prototype for poetry as a whole" (Abrams, 1953:87). This point confirms Jones's humanistic approach. Jones believed that a precise study of poetry in its original cultural context could reveal the essential nature of humanity and its origin. Thus, he rejected "the assertion of Aristotle, that all poetry consists in imitation [...] for no other reason, than because they once dropped from the pen of a superior genius" (cited in Abrams, 1953, p.87).

Jones believed that originality could be presented in an Arabic lyric ode or in mystical Persian poetry, due to the fact that the "greatest effect of poetry is not produced by imitation, but by a very different principle; which must be sought for in the deepest recesses of the human mind [...] this kind of poetry is used in all nations" (1777, pp.192-193). From this statement, it can be seen that Jones developed truly significant vision about the origin of poetry. Jones had two different dimensions of interest. The first is the philologist, who used his mind to examine the scientific aspect of languages, while the second is the

poet, who deals with universe and people depending on his sense. This compound interest created a new method of understanding; he was:

not unlike the impact on English letters of Arthur Waley's exploration of Ernest Fenellosa's notes, or Mircea Eliade's studies in comparative religion. Jones complemented Augustan imitations' of Horace and Petrarch with translation of the Arabic Bedouin poetry of the *Moallakat*; or *Seven Arabian Poems* (1807, 10:1-193), the mystical poetry of Rumi, Hafiz, and Sadi the sonorous melodies of Gitagovinda) (Cannon & Brine, 1995, p.17).

These extraordinary endeavours had paved a way for subsequent scholars, poets, and critics not just to establish the new philology in Britain, but to rethink ideas previously accepted as 'fact', such as 'imitation'. For instance, Jones's translation and imitation of Arabic poetry, especially the lyric, in Britain contributed to reformulating the nature and criteria of poetry through his aesthetic experience of 'reception and production'. What is meant by this can be clearly illustrated by the following quotation from the commentary of *Poems in The Three Parts*'. A description was added on Jones's Latin Ode which translated or rather imitated an Ode from the *'Hamasa'* collection:

This most charming Ode is allusive to the manners of those happiest of shepherds, the Arabians, who, in the vernal months, by the moon light, in the clear sky of their delightful climate, employ the serene hours of night near their balsamick groves of spicy fragrancly, in dancing, singing, reciting poetry, and every sweet species of pastoral amusement which characterizes Asian, but more particularly the Arabians (1800, p.11).

This means that Jones was emotionally involved in the romantic atmosphere of the Arabian Ode, which came from his aesthetic experience. Then, he reproduced the poetic and fanciful imagery in order to be more familiar to the English ear, because he believed "that poetry was no more than a strong and animated expression of human passions" (1777, p.36).

Jones offered his contemporaries an understanding of Arabian poetry not as primitive and pastoral poetry, but as a human aesthetic experience. In this context, Sitter (2008) suggests in *'William Jones, 'Eastern' Poetry and the*

Problem of Imitation' that the idea of imitation which proposed by Jones, "depends crucially on a geopolitical as well as an aesthetic logic" (2008, p. 386). Obviously, Sitter's ideas were not original, but repeated views such as Said in *Orientalism*, who tirelessly repeated that "Orientalism is a political phenomenon that cannot be disassociated from European colonialism" (1983, p.264).

It is true that to some extent geographical and political factors have contributed to produce the understanding of the Orient. However, Jones's understanding profoundly influenced literary theory and romantic studies. For instance, Abrams argues that:

There we find a conjunction of all the tendencies we have been tracing: the ideas drawn from Longinus, the old doctrine of poetic inspiration, recent theories of the emotional and imaginative origin of poetry, and a major emphasis on the lyric form and on the supposedly primitive and spontaneous poetry of Oriental nations. It was Jones's distinction, I think, to be the first writer in England to weave these threads into an explicit and orderly reformulation of the nature and criteria of poetry and of the poetic genres (1953, p.87).

Thus Abrams argues that Jones was the founder of 'originality and imitation' not just in poetry but also in the fine arts and music. Moreover, in his work '*Poems Consisting Chiefly of Translations from the Asiatick Languages*', he introduced a clear strategy for the literary criticism process, both theoretically in his critical essays: '*On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations*' and '*On the Arts, Commonly Called Imitative*', and practically when he adapted the poetic imagery of *Hamas's poem* in order that it was more familiar for the English ear. In fact, Jones used three processes of creativity simultaneously; for example, he translated, imitated and adapted in a new version of '*Solima*'. The following quotation highlights how Jones dealt with the original poem:

Solima, is not a regular translation from the Arabick language; but most of the figures, sentiments, and descriptions in it, were really taken from the poets of Arabia: for when I was reading some of their verses on

benevolence and hospitality, which they justly consider as their most amiable virtues, I selected those passages, that seemed most likely to run into our measure, and connected them in such a manner as to form one continued piece, which I suppose to be written in praise of an Arabian princess, who had built a caravan with pleasant garden for the refreshment of travelers and pilgrims; an act of munificence not uncommon in Asia (1776, p.viii).

Using this approach, it is obvious that Jones was not a mere Orientalist scholar, who as argued by Said "reduced the obscurity by translating, sympathetically portraying" (2003, p.176), but was a remarkable humanistic critic who penetrated the superficial language to grasp the poetic sense of the author. Thus, Jones posited audacious critical judgments about classical poets, such as Ebnol Faredh, whom he regarded "superior to all modern poets" (1777, p.37).

The source for this ability is clear. Jones had an extraordinary professional knowledge about oriental languages and their literature to affiliate the origins of languages and their relations. In addition, he was spiritually and mentally inspired to deal with various types of poetry at the same time. For instance, his reading of Oriental poetry was undertaken in a daily systematic way, as he described: "by seven I am ready for my Pandit, with whom I read Sanskrit: at eight come a Persian and Arab alternately with whom I read till nine" (cited in Arberry, 1960, p.66). This indicates that Jones was highly interested in Oriental poetry.

Without the systematic knowledge established by Jones, it would be extremely improbable that the next two generations of British academic Orientalists would have played such a major role in the development of understanding of classical Arabian literature, especially ancient poetry. This scholarship had accurately, tirelessly and patiently continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in order to paint a true picture of the whole Arabic literature and in particular classical poetry.

4.5. The Origins of Arabic Poetry: Translation, Edition and Annotation: Sir Charles Lyall's Philological Approach

Much of the early Arabic poetry corpus consists of pre-Islamic poems that were written around the beginning of the sixth century CE before the advent of Islam. Most British Orientalists were initially interested in translating and editing manuscripts that related to classical Arabic poetry such as '*The Moallakat*' * and '*The Mufaddaliyat*',** which were considered the earliest examples of Arabic poetry. Sir William Jones was the first Orientalist to translate, edit and comment on '*The Moallakat*' (1783) in the well-known '*The Seven Golden Odes*'. Whereas Sir Charles James Lyall⁸ had made great efforts to edit and annotate '*The Mufaddaliyat*' which was published in two volumes (Vol. 1 in 1921 comprising 940 pages, Vol. 2 in 1918 comprising 443 pages). Those works involved the majority of pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, because '*The Moallakat*' included the long poems of well-known poets, Muriolkais, Tarafa, Zohair, Lebeid, Antara, Amru and Hareth, while '*The Mufaddaliyat*' comprised many of the lesser-known poets. In addition, Lyall worked on other major elements of the ancient poetry in his three publications: *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry, Chiefly Pre-Islamic, with an Introduction and Notes* in 1877, *A Commentary on ten Arabic Poems* in 1894, and '*The Diwans of Abid Ibn Al-Abras, of Asad and Amir Ibn At-Tufail of Amir Ibn Sasaah*' in 1913. These publications are considered the origins of establishing a database of the significant Arabic poetry resources.

However, there are substantial differences between the approaches of Jones and Lyall in terms of editing, translating and annotating. One of the most influential factors behind these differences is that both Jones and Lyall were involved in different epochs in relation to the British patterns of sponsorship, and cultural and political system (Jones from 1770 to 1794, Lyall 1870 to 1920). The period between 1800 and 1870 witnessed a turning point in the

British academic discipline toward the ancient Arabic poetry. There was a transition from the status of acquired knowledge to the development of expertise and a specialised discipline. This change had led to the emergence of another rendering movement of texts from translating status to editing publication in the original Arabic language. Unlike the preceding epochs (17th and most of the 18th century), which was "away from the paths of pure philological, literary and historical scholarship" (Roper, 1985, p.25). The new period witnessed another movement of printing and publishing some original sources of ancient Arabic poetry. Consequently, the reception of these texts shifted from the aesthetic and speculative response (Jones's works) into the critical and philological response (Lyall's pre-Islamic publications).

A comparison of Jones's and Lyall's works gives a clear idea of this difference. In his advertisement of *'The Moallakat'*, Jones mentioned illustrated notes related to the poet himself, and the reason of translation. He also proposed amendments of the text in order to draw the attention of the reader to certain external themes and surrounding ambiguity in the poem. However, as Jones stated, these notes were 'ornamental only, not essential' to the poem itself (1783, pp.245-246). This means that the notes were included in the translating text in order to give general ideas about the text. Therefore, it can be argued that these areas are closely associated with which is often called the 'paratext' rather than the internal text itself. In brief, Jones concentrated on the poet rather than the poetry or at least he tried to "throw light on the images, figures, and allusions of the Arabian poets" (1783, p.245-246) in order to give the British reader the best illustration about the ideas and customs of eastern nations. Jones was concentrating on making the texts more familiar to the British public by giving more details, anecdotes, and annotation. The following quotation about Amriolkais portrays a clear image about Jones's approach:

It seems, he had been in love with a girl named Onaiza, and had in vain sought an occasion to declare his passion: one day, when her tribe had struck their tents, and were changing their fixation, the women, as usual, came behind the rest, with the servants and baggage, in carriages fixed on the backs of camels. Amriolkais advanced slowly at a distance, and, when the men were out of sight, had the pleasure of seeing Onaiza retire with a party of damsels to a rivulet or pool, called Daratjuljul (1783, p.248).

Thus, Jones employed techniques to make the sense of this poem more familiar to the English ear, using anecdote such as this.

A second example of Jones's approach is the use of the tree diagram in *The Genealogy of the Seven Arabian Poets*. Then, he followed this by transliterating a copy of each poem, making a completely neutral contribution to the poetic quality of the poems. However, he gave an accurate description of the poet by providing details about his life, his dwellings, historical events about his tribe, and the women with whom he had passionate relationships. Then, by indicating similar historical events that occurred in the Arab world, Jones smoothly criticized certain political situations in England at that time. The following passage quoted from Jones's annotation about Amru's poem underlines this point:

I should conceive that the king of Hira, who, like other tyrants, wished to make all men just but himself, and to leave all nations free but his own, had attempted to enslave the powerful tribe of Tagleb, and to appoint a prefect over them, but that the warlike possessors of the deserts and forests had openly disclaimed his authority, and employed their principal leader and poet to send him defiance, and magnify their own independent spirit (1783, p.309).

This comment led Arberry to realize that "It was political partisanship, as much as aesthetic appreciation, which urged him to bring the Golden Poems to the notice of the British public" (1957, p.8). Overall, Jones was concerned with the process of overcoming the difficulties that may face the English reader. He was not interested in any analysis of form and content of the poems.

In contrast, Lyall was keen to deal with the original texts themselves through three different stages in order to serve both the Arabic and the English readership. Thus, Lyall undertook practical techniques to achieve his target. One of his most important actions was the printing and editing of the poetry in Arabic script. Second he dealt with issues which were related to the question of the authenticity of the poems, such as the transmission of poems from the oral into writing. Third, he attached a critical commentary to each poem, making an investigation about ambiguous notions or words that could affect the perceived meaning of the whole content of the poem. Thus, Lyall's efforts can be considered to be a turning point from the acquaintance of the texts toward a critical understanding of the texts themselves.

To draw an accurate portrait about how Lyall had responded to the ancient Arabian poetry, it is appropriate to begin with his first publication '*Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry, Chiefly Pre-Islamic, with an Introduction and Notes*' which was published in 1877. It is the first serious British academic study about the origin of the pre-Islamic poetry and its features. In his critical introduction, Lyall outlined the same procedure that had been adopted by Pococke, Ockley, and Jones, but he expanded the areas of application and the critical perspective argument. He gradually built his argument on facts related to the Arab culture in order to draw a panoramic view about the strong relationship between poetry and the public Arab life. For example, he began his introduction by giving definitions in relation to the Ode '*Kasidah*' and the fragment '*Kitah*'. Thereafter, he discussed the origin of languages that were used in Arabia during pre-Islamic era. In addition, he made an interesting argument about subjects that affected the ancient poetry such as:

The pagan Arabs (their life), society and war, blood-revenge, occupations, amusements, religion, belief in future life, divination, place of women in old Arabia, effect of al-Islam on the old poetry, change in the Arabs' language and life, the old poetry not written, but handed down by Rawis, how the poems were preserved to us: the humanists (1877, p.xi).

Depending on authentic Arabic resources, such as *The Hamasa*, *The Moallakat*, *The Mufaddaliyat* and *The Kitab al-Aghani*, Lyall dealt with pre-Islamic poetry from a cultural criticism perspective rather than from a pure philological view. In this context, he gave details about the social and historical circumstances that contributed to the emergence of the poetry. Lyall chose his poetry from the three manuscripts, but he derived most of the genealogical, biographical and anecdotic matter relating to the poets from *The Kitab al-Aghani*, which was printed in Egypt at the Bulak press in 1868 (1877, p.xiv). As a result, Lyall was influenced by the Arab authorship approach.

In general, Lyall's works can be shown as a model of the increasing growth of British academia interest in the study of the Arabic language and its literature. Also, it shows the nature of monotonous and systematized cognitive development of the British Orientalist discourse, which undoubtedly was affected by the political and economic conditions of the colonial period. In other words, the increases in the interest in texts, heritage, culture and other aspects of life were accompanied with an increased interest in natural resources in the East. Therefore, this mutuality of the cognitive environment clearly appeared in all the subsequent publications of Lyall, including 'A Commentary on ten Arabic Poems' in 1894, 'The Diwans of Abid Ibn Al-Abras, of Asad and Amir Ibn At-Tufail of Amir Ibn Sasaah' in 1913, and 'The Mufaddliyat, An Anthology of Ancient Arabian Odes' in 1918, as well as Carlile H. Macartney's 'The Diwan of Ghailan Ibn Uqbah known as Dhu R-Rummah' in 1919. All these publications were printed in Arabic script. Thus, both Arabic and English readers, who were interested in learning Arabic Language, were able to benefit from these new publications.

This interest in the Arabic language reached its peak with E. H. Palmer who had the ability to imitate the fifth century Arabic style of the Hijra. However, the imitation had changed from Jones's emotional and romantic atmosphere into the tradition of reincarnation by Palmer. Furthermore, he often wrote in

the original Arabic language such as his critical introduction to '*The Poetical Works of Beha-Ed-Din Zoheir of Egypt*' in 1876. The following passage clearly demonstrates his ability to produce an innovative and dynamic text in Arabic style:

الحمد لله الذي خلق الانسان وعلمه البيان وزانه بالأصغرين القلب واللسان. اما بعد فانه لما كان الناس في ايامنا هذه يميلون الى السفر في جميع الجهات ويخالط بعضهم بعضا على اختلاف الامم والمذاهب وبعد المسافات كان ولا بد لمن اراد التوغل في البلاد الشاسعة من معرفة لغات شتى والله در القائل:

بقدر لغات المرء يكثر نفعه فتلك له عند المهمات اعوان

فلازم على حفظ اللغات مجاهدا فكل لسان في الحقيقة انسان

ثم لا يخفى على من امعن النظر في احوال اهل الادب ان الشعراء في كل لسان هم كما قال الخليل بن احمد الفراهيدي : امراء الكلام يصرفونه كيف شاءوا ويجوز لهم ما لا يجوز لغيرهم من اطلاق اللفظ وتقييده ومد مقصوره وقصر ممدوده والجمع بين لغاته والتعلق بين صفاته . ومن يعرف كلام الشعراء حق معرفته ويفهم دقائق افكارهم ويطلع على دقائق اشعارهم فلا يصعب عليه بعد ذلك شيء من الكلام المنثور ولا من الكلام الدارج الذي هو بين عوام الناس مشهور. ولما رأيت الصدر الاجل الفاضل الاكمل اللبيب الاديب الاريب لسان المتكلمين و قريع المتأدبين ، وحيد عصره وفريد دهره ابا الفضل زهير بن محمد المهلبي رحمة الله عليه كاتب الانشاء و المتسنم من نرى البلاغة ما شاء قد ذهب في الشعر كل مذهب و ابدع في نظمه واغرب ، انشرح صدري لطبع ديوان شعره ، فشمريت عن ساعد العزم وطبعته ، وألحقت به ترجمة انكليزية منظومة. و اتحفت بها محبي الشعر من الطائفتين (اعني ابناء العرب وبني الاصفر) وذيلتها بشرح موجز يفسر ما استغلق من معانيه وما انبهم من الفاظه. ويلخص احوال الانفار والمواد التي ورد ذكرها في بعض الابيات وينبه القارئ على ما يحويه الديوان من الامثال العربية والنكات الأدبية (المقدمة/4) .

"Praise be to God who create man, and endowed him with clear speech;
and adored him with "those two least members, the heart and tongue".

The tendency of people in the present day to travel abroad, and to communicate freely with each other, notwithstanding the differences of nationality and religion, and the long distances that separate them, has made the acquisition of foreign languages indispensable to those who desire to journey in distant countries, as a poet has well said,

Tis by the languages he speaks

A person's usefulness is gauged

These will afford the aid he seeks,
When on important works engaged
Then persevere, both old and young,
In learning all the tongues you can
For you will find each separate man!

No educated person can have failed to observe that the Poet in every language are, in El Khalil's word, "the lord of language, turning it as they please, and taking licences which are not allowed to others, in the way of giving general or particular meanings to an expression, of putting a diffuse expression concisely, or concise on diffusely, and in the combination of words and phrases generally".

Whoever, then, becomes properly acquainted with the poetry of a language, and has mastered all its niceties and refinements, will never find any difficulty afterwards in the prose writings, or in the vulgar colloquial dialect.

Now when I saw that the illustrious Premier, the learned Doctor, the keen and sagacious Scholar, the tongue of speakers and conqueror of writers, the prodigy of the age, and phenomenon of the period in which he lived, - Abul Fadhl Zoheir ibn Mohammed el Mohallebi (may God have mercy on him!), the Court secretary, who could soar to any height of eloquence that he pleased, -was an authority in every school verse, and was remarkable for the versatile character of his poetry" (1877, p.xvi)

Thus, this specialization of knowledge enabled Orientalists to go investigate the authority of the text with greater authority rather than dealing merely with the paratext. This specialization developed a new critical reading for studying Arabian poetry. Hence, Lyall began to establish a reliable knowledge about pre-Islamic poetry when he went studied Rawis and their collection. For example, in his publication *The Mufaddliyat* he introduced critical and historical readings about the Rawis, such as al-Asma'I, al-Mufaddal, Hammad and Khalaf, and their approaches. Then, he made a significant comparative analysis between the characters of al-Mufaddal, Hammad and Khalaf in order to recognize, as far as he could, the spurious poems of ancient poetry. After

an in-depth survey of authentic sources such as Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahani's *Alagani*, Jahidh's *Kitab al-Hayawan*, Abu 'Ali al-Qali's *Amali*, Ibn Khallikan's *Al-Waffi* and the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim, Lyall argued that:

the stories about Hammad and Khalaf is, not that the compositions offered as ancient poems should, on a priori grounds, be rejected as spurious, but that they must be carefully scrutinized, with all the evidence of contemporary tradition, and with due regard to their content, style, and individual characteristics, to see if they suggest, in any particular case, interpolation, dislocation, or fabrication (1918, p.xxi).

However, each piece of the collection assembled by al-Mufaddal, Lyall believed should be examined by focusing on certain criteria that may contribute to the maintenance of the authenticity of the ancient poetry "with reference to its alleged authorship, its age and circumstances, and the condition of the text" (1918, p. xxi). In addition, Lyall added further steps to reinforce these tests by giving the introductions, comments, and notes to the translated texts.

Lyall found a number of significant differences between anecdotes and their sources in order to highlight the issue of documenting the origin of Arabian poetry. In this context, he implicitly referred to the main difference between al-Mufaddal, who came from Arabian origin and his antagonists (Hammad and Kalaf) who came from Persian origin, when he pointed out that:

It would be a great error to take these two men as typical specimens of the professional transmitters of tribal poetry. Both were of Persian origin. The tribal Rawis were Arabs, chosen by the poets to be the channel by which their compositions should be perpetuated in the memory of the tribe and the Arab nation in general (1918, p.xx).

According to Lyall's view, therefore, Hammad and Kalaf were just imitators of Jahilyain poetry which existed long before the emergence of Islam (1918, p.xxi). This view is part of Lyall's vision in terms of the authenticity of Arabian poetry. In fact, Lyall was repeating his opinion in his previous publication *The*

Diwans of Abid Ibn Al-Abras, of Asad and Amir Ibn At-Tufail of Amir Ibn Sasaah' in 1913. For instance, he insisted that:

The ancient poetry is entitled to be received as, on the whole, genuine and not fabricated is that it is presupposed by poetry of the first age under Islam. The famous poets of first century, -al-Farazdaq, Jarir, al-Akhtal, Dhu-r-Rummah, - carried on without a break the tradition of the poets of the pagan time (1913, p.12).

As a result, it is obvious that Lyall believed that most of ancient Arabian poetry was neither forgery or spurious. He divided al-Mufaddal's collection, which contains 126 pieces attributed to 67 poets, chronologically into three series: The first contains five poets, namely 'Amirah b. Ju'al, Jubaiha, al-Marrar, al-Saffah, Shabib b. al-Barsa, who lived the whole of their lives under Islam. There are no suspicions as to the genuineness of this set of poetry. The second set represents the Mukkadrims who were born in Jahilyah and became Muslims prior to their death. This series consists of 15 poets namely, Abdallah b. Anamah, Abdah b. at-Tabib, Abu Dhu'aib, Amr b. al-Ahtam, Malik and Mutammim sons of Nuwairah, Maqqas, al-Mukhabbal, Muzarrid, Rabfah b. ity, Saliimah, Tandnl, Suwaicl b. Abl Kahil, Tha'labah b. Su'air and Zabban. According to Lyall, the poetry of this group was sustained by historical facts that supported its genuineness. The main problem relates to the third series which was consists of the remaining 47 poets who lived and died in a state of Jahilyah. Thus, Lyall examined each poem separately. For example, he had made a long annotation on Salamah's poem using the chronological approach when he argued that:

There is some difficulty in admitting Salamah as the author of the poem, arising from chronology. 'Amir son of at-Tufail, against whom the poem is directed, was born on the day of the battle of Shi'b Jabalah, A.D. 570: at the battle of ar-Eaqam, or al-Maraurat, or Sahuq, of which the poem treats, he cannot have been less than twenty or twenty-five years old. But Salamah, if he was the son, and not the grandson, of al-Khurshub, was the maternal uncle of ar-Rabi' son of Ziyad of 'Abs, who must have been a very old man at the date of the battle of ar-Raqam: this would throw Salamah

back to two generations before 'Amir. Either Fatimah, daughter of al-Khurshub, mother of ar-Rabi', was much older than her brother Salamah. Or we must suppose the latter to have been the grandson, not the son, of al-Khurshub, or the poem may have been wrongly ascribed to him (1913, p.9).

Although Lyall was preceded in his analysis by Arab critics such as Ibn Salam Al Jumahi, he is considered to be the first British Orientalist and who paved a new way of investigation about the authenticity and originality of the ancient Arabic poetry. Lyall's studies were expanded by D. S. Margoliouth, who argued that Lyall's efforts concentrated on the characters of Rawis rather than examining the text itself. The next section deals with Margoliouth's ideas which have provoked by considerable debate by Arabian scholars as to whether or not Taha Husain should be excluded.

4.5.1 The Origins of Arabic Poetry: Margoliouth's Critical Study

One of the most important articles related to the study of the origins of Arabic poetry was written in 1925 by Margoliouth⁹. The remarkable and controversial article entitled *'The Origins of Arabic Poetry'* ¹⁰ was published in the *Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1925, pp.417-449). It is considered the first work in the field of editing studies, which adopted a linguistic point of view. It is strongly permeated by methodological habits and historical criticism based on the skeptic approach. According to Hourani, Margoliouth "was extremely learned but in his mind there was a streak of fantasy, or perhaps of irony, which led him sometimes to propose untenable theories" (1991, p.33). Margoliouth, in his opening page, distinguishes between Quranic text and pre-Islamic poetry, when he builds his skeptic theory based upon a hypothesis, which considers the Quran as a highly trustworthy and authentic text when compared with pre-Islamic poetry. Then he makes an extensive survey of the anecdotes of forgery that mentioned in authentic sources such as *Al-aghani*, *Letter of Abu al Ala*, *Muruj al Dhahab*,

Fihrist and Muzhir. This attempt is followed by a serious in-depth investigation of the texts, taking into account the external contradictions with the Quranic text.

This means that Margoliouth, as a philologist, utilized historical evidence and linguistic analysis in order to give a critical judgment about the text. From this position, one can understand Margoliouth comments about Lyall's work when he argued that Lyall "deals chiefly with the character of the transmitters, which he rates rather more highly than the present writer [Margoliouth]" (1925, p.1).

Margoliouth's study is an exception in its arguments and the dangerous ideas it puts forward, as well as in the bold judgments and sweeping critical generalizations about the coverage of an important era in the heritage of the Arab nation. This is especially so because this nation was known as a poet nation. This point can be fully identified by the following statement of Ibn Sallam in *'Tabaqat al-Shuara'*: "During pre-Islamic times, poetry was the repository (*diwan*) of the knowledge of the Arabs and the ultimate manifestation (*muntaha*) of their wisdom. They learnt from it (poetry and its contents) and abided by it in their deeds" (cited in Oyuang, 1997, p.57).

Margoliouth¹¹ deviates from others who studied pre-Islamic poetry, such as Jones, Lyall, Arberry and Alan Jones, by his absolute denial of the existence of such poetry before the advent of Islam and the revelation of the Quran. He also parted from German Orientalists Nöldeke and Ahlwardt, in his approach. This seems to have occurred under the influence of the cognitive concepts and prevailing political views of his time which did not recognize the existence of a unified Arab people with a distinct language and literary heritage like other nations such as, Persian, Romans and Greek before the advent of the Prophet, who united the Arabs under the banner of Islam.

Therefore, one can refute Margoliouth's belief that Quranic text is reliable when compared to pre-Islamic poetry which he considered to be a forgery and spurious. However, he desired to confirm two issues. The first, which he did in practice, is that by denying the Arabs had poetry before Islam, he meant that Arabs had nothing that deserves admiration since the Arabs were not a united people, nor did they have the poetry heritage and common language through which one can infer their uniform existence. In this manner, Margoliouth's ideas restores Caussin's thesis in which he argues that "the Arabs¹² were made a people by Mohammed, Islam being essentially a political instrument, not by any means a spiritual one" (Said, 2003, p.151).

Furthermore, Margoliouth intentionally does not delve into the reasons for forgery, contrary to the German Orientalists such as Nöldeke, Ahlwardt and Guldistr who discussed this issue in detail. Nöldeke, for example, argues that Hammad narrated spurious poems justifying his argument by stating that it is impossible for Hammad to check thousands of poems through meticulous scientific philology and relate them in exactly the way they were in the original text. As long as poems are maintained orally, they are exposed to the fates of popular literature, and because of the wealth of the Arabic language then words or phrases are subject to change. For example, Thu Rimma complained that people often spoiled his poems when narrating them (Badawi, 1979, p.22).

Margoliouth confidence in the Quran as a written text results in his use of it for most of his comparisons and referrals to support his ideas in the refutation of what was built around a verbal text like the oral pre-Islamic poetry. Therefore, it is not surprising that Margoliouth begins his first sentence on the first page by referring to the Quran as the reference from which to elicit information about poetry and poets when he states that the presence of the poets in the Arabian Peninsula before the rise of Islam is attested by the Quran (1979, p. 417). Furthermore, he concludes his research with a reference to

the reliability of the Quran in relation to the texts and the status of Arabs (1979, p.449).

Margoliouth built his main hypothesis on the formula (fixed, written, original-variable, oral, forgery). In order to prove this hypothesis, he presented two types of evidence. The first, referred to as external evidence in which he made a comprehensive survey of all Quranic verses containing terms such as poetry, poets, writing, reading, books, the Quran, the study, is presented in order to prove that the writing was unknown prior to Islam and that there were no religious or non-religious books before the Quranic text. This aims to eliminate a primary means of poetry transmission. Then, he moves to the other side of the equation, oral narration, in which he focused on the stories and anecdotes that were related about well-known narrators such as Hammad Arawiya and Khalaf Al-Ahmer, and their ways and tactics in forgery and counterfeiting. Margoliouth called that section of the study the external evidence which he later complemented with three internal evidence to support his claim.

In the comparison between Margoliouth's external evidence and Lyall's investigations of *Mufadalyat*, it is clear that the former did not add anything to the findings of the latter. In contrast, the language of numbers and statistics which Lyall adopted in his conclusions about *Mufadalyat* was missing in Margoliouth's research. In addition, Lyall took poetic texts as the subject for study, while Margoliouth reviewed the news and tales, thus highlighting the difference between the two. Lyall was a specialist in pre-Islamic poetry while Margoliouth was a historian who did not have an extensive knowledge of poetry. Moreover, all the stories and tales Margoliouth related were previously mentioned by Ibn Salam in which he justified and refuted many of the reasons for the counterfeiting in pre-Islamic poetry¹³.

Critically, Margoliouth's hypothesis was larger than the texts of his application, which means that the theoretical side was not compatible with the practical

examples in terms of the kind and quantity. He gathered a lot of news and stories about the pre-Islamic poetry while poetry was missing, with the exception of five verse lines which were sporadic. However, there is a significant disparity between the theoretical claims and their application. This disparity is especially seen in the second part of the internal evidence. In the first proof, for example, he argues that despite the large amount of swearing which the pre-Islamic poets used, they do not almost swear but by saying 'Allah', which was common in their poetry. However, he only mentions one line attributed to Abid b. al Abras. Thus, where are the examples and other poetry evidence he claims that are spread in the collections of pre-Islamic poets?

