

The Image of the West in Saudi poetry

1920-1990

The Other and the Transformation of Identity

Submitted by:

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Abstract:

This thesis investigates the image of the West as portrayed in Saudi poetry since the beginning of the new Saudi state in 1920 to 1990, while tackling the concept of ‘‘the West’’ as it is used in Saudi poetry, and defining the special characteristics of the Saudi society. By dividing the selected period into three parts, 1920-1945, 1946-1967 and 1968-1990, and investigating more than 250 Saudi poems addressing the West, this research will uncover the image of the West in Saudi poetry as well as the transformations that this image went through, both positively and negatively, under each historical period.

This research will also define a series of real factors, which played a main role in drawing this representation about the West in Saudi poetry. Islam, as it practised in Saudi Arabia, and the desert in its social and cultural concept, were examined in this research to find out their role in drawing the image of the West in Saudi poetry. This research also highlights the other historical factors, which played a main role in developing an image of the West throughout these periods of Saudi history across various topics.

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Transliteration

Library of Congress Arabic Transliteration System

Consonants

ء	°	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	th	ع	°
ج	J	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	و	w
ص	ṣ	ي	y

Vowels

Long		Short	
ا	ā	◌َ	a
و	ū	◌ِ	i
ي	ī	◌ُ	u

Abbreviations

b.	Born
d.	Died
ed.	Editor
n d.	No date
n p.	No place
n pub.	No publisher
trans.	Translated

The reference system

The reference system adopted in the thesis is MHRA (Modern Humanities Research Association).

Foreword

This dissertation examines an important topic in the literary history of Saudi Arabia. It studies the relationship between the East and West in the works of some Saudi writers who, in general, witnessed the different changes occurring in the Arab world and, in particular, in their own country. It is important, by way of introduction, to emphasise that in order to understand how modern Saudi Arabian writers understood such complex and loaded terms as East and West, we need to take into account the long history of tension between the Arabs and Byzantines and also between Islam and Christianity.

This study deals with a thorny and complex relationship between East and West with their long history of conflict, which involved many aspects of life and thought. This opened wide the door for many writers on both sides to express their attitudes and ideas toward each other's nation, culture and religion. Many serious academic studies and also literary and fictional works, explored this relationship. Writers from various disciplines have been involved in this complicated topic. Still I found that more work could be done and more analysis could be pursued in studying such an interesting topic.

Researchers in the field of literary history and cultural studies have increasingly shown greater scholarly efforts to explore the relationship between East and West in various literary genres. Many of these researchers concluded that images of the Eastern or Western other greatly relate to our perception of the imagined other, which is not necessarily the real, actual other. The nuances of this perception evoke the long history of tension and amity between East and West, and within it are included people's reactions to today's on-going events related to terrorism and cultural and religious differences. However, when we talk about these events, we should not ignore the huge gap in military and technological capabilities between East and West.

In the last few centuries, Arab people found themselves lagging behind the technologies of advanced Western countries. They also found themselves under the grip of Western colonialism¹. As a result an Arab felt two contradictory feelings. On the one hand, Arabs were excited to know more about the West's advanced technology and how it might benefit them. On the other hand, the Arab felt defeated and helpless in the face of these powerful countries.

The Arabs later realised that the power of the West is not limited to military power. One important point here is that developed Western countries have become models for developing countries to follow in many aspects of life. In addition, the media – including movies and entertainment – continues to play a huge role in drawing the image of other in the both the East and the West. The West’s cultural dominance has caused a movement towards modernization in what used to be called ‘the third world countries’. Al-Meseiri in his introduction to the Arabic translation of *The West and the World* states that “we can say that the historical movement of civilization now prevailing in Asia, Africa and Latin America is a movement of renovation. As Third World communities are communities that are trying to reorganize themselves on the foundations of modern science-based technology and adopt social forms commensurate with this new situation”.¹ This movement towards a technological and science-based civilization is, in many ways, a movement of Westernization, with developing nations following the Western model and “the vanquished obsessed with pursuing the victor”,² as Ibn Khaldūn stated.

In Saudi Arabia, the movement to modernization occurred much faster compared with other developing countries. The discovery of oil rapidly transformed Saudi Arabia, located in the heart of the Islamic and Arabic world, from being one of the poorest and least technologically complex places in the world to a state with a developing economy. This huge economic improvement affects how people think about themselves and others. What is more, the change in Saudi Arabia was always related to the West, as the authorities in Saudi Arabia received support and help from the UK and then the USA to rule the land of Saudi Arabia and later to extract oil. Bakovljević stated that, “The West is the key to change in Saudi Arabia”.³

In Arabic literature, the image of the West reflected the Arabs’ desire for change and also revealed the desire to challenge and evoke their history of bygone victories. Some books and articles attempt to investigate the Arab representation of the West. But one of the common weaknesses of previous studies was generalisation about how Arabic literature represented the West. Many writers claimed that they were going to investigate the image of the West in all Arabic poetry or Arabic fiction (as the literature review will

¹ Kevin Reilly. *The West and the world: a topical history of civilization*. Al-Meseiri, °Abd al-Wahhāb (Trans). (Kuwait: °Alam al-ma°rifah. 1985) vol 1 p 5.

² °Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Khaldūn. *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn*. °Abd Allāh al-Daruish (ed). (Damascus: Dār Ya°rub, 2004) vol 1 p 283.

³ A Bakovlev, *Al-Su°udiyah wa ’l-Gharb* (n p: Press al-Ḥaḳīqah, 1979) p 2.

show)⁴, while Saudi literature and many other Arabic writings were ignored. This thesis attempts to avoid generalisation by focusing on one particular Arabic country, namely Saudi Arabia, and on the poetry from there only.

The Importance of this Study

The perception of the other is a key fact of cultural interaction between East and West. The long history of communication between the Arabs and the West, especially from a military perspective, in addition to the cultural dominance of the West in the last centuries has made the image of the West in Arab regions an important topic. Arab writings show how the Arab identity gains in strength or becomes limited when facing a different other.

As a centre for the Arab and Islamic worlds, Saudi Arabia becomes important for many reasons:

The Islamic reason is that the land of Saudi Arabia is considered the heart of the Islamic lands because of the birth of Islam in Mecca and because it is, historically, the first Islamic state. Islam was used to legitimize the existing and previous Saudi states; the political authority in Saudi Arabia derives its legitimacy from Wahhabism, which still controls Islamic thought in Saudi Arabia.⁵

Saudi society is considered unique in its social and cultural framework. The desert and nomadic tribal life, which were the common way of life for the majority of Arab tribes in the land of Saudi Arabia since the beginning of history, kept the people of this land away from any direct relations with the West. Some of those people had never heard about Western countries. Some writers used words, such as *Rūmān* (Byzantines), when referring to the Turks because that was the farthest they knew.⁶ However, it is interesting to observe how the West was perceived by this society during the period when its doors were opened to the West.

⁴ See p 46.

⁵ Stéphane Lacroix and George Holoch, *Awakening Islam* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011) p 36.

⁶ See p 30.

In the last century, many major events occurred in the Arab region that familiarised people in Saudi Arabia with the West as a cultural, economic and military power. A major geopolitical event in the last century included mapping the area. In addition, political and military events affected the region, such as the Second World War, the creation of Israel and the Arab and Israeli wars. Numerous intellectual movements also took place, including pan-Arabism, Ba'ath, Nasserism and the Islamic movements. All these events influenced Saudi views of the West in the selected periods described in this thesis, and make this topic worthy of further research.

In the last eighty years, Saudi Arabia witnessed the largest economic change in its entire history. In the last few decades, Saudi society went through significant transformation. This change certainly affected their understanding of themselves and others.

Although there are some Arabic resources about the image of the West in Arabic literature, as far as I am concerned there are no academic works attempting to uncover the real understanding and view of the West found in Saudi poetry.

This study will have a particular significance in uncovering the real factors involved in drawing the image of the West, and how the identities of Saudi society interact with the West.

The questions of the research

There are three questions that this thesis attempts to answer. First: How is the West represented in modern Saudi poetry? The answer to this question will uncover the ways Saudi writers view the West in relationship to their cultures and society. In the attempt to answer the question, I look at poems as being integral to the self-expression of Saudi society in its social, cultural and political transformation in the last eighty years after the discovery of oil.

The second question: How has the image of the West changed since the establishment of the Saudi state in the early 1930s up until 1990? The answer for this question is an attempt to observe the change that occurred in the ways the West was

represented in this period. Moreover, I move to examine how this image of the West has influenced important events and changes in Saudi society during that period.

The third question: What are the real factors that caused changes in the image and views of the West in Saudi poetry? In this question, I have analysed the main factors that shaped the views of Saudi society about the West and also uncovered the extent of these factors in Saudi poetry.

Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis has six chapters, a forward and a conclusion.

The first chapter

This chapter offers the theoretical background for the whole project. It examines the multiple meanings assigned to the words West and East in addition to other words that are used in the same sense, such as Occident and Orient. This chapter also examines how the Saudi state was unique in its perceptions of the West. The chapter will focus on religion to show how it became a main factor in Saudi identity. It shows this by arguing that religion in Saudi Arabia played a role different from any other Islamic state in the region. This chapter also examines how the desert location of the kingdom had a massive effect on Saudi culture and society. The methodology of this research will also be offered in this chapter.

The second chapter: the literature review.

This chapter is a review of the resources focusing on the image of the West in Arabic discourse. I begin the discussion in this chapter with “representation” and stereotyping, then look at the resources that have studied the image of the West in Arabic literature, and lastly, consider the image of the West in Arabic poetry. This discussion will address the gap in the field of Arabia critical studies

The third chapter: The formative stage, the 1920s to 1945

This is a special period in which Saudi Arabia took its final shape as a state, thereby establishing and expanding its educational, health, administrative and media institutions. This chapter will investigate the relevant Saudi texts about the West under

four subheadings: political, cultural and social, Western literature and lastly emotional texts.

The fourth chapter: The recognition of the West, from 1946 to 1967

This period was influenced by the conditions of national independence in other Arab countries. It was also later influenced by Arab nationalist movements, which receded in momentum after the Arab-Israeli War in 1967. There are five subheadings under this chapter: political, cultural, cities, new technology and emotional poetry.

The fifth chapter: Islamic consciousness: from 1968 to 1990

In this period, two phenomena greatly influenced Saudi poetry: the modernist movement and the Islamic Awakening. These phenomena occurred after the decline of national consciousness. There are six subheadings: political, the intellectual invasion, cultural, cities, new technology and the emotional image.

The sixth chapter: Identity and change

This chapter gathers the various parts of the image of the West that were dispersed throughout different periods in Saudi history. It goes beyond the limits of a time frame to find the main identities that are considered as effective factors in drawing the image of the West. In addition, it examines the influence of time, different topics, conflict and personal attitudes that affect the image of the West.

1. Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The Concept of the West

In the past three decades, the passion for cross-cultural interaction has become a subject of study on a wider scale in academic circles, whether these circles are Western or Eastern, and one in which themes of boundaries, self-other, as well as integration, have been extensively explored. In particular, historians and literary scholars have demonstrated notable efforts in their writings on ideas of boundaries and conceptions of self-other, themselves the products of the introduction of the postcolonial theoretical paradigm into cross-cultural research and writing across the subject of humanities.

