CHAPTER-I

Origin and Development of Diwan Movement in Arabic literature

1.1. Background of Diwan movement

Diwan movement is a movement in Arabic literature by a group of three Egyptian poets, Abdur Rahman Shukri, Abbas Mahmud Al-Aqqad and Ibrahim Abdul Qadir Al-Mazini. These three poets challenged the masters of neo-classicism during the second decade of 20th century. The key point in their attack were contained in the book which gave them their name as a group Al Diwan- kitab fi al-Adab wal-Naqd (Cairo 1921) the work of the Diwan poets illustrate the extent to which English literature had become one of the major reformative influences on Arab culture .Despite the fact that several plays by Shakespeare had been available in Arabic since the late 19th century. The Diwan group was closely acquainted with the English lyrical poetry contained in Frances Palgrave's the Golden Treasury which covered the period from Shakespeare to the mid 19th century. Diwan group derived both their inspiration and their principles and theories of poetry.[1] The main exponents of Romanticism were Abdur Rahman Shukri, Al-Mazini and Al-Aqqad all from Egypt. They were called the Diwan poets after appearance of their combined book on criticism called Diwan of poetry and criticism which they found their new concept and attitudes an appraised both the old poetry and their new movement.

Diwan poets were instrumental in changing the test and sensibility of poets who abandoned the neo-classical style increasing number after World War I. The critical study and the Diwan poets works are related to study book not only bearing in mind its critical appreciation of Diwan movement but they also analyses the books in its unruly as well as to highlight the importance of

[1] Julie scott Musami, Paul Starkey, Encyclopedia of Arabic literature. P-196

the style and literary value and criticism. One of the distinguished features of Diwan movement was that their foreign culture was English where as even in the Arab countries controlled by Britain. Diwan is a collection of poems, the English usage of the phrase Diwan poetry comes from the Arabic word "Diwan" which is loaned from Persian word means designated a list. The Persian word derived from the "Dibir" word meaning writer. Diwan was also borrowed into Armenian, Arabic, Urdu, and Turkish. In Persian, Turkish and other language the term Diwan came to mean a collection of poems by a single author, as in selected works or the whole body of work of poetry.[2]

The term Diwan was used entitles of poetic works in French beginning in 1697, but it was a rare and didactic usage though one that derived by its famous appearance in Goethe's west- Ostriches Diwan (poem of west and East) a work published in 1819 that reflected the poets abiding interest in middle Eastern and specifically Persian literature . Diwan poetry was a highly ritualized and symbolic art form.

The Diwan poetry was composed through the constant juxtaposition of many such images within a strict materials frame work, thus allowing numerous potential meaning to emerge As for the development of Diwan poetry over the more than 500 years of its existence that is as the Ottomans writer Walter G. Andrews points out a study still in its infancy clearly defined movements and periods have not yet been decided upon. Partly as a result of such arguments, Diwan poetry in its strongest period from the 16th to the 18th centuries came to display a unique balance of Persian and Turkish element until the Persian influence began to predominate again in the early 19th century.[3]

[2] M.M. Badawi, A critical introduction to modern Arabic poetry. P-84
[3] Salma Khadra Yayyusi, Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry, leiden (1977), P-152

Despite the lack of certainty regarding the stylistic movements and periods of Diwan poetry, however certainly highly different style are clear enough ,and can perhaps be seen as exemplified by certain poets. Fuzuli was a Diwan poet of Azeri origin and he was a unique poet and who wrote with equal skill in Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Arabic, who came to be as influential in Persian as in Diwan poetry. The vast majority of Diwan poetry was lyric in nature, either gazelles which make up the greatest party of the repertoire of the tradition, or kasidas. There were however, other common genres most particularly the Mesnevi, a kind of verse romance thus a variety of narrative poetry.

1.2. Origin of Diwan School

Naming, Foundation and members of the school: The Community Court term given to a group of poets, critics, they were: Abdur Rahman Shukri, Abbas Mahmud al-Aqqad, and Ibrahim Abd al-Qadir al-Mazini, this term but it is relative to this book cash labeled" Court of cash, "a book written by al-Aqqad and al-Mazini only, though the label include the three together." "Abbas Mahmud Al-Aqqad was born in Aswan in 1889 AD to the family of Egyptian medium, and he did not complete his studies in public schools, but taking complemented by himself, he departed for his home town when he was sixteen years, and he joined some government jobs , then left her to Cairo and as journalist, he wrote in the newspaper Wafd, he got up the Palmqalh political, he quoting many of the views of intellectuals and Western philosophers, especially in the area of freedom and rights of the people, politics, and to convey to readers Investigation literature and Monetary Bank and Ishvaha stares analytic. He got out the first collection of poetry in the years 1920, and the year 1960, he won State Award in the Arts acclaim for his literary works, and most important what distinguishes his hard life, opinions, literary, he died in 1964. Ibrahim Abd Qadir al- Mazini was Born in Cairo in

1889, he worked in education and the press, he was a member of the Academy Arabic in Damascus and the complex Arabic in Cairo, poetry first and then he wrote the story in a manner Laughing overcome it on someone else original, tends in style to the humor and irony and to highlight the paradox, leads his feelings and his feelings, thoughts and impressions of the spirit of Egypt. He died in Cairo in 1949. Abd al-Rahman Shukri was born in Port Said in 1886 AD. He went to high school, and joined the Law School, but separate them for inciting students to strike in response to the leaders of the National Party, walks to the study of literature, which was consistent with his tastes, and then he went to a high school teacher, and he graduated in 1909 AD, he was committed to the lesson strict literature Arab and Western, and he went on a mission to England, he worked in the Gazette newspaper, he wrote poetry about the relationship between the arts and similar topics that were considered new then, he died in Alexandria in 1958 AD. "

1.3. The School of Diwan

In the first years of 20th century, a reaction set in against the neo-classicists, who enjoyed a great popularity at the time and, as shown above, were to remain popular long after the rise of more modern movements. Despite the fact that Al-Barudi, Shawqi and Hafiz Ibrahim had introduced some literary innovations, on the one hand through their rediscovery of the Arabic classical authors, on the other hand through their topicality between 1900 and 1910 the younger generation of writers came to recognize that their predecessors had shortcomings, as regards both form and content .The first of these innovators, who also had been referred to as the road, in the beginning usually called themselves the “new direction” (Al-Madhhab al-Jadid).The Diwan school did not came into vague until much later, after the publication

of the pamphlet "Al Diwan kitab fi al-Adab wal-Naqd' in 1921, from which this name is derived.[4]

These young writers particularly Abdur Rahman Shukri, Al-Aqqad and Al-Mazini in the first place criticized the language and the poetic form of neo-classicists, which they thought too traditional and time worn, sometimes simply ugly Al-Aqqad in the preface to Shukri's second collection (1913), wrote that (Traditional poetry) was of no "use" at all and that it seldom exceeded the value of the paper on which it was printed.[5] Al-Aqqad's Philippic against the excessive use of figures of speech by the neoclassicists, like the lawriyah, the Kinayah, and the Ginas, published in his collection of essays *al-fusul* 1922, presents a similar objection. Shukri in the preface to his fifth collection 1916, stated in the taste of the later poets (Al-Mutaakhirun).Obviously meaning Shawqi and Hafiz had been spoilt and in its turn had also spoilt the taste of the public which now had been led to think that poetry could be restricted to similes "*Maqsur ala al-Tashbihat*", apparently refers to the rhetorical style of this kind of verse.[6] In 1914 Al-Mazini published a cutting article against Hafiz, in which he upbraided him for his traditionalism and imitation Taqlid one and the same word in Arabic.[7]

The young poets did not restrict themselves to objections against the time worn language or the excessive use of metaphors and figures of speech .Al-Mazini so far as to reproach Hafiz for not being a poet at all. The real difference between these poets and their predecessor's, in the eyes of new school, laid in the different aims the set for poetry, and in their emphasis on the significance of the individuality and the emotional life of the poetry for his work. Al-Aqqad was one of the first to realize that the topically of the neoclassicists was only superficial. As he wrote in the preface to the first

[4] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-94
[5] Diwan Abdur Rahman Shukri, Alexandria 1960,P-103
[6] Diwan Shukri, P-363
[7] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-95

collection of his friend Al-Mazini .Many poets unjustly presume they are modern if, in those cases where the old Arabic poets would describe the camel, the tents and the slopes in the desert. They came up with a description of steam power, institutes and capital cities. Shukri made a similar statement in the preface to his own fourth collection 1916 where he turned against what he called the' Shir igtima' poetry of daily events, a plague of locusts, a fire a royal visit or a party in a sporting club. The new poets were not to be satisfied with this superficial topicality. The recurring central theme in all their prefaces, reviews and manifestos is that real poetry must be the poetry of life and of the present time and it must express feeling. "Life is a beautiful poem" Shukri said in 1915 a statement which may be and perhaps has to be read the other way round.'' O bird of paradise", poetry in feeling was the motto of his first collection 1909, is poetry anything else then a picture of life? Al- Mazini asked in 1924.This feeling was entirely different in nature from that expressed in the poetic credos of neo classicists like Shawqi, Hafiz and Al-Rafi .What these young poets considered as the chief source of inspiration if all poetry; not only their own, was individual, personal emotion, not the feeling resulting from nice poetic diction or a lofty style. In the preface to his second collection 1917, Al-Mazini expressed this clearly by stating that the art of poetry originality was a subjective art, a statement which a conservative poet could not so easily have made.[8] This somewhat be lasted revolution in Egyptian literature was undoubtedly connected with the social changes that had taken place since the rule of Muhamad Ali. The first new years of the 20th century which witnessed a change in the literary standards of at least the younger poets, also saw a peak in Egypt socio economic development. It is not necessary to resort to Marxist literary approach to assume that the rise of a new middle class, which was a result of these developments, had a direct impact upon literature. The new rich, in contrast with the Turkish elite at the

[8] Diwan al-Mazini. P-115

beginning of the 19th century, now often were autochthonous Arabic speaking Egyptians .on the whole, the increasing importance of Arabic literature, irrespective of the different movements was closely related to the reinforcement of the Egyptian that is the Arabic speaking element in society as opposed to the rules, who spoke no Arabic or hardly any movement. To put it simply, literature was given a slight middle class touch and its tone became somewhat more intimate, moreover, books began to be printed on large scale newspapers and magazines became more and numerous.[9] Thus Egyptian poetry could evolve from the traditional art of elite into an art intended for a wider public no longer meant to be recited but to be read.

It is obvious that the innovators' were greatly stimulated in their efforts by European, chiefly English poetry. Curiously enough however, the young Egyptian literary revolutionaries of around 1910 derived their main inspiration not so much from contemporary English and European literature as from the literature of a hundred or more years earlier. Wordsworth, Keats, and Shelley- the later perhaps are taking pride of place, and among the critics Hazlitt, were a revelation to the young Egyptian romanticists. Their admiration for these English writers led to translation and emulation, the later often bordering on imitation and Plagiarism. Shukri's poem "To the Wind" in his fifth collection (1916)[10] a subject unheard of in the classical tradition is rightly considered a direct imitation of Shelley's "Ode to the west Wind" and al- Aqqad's "*Al-Karawan*" [11]dedicated to the Karawan bird, strongly reminds one of Shelley's "Ode to a Skylark". Al-Mazini was later accused by his former friend Shukri of plagiarizing the work of English poets like Shelley and Hood, an accusation against which he put up only a weak defense.

[9] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-96-97
[10] Diwan Shukri P-401
[11] Diwan al-Aqqad 1928, P-54

The influence of English literature in general, not only the "lake poets" is obvious from the large number of translations and imitations of English poetry included in the volumes published by the poets of the Diwan School. Shukri usually omitted to mention the sources of the poems he imitated but later admitted that, for example, "*Al-Shair wasurat al- Kamal*" in his second collection 1913 had been inspired by Shelley and "*Al-Zawgah al- Ghadirah*" by Byron. Al-Aqqad's first collection 1916 contained translations of fragments from Shakespeare, for example the last part of "Venus and Adonis", of a poem by Robert Burns and of one by William Cowper.[12] Al-Mazini did not always answer Shukri's description of him as an obvious plagiarist: in his second collection 1917 he did mention the American J.R.Lowell, The Jacobean Edmund Walter and Shelley as sources of inspiration.[13] The innovative titles of the poems of the Diwan poets – especially their early work clearly show the dominating impact of western and in particular English poetry. These poems all breathe a truly Romantic atmosphere and outlook on life.

It is difficult to determine in retrospect in what way exactly the Diwan poets came under the influence of English poetry. Although as early as 1882 Egypt had, for all practical purposes, became a British colony (in actually fact governed by the British council- general Cromer, with a large measure of autonomy for the native population under their khedive), The French cultural influence continued to be powerful. This may be ascribed of the fact that the British rule was a large extent indirect, leaving considerable freedom in the areas of education and culture, and that the British colonial system in general was highly pragmatic. The British on the whole in most of their colonies made little cultural effort. In this latter respect, Egypt was no exception. The British lack of interest in Egyptian cultural developments is demonstrated clearly by

[12] Diwan al-Aqqad 1928, P-21,108,113
[13] Diwan al-Mazini, P-121,123,165

Cromer's Modern Egypt 1917, published soon after his departure. The least one can say about this book is that the cultural revival which had taken place during the last years of his rule in Egypt had remained entirely unobserved by this otherwise very capable colonial administrator. The Egyptian nationalists are indeed to a large extent right in their subsequent criticism of the British neglect of education in Egypt. It is true that the British, with the support of some Egyptian politicians, for a while envisaged a plan to have at least some of the courses at Egyptian state schools taught in English- an initiative that met with fierce opposition but even if had been carried out, the influence of the English language in Egypt would probably not have exceeded that of French, which dominated in the numerous private schools.[14]

The great influence of English on the Egyptian literary revival was probably largely due to the fact that the English was used at the Teachers' college (Madrasat al- Muallimin), a school established in 1989, where some of the writers of the new movement were trained. This was, as far as we can see now, one of the best schools in Egypt, offering a widely varied programmed. It had an English department which was closed in 1904, but reopened in 1906, the year in which the poet Shukri registered. It is one of the few schools of higher education in Egypt and of greater importance than one would expect a teachers' training college to be. The teaching of English was probably of a high standard and students were introduced to English literature, most probably with a strong emphasis on the romanticists. Shukri himself has described how impressed he was by one of the teachers at this school, who kindled his enthusiasm for English literature.

Shukri also mentions how at the teachers college he got to know Palgrave's famous anthology The Golden Treasury, which probably formed part of the syllabus. This book had a great influence on many especially those

[14] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-98

of the Diwan School, not only because of it acquainted them with English poetry, but also because its contents had clearly been determined by a romantic view of literature. Abu Shadi, who was to play a role much later, considered it as early as 1917 as indispensable to every lettered (Mutaaddib) Egyptian. He even wrote a poem in praise of it, which must be one of the few poems ever devoted to an anthology. Today there is an almost general consensus of opinion about the great influence of "The Golden Treasury". The critic Muhammad Mandur has even gone as far as to state that all the poems in the first book of al-Mazini deriving from English poets were based on The Golden Treasury and that every them that the Diwan school and English literature had in common was to be found in this anthology. This opinion may seem exaggerated but it proves how great an influence was ascribed to this book.[15]

It was at the Teachers' college that al-Mazini met Shukri, who, as he later said, "opened his eyes to Shakespeare, Wordsworth. Shelley, Burns, Milton, Hazlitt, Carlyle, Lee Hunt and Macaulay", a slightly heterogeneous list but one that probably reflects accurately how avidly English literature was read by these students.

One of them was slightly older Muhammad Al-Siba (1881-1931), who in the twenties and thirties was still fairly well –known and played a specific part in the gradual discovery of English literature. He was five years older than Shukri, who himself was the eldest of the Diwan poets. Al- Siba made his debut in Al-Garidah on November 23, 1907, with an article entitled *fi Sabil al-Hayah*. In the same newspaper his former fellow- student Shukri was to publish a review of al-Siba's prose volume *al-Suwar* in 1908, which had recently been published and described as an example of early lyrical prose. It contained references to poets like Coleridge, Shelley, Keats and Byron and

[15] Al-Shir al-misri ba'da Shawqi, P-54

was probably inspired by Washington Irving's Sketchbook as the title also suggests. It is striking by the way, that al-Siba assumes that his readers are familiar with these English poets.[16]

Later, Al-Siba became known especially as a translator, in which capacity he also played a significant part in the Egyptian literary renaissance. His translation of Carlyle's On Heroes, Hero- worship and the Heroic in History appeared in the magazine *al-Bayan* established in 1911 by the eccentric al- Barquqi. Though the later as 1940 published a neo- classicist work entitled *al- Firdaws aw siyahah fi al-Akhirah*, an imitation of the well-known work of *al-Ma'arri Risalat al- Ghufran*, he was active at the same time in the cause of literary innovation, especially of translations from western poetry. Al- Siba was co- editor of this magazine and one may safely assume that he was the translator of numerous English works, which appeared anonymously : Carlyle's On Heroes influenced many Egyptian writers, for example Haykal, and may have inspired al-Aqqad to write his still popular series on the man of genius in Islam, *al-Abqariyat*. It was also Al-Siba who, still in *al-Bayan*, started to translate essays by Hazlitt, an author who was important for the Egyptian renaissance, especially in connection with the rise of literary criticism. Finally Al-Siba, also translated Spencer's On Education into Arabic, another work that enjoyed great popularity with the young authors of those days. Al-Siba undertook all those activities in the formative years of the Diwan poets and no doubt he exercised a great influence on their development. His bohemian life- style, which elicited the admiration of his junior contemporaries, stood in marked contrast to the usually genteel behavior of most of the neo- classicists' poets as well as prose writers Al-Mazini himself later recognized his merits and his contribution to his own development in so many words.