As such, Margoliouth did not intentionally choose poems or texts of poetry for the analysis, but instead chose a few verses as a separate application of a larger claim that ranges to the denial of a major poetic era. Furthermore, his analysis was limited to specific words and phrases such as the word Allah (God) in two lines of Abid b. al Abras, claiming that he used the Quranic style in his swearing. Margoliouth ignored Nöldeke's view about the issue of distortion or interpolating (التصحيف او التحريف *attaṣḥīf aw ttaḥrīf*) mentioned in his study on the subject of plagiarism in which he argued:

It is common that Muslims avoid the shock caused by pagan sayings by deleting lines or full stanza's and replacing them with Islamic names. For example, we find Al-Rahman in a poem by a pagan poet (Diwan Alhuzaleen, Leiden manuscript page 33 AP), and possibly the same thing happened in many of the pre-Islamic poems in which we find now the word 'Allah' while the original was 'Allath, and Lat', as Nöldeke mentioned and Ahlwardt had followed him (cited in Badawi, 1979, p.26 and 60).

In addition, if a word or two from the line were replaced, why is the whole line considered to be false and therefore suspicion is generalised on the whole poem, or the whole product of a poet. Thus, the issue of Altsahev and distortion proposed by well-known narrators across many eras was motivated

by religious ideology. For example, Ibin Abd al-Barr deleted all vocabulary items which indicate heresy in his narration of Abu al-Atahyah which the poet mentioned before turning to asceticism as an approach. Louis Cheikho did the same thing when he published the collection of Abu al Atahyah under the title '*Al anwar Al zahia fi Ashar abi al Atahyah*' in 1886, in which he replaced much of the Islamic vocabulary and phrases with other terms¹⁴.

Margoliouth's second internal proof which relates to the language of poetry and its formulation in the Quranic dialect¹⁵, is no more credible than his predecessors because he did not recognize the existence of oral dialects used in everyday life in which poetry was recorded in the presence of a formal common language in which Quran was written. Therefore, he ignores the linguistic phenomenon in the Arab world of the existence of multiple oral local dialects, although there is one uniform written language.

Finally, Margoliouth presented a third internal proof which is his weakest argument, in which examples are fewer. Generally, he repeats previous points while failing to provide evidence related to poetry. He only made reference to the sections of structure the *Moallakat* poems such as the love introduction *nasib* (اٲٲallya aw alġazlya) (الطلبية او الغزلية), description of the trip, the horse or camel. Rather than compare the various *Moallakat* poems or with other pre-Islamic poetry to find evidence of distortion and counterfeiting, Margoliouth compares their content with the poems of Horace. He was supposed to study the *Moallakat* critically to produce convincing results, but apparently, because he lacked specialization in language and literature, he was prevented from exploiting those gaps in the structure of *Moallakat* in terms of the similarity of language and style. This seriously questions his view about their forgery, especially if we consider that most of the stories focused on the character of the narrator Hammad and on the poems, which were not narrated by anyone else.

Thus, Margoliouth fell victim to the disorder that marred his approach after admitting that doubt cannot enter into collections of Umayyad poets, the most prominent of whom was Akhtal born in 19 AH, as well as Jareer, born in 33 AH and Farazdaq born in 38 AH. By this recognition, Margoliouth has blown up all evidence and assumptions because all the collections of those poets are complete, in addition to the relatively long 'Alnaquaiṭh' (النقائض - opposites) with their perfect structure in terms of style, language and meaning. Is it conceivable that poetry suddenly appeared in this perfect technical and substantive form within only 50 years without being preceded by similar collections? These ignore the collections and poems from the early Islamic era, such as the famous poem of Ka'b bin Malik and the collections of Hassan ibn Thabit and Alhutaih, the collection of Omar bin Abi Rabia, which are the middle link in the chain. The discussion is not about single poems or pieces of poetry, but about full collections recounted by trustworthy Rawis. In addition, most of the poems were associated with the events recorded in reliable historical and literary sources. Moreover, there are famous poems whose simulations series such as *Imru'alkais*, which describes a love adventure affair that was simulated by the poet Omar bin Abi Rabia in the Islamic era. Furthermore, Farazdaq in the Umayyad period, mimicked the same pre-Islamic poem technically and thematically. There is no doubt that the simulations indicate the presence of existing pre-Islamic poetry. Furthermore, "most recent theoreticism of history have drawn our attention to the fact that the historical universe tends to show nonhomogeneous structures and that simultaneous events may at times be intrinsically asynchronous" (Lerer, 1997, p.38).

It can be concluded that Margoliouth's article has addressed a topic relevant to both ancient and contemporary Arabs and Orientalists. At the same time, it kept open the door for discussion, as it had resonance in the Arab academia since the publication of Taha Hussein's research to the present day. Although many responses have refuted allegations made in the study, it is one of the

pioneering critical studies in British Orientalist research. Furthermore, it still constitutes a prime example of philological search, which contributed to directing scholars to discuss the origins of Greek and Roman poetry, such as the study of Thomas Allen *'Homer: The Origins and the Transmission'* which examined the relationship between the Torah and Homer's poetry, and Erich Aurbach's publication *'Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature'* which investigated the association of Homer's poetry with the Old Testament.

4.6. The Great Linguistic Talent of Preston and Palmer

Although pre-Islamic poetry has dominated most British Orientalist authorship other periods and genres of Arabic literature have also been studied. Theodore Preston (1830-1882)¹⁶ and his peer Edward Henry Palmer (1840-1882) were among the foremost British Orientalists who reshaped the new discipline about classical Arabic literature. Preston was interested in prose while Palmer was more interested in poetry. Although both were great prose stylists in Arabic, Palmer was highly talented in poetry. In addition, He was "the true successor of Edward William Lane, in his insight into Eastern character and thought and his genius for the Arabic language" (Arberry, 1960, p.105).

In October 1862 Preston, who was the Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, received a number of Arabic verses written by Palmer in order to obtain his assessment of the proficiency in Arabic language. Preston "was greatly impressed and offered his congratulations on a proficiency the more remarkable as it is the result of your own assiduity, unassisted, I believe, by any native teacher" (cited in Arberry, 1960, p.126). Although Palmer had not been to the Arab world, he had been taught Arabic by professional teachers such as the Syrian Rizq Alah Hassun and Mir Aulad Ali. In contrast, Preston visited Lebanon and Syria, chiefly for the purpose of studying Arabic. Those scholars had a great reputation both in Europe and in the East. For instance,

during his time in England Ahmad Faris Shidyaq (1804-1887) visited Cambridge University in 1848 meeting most of the British Orientalists there. He praised Preston's proficiency in Arabic and its literature after he had discussed with him some linguistics characteristics that related to the *Maqamat* (Shidyaq, 2012, p.101).

A review of their biographical works enables the reader to note that Preston and Palmer fully represented the nature of discipline of the British academia at that time, which was dependant on individual efforts rather than a central cultural authority or on systematic discipline. Although both had considerable skill in languages, unfortunately, British academia did not fully benefit from their talents or, at least, failed to gain real knowledge from them, because insufficient patronage led to a fragmentation of their efforts. Palmer, for example, "was a scholar and student most earnest and resolute, yet always with the heart of a boy; so great a linguist that he stood alone, yet full of reliance in himself and his own powers, yet never vainglorious" (Besant, 1883, p.viii) By ignoring them, British Academia lost two of the most brilliant possibilities and research capacity. Preston resigned early (1871) (Arberry, 1960, p.136) and Palmer got involved in a politician mission when he left the University of Cambridge in 1874¹⁷. They both died in 1882 and left at least two remarkable publications.

Preston adopted a peculiarly appropriate method of exemplifying the branches of verse and prose, "the type of which is represented in European literature by *Aucassin* and *Nicolette*" (Gibb, 1963, p.102), of classical Arabic literature when he chose a text such as the *Maqamat* of al-Hariri which was known for an elaborate execution and ornateness of style. In contrast, Palmer was interested in publishing poetry. For example, in 1855 he published an Arabic verse translation of Moore's *Paradise and the Peri* in Paris which he followed by the edition of *The Poetical Works of Beha-ed-Din Zoheir*. Arberry (1960, p.139) argued the latter was a serious and significant contribution.

Both publications (Maqamat and Zoheir's poetry) share certain stylistic and linguistic characteristics (ornate rhetorical style called *badi*) which were known in the fifth AH/nine century AD onward as Arabian authorship: Hariri died in 516 and Zoheir died in 656 AH (Sperl, 1989, p.1). This style of writing, which focuses on formalistic features and ornate style, was familiar in both prose and verse. However, Zoheir's poetry was entirely different from the constructive pattern of the *Maqamat*. This difference resulted in variations between Preston's and Palmer's style and approaches in dealing with their texts. They were aware that the texts were written in fundamentally different linguistic and cultural contexts. Also, they were keen to satisfy the curiosity of the English reader who had read Arabic works such as '*The Thousand and One Nights*'. Thus both sought to draw the attention of their readers in different ways. For example, Preston was more realistic than Palmer, advising the English reader that the *Maqamat*:

is no idle rhapsody intended, like '*The Thousand and One Nights*' to assume the loiterers of the café or the seraglio, but the elaborate result of the literary system of a period in which not only the sciences but useful arts of life were sacrificed by the ingenious and studious of a great nation to a profound grammatical and rhetorical research into the structure and resources of their own most copious language (1850, p.ix).

Meanwhile, Palmer illustrated that the Zohier's poetry was "absolutely unknown in Europe; with the exception of a few verses quoted by Ibn Kiiallikan, the Arabic biographer, and one or two short poems cited anonymously in the Arabian Nights" (1877, p.xi). However, he attempted to approximate as far as he could between the traditional consciousness of aesthetic and poetic features of the text that the English reader was used to reading. Thus, he made a considerable effort to convince the English reader that Zohier's poetry was not entirely different from the poetry of Robert Herrick (1591-1674). In addition, Palmer went further claiming that Zohier's poetry "reminds us of the productions of the Western poets; the whole tone

of thought and style of expression much more closely resemble those of an English courtier of the seventeenth century than of a Mohammedan of the Middle Ages" (cited in Besant, 1883, p.163).

Thus, on the one hand, it appears that Palmer had fallen under the dual influences of the emotional and sentimental enthusiasm of his romantic visionary¹⁸ and passion for languages. On the other hand, perhaps Palmer did desire to refute the allegations and prejudices that certain European scholars held, such as Silvestre de Sacy who argues that "Arabic poetry was produced by a completely strange (to Europeans) people, under hugely different climatic, social, and historical conditions from those a European knows" (cited in Said, 2003, p.128).

More significant, however, is the poignant statement of Besant which reveals the astonishing status of linguistic scholar such as Palmer who had an astonishing variety of knowledge, skills and experience. Besant, who was a colleague and best friend of Palmer, states that:

I never saw but one man in my life in whom the organ of language, phonologically speaking, was so developed as in Palmer. This man was also a teacher of languages. His Palmer's eyes were those of a linguist. It is very difficult to explain how it was that he learned languages at all with such marvellous rapidity and perfect accuracy. He always cleared his way clean of all errors from the very first step [...] His Arabic, or Persian, or Hindu, with dialects, like all of the ten languages which he spoke, was simply perfect as that of a native (1883, p.184).

Thus, it can be clearly seen that Palmer was obsessed by Eastern languages and was fascinated by the Arabic language and fond of its poetry. In this context, he was keen to dispel those prejudices which attached to the Arabic poetry. For instance, he made an acute observation about Eastern poets who tended to use ornate style which was not adopted by most Arabian poets. Palmer believed that "Oriental poets are inordinately fond of puns and plays upon words; not, however, necessarily to produce a humorous effect, but as

a recognised rhetorical artifice" (1877, p.xi). However, he described Zoheir's poetry, as an Arabian poet, as:

There is an entire absence of that artificial construction, exaggerated metaphor, and profuse ornateness of style, which render Eastern poetry [especially Persian poetry] so distasteful to a Western critic; and in place of these defects we have natural simplicity and epigrammatic terseness, combined with a genial wit (1883, p.163).

Undoubtedly, Palmer had a significant talent that helped him to be a poet, translator, critic, and linguist at the same time. This capability gave him the flexibility to analyse, imitate and criticize when dealing with poetry. Thus, it is not difficult to read passages written by Palmer, which recall the content and form of the stylistic authorship of the fifth century AH, especially Abu Mansur al-Thalibi, in the publication *Yatimat al-Dehar*. The following quotation clearly shows Palmer's style in Arabic especially in using the rhymed prose (saja):

ولما رأيت الصدر الاجل ، الفاضل الاكمل ، اللبيب الاديب الاريب ، لسان المتكلمين و قريع المتأدبين ، وحيد عصره ،
وفريد دهره ، ابا الفضل زهير بن محمد المهلبى رحمة الله عليه كاتب الانشاء و المتسنم من ذرى البلاغة ما شاء قد ذهب في
الشعر كل مذهب و ابدع في نظمه واغرب .(ديوانه، ج4/1)

"Now when I saw that the illustrious Premier, the learned Doctor, the keen and sagacious Scholar, the tongue of speakers and conqueror of writers, the prodigy of the age, and phenomenon of the period in which he lived, - Abul Fadhl Zoheir ibn Mohammed el Mohallebi" (1877, p.xvi)

It can be clearly seen that Palmer deserves to be called an 'Arabist', not because he was able to imitate perfectly the traditional Arabic style, but also because of his sensitive use of Arabic, which is rarely replicated even by a well-educated native speaker. Furthermore, he was different from other Orientalists in his approach to translation, commentary, explanation, and analysis. The following translation of the passage serves to highlight Palmer's approach:

Now when I saw that the illustrious Premier, the learned Doctor, the keen and sagacious Scholar, the tongue of speakers and conqueror of writers,

the prodigy of the age, and phenomenon of the period in which he lived, "Abu'l Fadhl Zoheir ibn Mohammed el Mohallebi (may God have mercy on him!), the Court secretary, who could soar to any height of eloquence that he pleased," was an authority in every school of verse, and was remarkable for the versatile character of his poetry (1877, p.xvi, emphasis added).

As can be seen, Palmer preserves virtually the same rhetorical and stylistic devices that existed in the original text such as the diction¹⁹, alliteration, and rhymed prose (saja). Furthermore, the literal translation by Palmer differs from his predecessors, in particular Preston, through his repetition of the meaning of expressions by using such stylistic devices as 'prolixity'. Obviously, he did not wish to translate the Arabic text into English by introducing a sense of the Englishness. As he stated in his introduction to *'The Poetical works of Beha Ed-Din Zohier, V2'*, he aimed to produce "a translation, which, while it will enable a scholar or student to interpret the text, will convey to the English reader's mind exactly the same impression as the Arabic would to the mind of an Arab" (1877, p.xii). Thus, he intended to maintain the same sense as in the Arabic to push the English reader towards the contextual and emotional world of the text itself. He recommends the English reader to be patient in order to obtain a better understanding about other people. In this context, one can fully understand what Palmer has meant by his citation of Sefi Ed-Din al-Hilly's poem:

‘Tis by the languages he speaks
A person's usefulness is gouged.
These will afford the aid he seeks,
When on important works engaged.
Then persevere, both old and young,
In learning all the tongues you can.
For you will find each separate tongue

Will count for you a separate man!" (1876, p.3)

Importantly, Palmer realized that language is the best medium for obtaining knowledge. Thus, whoever "becomes properly acquainted with the poetry of a language, and has mastered all its niceties and refinements, will never find any difficulty afterwards in the prose writings, or in the vulgar colloquial dialect" (1876, p.4). In this context, Palmer traced a clear line to achieve his target. The route starts with language, passing through poetry in order to gain knowledge with the result that power is obtained; the English proverb says that 'knowledge is power' (1876, p.5). Palmer's belief can help us to infer the best answer to the question; 'why did Palmer undertake the politic mission when he left Cambridge university?'. The acquaintance with the language of poetry provides Palmer, as a linguist, a remarkable ability to go penetrate in-depth the Oriental knowledge. One of the best examples of this capable proficiency is Palmer's critical commentary on some stylistic devices of Zoheir's poetry such as metaphor. The following analysis clearly shows his ability:

It is seldom that we see a metaphor so well carried out, or so pregnant with meaning as this; the contrast between the dark tresses of youth and the white hairs of old age, the sudden awakening from the night of folly and inexperience at the dawn of maturer judgment, and the comparison of the streaks of grey amidst the massy black locks to rays of wisdom lighting up the dark sky of ignorance (1850, Vol, 2, p.XVIII).

Apparently, Palmer was influenced by the approach of certain Arab critics such as Qudamah Ibn Jaafar (died 337 AH), Abu Hilal al-Askeri (died 420 AH) and Ibn Sinan al-Khafaji (died 466 AH). The influence of the Arabic analysis on some British Orientalists was first found in Pococke's attempt to analyse literary texts such as Tograi's poem. Thereafter, Ockley used a similar approach. Thus, although Palmer followed a similar method of analysis, his was the greatest influence. Arberry poses an interesting question about

Palmer's approach, namely "if was Palmer conscious that he was in fact continuing the work of Ockley, and continuing it in his spirit?" (1960, p.134).

In contrast, Preston, when analysing the *Maqamat*, adopted a different approach which concentrated on the English reader. His process tends to serve the reader by making the text accessible for the English reader rather than Palmer's approach which is based on the belief that the English reader has to be involved in the atmosphere of text. Nicholson, also, implicitly agreed with Palmer's view when he argued that the European reader has to be patient in dealing with certain Arabic texts such as the *Maqamat*, if the reader would like to attain a better understanding of the Arab language, antiquities, and culture (1905, p.336).

The *Maqamat* has gained a considerable reputation in the East and West. For example, there are numerous Arabic commentators on the *Maqama*. The most celebrated of these are Al Shareeshi, Al Mortarrezzi, Al Razi, and Al Okbari but there are also forty or fifty further commentaries, which are considered less familiar (De Sacy, cited in Preston, 1850, p.14). In the same context, there have been more than four eminent European scholars who have translated and annotated the *Maqamat* in different languages since the eighteenth century, including Albert Schultens in 1731 (The Netherlands), Friedrich Rückert in 1826 (Germany), De Sacy in 1840 (France), and Preston in 1850 (England). The *Maqamat* was translated again in England in 1898 by Francis Joseph Steingass.

This European interest in translating and editing the *Maqamat* coincided with a movement towards imitative authorship in the style of *Maqamat* in the Middle East, especially in Lebanon and Egypt. It is true that there is no clear evidence that proves European interest influenced the revival style of the *Maqamat*, as Anttila remarks (2012, p.7). However, there is no doubt that the cognitive communication between the East and the West implicitly contributed

in the prosperity of the Arabian authorship, translation and publishing in the renaissance age (Hourani, 1991, p.136).

There are three points associated with the interest in the *Maqamat*, each of which was motivated by learning. Functionally, Al-Hariri established a huge anecdotic vocabulary in terms of assonance and alliteration as a useful exercise for the students who were not familiar with this style of writing to learn by heart. He was not meant to introduce some stories in order to gain the aesthetic satisfaction of his audience. According to Dayf (1960, p.299), al-Hariri wanted to write publications that could help learners to develop their linguistic skills and stylistic devices. This point can be confirmed by three facts. First, al-Hariri himself was a preceptor (teacher). Second, he wrote well-known grammar books which were targeted at Arab and non-Arab learners. Third, most of the events of the *Maqamat* revolve around the theme of the disciplinary competition between the protagonists 'Abou-Zaid' and his rivals.

In the same context, Preston, to a degree, outlined steps that enabled the students of Cambridge University and specialized English learners to utilize from his approach in editing, translation and annotation of the *Maqamat*. Preston, however, acknowledges that:

the *Maqamat* in the Arabic will still be found a most difficult study, and that none but the most highly educated native Arabs are capable of understanding them without constant reference to the commentaries (nearly every clause is intended to illustrate the use of some rare word, some remarkable idiom, or some paradox in grammar, construction, or signification) (1850, p.4).

Thus, he made strenuous efforts to introduce the translated text of the *Maqamat* in a form that was easier for the English learners, but also preserving the style and the form of writing of the *Maqamat* itself. In other words, he kept as close as possible to the original text but he annotated freely in the margin. He allotted the margin for annotation and explanation, which become

a microcosm of a glossary for Arabic and English. In this, one can observe that Preston was not free of the influence of Hariri's style, and frequently praised him in the preface and introduction of the *Maqamat*, (المقامات) such as the following statement:

[Hariri] has preserved a graceful dramatic effect, and such a pleasing variety as might beguile and encourage his readers in study of what he designates 'a combination of serious language with lightsome, refinement with nervousness of style, and elegant with recondite phraseology, - a rich store of choice metaphors, and ancient proverbs, and riddles, and oration, and poems, religious, festive, plaintive, and didactic' (1850, p.ix).

Preston tried to introduce the *Maqamat* to the English learners in a didactic method. In other words, he considered that the *Maqamat* was written to serve a didactic purpose. Thus, it should be rendered to the English learner in a specific form focused on the annotation and explanation. This can be clearly seen in the full page of the *Maqama* of Sasan (المقامة الساسانية)²⁰.

In contrast, Dr F. Steingass, in his translation of *The Assemblies of Al Hariri* V2 in 1898, embraced the characteristic narration to make the text of the *Maqamat* as close as possible to the novelistic form. This also can be clearly seen in the *Maqama* of Sasan. Thus, there are two different responses to the same text, with each writer working from his own perspective; Preston with the didactic approach, and Steingass with the novelistic style²¹.

This point underscores that the end of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of new generation of Orientalists who were fully conversant in a different kind of Arabic literature even if it was as complicated as the *Maqamat*. They discussed and analysed in-depth complicated characteristic themes in literature. Although, the *Maqamat*, for example, has a highly complicated verbal and linguistic form, which "represents in Semitic literature the culminating stage in the presentment of the literary theme [...] the form is rigid and the substance capricious and unreal" (Gibb, 1963, p.102), certain

Orientalists made remarkable efforts to reproduce it in reliable and articulate forms. The form of writing mainly consists of prose and verse, but unfortunately neither the prose nor the verse were familiar to the English ear, as the *Maqamat* was written in rhyming prose. Moreover, the function of verse in the *Maqamat* "is radically different from what was familiar to the Arabs in pre-Islamic times" (Ouyang, 1997, p.57).

All these difficulties did not create a barrier to achieving the Orientalists' task. Moreover, they began to build an accurate vision of significant areas in Arabic literature such as mystical poetry. The mystical poetry is characterized by moral and emotional complexities that require an open mind to grasp symbols, indication and inspiration. These capabilities were crowned by the efforts of Nicholson (1907, 1914, and 1918) in studying the history of Arabic literature and mystical poetry, which are presented in detail in the next section.

4.7. The 'Dervish' and Classical Arabic Literature

The Dervish (الدرويش) is Nicholson's nickname, which was chosen by Arberry, to emphasise that the former was interested in mystical poetry 'Suffi', and that he lived in an atmosphere of spirituality and mysticism. Nicholson was one of the most prominent British scholars of Arabic and Persian in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. He attained a widely recognised reputation amongst academics in England and the Muslim world, although he had never travelled to the East (Arberry, 1960, p.197).

Nicholson was unlike the other British scholars discussed earlier in this chapter. Although, Nicholson learned Arabic and Persian under British scholars such as Robertson Smith and E. G. Browne (Arberry, 1960, p.199), he had fully utilized the European scholars' methods of instruction. For example, in his publication '*A Literary History of the Arabs*', Nicholson (1907) fully acknowledged European Orientalists whom he studied, such as Von Kremer,

Goldziher, Noldeke, and Wellhausen, (1907, p.x). At the same time, there is no doubt that he benefited from Massignon's efforts in mystical studies. Arguably he was trying to establish a particular approach that could benefit from the approaches in other institutions in order to build own vision. Nicholson's efforts have delineated the features of the British Orientalists' School in dealing with Arabic literature. This school began to compete with the other European schools, or at least could be considered to be one of them.

Nicholson represented the head of the British school that was able to compete with European counterparts. It is not an exaggeration to argue that Nicholson's unique opinions allowed him to a high degree of reliability and credibility which enabled him to succeed in his mission. The status accredited to Nicholson was not only due to the great number and variety of his works, but also because of the quality of his analysis and criticism which were objective and impartial. For example, there are two critical judgments which clearly show the depth of Nicholson's knowledge. First, Nicholson gives a critical judgment when he made a precise comparison between Abu 'l-'Ala al-Ma'arri, who was an old friend of Nicholson (1921, p.v) and western poets. He demonstrates that al-Ma'arri "sits below Dante and Milton, but he belongs to their school; and if he contemplates life with the profound feeling of Lucretius, he handles his subject with a literary skill as fine as that of Horace" (1921, p. 44). Second, Nicholson believed that Abu Nuwas was "a great poet who, in the opinion of the most competent to judge, takes rank above all his contemporaries and successors, including even Mutanabbi, and is not surpassed in poetical genius by any ancient bard" (1907, p.292).

These examples clearly demonstrate that Nicholson was able to make bold critical judgments about some crucial issues related to Arabic literature. One of the most notable points raised by Nicholson is his view about the Umayyad poetry. He believes that this poetry was a restoration of pre-Islamic poetry or, at least, it continued in the same cultural context. Therefore, Nicholson

(1907) did not pay adequate attention to Umayyad poetry compared with the Abbasid. This point deserved further investigation, according to Safa Khulusi (1969, p.7). According to Arberry (1960, p.199), the sharpened critical sense comes from Robertson Smith, who was the most influential master of Nicholson's studies at the University of Cambridge. Another significant and scientific point demonstrated by Nicholson, which had not been raised previously, is "the relationship between Neoplatonism and Islamic mysticism, thus opening up a new and fruitful field of investigation which is not yet fully worked out" (Arberry, 1960, p.199).

Most of Nicholson's views were expounded throughout his considerable volume of publications about Arabic literature. Generally, Nicholson's efforts in the studying of Arabic literature can be divided into two kinds; literary history and the poetry of mysticism. For example, Nicholson published many important books, including '*A Historical Enquiry concerning the Origin and Development of Sufism*' (1906), '*A Literary History of the Arabs*' (1907), '*Tarjuman Al-Ashwaq, A collection of Mystical Odes*' (1911), '*Studies in Islamic Poetry and Studies in Islamic Mysticism*' (1921), '*Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose*' (1922) and '*The Mathnawi of Jalaluddin Rumi*' (1925).

The books share the same basis which takes the field of literature as the first target. According to Nicholson's belief, literature is the main area and it may include different subjects. The term literature gained a wide range of variety and context in Nicholson's publications, and virtually equivalent to the term of culture in the present time. Nicholson began to formulate his concept of literature when he published his first book about Arabic literature entitled '*A Literary History of the Arabs*' (1907). From the first line of his preface, Nicholson points out that "the term 'Literary History' may be interpreted in such different ways that an author who uses it is bound to explain at the outset what particular sense he has attached to it" (1907, p.ix). Thus from the outset, Nicholson adopted his own definition of literary history which is directly related

to general literature. It is true that he discussed history and literature, but he concentrated more on literature than on history. This may demonstrate the reason why he criticised Brockelmann's approach. According to Nicholson, Brockelmann's approach "is confined to biography and bibliography, and does not deal with the historical development of ideas" (1907, p.ix). Hence, Nicholson repeated his belief that *A Literary History of the Arabs* "is a sketch of ideas in their historical environment rather than a record of authors, books, and dates" (1907, p.xi).

According to Nicholson, history is just a chronological frame of ideas. Ideas and thoughts are the most characteristic themes that shaped the Nicholson's concept of literature. Thus, he believed that literature could not be seen as a mere field of studying poetry and prose. This matter can be clearly seen in his saying: "it has been my chief aim to sketch in broad outlines what the Arabs thought, and to indicate as far as possible the influences which moulded their thought" (1907, p.xi).

However, Nicholson was aware that this broad and loose concept of literature cannot be contained in one publication (1907). Therefore, he attempted to cover the whole range of Arabic literature in later publications. In addition, he never forgot that there are huge areas in Islamic and Arab culture that still require further research. Nicholson attempts to expand the meaning of literature in other publications. Nicholson's concept of literature has been adopted by other Arab and British scholars such as Jurji Zaidan's '*History of Arabic Literature*', Mustafa Sadeq Al-Rafe'ie's '*History of Arabs Literature*', which were published in 1911, H. A. R. Gibb's '*Arabic Literature An Introduction*' in 1926 and Shauki Dayf's '*The Literary History of Arabs*' (in four volumes) in 1964.

Nicholson's expansion of the concept of literature came as a result of two reasons. First, he was very interested in literature. Second, he thought that

the public should be able to share with the academic reader. He was the first Orientalist scholar who endeavoured to bridge the gap between specialists and the ordinary reader by conveying the knowledge from the monopoly of the institution to a broad range of the public in a clear act of enlightenment. This was because he believed that extending the field of literature would serve a wide range of audiences. This idea begins with the first Nicholson publication '*A literary History of the Arabs*' and continued through the rest of his publications. According to Arberry although this book does not fully cover most areas of Arabic literature "it is still invaluable to students and enjoyable to the ordinary reader" (1960, p.205). In subsequent publications, Nicholson explicitly expressed the two reasons of his expansion:

these Studies grew out of the wish to impart some things *I have enjoyed* in Arabic and Persian not only to fellow-students, who can correct me if I misinterpret, but also to *others who without being specialists are interested in the literature, philosophy and religion of the East* (1921, p.iv, emphasis added).

There are three factors which Nicholson maintained and gradually developed in most of his publications. First, he had a personal enjoyment of literature. Second, he dealt with a wide range of the ordinary readers. Third, he used the term of literature in an expanded concept. This fact can be clearly seen in some following statements. In the '*Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose*', he stated that:

Theology, law, philosophy, science and medicine are scarcely touched, but the reader will learn something of Islamic history and religion, morals and manners, culture and character; something, too, of the heathen Arabs to whom Mohammed was sent. I have not, however, selected with a view to instruction. *All the poetry, and the chief part of the prose, has been chosen for its merit as literature; and my choice was guided by the belief that translators do best in translating what they have enjoyed* (1922, p.vii, emphasis added).