Orientalism is an important field of research and writing for scholars of cross-cultural interaction, especially following the appearance of Edward Said's groundbreaking *Orientalism* (1978).⁷ Since the publication of this important book, Eastern scholars, particularly those in the Arab World,⁸ have shown a tendency to engage with issues of cross-cultural interaction between East-West, and yet, these issues, unlike what was discussed by Said, have been researched and studied from a perspective of reversed polarity. This is to say that some Eastern scholars have become Occidentalists.⁹ Nevertheless, few scholars have written on the representation of the Western other in Arab culture and literature. Hence, due to the void that exists in this field, the importance of a project such as this is undeniable, as it penetrates the cross-cultural research conducted in academic and literary circles in the Arab World in order to add to the field, and explores previously uncharted waters.

This project aims to uncover the traits of the West as represented in the poetry of Saudi writers. I will examine the representation of the Western other in Saudi poetry, taking the early twentieth century as a starting point for my project. Yet, as a point of

⁷ Edward W Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). See also: Harry S Truman, Winston Churchill, and G. W Sand, *Defending The West* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 2004) and Ian Richard Netton (ed), *Orientalism Revisited* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).

⁸ As the literature review will show, see p 46.

⁹ See: Ḥasan Ḥanafī. *Muqaddimah fī 'Ilm al-Istighrāb*, (Cairo: al-Dār al-Fanniyyah. 1991) and Tizīnī, Ṭayyib, *Min al-Istishrāq al-Gharbi ilā al-Istighrāb al-Maghribī*, (Damascus: Dār al-Thākīrah, 1996).

departure, this project starts by asking the following two questions: How can we understand the term ‘the West’ and its use in Saudi society? What are the special traits and characteristics of Saudi society and culture that might prove important in this cross-cultural project?

As far as the first question is concerned, one might find a ready-made answer in geographical terms: the West is a spatial entity located in an area far away from the Arab world. Yet this answer might at best be described as banal and at worst culturally and historically anachronistic and perhaps even pejorative in nature. For the word West within the cultural understanding of the Arabs in general, and Saudis in particular, refers to various harmonious yet sometimes contradictory signifiers, including religion, history, political schemes and, late in the nineteenth century, orientalism, colonialism and the cultural renaissance, what some Arab intellectuals called the *Nahḍah*.¹⁰

Describing orientalism and its relationship to the West in geographical yet culturally loaded terms, Rudi Paret argues that Westerners have long viewed the Orient as a geopolitical space situated in the lands to the east of Europe. Paret observes that spatial directions have always been a determining factor in defining lands through the use of geographical terms. Paret claims that the designation of the term Orient ‘can be traced back to the Middle Ages and ever further back to the period when the Mediterranean was still the centre of the civilized world’.¹¹

Paret was certainly right in his reasoning to try to trace the origins behind labelling the lands situated to the east of Europe as the Orient. Yet if geographic labelling was applicable in the context of the Arab world, then from the perspective of the Arabs, the lands from which this labelling emerged – Europe – might better be called the North and not the West. Directly to the east of the traditional European heartland is Russia and, further along, Central Asia – hardly the Arab world.

Another view on this debate of directionality, or the practice of space labelling between Europe and the lands situated to the east of it, might prove interesting. Muḥammad al-Ḥallāq found that the direction first taken by medieval European pilgrims and the Crusaders tells us much about the nature of labelling the lands that we now call

¹⁰ See: for example: 1- Anīs al-Nusūlī, *Asbāb al-Nahḍah al-‘Arabiyyah Fil-Qarn al-Tasi‘ Ashar* (Cairo: Dār ibn Zaydūn, 1985) 2- Jwrijī Zaydān, *Bunāt al-Nahḍah al-‘Arabiyyah* (Cairo: Dār al-Hilāl, 1964) 3- Usāmah Maḥfūz, *Ḥiwār Ma‘a Ruwwād al-Nahḍah al-‘Arabiyyah*, (Beirut: Dār al-Rayyis, 2007).

¹¹ Rudi Paret, *The study of Arabic and Islam at German universities* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1968) p 3.

the Arab world as Oriental.¹² Performing a religious mission to Jerusalem, these medieval men and women first marched towards the east before changing directions later in the journey in order to position themselves towards the Arab world; if they had kept marching east, these men and women might not have ended up in Jerusalem but rather somewhere else, such as Central Asia.

Al-Ḥallāq also provides us another explanation why the Arab world was preserved as being Oriental within the collective memory of the Europeans. This reason has to do with the geographical position of the Arab world – particularly the Levant, Egypt and North Africa – within the old Roman Empire, as these areas in the Arab world constructed the eastern part of the empire.¹³ The Orient before Islam was different from the Orient after the spread of Islam across the Middle East and North Africa. Paret further argues that, after the spread of Islam in the region, all the lands incorporating what is now called the Arab world became Oriental or situated in the Orient, including Egypt and North Africa.¹⁴ For Western scholars, particularly Europeans, the Orient, in this sense, was constructed as Arab: space became associated with race.

Another example given to us by Bernard Lewis might clarify the terms discussed so far. This example is focused not on the Arab world as being called Oriental, but on the eastern part of Europe as being called “Near Eastern”. In the nineteenth century, the eastern part of Europe was called the Near East. It was defined as “near” because it was, after all, Christian and European, but it was “eastern” because it was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, an Islamic and Oriental state.¹⁵ So even though the land was part of Europe and many people living in it were Christians, it was construed as Eastern. The meaning of East here was a kind of mix between Islam as a religion and Ottoman, which was Turkish and considered to be an Oriental state.

Paret was also intrigued with how the terms Orient and Orientalism had become constructs, or givens, that is without an accurate geographic or spatial function. To be an Orientalist, according to Paret, is to research the Orient, regardless of nationality or spatial affiliation. In this sense, a Russian scholar, who was not European, was called an Orientalist if he took it upon himself to research the Arab World. This particularity of the

¹² Muhammad Al-Ḥallāq, *Naḥnu wa 'l-Akhar* (Damascus: Ittiḥād al-Kuttāb al-‘Arab. 1997). p 12.

¹³ *Ibid*, p 12.

¹⁴ Paret, (1968) p 4.

¹⁵ Lewis, (1986) p 10.

association between the Orient and the Arab World in the Russian discourse of Orientalism, for instance, reached the extent where Russian scholars have started calling their work *Al-Isti‘rāb*; that is, studying the Arab world within an Orientalist framework. Even so, the most common name for these studies in Russia remained “Orientalism”, and the widely recognized Russian research centre for conducting such research was called The Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow.¹⁶

Unlike Paret, Aḥmad Ismailufich was more historically expansive when arguing that the meaning of the term Orientalism went through several important historical phases since 1683. During the course of the seventeenth century, and even in the sixteenth, an Orientalist, Ismailufich observed, came to be known as a man (as female Orientalists were hardly found at the time) who studied Eastern languages.¹⁷ This shows how this definition of Orientalist differs from that offered by Paret.

Since the publication of Edward Said’s critical study *Orientalism* in 1978, however, the concept of Orientalism has become one of the major issues attracting scholars from the West as well as the East. In his book Said claims that “Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and (most of the time) ‘the Occident’”.¹⁸

Salhi clarified that Said was not the first scholar who criticized the methodology of the Orientalism. According to Salhi, scholars such as Anouar Abdel Malik, in his critical study *Orientalism in Crisis* (1962), and Abdul Latif Tibawi, in *English-Speaking Orientalist* (1964), had criticized the Orientalist approach well before Said’s study.¹⁹

For Said, the concept of the Orient has consistently been a space of repression, projection and investment for the West’s desires: “The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscape, remarkable experiences”.²⁰ These transgressive Western desires found in the Orient a different space into which they could project themselves unhindered, but these desires could not have been allowed to appear without a political context allowing the West to dominate a weaker Orient. Thus Said proposed that in setting out to

¹⁶ ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Al-‘Aṭāwī, *al-Istishrāq al-Rūsī* (al-Dār al-Bayḍā’: al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-‘Arabī, 2002) p 323. See Kraczkowski’s *Tārīkh al-Isti‘rāb al-Rūsī*. (1950).

¹⁷ Aḥmad Ismailufich, *Falsafat Al-Istishrāq* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, n d) p25.

¹⁸ Said, (1978) p 2.

¹⁹ Netton (ed), (2013) p 265.

²⁰ Said, (1978) p 1.

know and write about the Orient, “European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self”.²¹ Said found that this unequal relationship between the West and the Orient carries a polarising rhetoric of Orientalism, which set the West against the East. Orientalism focuses on ontological differences between two different geographical spots and cultures, East and West. But it also attributes to East and West two different time periods, one of the past and backwardness and another of the future and modernity. Said observed that a French journalist who reported from a war-torn Lebanon (1975-1976) recalled how “it had once seemed to belong to ... the Orient of Chateaubriand and Nerval”.²² This mode of engagement with the Orient as an ancient time period expresses the “positional superiority” of the Orientalist, as Said shows, and also bears the features of consistent discourse, which shows how the Orientalist ends up reiterating commonplace European perceptions of the Orient.²³ Thus the Orient is not only the “surrogate” underground self for the West, one to which the West could direct its repressed and also transgressive desires, but also the radically different space which is weak and submissive in the face of dominant Western powers.

Since its appearance in 1978, Said’s *Orientalism* has attracted a great deal of sympathy but also many antagonistic views focusing on the sheer, sweeping historicism of the book and its monolithic construction of the West as one of constant and consistent domination and power.²⁴ But among the many accounts which critiqued Said’s work, Robert Irwin’s *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and its Discontents* offers a scathing analysis and hostile critique of Orientalism, and contests the claim that Orientalism has always been allied with power and empire.²⁵

The image of the West as imperial and domineering has been studied by the scholars who have identified it as another instance of Orientalism in reverse, a discourse and rhetoric associated with what they called Occidentalism. In many Eastern and Asian countries, the West has also been associated with cultural and economic imperialism.

²¹ *Ibid*, p 3.

²² *Ibid*, p 1.

²³ *Ibid*, pp 5-7.

²⁴ See the introduction to *Debating Orientalism*, Ziad Elmarsafy, Anna Bernard, and David Attwell (ed) (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

²⁵ See the introduction to Robert Irwin’s *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and its Discontents* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2006), reprinted as *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies* (Hammondsworth: Penguin, 2007).

Occidentalism was thus a tool to counter the imperialism of the West. Santos offers an important definition of the term Occidentalism:

First, Occidentalism as a counter-image of Orientalism: the image that the ‘others’, the victims of Western Orientalism, construct concerning the West. Second, Occidentalism as a double image of Orientalism: the image the West has of itself when it subjects the ‘others’ to Orientalism.²⁶

What is really important in Santo’s second definition of Occidentalism is that it is shown as a strategy and tool by Westerners in the West against the imperialistic and hegemonic practises of their nations. This second definition equates with the way people in the East use Occidentalism to counter the hegemony associated with Orientalism.²⁷

Ning Wang agrees with the proposition that Occidentalism in the East took anti-Western rhetoric, but he attributed this rhetoric mostly to the increasing, unfavourable attitudes of the last two decades towards US imperial interests in the world outside the West.²⁸ As he writes,

Occidentalism manifested itself in different forms during different periods, but its fundamental tone was hostile to the West, especially the US imperialists, and sometimes even the Soviet social imperialists.²⁹

Buruma and Margalit also associate Occidentalism with the history of anti-Westernism in the both the West and the East. They define Occidentalism as the “dehumanising picture of the West painted by its enemies” as a “hateful caricature” of Western modern progress. Buruma and Margalit located the rhetoric of Occidentalism in early-twentieth-century Germany where there was hatred for “Jewified” American, French and British people. It also shifted into the East with the Maoist and the Islamic revolutions of the seventies in both China and Iran. In Egypt, the anti-Western rhetoric of Occidentalism intensified with the emergence of ideas by Islamists who saw the West as completely lacking in religious enchantment as a result of its thorough emersion in excessive materialism and consumerism. The famous Islamist scholar Sayyed Qutub

²⁶ B. de Sousa Santos, 'A Non-Occidental West?: Learned Ignorance And Ecology Of Knowledge', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 26 (2009), 103-125
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0263276409348079> p 105.