[16] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-99

Al-Siba's own work is of less importance: apart from *Al-Suwar*, mention above, he wrote *Al-Samr, mamlukat al-Hubb* , an unfinished novel *al-faylasuf,* which appeared in the twenties in installments in the weekly magazine *Al-Balagh al- usbu* and some collections of stories *Al-khadimah* and 100 Qissah, both published posthumously. For al-Balagah al-Usbu he translated many stories, including some from the Russian, but here he did little more than continue the work of Muhammad Taymur and the other authors connected with the magazine *Al-Fajr*.

Even though the English impact upon the new Egyptian poetry predominated French poetry had its own importance. For a long time there even existed a kind of rivalry between adherents of French and of English literature, although admittedly this arose at a later date. However, in general, The French influence was restricted to the prose writers and it was not until thirties that the work of French poets especially that of the poets' muddiest, began to be appreciated by their Egyptian colleagues. "Le Lac" by Lamartine may have been translated several times into Arabic , but the importance of Lamartine for the young Egyptian poets stands in no comparison to that of for example, Shelley.[17]

In the years before the first world war- and immediately afterwards- the influence of French poetry upon modern Egyptian literature was mainly indirect, namely through the person of khalil Mutran. To him especially the French romanticists like Hugo and De Musset were important. But however respected Mutran may have been, his direct influence upon the Diwan poets seems to have been limited.

Not surprisingly, one of the greatest objections of the neoclassicists against the new movement was precisely this influence of western literature. One of the main opponents of the Diwan School mockingly called his

[17] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-101

adversaries “Abu Khalid al- inglizi” and “Abu Khalid Al-Faransawi”. The poet Ali Al-Garim reproached modern poetry with having donned a western garment which would be her shroud. In the thirties the young poets in general were accused by an eminent journalist of blind imitation of the west. Nevertheless, on the whole these objections remained fairly moderate. Many neoclassicists’ writers considered a certain measure of western literary influence permissible and several of them translated western literary works. Shawqi for example, translated fables of La fontanel. The translations from the French by Hafiz and Al- Manfaluti have mention above. In an Essay, published in *Al-Nazarat*, the later even called the Syrians “good ambassadors between western and eastern civilization”, though he hastened to add that this western civilization had come about only after Christianity had began to waver.

The Diwan poet did not look upon themselves as mere imitators of the west. In 1937 al- Aqqad, in a study of the writers of the previous generation, stated himself and his supporters that “This Egyptian school did not imitate (Muqallidah) English literature though it benefited from it and was guided by it.[18] “As early as 1922, he declared that he could not accept the argument that people from the west had a spiritual capacity (Taqah fikriyah) that could not be equaled by people from the east.[19] The conviction that the east is spiritually superior of the west and that the latter is only more advanced in matters of science and technology was to become the typical self- assertion of the Egyptian intellectual against an intrusive western civilization which threatened to make him lose his identity. The Lebanese writer Mikhail Nuaymah immediately expressed his approval of this statement of al- Aqqad in his volume of essays *al-Ghirbal* 1923, which was printed in Cairo the following years. But al Aqqad was not without subtlety. Shortly afterwards, in

[18] Shu’ara Misr wabi’atuhum, P-193
[19] Al-Fusul, Beirut 1967, P-179

his volume of essays '*Sa' at bayn al- kutub*' 1929, he help up western literature as an example to Egypt which, after all, had not produced writers of the quality of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Heine and Schiller.[20]

Not all writers reacted in the same way as al-Aqqad to accusations of imitation of the west. Shukri, for example, denied that there was any basic difference between the literatures of the Arab world and Europe. In the preface to his fifth collection 1919 he wrote: "I marvel at those who wish to make a distinction between western and Arabic poetry and who hold that there are such things as a western and an Arab imagination."[21] Abu Sadi frankly stated the same in the Avanti- grade magazine '*al-Siyasah al- Usbuiyah*' in 1928. The world's literature is of western origin and we can only gain by our recent contact with it. Sometimes, the young poet would go quite far in their admiration of the west. Al- Mazini, for example, in the introduction to his article on the classical poet Ibn al-Rumi, described Arabic poetry in general as inferior to western poetry, an opining which he supported by resorting to racial comparisons, no one will deny that the Aryan peoples are more aware of the charms of nature, the majesty of the human soul, the beauty of truth an virtue. He found confirmation of this literary racism in the fact that the greatest Arabic poets were not of Arab descent, for example, Bashahar b. Burd, Abu Nuwas, Mihyar and Ibn al-Rumi.[22] A similar explanation to be found in al- aqqad and it is clearly echoed in Shukri's poem "Abna al- Shamal (al-Ariyun)", included in his fourth collection 1961.[23] Whatever the importance of these theories- assured in themselves, but interesting as a phenomenon western literature today is part of the general education of young Arabic writers. Modern Arabic poetry is an example of what the present day Egyptian critic and poet M.M.Badawi has called the "internationalization of

[20] Sa'at Bayn al-kutub, Cairo 1929, P-114
[21] Diwan Shukri, P-371
[22] Hasad al-hashim, P-328
[23] Diwan Shukri, P-305

poetry."[24] To this development of the Diwan School made a major contribution.[25]

The influence western and in particular English, literature on the Diwan poets did not mean that they turned away completely from classical Arabic literature. The great poets of the Abbasid flowering period were very popular with these young writers. One of the most beloved was Ibn al- Rumi, on whom Al-Mazini wrote a series of articles as early as 1913-14 in the fore-mentioned magazine al-Bayan and who's partially published Diwan he reviewed in the newspaper *al-Akhbar* in 1924. Al-Aqqad devoted a book to the same Ibn al- Rumi which was published in 1931. Al-Siba seems once more to have been the inspirer of this interest. Not only did al-Mazini's articles appear in Al-Siba al-Bayan but he had actually introduced Ibn al-Rumi;s work to al-Mazini, as the latter himself admitted. Apparently, the picturesque Al- Siba copied parts of the Diwan of Ibn al- Rumi in an exercise book which could hardly have contained all of the extensive oeuvre of this poet which he always carried with him.

Another classical poet who meant a great deal to the Diwan poets was Al- Sharif Al-Radi. In his youth poet Shukri, too, avidly read the fragments of Al-Radi included in *al-Marsafi's al- wasilah al-Adabiyah* and later he wrote about *al-Radi* in *al-Risalah*. In the magazine *al-Sufur al-Mazini* was even accused of plagiarizing this classical poet. Al- Aqqad's interest in classical poetry was many sided which is not surprising in this polygraph. His first articles in the newspaper *al-Dostur* in 1907 and 1908 included a number of essays about *al- Ma arri, Ibn al Rumi, Sari al- Ghawani* and others. Later he also devoted a monograph to Ma arri, entitled Rag abil Ala (1939) towards the

[24] M.M.Badawi, Convention and revolt in modern Arabic poetry, P-182
[25] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-103

end of his life he published two books on *Umar b. Abi Rabiyah* (1943) and *Abu Nuwas* (1953).[26]

Shukri, al-Aqqad and al- Mazini from a homogeneous group in Egyptian modern literature, certainly up to the end of the First World War, It is remarkable that they have been summed up as the Diwan School, for the sensational pamphlet al- Diwan Kitab fi al- Adab wa al- Naqd was not published until 1921, after the group had fallen apart. Moreover, in this pamphlet Shukri was not sharply criticized by Al-Mazini nor was this pamphlet the literary manifesto of the group, not even if its two remaining members, for it contained merely a number of examples of practical criticism. However, the name of Diwan School now seems to have become the current one and there is no other natural epithet.

The striking fact that the Diwan group was so small and remained so small is undoubtedly due to the outbreak of the First World War soon after the ideas of these poets had been form, and to the fact that the group broke up as early as 1921 precisely because of the pamphlet from which it now derives its name. This does not mean that in particular Al-Aqqad the only one of the three poets who continued to write poetry did not find a following but these "followers" of Al-Aqqad's can hardly be considered as belonging to this School. Al-Diwan was a typical phenomenon in modern Egyptian literature, of short duration but of great influence, perhaps more iconoclastic than anything else, but it paved the way for further developments, certainly up to the Second World War.[27]

The student of external influences on the literary revival in Egypt in the early years of the 20th century should not overlook the literature of the Mahjar, the Arab emigration to America, especially since this literature came

[26] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-104
[27] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-104

to bloom just before the Diwan poets started their publications. The majority of the writers in the Mahjar came from the Lebanon and Syria and most of them were Christians. They often felt less bound by the Arabic literary tradition, which was always considered part of a Muslim-Arab heritage although particularly a Christian like Nasir al- Yazigi was an almost rigid neoclassicist, and were more accessible to western influence. It is hardly surprising that the writers in the Mahjar were more open to literary innovation, and were more inclined towards literary experiment that their colleagues in the Arab countries, where the importance of literary tradition weighed more heavily.

The Romantic outlook on life of the writers in the Mahjar, of whom especially those in North- America soon attracted attention in Egypt, and their individualism and lack of training in the classical literary subjects and techniques, often brought along a breach with the literary past. It was no wonder that they appealed to the imagination of the young Egyptian authors who, in the first decades of this century, also rose against the established literary tradition. The works of the writers in the Mahjar must indeed have made a fascinating, almost foreign impression. The liberties they took, not only with literary forms but even with the observance of the grammatical rules of classical Arabic, must have made an unorthodox as well as a negligent impression on their readers in the Arab world, including Egypt.[28]

The extent to which the Mahjar actually influenced the individual young Egyptian writers cannot be determined with certainty as long as no extensive research has been carried out. Since only incidental studies are available, a rough indication of the problems has to suffice.

It is fairly easy to establish that the literary activity of the Arab in the Mahjar was known quite early in Egypt. Naturally, this was due partly to the

[28] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-106

influence of the Syros-Lebanese in Egypt in a narrower sense also a Mahjar for the Syro- Lebanese especially in the field of publishing at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. They had founded the most important newspapers and magazines and naturally took a more than average interest in the literary output of their compatriots in the two Americas. For example, Al-Muqtataf, established by the Lebanese Sarruf, as early as 1895 announced the publication in New York of Mikha-il Rustum's *al-Gharib fil-Ghurb*. The magazine *al-Gami ah* of *Farah Antun*, of Lebanese origin who spent a short time in America but returned to Egypt in 1901 drew attention to Amin al- Rayhani (1876- 1940), one of the most important Arab writers in North America, who had emigrated in 1897. In 1902 Khalil Mutran published an extensive survey of Arabic poetry in America in his magazine *al-Magallat al-Misriyah* entitled "*al-shir al-Arabi fi amrika*",[29] which proves that Arabic literary activities in America were carefully observed, at least by the Syros-Lebanese emigrants in Egypt, and that the Egyptians were kept informed. The above mentioned Amin al- Rayhani entertained close contacts with Egypt and as early as in 1905 published an article in *Magallat sarkis*. In the same years al- Hillal, the influential magazine of the Lebanese Jurzi Zaydan, published a prose, poem by al-Rayhani, printed with an introduction by the editor, and followed by a fairly extensive discussion, a literary novelty which cannot have failed to make an impression. This was only a few years before the publication of the first anthology of the oldest of the Diwan poets, Shukri. The work of another great Lebanese Arab writer in America, Jibran Khalil Jibran(1883-1931), who had emigrated for the second time in 1902, was also quickly noticed in Egypt. His *al-Arwah al-mutamarridah* in 1902, was announced in al- Hillal.[30] In 1911 al- Hillal published a prose poem by him (announced as Shir manthur). His *al-Agnihah al-mutakassirah*1911 was reviewed in 1912 by the poet Waliy al-Din Yakan in *al- Muqtataf*. But not

[29] Al-Majallah al-misriyah P-961
[30] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-107

only Syros-Lebanese newspapers and magazines paid attention to the Mahjar literature. The famous writer Amin al-Rayhani's magazine *Rayhaniyat* 1910 was reviewed in the year of publication itself, in the magazine *al-Zuhur* which regularly published his articles.

After the First World War the literary works of the Arabs in the Mahjar were noticed ever more frequently in Egypt. The famous short story writer Jibran khalil Jibran seems to have drawn the greatest attention his article *al-Mawakib* 1918 was reviewed soon after, it is publication by many authors in Egypt and quickly became a widely known and admired work. Jibran khalil Jibran was a regular contributor to al- Hillal from 1917 onwards, and especially in the years 1919, 1920 and 1921 a remarkable large number of his prose pieces and essays appeared in Egyptian magazines. The works of the writers in the Mahjar also started to be printed or reprinted in Cairo, for example, Jibran khalil Jibran previously mentioned *al- Agnihah al-Mutakassira* 1920 and his *al-Muwakib* 1925. In 1923 an anthology of Jibran khalil Jibran's work published in Cairo under the title of *al- badai wal taraif*,[31] al Rayhani was also regularly discussed, particularly in al- Hilal and al-Muqtataf, to which he made regular contributions. An obvious example of Egyptian interest in, and in many respects admiration of the Mahjar is the anthology of *Balaghat al-Arab fil-qarn al-ishrin* 1919, compiled by Muhyi Din Rida and furnished by him with an enthusiastic introduction. This anthology was even reprinted in 1924.[32]

The publication in Egypt of Mikhail Nuiymah's *al- Ghirbal* 1923 is a fine example of the literary influence of the Mahjar in Egypt, not only because this collection of essays was published with an introduction by al- Aqqad, but also because Nuiymah directly interfered in the Egyptian literary

[31] Ibid, P-255
[32] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-108

establishment by his attack on Shawqi in this book.[33] The writers in the Mahjar also participated in literary events in a less direct way. In 1913 for example, Jibran khalil Jibran sent to Egypt the text of his speech on the occasion of Mutran's ceremony in Cairo. Amin al- Rayhani was celebrated several times in 1922 in Cairo, usually in the house of the Syros- Lebanese living there. In the same year of a book about him was published under the title of Amin *al-Rayhani's Falsafat al-sharq fi bilad al- Gharib*.

Of course the influence of the Mahjar did not remain restricted to al-Rayhani, Jibran and Nuiymah's volumes of essays *al-Ghirbal* has been mentioned above; his poetry was also appreciated by the Egyptians, although his anthology *Hams al- Gufun* (1943) through being published so late may have been less of a surprise than earlier publications of the Mahjar. In these later years an even greater role was probably played by IIiya Abu Madi (1990-1957), who himself had first emigrated to Egypt in 1902, where he published his first collection of poems, Diwan IIiya Abu Madi in 1911; in the same year he left for America, a typical example of the mobility of many Mahjar poets. Iliya Abu Madi regularly contributed to al- Hillal and *al-Muqtataf*. His next book of verse *al-Gadawil* (1927) was extensively reviewed in al-Muktataf in the same years in which it had been published. According to some modern Egyptian writers of letters Abu Madi exercised a great influence; one or two critics even consider him, together with the Tunisian poet al- Shabbi, as the real source on which the poets of Apollo were to draw.[34]

It seems that the influence of the Mahjar manifested itself most directly in lyrical prose, so called Shir Manthur. Muhammad Taymur, one of the most prolific writers of the short stories in Egypt dose state, it is true, that in his most formative years he was influenced by Jibran's collection of stories *al-Agnihah al- Mutakassirah*, but he seems to have been impressed rather by

[33] Abd al-Hayy Diyab, Al-Aqqad naqidan, P-147-151
[34] Awad, Al-Thawrah wa'l-Adab, P-180

Jibran's style than by his narrative skill. In this admiration, as in many other respects, Muhammad Taymur probably followed by his brother Muhammad who was enthusiastic about Jubran's al- Muwakib. Muhammad Taymur mentions Jibran's collection of stories in one breath with what he calls the latter's "symbolism", which again indicates that he was inspired rather by his lyrical prose style than by the stories themselves. This lyrical prose soon became well- Known in Egypt. Al- Rayhani's prose, poem in al- Hillal of 1905 has been mentioned already in the Mahjar period. In 1920 the Syrian authors may, who lived in Egypt and maintained close contact with great writers from the Mahjar, published a long Qasidah manthurah in al- Muktataf, entitled *Dam ah alal mugharrid al-samil*. In 1922 an anthology was published in Cairo under the title of al-Shir al Manthur, which included contributions by Muhammad al-Siba and others.[35] The writer Niqula Yusuf's *al- firdaws* (1922) likewise seems to have been inspired by the lyrical prose of al-Rayhani and Jibran. It should be realized that the lyrical prose of the Mahjar accorded well with the style of the prose writers like al- Manfaluti particularly that of some romantically lofty essays in the latter's *al- Nazarat* (1910) and al-Radi, whose *Hadith al- gamar* (1912) is in many respects close to this way of writing. It is not impossible that both al- Manfaluti and al-Radi in their turn were inspired by the Shir manthur of the Mahjar, although the early dates of al- Nazarat and Hadith al- gamar rater suggest the opposite. In any case it is not surprising that Yahya Haqqi in his memoirs says that in his youth he used to admire especially the poetry of the Mahjar and al- Manfaluti's translation Magdulin. They indeed had something in common that could arouse the admiration of the fledgling writer.