At the same time, in *'Mathnawai'* he addresses his readers who were interested in "the history of religion, morals, and culture, in fables and folklore, in divinity, philosophy, medicine, astrology and other branches of mediaeval learning, in Eastern poetry and life and manners and human nature" (1925, p.1). Here, it can be concluded that Nicholson's concept of literature covers many different areas, ideas and thoughts. The most important works by Nicholson are presented below.

4.7.1. Nicholson's A Literary History of the Arabs

A Literary History of the Arabs possesses a unique historical importance as the oldest compilation in this field. In its preface, Nicholson (1907) demonstrates that his publication came in answer to demands from a newer generation of British student who were not familiar with the Arab culture. The book is regarded as a first attempt to classify the main areas of the literary history of Arabs. Although the French scholar Clement Huart published a book entitled *'A History of Arabic Literature'* in 1903, this publication is just a long survey about the lives and names of poets and writers, which begins from the early pre-Islamic period to the time of the author. It can be described as an encyclopaedic work or at least a chronological history of authors.

Although, Nicholson's publication represents an uncompleted textbook on the subject, as Arberry (1960, p.205) remarked, his approach was adopted by the pioneering Arab scholars who attempted to write a publication in the literary history of the Arabs to serve as a textbook for students at the University of Cairo which was established in 1907. Nicholson's publication provided an opportunity for those interested in writing about the history of Arabic literature, such as Jurji Zaidan's *'History of Arabic Literature'* and Mustafa Sadeq Al-Rafe'ie's *'History of Arabs Literature'*, which were both published in 1911. However, Nicholson confessed that he owed a debt to al-Nadim, who died in 385 A.H. "At any rate we owe to his industry a unique conspectus of

the literary history of the Arabs to the end of the fourth century after the Flight" (1907, p.362).

In this book, Nicholson focuses on some areas in order to achieve his goal in expanding the meaning of literature. This can be represented in three points. The first point is to provide the "Western reader some general knowledge of Arabian history in the widest meaning of the word". Second, "the literary side of subject appeals more than historical". Third, "to interest others, a writer must first be interested himself" (1907, p.x).

The constant focus on those three points in the book and subsequent publications was because Nicholson was establishing his own discipline away from the pressure of political and ideological purposes that dominated some other Western Orientalist works. Arberry implicitly points out this distinctive feature in the unique characters of Nicholson "compared with the romantic and at times tumultuous adventures that have enlivened the sober activities of some of our erudites, nothing spectacular or untoward ever happened to him. He lived obscurely, like the true dervish that he was" (1960, p.197). He did not resemble the adventurer Palmer or the politician Margoliouth. It was purely aesthetic motivation that provoked Nicholson to choose the literary areas that could attract the attention of his reader. He, also, was not like Sir William Jones who had been urged by the political partisanship, as much as aesthetic appreciation, when he brought the '*Golden Poems*' to the notice of the British public (Arberry, 1957, p.8). Thus, Nicholson clearly demonstrated that a Western audience living in a modern culture could appreciate the poetry of "Firdawsi, Umar Khayyam, Sadi, and Hafiz: their large humanity touches us at many points; but the old Arabian poetry moves in a world apart, and therefore, notwithstanding all its splendid qualities, will never become popular in ours" (1907, p.xi).

Nicholson's independence gave him the opportunity to be an objective critic, who could take decisive views in evaluating artistic and thematic literary issues such as al Mutanabi's poetic style and the linguistic ornament of the *Maqamat*. In addition, he built on his own remarkable and genuine critical literary judgments in relation to real and political events that occurred in the Islamic world. In other words, he establishes a strong relationship between the ideological purpose of politics and literary transformation, especially in poetry. One of his most stunning critical judgments is that Umayyad poetry is just an imitation of pre-Islamic poetry (1907, p.285). This judgment was built upon research into the nature of the reign of Umayyad dynasty, which revived the values and habits of the ignorant epoch aljāhlyā (الجاهلية). Thus, the Umayyad poets:

follow slavishly in the footsteps of the ancients, as though Islam had never been. Instead of celebrating the splendid victories and heroic deeds of Moslem warriors, the bard living in a great city still weeps over the relics of his beloved's encampment in the wilderness, still rides away through the sandy waste on the peerless camel (1907, pp.235-236).

This bold evaluation came as a result of extensive political and religious investigation of the Islamic state in various stages. According to Arberry, Nicholson "never allowed personal feelings to cloud his judgment or affect his verdict" (1960, p.232).

In addition, Nicholson traced a linear system of thought, ideas and historical events in order to attract the reader's attention in each era, attempting to recall the origin of the previous thoughts and connect them to the present ones. For instance, he made an amusing argument about the Shuubites's (ašša'ūbyā, الشعوبية) phenomenon in the Abbasid period, especially in relation to non-Arab poets such as Bashshar b. Burd and Abu Nuwas. At the same time, he always referred to the root of the problem of the Shuubites, which was known in the beginning of the Abbasid. He attributed the main reason to ideas of discrimination that had started in the reign of Caliph Umar.

The empire founded by the Caliph 'Umar and administered by the Umayyads was essentially, *as reader will have gathered*, a military organisation for the benefit of the paramount race. In theory, no doubt, all Muslims were equal, but in fact the Arabs alone ruled a privilege which national pride conspired with personal interest to maintain (Nicholson, 1907, p.255, emphasis added).

In the same context, Nicholson used another technique to satisfy the English reader. He constantly compared between events or themes or artistic technique that existed in Arabic literature with examples from English literature. For example, he pointed out that Abu Nuwas's attack upon the atlatl (deserted encampment) nearly resembled "Dr. Johnson's sallies at the expense of Scotland and Scotsmen" (1907, p.286). Sometimes, however, the comparison was extended more widely than a simple comparison between poets or two features of poetry to draw a common border between two different literatures. The following statement clearly shows the wide range of comparison between some Arabs and European poets:

Although, for the Moslems generally, Imruu l-Quays and his fellows came to more or less what Chaucer is to the average Englishman, the views first enunciated by Ibn Qutayba met with bitter opposition from the learned class, many of whom clung obstinately to the old philological principles of criticism, and even declined to recognise the writing of Mutanabi and Abu al-Ala al-Maarri as poetry, on the ground that those authors did not observe the classical 'types' (*asalib*). The result of such pedantry may be seen at the present day in thousands of *qasidas*, abounding in archaisms and allusions to forgotten far-off things of merely antiquarian interest, but possessing no more claim to consideration here than the Greek and Latin verses of British scholars in a literary history of Victorian Age (1907, p.89).

In this case, Nicholson made various remarkable judgments about the two literary statements. Obviously, he was able to stop falling into the circle of generalization which was seen in the works of some Orientalists. Another important example of Nicholson's critical judgment can be seen in his comparison between Ibn Qutaiba and some Arab critics such as Thaalibi, Ibn

Rashiq and Ibn Khaldun. He considered that "Ibn Qutayba was content to urge that the modern poets should get a fair hearing, and should be judged not chronologically or philologically, but aesthetically" (1907, p.288).

Consequently, it can be concluded that an extensive knowledge of history, literature, culture and religion helped Nicholson to be an authentic literary historian and objective critic who wrote one of the most notable books in the literary history of Arabs. As mentioned earlier, this book does not contain everything about the literary history of the Arabs, but is considered the first publication to pave the way towards a new field of literary study in the Arab world. Nicholson concludes his book with an honourable statement which reveals what a reliable scholar he was:

Hitherto modern culture has only touched the surface of Islam. Whether it will eventually strike deeper and penetrate the inmost barriers of that scholastic discipline and literary tradition which are so firmly rooted in the affections of the Arab people, or whether it will always continue to be an exotic and highly -prized accomplishment of the enlightened and emancipated few, but an object of scorn and detestation to Moslems in general- these are questions that may not be solved for centuries to come (1907, p.469).

From this standpoint, Nicholson believed there were huge areas of Islamic and Arabic literature, heritage and culture that required further research. He, therefore, published further important publications in prose, poetry and culture, which were not covered by his seminal book. One of the most remarkable Nicholson's works was about the mysticism and its related poetry. Here, it should be taken into account that he believes that mysticism is one of the most effective elements, which directly contribute to develop and constitute some religious ideas, thought, and practices. He insisted that without some real understanding of mysticism, scholars will never reach to the essence of religious life of Islam (1921, p.VI). Two of the more significant

publications, which had been published in 1921, were the mystical and al Abu 'I-'Ala al-Ma'arri's poetry.

4.7.2. Mystical Poetry: The case of Abu 'I-'Ala al-Ma'arri's Poetry in Nicholson's Philosophical Reading

There is no doubt that Nicholson devoted his academic life to studying and teaching Arabic literature in general and mystical poetry in particular. One of Nicholson's early lectures at the University of Cambridge was about Jalal al-Din Rumi's poetry. Thereafter, he published his first book in 1898, '*Selected Poems from the Diwani Shamis Tabriz*', which belongs to Hafiz (Arberry, 1960, p.199). This early interest in mystical poetry stimulated him to undertake research about the origins of mysticism in order to improve his understanding of the subject. As was his habit, he established a comprehensive cognitive background about the subject. Thus, he published an extraordinary article entitled '*A Historical Enquiry concerning the Origin and Development of Sufism*' in 1906. In this paper, Nicholson patiently followed the root of mystical term 'Sufism' in different cultures in order to create his own vision. As he mentioned, he was not interested in the principles of Sufism which were discussed by other scholars such as Massignon, but he wanted to highlight from where these principles "were derived and how they grew into a system" (1906, p.304). According to Arberry, "this paper marked him out as the scholar who was to advance research on this vital and profound subject far more than any who had preceded him; its influence on the scholars, of both West and East" (1960, p.203). In order to help complete the picture of mysticism, Nicholson published another significant book entitled '*The Mystics of Islam*' in 1914. This book dealt with "certain principles, methods, and characteristic features of the inner life as it has been lived by Moslems of every class and condition from the eight century of our era to the present day"

(1914, p.2). Thus, Nicholson reminds the reader that he was still fully getting involved to complete his project, which came to be a substitute of the selective and fragmented studies, which were involved in previous publication.

Nicholson's mystical project was divided into the theoretical and practical approaches. The first was represented in the early two publications '*A Historical Enquiry concerning the Origin and Development of Sufism*' in 1906 and *The Mystics of Islam* in 1914, while the second was applied in subsequent books, '*Studies in Islamic Poetry*' and '*Studies in Islamic Mysticism*' both published in 1921. He believed that understanding mysticism could lead scholars to obtain the best understanding of Islam because "the Mohammedan type must be viewed in connexion with the outward and inward development of Islam" (1914, p.3). One of most influential direction which can lead him to achieve his aim is poetry. Thus, in '*The Mystics of Islam*', he is dependent on poetry to analyse, and discuss characteristic features of mysticism.

According to Nicholson's perspective, mysticism and poetry have a strong correlation. Therefore, he sought the spirituality in poetry and poetry in mysticism. For instance, in his analysis of poetical samples in '*Studies in Islamic Poetry*' (1921), Nicholson sharply criticises Awfi, the author of '*Lubab al Albab*', for not providing sufficient examples of mystical poetry as follows:

Noteworthy, as revealing the limitations of the *Lubab* and its author, is the fact that the mystical ruba'it and, I may add, mystical poetry of any kind is scarcely represented at all. One must go elsewhere to learn how beautiful the literature is (1921, p.6).

Furthermore, his passion for mystical poetry enabled him to provide confident critical judgments. For example, he believed that mystical poetry is an important factor which can thematically and artistically reveal the differences between Arabs and Persians (1921, p.162). Thus, he made a comparative study between selected odes of Ibn u'l-Farid as a sample of Arabic mystical poetry and Persian poets, such as Jalalu'ddin Rumi, Sa'di, and Hafiz.

The following passage is quoted in full, inasmuch as it is an analytical statement which clearly shows Nicholson's deep knowledge of mystical poetry:

The hyperfantastic strain in Ibn u'l-Farid's poetry is surprisingly relieved by a poignant realism, of which there is no trace in the work of his Persian rivals. They have, what he reserves for his great *Taqiyya*, the power of lifting themselves and their readers with them into the sphere of the infinite and eternal. The Arabic odes, on the contrary, are full of local colour and redolent of the desert; and the whole treatment of the subject is intimately personal. Jalalu'ddin Rumi writes as God-intoxicated soul, Ibn u'l-Farid as a lover absorbed in his own feelings. While the Persian sees a pantheistic vision of one reality in which the individual disappears, the Arab dwells on particular aspects of the relation of that reality to himself (1921, pp.180-181).

Here, Nicholson returned to the philological approach which helped him to identify cultural issues that are related to the origin of people. Nicholson was not the only scholar who connected the origin of authors with certain cultural phenomenon, and thus shared a view with other scholars who studied oriental mystical poetry. Nicholson begins his article with a citation from Newman who argued that "the Arab has no such passion for an ultimate principle of unity as has always distinguished the Persians and Indians. He shares with other Semitic peoples an incapacity for harmonising and unifying the particular facts of experience" (1921, p.163). Massignon, also, points out that "an Iranian mystic was more intrepid than an Arab one, partly because he was Aryan" (cited in Said, 2003, p.268).

Unquestionably, Nicholson submitted all Ibn u'l-Farid's mystical poetry to the philological approach in order to demonstrate the main characteristic features of Arab mystical poetry. Arguably, Nicholson could be accused of generalization by considering that Ibn u'l-Farid's mystical poetry represents all Arab poetry. However, Nicholson was fully aware of this point choosing Ibn u'l-Farid's poetry because of its superiority and ignoring Ibn u'l-'Arabi, who was "a great theosophist rather than a great poet" (1921, p.164). Importantly,

he used Ibn u'l-Farid as a model rather than with "the old nineteenth century labels" (Said, 2003, p.268). This approach resulted in him giving a precise critical judgment, such as:

The models of Arabic mystical poetry are the secular odes and songs of which this passion is the theme; and the imitation is often so close that unless we have some clue to the writer's intention, it may not be possible to know whether his beloved is human or divine indeed (1921, p.163).

In Nicholson's hands, literary study was changed from the traditional method of explanation, commentary and interpretation to the methodological approach which has eliminated judgments relying on intuition, conjecture, generalization and prejudices. One of the most prominent examples of this change is his study of Abu 'l-'Ala al-Ma'arri's poetry. In this work, Nicholson (1921) depends on a methodical approach to pursue certain thematic and artistic features of al Ma'arri's poetry.

The first significant step of Nicholson's methodological approach is his criticism of Kremer's study of al Ma'arri's poetry. Nicholson argues that Kremer "has put the cart before the horse" (1921, p.43) because he characterized al Ma'arri's poetry through unsystematic partial measures over time in order to conclude that al Ma'arri was an original thinker who presented philosophy through verse. Nicholson did not deny that al Ma'arri was one of the most important pioneering Arabic thinkers, but considered him to be a poet and that the philosophical thought and moral principles were just a background for his poetry (1921, p.44).

The second step is his classification of al Ma'arri's poems according to their themes. But since a single poem may have many themes, Nicholson tried to thematically reorder the structure of all al Ma'arri's poetry in order to give an overview of the main areas in his poetry. After comprehensive research, Nicholson established that the four issues were the most significant themes of

al Ma'arri's poetry (1921, p.58): Life and death, human society, asceticism and philosophy, and religion.

Nicholson put each line, piece, and poem of Ma'arri's poetry into the four themes. For example, under the theme of 'Philosophy and Religion' one can find al Ma'arri's view about the education of women. There are three passages of poetry which can clearly show that al Ma'arri believes that women should be prepared only for working as a housemaid. The following lines reveal that al Ma'arri was not a tolerant thinker, but whose vision that may deal with all was influenced by the prevailing traditions and social norms (1921, p.204):

“Teach your girls to ply the loom and spindle,
Reading and writing leave it to their brothers!
A maid's prayer giving unto God the glory
Will serve instead of Yunus and Bara'a.
Well may she blush to sit before the curtain,
Whene'er the singing-women sing behind it”

Nicholson's method of arrangement gives the reader the opportunity to evaluate al Ma'arri's thoughts and ideas "as a whole more fairly than from the extracts published by Von Kremer, which are not so numerous or representative" (1921, p.58).

Furthermore, this method enabled him to pronounce critical judgments on the philosophical ideas underpinning al Ma'arri's poetry. He believed that al Ma'arri "was only an amateur of scientific philosophy. He reflects on its problems, takes up this or that theory in turns, and concludes that nothing is certain except death" (1921, p.141). At the same time, it encouraged him to determine precisely and concisely certain specific features of al Ma'arri's philosophical poetry which can be characterised as follows (1921, p.142-143):

- 1 His speculations are capricious and incoherent.

- 2 He is almost entirely wanting in the gift of combination.
- 3 He can analyse, but he does not hit upon any synthesis, and his learning bears no fruit.
- 4 He is not primarily concerned with abstract truth.
- 5 He seeks the True for the sake of the Good, and seldom loses sight of the practical end.
- 6 His philosophical and theological ideas in orderly relation to each other.
- 7 He presents these ideas as jumbled fragments of truth.
- 8 He is a free-thinker at heart.
- 9 He uses his own judgment in matters which Mohammedan Orthodoxy regards as indisputable.
- 10 For him, reason is "the most precious of gifts"; it is the source of right knowledge and right action.

From this analysis it is apparent that Nicholson never left any feature of philosophical poetry without an extensive observation and further examination.

The third methodical point is the in-depth comparison between al Ma'arri and other poets, thinkers, and philosophers. This comparison reflects the extensive knowledge of Nicholson (1906, 1914 and 1921) in relation to poetry and philosophy. He made strenuous efforts to allot the principles and aspects of philosophy in al Ma'arri's poetry to their origins. Thus, the research is not comparing in terms of the similarities and differences between them, but is developing a philological understanding of the origins of al Ma'arri's ideas. The survey includes philosophers and poets, such as Ibn Abi Imran, Herodotus, Lycians, Euripides, Aristotle, Kant, Milton, Abu Bakr al-Razi, Pythagoras, and Socrates.

It is important to note that Nicholson's study of al Ma'arri's philosophical poetry is considered to be a seminal scientific investigation, including Taha Husain who published his book '*Dhikra Abi 'I-Ala'*' in 1915. One of the most extraordinary examples is Nicholson's comparison between the ancient Greek poet Euripides and al Ma'arri. After a long investigation, he finds three similar elements between their poetry (1921, p.147): Orthodox religious beliefs, rational doubts as to the truth of these beliefs, and philosophical views inconsistent with these beliefs.

In addition, he was fully aware that al Ma'arri was a lyric poet, who "does not write as a dramatist but as a moralist directly exhibiting or disguising his own character throughout" (1921, p.147). Once again, Nicholson gives striking proof that certain Orientalists digging beneath the surface of Eastern culture in order to reach an understanding of the Orient. Therefore, it is difficult to agree with Said's assessment that "the relation between Orientalist and Orient was essentially hermeneutical: standing before a distant, barely intelligible civilization or cultural monument, the Orientalist scholar reduced the obscurity by translating, sympathetically portraying, inwardly grasping the hard to reach object" (2003, p.222).

However, Said's point does not contradict Nicholson's view that "hitherto modern culture has only touched the surface of Islam" (1907, p.469). This statement was made in the last page of a '*Literary History of the Arabs'*, because Nicholson was still unveiling areas of Arabic literature and culture. He was not looking at one component or a partial aspect of literature but sought to adopt a comprehensive view of all Arab religious, literary, political and social components. In addition, he always depended on authentic historical, geographical, social, and religious factors to underpin his views and criticisms. The following statement highlights Nicholson's method of argument:

We must see in the first instance what sort of influence was exerted in Western Asia during this period by Greek thought in general and. By Neo-Platonism in particular. Little need be said regarding the diffusion of Hellenic culture among the Moslems at this time. Every student of their literary history knows how the tide of Greek learning, then at its height, streamed into 'Iraq from three quarters: from the Christian monasteries of Syria, from the Persian Academy of Jundeshapur in Khuzistan, and from the Syrian heathens, or Sabians, of Harran in Mesopotamia. Innumerable works of Greek philosophers, physicians, and scientists were translated into Arabic, were eagerly studied, and formed a basis for new researches. In short, Muhammadan science and philosophy are founded, almost exclusively, on the wisdom of the Greeks (1906, p.316).

4.8. Conclusion

This chapter covers chronologically a significant period of British Orientalism, from the late eighteenth century to the end of the Second War World. Thematically the chapter shows that Orientalists' responses to Arabic literature lack a unified approach. Although the Orientalists were from the era of philology, each approached Arabic language and its literature in different ways. For example, three Orientalists who were interested in pre-Islamic poetry, but each dealt with it in a different way. Sir William Jones, who is considered the founder of the British Orientalism, as Arberry remarked (1960, p.48), was interested in rendering the Arabic poetry into English but without giving sufficient attention to the explanation and annotation. In contrast, Sir Charles Lyall was involved in editing the Arabic texts themselves, while D. S. Margoliouth adopted the critical approach. Although they appear to belong to the same Orientalist School, each worked as an independent scholar for their own reasons. Thus, scholars, such as Palmer and Margoliouth, were looking for political roles, whereas Lyall and Preston were not involved in political activities.

Most importantly, this chapter reveals a turning point in British Orientalism represented by Nicholson's efforts. He was different from other scholars in that he was the founder of the pure academic knowledge approach in dealing with the Orient. Nicholson is the first Orientalist to establish a scholastic discipline to study Eastern literature in general and classical Arabic literature in particular. This school later witnessed the emergence of remarkable scholars, such as Arthur John Arberry, Alan Jones, A.F.L. Beeston, and Stefan Sperl. These scholars were specialists and professional in studying classical Arabic literature. The next chapter focuses on this school and its efforts from the Second World War to the present day.

Chapter Five

Classical Arabic Literature in the Era of British Post colonialism

5.1 Introduction

This chapter, first provides a specific meaning and function of the term 'post-colonialism' in order to determine its usage in the field of Orientalism. Then, it introduces a historical and theoretical evaluation of how British scholars have dealt with classical Arabic literature in Post colonialism in general. It focuses in particular on Arberry's Orientalist project in order to analyse the main outlines of his scholastic discipline, which is known as 'The Charter of Modern Orientalism'. This chapter, also, explores some contemporary British Orientalists, such as Beeston, Serjeant, Lyons, Jones, Sperl, Latham, and Montgomery.

5.2. Understanding Post colonialism and Orientalism

As can be found in the fields of the humanities in general and in literature and criticism in particular, there are numerous terms which invoke misunderstandings around their meaning, origin and usage. One of the most controversial terms is post-colonialism. Over the past three decades, post-colonialism has been the subject of discussion among scholars in order to determine its specific meaning and the limits of its usage. According to Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin "the diffusion of the term is now so extreme that it is used to refer to not only vastly different but even opposed activities" (2003, p.2).

There are three major reasons behind these differences. First, the term 'post-colonialism' has been applied to a set of disciplinary fields in which terminology such as theory, literature, and criticism (postcolonial theory, postcolonial literatures, and postcolonial criticism) was already contested. Second, there are other terms with the prefix 'post' such as post-modernism and post-structuralism which appeared concurrently with post-colonial studies. Third, the term 'Post colonialism' is applied in many different fields, such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, economy, political science, culture, philosophy, literature, arts, religion, history, human geography, cinema, religion, theology, feminism and languages. Thus, researchers tend to define and use the term according to their individual field of knowledge. For example, feminism has employed essential ideas such as the association of knowledge with power, marginalization, and domination, which are also used in post-colonial criticism²².

In order to examine the difficulties with such a vague term, it is useful to trace its usage chronologically as post-colonial "was a periodising term, an historical and not an ideological concept. To describe a literary work or a writer as 'postcolonial' was to name a period, a discrete historical moment, not a project or a politics" (Lazarus, 2010, p.6). In this perspective, the term 'post-colonial' refers to a specific phase which directly followed the end of the Second World War in 1945, or at least to denote the immediate time after the project of colonialism faded. Here, it should be differentiated between the historical use of the term and the theory of post-colonialism which was established in the early 1970s by Foucault and was employed by Said (1978, 1983, 2004) at the end of 1970s. Both writers contributed to develop a new "methodological revisionism which enables a wholesale critique of Western structures of knowledge and power, particularly those of the post-Enlightenment period" (Mongia, 2003, p.2). In other words, the term post-colonialism indicates the theoretical and methodological approach used in the analysis and critique

about knowledge that was produced throughout the colonial era. As a result, "the terms 'postcolonial' and 'Enlightenment' share a kinship to the extent that both simultaneously describe a period, a kind of political order, a cluster of ideas, a theoretical purchase point, and a mode of thinking" (Carey and Lynn, 2009, p.7).

One of the most important branches is Orientalism, a term that was coined by European scholars in the post-Enlightenment period. Orientalism, as a field of colonial study, is subject to a number of contested issues in areas related to post-colonial theory. For example, Said believes that "Orientalism is more particularly valuable as a sign of European–Atlantic power over the Orient than it is as a veridic discourse about the Orient (which is what, in its academic or scholarly form, it claims to be)" (1978, p.6). However, Arberry, who is one of the most prominent academic Orientalists in the period after the Second World War, believes that "Orientalism, if adequately endowed and understandingly encouraged, will provide a sound diagnosis of the disorder, and can suggest hopeful methods of therapy" (1960, p.256).

The contrast between the two authors occurs for a number of reasons. First, each came from a different ideological and geographical background. Said was born in a colonized country, whereas Arberry is a representative of a colonizing power²³. Second, they belong to different disciplinary fields; Said is a specialist in literary criticism, whilst Arberry is a specialist in classical Oriental literature. Third, Arberry has an extensive practical knowledge within the field of Orientalism itself which comes from his own experience working as an Orientalist for a long time in Britain and Egypt²⁴, whereas Said has a theoretical knowledge obtained from extensive reading. Although, Arberry and Said share one feature, which is their efforts to publish about Orientalism, each has dealt with the subject matter from his own perspective. For example, in *Oriental Essays* (1960), Arberry discusses British academic scholarly efforts without paying attention to those involved in politics. However, Said selects

Orientalists who were known as politicians such as Arthur James Balfour, Lord Cromer, and Sir Hamilton Gibb. In contrast, Edward William Lane, who is widely cited in Said's *Orientalism* (1978) as a model of a politician who is an Orientalist, is an academic scholar not a politician according to Arberry, who describes him as "the most erudite Arabic lexicographer in the history of Oriental scholarship" (1960, p.85). Furthermore, Arberry did not pay much attention to Lane's publication, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, which he merely described as "useful knowledge" for "the public" (1960, p.85).

Another significant difference between Arberry (1948, 1960) and Said (2003) is that Arberry differentiated between two kinds of Orientalist knowledge (political and academic), in his two important publications about British Orientalist efforts. In his first book in 1948, *The Cambridge School of Arabic*, Arberry criticizes Orientalists because of their political attitude, especially those who emphasize the material benefit gained from Orientalism, as a field of knowledge, rather than the spirituality of morality and culture. The following statement shows the anti-political nature of Arberry:

It may be deplored that it should be necessary for Whitehall to promote political advantage above cultural value, that it should indeed be dangerous heresy, too prevalent in this materialist age, with which scholarship will flirt at its peril; but at least one can be interested, if thankful, to note that our studies are so highly estimated by those who are required to measure things by so utilitarian a standard (1948, p.9).

Arberry's spiritual and humanistic interests are extended in his another book, which is published in 1960. The next section explores more details about Arberry's project.

5.3. Arberry and the Charter of Modern Orientalism: Orientalism as Pure Knowledge

In 1960, Arberry published another important book about British Orientalists entitled *Oriental Essay: Portraits of Seven Scholars*. This book includes a note of the main skills and experience gained practically and theoretically by him in the field of Oriental studies over the three decades. It appears that Arberry designed his book to serve his academic aims. The book, which is considered as a quintessence of Orientalist professionalism, is divided into two parts. The first is allocated to six professional Orientalists, each one of which is allocated a specific title (The Pioneer, The Founder, The Lexicographer, The Persian, and The Dervish). The second part is autobiographical about The Disciple 'Arberry himself'. This part concentrates on Arberry's theory and vision to establish a new era of Orientalism or at least to revive the heritage of those who had devoted their lives and energy to serve Oriental academic knowledge. In other words, he aspires to achieve his own project, after he had spent more than three decades away from Cambridge. The following quotation clearly shows Arberry's thoughts:

when I accepted the invitation to return to Cambridge, in the year in which the Scarbrough Report [²⁵] was published, I hoped to be able to work towards the establishment of such an Institution there.... My first care was therefore to see established at any rate one further post in Arabic and Persian (1960, p.247).

Arberry struggled to achieve two important targets. The first was to reform the traditional institution of Orientalism, while the second was to establish a pure academic knowledge. Thus, he begins to repeat loudly "Knowledge, knowledge, and more knowledge -such was Jone's unceasing quest" (1960, p.66). Here, it is relevant to ask: What kind of knowledge did Arberry mean? Is it the knowledge for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over

the others, as Gramsci, Foucault, and Said believed? Or has it another meaning? Arberry provides the answer more than once in his book. In his final comment on Simon Ockley's efforts, Arberry noted that Ockley's extensive knowledge had "built a bridge between East and West, a bridge of greater sympathy based upon better informed understanding" (1960, p.47). This point represents an essential idea that Arberry wanted to achieve, especially post Second World War. According to Arberry, Orientalist knowledge can play an important role in bringing peace to the world by encouraging the understanding of different peoples and their civilizations. He argues that a revolution in communications should bring Western and Eastern civilizations together; they "must not remain separated by superstition and ignorance" (1960, p.242). In this context, Arberry builds upon the ideas developed by Ockley, Jones and Nicholson²⁶. His vision was not based on a personal romantic enthusiasm derived from Arabic poetry, but from academic experience, scientific research and discursive practices accumulated over more than three centuries. Thus, Arberry implicitly blames politicians who did not respond to the appeals of earlier British Oriental scholars by quoting the following paragraph from a pamphlet published by UNESCO in 1959:

Our ignorance can often be explained or excused. But it can no longer be tolerated. It appears dangerous at a time when real politics are planetary, when the words "fate of humanity" are no longer used exclusively by moralists but are common in the newspapers in which the conscience and the anxiety of our time are more or less aptly expressed (1960, p.250).