²⁷ Boaventura de Sousa Santos, “A Non-Occidental West? Learned Ignorance and Ecology of Knowledge”, *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol 26 (2009): 103-125.

²⁸ Ning Wang, “Orientalism versus Occidentalism?” *New Literary History*, vol 28 (1997): 57-67.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p 64.

relied on these views of the West in order to promote within Egypt ideas focusing on reviving Islamist ideologies based on a complete enmity to a soulless and anti-religious West.³⁰

The connotations of Orientalism and Orientalist have passed through several phases in which their meanings have varied. Equally, the term Occidentalism has also been a point of contention whether in regards to its meaning, application or even historical validity. Robbert Woltering observes that “studies of Occidentalism are as diverse as they are few, and as a result even the meaning of Occidentalism is contested”.³¹

What is the reason behind mentioning these terms – Orientalism and Occidentalism – here? It is true that my work will be concerned primarily with representations of the West in Saudi texts as a point of departure, which at first glance is seemingly unrelated to Orientalism. Nevertheless, it is my proposition that one cannot study one strand without the other. Examining the West from an Oriental perspective should not overlook the important fact that there is a long history of interaction between what is recognised as being East and West – Oriental or Occidental – within the various fields of Orientalism. Furthermore there is a long history of interaction between the West and the East in which the Arab world was widely, yet problematically, represented. It is imperative to go even further and to argue that these two terms took their meanings from each other and that one cannot reflect on the first without examining or shedding some light on the other.

Examining the validity of using a term such as ‘the West’ might be problematic when trying to pin down its meaning. Arabic writings on the West have also gone through several historical phases or, to put it in a slightly different way, representations of the West in books and articles written in Arabic have always been changeable in their meanings and configurations, rather than remaining historically stagnant or frozen in time.

At the start of the twentieth century, as Lewis stated, the term “the West” was used in the East as a European frame of reference, that is: the West meant Europe.³² But this again creates confusion as far as the Arab Middle East is concerned and its usage of

³⁰ Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: a short history of anti-Westernism* (Germany: Atlantic Book, 2005).

³¹ Robbert Woltering, *Occidentalisms, Images Of 'The West' In Egypt* (Leiden: Leiden University, 2009) p 15.

³² Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East And The West* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964) p 29.

“the West” in reference to Europe. As previously alluded to, Europe is not situated to the west of the Middle East. And it can be argued that the use of the term “the West” in the Arab World has been exported, or perhaps imported, from Europe. Arab writers, such as Ḥasan Ḥanafī, have argued that they have followed their European counterparts in calling Europe “the West”.³³

Alternatively, early-twentieth-century Arab writers might have considered themselves as Eastern because they were part of the Ottoman Empire, which was thought of as an Oriental state. That being said, famous Arab writers and poets at the beginning of twentieth century, such as Aḥmad Shawqī (1886-1932) and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1872-1932), used the term the “West” not as paralleling that of the “Middle East” but rather the “East”. Perhaps this is why the East-West duality has become the most commonly used pair of words and definitions in the modern Arab world.³⁴

The word “West” was used in the early attempts of Arabic novels to indicate Europe and the US in the beginning of the twentieth century. An important fact worth mentioning here is that Arabic novels were a result of the cultural contact with the West in the modern era. The book that is considered the first Arabic novel *Zaynab* (1912) by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal was written in Paris.³⁵ Contact and conflict with the West were common themes in Arabic novels; Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Muʿdī Ḥijāzī claims that all Arabic novels are the result of the issues between the East and West.³⁶

Yet, when looking at earlier attempts – even the first attempts at writing novels in Arabic – especially in the novel *ʿAlam al-Dīn* (1882) by ʿAli Mubārak, one can notice that the author used the word East to indicate the Arabic lands, but he preferred to use the word Europe, England, or France, rather than West. For example, he clarified the reasons saying that it was “to compare between Eastern and European issues”. A similar meaning of East can be found in Jūrjī Zaydān works, such as *Tarājim Mashāhīr al-Sharq fi al-Qarn al-Tāsi ʿAshar* (Biographies of Eastern Celebrities in the Nineteenth Century, 1902). He also used the word “Europe” most of the time, and only occasionally used “West” when referring to Europe. For example, in one of his biographies, he wrote: “He

³³ Ḥanafī, (1991) p 114.

³⁴ Hallāq, (1997) p 11.

³⁵ Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, *Zaynab* (Qairo: Maktabat al-NahḌah, 1967) p 11.

³⁶ Aḥmad Hijāzī, 'Ismāʿīl Wa Ikhwatih', *Ahrām*, 2007

<<http://www.ahram.org/Archive/2002/5/22/WRIT1.HTM>> [accessed 15 August 2015].

came to England in 1863 to learn science and to find out the civilization's motives, adding knowledge of the West to the knowledge of the East".³⁷

Later, the word "West" became a common word in Arabic novels and storybooks. Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī in his book *Hadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* (Talk of ʿĪsā ibn Hishām)(1907) used word to indicate to Europe in more than seventy places, whereas he used Europe only 15 times. In his subtitles, we can find phrases such as "Western civilization"³⁸ and "from East to West"³⁹.

In poetry, it is expected that Arabic poets followed Arabic writers in general and began using the word "West". The meaning of West in poetry commonly indicated Europe and North America.⁴⁰ However, Arabic poets used the word East in more than one sense. For example, Aḥmad Shawqī used East to indicate Arabs, as he wrote in one of his poems:

كان شعري الغناء في فرح الشرق وكان العزاء في أحزانه
كلما أن بالعراق جريح لمس الشرق جنبه في عمانه⁴¹

My poetry was the song in the East's joys, and the solace in its grief.

When a wounded man cries in Iraq, the East checks his other side in Oman.

Iraq and Oman both are Arabic countries; many lines in this poem are related to Arabic events. In another poem about the Ottoman empire, Shawqī expressed his loyalty to the Kalifat and used East to represent an allegiance between Muslim people:

بيني وبينك ملة وكتابها والشرق ينميني كما ينميك⁴²

Between me and you, our nation and its holy book, and the East which I and you belong to.

³⁷ Jūrjī Zaydān, *Tarājim Mashāhīr al-Sharq fī al-Qarn al-Tāsīʿ Ashar* (Qairo: Muʿassasat Hindāwī, 2012) p 306.

³⁸ Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī, *Hadīth ʿĪsā ibn Hishām* (Qairo: Muʿassasat Hindāwī, 2012) p 259

³⁹ *Ibid*, p 321

⁴⁰ Al-Najdī, p 68.

⁴¹ Aḥmad Shawqī, *Dīwān Aḥmad Shawqī* (Qairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1980) vol 1 pp 589-590.

⁴² *Ibid*, p vol 1 p 358.

In another instance, Shawqī used East to refer to those living in the East, Muslim and non-Muslim:

ومسلمو الهند والهندوس في جذل ومسلمو مصر والأقباط في طرب
ممالك ضمها الإسلام في رحم وشيجة وحوها الشرق في نسب⁴³

Muslims and Hindus in India are delightful, and Muslims and Copts in Egypt are glad.

Kingdoms gathered by Islam, and contained in Eastern relationship.

Thus the East in early Arabic poetry was used in more than one sense, depending on the situation that the poet was describing. The East was used as an identity and a mutual relationship when facing the Other, or the West.

As early as 1923, the Egyptian publishing house Dār al-Hilāl published a book titled *Fatāwā Kibār al-Kuttāb wa'l-Udabā' fī 1-Mustaqbal al-Lughah al-ʿArabiyyah 2-Nahḍat al-Sharq al-ʿArabī wa Mawqifuh min'l-Madaniyyah al-Gharbiyyah*.⁴⁴ (The Opinions of the Great Writers and Literary Men on the Future of the Arabic Language, and the Renaissance of the Arab Orient and its Attitude towards Western Civilization). In this book, we find various attitudes on the Arabic language and also Western civilization. This book might be the first book written in Arabic investigating the relationship between East and West. This book was, however, published when Egypt was under British colonial rule.

What proves to be intriguing is the way the Egyptian writers who contributed to this book showed their understanding of the social, educational and political life in Great Britain, France and the United States in the early twentieth century, which was relatively new for the Arabs at the time. Yet a common perception of the West was demonstrated in this book: one which described the West by denoting elements of the lifestyle of the colonialist nations. In other words, the insistence of the writers of the book on describing themselves as being from the Sharq (Orient) and calling the colonialist nations the Gharb (West) indicates the extent to which power was implicated within the mind-set of those

⁴³ *Ibid*, p vol 1 p 314.

⁴⁴ No (Ed) (Cairo: Dār al-Hilāl, 1923).

writers who showed interest in other cultures. Essentially, the Orient was described as weak and colonised, whereas the West was powerful and imperialist.

Also in 1923, the famous Syrian writer Muḥammad Kurd ʿAli published his book *Gharāʾib al-Gharb* (The Oddities of the West)⁴⁵ in which he was clear about what he meant by using the term *gharb*, “the West”. In this book, Kurd ʿAli narrated what happened to him during the course of his three journeys to Europe between the periods of 1909-1914 and 1921-1922. Kurd ʿAli used the term “the West” when referring to Europe and, in some cases, to North America. Here one might argue that the term “the West” during the twentieth century in the Arab world referred to modern European culture. Ḥanafī observes that both uses of the words “European” and “Western” referred to modern European culture, and the use of the word “the West” was more common than the word “Europe”.⁴⁶

Thus, the terms that have been considered so far – Orientalism and Occidentalism – came to be loaded with socio-political, rather than geographical or spatial, meanings. Take, for instance, what the Oxford Dictionary tells us about the meaning of the word “West”: “Europe and America as distinguished from Asia, China, etc.; the culture and civilization of these regions as opposite to that of the Orient”.⁴⁷ Webster World Thesaurus further adds these words to the above mentioned definition: “Christian society”.⁴⁸ These definitions make it clear to us that “the West” as a concept is culturally, socially and politically – rather than geographically – defined, and this cultural penetration is so pervasive that even dictionaries are not spared from using loaded terminology.

It is the aim of this project, therefore, to shed some light on the meaning of the term “the West” as being viewed and represented by Arab and, particularly Saudi, writers. Doing this, however, should depart from the propositions that sought to define the West in geographical terms; rather, we would like to examine the cultural, political and social aspects that led Saudi writers to define the West. It is far from the aim of this project to try to adopt the ready-made clichés that make arguments about the massive differences

⁴⁵ Muḥammad ʿAli, *Gharāʾib al-Gharb* (n p, Al-Muqtabas, 1923).