It was probably the romantic and individualistic view of the life and the independence of the Mahjar poets, rather than their literary products themselves, that appealed to the young writers in Egypt. The Egyptian

[35] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-110

scholars now seem divided as to the actual influence of the Mahjar. According to M.M.Badawi the romantic poets fell under the spell of the Mahjar poets, especially those of the United States, who exercised a liberating influence. The writer Louis Awad things, that Mutran and the Mahjar writers must be seen as the teachers of a poet like al- Khamusi during his romantic period. Many critics are convinced that especially the Apollo poets were strongly influenced by the Mahjar. Abu Shadi, the founder of Apollo, in his book *al-Shafaq al- baki* (1927) perhaps showed more admiration for the establishment of *al- Rabiyat al- Qalamiya* than for their poetry. Abu Shadi was an enthusiastic believer in clubs but the publisher of this volume of collected works *al- Giddawi*, in his introduction places Mutran and Jibran both of whom he greatly admires on a level with great classical poets and Jibran certainly is a shining example to him. On the other hand, Abd al- Aziz al-Dasuqi in his extensive study of the Apollo movement denies the Mahjar and influence.[36]

The appreciation of, and occasional admiration for the view ides and techniques of the Mahjar did not prevent these writers work from being subjected to criticism. When many in 1919 praised Jibran's *al-Mawakib* in great details, al-Aqqad disagreed with her and in his own rather priggish review of this work pointed out a number of mistakes in style and grammar. This purist attitude towards the Mahjar, which also emerges in Al-Aqqad's introduction to Mikhail Nuiymah's *al-Ghirbal*, was fairly common in Egypt. Al-Mazini had similar objections, although he also found much to admire, in his review of the anthology of the Mahjar writers mentioned above. In an article about "the old and the new" in literature, Haykal also wavered between calling Jibran the "standard bearer" (Hamil al- Liwa) of the literary revival, and a certain anxiousness, despite the poetic imaginative power he noticed in Jibran's *al-Agnihah al-Mutakassira*. Incorrect use of language also formed the

[36] Gama at Apollo, P-125

basis of Taha Hussain's criticism of Abu Madi's *al-Gadawil* (1927). The fact that Abu Madi was the "purest" of the Mahjar poets, Taha Hussain explains rather pedantically, is due to Abu Madi's prolong stay in Egypt. Hardly any other objections to the Mahjar writers can be found. Zaki Mubarak, who objected to Jibran's *al-Agnihah al-Mutakassirah*, forms an exception but he published his critic long after the publication of this collection.[37]

Gradually, the importance of the Mahjar itself, and consequently interest in its literature diminished. When in 1942 the critic Muhammad Mandur, in an article *al- Thaqafah*, described the poem "*Akhi*" by Mikhail Nuaymah as an example of the "whispered poetry" (Shir mahmus) he advocated, it had probably lost its topically. In 1948 the poetry of Nuaymah was judged favorably in the magazine *al-Risalah*, but its influence was denied at the same time; apparently it had lost its actuality. Whatever may have been its influence on the Egyptian romanticists, especially on the Apollo school, the next generation outdistanced the Mahjar.

Present day views of the Mahjar are often quite appreciative, but now this appreciation seems to be more academic. And this academic appreciation is not unqualified. The critic Louis Awad, not in the least conservative himself, wrote as late as 1961 that the Mahjar writers, along with Apollo, were the most important Arab romanticists, but he described both as "westernized"(Mustaghribun) and he considered Jibran's images as "originating from the Northern hemisphere in which he (jibran) lived emotionally".[38] Even when taking into account the tendency of some Egyptian critics to play down the merits of the Syros-Lebanese for the Arabic literary renaissance, such statements definitely show a diminished significance, also in retrospect of the Mahjar to Egypt. This seems to be contradicted by the fact that in recent years a remarkably large quantity of the work of Jibran, who

[37] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-111
[38] Awad, Dirasat fi Adabina al-Hadith, P-210-212

published some works in English, has been translated into Arabic. One may wonder, however whether these translations are based on anything else than on an accidental preference of the translator, who had close connections with the military regime.[39]

Abdur Rahman Shukri was famous Egyptian poet. The oldest of the Diwan poets although he had nothing to do with the pamphlet from which their name is derived was Abdur Rahman Shukri (1886-1958). He was not only the first of them to publish a collection of poems, but in other aspects as well he had a stimulating effect on the two other Diwan pots, Al- Aqqad and Al-Mazini. Shukri was born on October 12, 1886 of a family of North African origin, which first called them Aqqad. His father was an official with the municipal authorities of Alexandria, because involved in the rebellion of "Urabi" in 1881 as a supporter and admire of Abdullah al- Nadim, "the orator of the revolution" (Khatib al- thawrah). After 'Urabi's army had been defeated by the British, his father was sentenced to imprisonment and upon his release he was appointed in the administration of the governor of Port-said in this city Abdur Rahman Shukri was born in Egypt. Abdullah al- Nadim seems to have been a visitor to their house.

At home the young poet Shukri read the then still popular poets of the post classical period, the mystic Ibn al-Farid as well as the light hearted and elegant Baha al-din Zuhayr. Like Shawqi Hafiz before him, he was fascinated quite early by the lectures of Shaykh Hussain al-Marsafi, published as *al-Wasilah al-Adabiyah*. The lengthy fragments of classical poems included in this work seem to have attracted him, especially those by al- Sharif al-Radi. Also those by the modern writer al-Barudi roused his admiration.[40]

[39] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-112
[40] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-113

Shukri attended a secondary school in Alexandria, and he always remained closely attached to this city. In 1904, after having obtained his School certificate, he registered at the Law School in Cairo (Madarasat al-Huquq), one of the few institutions of the post- secondary education in Egypt at the time, which also counted Shawqi among its former students. Here perhaps already in Alexandria he came under the influence of the nationalist leader Mustafa Kamil (d. 1908), which is hardly surprising in view of his father's involvement in 'Urabi's rebellion. While still a student, Shukri offered his services to the great leader, but Mustafa Kamil seems to have rejected the young man's offer with the kind advice to complete his studies first. In 1906 Shukri ran into difficulties through his involvement in the national case, when a poem by his hand was recited during a demonstration.[41] We may safely assume that this demonstration was connected with the notorious incident of Dins away of 1906, which in so many respects form the beginning of nationalist agitation in Egypt, though Shukri's poem does not explicitly say so. As a consequence he was sent down from the Law School, a fact which was to prove of great importance to his further development.

His exclusion from the Law School did not prevent Shukri from registering the same year at the Teachers' Training College, a school which, as was mentioned above, greatly influenced several young intellectuals of that period. Shukri stayed at this School until 1909, of special importance was his introduction to English poetry, possibly stimulated by his older fellow student al- Siba through Palgrave's Golden Treasury. Some poems imitations in the neo- classical tradition though not called Mu'aradah but Ihtidha in his first collection (1909) point, however, to a strong influence of the classical Abbasid poets.[42]

[41] Diwan Shukri P-71
[42] Abdur Rahman Shukri, Fasl min nash 'ati, P-546

Shukri started to publish his poetry when still at School. As early as in 1904 he had written an elegy on al- Barudi, which was published together with other poems written on the occasion of the death of the great poet nationalist. In 1908 his first article was published in Ahmed Lutfi al- Sayyid's newspaper *al- Garidah*. This was the party paper of the Ummah party. Which was in many respects the antipode of the national party of Mustafa Kamil, apparently, Shukri had not remained a fanatical admirer of the great and adored leader.[43] His former fellow student at the Teachers' college, Muhammad al-Siba, who also worked with *al-Garidah*, may have encouraged him to start writing for it. Shukri published some essays in it, the first of which was entitled "*Al-Tamthil-adawatun al- Muhakah al-ifrat wal-tafrit*", as well as some poems such as an elegy on Qasim Amin (d.1908). At the Teachers' Training College Shukri met al-Mazini and a fellow student, who became his friend. Together these writers were to exercise a great influence on the literary renaissance in Egypt. It was Shukri who in his turn introduced al-Mazini, who was a few years younger to both the Arabic classics and the English Romantics.

In 1909, his final year at School, Shukri published his first collection, which was later entitled *Daw al-fajr*. Al-Mazini immediately gave it a laudatory review in the newspaper *al-Dostur*, where al- Aqqad worked. This review is the first instance of the three of them entering into a kind of co-operation. In a later article in the same newspaper al-Mazini again referred to his friend's first Diwan. After the completion of his studies in 1909, Shukri was awarded a scholarship to study in England. He spent three very important years in Sheffield, where he obtained a degree in English literature. His acquaintance with the English romanticists was now supplemented with Victorian poets, such as Swinburne, Rossetti and Oscar Wilde. As he himself said, the English scenery greatly impressed him. He also started to read other

[43] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-114

European authors in English translations. Goethe is a source of inspiration for a few of his poems.[44]

In the autumn of 1929 Shukri returned to Egypt. Only after his returned he seems to have met al- Aqqad, long after his first collection was reviewed in al- Dostur. Al-Mazini arranged this meeting.[45] In the fact that al-Aqqad and Shukri met only in 1912 has been used by some to probe that al-Aqqad cannot have been influenced by Shukri's early work, but this of course does not rule out the possibility of the young writer al-Aqqad's being influenced by simply reading Shukri's poems and essays. However this may be al- Aqqad's meeting with Shukri was as important as that of Shukri with al-Mazini; the three poets tighter formed an innovative movement which played a major role, although their friendship lasted only a few years. Soon after his return Shukri started to publish in the magazine *al-Bayan* which had been established the years before, al-Siba who work with this magazine also and was one of its co founders, may again have recruited him. The following years were very fruitful. As early as 1913 Shukri's second collection, later named "*La ali al-afkar*" was published with an extensive preface by al-Aqqad. Shukri's the third collection Diwan later named *Anashid al-siba*, came out in 1915 followed by *Zuhr al-Rabi* (1916*)*, *Al-khatarat* (1916), *Al-Afnan* (1918) and *Azhar al- Kharif* (1919), a large production within a few years.

After that, there followed a strange period of silence in Shukri's life, which lasted until 1935 and the cause of which have not been explained. From the silence period only a very few poems are known, apart from a few contribution to the magazine Apollo established in 1932. Not until 1935 did Shukri bring himself to resume his writing, he contributed poems to various magazine, such as *al-Risalah*, *al- Muqtataf* and *al-Magallah al-Gadidah*, which have now been included in the posthumous edition of his complete

[44] Ibid P-170
[45] Anwar al-Gundi, al-ma a'rik al-adabiyah, P-536

works. He also published various critical studies in *al-Risalah* and *al-Muqtataf* as well as in the magazine *al-Thaqafah* established in 1939. However it was clear that his creative period was over the poems of this period are not very remarkable.[46] As from 1913 Shukri worked as a teacher at various secondary Schools in Alexandria, including *Ra's al-Tin* and *al-Abbasiyah*. After a short period as principal of some secondary Schools, he was an inspector at the Ministry of education from 1934 to 1938, when he retired. Later he wrote some articles about his teaching period which contradict the general assumption that teaching to him were permanently frustrating. In fact that it was not likely that the long period of silence had anything to do with his being a teacher or with professional problems. After his retirement he returned to Port Said and went to live with a brother of his. In 1952 he had a stroke which paralyses his right side. In 1955 he moved to Alexandria. In 1956 a special issue of the magazine *al-Alam al-Arabi* was devoted to him he died on December 15. 1958.

Shukri is the oldest of the three poets who jointly formed the Diwan School. From the polemics that were carried on one gets the impression that his importance is emphasized by the adversaries of the others, particularly those of al-Aqqad who never lacked enemies. This tendency was particularly strong with writers in and around the Apollo group. For example, Ramzi Muftah tried to prove by means of countless examples that al-Mazini and al-Aqqad both heavily depended on Shukri. Shukri himself denied this later even though he did accuse al-Mazini once of having plagiarized his Shukri's work. On the other hand, Shukri himself has been described by some as a disciple of Mutran. Shukri later denied that Mutran should have influenced his work: "Despite my respect for khalil Mutran and Dr Abu Sadi must say that my poetry is no imitation of the style of Khalil Mutran nor is it related to the style of Abu Sadi." The dedication in a copy of the Diwan of al- Sharif al- Radi to

[46] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-115

al- Mazini in 1906 indicates the style of the poetry, he wrote in 1939. Though the meaning of this dedication (Ihda) is not clear Shukri probably means that he had found his own style as early as two years before the publication of Mutran's first collection (1908) is does show that Shukri himself was fully convinced that Mutran had not influenced his work.[47]

Whatever Shukri may have been influence on the two others, rupture between them came fairly soon. In 1913 Al-Aqqad wrote the preface to Shukri's second collection and in 1915 Shukri still dedicated his third collection to "my dear friend, the great literary man and poet" Al-Mazini. But shortly after that the two young poets got involved in a literary dispute that was to become one of the most notorious conflicts in the history of modern Egyptian literature. The immediate cause is not clear, but some have it that Shukri was that told that Al-Mazini blamed him for publishing as his own work what actually were "Western", and therefore English poems in translation. Here upon Shukri brought the matter out into the open by accusing Al-Mazini in his turn of plagiarizing Western poets. In the preface to his own fifth Diwan, *al-Khatarat* (1916), he presented a long list of derivations from Shelley, Lowell, Waller, Hood and Heine which he had found in al- Mazini's first collection. He even accused al-Mazini of having translated an entire essay by Addison, originally printed in The Spectator, and of having published it under his own name, al-Mazini answered Shukri in an article in the daily press as well as in the preface to his second collection (1917), admitting that he had indeed borrowed some verses from Western poets, a fact which he tried to explain by his being so well read and forgetful.[48] In the same year Shukri once again attacked his former friend in al-Muqtataf, where he described how once he had met the writer Abd al-Hamid effendi al- Ibadi, who had taken al-Mazini's Diwan and placed it alongside The Golden Treasury after which he

[47] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-116
[48] Diwan al-Mazini, Imad, P-120

had surprised all those present by making comparisons between the two books.

In view of this literary dispute it is not unlikely that al- Mazini's attack on Shukri in 1921 in the pamphlet al-Diwan kitab fi'al-Adab wa'l-Naqd was retaliation, rather than an argument on principles. The pamphlet was obviously intended as an attack on conservative and traditional prose writers and poets, and the attack on Shukri is slightly out of keeping with the polemics against neoclassicists such as Shawqi and Manfaluti. Under the heading of "*Sanam al-ala'ib*" al-Mazini in this procure leveled some strong and highly personal criticism at Shukri's Work, calling him an affected (Mutakallif) poet without natural (matbu) talent, who wrongly pretended to belong to the new movement (al-Madhhab al-gagidh), later Al- Mazini frankly regretted his attack on Shukri. Shukri's first collection has as its motto a line from one of the poems in this book:"O bird of Paradise, poetry is feeling" (Ala ya ta'ir al- firdawsi inna'l-shir'ra wigdanu).[49] Feeling is indeed a basic element in his poetry and it is not surprising that the introduction to his third collection (1915) is entitled "Feeling in poetry" (al-'Atifah fi'l- shi'r). Although Shukri uses another Arabic word for "Feeling" here, he does so in a context which gives no cause for supposing that he intended anything else. Feeling is also the central theme of his poem, "poetry".[50] Another important poetic principle for Shukri was the unity of the poem. Here the poet Mutran had led the way, but since the latter's collection appeared only one year before Shukri's it is hardly likely that Mutran influenced Shukri. Al -Aqqad who could not easily recognize other people's merits, was of the opinion that Shukri was the first to pay attention to the unity of the structure of a poem.[51]

[49] The poem 'Usfur al-Gannah' Diwan Shukri, P-266
[50] Diwan Shukri, P-334
[51] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-118

In these two respects Shukri was an innovator but otherwise he was sometimes surprisingly conservative. Thus he hardly innovated poetic form. In general, he remained attached to the traditional rules of metre and rhyme. His first collection does contain a long unrhymed poem, "Kalimat al-'awatif"[52] and at the end of the second collection one finds some short unrhymed poems.[53] Besides, his collections contain several stanza forms, an occasional refrain, and some rhyming couplets (Muzdawing). But generally speaking, Monorhyme and monometer prevail in his poetry and in form he is far less revolutionary than one might expect from the content of his poems. Unrhymed poems do not occur after the second collection and change of rhyme also seems to become rarer. On the other hand he did write many short poems, especially in the early collection. Though this in itself was hardly revolutionary or even innovative, it is true that with neoclassicists inclined as they were towards the solemn one will hardly find any short poems (Qit'ah) of less than ten lines. With Shukri these *Qit'ah*'s also become rarer in his second period, after 1935. The few ballads in his work are clearly inspired by Shelley and Byron and they obviously represent an attempt by Shukri at a western genre which did not suit him. He always remained an individualistic Lyricist.