Arberry focused on the fact that the policy-makers were responsible for taking urgent decisions to save the world from a return to the dark ages and to avoid the danger of falling in another disaster. After a long struggle of negotiation, this demand has founded its way to see the light, as Arberry stated, when "attention was finally paid to the claimant voices of reproach, which had long been deploring official neglect of the prosecution of those purposes to which

Ockley and Jones and their successors had devoted their lives and energies (1960, p.240).

Consequently, Arberry attempted to invoke a new era of Orientalism in order to achieve his own project which he believed was unrelated to politics; as he argued "politics was never my business" (1960, p. 237)²⁷. This era became known as 'The Charter of Modern Orientalism'. In order to understand the picture of Arberry's over three-decades project, it is important to read the following passage:

The most abiding lesson taught me by four years under Brendan Bracken was the relevance of publicity, in the broadest sense of the word, to oriental studies. Before the war I had to the best of my abilities served *pure scholarship*; now I realized how pure scholarship, even in studies so humane as those of *Orientalism*, had become progressively more remote and specialized, out of touch almost completely with the realities of everyday life. Part of my work as a propagandist had been to demonstrate the interest taken by British scholars in the past in the great achievements of the civilizations of Asia. By studying their lives and works. *I came to understand the noble motives which had inspired their labours; I saw how the fruits of their toil had proved more effective in promoting international goodwill over huge areas of the globe than the more widely advertized endeavors of soldiers and politicians* (Arberry, 1960, p.239, emphasis added).

Within this broad context of Orientalism as a pure knowledge, Arberry proposes a specific view of the active process of academic Orientalism, in terms of the interaction of relations²⁸, which he argued could contribute to a peaceful world. Thus he proposed that Orientalism should be regarded as pure academic knowledge in order to serve the general public²⁹. Second, his work as a propagandist gives striking proof that Orientalism is not just theoretical and archaic knowledge, but is a practical knowledge³⁰. Third, he acknowledged that the knowledge of Orientalism is power, which could surpass political and military power in bringing peace to the world.

Unfortunately, Arberry's ambitious project could not be completed, because of the financial crisis in 1951. He was disappointed that his dream failed so quickly:

I hope yet to serve Cambridge for a number of years, resisting the temptation to cross the Atlantic to a land of greater academic opportunities, and it may be that shall yet see my dream of a Middle East or Islamic Institution a little nearer realization. But much experience has taught me that the omens are far from favourable, so that I am prepared for a denial of hopes that once seemed not extravagant (1960, p.249).

Arberry regarded himself as the last Orientalist academic scholar to belong to the scientific school of Orientalism. He believed that this school has a purely spiritual attraction accompanied with humanitarian sympathy for the people of the Middle East and their heritage. It originated with Ockley, Jones and Palmer, passed on to Nicholson and before arriving at Arberry. Orientalism, in this sense, is not disjointed knowledge, but it represents a continuation of the stream of sincere feelings, significant effort and ongoing scientific studies. However, those scholars and "their patient researches, while still vividly remembered and highly appreciated in the East, were largely forgotten in their own country" (1960, p.239).

Although the institutional project failed, Arberry still hoped to see another attempt to establish an institution for Oriental studies in another organisation³¹. For him, it was important to look for another institution through which to his realize his dream concerning the wider implications of Oriental studies (1960, p.249). Thus, in 1959, he went to The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

In the theoretical section, Arberry became the first Orientalist to criticize ideas derived from superstition and ignorance laying the groundwork for contemporary scholars, such as Said. According to Arberry (1960, p.253)

these false ideas are derived from imaginative anecdotes such as *Arabian Nights* and certain English novels, such as those by Robert Hitchens, the films of Rudolf Valentino and legends; all of which mix fantasy and realistic elements. He also criticizes the stereotypical picture of the Arab of the twentieth century, which is reduced to a sheikh "who rides a fierce Arab steed and carries a sharp Arab dagger and captivates to their serious undoing, inexperienced but infinitely romantic and beautiful white maidens" (1960, p.253)³².

Thus, Arberry sought to overcome the deeply embedded superstition and ignorance of Arabs in the West. His attempts at reformation are clearly expressed in a series of examples. For example, Arberry believed that "before the truth about the East and its peoples can be established in the common consciousness of the West, a vast accumulation of nonsense and misapprehension and deliberate lies will need to be cleared" (1960, p.255). He felt that, although the task was complicated, professional academic Orientalist knowledge could bridge the gap of misunderstanding between the East and West, especially if it were based on previous remarkable scholars (1960, p.255). Furthermore, Arberry considered that the universities were responsible for the emergence of many revolutionary scientific and political movements which had positively changed the prospect of nations around the world (1960, p.255). This belief can be seen in his invitation to consider the human studies equal with scientific studies:

But scientists and technologies, while they procure the physical and economic betterment of their fellow men, are powerless to cure the fundamental ills of humanity, those suspicious and jealousies and misconceptions and hatreds which have led to succession of devastating wars and imminently threaten an unimaginable catastrophe (1960, p.255).

Thus, Arberry tirelessly repeats his belief that humanistic academic knowledge could be the best spiritual solution for the disordered world which had

witnessed two destructive wars in the first half of the twentieth century. Arberry spent much of his life between these catastrophic World Wars and saw the impact of the misuse of technology with the destruction of two Japanese cities through the use of the nuclear weapon³³. Thus, it was natural that Arberry should seek a solution that stopped humanity returning to the dark ages.

In this context, Arberry bet on the principles of spirituality rather than utilitarian and materialistic principles which he believed had brought the devastation to the world. He looked forward to the time when the British undergraduate student would be interested in the history of Arabs, or Persian, or Indian, or Chinese, or Japanese civilizations to the same degree as their interests in the ancient and modern European civilizations (1960, p. 256). However, his idealistic position was undermined by opponents such as bureaucratic administrators and many politicians. Thus, he confessed that "it seems quite incredible that the Orientalist eager to advocate the further development of his studies should find himself on the defensive, that he should have to contend with cheap gibes, sometimes with active opposition" (1960, pp.255-256).

Arberry's discontent derived not just from a disappointing personal situation, as Lyons (2004) argues but also from his understanding of the problems faced by other Orientalists as far back as Bedwell. Arberry witnessed how they were marginalised throughout their academic lives and thereafter. For example, he focuses on Browne's employment at the University of Cambridge, which reveals the depth of the deep-rooted problems that accompanied those Orientalists in their academic and ordinary lives. It, also, shows that although the Orientalists have undertaken the distinct, extraordinary, and considerable efforts for their country, they always lived under political persecution and the pressure of a lack of funding for their projects. Their pathetic stories were

discussed by Orientalists³⁴. For example, Arberry angrily expressed that Browne's research which was forgotten for a long time:

Strangely enough no university, whether at home or abroad, thought fit to honour this most eminent scholar with an honorary degree. That political honours should have been denied him by successive British governments was not in all the circumstances so surprising; nor would Browne have relished them, any more than Lane (1960, p.189).

Ironically, Arberry is a forgotten scholar in his country although he gained a remarkable reputation around the world. It is strange to note that there are only three short articles written about his life and works. Two of them were published in 1970 immediately following his death: '*Obituary: Arthur John Arberry*', by S. A. Skilliter in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, and '*Professor Arthur John Arberry*', by R. B. Serjeant in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The third was published in 2004 under the title '*Arberry, Arthur John (1905–1969)*' by M. C. Lyons in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Thus, Arberry, who wrote hundreds of thousands of words in the British propaganda battle and translated about ten thousand pages from the Oriental languages into English, received less than ten memorial pages by three of his colleagues. The Disciple and The Master were not just forgotten by their government, but, as academic scholars, they were marginalised by modern Arabic scholars such as Said.

Despite this unjustified marginalisation, the efforts of Arberry and Nicholson influenced academic Oriental knowledge. A new generation of Orientalists, such as Stefan Sperl, Alan Jones, and James E. Montgomery, adopted a similar academic approach in dealing with classical Arabic literature, especially at Cambridge and Oxford universities. As a result, a number of important studies have been published in the decades after Arberry's death.

Once again, in order to determine the main feature of Arberry's humanitarian perspective, it is useful to note his rejection of the western materialism:

Not a coca-cola civilization in which 'no country has a monopoly on reinforced concrete, colossal hotels, traffic jams, neon signs or industrial suburbs', but a civilization infinitely varied, drawing on water-spring of all previous civilizations, realizing itself in peaceful and neighborly exploitation of mankind's inexhaustible wealth of mind and heart and spirit (1960, p.256).

These are the final words of Arberry's *Portraits of Seven Scholars*. These emphasise Arberry's focus on the spiritual dimension which he believed could remedy the illnesses of the contemporary world. The spiritual dimension is one of the most distinctive features of British Oriental studies, before and after the Second World War³⁵. Thus, Michael Chapman's view about the lack of spirituality needs to be revisited. He argues that it is wrong that Western post-colonial studies have not been interested in the spiritual dimension, because of its methodological roots in the forms of the secular-liberal humanism and Marxism (Chapman, 2008, p.68). On one hand, the concept of spirituality should not be confined to the religious perspective. For example, Omar Khayyam, who is a symbol of spiritual mysticism in the East, "also resonated deeply with the secularists in the West. Khayyam challenged religious doctrines, alluded to the hypocrisy of the clergy, cast doubt on almost every facet of religious rituals and advocated a type of humanism" (Aminrazavi, 2007, p.2). In addition, from the late 1990s, a new age of spirituality emerged around the western world which derives from a mystical background. According to Lewis (2011, p.1) Jalal al-Din Rumi is regarded as one of the most influential world's spiritual teachers, and has gained a great reputation in American popular culture.

On the other hand, Arberry's statement refers to the factual nature of the eternal conflict between the spiritual and the materialistic values regardless of the origin of their ideology. Thus, Arberry highlighted in his autobiographical sketch that the concept of spirituality should dominate the world. This concept

derives from the mystical Sufi perspective which is interested in the pure spiritual humanistic aspect:

I know that Jew, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, Parsi—all sorts and conditions of men—have been, are and will always be irradiated by that Light “kindled by a Blessed Tree, an olive that is neither of the East nor of the West”—the universal tree of the Truth and Goodness of God. For God, being the One Universal, has an infinite solicitude and love of each particular, and suffers His Light to shine into every human heart open to receive it (Arberry, 2009, p.26).

Although these ideas represent an ideal, they have from time-to-time spread to ordinary people around the world, especially in America and Europe. For example, two of the most remarkable mystical poets, Rumi and Omar Khayyam, have gained a wide popularity in American and European popular culture. Lewis (2008), in his publication about Rumi which is one of the best-selling books since 2000 despite its large size, conducts a long survey of the works of Rumi in various cultural outlets, such as movies, art galleries, museums, clubs, and media (2008, pp.1-4). Most of these works focus on the same spiritual ideas and themes mentioned in Arberry's statement above, such as tolerance, equality, justice, freedom, respect, dignity, acceptance and religious ideals.

In the four decades since Arberry's spiritual invitation, it has found its way across the Atlantic to a land which failed to attract him when he was alive. The sincere human intention has proved its credibility, not just as an academic discipline but in popular culture as well³⁶. Eventually, the spirituality of civilizations has begun to compete with the Coca-Cola civilization in the modern western culture.

It would be no exaggeration to say that Arberry's efforts proved that pure academic knowledge can reach a wide public audience through the spiritual dimension. These efforts have been supported by technological factors, including social networking and media. For example, the Cambridge Muslim

College Lecture Programme, at Cambridge University, promoted a series of public lectures about Arabs culture and Muslims scholar from 2009, encouraging academic knowledge to reach a wider audience. In addition, Professor James E. Montgomery, who is the Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic, commenced his own project to put a series of academic lectures on YouTube about Al-Jahiz and his works. Undoubtedly, these type of efforts have contributed to the revival of Arberrry's project, through the correction of the erroneous images of Arabs and Muslims which were derived from the romance novels such as *The Sheikh*³⁷.

It can be seen that the relationship between academic Orientalists and the Orient has begun to transform from the hermeneutical aspect, which depended on reducing the obscurity through sympathetic translations, towards a new better understanding of the spiritual text. Although as Said argues (2003, p.222), there were a number of Orientalists, who have remained outside the Orient, they were not specialists in Oriental literature and culture. They were novelists, journalists, poets, historians, adventurers, artists, and politicians. Unfortunately, some deliberately evoked the anomalous side of Oriental culture. Hence, Said's view toward those Orientalists, who labelled Oriental culture through a sexual stereotye, should be acknowledged:

Yet the Orientalists remained outside the Orient, which, however much it was made to appear intelligible, remained beyond the Occident. This cultural, temporal, and geographical distance was expressed in metaphors of depth, secrecy, and sexual promise: phrases like "the veils of an Eastern bride" or "the inscrutable Orient" passed into the common language (2003, p.222).

Said's statement applies to those Orientalists who looked to the East as an exotic place of lust, because of the distorted embedded images derived from the romance novel '*The Sheikh*'. In contrast, academic Orientalists tend to look to the East as a source of spiritual and human values. Therefore, Arberrry believed

that this academic knowledge should be transformed to the ordinary reader in order to remove the fantastic and imaginative world of *Arabian Nights* from his/her memory. The average English or American reader has obtained his/her ideas about the Arab, in particular, and Muslims, in general, from the *Arabian Nights*, "which he has read carefully expurgated in childhood, pruriently, purveyed in youth, extravagantly rehashed by Hollywood for his mature amusement" (Arberry, 1960, p.252). Based on Arberry's statement, it appears that popular fantasy tales have played, and still continue to play, a significant role in shaping the cultural consciousness of British and American audience; two of the most important influences are *Arabian Nights* and *The Sheikh*.

To overturn these images, hard work is required. However, Arberry had a heightened sense of reality which meant that it was possible to begin this process as a "truer picture was available" (1960, p.253). According to Arberry's view, in order to understand the present Arab culture, scholars have to approach their efforts through real events and authentic sources rather than from the likes of *Arabian Nights*³⁸.

From this discussion, it can be concluded that the post-colonial era, which began with the end of the Second World War, witnessed the emergence of new British Orientalist scholars, who devoted themselves to introduce pure academic knowledge. This academic knowledge is known as 'The Charter of Modern Orientalism'. One of the most influential figures was Arberry, who struggled to develop this project. The project was not a romantic dream, but is, from time-to-time, effectively working through a wide range of Orientalist studies around the world.

The forthcoming sections will focus on the study of the most significant publications of British scholars in dealing with classical Arabic literature, which will enhance this project.

5.4. Arberry and Nicholson's Spiritual Literature

Nicholson was the first academic to write an extensive and systematically organized publication about Arab literary history. Both Nicholson and his publications left a profound influence on subsequent British, European and Arab scholars, of which one of the most distinguished scholars was Arberry. Nicholson's influence reflected two main trends of academic interest in classical Arabic literature. The first is represented by Arberry's works and his own spiritual and mystical approach, while the second is found in the works of other Orientalists such as Serjeant, Beeston, Sperl, Lyons, and Montgomery. This section focuses on Arberry's works.

A strong academic, social, and spiritual relationship envelopes Arberry and his Master, Nicholson. This relationship influenced Arberry's academic knowledge, personal life and his authorship. According to Arberry, meeting with Nicholson in 1927 was a turning point in his life (2009, p.23). Arberry absorbed Arabic and Persian literature under the influence of psychological need and epistemological demand. As a young man, he was looking for true belief, after he had read the publications of rationalists, agnostics, and atheists. In order to understand which theological background contributed his views towards Arabic and Persian languages, it is useful to quote Arberry's own anecdote about this issue:

I graduated in classics, and then, disappointed at the narrow field of research offered by those ancient studies, I decided in a hasty moment to become an Orientalist and chose for my particular course Arabic and Persian. I suppose it amused the unbeliever in me that I would henceforward be devoting my mind to a critical examination of Islam, no doubt as fallacious as Christianity. It certainly never occurred to me that that examination would have the effect of bringing me back to a belief in God (2009, p.22).

Apparently, Arberry followed Nicholson in facing an epistemological crisis, when he was a young man. Arberry mentioned that, after 25 years of close

friendship, "I learned little of his own spiritual formation. But the impression I gained was that he too had lost his faith as a young man, and had regained it through his intellectual communion with the mystics of Islam" (2009, p.25).

This means in the case of Arberry that the study of these languages and their literature, especially the mystical poetry, was encouraged by self-spiritual interest. It was not motivated by ideological factors, such as religion or politics, as most critics of Orientalism believe. Furthermore, this appears to be a common phenomenon among Oriental scholars. For example, in 1884 Sir William Wright advised his young student, Browne, to discount the idea that government would support his study of Eastern languages (Arberry, 1960, p.165). Ironically, Browne was disappointed when he saw that his students faced the same struggles and unfulfilled ambition (Arberry, 1960, p.165). Despite these obstacles, the great individualized motive succeeded in building Islamic studies. For example, Arberry mentioned that he followed in Nicholson's footsteps in order to study the invaluable literature of the Sufis (2009, p.23). In fact, Arberry was keen to follow the members of this spiritual school which began with Sir William Jones. According to Arberry "the mystical affinity of truth with light was evidently already apprehended by Sir William Jones, that greatest of British Orientalists who died in 1794 and whose example has always been my chief inspiration" (2009, p.25). One of the most influential mystical poem of Jones on Arberry's inspiration is the following:

Before thy mystic altar, heavenly Truth,
I kneel in manhood, as I knelt in youth.
There let me kneel, till this dull form decay,
And life's last shade be brightened by thy day;
Then shall my soul, now lost in clouds below,
Without consuming glow (2009, p.25).

This sense of spirituality reflected in lives and works of the Orientalists. For instance, Lewis argues that "Nicholson's verse translations reflect a Victorian

sensibility" (2011, p.578)³⁹, whereas Lyons argues that Arberry "should perhaps be seen not as a modern scholar, but as a Renaissance man—a lover of music, an artist" (2004, p.2). However, it is not Victorian sensibility or a Renaissance fashion, but it is a sensibility of mystical practice. In addition, Nicholson was a sensitive poet. In Arberry's words, he "was a very shy and retiring man, painfully diffident He rarely spoke of his personal beliefs" (Lyons, 2004, p.2). This sensitive dimension of his character gives him another distinguished feature. According to Lewis, Nicholson "unlike many a flamboyant British Orientalist with passions tending to politics and exploration came from a family of academics" (2011, p.531). It is obvious that academic and spiritual dimensions are important elements of his character. Thus, Nicholson and his Disciple believed that there is no conflict between spiritual formation and academic knowledge. They believed there was a slight difference between the two. Nicholson alluded to this matter in his poetry, while Arberry openly declared that "I am an academic scholar, but I have come to realize that pure reason is unqualified to penetrate the mystery of God's light, and may, indeed, if too fondly indulged, interpose an impenetrable veil between the heart and God" (2009, p.26). This compatibility between the spiritual and academic dimensions stimulated both to pay special attention to Sufism and mystical Sufi poetry.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Nicholson went to great effort to study the most distinguished publications and poets of Sufism, through editing, translating, and collecting. His successor, Arberry continued this task. However, Arberry did not produce as deep an analysis as Nicholson, because of two reasons. First, Arberry was fully aware that the individual study of two rich languages and their literature in detail is an improbable target. Second, he suffered from health problems. Instead, he focused on specific publications which represent the basic origin of their discipline. For example, in 1935, he chose the book by Abu Bakr al-Kalabadhi, *The Doctrine of the Sufis (Kitam al-*

Taarruf li-madhab ahl al-tasawwuf), which "was esteemed by the Arabs, especially the Sufis themselves, as the most valuable compendium of Sufism written" (Arberry, 1935, p.xi), to translate from Arabic because it was the most important original source of Sufism. Then from 1950, he began his intensive labour at Cambridge for ten years. In this period, Arberry produced his major publications. He edited in transcription (transliteration) *The Mystical Poems of Ibn Al-Farid* in 1952, because Ibn Al-Farid was "the greatest mystical poet in the history of Arabic literature" (Arberry, 1952, p.5). Arberry adds to the main title a sub-heading which states "From the Oldest Extant Manuscript in Chester Beatty Collection". This edition was followed by *The Mystical Poems of Ibn Al-Farid, Translation and Annotation* in 1956. Arberry chose the greatest and the oldest in order to introduce these achievements to his reader as he understood that he would not be able to achieve everything in his life. He was working a twelve-hour day, although he suffered from health issues (Lyons, 2004, p.3). Under these difficulties, he completed a translation of the Qur'an, which is "considered by some as his masterwork" (Lyons, 2004, p.3). In 1957, he published his book *The Seven Odes, The First Chapter in Arabic Literature*. The focus on seven Arab poets was followed by a portrait of seven British Orientalist scholars in 1960. In both cases, Arberry looked at the most important people in his field. For example, he described Al-Mutanabbi as follows:

Now in this volume it is intended to present for examination the best and most interesting (at least to the compiler's taste) [40] of the output of the man universally esteemed the greatest of all the Arab poets, thereby to advance a little nearer towards understanding the art of poetry as practised by the most poetical people of mankind (1967, p.1, emphasis added).

Arberry was not an amateur collector seeking artefacts, but was a professional academic scholar looking for scientific treasures that would change the understanding of Arabic literature. Furthermore, unlike certain Orientalists, he did not use specific specimens of literature to produce general judgments.

Thus, it is not objective for colleagues to describe him as an easy-going collector. They criticized him for "his easy choices, where he would pick works that had already been translated, and he left himself no time for extended analysis or the thorough development of ideas" (Jones, 2004, p.3). However, none of his contemporaries produced a full study of Arabic literature with critical analysis. In addition, it is unfair that Lyons accuses Arberrry by saying that he "would pick works that had already been translated". *The Mystical Poem of Ibn Al-Farid*, published in 1956 and *Poems of Al-Mutanabbi* in 1967 had never been fully translated into English before Arberrry's publications. Lyons appears to depend on private information to produce such a critical judgment. Indeed, Jones criticises Arberrry's style as a translator which "was described as reminiscent of a large proportion of nineteenth century minor versifying" (Jones, 2004, p.3). To a degree, this judgment may apply to *The Seven Odes*, which was translated by Sir William Jones in the eighteenth century and by Sir Charles Lyall in the nineteenth century. Even so, Arberrry justified his reasons by stating:

Sir William Jones translation is a prose one, and its English is of the eighteenth century, polite, Latinized, and little suggestive of the wild vigours of the original Arabic (...) Sir Charles Lyall, it is true, made a commencement which promised well in verse, (..) the Muallakat, as a whole, remains a stranger to us still in any form of English verse (1957, p.28).

In order to help refute these allegations, a number of Arberrry's publications are chosen. These are examined to establish how he dealt with the Arabic literature in general and with mystical poetry in particular.

Arberrry adopted a consistent approach throughout his study of Arabic literature. In his three major publications; *The Mystical Poem of Ibn Al-Farid*, in 1956, *The Seven Odes*, in 1957, and *Poems of Al-Mutanabbi*, 1967, he begins with a well-organized, detailed introduction. The introductions cover three main areas. First, Arberrry gives an accurate description of the

manuscript itself. This process involves a review of the manuscript or the principal of editing, which reveals the location of the manuscript and an examination of its script (Arberry used the Latin term *Textus Receptus*, which means in English, received text, to describe this process) (1956, p.5). Second, he introduces autobiographical details about the poet's life. Third, he writes a critical and comprehensive review of the poetry itself, including his approach and the importance of the study. Thereafter, annotation and further critical analysis followed about each poem or line that was translated into English. Sometimes he followed the translated texts with the original Arabic text (as he did in *Poems of Al-Mutanabbi*).

In addition, Arberry was the first Orientalist scholar to employ previous studies of contemporary Arab scholars in his research. This means that Arab scholars were able to combine with Orientalists in presenting their classic literature. Therefore, two visions were able to produce mutual knowledge. This step is considered as a result of previous Orientalist studies, which adopted the perspective of mutual benefit of knowledge. Furthermore, the new Arab generation utilized nineteenth and early twentieth century's Orientalist efforts, such as Lyall and Nicholson. Thus, Orientalism no longer belonged to European scholarship; even Orientalists did not re-create their own Orient. Therefore, Said's view that "each Orientalist re-created his own orient according to fundamental epistemological rules of loss and gain first supplied and enacted by Sacy" (2003, p.30) is no longer accurate. Orientalists no longer monopolized the Oriental knowledge because two new generations of Arab scholars had begun their studies in classical Arab literature. The first Arab scholars such as Taha Husain, Muhammad Farid Wajdi, Muhammad Sadiq al-Rafii and Shwqui Dayf, emerged in the Arab world, while the second wave, such as M.T. Darwish, Safa Khulusi, and Kamal Abu Deeb, came to British universities to produce their studies about the Orient.

As a result, Arberry referred to scholars, who had preceded him in their analysis, editing, and studies, such as Mohammad Mustafa Hilmi, Jawdat Rikabi, Hasan al Buraini, Abdul Ghani al-Nabulusi and Amin Khuri. However, also he succeeded in building his own critical view. The following analysis of Ibn Al-Farid poems clearly shows that Arberry had a reliable critical approach that enabled him to grasp the deep meaning of the mystical poetry:

The aesthetic and psychological effects of these allusions must have been very great; the listener, already keyed up emotionally by the erotic imagery employed, and the passionate excitement of the mystical exercises, will surely have thrilled to recognize familiar lines and phrases torn from their original contexts and given a new and heightened significance in the transformation of material into spiritual beauty (1956, p.11).

Again, Arberry's analysis demonstrates that he is a remarkable scholar. He was not just the spiritual disciple of his Master but he was also a skilful critic in his own right. Arberry tended to concentrate upon the structural analysis (themes in poetic images and rhetorical techniques) of poetry, whereas Nicholson was more interested in the analysis of thought and ideas and how these related to their origin. Arberry used the structuralism approach which was familiar to European scholars at the time. However, Arberry was not a structural critic, rather he employed certain structural terms, such as rules, mechanics, structure, constituent elements, kinship, order of themes, pattern, form, techniques, design, unity of poem, model, broad lines, and compositional techniques. Furthermore, he used other structural tools, such as metrical chart, shapes of distribution, numbers, statistics, tables⁴¹ parallel, comparison, and measurement⁴². In this context, he was described by his colleagues as "a man who apparently saw no limits to his powers" (Lyons, 2004, p.4). He was "an ordinary man in an ordinary home who, by his own efforts, had achieved the extraordinary" (Skilliter, 1970, p.376). The following

statement shows his critical competence which was related to the various pattern of the old *qasida*:

The pattern thus elaborated continued to be followed by the poets of the Islamic period more or less closely, until we find Abu Nuwas (...) protesting against and ridiculing the fashion again and again (...) But the classical poets of Umayyad and Abbasid courts also modified the narrowness of the convention by detaching from the pattern of the old *qasida* one or more of its constituent elements, and then developing these elements into full-length *qasidas* in the new style. So far as Ibn al-Farid's poetry is concerned we are interested here (with exception of one poem, the so-called *khamriya*, No. x of our edition, which is modeled upon Abu Nuwas) with the evolution of the erotic prelude of the pre-Islamic *qasida* into the formal love-poem of amatory school of Jamil, Kuthairi, and the half-legendary Majnun Laila. This love-poem itself soon acquire its own conventions, alike of themes (and order of themes) and of images. We can discern very clearly in Ibn al-Farid poems how faithfully the new pattern comes to be followed (1956, p.12).

This long quotation reflects Arberry's professional knowledge about the structural model of the Arabic poem *qasida* in various stages of Arab literary history. He made an adequate survey of the transformational pattern of the poem from the pre-Islamic period, through the Umayyad and Abbasid eras to the time of Ibn al-Farid (1181–1235 CE). This survey is followed by examples of themes, images and rhetorical figures. Again, the poem is not an easy choice, because he chose works that had not previously been translated. Furthermore, his analysis was extended with the development of many ideas. This fact that can be deduced from the two volumes of Arberry's *the Mystical Poems of Ibn al-Farid*, in particular, and his other works in general. Arberry was aware that Nicholson wrote a long chapter about the Odes of Ibn al-Farid, in his book *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, published in 1921. He succeeded in distancing himself from of his Master's work. He skilfully picked up the following Nicholson's viewpoint about Ibn al-Farid's poetry to reproduce it through a structural study:

his [Ibn al-Farid] poetry, intensely subjective in feeling and therefore *lyrical in form*, presents only a series of brilliant impressions, *full of life*

and colour, yet essentially fragments and moments of life, not fused into the substance of universal thought by an imagination soaring above place and time (Nicholson, 1921, p.163, emphasis added).

The phrases, "lyrical in form, presents only a series of brilliant impressions, full of life and colour", are transformed to a set of themes, images and a list of rhetorical figures by Arberry's structural work. Furthermore, Arberry dealt with the *Diwan* as a structural unit. In other words, he analyses each poem in relation to the others through comparison and evaluation, both thematically and artistically. For example, in his commentary on the second poem he mentioned that "this poem, in general much less artificial than the preceding and less studded with verbal brilliants, is a masterpiece in its own class" (1956, p.30) In this case, Arberry compares the poem with other poems, using the same systematic order of analysis. He uses roughly the same meaning in different phrases, dealing respectively with whole poems, such as "this poem should be studied in close comparison with I, with which it is evidently intimately linked; so intimately, that it would seem justifiable to conjecture that III was addressed by the poet to his friend" (1956, p.39) and "this poem is akin in spirit and style to II, a meditation without movement; it is exceptionally rich in ornament, hardly a single line being without some rhetorical device" (1956, p.49)⁴³. Thus, it can be noted that the structural approach helped Arberry follow a set routine of analysis. However, in addition, he kept his reader's attention when he followed these critical comments with further detailed explanation, line-by-line, of all the difficult vocabulary. He undertook great effort to remove any potential misunderstanding of the meaning or any ambiguous idea derived from previous readings of Arabic poetry. Thus, after his detailed research, he confidently declares that:

I venture to assert that an increasing acquaintance with the conventions of Arabic poetry overcomes the natural aversion of a judgment formed by European romanticism. At all events the translation which follows, when taken together with the notes and the transliterated texts, will

introduce the reader to a conception of poetry quite different to any found in Western literature (1956, p.19).