⁴⁶ Ḥanafī, (1991) p 114.

⁴⁷ Lesley Brown, *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary On Historical Principles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) vol 2 p 3658.

⁴⁸ Charlton Laird, and William Lutz, *Webster's New World Thesaurus* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985) p 662.

between cultures and civilizations. It can be considered, that these terms have more to do with those who use them than the actual Orient or Occident.

That being said, the use of these terms might connote different things for different parties, peoples or cultures. Here it is necessary to emphasize the importance of power in forcefully projecting certain frames of reference for the use of terms such as East or West, Orient or Occident. Further, those who prefer the use of one term over the other, or who are able to project their own definition of terms and concepts on other cultures and peoples, are those who own media apparatuses. For instance, take the North American and European governments in the way they prefer to call themselves the West. The inextricable association between power and the use of such terms might be obvious for many people, and the way that Arabs have started to refer to “the East” in reference to themselves indicates the extent to which they have started conceptualizing their position within the assembly of the powerful. Yet if we want to understand how the Arabs conceptualize the West, we clearly need to examine the different historical, cultural and political circumstances, to mention just three, that affect the use of such terms as East and West.

In this sense, when examining the representation of the West in Saudi poetry, one needs to shed light on the traits and characteristics of Saudi society and culture during a particular period of time. Also, one needs not be driven towards casting generalisations, such as making claims that peculiarities found within Syrian and Egyptian societies might also be found in Saudi society and culture, considering that all these societies are Arab. Although there are similarities amongst all these societies because of particular historical reasons, Saudi society is, in many ways, different and distinct from other Arab societies.

One particular and important difference is the rapid economic development shown in Saudi society upon the discovery of vast reserves of oil. Indeed, the introduction of the economic benefits of oil into society played an important role in the way the Saudis viewed the West, since western countries, mainly the United States and other European countries, were the first to show interest in the newly discovered oil in Saudi Arabia.⁴⁹ In 1921, one Saudi poet, Muhummad al °Abd al-Qādir (1894-1971), showed his anxiety towards the presence of Western, particularly American, oil companies in the country,

⁴⁹ See: Matthew R Simmons, *Twilight In The Desert* (Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons, 2005) p 52, John King, *Oil In The Middle East* (Chicago, Ill.: Raintree, 2006) and Toby Craig Jones, *Desert Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010) p 138.

describing the work they were doing as “the trick of the enemy”.⁵⁰ Yet other writers in other Islamic countries in the region did not show a similar view of the presence of the foreign other – symbolised by Western oil companies – in their countries. It might be important here to mention that long before the presence of Western oil companies in Saudi Arabia, there were many companies working in other countries in the Islamic and Arabic world, such as Egypt.⁵¹

Thus, people in the Arab and Muslim worlds differ in their views on the meaning of the term “the West”. It seems that the differences over the meaning of the term have to do not only with the differences in cultures and societies but also with the differences in the historical periods of time in which this term may have been used. Therefore, if scholars wish to examine the representation of the cultural other, they need, in my view, to historicize their work instead of drawing general statements that could, as they perceive it, be valid for any time and place. One of the important aims of this project is to show that what could be construed as Western at a particular period of time within Saudi culture might not be validly called so in other periods of time within the culture.

To summarize what has been mentioned so far regarding the way the term “the West” was constructed and used problematically in the Arab world might seem too general and expansive and it might appear to be unrelated to Saudi society and culture. However, and in order to focus the scope of this research, I am compelled not to discuss this phenomenon at length so that the thesis research can focus on detecting aspects that make Saudi poetry and culture unique in terms of its perceptions of the West.

⁵⁰ ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Al-Ḥilū, *Shuʿarāʾ Ḥajar min al-Qarn al-Thānī ʿAshar ilāʾl-Qarn al-Rābiʿ ʿAshar* (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 2ed, 1979) p 193.

⁵¹ For example, in the mid nineteenth century France’s partnership with Egypt established the Suez Canal company. See: Valerie Bodden, *Suez Canal* (Mankato, MN: Creative Education, 2007) p 10.

1.2 Saudi Arabia⁵²:

In order to be able to comprehend the perceptions of Saudi poets towards the West, it is important to describe Saudi Arabia itself, a country constituting the bulk of the lands which we now know as the Arabian Peninsula and which emerged in the early twentieth century. The 1920s were the most important and rather critical years in the history of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In 1925, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz annexed Medina, one of the most important cities in the Arabian Peninsula and the Islamic world, to his kingdom. This particular date was of immense importance for the people of Saudi Arabia as, prior to this date and for a very long period of time, the Arabian Peninsula had been divided into several parts administered by various empires, mostly Muslim. The people in these parts have long displayed possessing unique social, political and cultural characteristics independent of each other. This is despite the existence of considerable trading links amongst them. The Arabian Peninsula comprised of three main areas; the Ḥijāz region reaching to Tihāmah from the west and south west; Al-Aḥsāʾ and Al-Qaṭīf in the east; and Najd which is encompassed by expansive desert terrain to the north and south.

The Ḥijāz area of the Arabian Peninsula has long played a critical geopolitical and religious role because it includes the holiest religious cities for Muslims, Mecca and Medina, within the confines of its borders⁵³. These cities are of great importance to Muslims because they are central to the events surrounding the message of the Islamic Prophet Muḥammad. Similarly, they are also important because they are specifically given holy status by the Quran and the *Ḥadīth*, or the traditions and sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the fifth pillar of Islam, *Hajj*, or the Islamic pilgrimage, takes place in Mecca. As such, the connection between these cities and the Muslims has long been recorded.

As a result of the importance and holiness ascribed to Mecca and Medina, all the Islamic empires that emerged following the death of the Prophet Muḥammad tried to incorporate them within the confines of their territorial might. The Umayyad, Abbasids

⁵² For more modern recent history of the Kingdom see: Madawi Al-Rasheed, *A History Of Saudi Arabia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), and Wayne H Bowen, *The History Of Saudi Arabia* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2008).

⁵³ Joshua Teitelbaum, *The Rise And Fall Of The Hashimite Kingdom Of Arabia* (New York: New York University Press, 2001) p 2.

and all the Islamic powers that followed, made sure, or at least tried, to make sure that these two cities were a part of their imperial territory as it enhanced their Islamic credentials amongst the faithful. Other than its importance as a territory with significant religious cities, the Ḥijāz was also a commercial site playing an important role in the trade routes connecting Yemen and the Levant. Yanbu and Jeddah – coastal cities in the Ḥijāz region – played important commercial roles in the Peninsula.

Large numbers of the people living in the Ḥijāz region were also engaged in agricultural activities. Cities such as Medina and Khaybar comprised considerable swathes of fertile lands, and the inhabitants of the Ḥijāz were mostly farmers. Even so, the people of the Ḥijāz were educated and economically developed and viewed themselves as slightly different from the rest of the people inhabiting the Arabian Peninsula.⁵⁴ In fact, it was in this region that the Arab nationalism of the early twentieth century was first shown. The inhabitants of this region saw themselves as more developed than the rest of the inhabitants of the Peninsula. This was recorded when the elites of the Ḥijāz proposed to the first Saudi king, King °Abd al-°Azīz, upon his incorporation of the Ḥijāz within the confines of his kingdom that they should be able to maintain their autonomy whilst being under his overall rule. This is because the people of Ḥijāz viewed themselves as being different from the Bedouins of Najd.⁵⁵

The people of Ḥijāz e suffered from Bedouin raids targeting the pilgrimage caravans heading to Mecca and Medina. For the most part, the leaders of the caravans were willing to pay fees to the Bedouin sheikhs in return for the protection services they provided for the caravans. But this form of negotiation with the leaders of the tribes, on the part of the leaders of merchant and pilgrimage caravans, was not an early twentieth-century phenomena. Since the Ottomans were able to impose their rule over the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, in the seventeenth century, the protection of the caravans by the leaders of the tribes living in the Ḥijāz region was indispensable and rather important for the safety of the passengers and the merchandise that accompanied such caravans.⁵⁶ The Ottomans used to pay annual sums of money for these tribes for the service they provided whilst seeking to secure the pilgrimage caravan route from robbers and marauders.

⁵⁴ See: °Abd al-Malik Ibn Duhaysh, *al-Katātīb fi 'l-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn wa mā Ḥawlahā*. (Mecca: Dār al-Nahḍah. 1st 1986) p 17.

⁵⁵ °Abd al-Ḥamīd Al-Khaṭīb, *al-Imām al-°Ādil*, al-Sumārī, Fahad (ed) (Riyadh: al-Amānah al-°Āmmah, 1999) pp 133-135.

⁵⁶ A. M Vasil'ev, *The History Of Saudi Arabia* (New York: New York University Press, 2000) p 48.

Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, the early nineteenth century Swiss traveller, estimated that the tribal leaders of the Ḥijāz used to receive fifty to sixty thousands pounds a year from the Sublime Porte of the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁷

Poverty was common in the Ḥijāz region, although it had a more economically developed society than the other parts of the Arabian Peninsula⁵⁸. This is because a number of wealthy Muslims, mainly Indians and Egyptians, were sending their alms taxes, the *Zakāt*, to the poor in the Ḥijāz. Moreover, many wealthy merchants from various parts of the Islamic world sought to establish charitable endowments for the people of Mecca and Medina.⁵⁹

Al-Aḥsā' and al-Qaṭīf were two cities with a turbulent political history, as the local tribes used to engage in power struggles. Usually, the victor in these power struggles was then supported by the Ottoman Caliph⁶⁰. However, when the Ottomans captured these two cities in 1551, a period of political stability emerged even though some political tensions remained during Ottoman rule. This tension was particularly caused by the raids of the Bedouin tribes inhabiting the area, and heightened when the Ottoman Empire was on the verge of its end⁶¹. During this time, Arab families with high financial and military potential tried to make use of the unrest that plagued the area, and even long before the emergence of the signs of the Ottoman Empire's decline in the nineteenth century, these local tribal families were able to wrest control of these cities from the Ottomans. A local governor from the Al Ḥamīd family was declared in al-Aḥsā' in 1666 after defeating his rival, and he was willing to work with local powers in the area. Nonetheless, he fought the first Saudi state, established in 1744 by the Al Saud family, whilst the latter warred against the Bedouins living in the region bordering the Ḥijāz. Although he fought the first Saudi state that was destroyed by the Ottomans in 1818, the second and third Saudi states were able to wrest the control of al-Aḥsā' from this tribe.⁶²

Al-Aḥsā' has long been known for its economic prosperity. The soil in this area, being fertile and rather suitable for agriculture, has always been the main supplier of food,

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p 34.

⁵⁸ Saleh Muhammad Al-Amr, *The Hijaz Under Ottoman Rule, 1869-1914* ([Riyadh]: Riyad University Publications, 1978) p 32.

⁵⁹ 'Ali Al-Shanūfi, *Makkah al-Mukarramah wa'l-Ka'bah al-Musharrafah fī Kutub al-Raḥḥālah al-Muslimīn* (Qurṭāj: Bait'l-Ḥikmah, 1989) p 28.

⁶⁰ Muhammad Nakhlah, *Tārīkh Al-Aḥsā' Al-Siyāsī* (Damascus: That al-Salāsīl, 1980) p 7

⁶¹ *Ibid*, pp 22-26.