The most remarkable characteristic of the Shukri's poetry is its pessimism. In his notorious attack in the Diwan pamphlet, al-Mazini had already blamed him for his khumul and his flirtation with insanity. Even though al-Mazini's attack was not entirely fair, here he had a point one cannot deny that from his first collection onwards a pessimistic outlook on life plays an important part in Shukri's work, more so than in that of the two other poets of the Diwan School. Extreme pessimism is indeed considered characteristic of Shukri's poetry by most subsequent critics even though a modern critic like M.M.Badawi thinks that "the main themes of Shukri's poetry are

[52] Diwan Shukri, P-86-94
[53] Ibid., P-200-206

philosophical and moral meditations, interesting or unusual states of mind and beauty in general and nature in particular, love, death and the creative imagination" and not pessimism excessive or not.[54] This pessimistic attitude has been related by some to the uncertainty in which his generation found itself as a result of the social revolution or simply of British colonialism, which manifested itself also in *al-l'tiraf* (Usually translated as confession), an early prose piece. Shukri's pessimism sometimes comes close to irreligion, as in his satirical description of the resurrection in "Hulm bi 'l-bath". On the other hand he is by no means an atheist on principle in the greater part of his work there are no reference at all to religion or irreligion. We have it on Shukri's own authority that his most important experience in England was his discovery of nature. He has often been described as a typical nature poet in modern Arabic literature. However, most of the nature poems in his work deal with fairly traditional themes, such as the "daffodil". The poem "To the wind" (lla 'l-rih), mentioned by Shukri himself as an example of his feeling for nature, was obviously inspired not so much by living nature as by Shelley's "Ode to the west wind".[55]

Shukri has provided fairly extensive information about the influences that affected him. Among the classical poets especially al- Sharif al- Radi whom he had got to know through *al-Marsafi's al-Wasilah al-Adabiyah*, meant a great deal to him. In 1939 he wrote a series of articles in the magazine al-Risalah about the great Abbasid poets starting with al- Radi. In the cause of some poems he later indicated the Arabic classics that had inspired him, Bashshar b. Burd, Abu Tammam and al-Ma 'arri. The influence of English poetry on Shukri is even more remarkable. On this point he also provided ample information, such as for instance that the ballads *Al-sha 'ir wasurat al-kamal* and *al-Awgah al-Ghadirah* had been inspired by Shelley and Byron as

[54] M.M. Badawi, A critical introduction to modern Arabic poetry, P-97
[55] Diwan Shukri, P-401

mentioned above. According to the literary historian writer Shawqi Daif, his "Qissat Napoleon Wa 'l-Sha'ir al-Misri" was inspired by Thomas Gray's "The Bard".[56] Shukri's interest was not restricted to English poetry, though and European lyrical poetry in general was important to him. He mentions several examples of poems of his which were inspired by Goethe. It is obvious that he absorbed a great deal of the romantic outlook on life from European poetry. This is illustrated plainly by the titles of many of his poems, especially from the second and a later collections for example "A sick boy speaking to his Mother' and "Beauty and Death",[57] this titles which one would not easily find with neoclassicists, who rarely gave telling titles to their poems anyway.[58]

Shukri's influence the excepted of course on his direct associates, was less than one might suppose from his position in the Diwan group. Partly this may have been due to his personality. From the available data he emerges as a sky and reserved man he never even married, which is highly exceptional for an Egyptian and after his quarrel with al- Mazini he withdrew even more. Nevertheless, as early as in 1922 he belonged as a matter of course to the famous poets as Ahmad Ubayd's well known booklet was called. His reserve is therefore not likely to have been caused exclusively by his quarrel with al-Mazini. Al-Mazini and al-Aqqad later recognized his merits and admired his wide reading. Shukri's long silence after 1920 was followed by a fairly large output after 1935, but it is clear that by then his work appeared less to his compatriots. Today curiously enough, he barely catches the imagination. The sensational booklet by the two Marxist literary critics Muhmud al-Alim and Abd al-Azim Anis, Fi 'l-Thaqafah al- Misriyah (1955), a settlement with the past does mention Al-Aqqad and Al- Mazini but omits Shukri. Nor is he mentioned by the poet Salah Abd al-Sabur in Madha yabqa Minhum li 'l- ta 'rikh (1961) which is also an attempt at an assessment of modern literature.

[56] Dr. Shawqi Daif, Al-Adab al-Arabi al-Muasir fi Misr, P-134
[57] Diwan Shukri P-122-115
[58] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-120

Shukri also wrote some prose works which are curious in them and of importance for the study of his literary development, but which have otherwise not exercised any great influence. The most remarkable of these are the previously mentioned al- l'tiraf (Alexandria, 1916-1917), confessions put into the mouth of another person, but obviously made by the poet himself and Hadith Iblis. The collections of the essays *al-Thamarat* (1916-1917) and *al-Sharif* (1918) seem less important today *al-Hallaq al-magnum* (1919) seems to have vanished into him air.[59]

The famous Egyptian writer Abbas Mahmud al- Aqqad played a significant part in the Diwan School but at a later stage his influence was particularly strong outside the field belle's letters. Al- Aqqad was born in Aswan of an Egyptian Father and a Mother of Kurdish descent.[60] His Father was an Amin al-Mahfuzal, a kind of archivist, in this remote Egyptian provincial town and gave his son a strict and religious education. At home there were old copies of al-Ustadh, the magazine of Urabi's follower Abdullah al-Nadim, and of *al-'Urwah al-wuthqa*, the magazine had been published by al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh during their exile after the failure of the Urabi rebellion. When he was a School boy in Aswan, al-Aqqad met a certain *al-Giddawi*, according to al-Aqqad himself a supporter of Muhammad Abduh and a man of letters, who knew the Maqamahs of al-Harriri and al-Hamdhani by heart. In short, al-Aqqad describes his background as orthodox Muslim and nationalist, with a certain interest in the belles letters and not impermeable to modernist views.[61]

As a boy al-Aqqad read a lot he was to remain an avid reader throughout his life chiefly Adab works and some poetry, he himself mentions al-Iqd al-farid and al-khaskul, two extremely popular collections, and the

[59] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-120
[60] Ana P-48
[61] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-122

Maqamahs of al- Harriri.[62] When still a boy, he wrote a Qasidah in praise of learning entitled "*Madh al- ulum*". He seems to have acquired a smattering of English at a tender age, an English tourist in Aswan, who was a convert to Islam, sent him two English books, an English translation of the Koran and Carlyle's The French Revolution, a present which marked the beginning of his intensive contact with English letters.[63] It is significant that Carlyle was probably the first English author he read, for it is generally assumed that the writer inspired al-Aqqad's series about the great men in Islam, *al-Abqariyat*. Al-Aqqad did not attend a secondary School, probably because there was no secondary School at Aswan and his family never thought of sending him to Cairo for that purpose. This makes him the typical autodidact among the Egyptian writers, in later years a request for a scholarship to Europe was rejected because he had no School certificates. Many of his spasmodic displays of learning and his enormous production of what were actually popularizations of facts of general knowledge should probably be seen as reactions to his incomplete education.

In 1904, sixteen years old, al-Aqqad left his native town Aswan. He became an articled clerk with the municipality of Qanya and subsequently transferred to Zagazig, the capital of the Sharqiyah province during this period he started to write for various newspapers and magazines in Cairo. According to some sources he also attended a School for telegraphers. Others have it that he enrolled in a technical School the two may have been one and the same School.[64] His great opportunity came in 1907 when he well known reformer Muhammad Farid Wagdi. Who was a writer of neo classical Maqamah's himself established the newspaper *al-Dostur* and recruited al-Aqqad as a member of his staff perhaps as the one and only editor. The young writer al-Aqqad bade his modest but secure official career farewell, an act which his

[62] Ana P-63
[63] Ana P-64
[64] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-123

contemporaries did not understand and which would still be extraordinary in Egypt today. According to al-Aqqad himself, the newspaper was one of the mouthpieces of the nationalist leader Mustafa Kamil and the national party, which was officially established in 1907 but had been in existence long before. The newspaper also supported the cause of pan-Islamism which was not incompatible with Mustafa Kamil's nationalism, but it columns were at the same time open to all kinds of modern subjects. Al-Aqqad wrote in it on all sorts of cultural and literary subjects under his own name. His first piece discussed the position of women, in his literary articles he deals with a series of great figures from classical Arabic literature.[65]

Around this time he must have started to break away from the pan-Islamic and somewhat xenophobic attitude of people like Wagdi, for whom he nevertheless continued to harbor a great deal of respect. Quite early, al-Aqqad came to admire Sa'd Zghlul, who after the First World War was to became the national leader of Egypt, and clearly evolved in the direction of those followers of Muhammad Abduh who were to form the liberal Wafdist party after the war. In this same period al-Aqqad published a pseudonymous article in which he attacked the Khedive Abbas the second, the first sign of the anti-monarchism he was to for a very long time. Another remarkable attack by al-Aqqad during his employment at al- Dostur was directed against the Egyptian Christians. Here among other things, he drew attention to their quasi-monopoly of the Egyptian railway company a proof of the Islamic activism which despite his liberalism was to remain typical of him.

Al-Dostur had to be discontinued as early as 1909 and al-Aqqad became unemployed. He went through a mental crisis and returned to Aswan. Here he started to keep a diary, excerpts of which were published as *Khalasat al-Yawmiyah*. This diary which saved him from despair as he himself put it,

[65] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-123

already shows some knowledge of English literature, of which there had been no signs in *al-Dostur*, in the summer of 1910 of 1911 he returned to Cairo where he started to write for several magazines, such as *al-Bayan*, established in 1911, and Ukaz. In the editorial office of al- Bayan, which like so many similar offices was a meeting place for men of letters, al-Aqqad made the acquaintance of several authors undoubtedly including al-Siba, one of the editors and al-Muwaylihi, who becoming famous for his series of pieces which were later published under the title of Isa ibn Hisham. Al- Aqqad had met al- Mazini previously when the latter had published a review of Shukri's first collection of poems in *al-Dostur*.

During these years al-Muwaylihi found al-Aqqad a job with the administration of the waqfs in which a number of men of letters had found employment. When in 1912 Shukri returned from England, al-Mazini, and Shukri was former fellow student at the Teachers Training College, introduced the two writers to each other. Al-Aqqad's friendship with Shukri was to prove fewer firms than that with al-Mazini, although al-Aqqad never fell out as completely with Shukri as al-Mazini did. In 1914 al- Aqqad again abandoned his career in the civil service and became an editor with the newspapers al- Mu'ayyad, where he stayed for a short time only. He once more returned to Aswan and went to work on what was later to become the collection of essays *Sa'at bayn al- kutub*.[66] This sequence of an official career, journalism and return to his native town shows a curious parallelism with the events leading to his *khulasat al-yawmiyah*. In Aswan al-Aqqad was surprised by the Second World War. He hurriedly returned to Cairo where he worked with the censorship for some time and taught at various Secondary Schools,[67] together with his friend al-Mazini, with whom he shared a house for a while. The war time paper shortage and limited printing space in the Egyptian press

[66] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-124
[67] Ibid P-158,163,169

must have meant time of poverty for al-Aqqad, who worked freelance. An offer to work with the Alexandrian newspaper *al-Ahali* must in many respects have been a godsend. The period in which he worked on this newspaper was also important to al- Aqqad because of his meeting with Abd al-Qadir Hamzah, the editor in chief, who was one of the most important journalists of his day, but who did not yet support Sa‘d Zaghlul. Probably in 1919 al- Aqqad left *al-Ahali* to start working for *al-Ahram*, which did support the nationalist hero at the time.

In the winter 1921 al-Aqqad seems to have been stuck by yet another mental breakdown, which caused him to leave for Aswan again. It is not known when he next returned to Cairo to become editor of the Wafdist newspaper *al-Balagh*. He unsuccessfully tried to become a member of the new Egyptian parliament in the first elections. In May 1925, however he became a member of senate. His political career than developed smoothly, in the elections of December 1929 he did get elected to the House of Representatives, where he manifested himself as an undaunted advocate of constitution liberties. When the prime Minister Ismail Sidqi suspended the constitution, it was al-Aqqad who addressed the house with the threatening words: “the people are prepared to crush the greatest head in the country if attempts are made to tamper with the constitution or to abolish it” the revenge for his clearly anti-monarchist statement came in 1930, when he was sentenced, not of course for his words in the house but for some articles in *al-Mu’ayyad al-gadid* which were considered as less majesty.

In 1931, after nine months imprisonment al-Aqqad on his release went straight from the prison to the tom of Sa‘d Zaghlul where he recited a poem.[68] This movement was probably the summit to his career. In 1934 he was honored at a ceremony where, according to some sources, he was even

[68] Wahy al-Arabiya P-173

proclaimed the prince of poets. Shawqi had died in 1932 and at the party congress of the Wafd in 1935 he was still one of its prominent members. Shortly afterwards however he came into conflict with the leaders of the Wafd and was expelled from the party. As it turned out, this caused al-Aqqad to lose most of his political influence. He joined the politician Ahmed Mahir when the latter after having also broken with the Wafd in 1937 established a new party, al-Hay'ah al-sa'diyah, name after the deceased leader of the Wafd, Sa'd Zaghlul. For this party al-Aqqad became a member of parliament but apparently his party could only govern with support from some other minor parties as the instruments of the king, who had come into conflict with the Wafd.[69] For al-Aqqad, so recently tried on a charge of less majesty, this must have been quite painful. Despite his praise of the hated sovereign in panegyrics on several official occasions, he was never given the title of boy or pasha, a fact which he seems to have resented. In other respects al-Aqqad always remained the democrat he originally was. During the Second World War he resolutely supported the Allied cause, as early as 1940 writing an anti Nazi pamphlet entitled Hitler fi'lmizan (Hitler weighed), and in the same year publishing broadcast talks under the title of *al-Naziyah wa'l-adyan*. In 1942, when the German armies were approaching Egypt he had to flee to Khartum where he stayed for some time.

After the war he remained a member of parliament for the Sa'diyah party and editor of the party paper *al-Asas*, but his political influence remained limited. He did it is true, receive honors for his writings, for example the membership of the Academy of the Arabic language (magma ' al-lughah al-Arabiyah) in 1940, but he was not offered any significant posts; there is no confirmation anywhere to his ever having been asked to become a cabinet Minister. When after the Egyptian revolution of 1952, Egyptian parliamentary life same to an end al-Aqqad, like many of his compatriots was

[69] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-125

hardly disappointed or a critical of the new regime. Like many Egyptian intellectuals he applauded the revolution itself. He became of the chairman of the poetry committee of the High Council for Arts, Literature and Social sciences, in which capacity he was able to exercise a restraining influence by resolutely rejecting modern poetry. In 1959 he was awarded the state prize for literature. The last years of his life were especially fruitful, even though the quality and the significance of his work were far below those of his writings up to 1940. On March 12, 1964, he died in his home in Heliopolis a suburb of Cairo.[70]

Al-Aqqad was a reserved and serious man: according to himself he took after his parents in this respect. At the same time, He had a passionate nature which became apparent in his violent reactions to criticism. To the outside world his self conceit was his most striking characteristic, also because it was expressed in a haughty attitude which according to same was his mask for a basic lake of self-confidence, perhaps due to his lack of schooling. His numerous enemies often derided him for his conceitedness, mockingly calling him "the great writer" (al-katib al-kabir). His genius was equally mocked at, even before he started his series on the men of genius in Islam. However there is no proof of a morbidly megalomaniac attitude in 1935 at the culmination of the campaign against him which ended in his expulsion from the Wafd he was accused of pathological paranoia but this accusation was clearly unfounded.

Al-Aqqad's character was full of contradictions. Though always a staunch democrat, as witnessed by his fight against fascism, he felt greatly attracted by strong leaders. This is apparent from his admiration for Sa'd Zaghlul and also from his series on the great men from the history of Islam, in which he emphasized the importance of these leading figures for the course of

[70] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-126

Islamic history.[71] This veneration of great men may explain why al-Aqqad finally broke with the people's party the Wafd, when its leader Sa'd Zaghlul had died. A similar ambiguity we find in al-Aqqad's attitude towards women. He felt attracted by women of a sensual nature, as is evident in his obviously autobiographical novel Sarah 1937 and his collection an '*Asir al Magrib* 1942. But at the same time he apparently felt a strong need for contact with women of an entirely different character. With whom he could communicate on an intellectual level. His difficulty in reconciling his infatuation with a demy-mundane with his other inclinations prompts the protagonist of his novel Sarah also to develop a relationship with another woman who, as common opinion has it, represents the authoress Mayy (Marie) Ziyadah. At the same stage al-Aqqad did indeed have a platonic relationship with Mary.