It was just one year after he had finished his first work that he published his second important publication about pre-Islamic poetry. It was titled *Seven Odes*, but, in fact, it was the *First Chapter in Arabic Literature*, which was never followed by the second because of Arberry's deteriorating health. His book seems to be a part of a completed series of literary history studies rather than a pure translation. Arberry adopted a mixed method of comparison and evaluation towards the translations of *Muallaqat* and the literary history of pre-Islamic poetry. His publication started with a critical introduction about the previous translations and was concluded by an extensive investigation into the origins of the pre-Islamic poetry. This method can be described as a reproduction of the translations of the *Muallaqat* in chronological order, starting with the translation of Sir William Jones and included different languages, such as Dutch (Levinus Warner, 1748), German (Anton Theodor Harthman 1802, Friedrich Ruckert, 1848 and Philipp Wolff, 1856), French (Caussin de Perceval, 1833), and English (Sir Charles Lyall, 1877; Wilfred Scawen Blunt and his wife Ann Blunt, 1903). Although, Arberry did not explicitly state the purpose behind his in-depth survey, he implicitly alluded to his intention. Consciously or unconsciously, Arberry adopted the same model of reader response derived from I. A. Richards in the 1920s and Louis Rosenblatt in the 1930s. According to Dobie (2002, p.121) "Richards, recognizing the wide variety of interpretations that a group of readers is likely to have for single work, asked his students at Cambridge to write responses to short poem so that he could analyse their approaches". In the same context, Arberry gathered different interpretations of translators to the single work, *Muallaqat*. Thereafter, he examined their responses which were followed by his own interpretation. For example, he finds that "the fascination of Imr al-Qais has exercised less influence on French and Italian scholarship, and the field of interpretation still lies wide open in the Romance languages" (1957,

p.58). At the same time, he indirectly reveals other layers of response produced by other translators. For instance, he provides samples of the Blunts's different responses to the translations contained in the *Seven Odes* over time. The Blunts highlighted interesting responses about previous scholars in the translation of *Muallaqat*. They noted that Sir William Jones translated the *Seven Odes* in a prosaic style, and its English language belongs to the eighteenth century. It, also, was "polite, Latinized, and little suggestive of the wild vigour of the original Arabic" (1957, p.28). In contrast, they considered that Lyall's translation still remains a stranger to them in any form of English verse (1957, p.28). According to the Blunts, the translations, whether in prose or in verse, were still obscure, because both mediaeval and modern scholars had learned "everything except personal knowledge of the customs and ways of Bedouin thought" (1957, p.28). As a result, different responses to the translations have accumulated across time and place. Arberry added his response, which is totally different from the previous responses, when he argues that:

Imr al-Qais and his kind speak into my ear a natural, even at times a colloquial language; such, I feel sure, was the effect they produced on their first audience. In the versions which I have made I have sought to resolve the difficulty of idiomatic equivalence on these lines; and I think that the result is a gain in vigour and clarity (1957, p.60).

Arberry focuses on the point of clarity that had already been raised by Richards, who "went on to categorize the students' reactions according to their accuracy, ... depending on their closeness to or distance from what he deemed to be the correct interpretation" (Dobie, 2002, p.121). In fact, this kind of adoption does not come by accident or it is just arbitrary work that Arberry do it once, but he used to trace the same step in another argument. Arberry's approach was to highlight previous translations but put his work as the final position of the investigation. For example, he used this method in the final chapter of this book, when he made an extensive argument on the question

of authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry. He begins with the title called "True or False", discussing two major hypotheses of Taha Hussein and Margoliouth. Arberry utilized the reader response theory approach. In his discussion of the authenticity of *Muallaqat*, he proved that there is no permanent essential meaning for the text. This conclusion was based on contemporary literary theoretical critics, such as Richards and Rosenblatt. Thus, Arberry argues that:

in any case there exist too many variants as between the different channels of reception for the modern scholars to be confident that he can reconstitute the poems as their authors composed them; it is certainly possible that the authors themselves recited their productions differently at different times, and in the course of oral transmission substantial additions and subtractions, apart from much verbal confusion, may well have taken place. Nevertheless, as they stand, they give a powerful impression of having been the work of seven distinct poets, each with his own individual style and personality (1957, p.253).

It is obvious that Arberry repeats the ideas of contemporary scholars, such as Rosenblatt, who argues that "a given text is not always read in the same way" (cited in Dobie, 2002, p.121). This matter clearly shows that Arberry tried to deal with classical Arabic literature according to a modern perspective. In this context, Arberry was interested in reception theory and its association with literary history. This approach deals with pre-Islamic poetry as a literary work which becomes "an evolving creation, as it is possible for there to be many interpretations of the same text by different readers, or several interpretations by a single reader at different times" (Dobie, 2002, p.121). In other words, Arberry introduced pre-Islamic poetry to his readership through a method of historical reproduction. The concepts of reception were reproduced by later German critics, such as Jauss and Iser, in modern critical terms. For example, Jauss argues that "history of literature is a process of aesthetic reception and production that takes place in the realization of literary texts on the part of the receptive critic, and the author in his continuing productivity" (1982, p.21). Similarly, Iser explains that "the significance of the work does not lie

in the meaning sealed within the text, but in the fact that that meaning brings out what had previously been sealed within us" (cited in Dobie, 2002, p.122).

Unfortunately, Arberry could not continue with his personal project to study Arabic poetry in a series of publications due to his illness. In 1965, he published a primer book for students about Arabic poetry. The publication clearly reflects the negative impact of the illness on the reliability of his work. Although the book was prepared for students, neither the introduction nor the main body included much worthy critical analysis and scientific argument. The introduction consists of many quotations (copy-paste, so as to speak). These were derived mainly from Gibb's *Arabic Literature*, which was aimed at students, and from his previous publications. The main body consists of easy picked up poems from his own previous translations and other scholars, such as Nicholson. This primer book was revised by Arberry's friend Professor Serjeant, who "read the proofs and made a number of valuable suggestions. Proposals for amended text or interpretation from other scholars will be warmly welcomed" (1965, author's note).

In such circumstances, he published his last book in 1967, which is concerned with al-Mutanabbi's poetry. The book is a pure selective translation that was prefaced by a short introduction about al-Mutanabbi's life and poetry. There is no critical analysis similar to that found in his previous studies. In this introduction, Arberry alluded, in the first sentence, that his life would not be long enough to achieve his project. Consequently, there were huge areas that he thought still required investigation:

My *Arabic Poetry* was intended as an initiation into a study of a great and abundant, but as yet still comparatively unexplored literature, so that the Western reader might hopefully be stimulated to explore farther, being by now a little more oriented towards the ideals at which the Arab poets aimed, the themes of which they sang, the images they invented and elaborated, and the conventions they observed (1967, p.1).

It seems that Arberry's ambition was bigger than his health capacity. Thus, Arberry was unsatisfied with the status his publications, as his colleagues highlighted (Lyons, 2004, p.4). However, the dissatisfaction was not with the value of what he had published, although it is true that he said that "if I could have my time over again, I would not publish the things that I have done" (2004, p.1). What he meant was that he realised his efforts were not sufficient to make any significant change in the understanding Arabic literature. He felt that he was in a sea of floating knowledge. Thus, he wished to live long enough to extensively review all the publications in a modern manner for the Western reader. In this context, he recalled the conclusion to *A Literary History of The Arab* by his Master, Nicholson, who stated, "hitherto modern culture has only touched the surface of Islam" (Nicholson, 1907, p.469).

In conclusion, it is necessary to look at Arberry's publications as part of a series of investigations, which began with Edward Pococke. However, Arberry was not the last in this series. In fact, the whole process of response to Arabic literature is a cycle of reproduction, revision, expansion and development of what has been published. For example, Arberry utilized techniques from structuralism to study Ibn al-Farid's poetry, while Stefan Sperl, who came later (1974-1977), used a pure structural approach to study and analyse selected texts of Arabic poetry. In addition, Sperl revised his original thesis when he published it as a book in 1989, because he has "tried to bring the work up to date with reference to more recent publications" (1989, p. viii). Another example of reproduction and expansion is *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* (three volumes). The first volume was published in 1983, entitled *Arabic Literature to The End of The Umayyad Period*. These three volumes were largely based on Nicholson's *A Literary History of the Arabs*, at the behest of Arberry. In the introduction to the first volume, the editors acknowledged that "such a history [*The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*] was initially conceived by Professor A. J. Arberry and R. B.

Serjeant, together with the Press, before Professor Arberry's illness and subsequent death in 1969" (1983, p.xvi).

It can be seen that Arberry's academic influence still plays an important role in the study of Arabic literature, but, unfortunately, the spirituality of Orient and the sense of Englishness have disappeared from the authorship. In general, Arabic literary studies following Arberry's death can be categorized into three main directions: seeking the origin of Arabic prose, new approaches to study classical Arabic poetry and new approach to study classical Arabic prose. These are discussed in the following sections.

5.5. Seeking the Origins of Arabic Prose Literature: The Return to Philology

The literary history of Arabs has been explored in various periods by different Orientalist scholars. As shown in the previous chapter, Nicholson's remarkable publication about this literature in 1907 was a connective historical point between the ancient literary historians and the Arab and British scholars who came after Nicholson. In other words, the literary history of Arabs has been submitted to the logic of interaction between different generations of scholars. In particular, each scholar has introduced his/her own reading which reveals or explores new points, themes and techniques which were not known previously. However, in general, this does not mean that each scholar has produced something new, because "human reality is not only a production of the new, but also a (critical and dialectical|) reproduction of the past" (Marx, cited in Jauss, 1982, p.15). Moreover, history is a reconstruction of the past, but the reconstructed history is never the past itself (Gamble, 1974, p.vii). *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, therefore, has to be examined in this context of reproduction. Furthermore, a more important factor is British culture. This culture has played a significant role in shaping and representing the pattern activities of British people. According to Bassnett (1997, p.33) the

commentaries on canonical literary works are considered as one of most significant aspects representing culture. However, these commentaries are reproduced in "relatively stable forms widely in the society over a long period" (1997, p.33). British Orientalist discourse, as an academic discipline, cannot be separated from the whole movement of cultural practices and activities.

This means that there tends to be no radical changes in the mainstream of literature studies, in general, and literary history in particular. On the subject of *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, researchers can observe that this publication is subject to the British cultural system. In other words, although a considerable time had elapsed since Nicholson's literary history was published, the editors of *The Cambridge History* (A. F. L. Beeston, T. M. Johnstone, R. B. Serjeant and G. R. Smith) were under its influence. For example, there is no radical change in the contents and design of the publications. Moreover, the essence of these volumes is built upon Nicholson's notion of literature (see chapter three, p.47), which closes with the contemporary concept of culture. In their introduction, the editors clearly adopted Nicholson's concept of 'literature', although they did not explicitly acknowledge him as the first scholar to extend the concept of literature:

The editors feel no apology is required for adopting a broad definition of "literature" to comprehend virtually everything that has been recorded in writing, apart from inscription and purely archival material. In contemporary usage it has become customary to restrict the term to verse and fictional or belletrist prose, excluding scientific, historical, religious, and other genres of writing. (...) but in an historical survey such as this it would make no sense (Beeston et al., 1983, p.xi).

However, there is a distinct difference between the volumes in the employment of history. Nicholson (1907) used history as a tool to serve literature, while the Beeston et al. employ literature to serve other genres such as religion, history, geography, philosophy, law, and science. For example, in volume two entitled *Religion, Learning and Science in the Abbasid*

Period (1990), a number of odd sub-headings are found. These relate the pure sciences with literature, such as alchemical literature, Arabic medical literature, Islamic legal literature, administrative literature, and geographical and navigational literature. In this hybrid approach, the concept of literature has been transferred from the specific areas of poetry and prose into a loose field of knowledge that includes everything. Thus, literature has lost its identity. According to Wellek and Warren this approach which is "connected with the history of civilization does, as a matter of fact, crowd out strictly literary study ... the identification of literature with the history of civilization is a denial of the specific field and the specific methods of literary study" (1976, p.20).

In addition, the editors promised their readers a new reading about classical Arabic literature, which would be different from Nicholson's study. They believed that the publication of Nicholson, "remains a sympathetic, and indeed a valuable, introduction to one of the world's great literatures. But much water has flowed under the bridge since it first appeared" (Beeston et al., 1983, p.ix). Although the three volumes include extensive information about the different stages of Arabic literature, the study has lost two important dimensions that existed in Nicholson's study. The first loss is the pure sense of Britishness, as the editors include ten non-British authors. The second loss is the chronological approach. Thus, it could be difficult for the researcher to classify the genre of this study. It could be described as a full global response about Islamic civilization in the context of an historical collection of literary texts from different eras. However, despite this confusion, all volumes share one significant feature; the dominating presence of prose in comparison to poetry. It appears that the editors have left the investigation of poetry to Arab scholars, whereas British scholars devoted themselves to study prose⁴⁴. This may reflect the fact that most British scholars, after Arberry, were not interested in classical Arabic poetry for a number of reasons. First, this genre

of poetry requires a special professional capability to translate and annotate, taking into consideration that this poetry, even for native Arab scholars, is difficult to understand, let alone translate. Second, later researchers were satisfied that previous translations of scholars, such as Jones (1777, 1800), Lyall (1894, 1913 and 1918), the Blunts (1903), Nicholson (1907) and Arberry (1957), were ideal and that the later researchers could not produce any better translations. Third, the authors were looking for new areas of research such as prosaic literature. That only two works of Arabic poetry were included in volume one reinforces the reasons cited. The first is published by Abdulla El Tayib entitled *Pre-Islamic Poetry*, and the second is *Umayyad Poetry* by Salma K. Jayyusi. El Tayib, in his analysis, fully depends on the translations of Lyall, Blunts, and Arberry and never uses his own completed translation (see for example, 1983, pp.45, 46, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59 and 61). Furthermore, Jayyusi reduced her quotations of poetry to the lowest possible level either to avoid using more quotations from British scholars, or because she could not translate to a professional standard the Umayyad poetry. In addition, she mentioned that "all Quranic quotations are from Arberry, Koran" (1983, p.390).

Beeston et al. trace Arabic prose from the late Abbasid period. In this case, the three authors organize their investigations chronologically, ranging from early Arabic prose to the emergence of *al Maqamat*. Moreover, these efforts were combined with an attempt to seek the origins of Arabic prose. However, the process of investigation of the origins is different from the research of nineteenth century academics. The previous studies basically depended upon the Arabic texts as a material for analysis. Said (2003, p.156) describes this kind of research as wholly bookish, whereas post-colonial British scholars employed other techniques of field work to support their findings.

Two of these techniques were the long residence between people at the real world of Arab and using of observational method, and rereading of prosaic

documents which were discovered recently. Most of the researchers lived in the region in order to hear the pronunciation and use of prose in ordinary Arab lives. For example, Serjeant used his residence in Yemen to observe how people were speaking complicated phrases and sentences in their everyday language. Then, he investigated the old texts using his observations of the real world by comparing and monitoring the linguistic phenomenon. Thus, he not only seeks the origins of Arabic prosaic texts but also supports his analysis through findings from the real world.

This kind of investigation is a new method that may be almost considered as a return to philology⁴⁵, which can contribute towards a better understanding of the literary and linguistic texts. For example, Serjeant argues that “the existence of expressions of this type today confirms that proverbs and sayings of similar obscurity in ancient Arabic are not to be regarded as mere inventions of philologists” (1983, p.117). Thus, Serjeant links the present (spoken language) and the past (written texts) to produce an authentic and reliable explanation about ancient, obscure Arabic prose. Another example can show how this technique can be more beneficial and reliable than the wholly bookish approach. In his analysis of *Kutbah*, Serjeant employed two types of source. The first is what has been already written in classical anthologies, such as the writings of Jahiz about *Kutbah*. The second consists of his observations drawn from the real world of contemporary Arab practices and lives. In this linkage of the two sources of knowledge, Serjeant developed a strong capability to produce judgments about the origin of the genre of prose. The following statement clearly shows how Serjeant built his ideas:

Declamation and repartee in ancient tribal Arabia developed into drama and may be regarded as the source of the *mufakhara*, a war of words that constitutes a literary genre, not in classical Arabic alone, but also in the colloquials, continuing to our own times (1983, pp.117-118).

Serjeant adopted the methodology in order to gain a better understanding about the prose of the pre-Islamic period. He believed that knowledge should not always come from written sources, because these sources could contain debatable information or lack authenticity. The following statement shows how Serjeant used his residence in Yemen to support his judgment through the observation of the *khatib's* role in contemporary society:

A professional orator (*khatib*), perhaps a preacher, had, like the poet, certain political and social functions; but, Jahiz says, his standing was less than that of the poet. In 1964 the present writer had a vivid glimpse of how the scene would have been in early Islam when he saw professional *khatibs* standing on huge rocks to harangue Imam al-Badr's tribal soldiers on the virtues and rights of the imamic house (1983, p.118).

Serjeant comparison between the written texts and his observation gave him confidence to go further in his examination of the authenticity of many artistic features of classical prosaic literature. A further example of this methodology can be seen in the following quote:

The *kahin* was authenticated to the present writer in an astonishing way, for when he was enquiring about trial by ordeal in Arabia in 1964, informants told him that two parties repairing to the *mubashshi* judge in Upper Yafi would ask him to guess the secret of what brought - for example, *a locust in a leather bag*. This is to be compared with the account of a *munafarah* related by several authorities (1983, p.126, italics in original).

From these examples, it can be seen that Serjeant sought to understand certain areas of prosaic classical literature by using a new critical approach which combines the philological method and field work. He describes his work as a "critical assessment of pre-Islamic and Islamic oratory and written documents, in particular those relating to certain crucial development in Islamic law" (1983, pp.151-152). In fact, Serjeant used the same approach of scepticism adopted by Margoliouth in seeking the origins of pre-Islamic poetry. However, Serjeant was keen to gather more evidence from a "closer acquaintance with the Arabian Peninsula" (183, p.115) to support his views

and judgements. Regardless of the accuracy of his results, he achieves remarkable findings which can contribute to the correction of previously misunderstood views, in particular in relation to the classical literature of Arabs, and in general to language and culture. These findings can be summarized as follows:

Islam kept the concept of the unity of Allah, which was known since 'Jahiliyya' (ignorance). This what formulated the nowadays Islam, which extended between the 1st and 7th century and 2nd/ 8th and 3rd centuries. The messages which were sent to Prophet aimed to 'combat Christian polemic argument against Islam'. Islamic law, *Sunnah*, *ijma*, and *qiyas* were formulated based on letters interpreted during Abbasid age, which were traced back to their Arabian origins (Serjeant, 1983, p.149).

Although Serjeant adopted a scientific method which relied on reliable evidence, such as documents, manuscripts and real life observations, his findings require further investigation. In other words, although it is correct that he made a notable effort to follow the origins of legal terms that are deeply-rooted in the pre-Islamic culture, these samples are not sufficient to support his claims in the bullet points 1 and 2 above. In addition, he did not consider that Islam, as a set of idealistic religious principles, is different from a Muslim's behaviour and values. Arguably, Muslims have never entirely abandoned the traditional pre-Islamic values and customs. Accordingly, what is now referred to as the *Sunnah* or *Sunni* Islam does not necessarily refer to *Sunnah* of the prophet. The term *Sunnah* was also known in the Jahiliyya tradition. In this case, Serjeant's point in bullet point 4 could be correct, because some of these terms are still used in many areas around the Islamic world. For example, *Sunnah* (سُنَّة) as a legal tribal term, is known in many tribal areas in Iraq as *seninah* (سنينة) its usage was already known in the pre-

Islamic period. Moreover, the *khahin* (كاهن) is still playing an important social and religious role in a number of areas in the Arab world; he can resolve problems, diffuse tension, and mitigate conflict between different tribes. However, because of the sensitivity of using the same name, in the pre-Islamic period the *khahin* was called *faridah*.

However, there could be some amendments had occurred upon the letters to foreign monarchs, but it is quite hard to entirely deny the existence of their origin. In addition, a number of academic studies support the opposite point of view in his research *Messenger's Letters to Kings and Princes*, (2008) by Mohamed Shahin which includes an extensive survey with accurate descriptions of letters. His study aims determine their age, the quality of leather that is used in writing, the size and type of the handwriting, and specific details about the seal of the prophet that was used in stamp.

Latham followed Serjeant's approach in his study of Umayyad prose. This means that there is a degree of conformity among contemporary British Orientalists in their research on classical Arabic literature. This conformity may reflect the fact that those scholars have a clear vision, systematic investigation, and specific approach, which was absent from the pre-colonial research. It also reflects that those Orientalists were more pragmatic in dealing with this kind of literature. Some of this literature was employed to serve some materialistic affairs of Arab people in their life in the early time of Islam. Thus, Latham in the first two lines of his study entitled '*The Beginning of Arabic Prosaic Literature: The Epistolary Genre*' demonstrates that the various actors in Umayyad public life, such as preachers, governors, and leaders, were interested in spoken artistic prose rather than written texts. He argues that "*khatabah* (خطابة) (not *kitabah*: كتابة) was the strategic instrument of practical politics, and its essential nature is known to us even if we cannot accept as genuine all specimens of the genre that are attributed to the period" (1983, p. 154). This interest in *khatabah* comes from the fact that most Arabs

believe that *kitabah* is a kind of handcraft(صناعة) , which they despised. According to Ebn-Khaldoun (Quatremre, *Prolégomènes D'Ebn-Khaldoun*, 1858, p. 46), Arabs during the reign of the Umayyads preferred specific occupations in the army, politics, presidency and leadership. As a result, they left other jobs, such as education, agriculture, spinning, and authorship, to non-Arabs *mawali* (موالي). The former occupations pushed Arabs towards *khatabah*, while *kitabah* found its way to non-Arabs. As a result, the first generation of secretaries in the Umayyad court were Persian. According to Latham (1983, p. 154) the secretarial class contributed to establishing a new era of using the Arabic tongue as an official language, and developing the language of written prose in different sectors of the court and its administration.

Based on these premises, Latham, in his investigation about the origin of prosaic Arabic literature, attempted to undermine the concepts and principles that were previously associated with the emergence of Arabic prosaic literature. He discussed three major areas: first, Ibn al-Muqaffa's pioneering epistles, the *rasail* (رسائل); second, the correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle and its association with the epistles of Hishm's *katib*, *Abul Ala Salim*; and third, the major impact of Persian and Greek traditions of authorship on Arabic prosaic literature. These areas represent the first part of his study, which may be considered to be his theoretical framework. The main body is a practical study, which focuses on Abd al-Hamid al-Katib and his epistles. In his systematic and well-organized research, Latham built the theoretical position upon Mario Grignaschi's pioneering investigation about Arabic prosaic authorship and the origins of Arabic prose. Grignaschi argues that "the *rasail* are the oldest of secretarial prose of literature" (cited in Latham, 1983, p.164). Grignaschi analysed the *rasail* historically and thematically. Historically, he discovered that the *rasail* were written earlier than Ibn al-Muqaffa's epistle, which had been considered to be the first ideal model of artistic prose

literature. What is more surprising is that Grignaschi concludes that Ibn al-Muqaffa himself was a pupil of Abd al-Hamid al-Katib, who in turn had been trained under patronage of Salim (cited in Latham, 1983, p.163). His findings means that the Arabic school of classical prosaic literature began with Abu Ala Salim, who was of Persian origin. Thematically, Grignaschi demonstrated that the 16 Umayyad Arabic epistles were substantially adapted translations of "epistles from Aristotle to Alexander", which were translated from the Hellenistic originals by Salim (cited in Latham, 1983, p.163). According to Grignaschi, Salim was interested in Sasanian values, institutions, and heritage. At the same time, he was, also, eager to promote an interest in the Greek (cited in Latham, 1983, p.163).

Grignaschi's findings were adopted by Latham, who had retraced the steps in his study of Abd al-Hamid al-Katib. Latham, however, believes that "formal perfection of the Umayyad epistle was achieved not by Salim but by a graduate of his school, namely the same 'Abd al-Hamid'" (Latham, 1983, p.164). Thus, Latham selects Abd al-Hamid's epistles as the model for classical Arabic prose in order to obtain ideas about its origins. In this study, Latham seeks the main sources and cultural background of knowledge that contributed to the writing of Abd al-Hamid al-Katib. Furthermore, he acknowledges the artistic devices that shape the composition of Abd al-Hamid's epistles. In "*Abd al-Hamid's Style, Characteristics and Sources of Inspiration*", Latham introduced a valuable critical academic assessment of the entire known works of the author. He concentrates on the main characteristic of Abd al-Hamid's stylistic device, namely parallelism. Based on his theoretical background that exposed the influence of the Persian and Greek traditions upon Abu Ala Salim, Latham pointed out that the influence of these two ancient civilizations also had an important impact on Abd al-Hamid's form and content of his writing. For instance, he argues that Abd al-Hamid's administrative works that deal with the palace affairs, such as etiquette, protocol and ceremonies, are

derived from pre-Islamic Persian traditions (Latham, 1983, p.177)⁴⁶. In addition, the influence of Greek appears in the epistle to the Crown Prince, because Latham believed that the author “was in touch with the currents of Hellenistic thought at first hand and could have derived his moral precepts directly from Greek sources” (1983, p.177). According to Latham (1983, p.178) this influence included even the hunting epistle that should have been inspired by Arab culture.

Significantly, the Persian and Greek influences on Salim and his pupil Abd al-Hamid were revealed by the Egyptian scholar Shwaki Dayf much earlier than either Grignaschi or Latham⁴⁷. However, Dayf did not provide many details about the influences, probably because of his ideology. Thus, Dayf acknowledged the extraordinary influence that these two cultures had on classical Arabic prose but argues that this did not occur until around the end of the first century of Higraph. He insisted that Arab preachers, such as Gaylan of Damascus and Alhasan al-Basrahi, were the pioneering authors, who established this kind of artistic writing (Dayf, 1946, p.67). However, Dayf ignored the fact that Gaylan of Damascus and Alhasan al-Basrahi were both from a non-Arab background (*mawali*).

The main difference between Dayf and Latham is in their method of approaching the Qur’anic text through the texts of other Arab authors. Latham subjected all the available texts to the same critical criteria. In contrast, Dyef never refers to links between the Qur’anic style and pre-Islamic or Umayyad writings. He fully differentiates between the Qur’an, as a sacred text, and other writings. Dayf views Abd al-Hamid’s style as one of a long series of that derived its stem from earlier pre-Islamic writing. This means that Defy believes that the main sources of Abd al-Hamid’s style were from a pure Arabic origin. In contrast, Latham insisted that the sources of Abd al-Hamid’s style, included Greek and Persian. Thus, he attempted to attribute each feature to its origin. For instance, he demonstrated that Abd al-Hamid’s style in its “most

solemn, stately and elevated moods echoes of the Quranic style are unmistakable" (Latham, 1983, p.178). In addition, he pointed out that parallelism is the main feature of Abd al-Hamid's style which was already well known in ancient Semitic literature (1983, p.178). In his conclusion, Latham moves towards the Greek rhetoric, arguing that the classical Orientalist scholars did not pay attention to the influence of Greek rhetoric, especially that of Demosthenes, upon Abd al-Hamid's style. Latham concludes that Demosthenes, "who is much given to use of long infinitive phrase and participial clauses and ... who, loves to point contrasts and enforce parallels, and looks to symmetry, assonance and variety of expansion in much the same way as 'Abd al-Hamid" (1983, p.179).

As can be seen, a number of important conclusions are drawn from Latham's study about Abd al-Hamid's epistles, especially those that reveal the relationship between the different nations and cultures that shaped his style. However, do these results reflect the important role of Abd al-Hamid's writing? The answer should be no, if the results are subjected to the criteria of quantitative assessment, but are satisfactory if it is measured by the qualitative approach. Apparently, Latham was not interested in the quantity of writing, but instead was looking for the cornerstone, root and stem of the writing in order to build upon it. Abd al-Hamid's writing became a corpus for subsequent writings that have "certain distinctive features which found favour with succeeding generations of chancery belletrists, who developed and elaborated them" (Latham, 1983, p.179). Latham's point may reveal the reason that lies behind the monotony of his study about Ibn al-Muqaffa, which comes in a pure traditional and historical approach. He was aware that there was no need to repeat what had already been written about the epistemological sources of this prosaic school. Ibn al-Muqaffa was a distinguished member of Abd al-Hamid's prosaic school. Therefore, Latham began his study, *Ibn Al-Muqaffa and Early 'Abbasid Prose*, with the historical

details of the life of the author, which was mainly based on other scholars' studies of Ibn al-Muqaffa's life and works (see Latham, 1990, pp.48-77).

Beeston (1983) in his study entitled '*The Role of Parallelism in Arabic Prose*' adopted the links between the parallelistic style and the Semitic origin. He argues that the parallelistic style of 'oration' (*khutbah*) is well-known in the Semitic language (Beeston, 1983, p.181). This approach emphasises the deep-rooted links between race and the product of knowledge, which was sometimes adopted by Nicholson (1921, p.162) and Gibb (1963, p.102). Furthermore, it reflects the fact that British scholars were still seeking the origin of Arabic prose. Although Beeston argues that "quite evidently, this [parallelistic] style is of great antiquity, as opposed to Arabic *shir*, which is relatively speaking an innovation in the Semitic language domain" (1983, p.181), he did not determine or confine it as a label of Semitic origin. However, he demonstrates that this feature "corresponds to some inherent tendency in the human mind" (1983, p.181). Therefore, he attempted to collect samples from different nations, genres, periods and arias to support his argument. His six pages are an example of the philological approach, in which he traced places and periods of usage, and the functions of the term 'parallelism'.

In fact, Beeston's work is one of a series of studies seeking of the origin of Arabic prose through the study of the roots of words, terms and genres. Beeston's article is similar to those of contemporary British scholars, including Serjeant's investigation about the roots of religious and legal terms such as *Sunnah*(سُنَّة), *khahin*(كاهن), *qiyas*(قياس), and *ijmah*(اجماع). This means that this kind of knowledge still represents a great functional approach that may reveal some hidden areas in the Arabic-Islamic culture and heritage. The philological method, therefore, can not be seen as "a mustily antiquarian discipline (...) sterile, ineffectual, and hopelessly irrelevant to life" (Said, 2004, p.57), or it is just lexical and archival knowledge that has not touch the real and practical life of people.