⁶² Muḥammad Al 'Abd al-Qādir Al-Anṣārī, , *Tuḥfat al-Mustafīd fī Tārīkh Al-Aḥsā' fī'l-Qadīm wa'l-Jadīd* (Riyadh: n pub 1959) vol 1 pp 121-148.

vegetables and fruits to the Najd area and even to other parts of the Peninsula. Agriculture has always been the most important source of income for the inhabitants and, like the Hijāz, most of the inhabitants were farmers. The inhabitants also secured for themselves considerable profits gained from the commercial activities in maritime trade and pearling, which was available in the area.⁶³ They also possessed an educated class, and this is because Al-Aḥsā' is close to Iraq, which contained many educational centres since the days of the Abbasid Caliphate. Whilst Al-Aḥsā' has always been less important than Mecca and Medina for the rest of the Muslim world it has always been of immense importance to the inhabitants of what is now known as Saudi Arabia. This is why all successive Saudi leaders were interested in capturing Al-Aḥsā' and also al-Qaṭīf.⁶⁴

Najd occupies the central region of the Arabian Peninsula and comprises of several small cities and villages. The political history of the Najd region has seemingly always gone unnoticed, and this is because the Najd region, on an economic level, was considered relatively unimportant when compared to the Hijāz or al-Aḥsā'. Even during the reigns of previous Islamic empires, the Najd region has always been far away from, and relatively unimportant for, the decision making centres of the ruling powers. Further, the Najd region, even when European colonialism reached its peak in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was not seen as an indispensable or a strategic part within the colonial projects that were devised. This relative unimportance of the Najd for the colonial powers of the region helped stabilise and rather consolidate the social structure of the society of Najd.⁶⁵

The geographic space of the Najd region comprised a number of oases and each had its independent authority. The villages sometimes fought each other over territorial or grazing disputes, and as such, the leaders of the villages and tribes, keen on winning their wars against their enemies, were seeking alliances amongst other tribes and villages whose interests aligned with their own, even if on a fleeting basis. The Bedouin tribes surrounding the area were also part of the picture of alliances and disputes frequently found in the Najd region, and again the inhabitants of this region were mostly farmers and shepherds. However, some of the inhabitants of the villages and oases in the Najd were merchants and travellers. Vassiliev, citing Ḥasan Al-Rīkī in his book *Lam' al-*

⁶³ Abd Allāh Al-Ḥāmid, *Al-Shi'r al-Ḥadīth fi'l-Mamlakah al-'Arabiyyah al-Su'ūdiyyah* (Ryadh: Dār al-Kitāb al-Su'ūdī, 1993) p 46.

⁶⁴ Nakhlah, (1980) p 8.

⁶⁵ Vasil'ev, (2000) p 31.

Shihāb fī Sīrat Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, (The Lightning of the Blaze in Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb’s Life) argues that the travellers from Najd reached as far as *Bilād Al-Rūm* (the lands of the Byzantines). In the context of this book, Byzantine lands meant those lands under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman Empire.⁶⁶

Irrespective of their professions or trades, the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Najd region were Bedouin. Most of them were divided into tribes and clans and the Bedouins had a strong code of honour and a traditional system of dispensing justice⁶⁷. The governors of the region surrounding the Bedouin areas were not able to subdue the Bedouins or incorporate their territory within the confines of their political authority. The main source of income for the Bedouin inhabitants of the Najd region was livestock and husbandry, and therefore they were constantly nomadic in their movements, ever searching for fertile areas from which their animals could graze. Sometimes, warring with other tribes or villages generated a source of income for the Bedouin of the Najd. Nevertheless, the majority of the Bedouin tribes rented farmland from the settled villagers inhabiting the region. Politically, the large tribes of Najd played an important role in the political life of the region, and these tribes had been, in many ways, unchanged for thousands of years,⁶⁸ and the population were generally poor.⁶⁹

The aim of this section is not to provide a form of historical documentation of the cultural, economic and political aspects found in the cities and region constituting what we call today Saudi Arabia. However, and as mentioned earlier, for this project in which we seek to examine the image of the West in Saudi poetry, it is useful to highlight some traits in the main regions of Saudi Arabia, which will clarify the main elements of the identity in Saudi Arabia, the various components of this identity, however, influenced the Saudi view toward the West. In doing so, we can bring to the fore the argument that Saudi Arabians, although now placed under one political authority, have always been different from each other in their politics, social and cultural manifestations. This will act as a starting point for the main thrust of the argument in this project, and the diversity that is found in the way Saudi poets presented the West to their readers.

⁶⁶ Ḥasan Al-Rikī, *Lamʿ Al-Shihāb fī Sīrat Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb* (Ryadh: Dārat al-Malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 2005) p 60.

⁶⁷ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Al-Suwaydā, *Najd Fīʿl-Ams Al-Qarīb* (Cairo: Dār al-ʿUlūm, 1983) p 19.

⁶⁸ Will Durant, and Ariel Durant, *The Story Of Civilization* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1935) vol XI. p 291

⁶⁹ Al-Suwaydā, (1983) p 23.

1.3 Islam in Saudi Arabia:

There are several factors where we can locate the various ways in which the Western other is represented in Saudi poetry. One of these important factors is religion. It may be useful to mention that Islam had an important impact on the countries and people embracing it. But the way Islam affects culture and politics in Saudi Arabia is even more pervasive than in other Muslim countries. This is because, first, the land of Saudi Arabia is the birthplace of the Prophet Muḥammad. It is from these lands that the message of Islam spread to the outside world. Second, the holiest places for Muslims are located in Saudi Arabia, in Mecca and Medina. Further, the area that now comprises Saudi Arabia had long been immune to European colonization, and even the Crusades could not penetrate the Arab heartland. This is why, as previously mentioned, the lands called Saudi Arabia nowadays would have been entrenched within the world of Islam in a deep and even more conservative way than the rest of the countries in the Muslim world.

Saudi Arabians were thus more affected with a conservative version or narrative of the religion than other Muslims around the world. Muslims, in general, see the lands of Saudi Arabia as the place where their religion was revealed and their prophet was born. Saudi Arabians, nevertheless, conceptualize their relationship with the lands in which they live in a quite different way. The fact that Mecca and Medina are located in their country calls upon Saudis to view themselves as the protectors of these holy places. That the tomb of the Prophet is located in their country encourages the Saudis to conceptualize themselves as the neighbours of the Prophet, and thus most entitled to guard Islam. The successive kings of Saudi Arabia have long placed themselves in these positions as protectors and guardians of Islam. King °Abd al-°Azīz viewed himself as the protector of the holy sites and he liked to be called *Al-Imām* (religious leader)⁷⁰, whilst his son, King Fahd, preferred to be called *Khādim Al-Ḥaramayn Al-Sharīfayn* (The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques)⁷¹, with the King °Abd Allāh and the present King Salman following him in this.

⁷⁰ Vasil'ev, (2000) p 88. And Al-Khaṭīb, (1999) p 32.

⁷¹ William W Cooper, and Piyu Yue, *Challenges Of The Muslim World* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2008) p 198.

For the most part, then, Saudi Arabians and the kings of Saudi Arabia have always viewed themselves as the guardians and protectors of the religion. But how does this image figure in Saudi society today? A very graphic example of this way through which the self was conceptualized in Saudi society is revealed in the conservative attitude shown towards banning Saudi women from driving cars.⁷² For the most part, Saudi society, particularly in the Ḥijāz region, are still not in favour of women driving cars although no religious scholar would have dared to say that this is not Islamic. One reason behind the restriction on women driving cars goes back to the image of the country as a whole, that the country of Saudi Arabia is the land where the two holiest cities in Islam are located. Thus, their cities, as the Saudis of the Ḥijāz region assume, should not be similar to other cities and countries where women are allowed to sit behind the wheel. This is because the holy status of these cities should ascribe to it some kind of special unique factors to distinguish it from cities that are not considered holy.

Muhannā al-Ḥubayl observes that the ban on women driving cars in Saudi Arabia might appear unacceptable to people living outside the Ḥijāz region. The people of the Ḥijāz might appear as unconvincing when claiming that their land is the land of the two holy cities and thus their women, living in these cities, should not drive as they go about their daily lives.⁷³ Whether this reason is acceptable or not for the people living in Saudi Arabia but not in the Ḥijāz region, this discourse of holiness is still pervasive in the Saudi public sphere, particularly in the Ḥijāz region. For most phases of the evolution of Saudi poetry, this discourse of holiness can easily be discerned.⁷⁴

The current religious landscape in Saudi Arabia is not something newly constructed in the lives of the Saudis. Rather, the political and cultural environment of contemporary Saudi Arabia has been influenced by a religious movement that began in central Arabia in the mid-eighteenth century⁷⁵. The efforts exerted by religious scholars, the *ʿUlama*, seeking to forge a new religious identity for the people in the Peninsula have long been factually established since the emergence of this new religious movement in

⁷² Joseph A Kechichian, *Legal And Political Reforms In Sa'udi Arabia* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013) p 180.

⁷³ Muhanna Al-Ḥubayl, 'Al-Mar'ah Wa'l-Sayyārah Wa'l-Khilāf Al-Mujtama'ī', *Al-Madinah*, 2011. issue no 17580. 2011/6/11.

⁷⁴ There are plenty of studies on the representation of Islam in Saudi Poetry. See, for example: Ḥasan Al-Huwaymil, *al-Naz'ah al-Islāmiyyah fi'l-Shi'r al-Su'ūdī* (Riyadh: al-Amānah al-Āmmah, 1999), (the Islamic trend in Saudi poetry). Zuhayr Al-Āmrī *Makkah wa'l-Madīnah fi'l-Shi'r al-Sa'ūdī al-Ḥadīth* (2006), (Makah and madinah in modern Saudi poetry). And Ibrahim Al-Dighayrī, *al-Ḥajj fi'l-Shi'r al-Su'ūdī* (Riyadh: Imām University, 2000), (Hajj in Sa'udi poetry).

⁷⁵ Vasil'ev, (2000) p 85.

the eighteenth century. Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1703-1791) the founding father for this new religious movement, was at the forefront of this religious revivalist movement aimed at reforming the Islamic religious practices in the Peninsula.

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was encouraged and supported by the House of Saud, or Al Saud in Arabic, a powerful family settled in *Dirʿiyya*, in the middle of the Peninsula. Although they were a strong family, the Al Saud were not that politically prominent. Following their alliance with ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and the ideological impetus that this provided, they began to establish themselves politically in the Peninsula.