Al-Aqqad published his first poems in the nationalist newspaper *al-liwa*.[72] The first work that was published separately was not collection of poems, however, but a volume of essays, *Khulasat al-yawmiyah* 1911 and extract from the diary he kept in Aswan. According to some critics this work, together with the first collection of Shukri's poems (published in 1909), is the beginning (al-fatihah) of the battle between "the old and the new" in modern Egyptian literature. These essays show al-Aqqad's wide reading he writes about Hume, Nietzsche and Addison, and at the same time he sharply attacks writers of established literary reputations like Shawqi, whose elegy on Butrus Ghali he subjects to strong criticism. Here too, al-Aqqad already formulated the romantic creed that the poet is someone who feels and evokes feeling, but he himself started to write poetry relatively late. Before the publication of his first collection, he published two other minor works, namely *al-Insan al-thani* 1912 about the position of women, and *al-Shudhur* a collection of essays without literary significance. His first collection of poems, which probably

[71] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-127
[72] Ana P-93

only later received the title of "*Yaqazat al- sabah*" it was published only in 1916.

In the first collection al-Aqqad already appears to be strongly influenced by the English romanticists, as is illustrated clearly by the titles of his poems, such as "The Blind Poet".[73] The poem "*al-Karawan*"[74] dedicated of the Egyptian bird of that name was obviously inspired by Shelley's "Ode to a Skylark" which had also inspired Shukri some years before. Attempts at lyrical descriptions of nature in al- Aqqad's first collection are to be found in the poems "*al-Badr fi 'l-sahra*" and "*ala shati al-bahr*.[75] According to explanatory notes, "*al-Hubb al-awwal*" is an imitation of Ibn al-Rumi, an early evidence of his veneration of the classical Abbasid poet.[76] Monorhyme and monometer prevail in this book, which contains only a few stanza poems, some of which still show traditional forms, such as the Muwashshah and the quatrain. The special metre which some critics have tried to see in a few poems is not always necessarily there.[77] Generally speaking al-Aqqad is conservative in his forms, although like the other Diwan poets he included many short poems. The English influence is apparent in the translations from Shakespeare, Burns and Cowper, while Carlyle has also left his mark.

In the second collection, later named *Wahg al-zahirah* 1928, the romantic élan has diminished. The poems included here are often preceded by contemplative expositions, which have a more or less disruptive effect. Occasionally al-Aqqad is didactic, as in the poem about the youth of Egypt (Shubbah Misr), in which he complains strangely enough for a twenty eight year old about the lack of seriousness in the Egyptian young. This volume shows a more frequent use of liberties in metre and rhyme, for example the

[73] Diwan 1928 ,P-29
[74] Ibid P-54
[75] Ibid P-70,74
[76] Ibid P-37
[77] Ibid P-100

wafer metre with alternating rhyme, in addition to the Muwashshah and Dubayt. The influence of English poetry is less obvious, except for a translation of Pope.[78]

Al-Aqqad third collection 1921, which was largely given the title of *Ashbah al- asil*, contains one of his best known and most admired poems, namely "The life of Satan" (Targamat al- shaytun),[79] which is remarkable for its form and epic style. It is written in the real metre, one of the less common metres, and in an unusual stanza form. According to al-Aqqad himself, the poems were a reaction to the ordeals he suffered during and immediately after the First World War. He may also have been inspired by Shukri, who had shown his fascination with the figure of the devil in his prose writing Hadith Iblis and by Milton. This volume no longer contains translations there is one long poem in honour of Shakespeare.

The fourth collection, which was probably not published separately but included straightaway in the volume of collected poems of 1928, is remarkable for the large number of occasional poems, some of which were written in praise of Sa 'd Zaghlul. A long poem written on the occasion of his commemoration forty days after his death was obviously intended as a monument to the revered leader.[80] It is divided into several sections referring to different periods in his life. Besides, this volume contains some poems about the few journeys abroad which al-Aqqad ever made, like "The ruins of Baalbek" (Ala atal Ba 'albek).[81] Apart from these more or less occasional poems, this works includes some very fine lyrical tone becomes slightly

[78] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-129
[79] Ibid P-238
[80] Ibid P-281, 292
[81] Ibid P-292

trivial, as in the "Flower poems" (Zahriyat). As far as form is concerned, monorhyme and monometer are again predominant.[82]

The collection *Wahy al-Arabian* 1933, through published at the peak of al- Aqqad's career is no poetic highlight. It is arranged in chapters according to subject. The first collection "*Ta' ammulat fil hayah*", and the second collection "*Khawatir fi shu' un al- nas*", are of a contemplative nature. In the third collection "Qisas watamathil" the epic poem "Icarus"[83] is the most striking. The "*Idmilad al- gahin*" makes one suspect that here the poet is tormented by the same problems as when he wrote "*Targamat al- shaytan*", and the same is true of "Iblis yaftakair". He is lyrical in the fourth chapter, "Ghazal wamunagah". A certain vocalism becomes apparent in "*Al-Ma'ani al-hayyah*", which forms a pleasant contrast with the dryness of the first chapter. Finally, this collection contains some occasional poems including the one which he recited at his solemn visit to the tomb of the revered Sa'd Zaghlul. It is rather impressive; despite the strange metaphor that al-Aqqad had been an embryo (ganin) for nine months in jail and that he had now been born in the forecourt of eternity.[84] In this volume too, monorhyme and monometer prevail, even in the epic poem "Icarus".

The collection *Hadiyat al-karawan* 1933 is one of the most lyrical poems al- Aqqad ever published. The poem "*al-karawan al- mugaddad*" is a long imitation of al- karawan from the first collection and in spite of some peculiar phrases such as "for thou dost not lie in abundance on the platters", directed to the bird, which offended some people, it is quite lyrical. Although Mukthar al-Wakil later called al- Aqqad's karawan poems 'the chicks of Shelley's larks", this is nevertheless one of the most successful of al-Aqqad's

[82] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-130
[83] Wahy al-arabiya P-62-71
[84] Ibid P-173,174

anthologies. In "*al-fann al-hayy*"[85] his vocalism becomes apparent: Khudh mina 'igismi kulla ma 'na wagassim mina 'i ma 'a lil nufusi ma kana bikra", he says in this poem, an almost untranslatable line. In the introduction as well as in the epilogue he blames his contemporaries for singing about the non indigenous nightingale instead of about Egyptian birds an attack on the remnants of traditionalism in Egyptian poetry. The collection has been considered as one of the two works in which al-Aqqad consciously abandoned lofty themes and tried to make the commonplace poetic. This is illustrated by the poem "the post man".[86]

This preference for the ordinary was even more consciously expressed in the collection '*Abir sabil* 1937, according to some critics his most courageous effort in this direction. Some poems from this volume are among his best known, like "Bayt yatakallam" and a poem about goods in a shop wind, "*Sila al-dakakin*" and last but not least "The traffic police man" (Askari al- murur).[87] This certainly did not mean that he tended towards social realism, as in obvious from "A socialist explaining spring time" (Ishtiraki yu allil al Rabi). This collection contained yet another poem about his beloved karawan bird "The return of the karawan" (Awdat al- karawan).[88] The collection of al- Aqqad *Asir magrib* 1942, as appears from of its dedication and from its content was inspired by love for a young woman, who inspired this poetry but betrayed the poet. In the introduction al-Aqqad wrote that the title had been inspired by the "throbbing of noontide", the words with which Thomas Hardy describes a late love. Apart from some occasional poems, this collection forms a unity which is rare in Egyptian poetry, especially the poems grouped under the collective title "*Fi'l-nafs*".[89] These describe his love of the

[85] Hadiyat al-karwan P-124
[86] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-131
[87] Abir al-Sabil P-11, 46, 28
[88] Ibid P-118
[89] Asir Maghrib P-25-81

young woman at times in a slightly patronizing tone the exuberance of his feelings particularly in (al- Hutb al- dahik), but also his growing jealousy and what he calls her "betrayal". Their spontaneity is in marked contrast to the often pedantic tone of his other collections.

Al-Aqqad compared with this volume, Ba'd al-an 'asir 1950 was a step backward. It was also inspired by a love affair at a later age, but it is much less of a dramatic unity. Yet the poet's wonder at this late love, however formally expressed is moving especially in "Mu'gizah waburhan", which describes his hesitation to believe in the affection of the adored one. It is typical of al-Aqqad that he then immediately compares himself to Goethe (Intiqam Goethe).[90]

Al-Aqqad continued to write poetry up to an advanced age, for which he was exceptional at least among the neo romantics. Another uncommon feature of his work was that he continued to describe his own development in his poems, so that an unusually personal involvement is expressed in his poetry. Later generations have expressed varying opinions on his significance for modern Egyptian poetry. On the one hand he is one of the few modern Egyptian poets to have found a following, at least to have had supporters like Abd al-Rahman Sidqi and Sayyid Qutub. The famous critic Habib al-Zahlawi dedicated his book about the contemporary poets to the genius of the man of letters of our day al-Aqqad and the philosopher Zaki Nagib Mahmud thought him a great poet. Sayyid Qutub defended him in 1938 against attacks by Muhammad Sa 'id al-Aryan, the biographer of al-Aqqad's enemy al-Rafi, and by Ismail Mazhar, and called him the leader of the new School.[91]

One the other hand, especially during his lifetime, negative opinion predominated. The critic Ramzi Muftah's booklet *Rasa'il al-Naqd* probably

[90] Ibid P-46
[91] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-132

around 1930 is one long vehement, sustained attack on al- Aqqad who is here accused of plagiarizing Shukri, Shelley, Emerson and many other writers. Not only neoclassicists like Mustafa Sadiq al- Rafi disparaged him the writers of the Apollo School were generally hostile as well. Salah Abd al-Sabur is of the opinion that al-Aqqad violated his sensual nature by his ambition to be a philosophical poet he considers this as a kind of "mauvaise foi" on the part of al-Aqqad towards himself. The later critic Mandur went so far as to state that al-Aqqad's poems had nothing to do with poetry '*Iasha'n lahu bi'l Shir'*[92] Subsequent critics generally are of mixed opinions. Louis Awad regards his biography of Sa 'd Zaghlul, inspired by Carlyle, as his best work, but on the other hand considers him as "the real poet" because of his ideas on the nature and character of the poet in general, which prompts him to compare al-Aqqad with Shelley.[93] Some object to his philosophical turn of mind, others consider it an asset. However there is little doubt that his lasting popularity is not to be ascribed to his poetry or even to his reputation as a poet, but to his popular Scholarly work, especially his many modernist books about Islam. His series about the "men of genius" is particularly popular, and is still appreciated by a modern poet like Salah Abd al- Sabur.

Ibrahim Abdul Qadir al- Mazini was born in Cairo in 1889 in a cultural family. His father was a lawyer. His primary education in the secular School and he completed his education in Teacher's Training college. "Der Dritte im Bunde" of the Diwan School was Ibrahim Abd Qadir al-Mazini (1889-1949) who, although he gave up writing poetry fairly soon, played a major role in the revivalist movement of Egyptian poetry during the first decades of the 20th century. Al-Mazini was born on August 19, 1889 as the son of a well to do lawyer who even counted the Khedive among his clients. His father spendthrift and polygamous died when al-Mazini was still young. To make

[92] Mandur, fi'l mizan al-jadid P-106
[93] Ibid P-180

matters worse, al-Mazini's brother, who became the head of the family after the father's death, within a short time lost the family fortune, Al- Mazini was brought up by his mother whom he continued to hold in great veneration throughout his life and whom he repeatedly mentions in his autobiographical sketches.

Al-Mazini spent his youth in circumstances amounting to decent poverty. The first book he read, according to his own information, was Arabian Nights, which he had to steal from the collection of books of his brother, who had forbidden him to read it. When he grew a little older, he read the popular post classical authors, like Baha al-Din Zuhayr, Ibn al-Farid and Ibn Nubatah. Despite his brother's strictures, especially after the death of his father, the young al-Mazini seems to have enjoyed a great degree of freedom at home. Al-Mazini's real development; however was not to start until he entered the Teachers Training College, where he landed more or less by accident. He had studied medicine for some time, but proved unable to stand the anatomical dissecting lessons.[94] When he subsequently wanted to register at the law School, he discovered that its tuition fees had been raised drastically.[95]

Before the establishment of the Egyptian University in 1908, there were few possibilities of higher education apart from these Schools, except for the Azhar which for al- Mazini apparently was not considered. Consequently when around this time the Teachers College started to issue to all students scholarships of three pounds per month in the first year and four pounds per month on the second year al-Mazini in 1906 decided to register there, although he had no ambition for teaching. The decision to issue these scholarships was taken during Sa'd Zaghlul's term of office as Minister of

[94] Al-Mazini, khuyut al-Ankabut P-393
[95] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-139

education. Al-Mazini was never to be grateful to him for it.[96] This more or less accidental choice of the Teachers College proved happy one. Not only was it good School, but al-Mazini's fellow students were people who later on were to hold high, office in Egypt or were to become important writers to al-Mazini himself his meeting with his fellow student Shukri who, although four year his senior, was in the same year with him was undoubtedly the most important event. It was Shukri who molded al- Mazini's literary taste and introduced him to classical Arabic literature as distinct from the post classical writers whom al-Mazini had read in his youth and even more importantly, showed him the way in English literature. As al-Mazini was to write later, Shukri when al-Mazini himself was nothing but a beginner had already decided on a definite literary course. It was also Shukri who turn him away from al- Baha Zuhayr, Ibn al-Farid and Ibn Nubatah and led him towards Jahili, Ummayad and Abbasid poetry. Shukri opened my eyes to Shakespeare, Byron, Wordsworth, Shelley, Burns, Milton, Hazlitt, Carlyle, Leigh Hunt, Macaulay, Schiller, Heine, Rousseau and a hundred more. He was more widely read than me but treated me as his equal and did not look down on me, al-Mazini wrote long after the breach between the two men had occurred. The list indicates probably better than anything else how these students looked upon European literature as a less incoherent multitude of great works.[97]

Shortly after his introduction to Shukri, al-Mazini must also have met al-Aqqad who from 1907 to 1909 was an editor of *al-Dostur*. It was in this newspaper that al-Mazini wrote a highly laudatory review of Shukri's first collection of poems in March 1909. According to al-Aqqad himself he met al-Mazini two years later in the editorial office of the magazine *al-Bayan*, which was established in 1911. But it does not seem likely that the two young writers should not have met when al-Mazini reviewed such an important collection as

[96] Amir al-Aqqad, Safahat min ma'arik al-Aqqad, P-45
[97] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-140

Shukri's in the paper of which al-Aqqad was the editor, the less so as in June 1909 al-Mazini devoted another review to this collection also in *al-Dostur*. Around this time al-Mazini also met Muhammad al- Siba who was nine years his senior, and who had already left the Teachers college. To this writer he also owed a great deal as appears from his later autobiographical articles. Al-Siba seems to have been the person who opened the eyes of the young al-Mazini to the classical poet Ibn al-Rumi, who of all the classical writers may have been the most important to the poets of the Diwan School. No doubt al-Siba also taught his young friend a lot about the English writers he discussed in his *al- Suwar,* which had been published as early as 1907. Al-Siba, Shukri and The Golden Treasury probably were the main sources from which al-Mazini drew his initial knowledge of English literature.[98]

Upon his graduation in 1909 al-Mazini was given an appointment as teacher. When he was transferred against his will from the then famous Khedivial School to the Dar al-'Ulum where he was going to have to teach English a minor subject at the time, he resigned in September 1914. The forced transfer was probably a kind of punishment because the young al-Mazini had irritated the then Minister of Education, Hishmat Pasha, by criticizing the latter's protégé Hafiz who was extremely popular at the time.[99] This decision to give up a safe position in the government service was as courageous as that of al-Aqqad in 1907 to bid farewell to his career in the civil service and to become a journalist. Al-Mazini went to work at private Schools, often the same as those where his friend al-Aqqad worked occasionally. But he obviously did not like teaching and in 1918 he decided to become a journalist, and remained one for the rest of his life.[100]

[98] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-141
[99] Al-Aqqad, Ba'd al aasir P-144
[100] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-141

When al-Mazini went into journalism he was not without experience. He had already written for several Egyptian newspapers and magazines, such as *a-Dostur, al-Bayan* in which he presented his series of articles about Ibn al-Rumi and Ukaz with which he broke as early as in 1914. As a full time journalist he first went to work for the Alexandrian newspaper Wadi 'l-Nu. In 1922 he started to write for the daily newspaper *al-Akhbar*, established in 1920 and at the time under the management of Amin al-Rafi. In 1926 we find him with *al-Ittihad*, edited by Taha Hussain.[101] Subsequently, he transferred to the liberal newspaper *al-Siyasah*, for the supplement of which he wrote contributions as early as 1927. In 1926 he seems to have established a magazine *al-Usbu*, about which little is known and which was probably only short lived. In 1934 he joined *al-Balagh*, originally a Wafdist newspaper which had recently broken with the Wafd, and here he stayed for quite some time. Finally, he wrote for a while for *al-Asas*, the newspaper of the Sa'di party which had been established in 1937, and for which al-Aqqad worked too.