According to Said "in the Islamic tradition, knowledge is premised upon a philological attention to language beginning with the Koran, the uncreated word of God (and indeed the word 'Koran' itself means reading" (2004, p. 58). This history has led Arab Muslims to inherit huge epistemological and intellectual problems over the centuries. Thus, numerous words had been generated in different religiously-interpreted contexts creating a terminological problem, such as *jihad* (جهاد), *sharia* (شريعة), *jezia* (جزية), *caliphate* (خلافة), *kafir* (كافر), *ummah* (أمة), *hijab* (حجاب), Islamic (اسلامي), and *jahiliyya* (جاهلية).

These terms, among others, play an important role, both negative and positive, in the ordinary lives of Arab and non-Arab Muslims around the world. In addition, a number of contemporary extremist groups employ these terms to serve their ideologies. Thus, a true philological reading is required to remove the misleading implications that have become linked to these terms across the centuries. It is correct that this is a complex mission, which requires magnificent efforts, as Nicholson (1907) said his conclusion, but professional academic scholars can achieve it.

Two attempts at terminological interpretations by Said (2004) and Karen (2006) Armstrong are among the best example of academic efforts. Said argues that "without a knowledge of Arabic, it is difficult to know that '*ijtihad*' [اجتهاد] derives from the same root as the now notorious word *jihad* [جهاد], which mainly means holy war but rather a primarily spiritual exertion on behalf of the truth" (2004, p.68). Thus, Said's statement turns the usual connotation of the term '*jihad*' on its head, by focusing on its roots. Thus, he transfers the term '*jihad*' from the field of war into the space of peace, in which speculation, knowledge and spirituality exist. In the same context, Armstrong demonstrates that the word '*kafir*' [كافر], which generally refers to a person who does not believe in God, is extremely misleading (2006, p.78). She argues that Abul-Hakames and Abu Sufyan, for instance, believed that "Allah

was the creator of the world and the lord of the Kabah. The trouble was that they did not translate their beliefs into action” (Armstrong, 2006, p.78). Interestingly, Armstrong has adopted similar humanistic ideas to Arberry’s ‘The Charter of Orientalism’, through the use of social media including YouTube to deploy her ideas under the title ‘The Charter of Compassion’⁴⁸.

These two examples⁴⁹ highlight that the Orientalist academic scientific approach can lead to a change in the hugely misleading understandings that have accumulated over the years in relation to religious and cultural Islamic discourse. Thus, pure Orientalist academic knowledge, as Arberry believed, can be employed in establishing the peace around the world. Arberry was the first scholar to declare that dialogue between civilizations is the best option for preventing a catastrophic new war. Arberry believed that “the fruits of [Orientalist efforts] toil had proved more effective in promoting international goodwill over huge areas of the globe than more widely advertised endeavours of soldiers and politicians” (1960, p.239). This idea can be achieved by using all available means of media “in the broadest sense of the word” (Arberry, p.239). By using the media, pure academic knowledge can more rapidly reach the public than methods such as lectures and tutorials at universities. Therefore, Orientalist academic knowledge should be broadened from the narrow scope of the elite into a worldwide audience.

Paradoxically, although Arberry went to great lengths to avoid the field of politics, it seems that politicians nowadays tend to recall Orientalist discourse to their field after the rise of the global terrorist threat. Significant massacres have occurred under the label *‘jihad’*. A new generation of Islamic extremists has been encouraged by an ideological agenda to spread terror, destruction, devastation, and massacres under the banner of radical Islam. The extremist groups have employed some “dogmatic view of orthodox Islamic reading, [which] argues that Ibn-Taymiyya (1263-1328 C.E.) was right and that only

as-salaf al-salih (pious forerunners) reading should be followed" (Said, 2004, p.69).

Ibn-Taymiyya's misleading interpretations of religious terms, such as *jihad*, *kufir*, *sharia*, and *caliphate*, has resulted in many areas across the world being subject to the chaos of terrorist war. However, Arberry's suggestion of the dialogue of civilizations and Said's philological approach can be combined to defeat the ideological cult of death that lies behind the terrorism. This view has recently found its way on to the British political agenda. For example, a recent heated debate took place in the UK parliament in 02/12/2015 about the terms used to describe the terrorist group, who call themselves IS, an abbreviation of the group's English name 'Islamic State'. David Cameron, the prime minister, refused to call the group by its chosen name, suggesting instead to use 'Daesh', an abbreviation of the group's Arabic name, *al-Dawla al-Islamiya fil Iraq wa'al sham* (الدولة الإسلامية في العراق والشام). Another example which highlights the important role of philology was given by the UK's Home Office Secretary at the Conservative Party's conference in 2014. Theresa May stated that the deadly terrorists like to call themselves 'The Islamic State', "but I will tell you the truth: They are not Islamic and they are not a state" (2014). Thus, philology can be used to overturn mistaken interpretations when she declared that "their actions have absolutely no basis in anything written in Quran" (May, 2014).

No member of an extremist dogmatic group can argue that May does not have the right to interpret Qur'an, simply because her point of view does not coincide with theirs. Her point has already been made by a large number of Muslim scholars, journalists, politicians and ordinary members of the public. This example reflects Arberry's prediction about the important role of media in overturning the misunderstanding of terms built over the centuries. Over the past 30 years there has been a significant increase in the ability of the media to disperse information more widely and more rapidly. This is

particularly apparent with social media, such as Facebook and Twitter. In addition, ordinary people are more easily able to express their views directly to politicians. Thus, a new public consciousness has begun to influence political discourse across the world in general, and in the UK, in particular. This has encouraged British politicians, such as Jeremy Corbyn, the current leader of Labour Party, to use social media in order to deploy his humanistic political ideas. He wrote, on his personal Facebook page: “politics is about passion, values and principles” (2015). This statement equates with Arberry’s view about modern civilization, which has to be “a civilization infinitely varied, drawing on the water-spring of all previous civilizations, realizing itself in the peaceful and neighbourly exploitation of mankind's inexhaustible wealth of mind and heart and spirit” (1960, p.256). This resemblance reflects the fact that politics and Orientalist knowledge can be used as tools for a solution for the global crisis and can contribute to establishing peace.

The examples discussed support the argument that Orientalism could be a non-ideological-political knowledge used to humiliate people and exploit the resources of the under-developed states. However, Orientalism knowledge can “provide a sound diagnosis of the disorder”, as Arberry suggested. This can contribute to defeat and refute the ideology that feeds the terrorist death cult.

5.6. Montgomery and Irwin’s Reading of Classical Prose

As discussed in the previous section, the post-colonial period witnessed a turning point for British academic scholars interested in classical Arabic prose. Previously, there was just one academic study about classical Arabic prose, entitled ‘*Maqamat*’, by Preston in 1850, although numerous studies of poetry by Palmer (1877), Lyall (1894, 1913 and 1918), Nicholson (1906, 1907, 1914, 1921), and Arberry (1957, 1965 and 1967). In contrast, in the post-colonial period there are only two academic studies of poetry; Stefan Sperl (1989)

'Mannerism in Arabic Poetry, A structural analysis of selected texts', and M.C. Lyons (1999) *'Identification and Identity in Classical Arabic Poetry'*. However, there have been many academic studies about classical Arabic prose by Serjeant, Beeston, Latham, Irwin, and Montgomery. This section focuses on the works of Irwin and Montgomery, which have been published relatively recently.

Robert Irwin published his book *'Night and Horses and the Desert: The Penguin Anthology of Classical Arabic Literature'* in 1999. James E Montgomery published a two volume study about Al-Jahiz; the first titled *'Al-Jahiz: In Praise of Books'*, in 2013 and the second titled *'Al-Jahiz: In Censure of Books'*, in 2015. Irwin's and Montgomery's publications are dissimilar, including the editorial paratext (design of cover, commentary review, pictures, shapes, colours, publisher, quality of material paper, blurb etc.) and the authorial paratext (titles, subheadings, prologue, preface, introduction, etc.)⁵⁰.

In terms of paratextual criteria, Irwin's publication can be categorized as a popular journalistic work rather than a serious professional academic work. In relation to the design of the publication, the cover is designed for public consumption. The frame of the cover is printed in black with red script, while the middle of the page pictures a black Bedouin man, who is sitting in the middle of dark tent surrounded by objects of relaxation including a hanging tankard and the tambourine hookah (shisha). The man is holding his sword in a position of intimate relationship as he speaks with it. This image relates to the title *'Night, and Horse and the Desert'*, which is derived from a verse by Al-Mutanabbi, "for the horsemen know me, and the night, and the desert, and the sword and lance, and the paper and pen" (Arberry, 1967, p.72).

In the context of paratextual criteria, the title should explicitly or implicitly reflect the content of the publication, or at least give the reader an intuitive

general impression about the content of published work. Irwin's publication is an excellent example which reflects the correspondence between the editorial and authorial paratexts. On the one hand, both reproduce the false image which belongs to the prototypical fantasy atmosphere of the nomadic medieval Arab's life. On the other hand, this publication is based around the method that deals with fragmentary collection or arbitrary specimens which are then taken to represent the whole genre of the literary history of Arabs. This means that the easy generalized judgments appear in the book.

Irwin's research cannot be considered to be purely academic for a number of reasons. First, Irwin is not specialist in Arabic literature, rather he is a historian. Second, although he has some experience in Arabic translation, he does not translate any literary text, whether in poetry or in prose. Third, Irwin confirms these points in his introduction in which he points out that "certainly, I did not want to involve myself in the presumptuous enterprise of proposing such canon [of Arabic literature]. I would have preferred to have followed precedent and taken guidance from choices of earlier anthologies of the same scope" (1999, p.vii). As can be seen, Irwin is aware that he is not in a position to go deeply into a study of Arabic literature. Moreover, he did not intend to introduce a specialist and professional reading about this literature. Thus, he honestly confesses that "one can learn a lot about Arab life in general from such anthologies, but not very much about literature" (1999, p. vii). In this context, his study could be described as a non-professional reading which is nearly comparable to the early Orientalist's work of the eighteenth century.

However, Irwin attempts to provide general information about Arab life and culture to the ordinary western reader. In contrast, most Orientalist pure knowledge academics focus on two kinds of readers, specialist and ordinary. Furthermore, they want this knowledge to be dominant in the public domain. One of the most remarkable examples of academic pure knowledge is Montgomery's book about Al-Jahiz's works. These volumes show how

Orientalist knowledge has reached a peak of academic scientific investigation. Montgomery spent more than sixteen years working on Al-Jahiz's life and works producing this sensitive and valuable study.

The volumes prove that the British Orientalist discourse is still keen to be associated with the contemporary movement of criticism, as was shown in the discussion of Arberry's wish to employ modern critical approaches in the study of Arabic literature⁵¹. Montgomery's study benefits from new theories in criticism. Montgomery has used many techniques and terms that relate to reception and reader theories in a broad sense. Although he did not specifically mention any model, he repeatedly used terms primarily used by the theorists of the reception approach, including poor reception, reader, work received, ideal reading of creation, audience, the first audience, response, receiver, addressee, ideal reader, ideal writer, and ideal readership. Above all, he was aware of the kind of reader to whom he addressed his arguments. Under the title 'My Readers', he assigned specific readers to each chapter. For instance, he states that Professor Rebecca Stott⁵² was in his mind when he wrote parts 1 and 2 of his book (2013 a, p.8). Then, he categorized his readers according to qualitative criteria that involved students and scholars, but avoided ordinary readers, to whom he apologized that "one day a simpler book can and will be written about *'The Book of Living'* (2013a, p.8).

It is no exaggeration to argue that Montgomery's study is one of the greatest attempts to use reception theory in the study of Arabic literary history; it is an original study of genius. Furthermore, it provides evidence that the study of Arabic literary history at British universities is still up-to-date with the latest theories of criticism. In relation to reception theory, Montgomery has taken advantage of reader theories proposed by Jauss and Calvino⁵³. However, Montgomery's greatest act is that he transformed most of Jauss's theoretical principle about the dialectic interaction of work and recipient (audience, critic, new producer) to a concrete act through a practical study of Al-Jahiz's works⁵⁴.

This relationship has taken a circular of interactive dialogue between al-Jahiz and Montgomery. For example, Montgomery noticed that “a symmetry often emerges: My reading of al-Jahiz’s *Book of Living* mirrors al-Jahiz’s reading of God’s creation. My attempt to write a book about *The Book of Living* comes to mirror al-Jahiz’s attempt to write the *Book of Living*” (2013a, p.9). In addition, Montgomery tried to find a new interpretation to the dialectical relationship between the ideal writer and the ideal reader. According to his reading of al-Jahiz’s book of creation, Montgomery demonstrates that only God can be, at the same time, the ideal writer and the ideal reader. The following statement shows the Montgomery’s notion and his answer to this complicated relationship:

I have found this problem especially acute in my own, personal endeavor to read *The Book of Living*. In order to read it, I need somehow to participate in how it fashions its ideal reader, however, impossible and unachievable such an aspiration may be. A symmetry emerges. As I try to read *The Book of Living*, my attempt mimics al-Jahiz’s attempts to read God’s signs in creation. But al-Jahiz and I are both frustrated in our aspirations to be ideal readers and writers (...) Only God can read His inventory (2013a, p.59).

Montgomery’s belief that “only God can read His inventory” is compatible with the result gained by Silas, the hero of Calvino’s novel, who found that “the unique book, which contains the whole, could only be the sacred text, the total word revealed” (Calvino, 1981, p.181). According to Jauss, Silas reached the conclusion that the Koran is the only ideal book, which could never be written by a human being (2004, p.93).

However, Montgomery stands against Silas, who did not believe that “totality can be contained in language” (Calvino, 1981, p.181). What is most daring about Silas’s rejection is that he focused on the role of language in totality. Montgomery built the majority of his findings about al-Jahiz’s *The Book of Living*, upon the role of Arabic language as a tool of totality. For example, in three sections of his part 2, he built his reading around titles of totality; *The*

Totalising Work, The Treatise as Totality, and Parsing Totality. He returns in part 5 to the main idea which links Arabiya (Arabic Language) and totality. Above all, he specifically employed Calvino's analysis of Abdullah bin Abi Sarah, (one of the Prophet Mohammed's writers), to skilfully serve his analysis of how totality can be contained in the Arabiya. The following passage summarizes the relationship between language, as an organized system, and the role of the writer:

He [Abdullah] was wrong. The organization of the sentence, finally, was a responsibility that lay with him; he was the one who had to deal with the internal coherence of the written language, with grammar and syntax, to channel into it fluidity of thought that expands outside all language before it becomes word, and of a word particularly fluid like that of a prophet. The scribe's collaboration was necessary to Allah, once he had decided to express himself in a written text. Mohammed knew this and allowed the scribe the privilege of concluding sentences; but Abdullah was unaware of the powers vested in him. He lost his faith in Allah because he lacked faith in writing, and in himself as an agent of writing (Calvino, 1981, p.182).

Montgomery speculated⁵⁵ on Abdullah's status as a poor reader. Then, he attempted to replace him with the ideal reader-writer such as Al-Jahiz, who could prove the position of totality in Arabiya. Thus, Montgomery focuses on the role of Arabiya in Al-Jahiz's *The Book of Living*, "as God's special gift to man" (2013 a, p.327). According to Montgomery a brief comparison between "two documented cases of attempts to match the Quran" (2013 a, p.329), shows Al-Jahiz succeeded in refuting the counter-prophet Musaylima's writing through the notion of "organization (*tadbir*) which human beings cannot attain even if they were to unite to do so is the work of God" (2013 a, p.329). Thus, if "Abdullah was unaware of power vested in him" (Calvino, 1981, p.182) as a writer of God's words, according to Calvino's judgment, Montgomery shows the role of Al-Jahiz in revealing the false text by comparing it with a total sacred text such as Quran. Again, Montgomery highlights the equation of original / false writing mentioned by Silas⁵⁶. Al-Jahiz and Montgomery

demonstrate that there are two kinds of writing; the first is total writing which can never be imitated, this is a sacred text 'Quran of God', whereas, the second is the false writing which is in a human style such as Musaylima's text. Montgomery, as an ideal reader, discovers that there are similar outcomes between Al-Jahiz and Calvino in their dealing with the problematic equation of writing and reading, because both believed that Quran is a sacred text which represents an excellent example of totality. At the same time, both have the same character (Musaylima / Silas), who tried to imitate the original text. These points of convergence between Al-Jahiz and Calvino can confuse the reader in understanding which one of the two writers argued this problem first, or how they discussed roughly the same ideas despite the huge time gap?

Montgomery found the situation complicated when he stated that "this is a work which I regularly find intimidating and which often, quite frankly, defeats me (2013a, p.57). However, these complicated aspects did not prevent Montgomery from attempting to find the 'ideal writer' in order to be the 'ideal reader'. For example, in part 5 Montgomery engaged in philosophical speculation (*kalam*) and theological ideas⁵⁷ about the creation of cosmos and the 'Design Complex' (2013a, p.277). This speculative journey resulted in him pointing out that *The Book of Living* is "the allegorical book of creation" (2013 a, p.387). Based on this premise, Montgomery concludes that:

It is of the nature of totalizing works and books of fiction that they remain incomplete, even when finished. That *The Book of Living* was left unfinished is an expression of the incompleteness of the globalizing vision. [It is] as an exercise in writing the book of the book of creation, it is impossible to see how it could have been finished during its author's lifetime, for the act of reading (and then writing) God's creation can only be brought to an end in death (2013a, p.387).

Reception theory proposes that Al-Jahiz's work was not just unfinished, but it also coincided with an unfinished reading which is introduced by Montgomery.

All literary works are open to new readings. As Jauss (1982a, p.28) argues, there is no eternal essence of meaning in the text. Only death can stop the rewriting of text, but reading continues forever⁵⁸. This justifies why Montgomery continued to read Al-Jahiz's other books, resulting in the publication of the second volume entitled *Al-Jahiz's in Censure of Books*⁵⁹.

It can be concluded that there is a significant difference between the readings of Irwin and Montgomery although they were writing in the same era and in the same discipline. Irwin was interested in providing general ideas derived from a limited number of specimens of classical Arabic literature, relying on specialist scholars. He did not attempt to reveal new artistic or thematic features of classical poetry and prose. In contrast, Montgomery focused on one of the greatest writers in the Arab world. He discussed and analysed important aspects that had never previously been investigated by western or Arab scholars. In addition, he adopted a new contemporary approach, which contained controversial conceptions. Montgomery's attempt is one of the most daring pieces of researches produced by a professional Orientalists. However, one cannot separate Montgomery's analysis from the mainstream of previous British academic studies. Furthermore, the influence of contemporary British Orientalists who have adopted modern approaches, such as Sperl's structural and Lyons's cultural studies, should be acknowledged.

5.7. Different Approaches to the Study of Classical Arabic Poetry

5.7.1 The Structural Approach

Most post-colonial British academics have shown an interest in classical Arabic prose, especially in the two decades following Arberry's death. A number of these academics have adopted modern approaches in their studies. For instance, in 1989, Sperl adopted the structural approach in his book *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry*, which was originally a doctoral thesis. Ten years

later, Lyons in *Identification and Identity in Classical Arabic Poetry* used the same structural approach in his research on classical Arabic poetry and its cultural backgrounds. However, Jones (1992 and 1996) and Montgomery (2013) followed the pioneering Orientalists in their research methodology. Jones followed Lyall's pedagogical method, while Montgomery mirrored Gibb's philological approach.

These four scholars demonstrate how British Orientalist academic knowledge in relation to classical Arabic poetry has accumulated over the previous century. Sperl and Lyons highlight that British scholars can use the latest theory of contemporary criticism to develop the field, whereas, Jones and Montgomery reflect how this knowledge has been connected to previous scholarly works.

In addition, these works were aimed at filling existing gaps in the research body. For example, Sperl selected Arabic panegyric poetry as a corpus, most of which belongs to the Abassid period, whereas Jones, in his first volume, focused on *Marathi* and *Suluk* poems which belong to pre-Islamic poetry. Montgomery investigated poets who were neglected by Jones in his second volume, such as AL-Qamah, al-Shanfara, Kab. B. Zuhayr, Bisher. B .Abi Khazim, etc. Furthermore, Lyons concentrated on Arabian tales and epics and their relationship with poetry. Each of the authors attempted to find a special niche which enabled him to fill a gap in the research. Overall then it is difficult to accept Said's argument that the whole Orientalist discourse:

shares with magic and with mythology the self-containing, self-reinforcing character of a closed system, in which objects are what they are because they are what they are, for once, for all time, for ontological reasons that no empirical material can either dislodge or alter (Said, 2003, p.70).

It could be argued that certain non-academic scholars still engaged with the traditional thinking that mixed Orientalism with a popular imaginative cultural

approach⁶⁰, but most academic scholars adopted specific objective approaches. The best evidence to refute Said's statement is that most British scholars, at least in the post-colonial era, were outside the traditional rules of a closed system, because they utilized contemporary Arab scholars' findings. British scholars were never in a closed circle of knowledge, whether in dealing with ancient or contemporary scholars. The relationship between them can be described as that of dialogue and mutual benefit. For instance, Sperl, in *Mannerism Arabic Poetry*, pays greater attention to the views of Arab scholars than western ones. He used Arab scholars, such as Dayf, Adunis, and Kamal Abu Deeb⁶¹, in his research, indicating that Orientalists were no longer the only scholars who could interpret the Orient⁶².

Another example highlights the objectivity and neutrality of contemporary British academic scholars. Both Sperl and Lyon chose the structural approach to study Arabic poetry. Structural theorists argue that a researcher has to deal with texts themselves regardless of authors' social and historical background (Lodge, 1988, p.69), which can affect the critical judgement or analysis.

Most interestingly Sperl produces a valid argument about the unity of the formal ode *qasida*, which was previously denied by most Western critics including Gibb, who argues that:

once a literary form is established, it remains henceforward standardized and almost stereotyped in its main lines. The earliest poem, presumably addressed to the poet's fellow tribesmen, are loose in choice and order of their themes, and seem to have no function but to express the poet's own personality and reactions to his circumstances (1963, p.18).

Said has noted that Gibb has two difficulties in relation to the Oriental mind and literature. According to Said, Gibb also criticizes "the absence of form in Arabic literature and for the Muslim's essentially atomistic view of reality" (2003, p.277).

This example highlights that there are two British Orientalist views about the form of Arabic literature and the unity of the formal ode '*qasida*'. The first one is given by Gibb (1926)⁶³ and was formulated in 1934, by Kowalski's theory, as Sperl demonstrated (1989, p.3). The second is given by Sperl in the early 1970s. However, Said (2003) only discusses Gibb's contribution, ignoring Sperl's analysis. In fact, Sperl did not adopt a neutral or objective position, but defended the medieval Arabic poems which were written in a "meaningful and well-balanced manner" (1989, p.4). He sought to undermine previous prejudices that were attached to classical Arabic poetry. In particular, he focused specifically on the refutation of Gelder's views about the formal ode *qasida*. Gelder concludes that "classical Arabic poems have been described as lacking unity ever since Western critical standards were applied to them" (cited in Sperl, 1989, p.3).

By adopting Jacobson's structural model, Sperl introduced a practical analysis of mannerism in classical Arabic poetry to dispel Said's assertion that "for what the Orientalist does is to confirm the Orient in his readers' eyes; he neither tries nor wants to unsettle already firm convictions" (2003, p.63). It was not only Sperl who sought to change his readers' minds, but Lyons also attempted to submit Arabic folk stories to contemporary structural criticism for the same purpose. Furthermore, both academics not only attempted to change their readers' minds, but were also keen to change their type of readers by addressing their publications to specialized elite readers through their structural approach. The books were not prepared for students or the general public. This focus on the specialized reader indicates that the objective is to serve the texts themselves. Thus, it can be described as the search for pure knowledge, which has no room for ideology, politics, or social function.

However, there is one major difference between Sperl and Lyons. Lyons attempted to establish his own project by publishing three volumes about the Arabian epic, which were followed by a book about classical Arabic poetry. All

four publications share the one structural approach and a similar model of analysis⁶⁴. Although Jones followed Lyall's method of dealing with classical poetry⁶⁵, contemporary British Orientalists' ways of thinking and methodologies cannot be compared with those who lived in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, the efforts of Orientalists cannot be categorized under the same level of evaluation, because there are numerous works which have been addressed and prepared for students. This kind of knowledge attempts to achieve a pedagogical purpose, which rarely changes over the time. Moreover, academic Arabic knowledge suffers from a lack of new critical thinking, which could produce new thinking.

The forthcoming section provides clear examples about the unchanged procedure, which follows the methods of early twentieth century scholars.

5.7.2. Pedagogical and Philological Approaches

Between 1992 and 1997, notable publications were written about early classical Arabic poetry by Jones and Montgomery. In the context of unchanged procedure, Jones's two volumes about early Arabic poetry represent the best examples. The volumes are addressed specifically to undergraduate and graduate students. However, Jones goes further in his neutrality when he distances himself from making any personal commentary on the poems, which were translated by him, as he "does not wish to impose [his] own literary views on the student, at any rate in this volume and its companion" (1992, p.viii). Therefore, he does not make any critical judgement about the poems, leaving his readers to enjoy themselves through free reading. Furthermore, he did not cite any analytical comments made by the classical Arabic commentators, because he believes that:

The classical Arabic commentators are notoriously bad in this respect, and one cannot totally escape their shadows. Their works are mines of information, most of it recondite, but they are worse than useless when

one wants to try to understand any literary feature in a poem, unless it is of a most formal nature. Worst of all, the commentators never display any real sense of enjoyment (1992, p.viii).

Although, Jones's two volumes were aimed at students, the volumes are still a significant corpus for investigating the origins of classical Arabic literature by comparing the texts to other Arabic texts. In this context, one may consider these studies as a basis for a return to philology. Similarly, Montgomery mentions that he employs considerable philological material in his discussion (1997, p.v). However, he adopts a different methodology from Jones. For example, Montgomery quotes commentaries from classical Arabic scholars in order to create a deep discussion about the features of the poem and the poet's life. He often analyses the structure, themes, style, and images, while on occasions drawing comparisons among the pre-Islamic poets, or between Arabian and Western poets. The following quote from his analysis of Bisher b. Abi Khazim Al-Asadi's poetry highlights how Montgomery deals with Arabic classical poetry:

The poetry is an interesting mixture of styles: at times heavily reminiscent of his fellow tribesman and precursor 'Abid b. al-Abras; at times innovative, forward looking and progressive, with some of the techniques, devices and treatments which are also to be encountered in the poetry of, for example, Labid b. Rabiah. These stylistic features are, surely, the incentives for the divergent reports of Bishr's life-span and his associations with other poets: the essayed an explanation of these idiosyncrasies in terms of what they thought constituted a poet's life and his poetic friendships or acquaintance. The poem under discussion here is unusual in that it describes a sea voyage made by Bishr, a not inconsiderable feat for a son of the desert (1997, p.167).

Thus, it is clear that Montgomery's methodology is totally different from that of Jones. Montgomery was fully involved in extensive analysis, which requires a wide range of knowledge. In addition, Montgomery depends entirely on his own translation, which is different from other translations produced by William Jones, Lyall, and Arberry. Montgomery brings a new sense to the classical

Arabic poetry when he uses simplistic modern English language. Furthermore, he transformed the difficult language of classical Arabic poetry into novelistic ordinary language⁶⁶. His work reveals that he has the capability and professionalism to enable him to make such a philological investigation.

As can be seen, two British scholars, who lived at the same time and researched the same topic, had different methods for dealing with early classical Arabic poetry. These approaches reflect the fact that British academics deal with Arabic literature as pure academic knowledge which has been systematically organized by individual efforts. Therefore, there is no ideological purpose behind the studies, or at least political institutions do not play an important role in producing this knowledge.

Finally, Montgomery is considered to be a model of contemporary British scholars, who refused to play the role of mediator and translator between the text and the reader. In other words, he is essentially interested to serve the texts themselves and to obtain personal enjoyment⁶⁷.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter is primarily concerned with tracing British Orientalist academic knowledge in relation to classical Arabic literature during the post-colonial period, with a special focus on Arberry and his project *The Charter of Modern Orientalism*. The chapter highlights how Arberry's project was important in terms of humanistic Orientalist knowledge, as an attempt to save humanity from returning to the dark ages, by using various types of techniques such as social media, public lectures and modern technology. The chapter also demonstrates that British Orientalist academics avoided becoming involved in politics. Thus, it is not an exaggeration to describe their output as pure academic knowledge, especially after the end of the Second World War. Since the early seventeenth century, this field of academic knowledge has been divided into two streams in dealing with classical Arabic literature. The first is interested in studying classical Arabic prose, and includes British scholars, such as Serjeant, Beeston, Latham, and Montgomery. The second is interested in classical Arabic poetry, and includes other British scholars, such as Sperl, Lyons, Jones, and Montgomery. At the same time, the scholars were divided into two groups by adopting different methodological approaches. A number employed contemporary criticism approaches, such as Sperl and Lyons, who adopted the structural approach and Montgomery, who is interested in combined approach; the readers' responses and philological approach. In contrast, other scholars preferred the philological approach, such as Serjeant, Beeston and Latham.

This chapter also highlights the significant role of philology, in dealing with classical Arabic literature. This approach contributes to producing a reliable answer to certain problematic terminology and misleading concepts, especially those related to religion and culture. Serjeant's investigation about the origin of legal terminology in classical Arabic prose, such as *sunna*, *ijmaa*, and *quias*

as well as Said's interpretation of the term *jihad* and the term *kafir*, which is redefined by Armstrong, are excellent examples of the validity of such an approach. This viewpoint is derived from the fact that Islamic thoughts and principles are built upon a linguistic factor which believes that the Qur'an is an Arabic linguistic miracle. The language of the Qur'an basically corresponds with the standard Arabic language which was also used as the language of classical Arabic literature. Thus, it is improbable to attempt to study classical Arabic literature without acknowledging its association with Islamic religious texts. This relationship can be understood accurately through the philological approach.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Recommendations

This Chapter summarises the history of the British Orientalists, starting from the early seventeenth century to the present. It comprises three major sections: highlighting the research findings, revisiting the questions raised in Chapter One, especially in connection with the detailed discussion of the various aspects of Jauss's theoretical framework and Said's arguments in his main work *Orientalism*.