As a consequence of this, they were, during the course of the nineteenth century, able to control and capture large swathes of the Arabian Peninsula. Seeking to control the lands constituting what we call today Saudi Arabia, the Saudi leaders' main claim was that they wanted to bring Muslims back to the right path, and they aimed at purifying the religion from all superstitious and heretical practices that were associated with it. The house of Saud, who took for themselves to purify the religious practices in the Najd and other parts of the Peninsula, sought to ban several heretical practices. These practices included worshipping at graves, and paying too much respect of *Awliyāʾ* (friends of Allāh), and even visiting the tombs of these *Awliyāʾ*, as many pilgrims believed they would be rewarded by Allāh for doing so. The main message brought about by Muhammed Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and spread by Al Saud, was the essential oneness of Allāh, *tawḥīd*, and also going back to the original Islam as was shown in the holy Quran and Sunna, which are the teachings of the Prophet Muḥammad.⁷⁶

Through his alliance with Al Saud, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb found in *Dirʿiyya* a fertile ground upon which he started preaching and calling people to a pure Islam. Upon arriving at *Dirʿiyya*, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb started writing his teachings, in books and letters, aiming to reform the religious practice of the Muslims in the Arabian Peninsula. Vassiliev argues that “*Ulama* were sent from al-Dirʿiyya to all the important oases, towns and tribes to conduct the ideological indoctrination of the population, eradicate all other teachings and impose religious dogma and evoke military enthusiasm and loyalty towards al-Dirʿiyya. Schools were opened where the *ʿUlamāʾ* taught the people how to recite the Quran”.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ See, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (Riyadh: International Islamic Publishing House, 1991) pp 33, 35, 49, and 55. As it well known most of ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ideas has been taking from Ibn Taymyyah (1263–1328 / 661-726) See: Ibn Taymyyah, *Majmūʿ al-Fatāwā* (Cairo: Maktabat Ibn Taymyyah, 1963) vol 1 pp 121-128, and vol 3 pp 1-128, 3/159.

⁷⁷ Vasil'ev. (2000) p 127.

These activities gave this movement a huge number of loyal followers, and they also helped to increase the level of learning among the people at a time when illiteracy was very common especially among Bedouin tribes⁷⁸.

The religious activities and message of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb registered a massive transformation in the lives of the Arabs of the Peninsula. At first, people were drawn to this message because it was simple and open in the way it sought to explain the teachings of the religion. Even some religious scholars and *ʿUlamāʾ*, based outside the Peninsula, were drawn to the teachings of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, and some of them supported his new message.⁷⁹

This new religious mode in the Peninsula brought about a huge change in the lives of the eighteenth century Arabs of the region. But also contemporary Saudi society is greatly affected by this religious movement. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb’s teachings, although they influenced the religious scholars of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are still greatly followed by the *ʿUlamāʾ* in Saudi Arabia. The current religious landscape of the country is massively influenced by the teaching of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb whose memory is still kept alive in the minds of a large section of the society in Saudi Arabia. For the most part, poets and men of intellect, mainly in the period since the eighteenth century, were either students of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, influenced by him or scholars of his teachings.

Once established in the Arabian Peninsula in the early twentieth century, Al Saud started paying attention to education. King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz supported the establishment of modern and well equipped schools throughout his new kingdom. One of these school was called al-Maʿāhid al-ʿIlmiyyah which primarily focuses on the teaching of Arabic and religious studies.

Higher education was also part of the reformist agenda of Al Saud. In 1945, an institution providing higher education for young students was established called Dār al-Tawḥyd (this name could be roughly translated as “The House of the Oneness of Allāh”). That this institution was called by this name indicates the extent to which religious education was the primary aim of those in charge of the teaching process set up in the country. Colleges were also set up during this period, and the first college in Saudi Arabia

⁷⁸ Al-Suwaydā, (1983) p 25.

⁷⁹ Vasil’ev, (2000) p 76. And Mark Weston, *Prophets And Princes* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2008) p 85.

was established in Mecca in 1950 and was named Shari[°]ah.⁸⁰ The importance of these schools and institutions was manifested in the fact that large numbers of Saudi poets and intellectuals went to these schools and institutions. Here it is important to mention that religious schools and institutions were found in Mecca, Madina, al-Aḥsā[°] and some other parts of the Peninsula even long before Al Saud ruled the country. Yet, it is with the support and encouragement of the Saudi kings that these kinds of institutions and schools gained momentum throughout the Peninsula.

It is not the aim of this work to reproduce the same ideas Western writers tend to refer to when dealing with Saudi politics, culture and society. In the post 9/11 period, these ideas were primarily concerned with how religious fanaticism and extremism were what characterises Saudi society.⁸¹ They were also concerned with how homogeneous Saudi people have always been in their views of Western cultures and peoples. It is one of the main arguments of this research that heterogeneity, rather than homogeneity, is what mostly describes Saudi poets' writings and views on the whole dialectic of East and West, or, to put it correctly, Islam and the West. Nevertheless, one thing surfaces as unanimous in the views held by Saudi writers and poets towards the West - they viewed the West from a religious perspective. In this respect, religion played a significant role in the production of Saudi texts that dealt with "otherness". Constructing their own poetry and writings upon a religious basis, these writers and poets revealed the extent to which they appeared as strongly devoted to Islamic heritage, history and civilization. They suggested that many previous successful Islamic models could be recalled when considering the power scale governing the contemporary relation between East and West, and this discourse is heavily drawn from an Islamic identity, which is strongly adhered to.

1.4 The Desert in Saudi Arabia:

⁸⁰ °Abd Allāh AL-Duhaysh, *Bwḥūth al-Mu[°]tamar al-°Ālamī fī Tārīkh al-Malik °Abd al-°Azīz* (Riyadh: n pub, 1999) vol 3 p 753.

⁸¹ See for example: Bernard Lewis, *The Crisis Of Islam* (New York: Modern Library, 2003) and Laurent Murawiec, *Princes Of Darkness* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005).

Space also holds an important position within the general attitudes held by the Saudis towards the other. That the majority of Saudi Arabia's territory comprises of desert terrain perhaps explains the reason why Saudi society strongly advocates traditions and heritage. Saudi Arabia's terrain is varied but on the whole fairly barren and harsh, with three great deserts. In the north, the al-Nufud – sometimes called the Great Nafud because al-Nufud is a term for the desert in Arabic — which covers about 55,000 square kilometres. South from al-Nufud in a narrow arc is the Dahna^c, stretching more than 125 kilometres. To the south of Najd, there exists one of the biggest sand deserts in the world, covering more than 550,000 square kilometers called al-Arrub^c al-Khālī (The Empty Quarter).⁸²

The harsh climate and geography of these deserts forced the people inhabiting them to adapt and also seek to find the means through which they could keep on preserving their presence in these areas. One of the important means for doing this was the preservation of life through adherence to a certain group or tribe. Thus, it is little surprise that we find the members of the Bedouin tribes inhabiting the desert united amongst themselves against the people from other tribes. In addition, the kind of harsh life found in the desert did not allow them to settle in one place. Rather they became nomadic tribes, shifting constantly as the conditions of life in these difficult spaces demanded that they move on to find resources to survive. This nomadic life has most often been associated with conflicts and alliances amongst the tribes, but it also encouraged values such as courage and chivalry. At the same time, however, the existence of poverty in these harsh spaces furthered the rise of some other values such as generosity and equality.

The desert was not only a geographical space; The desert also refers to the traditions, customs and values that distinguish the attitudes of those living in it. For the Bedouin inhabitants of the desert, the desert space does not only refer to the land in which they live. It is also the space in which they can feel liberated from the restrictions imposed under the rule of a state. “For thousands of years they lived their own lives, kept their own customs, kept their own counsel, and they are the same today as the time of Cheops and Gudea. They have seen a hundred kingdoms rise and fall about them and their soil is still jealously theirs, guarded from profane feet and aliens eyes”.⁸³

⁸² Helen Chapin Metz, *Saudi Arabia* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, 1992) p 56.

⁸³ Durant, (1935) p 291.

According to Muḏī Al Suʿūd, the loyalty of the ordinary Arabs in the Arab Peninsula to the land in which they lived would not only refer them to these places “but also to the time characterizing the way of life in these spaces. Hence, it is perfectly understandable for us to note the reason why the Bedouin mode of living was inextricably associated with the inhabitants of the desert space.”⁸⁴

The desert space of the Arabian Peninsula is an important indicator of the type of living practised there. Throughout their history, the Arabs living in the desert space of the Peninsula have seen the desert as inextricably related to the kind of life they practiced in these spaces: it was a source of shelter for them as well as a sanctuary from enemy raids.⁸⁵ Here, one needs to mention that throughout the history of the successive Islamic states, the Arabs living in the Peninsula were not that isolated from the kind of politics characterizing these states. During the period marking the emergence of Islam, the Arabs of the Peninsula were part of the political and military organization which furthered the spread of Islam in other non-Muslim countries. Also, the Arabs of the desert became a very entrenched part of these states. They were not only interested in politics, but participated in the merchant and pilgrimage caravans crossing their lands. Nevertheless, they were living in lands which were far away from the decision making centers, such as Damascus, Baghdad and Istanbul. Due to this relative freedom from the centers of power, they were free to continue moving across the Arabian Peninsula or even sometimes beyond its borders into the adjacent areas which led to consolidate their nomadic habits and preserve their heritage.⁸⁶

Thus geographical and historical reasons enabled the Arabian inhabitants of the desert to preserve the habits they inherited from their ancestors. Perhaps, then, it is no surprise that, until the middle of the last century, most of the inhabitants of Saudi Arabia were originally Bedouin.⁸⁷ During the early period of his reign, and especially in 1912 when the kingdom was not yet united, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz launched a political project known as *Tāwṭīn al-Badū* (The Settlement of Bedouins). In this period, the lands comprising modern Saudi Arabia were poverty stricken and thus the efforts of the king in attempting to relieve poverty would not appear at first glance possible as the Bedouins

⁸⁴ Muḏī Al Suʿūd, *Al-Hijar Wa Natāʾijuhā fī ʿAsr al-Malik ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz* (Beirut: Dār al-Sāqī, 1993) p 20.

⁸⁵ ʿAbd al-Jabbār Al-Rāwī, *Al-bādyāh* (Baghdad: No pub, 1st, 1949) p (w).

⁸⁶ Al Suʿūd, (1993) p 46.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p 15.

were inhabiting the desert, and therefore making their access to the amenities of settled life more difficult. One of the problems that faced this project was the difficulty of removing or weakening one loyalty in order to be substituted by another, that is, instead of being loyal to their sheiks or the leaders of their tribes, the Bedouin needed to show loyalty to their homeland.

Moreover, this project of settling the Bedouins also faced an economic problem. In seeking to settle the Bedouins, and to stop them from moving across the Peninsula, this new project deprived the Bedouins of an essential means through which they used to secure their livelihood. The only solution for the problem facing the king in his settlement plan was to refer to religion. The king established religious institutions throughout the Peninsula calling for the importance of following the true path of Islam and rejecting tribalism. The result was that King °Abd al-°Azīz succeeded in sedentarising large numbers of the Bedouins inhabiting the Peninsula.⁸⁸ If King °Abd al-°Azīz was able to achieve reforms during his reign, as some historians have argued, they were as a result of the success of the *Tāwtīn al-Badū*, as he succeeded in changing their lifestyles that had persisted for thousands of years.⁸⁹ Although he succeeded in changing their lifestyles, the question which remains to be asked is the following: was he able to erase the Bedouin traits and characteristics in the lives of most of the population of the Arabian Peninsula?

According to Amin Said, *Albadawah*, or the nomadic lifestyle, was not limited to desert populations. It also included the urban population who did not feel that they belonged to the group of settled Arabs amongst which they had come to live with, and so their characteristics persisted.⁹⁰ It was not expected from the people in Saudi Arabia to forget their long history in a matter of several decades. In fact, and to a great extent, they kept to their traditions as, for example, that of the competitions in Bedouin poetry recitals. These recitals were amongst the most popular activities in the Arabian Peninsula and can still be found in over 3,000 websites operated by people with strong tribal ties and affiliations. In addition, other traditional ceremonies and events were associated with the

⁸⁸ D. van der Meulen, *The Wells Of Ibn Sa'ud* (London: Kegan Paul International, 2000) p 64.