In this journalistic career one is struck by the frequency and ease with which a-Mazini changed political colour. The only seemingly stable factor seems to have been his aversion to the Wafd, which may have been caused largely by his antipathy for Sa'd Zaghlul. On his meeting with the great leader, who was so much adored by his friend a-Aqqad he commented shortly after Zaghlul's return from exile: "since then I have never met Sa 'd again nor have I been able to talk with him for some time. From a political point of view I was his opponent, although our goals were the same". As the editor in chief of *al-Ittihad* he was even taken to court in 1926 on the charge of having offended Sa'd, then Chain an of the Egyptian House of Representatives. In the political life except of course indirectly as a journalist, al-Mazini never played an important part. He was and remained a journalist. He gradually evolved

[101] Zaki Mubarak, Ibrahim al-katib, P-446

from a liberal to an Arab nationalist and in doing so followed the trend of his time, but he never took any verbal action. In December 1947 he was honoured by being appointed a member of the Academy of the Arabic language. It was a-Aqqad; he is a member since 1940, who welcomed him there.[102] Eighteen months later, on July 12, 1949, al-Mazini died in Cairo.

Al-Mazini was slightly built man who walked with a limp. In his writings he often mentions his tiny figure. He is often described as a mocker, also of himself. His love of mockery (Sukhriyah) seems his most outspoken characteristic in the eyes of posterity, but there is something artificial about it, as if it had great sensitivity. It is entirely absent from his poetry, and from some passages one may conclude that al-Mazini's Sukhriyah was indeed a kind of bravado.[103] Al-Aqqad accounted for it by "an ordeal al-Mazini suffered during the First World War', a reference to the mental crisis al-Mazini went through a little later around 1920. Al-Mazini himself described it as a kind of "neurasthenia" which he explained by his having fallen into a grave while on an evening walk his house stood in the poor quarter of the town adjoining the cemetery (Qarafah) and being embraced as he thought by a figure standing up right in the grave. Probably however, there was more to it than this.[104]

Al-Mazini himself hinted at overwork in an article in which he described he came under the influence if the ideas of the Russian writer Artzybashev, he was lying in bed in a 'nervous fever' when al-Aqqad came to visit me". He left a Russian novel for him whom he started to read and finished in a few hours. After that he felt he was growing stronger, healthier in his body and better equipped for the struggle for life. He was able to take a lighter view of his nervous disease and its concomitant delusions and he

[102] Magallat Magma al-lugha al-Arabiyah P-108
[103] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-142
[104] Khuyut al-Ankabut P-120

returned to Cairo. A year later someone asked he to translate a novel. He told himself that he owed his recovery and the new spirit that had seized to this Russian novel, and though that it might be a good idea to translate it into Arabic. It might be of use to others as it had been of use him. This was the novel Sanin, in many respects a second rate book, but popular in Europe at the time because of its boldness, which may also account for the numerous translations that were made of it. The book made such a great impact on al-Mazini that he turned some of its expressions into expletives and as he admitted later on, used fragments from it probably unconsciously, for his own novel Ibrahim al-katib. Al-Mazini's infatuation with Sanin is a clear example of the phenomenon that in matters of foreign literary influence, it is often the second rate works that is most consequential.[105]

Al-Mazini was aware of a breach with his past, as becomes clear for example in his poem "*Ka's al-nisyan*", where he says: "the young writer al-Mazini had died. The only thing that unites us in life is a memory to which we both cling". Perhaps this awareness of a breach at least partially explains his falling out with Shukri. Al-Mazini's first collection was published in 1913 and met with an unfavorable reception. Even the magazine *al-Bayan*, one of the most progressive periodicals of those days, with al-Siba as its editor and al-Mazini himself among its regular contributions, expressed the opinion that it "had been published prematurely it would have been better if our friend had allowed it to ripen a little longer". His second collection was published fairly soon afterwards, in 1917. After this date al-Mazini wrote and rather published only a few more poems.[106]

The first collection was clearly much inspired by Shukri. It is mixture of styles illustrates the transitional state in which Egyptian poetry found itself at this time when so many different influences were operating. Some poems

[105] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-143
[106] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-144

are written in a classical manner, at times strongly reminiscent of the Abbasid poet al-Sharif al-Radi, for example "al-Ward"[107] it is not surprising that soon after the publication of this anthology al-Mazini was accused of plagiarizing this classical author. In the other poems the affectation of post-classical poetry was writings through as in Munagat hasna.[108] At the same time, the work was clearly influenced by the English romanticists, particularly by Shelley who, as al-Mazini himself has said, exercised a great influence over him. Other poets who inspired him to such an extent that he was accused of plagiarizing them too were Burns and Heine. The slightly sentimental romantic mood of the collection as a whole is immediately noticeable from the titles of the poem, such as "The Faded Rose" and "The Deserted House" the volume is not free from the plaintive gloom and the pessimism for which he was to blame his friend Shukri later one, and which are very different from the subtly mocking style of his later prose work.

The second collection added little to the first al-Mazini's poetic creed is to be found in the poem "*al-Sha 'ir*"[109] where he exclaims that "poetry is nothing but a long pent-up scream, the echo of which resounds in the secrecy of our hearts" the volume contains a few nature poems, still a little formal and conventional, which were perhaps also inspired by Shukri. With some of the poems in this collection al-Mazini indicated their European sources of inspiration, which he had failed to do in 1913. It is contains amongst others translations from Waller and Milton: the romantic inspiration by this time had diminished. Shukri was by no means the only one to accuse al-Mazini of plagiarizing, nor did the accusations of plagiarism remain restricted to his poetry. Among the modern Egyptian writers no one was in fact so often accused of plagiarism nor, for that matter admitted the justness of these accusations. As early as 1918, in the magazine *al-Sufur*, he was accused of

[107] Diwan P-27
[108] Ibid P-69
[109] Diwan P-178

imitating both classical Arabic poets and English Poets. Later he was blamed for having used Artzybashev for his novel *Ibrahim al-katib*, Mark Twain for his Mudha kkirat Hawwa and Galsworthy for his novel *Gharizat al-Mar'ah*.[110]

After that fairly soon al-Mazini gave up the writing poetry almost completely, in 1946, he himself wrote rather disparagingly about his own poetry:

"I was mannered in my way of writing poetry and prose, because I lived in books, outside of which I knew nothing, or almost nothing, and had suppositions only. Consequently, in my literary products at the time largely consisted of studies, almost exclusively based on my reading. My poetry did not really depict the soul and did not really give expression to it, because at the time derivation from old and new, Eastern and western literature was more important to me than to be inspired by my own experience". This rather revealing confession confirms what he had written ten years previously in *al-Risalah* "I saw life only through the eyes of the writers and sensed it only with their nerves. It now seems to me as if at the time as far as my knowledge of life, my feeling for it and my experience of it were concerned I was no more than an anthology of everything I had read".

Later on he pretended that he had taken the decision to give up writing verse because he felt that he would never achieve much in poetry. In reality he did write or at least publish a few poems afterwards although the poor editions of his poetry make it hard to determine the exact date of these later poems. Still, it is true that, as early as the twenties, in contrast to al-Aqqad he stopped playing a significant part in contemporary Egyptian poetry, after that his importance as a writer mainly rested on his prose writings.[111] Yet al-Mazini's poetry forms in an integral part of modern Egyptian literature. Despite his limitations, he played a significant role in the revivalist movement in Egyptian

[110] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-145
[111] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-145

poetry between 1910 and 1920. As regards from he may not have been a great innovator, he never experimented much with metre of rhyme. But the contents of his poetry are a clear break with neoclassicism. In later years he was admired for his light hearted prose style although it was also criticized in some quarters. On the other hand an important poet like Salah Abd al-Sabur did criticize his prose but appreciated him as a poet.

The famous poet Ahmed Rami (1892-1981) was a great Egyptian author he was not only a poet but he was also great Egyptian writers although in many respects of the same back ground as the Diwan School occupies a separate place UN Egyptian literature. Ahmed Rami was born on August 9, 1892, in Cairo as the son of an army doctor of cireassion descent, because his father was served abroad first in Greece and than in the Sudan he was brought up by an aunt, and later by his grandfather in 1911 he went to the Teacher's College where he studied together with Muhammad Farid Abu Hadid, who later became known as a writer of historical novels. Shukri and Mazini had graduated only a few years previously. Rami probably underwent the same influences as the poets of the Diwan School. He took his final examination in 1914. He worked for some time as a teacher and subsequently became the director of the library at the Teacher's College.[112]

In 1922 Rami was awarded a scholarship to study in France. His subjects were library science and Eastern languages, chiefly Persian. After he return became a civil servant in the National Library of Egypt (Dar al-kutub al- misriyah). He continued to work here until his retirement as a wakil[113] in 1954, soon after his return from France, in 1924, he met Umm Kulthum and than he was already a famous singer Umm kulthum, with whom he was to maintain an emotional and artistic relationship throughout his life. Many of his poems were written for her and intended to be sung by her, this bond with

[112] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-148
[113] Ibid P-13

Umm kulthum greatly influenced his poetic work. After his retirement Rami became advisor to the Egyptian National Broad casting corporation. In 1965 he was awarded the Egyptian state prize for literature. He died on 5th June 1981.

Ahmed Rami started publishing early in life his first poem appeared in 1910 when he was eighteen years old, 1918 he was one of the few poets among the young writers contributing their work to the magazine *al-Sufur* and he was compared favorably with for example Al-Mazini. Before 1918 Mustafa Abd al-Raziq had already written about him in this magazine. In a sense, the magazine *al-Sufur* was opposed to al-Diwan, but the significance of the former lay in the area of prose, not in that of poetry. Even before Rami went to France, therefore he had developed into a different direction then the Diwan School, but he did not form a School of his own and remained an Einzelganger. Rami friendship with Umm kulthum emphasized his special position. Al though after 1924, he continued to write "serious" poems and did not exclusively composed what are vaguely called Zagals for the great singer, the emphasis shifted to simply poetry in the vernacular. Perhaps as a result of this, his poems in classical Arabic show a certain facile smoothness and often lack depth. His imagery is usually conventional, with a highly sentimental flavor. The charm of his verse is to be found chiefly in its sound and consequently he is known and loved mainly for the musicality of his poetry. Although he must have known French and English well, he translated a great deal from both languages, his poems show little Western influence on the other hand, one cannot possibly consider him as a neo-classicist; his poems lack the rhetorical style of for instance Ahmed Shawqi and Hafiz Ibrahim.[114]

Apart from the poems included in the different edition of his Diwan and Aghani, Rami wrote a play *Gharam al-shu'ara* (1934) the plot of which

[114] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-149

he based on the romance between the Hispano the Arab princess poets Wa'l adab and the poet vizir Ibn zaydan. He made many translations for example of the quatrains of ummar Khayyam, probably inspired by his Persian studies in Paris. He also translated many plays, since Rami repeatedly revised his work the successive editions of his Diwan and of his Aghani contain many different version and rewritings of his original work.[115]

Ahmed Rami always a rather solitary figure, Rami did not have many followers; neither did he evoke much resistance. The development of his work as a poet took place outside the principal movements; as it were some consider his relationship with Umm kulthum as having been fatal to his poetry because he is subsequently supposed to have written nothing but songs for this popular singer. Who may not have been a mere chansonniere, but whose qualities, on the other hand cannot be compared to those of the interpreters of lieder in the European musical world. Yahya Haqqi in 1929 still considered his work "revolution in Egyptian society" even though he spotted its excessive facility and its occasional triviality. Mustafa *al-saharti* in 1948 reproached him for concern trading too much on his own sadness, especially in his later work after his initial display of interest in social problems. Khashabah around the same time was of the opinion that his poetry was important because, especially in his Aghani, he had used new themes. Muhammad Mandur thought that he played a part in shaping literary taste in Egypt, and compared him with Ismail Sabri in Egyptian neo-romanticism Rami indeed played a role similar to that of Sabri in neo-classicism, generally speaking, he followed the trend of his contemporaries but in a less conspicuous manner.

1.4. The criticism of the Diwan School

In the beginning of the twenty century al-Garidah was an important literary forum where many young authors made their debut. Muhammad al-

[115] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-149

Sibai, one of the mentors of the Diwan group, was among its editors and Shukri published his first articles in its pages. Of course, al-Garidah was not the only source of inspiration for the development of the literary ideas of the young Diwan poets. Lutfi al-Sayyid was a man of liberal and enlightened ideas who had a stimulating influence on young people, but in literary matters his insight was not remarkable. As regards literary criticism Shukri, al-Aqqad and al-Mazini were mostly inspired by English examples, in this field, too, the Teachers' college in Cairo which as has been mentioned above, was important for the poetic development of the nonromantic's must have played a major role.[116]

One of the earlier English critics admired but the young poet was Hazlitt, of whom Al-Aqqad was to say that he was re-discovered by Egyptian writers at a time when he had been forgotten in his own country.[117] As early as 1919 Hazlitt was translated by Al-Sibai in the newly established magazine *al-Bayan*. Al-Sibai also included Hazlitt in his collection of translations from English essayistic prose, which was published in 1912 in Cairo under the title of *Balaghat al-Inkliz*. Al-Sibai's role in this field was similar to the one he played in the formation of the young poets in general, as a senior student at the Teacher's college he probably introduced Shukri and al-Mazini to English literary criticism as well as to English poetry. It was again al-Sibai who produced the Arabic translation of Carlyle's one Heroes, Hero-warship and the Heroic in history, which so strongly influenced al-Aqqad. Another English critic who was admired in these circles was Charles Lamb. In *Balaghat al-Inkliz* al-Sibai included one of the latter's essays; he also translated some of Lamb's essays for *al-Bayan*.

It is clear that right from the start the Diwan poets felt the need to account for their literary principles. Lutfi al-Sayyids's complaint that the neo-

[116] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-344
[117] Al-Aqqad, Shu 'ara Misri bi biatihim fi'l jil al-madi P-192

classicists were exclusively occupied with poetic themes and constructions, with Ma'ani and Mabani, did not apply to these young writers who incorporated their poetry within a framework of great issues, of life and death, reality and imagination, of man and cosmos. They were not afraid of big words literature to them was what Lutfi al-Sayyid felt it had to be a serious matter.

One of the first attempts by Diwan poets to formulate their critical idea coherently was Al-Mazini pamphlet *al-Shir ghayathu wa wasaituh* (1915). Here al-Mazini presented extensive quotations from Western authorities, including Shelley, Hazlitt, Locke and Wordsworth.[118] Hazlitt's influence was powerfully present for example in al-Mazini's dictum that man is a "poetic animal" (Hayawan shir).

Some of Hazlitt's ideas seemed to fit these young Egyptians like a glove, for example his statement that "poetry is the high-wrought enthusiasm of fancy and feeling". Fancy and feeling, especially feeling, were key notions to the young to the young Egyptian romanticists.[119] As has been mentioned above, Shukri's motto for his first collection was '*Alaya ta'iral firdawsi inna'l-shira wigdanu*', which could have derived from Hazlitt's statement though the inspiration may have come from other sources. Feeling, continued to be an essential point to Shukri. The introduction to his third collection (1915) was entitled "on feeling in poetry" (kalimah lisahib al-diwan fil atifah fi'l-shir).[120] When in the preface to his fifth collection (1916) Shukri wrote that poetry is that which conveys feeling and makes one experience feelings (Awatif al-nafs) in a forceful way[121] this sounded like an echo of the famous manifesto of English romanticism, Wordsworth's preface to the lyrical Ballads, with its well-known dictum " All poetry is the spontaneous overflow

[118] Ibid P-25
[119] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-345
[120] Shukri, Diwan 1960, P-209
[121] Ibid P-364

of powerful thing". It is hardly an accident that Shukri also did not justify his ideas in a preface nor that many of his statements run parallel to those of the English romanticists. Wordsworth's aversion to 'what is usually called poetic diction', for example, is echoed by Shukri in the preface to his fourth collection (1916): with us, poetry has turned into dead words, which no longer conceal a real meaning. People think that a person who has sufficiently studied syntax, morphology and metre, and has also meddled a little in poetry, is a good poet as well.[122] A similar echo is to be found in Al-Aqqad's introduction to al-Mazini's first collection (1913) in which he advocated liberation from the bonds of artificiality.[123]

Shukri, it would seem judging from the general assumption, was the first writer in Egypt to become aware of the importance of Coleridge's distinction between 'fancy' and 'imagination'. Shukri wrote about this subject in an article published in *al-Bayan* in 1912, before he returned from England, translating Coleridge's terms by Takhayyul nd tawahhum; in the preface to his fifth collection (1916) he returned to the subject, making use of the same Arabic words. In fact, none of the Diwan poets was to echo Coleridge as clearly as Shukri. In 1923 al-Mazini said that the art of the painting is similar to poetry, it aims at feeling (Atifa) by means of the imagination (Khayal), but this is obviously a reference to Hazlitt's "fancy and feeling" rather than to Coleridge. One the other hand, a year later in an article "*kalimah fi'l-khayal*", al-Mazini persistently placed the imagination (khayal) before fancy (wahm), a nation which probably can be traced back to Coleridge. In an article about the legends of the Arabs, Al-Aqqad chose the terms had and khayal for fancy and imagination, but in his own work these notions do not play an important role.