6.1 Research Findings

This study introduces an extensive theoretical and historical survey of British Orientalist discourse in the specific area of classical Arabic literature, by using different historical approaches. It adopts Juss's reception theory. Thus, the study focuses on the responses to Arabic literature of Orientalists instead of concentrating on their lives and works, although it does refer to these aspects but only to highlight their responses and to reveal how they have dealt with classical Arabic literature. This section summarizes the main findings.

The study highlights that British Orientalist discourse has experienced four levels of aesthetic response to classical Arabic literature. The first level is looking for 'moral' themes as can be seen in Pococke's analysis of *The Proverbs of Ali* and Tograi's poem, because of Pococke's religious background. The second is the attraction of the romantic spirit, which clearly appears in the works of Ockley and William Jones. The third is the mystic inspiration which was found in the works of Nicholson and Arberry. Finally, realistic and scientific speculation is found in the works of Beeston, Serjeant, Latham, Lyons, Alan Jones and Montgomery.

It can also be noted that British scholars, especially in the pre-colonial and colonial eras, were attracted to the procedure of ancient Arab scholars' authorship. The focus started with Pococke and Ockley and reached a peak of influence in Palmer's works, although Nicholson and Arberry were also impacted, albeit to a lesser degree. However, in the post-colonial era this impact mostly disappeared, or at least was less influential. In other words, the research into classical Arabic literature has experienced a degree of mutual relationship. In the pre-colonial and colonial eras, the first generation of British Orientalists, to some extent, benefited from the methodologies of classical Arabic scholars. In turn, the first generation of modern Arabic scholars, utilized the investigations of the early British Orientalists. In the post-colonial era, contemporary British and Arab scholars have shared a mutual benefit in dealing with classical Arabic literature. This relationship can be described as a kind of dialogism, rather than a type of argument.

Another significant point revealed in the study is that most British Orientalists, particularly in the periods of pre-colonialism and colonialism, came to this field through self-motivation which means that they suffered from a shortage of institutional funding. Ironically, most were ignored in their own country, but were well-known in the eastern countries, as Arberry highlights (1960, p.189). The appreciation of British Orientalists in the East and Arab world reflects the fact that most British Orientalists undertook exceptional efforts to serve and save classical Islamic and Arabic literature, through editing, translating, and investigating. This includes even those who got involved in politics, such as Lane, Margoliouth, and Gibb. As can be seen in this study, in terms of professionalism, there are only two works among significantly remarkable Orientalist works that lack the professionalism of the Orientalists. The first, in the late eighteenth century, is by Carlyle, while the second is produced by Irwin in 1999.

The absence of institutional support impacted negatively on the output of British Orientalist academia in dealing with the massive heritage of classical Arabic literature. As a result, as Said remarks (1983, p.269), the British output is lower than that of German and French academics. However, it is noticeable that British Orientalists were the first to devote significant attention to the humanistic side of Oriental studies, starting with Sir William Jones through to Browne and his student Nicholson, and later to Arberry. In England, those scholars built "a pattern of humanity and the humanities in the broadest and truest sense" (Arberry, 1960, p.192), whereas certain Orientalist scholars in Germany and France devoted themselves to producing discrimination knowledge. As is shown in Chapter Four, one important difference between British and other Western discourses is that British scholars focused on the role of literature and culture in building a humanistic relationship between nations and civilizations. This trend reached its apex in Arberry's project 'The Modern Charter of Orientalism', which adopted the 'dialogue of civilizations' rather than the later 'clash of civilizations'. This approach has been revived at present by Armstrong under the title of 'Charter of Compassion'. According to Arberry and later Armstrong, Orientalist academic knowledge can contribute to solving disorder in the world, and can be an important tool in establishing the values of peace rather than providing reasons for wars.

Another positive feature highlighted in the study is that certain British Orientalists were very keen to adopt modern approaches of criticism in studying classical Arabic literature. For example, Arberry attempted to employ different approaches in his analysis of classical Arabic poetry. This attempt encouraged the new generation of contemporary scholars such as Sperl, Lyons and Montgomery to adopt the modern approaches of criticism, such as structuralism and reception theory. However, the philological approach still plays an important role.

Although British Orientalist scholars were individually motivated, their research in relation to classical literature has been systematic and consistent. For example, in the colonial era, most Orientalists focused more on classical poetry than prose, whereas in the first twenty years of the post-colonial area (1970s and 1980s) most Orientalists concentrated on research into classical prose. In the early 1990s, Jones and Montgomery shifted the focus back again to classical poetry to bridge the gap that had grown wide in the previous two decades. They both studied different genres of pre-Islamic poetry. Jones studied *Marathi* and *Suluk* poems in volume 1, and *Muallaqat* in volume 2, while Montgomery examined the forgotten poems.

The main finding of the study is that although there are uneven responses in dealing with classical Arabic literature, most British scholars belong to the same mostly unpoliticised academic school of knowledge. This knowledge has accumulated over a long period of research and is still being built upon. What is most remarkable about this academic knowledge is that it has been produced without political involvement. This academic knowledge is different from other branches of Orientalist knowledge, such as imaginative literature, arts, travellers' observations, adventures, autobiographical writings, and political reports, as it depends on objectivity. The objective aspect is built upon scientific and reliable methods of investigation, through approaches such as philology. As a result, the study focuses on this approach in two chapters entitled 'The Age of Philology' and 'Return to Philology'. In the first chapter, the thesis demonstrates how British scholars have utilized the philological approach to study the origin of classical poetry, while in the second, it focuses on the scholars who used this approach in their investigation about the origins of classical Arabic prose. The importance of philology is due to the fact that it is a discipline which "requires a quasi-scientific intellectual and spiritual prestige at various period in all of the major cultural traditions, including the

Western and Arabic-Islamic traditions” (Said, 2004, p.58). In addition, as Jauss describes “philological understanding can exist only in a perpetual confrontation with the text, and cannot be allowed to be reduced to a knowledge of facts” (1982, p.21).

6.2 Research Questions Revisited

Regarding the theoretical framework of the research and its content, there are six questions, the answers to which are summarised below.

Question1. To what extent can Jauss’s theoretical assumptions about ‘literary history’ be useful in casting new light on classical Arabic literature as read by British Orientalists? And in what sense do Jauss’s contributions help bridge the gap between literary theory and the study of literary history?

As discussed in Chapter One, this thesis adopts Jauss’s theory of literary history to explore the contributions made by British Orientalists and critique the impact these contributions had on our understanding of Arabic literature. One of the most significant features of this approach is to prevent the study from engaging in a pure historiographical approach which merely focuses on providing details about the lives of authors and their works. For example, this method of investigation focuses on such questions as ‘Where/When he/she is going? With whom he/she is living? How did he spend his/her life? Which career did he/she follow?’ These questions are related to the author in particular. However, in the proper historiographical approach other questions are raised about the political events and social conditions and circumstances in the author’s era. The present research avoids these type of questions in order to engage with the process of the received Arabic classical texts and how British Orientalists have dealt with them. Therefore, this study is different from previous historical studies on the history of Orientalism, such as Johann Wilhelm Fück’s *Die Arabische n Studien in Europa* (1944), A. J. Arberry’s *British*

Orientalists (1960), A. F. Burton's *British Orientalists* (2001), and Robert Irwin's *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and Its Discontents* (2006). These books are more biographical works than a literary history, according to Jauss's assumptions which focuses on process of reception of the texts themselves (1982a, p.4).

Another important point, which is related to part two of the question, is that the literary historian can share his/her judgements or comments with the readers. This means that he/she has taken the role of critic. In this case, he/she can evaluate and investigate the texts without the requirement of the mediation of the critic. Thus, the literary historian can bridge the gap between literary history and literary theory. Then, the literary historian will never be left behind the critic for one or two generations, but they are, so to speak, walking in a line of symmetry. This point is illustrated in Chapter Five through the study of two British scholars, Irwin and Montgomery. In dealing with classical Arabic texts, Irwin adopts the role of neutral reader or objective author, without using a critical judgement. In contrast, Montgomery analyses in-depth the texts of al-Jahiz to highlight his creative imagination. In his analysis, Montgomery adopts a contemporary critical approach, such as reception theory. Thus, he is not only a literary historian who writes, comments and adds annotations to explain the texts for the ordinary reader, but he also attempts to share the author's aesthetic experiences. Thus, Montgomery never left any distance between him and the contemporary critic. In this context of interaction of aesthetic experience, this study has also attempted to add a new historical aesthetic reading by incorporating the work of other British Orientalists.

Question 2. How did Orientalists receive classical Arabic literature in different periods? And in what respect does their reception of the history of Arabic literature differ from traditional, mostly diachronic, approaches to literary history?

In the last three points of Jauss's seven theses (1982a, p. 32), he argues that the historicity of literature should be considered at three different levels. The first level is the diachronic axis, which gives to the literary historian two advantages to develop his/her literary history. First, it looks to the individual work as a part of other works in the literary series. This individual work can be recognised by its historical status within the whole movement of the experience of the literature. For example, in Chapter Three, Carlyle's attempt to write an early Arabic history can be viewed as a passive reading among many positive Orientalist readings which came from various eras. Thus, by using the diachronic axis, the literary historian can clearly recognise how the experience of different readings have been accumulated over various periods.

Second, this axis enables the historical process of reception and production to continue to the present (Jauss, 1982a, p.341). This means that there is no termination of the process and the work is still on-going. According to Jauss, "founding 'literary evolution' on an aesthetics of reception thus not only returns its lost direction insofar as the standpoint of literary historian becomes the vanishing point –but not the goal- of the process" (1982a, p.34). This study has benefited from the diachronic evolution to the present day, although it began in 2011. For example, this study includes Montgomery's *Al-Jahiz: In Praise of Books*, although it was published in 2013. Here, the main difference between this approach and traditional ones is that the latter. This is because the traditional approach prohibits any judgement or analysis in an unfinished period (Jauss, 1982a, p.7). The rigorous rules of the traditional approach are based on the concept of 'full objectivity'. According to Jauss, this objectivity "demands that the historian ignore the standpoint of his present time, the value and significance of a past age must also be recognizable independent of the later course of history" (1982a, p.7). Thus, it is clear that the traditional approach stands against any notion of a dynamic process, whereas the

diachronic evolutionary axis provides the literary historian with a larger degree of flexibility that enables him/her to keep up with changes in literary theory.

Jauss's second level is the synchronic axis which enables this study to deal with certain British Orientalists who wrote around the same historical moment. This makes the study more focused on those Orientalists who were overlooked in the key historical books, such as Arberry's *Oriental Essays*, which focused on familiar authors. For example, in Chapter Three, the study includes Pococke, Carlyle and Ockley, who lived in the same pre-colonial period, although their works reflected different perspectives. In the later colonial period, two scholars, Palmer and Preston were analysed together, although they were interested in different areas. Palmer was interested in poetry while Preston was interested in prose. However, both proved their professionalism as linguists; thus they were studied under the title *The Great Linguistic Talent of Preston and Palmer*. As a result, both received the same level of interest, because they lived in the same historical moment (see: Jauss's thesis 6 in Chapter One).

The third level is using both the diachronic and synchronic axes in what Jauss refers to as "the synchronic cross-section" (1982a, p.36). The interrelation of diachronic and synchronic axes enables the literary historian to recognize certain articulated historical moments in the mainstream of the evolutionary process of the literary work. For example, there are a number of articulated historical moments that were notable turning points in the process of British Orientalist history. One of these points is when Arberry launched the 'Modern Charter of Orientalism' after the end of the Second World War. This instance can be recognized as an articulated juncture between the two different eras, (the end of the colonial epoch and the beginning of post-colonialism). Diachronically, the study shows how this declaration was forgotten for three decades before it was revived by Armstrong's Charter of Compassion in 2008. Another shift of focus developed in early seventeenth century when such

British Orientalists as Beeston, Serjeant and Latham started to have an interest in classical Arabic poetry rather than classical Arabic prose. Then, in 1990s, Jones and Montgomery saw a return to classical poetry. The relevance of the synchronic and diachronic axes is answered in question three.

Question 3. In what respect can a synchronic-diachronic approach contribute to our understanding of the history of Arabic literature as studied by British Orientalists.

The significance and relevance of the diachronic and synchronic interrelationship cannot be achieved unless literary history is seen in the interface with general history, as Jauss proposed in his final thesis (1982, p.39). This relationship should reflect the social function of literature. As argued in Chapter Five, Orientalist knowledge can be used to resolve certain problematic religious terminology in British and Muslim societies. It is apparent that religion has an important role in shaping the culture and social behaviour of Arab-Muslim people. At the same time, this knowledge can overcome the false imaginative and artificial attributes attributed to Arabs that have been constructed by more than 300 novels, written between 1909 and 2009, according to Burge's survey of sheikh and desert romances novels (2012, p.294). By using modern media (as Arberry and Montgomery did) and public lectures (as Armstrong is doing), this knowledge can be released from the narrow academic knowledge into a wider practical social knowledge. One of the best examples of how Orientalist knowledge can be widely socialized is the emergence of the "New Age of Spirituality [...] in American popular culture, [when] a mystical orientation toward religion all revere Rumi as one of the world's great spiritual teacher" (Lewis, 2008, p.1). Rumi has gained celebrity status through social media, newspaper, films, music, literature, and arts, not just in America but around the world (Lewis, 2008, pp.2-4). Undoubtedly, British Orientalist knowledge, especially the efforts of Nicholson

and Arberry, has contributed to the introduction of the model of spirituality to Western public culture.

At this stage, it is important to mention that this thesis has benefited from Jauss's assumption about the relationship between the diachronic-synchronic axes and social dimension. The thesis has kept in touch synchronically with the historical moment of social and political events. For example, in Chapter Five, the thesis cites statements in the UK parliament highlighting contested terminology, such as 'Islamic State', 'daesh', and 'jihad'. Thus, although the thesis is described as an historical study by using Jauss's approach, it interacts with the current social dimension.

Question 4. How viable are Said's assumptions about British Orientalism in general, and those relating to the study of the history of classical Arabic literature in particular?

This question relates to the next one, because both require answers about the relationship between British Orientalism and ideology. Overall, Said (1982, 2003) denies that there can be absolute pure knowledge, even in literature. Under the title, *The Distinction between Pure and Political Knowledge*, he argues that the "knowledge about Shakespeare or Wordsworth [is similar to] knowledge about contemporary China or the Soviet Union", where both, directly or indirectly, are associated with politics (2003, p.9). Said's view is derived from his belief that "no one has ever devised a method for detaching the scholar from the circumstances of life, from the fact of his involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position" (2003, p.10). As a consequence, he deals with Orientalist knowledge as ideological knowledge. As discussed throughout the thesis and particularly in Chapter 5, a number of facts and examples refute this claim. British Orientalist knowledge was not fully involved with politics; in fact, most scholars suffer from the negative impact of politics. For example, Arberry preferred to detach

himself from politics. He repeatedly declared that “politics was never my business” (1960, p.237). It can be argued that certain British scholars, such as Gibb, Lane and Margoliouth, were involved in politics, but the majority, especially those who dealt with classical Arabic literature, did not engage in politics or, at least, there is no evidence to support this claim. In engaging with this subject, the answer to the next research question provides more detail.

Question 5. To what extent has ideology, in its political and religious forms, conditioned the British Orientalist academic discourse? To what extent can we think of two modes of Orientalist scholarship: one that has been motivated by the ideological agenda of the colonialist project and another that has attempted to detach itself from the influence of ideology?

British Orientalist academic knowledge has witnessed three stages in terms of the impact of ideology: the pre-colonial period; the colonial period and the post-colonial period.

In pre-colonial period, as discussed in Chapter 3, religious ideology contributed to academic interest in understanding, learning and teaching the Arabic language and its literature. At that time, Orientalists felt that learning Arabic helped them to have a better understanding of Biblical texts. Simultaneously, they needed to learn Arabic language in order to refute the Qur’an. In addition, knowledge of Arabic was used for the polemic between Christians and Muslims. Academics in this period included Bedwell and Pococke.

In the colonial period, a number of British Orientalists studied in Chapter 4, such as Palmer and Margoliouth, used their knowledge to serve political or religious issues. An example of Palmer’s publication highlights the influence of religious ideology. Palmer wrote two volumes about Beha-Ed-Din Zoheir’s poetry; the first was published in Arabic, whereas the second was published

in English. In the two volumes, it is possible to find distorted ideas about the conflict between the Sunni and Shiah sects, if a comparison is made between the Arabic and English texts. For example, in Arabic Palmer (1876, p.10) argued that:

(فلما وقع ما وقع من المنازعة في الخلافة وخرج احد الفريقين على علي بن ابي طالب انحازت الفرس مع علي وذويه وانحازت العرب مع معاوية واصحابه وهكذا حصلت اول بدعة في الاسلام اعني خروج اهل التشيع على اهل السنة الا انه ما كان بغضهم بغضا جديدا بل عداوة قديمة عداوة بني سام مع بني يافث)

In the English copy, this quotation is translated as:

The contest for the succession among the immediate survivors of Mohammed afforded an opportunity for the two parties to join issue; the case of Ali and his family was espoused by the Persian party, while the Arab party favoured Moawiyeh and his adherents. In this way arose the first great schism in Mohammedanism, that Sunni and Shiah; a schism which perpetuated the old hatred between the Semitic and Japhetic races (Palmer, 1877, p.xxi).

The comparison between the two quotations shows an additional sentence (اعني خروج اهل التشيع على اهل السنة) (a'nī ḡarūj ahl attāšī' 'alā ahl asana) was added in the Arabic copy, which shifted the meaning of the event. Other examples of distorted meaning (omission and addition) can be found pages 12, 13, and 14 of the Arabic copy. These show how religious ideological issues can change and manipulate the Orientalist texts. At this stage, it should be mentioned that the distorted meaning occurs in the Arabic copy, therefore the distortion could have been made by one of the proof readers, who were mentioned in the introduction of English copy. Palmer "addressed a thanks for Rizk Allah Hassoun Effendi and Abdallah Marrash," who assisted him, as native scholars in the revision of Arabic copy (1877, p.xiii).

However, this period witnessed the emergence of the first generation of British Orientalist, who were not interested in any kind of ideology. These academics included Lyall, Nicholson and Arberrry. It is no exaggeration to argue that those

scholars contributed to the establishment of a pure academic knowledge, which continues to the present day.

In the post-colonialism period, most British Orientalists, who deal with classical Arabic literature, avoided involvement in politics or other ideologies, because of several factors. First, the new generation of Orientalists were instructed by non-ideological scholars, such as Arberry. Second, in the twentieth century Derrida and Foucault's ideas against the ideology and the impact of structural approach mitigated any involvement with ideology. Third, Said's criticism of Orientalism raised the level of awareness of ideology to a peak. After Said's *Orientalism*, 'Orientalist', as a term, became an accusation. Thus, certain scholars avoided using the term 'Orientalist', preferring to use the term 'Arabist' (see: Irwin, 2008, p.7). What is most striking is that Orientalist knowledge and Orientalism were described as dangerous, as Irwin entitled his book. However, this study reveals that there is a pure Orientalist knowledge, which can establish both humanistic relationships across the world and the values of peace instead of the rules of war.

Question 6. What key contributions have British Orientalists made in (re)conceptualising classical Arabic literature, in both poetry and prose?

There is no doubt that British Orientalists have served classical Arabic literature in a number of ways. First, in the early seventeenth century, British Orientalists devoted themselves to collecting many valuable manuscripts in different fields and saved them in big specialist libraries, such as the Bodleian. Second, British Orientalists, such as Pococke, translated great works of classical Arabic literature into Latin. One of the most remarkable efforts was bin al Tufail's philosophical story (حي بن يقظان) Hay bin Yaqdhan. This work had previously been translated into English by Ockley. Third, through editing, translation and annotation, Lyall's efforts are still regarded as the best pioneering specialist publications in classical Arabic poetry; one of the most

remarkable works is the *Mufaddaliyat*, published in 1921. Four, exceptional efforts were made by Nicholson, who wrote the first publication about Arabic literary history. In this book, Nicholson made important arguments about Arabic-Islamic culture and literature and produced accurate critical judgements, especially in poetry. For example, he believes that there are no significant differences between Umayyad poetry and pre-Islamic poetry; therefore, he put them on the same level of artistic evaluation. This judgement reveals how Nicholson was able to recognize and analyse the deep-rooted traditional and literary phenomena of classical Arabic literature (1907, p.285). He was fully aware that the political change and new religious principles brought about by Islam did not bring about any rapid change in literature and cultural values of the pre-Islamic period. Another contribution of Nicholson is his distinguished study about Abu 'l-'Ala al-Ma'arri's poetry and the mystical poetry of Ibn u'l-Farid (see Chapter 4).

Five, among these efforts, there are two extraordinary philological investigations; one by Margoliouth and the other by Serjeant. In his investigation about the origin of classical poetry, Margoliouth introduced an extensive critical analysis of the relationship between the Qur'anic text and pre-Islamic poetry. This study had been critiqued following detailed investigation by Arab scholars. However, Margoliouth's assumption is still valid and used in the study of pre-Islamic poetry in Arab universities. Furthermore, it has made a significant impact on the philological studies of classical literature. Serjeant was an academic inspired by Margoliouth's philological investigation, although he studied pre-Islamic Arabic prose. He found that many prosaic Islamic legal terms were derived from pre-Islamic culture, prose and poetry, and they shared the same roots of meaning. In addition, Serjeant's philological investigation was not only based on written sources only, but he also attempted to extend his field of study to include a real observation of "the traditional life of Arabia which was denied to those of his

predecessors who had relied solely upon written sources" (Bidwell and Smith, 1983, p.2). Overall, neither works are significant quantitatively, but their qualitative impact on the future philological investigation of Arabic classical literature and Islamic studies was important.

Six, the recent effort of Montgomery, who researched al-Jahiz' writings, is of significant importance. As discussed in Chapter 5, Montgomery's work is an extensive and careful reading not just of Al-Jahiz's *The Book of Living*, but also reflects the reality of the whole movement of intellectual knowledge in relation to the Abbasid period. This work recalls the memory of the great achievements of the philologist scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who spent all their lives producing one or two great works. The significance of Montgomery's work is to establish his own reading project, so to speak, of Al-Jahiz's works (2013b). This is apparent when in 2013 he posed the question, "how could Al-Jahiz speak and write on behalf of his society?" which he will answer in volume two, which will be released in 2018, entitled, *Al-Jahiz: In Censure of Books* (2013a, p.428). Once again, this matter confirms that British Orientalist knowledge in dealing with Arabic literature is continuing to rely on individual efforts. As can be seen, there is no institutional agenda to exploit this knowledge to serve political purposes.

6.3 Recommendations

This study is one of a number of studies in literary history in British Orientalist discourse. However, it is different from many studies, as it adopts Jauss's literary history approach. This approach enables the study to engage with the latest literary theories and practices. Thus, it can be considered as an attempt to renew the methodological investigation of literary history. By choosing one specific area such as classical Arabic literature, the study is able to cover a long period of Orientalist knowledge. However, there are further Orientalist topics that require investigation in order to further British Orientalist knowledge. Using Jauss's approach, a number of suggestions are proposed for future research.

The efforts in linguistics require more investigation. Although Jauss's approach applies to literary history, the diachronic-synchronic axes is the best framework for investigating Arabic language and how British Orientalists have dealt with it. At the same time, this approach can serve to show how some ideas, images, and thoughts, have developed over time. For example, the image of the Prophet Mohammed in western popular imagination is one of the most important suggested areas for research. In addition, the reception of the Qur'anic text and its translation into Latin and then to English, is a further field of investigation in relation to Islamic studies. This will contribute to a better understanding about the Western and Eastern culture, religion, history and social contacts.

To conclude, this thesis has shown how it is important to seriously revive Eastern studies in Western universities, as Arberry suggested (1960, p.248), in order to organize the chaos around religious and cultural concepts and thoughts.

Notes

1- Wellek and Warren give three examples of British scholars who were interested in this method of authorship. Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1774), Henry Morley, *Preface to English Writers* (1864) and Leslie Stephen, *English Literary and Society in Eighteenth Century* (1904), (1978, p.311).

2- See for examples: Ormond Rush (1997) *The Reception of Doctrine: An Appropriation of Hans Robert Jauss' Reception Aesthetics and Literary Hermeneutics*, David Parris (2009) *Reception Theory and Biblical Hermeneutics*, Anthony C. Thiselton (2012) *Reception Theory*, H. R. Jauss and the Formative Power of Scripture, and Robert Evan (2014) *Reception History, Tradition and Biblical Interpretation*, Gadamer and Jauss in Current Practice.

3- Edward Pococke (1604-1691). Pococke was the first Laudian professor to hold the Arabic Chair at Oxford in 1634. He was born on 8 November 1604 at Oxford and spent most of his early life there. In 1620, when he was 16, he was admitted to Corpus Christi College (Twells, 1816, p.1), and when he was 18, "he was admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts" (Twells, 1816, p.4). He was mainly interested in studying Eastern Languages, such as Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac. He took his first Arabic lesson under a German teacher called Matthias Pasor (Twells, 1816, p. 4). In addition, he was acquainted with both Greek and Roman. According to Twells, when he was young, he wrote papers about Quintilian, Cicero, Plutarch, and Plato, among others (1816, p. 2).

In his early years Pococke undertook two important journeys to the East, which enriched his knowledge and experience in the Arabic language and Islamic culture. He spent six years in Aleppo from 1630 to 1636. Then, he visited Constantinople between 1637 and 1641 (Holt, 1957a, p.122). These long periods enabled him to have considerable contact with native Arabic and Turkish speakers. More importantly, his visits saw him collect huge numbers Arabic and Islamic manuscripts across different areas of knowledge. For more information about Pococke's life, see Twells (1816), Lewis (1941, pp.13-15), Holt (1957a), and Irwin (2006, pp.93-97).

4- Joseph Dacre Carlyle (1759-1804). Carlyle was born in Carlisle, in the north west of England. He was educated at Carlisle Grammar School and "he learned Arabic from native Baghdad calling himself David Zamio" (Arberry, 1948, 19-20). In 1796, Carlyle occupied Sir Thomas Adam's chair. He was the first Orientalist scholar at the University of Cambridge to visit Constantinople and Palestine in 1799. Unfortunately, after this journey, Carlyle had suffered from health problems, which led to his early death in 1804. See, Arberry (1943, pp. 19-22).

5- Simon Ockley (1678-1720). Ockley was born in Exeter and is described as 'the pioneer' of Arabic studies in Britain (Arberry, 1960, p.11). He occupied the chair of Sir Thomas Adams in Arabic at the University of Cambridge in 1711. Although he died at the age of 42, he gained a noted reputation for his efforts in the study of the European and Islamic world. He criticized the system of education at the University of Cambridge, which he claimed was not sufficiently interested in Oriental studies. He said that "Shame of us, a nation famous throughout the world for our pursuit of learning, that we should have so few scholars dedicating themselves earnestly to these studies" (Cited in Arberry, 1960, p.14). Although, he never travelled to the East, the library at Oxford enabled him to become "the first interpreter in Europe of the inner meaning of Arab civilization" (Arberry, 1960, p. 47). For further information about his life, see, Lewis (1941, pp.16-17) and Arberry (1948, pp. 13-16).

6- Furthermore, Jauss also stated that: "In university course catalogs literary history is clearly disappearing. It has long been no secret that the philologists of my generation even rather pride themselves in having replaced the traditional presentation of their national literature by periods and as a whole with lectures on the history of a problem or with other systematic approaches" (1982a, p.3, emphasis added).

7- Sir William Jones (1746-1794). Jones was an Orientalist, poet and the founder of comparative linguistics. He was born in London, and his early education was at Harrow. He was interested in poetry and wrote poetry when he was 14 years old. In 1764, he was admitted to University College, Oxford (Arberry, 1960, p. 48). He learnt a number of languages, including Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Sanskrit and Chinese. According to Arberry (1946, p.10), Jones considered himself "as the foremost exponent of Oriental studies in England and as a scholar and writer of rare attainments". There is no doubt that Jones deserves this position, which he chose for himself. He is the founder of modern comparative linguistics and the father of philology in his era.

Although, this is not the place to fully prove or refute Jones's position, a brief review sheds light on this issue. Recently criticisms have been raised about the Jones's role in establishing modern comparative linguistics. One of the most critical articles was written by Lyle Campbell in 2006 entitled "*Why Sir William Jones Got It Wrong, or Jones' Role in How to Establish Language Families*". Campbell outlines five points that show the "mistaken view of Jones' role in the development of Indo-European and comparative linguistics" (2006, p.246). The first and second points are easy to refute; the "connections among Indo-European languages had been observed long before Jones" (Campbell, 2006, p.246) and "the relationship of Sanskrit with certain other Indo-European languages, especially with Greek and Latin, had also been recognized prior to Jones"

(Campbell, 2006, p.246), do not mean that Jones's role is not important, because he empirically proved the connections and the relations between those languages. For example, he conducted a survey which highlighted that:

Five words in six, perhaps, of this language [Hindustani (= Hindi)] were derived from the Sanskrit... but the basis of the Hindustani, particularly the inflexions and the regimen of verbs, differed as widely from both these tongues [Sanskrit and Hindi-Urdu] as Arabick differs from Persian, or German from Greek (1798, p. 422-23).

It is true that observation and recognition are initially important when revealing ideas, but it is crucial to transfer these observations and recognitions into a theoretical framework and then apply it to the practical field and this is what Jones did in most of his investigations. This ability is not available to all scholars. Undoubtedly, Jones professionally mastered all those languages. In addition, Jones authored, translated, and edited a number of distinguished publications and compiled dictionaries of the languages.