⁸⁹ Kenneth Williams, *Ibn Sa'ud, The Puritan King Of Arabia. [With A Portrait.]* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1933) p 259.

⁹⁰ Amīn Sa'īd, *Al-Khalīj al-°Arabī fī Tārīkhīh al-Syyāsī wa Nahḍatīh al-Ḥadīthah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-°Arabī, n d)p p 125-126.

Bedouin lifestyle, such as camel racing competitions which occur across the Peninsula. These races are called *Mazāyn Al Ibil*.⁹¹

Thus, the desert and Bedouin life, with all its traditions and customs, have always been part and parcel of the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula. Associating the desert with the Bedouin style of life was not only found in the imagery the Saudis produced of themselves, but it is also found in the books written on Saudi Arabia. For instance, Howarth entitled his book, *The Desert King*, referring to King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.⁹² Robert Lacey started his book with a chapter on the Saudi Arabian desert.⁹³ Melulen also entitled one of his chapters, “The Desert Plant of Wahhabism”⁹⁴. David Holden and Richard Jones put it quite correctly when they said: “to understand Al Saud it is essential to understand the Bedouin.”⁹⁵

It should therefore come as no surprise that we can find the great impact that the desert makes on Saudi minds. Saudi poets were also affected by the cultural importance of the desert as linking to Bedouin life. They wrote extensively on the deserts and the means of living in these difficult areas. In his poems, Muḥammad Ibn ʿUthaymīn (1854-1944) mentions the camel as the best means of transportation across the desert space⁹⁶. He was following the classicists when writing about the camel, although he did not seek to emulate the exact style that the classical Arab poets who praised the traits of this desert animal used to use.

Ibn ʿUthaymīn and also Muḥammad Ibn Bulayhid (1892-1957)⁹⁷, amongst other Saudi poets, lived simply, and in a traditional way. Moreover, generations of poets and intellectuals in Saudi Arabia, from different sects and backgrounds, were aware of their history. One of the most prominent pioneers of modern poetry in Saudi Arabia was Muḥammad al-Thubaytī (1952-2011), who was called *Sayyid Al-Bīd* (Lord of the Desert)⁹⁸, which indicates his association with the desert. Dr. Saʿad Al-Bazīʿī, a critic of

⁹¹ Mohammed Al-Kinani, 'Saudi Tribal Website Raises The Question Of 'Dialogue'', *Saudi Gazette*, 30/042009.

⁹² Howarth David, *The Desert King: A Life Of Ibn Saud* (London: Collins, 1964).

⁹³ Robert Lacey, *The kingdom* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982) p 26.

⁹⁴ Meulen, (2000) p 29.

⁹⁵ David Holden, and Richard Johns, *The House of Saud* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1981) p11.

⁹⁶ See Muḥammad Ibn ʿUthaymīn, *Al-ʿIqd al-Thamīn*, Saʿad al-Ruayshid (ed) (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif) pp 75, 80 and 89.

⁹⁷ Saʿad Ibn Husayn, *Al-Shaykh Ibn Bulayhid* (Riadh: n pub, 1979) p 139.

⁹⁸ Saʿad Al-Bāzīʿī, 'Muhammad al-Thubaitī Sayyid al-Bīd', *al-Riyadh*, 2009 <<http://www.alriyadh.com/422542>> [accessed 16 April 2009]

modernity in Saudi poetry, entitled his book *Thaqāfat al-Ṣaḥrāʾ* (Culture of the Desert)⁹⁹, again indicating a link to the desert. These indicators refer to the awareness shown amongst Saudi poets of the importance of the desert in their lives. For them, it was a symbol that differentiated them from others.

The methodology:

The images of the other, or stereotype, are dynamic and can only be understood by placing them in their historical contexts. This is not the product of one author or even one generation; it is rather a gradual development of many events and national memories in the imagination of the public. Thus, the researchers in image studies have to explore the socio-political and cultural significance to track and understand the image of the other.

The intention of researchers in image studies is not to focus on whether the images have been drawn in the examined texts are accurate depictions or not; rather, they aim to explore the process which produced this portrait of the other. Joep Leerssen stated that “Image studies starts from the presupposition that the degree of truth of such common places is not a necessary issue in their scholarly analysis”.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, the image of the other, as it is shown in the examined texts, can be unfounded stereotypes. Nevertheless, it is not the task of the research to verify or falsify. Rather, the researcher’s frame of reference is the text addressed.

When we are analysing the image of the other, due attention must be given to differentiate between the two groups, in-group (self) and out-group (the other). “Sociological research into the origin of national stereotypes of ‘the other’ (nation) has stressed the significance of stereotypes for the complex process of image-building of one’s own national identity”.¹⁰¹ Thus poets, in drawing the image of the other or stereotypes, regardless of whether it may be true or not, serve the function of maintaining a national identity.

From this perspective, the theme of “identity” is a common theme in image studies. It evokes a common cultural identity based on: religion, race, language, common myths

⁹⁹ Saʿad Al-Bāziʿī, *Thaqāfat al-Ṣaḥrāʾ: Dirāsāt fī Adab al-Jazīrah al-ʿArabiyyah* (Riadh: al-ʿUbaykān, 1991).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p 2.

¹⁰¹ Chew, (2006) p 183.

and history. Even though the ultimate goal of image studies is the portrait of other cultures, nations, races or society, it is not to discover the national identity.

Along these lines, the analysis of images of the West in Saudi poetry will reveal important elements of identity in Saudi society, but we cannot claim that these elements will represent the whole picture of Saudi identity. Yet, in contrast, we can claim that the elements of identity revealed here are important in the context of the confrontation with the West, as the Saudi poets believed. In addition, we can observe the transformation that occurs to these identities and it exposes to what extent it influenced the image of the West over time.

Chew mentioned a series of models to help to explain the mechanics of national images and stereotypes. The Saudi view towards the West can be placed under the third model of image studies where William proposed what he called “the weak state-strong state opposition”. He claimed that this model is mostly historical minded, as it focuses on the temporary shifting of the image in the nation’s imagination during its rise and fall. According to William, he gave an example that “Spain under Philip II (with a negative-hostile stereotype), oppressed by Napoleonic hegemony (positive-sympathetic), under Franco (again negative), and modern democratic Spain under a constitutional monarchy (again positive-sympathetic)”.¹⁰² Nonetheless, there are differences between the Saudi case and the examples shown here. Saudi Arabia were not under the Western occupier or colonialization, but the Saudis must have felt some pressure under Western domination due to the balance of power, which tended to favour the West and also due to colonization and wars against Arab and Islamic countries in the Saudi neighbourhoods, which the Saudis consider themselves a part of. .

Although the image and stereotype studies give great attention to the contextual history, the images themselves cannot be interpreted as timeless. For the current study, history seems even more important as it is a part of “the weak state-strong state opposition” as William clarified. Furthermore, Chia-Hwan indicated that the way that imagologists study images is very similar to how historians analyse texts.¹⁰³ This may show how important and useful the historical approach is to this study, especially in the light of the accelerated changes in the economic and social levels in Saudi Arabia in the last decade.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p 185.

¹⁰³ Chen, (2007) p 3.

The hypothesis upon which this thesis is based, states that the factors that shape our view towards the other are the self-characteristics that we believe distinguish us from the other, and their interaction with the events surrounding us. Taking Saudi Arabia as an example, Islam, as it understood and practiced there, and the culture of the desert supposed to represent the most prominent characteristics of Saudi society. Thus, this thesis examines these two factors to find the real role these two might play in shaping the image of the West in Saudi poetry. In addition, this research will shed light on other factors, as shown by the texts examined to be having an active role in the formation of the image of the West in Saudi poetry.

Critical Theory is seen as an umbrella under which various fields, including literary study can be covered. It uncovers the power relations and hidden agendas. Critical Theory does not merely seek to understand a particular literary phenomenon, as is the case within the interpretive tradition; rather, it exposes the reasons that cause a situation to be the way it is and strives to improve it.¹⁰⁴ Thus, the current study can be best located within the critical, as we seek to uncover the real image of the West as it is seen in Saudi poetry, and to understand the reality and the factors that have played a role in drawing this image in the Saudi imaginary.

In this study, a qualitative methodology has helped in approaching in depth the phenomenon of the West in Saudi poetry from different angles: this thesis adopted a broadly historical, eclectic, and analytical approach to investigate the transformed relationship between Saudi Arabia in its Arabic and Islamic sphere and the West, as it is currently portrayed in Saudi poetry.

In this research, however, the method used for the collection of texts is discourse analysis. In the attempt to answer the research questions, the researcher has to be “gathering, reviewing and interrogating the relevant documents”.¹⁰⁵ The goal of the research methodology here is not merely to describe or understand the case under study, but also to reveal the hidden factors that have led to the current image of the West in Saudi poetry.

¹⁰⁴ Piet Strydom, *Contemporary Critical Theory And Methodology* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2011) p 156.

¹⁰⁵ Zina O'Leary, *The Essential Guide To Doing Research* (London: SAGE, 2004) p 177.

To do so, this study is based upon a choice of the texts, which represent the attitude of the Saudi poets towards the West. Although this research investigates more than 250 texts in seventy years of Saudi history, this does not mean that this number includes every single Saudi poem about the West. However, the 250 texts mentioned above of Saudi poems will be adequate to represent the Saudi view towards the West in various periods and under different circumstances.

Due to the important role of history in the image studies mentioned previously, and especially regarding the long period in a very changeable society such as Saudi Arabia in the last decades, this research had to build on a historical approach. By using a historical framework, which divided the selected seventy years into three different periods, we were able to observe the changes that have occurred in the image of the West at different times, and recognize the conditions that produced this image in different contexts. However, this research avoided the historical narrative of the Saudi state, and things that do not help to understand the identity of the society and the interaction with the West. In contrast, in the introduction of each period there will be a brief presentation of the main political, economic, social and cultural events which helps the reader to understand the society at the time, and what was affecting the image of the West in that period.

These three periods are: 1- from 1920-1945; 2- 1946-1967 and 3- 1968-1990. Although these periods are built on major political events, it is related strongly to remarkable social changes and intellectual movements in Saudi. People in Saudi Arabia in the first period were mostly conservative, simple and not aware enough about the Western world. While the second period witnessed the issue of Palestine and the rise of pan-Arabism. However, the main theme in the third period was the Islamic Awakening. Thus, each period had different factors, which affected the Saudi view towards the West in different ways.

The historical approach uncovered the impact of the long separation between the parts of Saudi Arabia before the modern state. As the first chapter will show, the land which is known today as Saudi Arabia was to a large extent separate states for hundreds of years; this made a remarkable difference in the interaction of each of these states with the West as the third chapter will prove.

However, the application of the historical approach requires us to determine the exact time, as much as possible for the poetic texts. Upon this necessary step, we can

understand the prevailing circumstances that produced these texts. In order for this accuracy to be achieved I followed several steps:

I checked if the writer (the poet) wrote the time of his text in his *Dīwān*.

When the poet did not mention the date of the text, then I searched the first publication of this text. Especially if it was published in a magazine or newspaper or delivered at a public event. This was sometimes rather difficult for texts that had been published sixty or seventy years ago, due to the lack of databases

When the first publication was not accessible, I searched if there were any events in these texts which indicate the time of publication.