Although al-Aqqad according to Louis 'Awad, the real romantic because of his Shelley an ideas about the poet as a "prophet" was not the first

[122] Ibid P-288
[123] Al-Mazini Diwan P-13

of the three Diwan poets to write essays in literary criticism, the magnitude of his critical oeuvre and his incessant efforts in the field of literary criticism did make him the most important critic of the Diwan School.[124] Especially in his early period, he also emphasized the significance of feeling for literature. His diary notes, which were published in 1911 under the title *Khulasat al-yawmiyah,* already contain statements such as, poetry is the art (Sina'ah) a loaded term in classical Arabic literary theory of arousing (tawlid) feelings by means of language (Kalam),[125] and the poet is some who feels and evokes feeling (Yash'ur-wayushir), a statement close to Shukri's above mentioned dictum the pun is obvious.[126] Still Al-Aqqad as a poet was never predominantly ruled by his feelings. In his introduction to al-Mazini's first collection (1913), al-Aqqad could still write that the ancient poet described and mentioned objects in their poems because otherwise their chests would have swollen with their sights and their eyes would have watered, a rather roundabout way of saying that poetry is also a discharge of feelings, an element he apparently missed in the poetry of his contemporaries. Here he also emphasized notions like "life" (Hayah) and "naturalness" (lab), opposing them to the poetic "Tradition" (Taqlid) as is already apparent from the title of his introduction, "*Al-Tab wal Taqlid*".

Gradually, however, al-Aqqad developed different views on the importance of feeling in poetry. Already in 1923 he wrote that intellect, imagination and feeling (Al-fikr wa'l-khayal wa'l-Atifa) were indispensable to poetry feeling taking up the final position. In 1927 he defined the poet as someone who distinguishes himself by his feeling and his views on life and is able to give a beautiful form to his feeling and views. In his later work, the emphasis was to shift increasingly to the intellect, (fikr). This is illustrate by an article in *al-Risalah* in 1947, entitled "*Al-Adab bayan al-wigdan wa'l-*

[124] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-347
[125] Khulasat al-yawmiyah, P-20
[126] Ibid P-167

tafkir", which does not so much advocate feeling as intellect. His most unequivocal statement on this matter may be found in the preface to his collection *'Ba'd al-a'asir* (1950), in which he in so many words turned against the excessive emphasis on the importance of feeling (here again wigdan), stating that we should realize that higher poetry (Al-shir al-rafi) was never independent of intellect is demonstrated by the works of the words great poets, such as Shakespeare, Goethe, al-Khayyam and Abu'l-Tayyib (al-Mutanabbi). His own poetical oeuvre, to begin with *Wahy al-Arabia* 'in (1933), shows al-Aqqad always as distinctly philosophical, or at least a contemplative poet, a quality which has been held against him, so that it is not surprising that in his critical theory the role of feeling should gradually have been superseded by that of the intellect.[127]

Al-Aqqad's contemplative nature probably led him to an active involvement in aesthetic theories. In his early critical work these did not yet interest him: in 1915 his description of the beauty of nature was only indirectly related to an aesthetic theory. But gradually he became more and more interested in aesthetics. In an article about the "philosophy of beauty and love" (Falsafat al-gamal wa'l-hubb), published in 1924 in *al-Balagh*, he set forth most of his ideas on this matter, also the well-known one that beauty is a form of freedom.

In retrospect, neither al-Aqqad's idea about the role of feeling and intellect in poetry, or his aesthetic theories seem to have wielded any great influence. With his contemporaries he became best known for his notions about the connection between the personality of the poet and his work. On the other hand, these resulted in his psychological method in literary criticism and on the other, in his ideas about the function of great men and concomitantly, the function of the poet as a hero or a prophet. Initially, al-Aqqad could not

[127] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-348

escape the charm of the theories of Taine and Renan, which attracted many of his contemporaries. This is apparent from some articles included in the volume of essays *al-Fusul* (1922) in which he seems to take the side of those who tried to account for the absence of the epic in ancient Arabic literature by positing the ideas of the Arab national character as lacking in something which the Aryans do have.[128] Step by step, however, he abandoned this kind of statement. As early as in 1916, in an article about the great classical poet al-Ma ‘arri, he appeared to prefer a psychological explanation of this poet’s work to one based on race or milieu. On the whole in his critical oeuvre al-Aqqad was an exponent of the idea that the personality of the writer is the key to the explanation and appreciation of his work. An early example of this is his article “*al-Naqd*” which was published in *al-Balagh al-Usbu’i* in 1927 and in which he stated that genuine criticism ought to be aware of the personality of the author (al-Manqud). His studies of classical Arabic poets like al-Mutanabbi (1923-24) and Bashahar b. Burd (1925)[129] repeatedly emphasized the relationship between their personalities and their work. It is true that his early ideas about Ibn al-Rumi had not pointed in this direction and that he had started by looking for a connection between the “genius” of this poet and his doubtful Greek origin, especially in his introduction to the selection of Ibn al-Rumi’s poems made by Kamil kilani (1924).[130] But his very careful terminology in Ibn al-Rumi, Hayatuh min shi ‘rih (1937), shows that he had practically revoked this ethical-racial explanation: this study also gives pride of place to the analysis of the personality of a poet. In his psychological approach to literature he probably went farthest in his booklet about the writer Abu Nuwas al-Hasan bin Hani (1953), where the latter’s whole oeuvre was accounted for by his narcissism, of which al-Aqqad, however, failed to give any proof. As a result of this psychologizing literary criticism he came into

[128] Al-fusul Beirut 1966, P-49
[129] Muraga al fi’l Adab wa’l funun P-119-158
[130] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-349

conflict with, first of all, Taha Hussain. Already in 1916, in a study about al-Ma ‘arri, al-Aqqad had opposed Taha Hussain, who in his dissertation on al-Ma ‘arri had emphasized the significance of the social and historical background for the work of this poet. In *khisam wa Naqd* (1955) Taha Hussain in his turn criticized al-Aqqad for his application of psychology in the analysis of Abu Nuwas work. Mandur, in his article *al-Naqd wa'l unqqad al-mu asirun* first published in *al-Magallah* in 1959, also rejected al-Aqqad's psychologizing criticism.

As stated above, the strong emphasis on the impact of a writer's personality on his work should be seen in connection with Al-Aqqad's admiration, possibly stimulated by his reading of Carlyle at an early age, of great men in general. As early as 1924, in his observations on al-Mutanabbi in '*al-Mutala al-fi'l-kutub wa'l-hayah*, a remarkable emphasis is put on the great poet. The slightly megalomaniac al-Aqqad obviously had a strong need to admire great men. This is clearly illustrated by his book about the national leader who inspired in 1919 revolution, Sa'd Zughlul's *Sirah watahiyah* (1936), which is more than a biography, as one may gather even from the title. The renewed interest of the thirties in the Muslim past led him, though at a slightly later date, to start writing the well-known series about the geniuses (Al-Abqariyat) of Islam, beginning with Abqariyat Muhammad 1924. It was this series that made him popular in the entire Arab world, more so than his poetry or, for that matter, his literary criticism. In the discussions of the forties on the burning issue of social-political commitment in literature, Al-Aqqad's views on literature as the creation of great men again led him to voice belief in a literature for elite as opposed to one for, and in the interest of the masses.[131]

Al-Aqqad was a man of ideas rather than a literary critic in the strict sense of the world. His contribution to practical literary criticism was small,

[131] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-350

certainly when compared to his otherwise gigantic oeuvre. He was clearly not very interested in fellow writers, and more attracted by writers who were dead than by those who were alive-perhaps because he could only respect the work of great men and could hardly honour his contemporaries as such. He started his career with the newspaper al-Dustur with the publication of a number of articles about classical Arabic poets. Typically, his first study was devoted to the poet-philosopher al-Ma ‘arri, it was followed by essays on Ibn al-Rumi, Sari al-Ghawani, Ibn al-Mu ‘tazz and a few others. Later he continued to write about classical poets, that is his previously mentioned article of 1916 about al-Ma‘arri, his studies of al-Mutanabbi, Bashshar bin Burd, Ibn al-Rumi, gamil and Abu Nuwas. Even his most topical work, *Shu ‘ara Misr fi bi atihim fi’l-gil al-madi* 1937, did not deal with contemporary poets but as the title indicates, with those of the previous generation. Except in a few cases for example, Hafiz to whom he devoted a few lines in his first work *Khulasat al-yawmiyah* 1911[132] and Nagi whose work he did discuss, he apparently did not find his contemporaries interesting. It is hardly surprising therefore, that his magazine *al-Balagh al-Usbui* which started to appear in 1926 as a companion to the newspaper *al-Balagah*, never came to play the same role as Hykal’s *al-siyasah al-usbuiyah*, which had been established in march of the same year. For his own magazine al-Aqqad wrote the column *Sa’at bayn al-kutub*, the articles of which were later collection under the same title. Al-Sibai regularly contributed translations of short stories from the French, English, or Russian. But apart from the old story by Muhammad Taymur and strangely enough a few poems by al-Hamshari; it is of little interest as a document of contemporary literary developments. Obviously Al-Aqqad’s haughtiness was an obstacle to attracting a sufficient number of good writers.[133]

[132] Khulasat al-yawmiyah, P-137
[133] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-351

An exception to his aloofness from the contemporary scene is to be found in al-Aqqad's contribution to the pamphlets al-Diwan kitab fi 'l-naqd wa'l-adab volumes I-II, 1921 which he published together with al-Mazini and which contain not only an exposition of literary principles as kind of literary manifesto, but also a number of reviews on several authors. Although historians of modern Egyptian literature tend to overrate their impact, it is true that al-Aqqad established his literary fame especially though the publication of the two issues of this pamphlet. Al-Aqqad and al-Mazini intended to publish ten installments and it is not known why they abandoned the idea after the publication of the second issues, perhaps it was a mere lack of time during the events of 1921 in which they were both actively involved as journalists, thus making a fast career.[134] Al-Aqqad himself recognized the limited value of the pamphlets if viewed by themselves as early as in 1922, in his collection of essays *al-fusul*, he wrote that he had his doubts about the cause of the pamphlet popularity, and suspected that literary motives were not the sole source of its being the focus of attention, wondering whether "it would have raised the same storm if the publication had not contained a fierce attack on a widely known target".

Al-Diwan was indeed the focus of attention: the two issues were sold out in two weeks.[135] Even if in retrospect, their significance in comparison with the other critical work of both authors, dose indeed seems relatively small, it was a shock that established men of letters like Shawqi and al-Manfaluti could be attacked so openly. Al-Aqqad's most fundamental criticism was leveled at some of Shawqi's elegies. He blamed Shawqi for a lack of unity and coherence, in incorrect use of metaphors rails handing their heads on receiving sad tidings and an indiscriminate imitation of classical poets. Al-Aqqad demonstrated the lack of unity in the elegy on Mustafa Kamil

[134] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-351
[135] Al-Aqqad Sa' at bayn al-kutub P-136

by re-arranging its lines and showing that this did not really alter their function. Though this way of arguing is indeed questionable later critics treated a poem by al-Aqqad in the same way with surprising results-Al-Aqqad's plea for unity and coherence in poetry in general was useful. Though Mutran had advocated the same desiderata in the introduction to the first edition of his Diwan 1908, the Diwan poets turned out to be more serious about them in practice.[136]

In the second issue of al-Diwan it was al-Mazini who attacked an established literary reputation that of al-Manfaluti, who owed his fame especially to his volume of essays and short stories al-Nazarat (1910) and to a lesser extent to the collection of stories al-Abarat (1915). Al-Mazini blamed him for his feebleness to which he attacked a discourse on feeble and strong styles objecting to al-Manfaluti's excessive use of the absolute object (Maf 'ul mutlaq) and of adjectives (nu'ut). Al-Mazini also objected to the famous prose writers' tearful sentimentality and his lack of psychological depth.[137]

The rather contentious character of the pamphlet's came out most clearly in al-Mazini's attack on Shukri which was obviously more retaliation against his former friend and colleague, who had accused al-Mazini of plagiarism, than a dispute or matters of principle. Al-Mazini more or less declared Shukri to be a psychopath going so far as to state that the deficiencies in Shukri's style and its morbidity (suqm) were best explained by his diseased brain.[138] Al-Mazini inferred Shukri's balancing on the verge of madness from the latter's confessions (al-l'tiraf) which had appeared in installments in *al-Garidah* between 1909 and 1913.[139]

[136] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-352
[137] Al-Diwan II, P-17
[138] Al-Diwan II, P-25
[139] Al-Diwan II, P-86

Al-Mazini's criticism of Shukri was all the more inconsistent seeing that in some articles in the magazine "Ukaz" in 1913, he had held up his friend as an example to the then renowned Hafiz Ibrahim. These articles published separately in 1915, contained a similar fundamental attack upon an established literary figure here too a neo-classicist was subjected to criticism according to the standards of the necromantic, resulting, as was to be expected in the conclusion that he was a poor poet. Al-Mazini blamed Hafiz Ibrahim especially for a lack of imagination and thought him a poor poetaster (Nazzam), a stinking pond in comparison with the foaming sea that Shukri then was in his opinion.[140]

After his promising *al-Shi'r Ghayatuh wa wasa'ithu*, which was published in the same year as the collected essays against Hafiz Ibrahim, al-Mazini did not produce much literary criticism apart from his contribution to al-Diwan. In the preface to his second collection of poems (1917) he still commented extensively on the essence of poetry which according to him was to be found in sincerity, a quality long neglected by the traditional men of letters but indispensable to modern poetry. Al-Mazini defined poetry here as al-Diwan a pun on the original meaning of the word diwan that is "register" in which people of a superior intellect (Ahle al-'uqul al-ragihah) write down what wells up in their minds in their happiest hours and what makes man hover over life, forcing him to feel what he has seen to see what he has felts, to imagine what he has known, and to know what he has imagined terms which once again are strongly reminiscent of the lake poets.[141] This preface, however emotional in tone is also a plea to abandon ethical standards or to put it in a different way to prefer the morally questionable Abu Nuwas to affected and mannered poets like Abu Tammam and Buhtari.

[140] Al- Mazini, Shir al-Hafiz, 1915, P-10
[141] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-353

After the First World War, al-Mazini went on to publish a number of collections of essays, including literary criticism, without however developing any new ideas. In an essays about an exhibition of paintings, originally published in 1923 and included in the collection of essays *Hasad al-Hashim* (1924), he compared the art of painting with poetry whose purpose was feeling and whose instrument was imagination. In another essay was entitled 'imagination' (al-khayal) he wrote that the poet should portray only what he 'sees',[142] in the broadest sense of the word, and in yet another essay in this collection 'Ancients and Moderns' (al-Qudama' wa'l-muhdathun) he insisted upon simple language (Basatah)[143] statements that remained us, again of Wordsworth's eyes fixed upon his object' and 'language of men'. In his essays on Ibn al-Rumi a favorite of al-Diwan poets in this same collection, al-Mazini purportedly tries to apply the theories of Lessing (laokoon).[144] The most ambitious essays in this collection are the two on "Reality and Metaphor" (al-Haqiqah wa'l fi'l-lughah), which he opened with a lengthy quotation from Locke's Essay concerning Human Understanding but which do not really constitute a profound treatment of his important phenomenon in literature.

Al-Mazini's collection of essays of 1927, *Qubd al-rih*, largely consists of a detailed critique on Taha Hussain's collection of critical essays *Hadith al-Arabiya* (1925). Al-Mazini objected to Taha Hussain's style which he thought rhetorical (khatabi) with too many stop-gaps and repetitions. He also opposed Taha Hussain's efforts to account for the bohemian style (Magun) of Abu Nuwas by referring to the poet's background and the fin de siècle feeling prevailing in his days. He ridiculed Taha Hussain's doubts about the authenticity of the information about the poets like Magnun Layla, and

[142] Ibid P-295
[143] Ibid P-274
[144] Mandur, Fann al-Shir, P-95

attacked Taha Hussain's sensational work about pre-Islamic poetry, in which he had queried the authenticity of a large part of this body of verse.[145]

In the long career as a writer al-Mazini produced remarkably little practical criticism his numerous articles and essays hardly over concern purely literary subjects. He did criticize Mutran's translation of The Merchant of Venice, and also wrote an article against Shawqi in the special issue of *al-Siyasah al-Usbu 'iyah* which came out on the occasion of the ceremony in honour of Shawqi in 1927. Al-Mazini's critical activity reached its height in the twenties. Thereafter, he chiefly worked as a journalist. Apart from his journalistic worked he published mainly narrative prose, novels and autobiographical sketches. By 1936 he seems to have bidden farewell to both literary criticism and poetry. [146]

1.5. Development of Diwan movement

The development of Diwan movement to modern Arabic literature by Diwan groups, the three Diwan poets of modern Arabic literature in Egypt they developed various types of poetry, prose, short story, novel essays and articles to modern Arabic language and literature. At first I have discussed the development of Diwan movement about al-Mazini. Al-Mazini (1890-1949) was born in a middle class Egyptian family, his father being a lawyer. He received his education in the secular Schools, then at the Teacher's Training College, from which he graduated in 1909. He started his career and developed some articles and journal as a teacher of translation in a secondary school in Cairo, then as a Teacher of English.