The third point of Campbell is that "Jones' procedures bear little resemblance to the comparative method practiced by later linguists, and in any case they were not original" (2006, p. 246). This claim is also weak, because Jones, as a founder, was not required to provide numerous examples, explaining each linguistic case. In addition, Campbell does not prove Jones's unoriginality; he does not reveal from where and when Jones derived the 'unoriginal' ideas. Finally, Campbell does not provide one linguistic example, which supports his claim, whereas he mobilizes tens of scholars' views to support his criticism of Jones's efforts. It is a debate based on controversy rather than academic scientific argument, which should be built on evidence. Finally, Campbell argues that "Jones' more general interest in the history of the human races rather than in language per se was not unusual for 18th and 19th century linguistic scholars" (2006, p. 247). This point is not completely accurate, as Jones was a philologist, who sought origins, whether of language or race. Jones, in contrast to 18th and 19th century linguistic scholars, never used language as a tool to serve racist issues. He believed that if language had similar origins, then people were of the same race. There are no superior or inferior languages See, Lewis (1941, p. 18), Arberry (1946, 1960), Cannon (1990), and Irwin (2006, pp. 122-126).

* Moallakat (المعلقات) is a group of seven or ten long Arabic poems that are considered the complete best work of the pre-Islamic era. Scholars differ in giving the exact reason of its name. Some of them believe that the name comes from suspended poems, which were hanging on the Ka'ba at Mecca. They are also known as golden poems.

** Mufaddaliyat(المفضليات) is an anthology of classical Arabic poems, which was collected by Al-Mufaddal, who lived in the Abbasid period. It consists of 126 poems, some are complete odes, others fragmentary. Most of the poems come from the pre-Islamic era. Mufaddalit is considered one of the most important primary sources of early Per-Islamic poetry.

8- Sir Charles James Lyall (1845–1920). Lyall was born in London, and was admitted to King’s College School, when he was sixteen years old. In 1867, he graduated at Balliol College, Oxford (A. A. B, 1920, p.667). He was first interested in learning Hebrew. This led him to study Arabic, which became his favourite language. He, also, confidently spoke Persian, Hindustani and modern Indian (Nicholson, 1922, p. 493). Lyall spent most of his life in India, from 1867 until his retirement (Nicholson, 1922, p.492). Although he did not pursue an academic career, he maintained his interest in his specialized field as an Orientalist scholar, especially his beloved pre-Islamic poetry. In Calcutta, Lyall published the first work *Hamasah* of Abu Tammam, which “appeared over his name in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* between 1877 and 1881” (Nicholson, 1920, p. 493). In 1894, he published, in Calcutta his first pre-Islamic work *‘Al-Tibrizi’s Commentary on Ten Ancient Arabic Poems* (Nicholson, 1920, p. 493). Arguably, Lyall was inspired by Sir William Jones, who also published some poems of *Hamasah* and *Mualaqat*, and also lived in Calcutta, where he was buried.

Most of Lyall’s efforts focused on classical Arabic poetry, especially from the pre-Islamic era. He was entranced by the complicated ancient words and expressions. As Nicholson stated, he was able to recite not just a few lines, but “almost complete poems” (1920, p. 492).

Lyall’s life and works still require further research, because to date only a couple of a few memorial papers have been published; both in 1920. The first paper, which totalled five pages, was written by his friend Nicholson. These pages were in the specialist journal *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1919-1920. The second paper, totalling two and one half pages, was published in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.

9- David Samuel Margoliouth (1858-1940). Margoliouth was born in London. He was admitted to New College, Oxford and held the Laudian chair of Arabic at the University of Oxford from 1889 to 1937. He mastered a number of Oriental languages, such as Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Armenian and Syriac, in addition to Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Sanskrit (Buaben, 1995, p.53). Margoliouth was a high-profile Orientalist scholar, who published many works in different fields, but his remarkable work about pre-Islamic poetry still evokes debate about the origin of Arabic poetry. This is because he was the first modern scholar to adopt a philological approach by using a theoretical framework to analyse critically many samples of pre-Islamic poetry.

10- This article was translated into Arabic four times. In 1977 it was translated by Dr Yahya al-Jubouri, in 1981 by Dr. Abdullah Ahmed Al-Muhanna, in 1986 by Abdul Rahman Badawi, and Dr Ibrahim Awath translated it in 2006. Taha Hussein published a book on pre-Islamic poetry in March 1922, which included most of the assumptions made by Margoliouth in this article, together with details of the stories and anecdotes. Taha Hussein also focuses on the same idea, which links between the Quran as a written documented text to the oral and doubtful pre-Islamic poetry.

11- Edward Said puts Margoliouth in a group with William Muir, Charles Lyall and Reynold Nicholson, who are descendants of the direct intellectual strain of Edward Lane (2003). However, an objective study of the works produced by Lyall and Nicholson proves that they completely differ from Margoliouth. Thus, it is possible to agree with Said that Margoliouth belongs to Lin's School; the other two are descended from the intellectual strain of Sir William Jones.

12- Despite the fact that the Quran did not use the word 'Arabs' to indicate a uniform people, certain Orientalists insist on linking Islam with Arab nationalism to give a secular and a political element to Islam. For example, Smith insists that one of the characteristics of Muhammadian religion is that the national sentiment as a whole acquires a religious manifestation. We also find that the people, and the Muslim country's social forms, are dressed in a religious uniform. (Cited in Said, 2003, p.236).

13- Margoliouth adopted the '*al Agani*' and '*Mugam Al Udaba*' (Dictionary of Writers) in the transfer of all the narrations. These two books are of general knowledge and not specialised in poetry and criticism, while his sources lack specialized books of criticism, such as Ibn Sallam's '*Tabagat Fuhul al-Shuara*'. Ibn Sallam is the first scholar, who mentioned the issue posing in pre-Islamic poetry and has mentioned everything related to the reasons for plagiarism. He refuted mostly all that Margoliouth mentioned in his book, as transferred from the former two sources, which was previously mentioned by Ibn Sallam, and in *Tabaqat al-shuara* by Ibn Moataz, *alshuir and al-shuara* by Ibn Qutaiba, *Baian and Tabeen* by al Jahiz.

14- For example, the phrase 'good messenger' was replaced by a 'harbinger of good', 'driver and witness' became 'former and witness' and 'Horhen' to adjust 'their role', etc. (نذير الخير) rasūl alḡayr (رسول الخير) ، نعدل الى (دورهن) ḡawrhñ و (حورهن) sābq wašhīd (سابق وشهيد) سائق وشهيد) sā'iq wašhīd (سائق وشهيد) dawrhonna ..الخ

15- The German Orientalist Breuench v Jrevsveld refuted the claim in detail in his article entitled '*In the Matter of Pre-Islamic Poetry*', published in 1926. Dr. Nasir al-Din al-Assad authored a book of more than 700 pages in 1956 under the

title '*Sources of pre-Islamic Poetry and their Historical Value*'. He discussed each point in detail touched on by Margoliouth making them the titles of his chapters, such as 'The narration and the narrators', 'Writing, writers of Pre-Islamic Poetry and its codification', and 'The Homeric problem', as well as documenting the collections of famous poets and tribes.

16- There is not sufficient detail about Preston's life in the main sources that chronicled the European Orientalists such as Fouck, Arberry, and Akiki. It seems that these publications adopted a chronological approach focusing on well-known scholars. Thus, "the lesser authors are overlooked" (1982a, p.4), as Jauss remarked. However, Besant did mention brief notes about Preston such as: "I grieved to say that the death of Mr. Preston in the autumn of last year prevented me from getting further information from him as to Palmer's first introduction to him" (1883, p.37).

17- Besant provides some anecdotes about Palmer's situation at that time, such as: "what was, what could have been the reason why the University thus went out of the way to insult and neglect Palmer? And can one wonder if after all these years of work, he should feel that the limit of patience was reached? At this time Palmer was certainly happier than he had ever been before. He was released from the University, which had treated him with such unmerited, strange, and cruel neglect" (1883, p.210).

18- Besant highlights the romantic and spiritual atmosphere of Palmer's location at Cambridge. He states that: "when I recall his rooms in Cambridge, the charming old time views, the Bridge of Sighs, the company who met around him; it all seems to me here in far-away Philadelphia like a memory of a dream, or poem, or romance of earlier days. Palmer was a charming host, an inimitable storyteller, never telling too much, a perfect anecdotist, one who never wearied and who never seemed weary" (1883, p.186).

19- The best example which resemblances Palmer's diction is the passage of Charles Dickens in his novel, 'A Tale of Two Cities': "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair". For further examples see: <http://literarydevices.net/diction/>.

20-See: Maqmat, p. 431.

21-Steingass's novelistic style can be shown in the following quotation from the maqama of Sasan: "Al Hariri, son of Hammam, related: The report reached me, that Abu Zayd, when he neared the (number of years indicated by the) clenched fist (ninety three), and the fetter of old age robbed him of the power of rising, sent for his son, after having collected his thoughts, and said to him : O my son,

behold the time for departing from the threshold and for having my eyes anointed with the kohl-pencil of demise has drawn nigh, and thou, praise be to Allah, art my heir apparent, and the leader of the flock of Sasan after me, and for one like thee it needs no tapping with the staff, nor awakening him by the throw of pebbles, but he is called upon to exhort men's minds, and made to be a furbisher of their thoughts. So I bequeath thee that which Seth bequeathed not to Nabat, nor Jacob to the tribes. Preserve then my bequest and eschew disobedience to me; pattern thyself after my likeness, and ponder well my saws, for if thou be guided by my counsel and take light from my morning, thy alighting-place will be rich in herbs and thy smoke (i.e. the smoke of thy fires of hospitality) will rise aloft, whereas, if thou be forgetful of my surah, and cast from thee my advice, the ashes of thy trivet will be few, and thy people and kin will make light of thee. my son, I have tested the true states of things and experienced the vicissitudes of fortune, and have seen a man held worth his wealth, not his pedigree, and inquiry is made after his gain, not after his deserts. Now I have heard that the means of livelihood are ministry and commerce, and husbandry and handicraft* so I have plied these four to see which of them is the most fitting and profitable. But I have not proved living by them praiseworthy, nor found ease of life plentiful in them, for the opportunities of rulerships and the perquisites of administrations are like the entanglements of dreams and like the shadows vanishing with the darkness, and sufficient anguish for thee is the bitterness of being weaned therefrom" (1889, p.169).

22- Suzanne Bordelon, in her publication *A Feminist Legacy: The Rhetoric and Pedagogy of Gertrude Buck* (2007, p. 3), argues that this pattern of marginalization is also evident in *Composition and Rhetoric* because, like social studies, the field has stressed "monocultural and masculinist modes masquerading as universal ways of thinking, being, and acting" (Crocco 8). This marginalization is particularly apparent among groups that have been regularly suppressed by sociopolitical power formations

23- Said himself makes the following statement which supports this view: "No production of knowledge in the human sciences can ever ignore or disclaim its author's involvement as a human subject in his circumstances, then it must also be true that for European or American studying the Orient there can be no disclaiming the main circumstances of his actuality: that he comes up against the Orient as a European or American first, as an individual second. And to be a European or an American in such a situation is by no means an inert fact. It means and means being aware, however dimly, that one belongs to a power with definite interests in the Orient, and more important, that one belongs to a part of the earth with a definite history of involvement in the Orient almost since the time of Homer" (2003, p. 11).

24- In this context, Arberry indirectly refers to the difference between him, as a specialist in Oriental studies, and other scholars who are non-specialist, when he argues that his selection, *Oriental Essays: Portraits of Seven Scholars in 1960*, "which could have ranged much wider (as in my *British Orientalists*), has been deliberately confined to those who have worked in my own field of study, and whose contributions to scholarship and to international understanding I am therefore better qualified to estimate" (Foreword).

25- Arberry gives more detailed information about this report. It, is therefore, useful to quote the following passage from his book: "It was actually on December 15,1944 that the Foreign Secretary of the day , Mr (as he then was) Anthony Eden , who had himself read Oriental Languages as an Oxford undergraduate with outstanding success, appointed an interdepartmental commission of enquiry to examine the facilities offered by universities and other educational institutions in Great Britain for the study of Oriental, Slavonic, East European, and African languages and culture, to consider what advantage is being taken of these facilities and to formulate recommendations for their improvement. the commission of fifteen men of distinction in many walks of life, meeting under the chairmanship of Earl of Scarbrough, heard evidence from many organizations and individuals intimately concerned with subjects of their enquiry" (1960, p. 241).

26- Simon Ockley in his introduction of his book *Sentences of Ali* in 1717, had widely praised the Arabs and their contributions of wisdom and science, when he demonstrated that:

the folly of the Westerlings, in despising the wisdom of the Eastern nations, and looking upon them as brutes and barbarians; whilst we arrogate to ourselves everything that is wise and polite; and if we chance to light upon the discovery, the' it was better understood three thousand years ago. This happens to us through want of good reading, and a true way of thinking; for case is this, that little smattering of knowledge which we have, is entirely derived from the East. They first communicated it to the Greeks, (a vain, conceited people, who never penetrated into the depths of oriental wisdom) from whom the Romans had theirs. And after Barbarity had spread itself over the Western world, the Arabians, by their conquests, restored it again in Europe: And it is the wildest conceit that can be imagined, for us to suppose that we have greater geniuses, of greater application, than is to be found in those countries.

27- Hourani argues that not all Orientalists had got involved in political project of their imperial policies, but some were strong opponents, such as E. G. Browne in England, "who was a supporter of the constitutional revolution in

Iran"(1991, p. 38). Arberry, in another position of his book, he said that "I have said repeatedly that I wish to have no truck with politics" (Arberry, 1960, p.242).

28- Pure knowledge does not mean that Arberry believes that the study of Orientalism is an objective scientific approach or Oriental studies have an absolute truth, but he believes that Orientalism should be an academic knowledge which depends upon truth and objectivity. This belief comes from the real condition of his practical work in this field of knowledge. There is no personal benefit or self-interest, as he states that "I suppose mine was the last generation of scholars who entered upon Orientalism without prospect of employment; in this respect if in no other I feel I can claim close kinship with the men who have gone this way before me, and a corresponding estrangement from a generation for whom all things are readily available (Arberry, 1960, p. 240).

29- After more than 50 years, Arberry's expectation has found its way to the life of public around the world. For example, Rumi's life and poems become quite familiar in everyday life of American people. The book Rumi, past and Present, East and West, The Life, Teachings and Poetry of Jalal al-Din Rumi, which was written by Franklin Lewis, has been published six times in ten years (2000-2011) despite its big size 700 pages).

30- In this point Festal and Carey argue that "scholars fall into the trap of writing to the theory, rather than to the history or to the texts [philosophical and creative texts, but not with Orientalist texts themselves]"(2009, p. 24), but Arberry had made great efforts in both kinds of writing.

31- Arberry justifies why he wrote such long detailed information about orientalist scholars by his saying: "If I have written at some length in what may seem to some to be an unduly egotistical spirit on this matter, I will plead in justification that unless a record of these hopes and endeavours is made, discreet silence over a failure may be construed in the future as meaning that no attempt was ever entertained" (1960, p. 248).

32-This kind of novels has widely deployed in Western modern and contemporary literature. For more details about the historical, critical and comparative studies which have been written so far, see: Burge (2012) *Desiring The East: A Comparative Study of Middle English Romance and Modern Popular Sheikh Romance*, and Teo (2013) *Desert Passions: Orientalism and Romance Novels*.

33- In his private papers, which was found after Arberry's death, he described his childhood memory about the First World War:

"When the first war broke out I was nine years old: my father served in the Royal Navy, and saw his brother's ship go down with all hands at the Battle of Jutland. The years 1914–18 were terribly anxious years for naval families; they were also fearful years for children as the technique for bombing civilians advanced, but they were incomparably easier than the years 1939–45 in which my own child grew up. The early 1920s were a time of disillusionment and doubt. For us in Britain the war had been won, but the peace was obviously lost: many thousands of heroes returned to unemployment; the poor became poorer still. These were the years in which, along with perhaps the majority of my contemporaries, I lost faith—the faith, that is, which I had been taught by my parents" (Arberry, 2009, p. 21).

34- The best example of these saddening stories is Browne's ones. Thus, it is quite distinctive subject matter to quote a long passage from it here. He mentioned that:

The hopes with which I had left Cambridge had been damped by repeated disappointments. I had thought that the knowledge I had acquired of Persian, Turkish, and Arabic might enable me to find employment in the Consular Service, but had learned from curt official letters, referring me to printed official regulations, that this was not so, that these languages were not recognized as subjects of examination, and that not they, but German, Greek, Spanish, and Italian were the qualifications by which one might hope to become a consul in Western Asia. [In order to complete the whole story, Arberry adds]. He also had ringing in his ears the words which William Wright, then Sir Thomas Adam's Professor, had spoken to him shortly before going down. 'if you have private means which render you independent of a profession, then pursue your Oriental studies, and fear not that they will disappoint you, or fail to return you a rich reward of happiness and honour. But if you cannot afford to do this, and are obliged to consider how you may earn a livelihood, then devote yourself wholly to medicine, and abandon, save as relaxation for your leisure moments, the pursuit of Oriental letters. The posts for which such knowledge will fit you are few, and, for the most part, poorly endowed, neither can hope to obtain them till you have worked and waited for many years. And from the Government you must look for nothing, for it has long shown, and still continues to show, an increasing indisposition to offer the slightest encouragement to the study of Eastern Languages'. Wright's words remained true for very many years afterwards, and Browne in reporting them added, 'I write these words, not for myself,

but for those young English Orientalists whose disappointments, struggles, and unfulfilled, though legitimate hopes I have so often been compelled to watch with keen but impotent sorrow and sympathy. Often I reflect with bitterness that England, though more directly interested in East than any other European country save Russia, not only offers less encouragement to her sons to engage in the study of Oriental languages than any other great European nation, but can find no employment even for those few who, notwithstanding every discouragement, are impelled by their own inclination to this study, and who, by diligence, zeal, and natural aptitude, attain proficiency therein (Arberry, 1960, pp. 164-165).

35- For a more related example to this spiritual interest, it is quite useful to quote a self-revelation of Arberry, which was found between his papers after his death. In this brief revelation, Arberry reveals the root of his personal attraction and experience with the spiritual dimension. In fact, it was an anecdote about the origin of his mystical school that he belongs to:

“Nicholson was a very shy and retiring man, painfully diffident— a scholar of the study who never travelled out of Europe, yet he achieved a deeper penetration of the mind and spirit of Islam than any other man I have ever known. He rarely spoke of his personal beliefs, and in twenty-five years of close friendship I learned little of his own spiritual formation. But the impression I gained was that he too had lost his faith as a young man, and had regained it through his intellectual communion with the mystics of Islam. In his old age he composed a poem in which he revealed for the first time his inner thoughts. These thoughts had obviously been profoundly influenced by his long studies of Rumi.

Deep in our hearts the Light of Heaven is shining

Upon a soundless Sea without a shore.

Oh, happy they who found it in resigning

The images of all that men adore.

Blind eyes, to dote on shadows of things fair

Only at last to curse their fatal lure,

Like Harut and Marut, that Angel-pair

Who deemed themselves the purest of the pure?

Our ignorance and self-will and vicious pride

Destroy the harmony of part and whole.

In vain we seek with lusts un mortified
A vision of the One Eternal Soul.
Love, Love alone can kill what seemed so dead,
The frozen snake of passion. Love alone,
By tearful prayer and fiery longing fed,
Reveals a knowledge schools have never known.
God's lovers learn from Him the secret ways
Of Providence, the universal plan.
Living in Him, they ever sing His praise
Who made the myriad worlds of Time for Man.
Evil they knew not, for in Him there's none;
Yet without evil how good should be seen?
Love answers: "Feel with me, with me be one;
Where I am naught stands up to come between."
There are degrees of heavenly light in souls;
Prophets and Saints have shown the path they trod,
It's starting points and stages, halts and goals,
All leading to the single end in God.
Love will not let his faithful servants tire,
Immortal Beauty draws them on and on
From glory unto glory drawing nigher
At each remove and loving to be drawn.
When Truth shines out words fail and nothing tell;
Now hear the Voice within your hearts. Farewell.

I have spoken at this length of my old friend, whom I saw last very shortly before his death in 1945, because I am conscious of a debt to Nicholson which I can never hope to repay. He was the perfect scholar, so devoted to his books that he blinded himself by reading, so modest and humble that he was totally unaware of

his greatness. It was an old man with failing sight who penned these lines which for me contain the surest revelations and the most moving of last men's eyes:

When Truth shines out words fail and nothing tell;

Now hear the Voice within your hearts. Farewell.

It was of that serene vision of Truth that al-Hallaj, the great Muslim mystic, spoke shortly before his crucifixion in 922:

Now stands no more between the Truth and me

Or reasoned demonstration,

Or proof or revelation;

Now, brightly blazing full, Truth's luminary,

That drives out of sight

Each flickering, lesser light.

"What is Truth?" asked jesting Pilate of the Man whom he would presently give on a like Cross, the Man who said, "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life." I have said earlier that as a young man, having abandoned formal worship, I resolved to become an academic scholar, abstract truth being the only altar before which I would kneel. In those days I supposed truth to be a thing intellectually attainable, a quest for reason, far removed from the emotions. But the mystical affinity of truth with light was evidently already apprehended by Sir William Jones, that greatest of British Orientalists who died in 1794 and whose example has always been my chief inspiration. Jones wrote:

Before thy mystic altar, heavenly Truth,

I kneel in manhood, as I knelt in youth.

here let me kneel, till this dull form decay,

And life's last shade be brightened by thy day;

Then shall my soul, now lost in clouds below,

Without consuming glow.

Truth, then, is Light—a light that shines into the heart. And what is light? The answer seems to be given in that sublime verse of the Koran:

God is the light of the heavens and the earth;

The likeness of His Light is as a niche

Wherein is a lamp

(The lamp in a glass, the glass as it were a glittering star)

Kindled by a Blessed Tree, an olive that is neither of the East nor of the West
whose oil well-nigh would shine, even if no fire touched it.

Light upon Light,

God guides to His Light whom He will.

Once this light has shone into the heart, no darkness can ever overcome it. I believe that light to be a reality, because I have myself experienced it. I believe it also to be the Truth, and I think it not inappropriate to call it God. I am an academic scholar, but I have come to realize that pure reason is unqualified to penetrate the mystery of God's light, and may, indeed, if too fondly indulged, interpose an impenetrable veil between the heart and God.

The world in which we live is certainly full of shadows. I have had my full share of personal sorrows and anxieties, and I am as acutely aware as the next man of the appalling dangers threatening mankind. But because I have experienced the Divine Light, I need not wish for any higher grace. I have now for some years resumed my Christian worship, in which I find great comfort, being no longer troubled by the intellectual doubts generated by too great a concern for dogma" (Arberry, 2009, pp.23-25).

36- For further examples of the popularity of Rumi between the American people see: Alexandra Marks, (1997) *Persian poet top seller in America Rumi revival*, Amira El-Zain (2000) *Spiritual Consumption in the United States: The Rumi phenomenon* and Ormsby, E. (2013) *A Rose Garden of Verse; Persian Identity and Culture Survived the Loss of an Empire, the Obliteration of a Faith and the Pressure Exerted by the Arabic Language*.

37- According to Teo (2013, p. 4) after al-Qaeda attacks on September 2001, there is no great change in the rate of the popularity of romance novels 'The Sheik'. However, in 2002 this kind of novels has witnessed a dramatic change in the number of publications. For example, twenty- two romance novels were published and four historical harem romance novels published. "In 2005, sixteen sheik romance novels were published for the established fifty-one million romance readers in the United State, promoting ironic commentary in American and British newspapers and *Time* magazine".

38-Arberry gives two examples of the true picture about the ideal relationship between men and women. Those examples have been quoted from the modern Arab poets. A Tunisian wrote the following prophetic lines:

"Imperious despot, insolent in strife,
Lover of ruin, enemy of life!
You mock the anguish of an impotent land
Whose people's blood has stained your tyrant hand?
And desecrate the magic of this earth,
Sowing your thorns, to bring despair to birth.

[.....]

And a Syrian who sighed for departed glory of the Arabs in music which sounded a challenge to a generation on the move:

I weep for a land fashioned to beauty fair

Beyond compare;

I weep for a heritage of glory and fame,

A hard, far aim.

I weep for spirits too indolent to urge men

To battle again;

I weep for the splendor of empire and the boast

Turned all to a ghost" (Arberry, 1960, p. 254).

39- It seems that the description of the general Nicholson's style in translation as a "Victorian sensibility" is taken from specific Arberry's viewpoint which is mentioned in his commentary on Nicholson's translation of specimen of Al-Mutanabbi's poem. Arberry argues that "this version [which represents verses 1-22 of poem 12 of Arberry's selection] must be accepted as a fair specimen of the Victorian scholar's art, but falling far short, inevitably, of the passionate and intricate rhetoric of the original" (Arberry, 1967, p. 154).

40- Here, it is obvious that Arberry knew well that his mater prefers Abu Nawa's poetry and he considered him as a "great poet who, in the opinion of those most competent to judge, takes rank above all his contemporaries and successors, including even Mutanabbi (Nicholson, 1907, p. 293). Thus, he was aware to generalize his judgment.

41- He used six tables (see the pages; 7, 8, 13, 50, 78).

42- For more information about the techniques, usage, and terms of the structural approach in literature, it could be useful to see John Sturrock's chapter entitled 'Literature', pages; 103-106 in his book *Structuralism*.

43- For more examples see pages; 42, 57, 63, 77, 92, 96,107. In his last notes of the second longest poems, he argues that "the poem follows closely the conventional pattern exhibited already in I, III, and IV" (Arberry, p.123).

44- For example, in volume one, there are just two studies of poetry belong to Arab scholars. First, *Pre-Islamic poetry* by Abdulla El Tayib, while the second belongs Salma. K. Jayyusi entitled *Umayyad Poetry*.

45- I have quoted one of Said's chapters title '*The Return to Philology*' which published in his book '*Humanism and Democracy Criticism*' in2004, to give a concrete evidence that some British Orientalists practically had used this approach since a long time before Said. However, Said, as a critic, put a theoretical framework for this approach and he focused on the significant role of philology in the realm of contemporary criticism. Said argues that philological approach "involves getting inside the process of language already going on in words and making it disclose what may be hidden or incomplete or masked or distorted in any text we must have before us" (2004, p.59).

46- Here, it should be mentioned that Latham's survey on the role of Salim might be not quite accurate where he states that "Ibn al-Nadim's entry on Salim has been ignored by the general run of Arabists and writers on the history of Arabic literature" (1983, p. 155). The important pioneering role of Salim was earlier mentioned by Shawki Dayf (1946, pp. 115-117), who demonstrated that Salim translated some of Aristotle epistles, and he adds that Salim was the master of Abd al-Hamid, who had been well trained upon the hand of Salim. Therefore, Dayf believes that Abd al-Hamid had derived his cultural knowledge from two main sources. The first was direct connection with the Persian culture, because he was originally from Persian decent. The second came from Salim, who mastered Greek language very well.

47- Latham himself fully knows that Dayf wrote a detailed section about Abd al – Hamid's style and characteristics of his prosaic literature, because Latham has cited Dayf's point that related to the source of hunting epistle inspiration. However, he never openly mentions the name of Dayf and his published work as a reference in his analysis. In addition, one can find some close similarity between their analytical assessment of Abd al-Hamid's style and characteristics.

48-See more details in the link below:
https://www.ted.com/talks/karen_armstrong_makes_her_ted_prize_wish_the_character_for_compassion.

49- Beeston gives another interpretation for the term 'hijab', when he argues that hijab implies not merely the actual face-veil, but the sum-total of practices connected with the seclusion of women. The Qur'anic passage prescribing this for the wives of the Prophet is S.33, v.33 (1977, p. 5).

50- See, Gérard Genette and Marie Maclean, 1990, pp. 261-272.

51- There are, also, two British Orientalist studies (Sperl and Lyons) have utilized modern criticism approaches in studying Arabic classical poetry. The next section will deal with them.

52- She is a professor at the University of East Anglia, who studied Al-Jahiz's contributions to evolution in her book about Charles Darwin (Montgomery, 2013 a, p.8).

53- Italo Calvino is an Italian novelist, who wrote an extraordinary novel entitled 'If on a winter's night a traveler' in 1979. Calvino built his novel upon one major theme related to the dialectic interaction between reception and production. Jauss quoted long passages from this novel as an excellent practical example of potential and possible theories about author and reader (Bin Hidow, 2004, pp.90-95).

54- For more details about this link and further argument, see Jauss (1982, p. 34).

55- Montgomery has referenced three major theoretical books of Calvino's in order to follow and connect the main ideas of the reader response. In addition, he could not separate himself from the atmospheric events of the Calvino's novel; for example, he quoted indirectly the hero's monologue between him and the mirror (1982, p.161), when he used the same notion of reflection (see: Montgomery, 2013, p.60).

56- See, Silas's monologue in the novel, *If on a winter night a traveler*, (Calvino, 1981, pp.177-182).

57- It is worth mentioning that Montgomery's reading of Al-Jahiz's *The Book of Living* comes in the context of evolution theory, regardless of whether or not it supports it. If Professor Stott and her book about Charles Darwin, was in his mind when he wrote parts 1 and 2, one can note that his reading comes in the context of Al-Jahiz's ideas about evolution and how he refuted the allegations of atheists (aldahria). It can be argued that Montgomery is interested in approving that the theory of evolution, according Al-Jahiz's book, be used as an evidence to believe in God.

58- In this respect, one can, again, give a new reason to understand the Arberry's demands (see, page 34 of this chapter) when he said "if I could have my time over again, I would not publish the things that I have done" (Lyons, 2004, p.4). It is just the death may stop the rewriting text, but reading is still continuing forever.

59- As the Brotherton Library, Leeds University has told me, this book "will not be published until October 2018".

60- It is worth noting that most Orientalists cited by Said were not specialists in Arabic culture and literature.

61- Sperl was inspired by Abu Deeb's study, *Towards a Structural Analysis of pre-Islamic Poetry* (1975).

62- Said states that "only the Orientalist can interpret the Orient, the Orient being radically incapable of interpreting itself" (2003, p.289).

63-The first print of Gibb's publication *Arabic Poetry*, was published in 1926.

64- In this context, Lyon's criticism of Arberry can be understood as an objective correlation to Lyons and his project.

65- This method deals with each line of poetry separately. The Arabic text is given line-by-line and then translated. The translation is followed by further terminological and phraseological annotation. This method is closer to editing than to literary historical study.

66- For example, see his translation of *Lamiyyat al-Arab of al-Shanfara* (1997, p.52).

67- Said gave two examples for Orientalists, who in his opinion, played the role of mediator, Renan (2008, p.148) and Lane (2008, p.160).

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