He later gave up teaching to become a freelance journalist devoting his energies to politics and literature. Al-Mazini distinguished himself as poet, critic, essayist, novelist and translator. He began his literary career as a poet

[145] Ibid., P-214
[146] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-354

and he published two volumes of verse, the first in 1913 and the second in 1917.[147] He wrote many poetry and essay in modern Arabic literature. Early in his career he met al-Aqqad and Shukri and the three of them formed a distinct group of 'avant garde' writers, calling themselves 'Madrasat al-Tazdid' (The school of innovators) and attacking traditional values. Al-Mazini's gloom is reflected in the title of several of his works such as *Hasad al-Hasim* (The harvest of chaff), *Gabd al-Rih* (grasping the wind), *Khuyut al-Ankabut* (Spider's web) and *Sundaq al-Dunya* (The kaleidoscope), these books reveal his pessimism, his restlessness, and specially his inferiority complex, which was exacerbated by his frail health and shortness. In Ibrahim Al-katib (Ibrahim the writer), his cousin Shushu remarks unkindly that she is taller than he. Ibrahim al-katib the first of al-Mazini's novels, was written during 1925-1926, al-Mazini later quarreled with Shukri his friendship with al-Aqqad remained UN impaired until his death. Al-Aqqad wrote the preface to his first volume of verse and they collaborated in publishing two volumes of literary criticism called al-Diwan in 1921. The prior to that al-Mazini had expressed and development his views on poetry in two long essays, poetry and its Ends and Means (1915) and Hafiz poetry (1915). Al-Mazini turned away from the writing of poetry and concentrated on prose, he was to become one of the most important prose writers in modern Arabic literature.

Secondly, I have discussed development of Diwan movement to Arabic literature about Shukri. Abdur Rahman Shukri (1886-1958) was born in Cairo; he was also a graduate of the Teacher Training College of Cairo. His father was an Egyptian army officer who took part in Urabi revolution; he was also a close friend of the orator of the revolution Abdullah Nadim. He developed various types of poetry to modern Arabic language and literature. When Shukri had finished his primary and secondary School education he

[147] M.M. Badawi, A critical Introduction to Modern Arabic poetry. P-85

entered the law school, but he was soon sent down, because of his political activities on behalf of the Nationalist party.[148]

At the Teacher's Training College, which he joined later, he developed a great interest not only Arabic but also in English literature, and while still a student he developed and contributed to the modernist paper of the time, '*Al-Jarida'* which was edited by Lutfi al Sayyid, who encouraged promising young authors like Muhammad Hussain Haykal and Taha Hussain. After he had published and developed his first volume of verse 'The light of Diwan' in 1909, he was sent on an educational mission to England, where he acquired a deeper knowledge of English literature at the Sheffield University College. Shukri published two short prose work in 1916 are worthy of mention in that they are largely prose versions of much of what one encounters in his verses 'book of confession' (kitab al-Itiraf) and 'Book of the fruits' (kitab al-thamarat) records the thoughts and feelings of a young Egyptian coping with the problems of living at that time.

On his return, in 1912 he was appointed teacher in a secondary school in Alexandria and unlike Mazini he remained in the field of education and developed many books to modern Arabic literature until his retirement in 1944. His second volume of verse was published in 1912 also with an introduction by al-Aqqad. The rest of the volumes followed in rapid succession and by 1919 the seventh and the last volume of his collected poems or Diwan called *Azhar al-Kharif* (autumn flower) had appeared. Shukri wrote most of his poetry early in his career, for from that date until his death. In 1958, he developed and published poems in literary periodicals, but he never a whole volume of verse. Besides his poetry he developed and product a number of prose works, the most interesting of which is a short book of remarkable frankness called 'The book of confession' (1916), a book fall of

[148] M.M. Badawi, A critical Introduction to Modern Arabic poetry. P-85

profound self analysis and acute observations on art and man, life and death, and graphically expressing the malaise of the Egyptian intellectual at the beginning of the century. Shukri wrote many poems of Diwan movement in modern Arabic literature. He developed many poetry, short story books and articles to Diwan movement. He published the poems in various journals after 1919 were collected and published by his editor as the eighty volumes in his collected poems Diwan in 1960.

The development of Diwan movement to modern Arabic literature thirdly, I have discussed about al-Aqqad. Abbas Mahmud al-Aqqad (1889-1964) was self taught. He was born in Egyptian country at Aswan. At the age of fourteen when he was half way through his secondary school he left his native town Aswan for Cairo, seeking employment. He developed various types of poems, poetry, short story prose and articles to the development of Diwan movement. He spent some time in a junior post in the civil service; he decided to take up journalism. He wrote many articles paper, novel and journal and developed to Diwan movement in modern Arabic literature. He did also some school teaching, which have him the opportunity of meeting his future friend al-Mazini. After the First World War, Al-Mazini and al-Aqqad gave up school teaching to devote their time to journalism. He wrote many political articles for Wafdist al-Balagah and later he wrote much of his literary criticism for its weekly literary supplement. He collected this and published it later in the form of collections of essays, for instance, 'Reviews in literature and art', 'Readings in books and life'. During the despotic rule of Siddiqi (1930) al-Aqqad wrote a passionate plea for democratic freedom, Autocratic rule in the twentieth century. Al-Aqqad led a full, active life and his works, which run in more than ninety volumes, deal with practically every topic under the sun.[149]

[149] M.M. Badawi, A critical Introduction to Modern Arabic poetry. P-86

Besides his writings on politics and society and philosophy, both in East and West, he wrote a novel Sara in powerful and sinewy prose, and a number of biographies, for instance on Muhammad, Abu Bakr, Umar and Ali. Unlike Mazini and Shukri, al-Aqqad continued to write and published volumes of verse to develop of Diwan movement. Al-Aqqad wrote the impact of the English romantic is clearly detectable in poems such as autumn (Al-kharif), Reflections on sunset (Sawanib al-Ghurab) and Onset of winter (Qudum al-Shita) and it is worth adding that languages of these poems. The subsequent volumes of verse that appeared after 1929 add title to the story of al-Aqqad as a poet, although some of the prefaces are of interest for the light they shed on literary debates and the general development of literary thought in this period. The Wayfarer (Abir Sabil) 1937, he calls for a greatly increased variety in poetic subjects in taste and imagination.[150]

Al-Aqqad's development of Diwan movement to modern Arabic literature by Diwan groups through varieties books. Al-Aqqad's first volume appeared in 1916 and by 1928 he had published four volumes, which he had gathered together under the name Diwan al-Aqqad. In 1933, he appeared his volume of poems about the curlew and on attaining the age of forty, and in 1937 his volume on themes and subjects from everyday life called the 'The wayfarer'. Al-Aqqad published three more volumes were still appearing: Evening storm, signifying old age, after the storm and sequel to the storm which was his last volume. Al-Aqqad developed different views on the importance of feeling in poetry in 1923 he wrote that intellect, imagination and feeling (al-fikr wa'l khayal wa atifah) were indispensable to poetry feeling taking up the final position. The three trio-poets of Diwan movement like Shukri, al-Mazini and al-Aqqad they developed many books to modern Arabic literature.

[150] M.M. Badawi, Modern Arabic literature, P-91

1.6. Main personalities of Diwan movement

The main personality of Diwan groups as Shukri, Al-Mazini and Al-Aqqad, firstly, I have discussed about the personality of Diwan groups as Shukri, who developed Diwan Movement in Modern Arabic literature. Shukri was the member of Diwan group who is remembered primarily for his poetry then for the novels, literary criticism or polymathic writing on cultural topics that were characteristic of the work of al-Mazini or al-Aqqad with Abu Shadi. Shukri's ranks as one of the most importance enthusiasts for English romanticism in modern Arabic literature, and it was able to adopt many of its principles to the new poetry which was beginning to supersede the neo-classical school. Shukri's first two collections of poetry 1909 and 1913 are the most traditional in style and theme and contain a number of elegies in honour of famous personalities and poems writings for social and political occasions between 1915 and 1918.[151]

His personality of Diwan, the fall of extent of his romanticism begins to emerge as he pleads for the overriding importance of the imagination and the passions, the need for simple, everyday language in poetry, and the insistence on the primacy of beauty in all things. He also claims his personality of that Diwan group; the poet is marked out by special gifts of vision not shared by rest of human kind. Many of these ideas are traceable directly to Hazlitt, Keats, Coleridge or Words Worth. Much of his amatory poetry is obsessed with the ambiguity of the spiritual and the physical nature of love, and it becomes increasingly obvious that he was unable to resolve this tension with any degree of fulfillment. This is combined with his personality intense concentration on the emotional ebbs and flows of his owns psyche, lends his poetry a manic depressive quality.

[151] J. Brugman, An introduction to the History of Modern Arabic literature in Egypt. P-116-117

Shukri's personality expressed the influence except of course on his direct an associate was less than one might suppose from his position in the Diwan group. Partly this may have been due to his personality from the available data he emerges as a sky and reserved man, he never married, which is highly exceptional for an Egyptian and after his quarrel with al-Mazini he withdrew even more. Nevertheless, as early as in 1922 he belonged as a matter of course to the famous poets (Mashahiv Shuarra al-asr) as Ahmed Ubayd's well-known booklets was called. His reserve is therefore not likely to have been caused exclusively by his quarrel with al-Mazini. Shukri also wrote some prose works which are curious in themselves and importance for the study of his literary development, but which have otherwise not exercised any great influence. The two short prose works published by Shukri in 1916 are worthy of mention in that they are largely prose versions of much of what one encounters in his verses 'Book of confession' (kitab al-Itiraf) and 'Book of the fruits' (kitab al-thamarat) record the thoughts and feelings of a young Egyptian coping with the problems of living at that time.

Shukri's personality of Diwan groups as well as giving a searching indication of the mentality of his whole generation. There is a lack of vanity in all his doleful introspection which reminds on e of the consistent gloom and endurance of Abbasid poets such as Abul Atahiyyia. Yet Shukri was of the almost importance for the introduction of ideas from English literature into the development of modern Arabic poetry, and his was a vital contribution to the lyrical poetry of personal meditation in Arabic.[152]

The personality of Diwan groups secondly, I have discussed about the poet al-Mazini. Al-Mazini was the member of Diwan group in modern Arabic literature. He expressed his personality of Diwan movement to modern Arabic literature during the 20th century in Egypt. Al-Mazini's personality indebted to

[152] M.M.Badawi Modern Arabic literature, P-94-95

frankness which enables us to see to what extent those poets were unable blend their Arabic literary heritage in a harmonious way with their new education in Western literature. Al-Mazini took many ideas from English poetry. He even freely translated some English poems and attributed them to himself. His friend Shukri discovered this and at tacked him in his fifth Diwan, *al-khatarat*, saying that this dangerous way of plagiarism induced readers to think that everything precious which has an unusual meaning is certainly stolen. Shukri went on to several what al-Mazini had taken from Shelley, Lowell, and Addison etc.

Al-Mazini's personality of Diwan attributed this unfortunate fault to his wide reading and his weak memory. In a generous way he added that he was accused of plagiarizing. Yet despite this, those poets were not able to establish the romantic mood in poetry. Al-Mazini and Shukri did indeed portray the Romantic mood in most of their poetic works, but it was done rather crudely, for their technique was inadequate for its successful translation into art. Al-Mazini's personality of Diwan groups, their expression remained analytical and direct, lacking the evocative power and infectious warmth of later Romantics. This is significant, for the life of these two poets, like Shukri and al-Mazini, and their personalities proclaim the truth of the mood they were trying so hard to reflect in their verse. When al-Mazini went to the Nasiriyya elementary school, he graduating from the Khedivial School in 1905, he started to study medicine but fainted upon entering the operating room. After then he turn to law, but finally attended the Higher Teachers College, from which he graduated in 1909. He taught at various secondary schools for the next decade, but found that his real métier was journalism.[153] He was especially gifted at translating articles from the English press into Arabic. Influenced by his association with Shukri, al-Mazini wrote Arabic poetry for a while, publishing the two volumes of al-Diwan with al-Aqqad in

[153] Matti Moosa, origins of modern Arabic fiction, P-127

1921. Then shifted to prose after reading widely in English Russian and Arabic literature.

The personality of Diwan al-Mazini, he initially attached himself to Amin al-Rafil and served as an editor for *al-Akhbar* from 1919 to 1926. He then edited the weekly version of *al-Siyasa* from 1926 to 1930 and its daily version for the next two years. As editor of *al-Ittihad* from 1932 to 1934, he was once tried for having attacked the late Sa'd Zaghlul. He edited *al-Balagah* for the last fifteen years of his life, developing close tries to Abd al-Qadir Hamza. He wrote for other newspapers and for weekly and monthly magazine. Al-Mazini helped to found the journalistic syndicates in 1941 and was elected its first vice-president. Al-Mazini never played an important part. He was and remained a journalist. He gradually evolved from a liberal to an Arab nationalist and in doing so followed the trends of his time, but he never took any but verbal action. His poetry was deeply subjective, at times derived from classical Arabic or English models, but often moving and humorous. He also elected to the Arabic language Academy in 1947, he belonged also to its Damascus counterpart.[154]

Al-Mazini's personality of Diwan groups influenced by the novel *Ibrahim al-katib*, M.M. Badawi comments that al-Mazini's bas humor is enduring values because it is so deeply rooted in social reality in his poetry, al-Mazini was the most apparently Romantic of Diwan group. In its expression of romantic pessimism and rebellious sentiment this poetry of the self was in complete contrast with the objective poetry where the personality of the poet, disappears behind the public façade. In fact his career, perhaps more than that of any other man of letters of his generation is a proof of the influence of imported Western theories at that time on critical writings on the other poets.

[154] Roger Allen, Modern Arabic literature, P-214-219

Thirdly, I have discussed about the personality of Diwan poet al-Aqqad, al-Aqqad was the member of Diwan groups. Al-Aqqad's critical method was strongly influenced by such writers as Hazlitt, Carlyle and Lamb. His personality and his early emphasis on the role of feelings in poetic creativity led him to embark on a series of analyses of classical poets in which primary emphasis was placed on the linkage between personality and creativity, this penchant on al-Aqqad's part seems to have been given much of its impetus by his wide readings in the natural sciences. Al-Aqqad producing collections throughout his career include Yaqzat al-Sabah (1916) and *Hadiyat al-Karawan* (1933) and *Asir Magrib* (1942), they contain a mixture of occasional poems, including some in praise of Sa'd Zaghlul romantic excursions clearly influenced by his readings of Palgrave's Golden Treasury and imitations of classical poets, including Ibn al-Rumi on whom he wrote an interesting critical study of Diwan groups.[155]

The personality of Diwan, al-Aqqad was one of the number of Egyptian intellectuals who set themselves to discuss the early history of Islam and its major figures within a modern scholarly context, in al-Aqqad's case this took the form of a series of works under surveyed the writings of a number of important figures in World history. Al-Aqqad had excoriated Shawqi in al-Diwan 91921) for writing traditional verse found himself roundly criticized in 1956, when as chair of a prize panel for poetry, he referred all poems submitted in free verses to the prose panel; the vituperative nature of the immaculate classical poem which Egyptian poet Ahmed, Abd al-Muti Hijaj composed in response can be viewed as an apt rejoinder to al-Aqqad's attack on Shawqi a near thirty years earlier. In 1940, that status was

[155] Julie Scott Musami, Paul Starkey, Encyclopedia of Arabic literature. P-98

given formal recognition he became a member of the Arabic language Academy.[156]

The personality of al-Aqqad deserves discussion because this respect for the poetry of the Diwan groups and for the poetry of al-Aqqad in particular marks a relapse in the development of poetry and aesthetic taste in Egypt. The contemporary opinion in the Arab World is often in agreement with al-Aqqad's views on Shawqi.[157] But the poets like Shawqi although highly traditional are not really imitative, in the sense that they do not copy the classical poets to the loss of their own individuality and poetic personalities. Some of the classical attitudes which persisted in their poetry were not the result of direct and deliberate copying the work of intelligence and observations, in 1930 he was imprisoned for making a typically inflammatory comment about the lack of freedom in Egypt during the tyrannical regime of Ismail Siddiqi Pasha, the prime Minister who, with the support of king. Al-Aqqad would have us believe, but reflected the personalities and attitudes of the poets themselves. Al-Aqqad's main personality of the objective was that poet should portray his true attitude towards life and things and should produce personal philosophy of life, not a traditional stereotyped attitude. Al-Aqqad urged the poets to go deeply into the essence of things and to reflect in poetry the vastness of the universe and the profundity of life. These are the main personality of Diwan groups to modern Arabic literature.

[156] Julie Scott Musami, Paul Starkey, Encyclopedia of Arabic literature. P-98-99
[157] M.M.Badawi, Modern Arabic literature, P-91-92