When the aforementioned steps were unsuccessful, I relied on additional information from the life of the poet such as places where he lived or visited or an event he indicated in his poems.

Lastly, the date of the first publication of the *Dīwān* could be a way to find out the approximate date of the text.

Aside of using the historical approach I had to give attention to the poetic genres in each period. Thus, under each historical title, the texts will be categorised into topics. The research will investigate poetic genres such as political, cultural, social, and emotional poems, as well as Saudi poems about Western cities. Throughout that, we can observe not only the general Western image as drawn in Saudi poetry but also we can observe the transformation of the image in each topic.

This research attempted to take advantage of this large number of texts in order to uncover the various attitudes of the Saudi poets toward the West in each period. However, it attempted to avoid repetition by analysing the texts that represent the main features of the image of the West in each topic and in each period. In the footnotes I will indicate the reference to the other texts that had similar ideas to the texts in the main body with no extra points.

One of the weaknesses of the historical approach is that, by dividing the Saudi history into three parts and investigating each part separately, some common or different points between these periods might not be exposed to a sufficient extent. Thus, the last chapter of this thesis will focus on the important points across Saudi periods, which relates to the image of the West and answering the research questions. It will identify the changes

to these identities due to influence of different times, topics, circumstances and personal attitudes. In addition, it will gather the parts of the image that were dispersed throughout the previous sections.

Comparison is another critical tool used in this thesis, by comparing the image of the West from one period to another, and comparing the factors that shape this image. In addition, I compared different poets individually or collectively when it deemed necessary to answer the research questions.

2. Chapter Two: The Literature Review

The tendency to attribute specific characters or images to different races, societies or nations is almost as old as civilization itself and very widespread. However, the discipline of image studies, or representations of the other, plays an important role in literary studies especially since the mid-twentieth century when it was considered a branch of comparative literature.

The forerunners of image studies, or “imagology”, were French scholars in comparative literature, Jean-Marie Carré and his student, Marius-Francois Guyard, who observed the national stereotypes that were so dominant in literary texts, with their conventional representations of actors and settings.¹⁰⁶

Carré and Guyard did not want to limit studies of the image exclusively to textual analyses of traditional literary texts; it was their wish to create a dialogical relationship between literary study and other disciplines, which might enrich literary studies as well as building a bridge between different disciplines of human science.¹⁰⁷

However, since the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in 1978, topics dealing with images and representations have become very much in vogue among scholars. Further, various disciplines, such as linguistics, anthropology, politics, literary and media studies, have begun to engage, in their different ways, with these topics. Said insisted that for two centuries Orientalists had created a false image of the Orient in which it was necessary for them to have an “Other”, and that Other/Orient “helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience”.¹⁰⁸ As Said explains, the Orient was almost a European invention, and since the ancient times it had been a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, and wonderful experiences.¹⁰⁹

In his article titled “Islam Through Western Eyes” Said elucidates his fundamental idea about the misconception of Orientalism about the Orient, which was the main subject

¹⁰⁶ William L Chew, 'What's In A National Stereotype? An Introduction To Imagology At The Threshold Of The 21st Century', *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 6 (2006), 179-187
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.2167/laic246.0>>

¹⁰⁷ Chia-Hwan Chen. *Images Of The Other, Images Of The Self: Reciprocal Representations Of The British And The Chinese* (Warwick: University of Warwick, 2007) p 7.

¹⁰⁸ Said, (1978) p 2.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p 1.

of his book. He states: “I took great pains in the book to show that current discussions of the Orient or of the Arabs and Islam are fundamentally premised upon a fiction”.¹¹⁰ In *Orientalism*, Said illustrates how the representation of the East in Western writings has been a source of knowledge for the West about the East. Further, Orientalist stereotypes of the Eastern world have served as implicit justification for the colonial ambitions and the imperial endeavours of European and US powers.

The wide influence of Said’s study in uncovering the hidden role of the Orientalism is clearly recognizable, as researchers and scholars started to avoid being named as Orientalist. Al-Dhabab noticed that, “Orientalism, however, is rarely used in the academy today, except for a few centres and journals that have retained the title. Instead, the field is identified by its component areas of study – such as Middle Eastern Studies, North African Studies, Iranian Studies, or South Asian Studies”.¹¹¹

Said’s *Orientalism* opened wide the door for scholars of comparative literature and cultural studies, as well as image studies, by providing a new theoretical horizon.¹¹² In addition, the door has been opened for scholars of Occidentalism. Much academic discourse has begun to discuss the perception of the West in the Eastern world. In his book Said attempts to tell the reader that the West wields power over the East through his concept of Orientalism. But this kind of power is missing on the Eastern side; it is unlikely to imagine that Occidentalism can face Orientalism. Thus, given this “unequal distribution of power, the West is more free to construe an image of the Other than the Other is free to construe an image of the West”.¹¹³

Someone can argue that the Arab might have done the same against the West when they held power in the past. Salhi questioned whether the Arab in the golden age of Arab and Islamic civilization cultivated a field of research specializing in the study of other nations. She affirms that “The West has never constituted a subject of study for Muslims”.¹¹⁴ Affāyah also noted that, although the West and Europe were geographically

¹¹⁰ Edward Said, 'Islam Through Western Eyes', *The Nation*, 1998

<<http://www.thenation.com/article/islam-through-western-eyes/>> [accessed 27 July 2015].

¹¹¹ Mansour Dhabab, *Representations of the Western Other In Early Arabic Novels (1900-1915)* (University of Leeds, Unpublished theses) p 28.

¹¹² Ning, p 59.

¹¹³ Woltering, p 5.

¹¹⁴ Netton (ed), (2013) p 263.

close to the Islamic world, the awareness of the West in Islamic imagination was fluid to a large extent.¹¹⁵

Numbers of researchers attempt to discover the image of the West in non-Western discourse, and some prefer to title their work as Occidentalism. Occidentalism here means, “That corpus of work concerned with portrayal of the Occident and the East-West counter from the Oriental perspective”.¹¹⁶ It is remarkable to see how both Orientalism, and Occidentalism – according to this definition – make the East a subject of study.

It might be interesting to note that Western hegemony has been extended to include image studies. In image studies, there is no comparison between the sheer mass of publications and studies on Western images and the modest number of studies on non-Western images. Woltering states that, “the plethora of studies of Western images of the Orient, when compared to the infant status of the study of Occidentalism, betrays an ironic Eurocentrism”.¹¹⁷

In addition, Woltering noticed that “most of studies of Occidentalism are not concerned with the Muslim Middle East”.¹¹⁸ However, that seems surprising since the principal concern of Orientalism – especially in the tradition of Edward Said – focuses on that region. Casini claimed that “the first extensive monograph was only published in 2006 by the Egyptian scholar Rasheed El-Enany”.¹¹⁹ The truth is, there are number of studies that investigate the image of the West in Arabic discourse and Arabic literature from various Arabic regions, and some of these studies were written well before El-Enany’s book, as this literature review will show.

What seems interesting in the studies about the image of the West in Arabic literature is that these studies have ignored to a large extent the debate about the basic concepts of Orientalism and Occidentalism. With the exception of Robbert Woltering, all the other studies in this literature review, which questioned the image of the Other in Arabic literature, did not engage in the profound debate about the concept. They also

¹¹⁵ Affāyah, p 302.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, p 255.

¹¹⁷ Woltering, p 4

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, p 8.

¹¹⁹ Lorenzo Casini, 'Beyond Occidentalism', Cadmus.eui.eu, 2015

<http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/9367/RSCAS_2008_30.pdf?sequence=1> [accessed 4 August 2015]. p 1

avoid calling their work Occidentalists; they prefer to call their work as part of representation or image studies.

That should not mean that those authors are not aware of the controversial issues raised by Said, and the influence of Orientalism and Occidentalism in image studies. El-Enany – for instance – suggests that his work can be seen “in part, as reverse study of Edward Said’s Orientalism”.¹²⁰ Yet, these authors seem to prefer to consider their works as part of image studies, which belong to comparative literature.

I will move on to focus on the resources that have examined the image of the West in Arabic literature. And which will clarify the gap that this study aims to fill. While I was researching the material for this thesis I found that the studies about the image of the West in Arabic poetry are much fewer than the studies on the image of the West in narrative Arabic discourse.

The first of these studies is *al-Gharb al-Mutakhayyal: Šūrat al-Ākhar fi’l-Fikr al-‘Arabī al-Islamī al-Wasīl* (The Imagined West, Image of the Other in Medieval Islamic Thought) by Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn Affāyah.¹²¹ In his endeavours to examine the discursive modes through which Arab and Muslim writers represented the West, Affāyah works on early Islamic thought from the beginning of the relationship between Islam and the other, and he analyses texts from various Arabic language sources. The importance of Affāyah’s study is that it is the only one in this literature review which discusses the image of the West before modern times. In addition, Affāyah was the only scholar who attempted to question the original resources of Islamic and Arabic thought in order to uncover its role in drawing the image of the other.

After offering a general introduction, which addresses the questions of self and other, the concept of image and the research outlook, this book is divided into three main parts. The first part is titled “Referentialities of the Arabic and Islamic View towards the Other”.¹²² Within this part, the author attempts to uncover in-depth values that became hidden factors in drawing the image of the other in Arab and Islamic discourse; thus, almost the whole of Islamic discourse was under his investigation. This section also contains discussions about “Religion, the Sacred, and the Symbolic”, “Qur’anic

¹²⁰ El-Enany, p 1s

¹²¹ Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn Affāyah, *Al-Gharb al-Mutakhayyal* (Casablanca: al-Markaz al-Thaqafī al-‘Arabī, 1st 2000).

¹²² *Ibid*, p 41.

Perception of the Other”, “The Differences and the Reasons for the Revelation of the Quran” and “The *Dhimmi* and Legislating for the Different”. The last chapter is about the image of the other in the philosophical debates during the ʿAbbāsī era.

In the second part, the author discusses the formation of the image of the other throughout the Crusades.¹²³ It contains a deep analysis of the Christian world view in the Middle Ages towards Islam, and the idea of holy wars. The third part of the book is comprised of four chapters under the title “Knowing the Other, Borders and Confusions”,¹²⁴ and contains two other chapters about Usāmah Ibn Munqith and Ibn Khuldūn. Affāyah discusses the circumstances of these two men and their historical environment and how that affected their view towards the other in their literature. The other two chapters in the section are about the other and strangeness, and thought and acculturation.

The author in this book describes various images of the West found in the Arabic resources, as well as some images of Islam in the Christian world in the Middle Ages. Arab cultural heritage as a whole is the object of this study. Quranic discourse, Hadīth, philosophical debates and even the historical resources from various periods were discussed in this study, while each one of these topics deserves to be studied in a separate study. That explains the various images and topics that he addresses; because of the broadness in his approach to the topic, particularly through the academic effort expended in this study, “by not limiting himself to a specific time-period or specific part of Arab-Muslim world it becomes hard for Affāyah to focus his findings”.¹²⁵

The main idea in Affāyah’s study is that the religious factor was the main component in the Arabic and Islamic world. Affāyah claims that Qur’anic discourse portrays Jews and Christians in a negative way due to the historical conditions of the religious texts. The danger of these negative views towards other religions is that Arab and Muslims images about the other “rely fundamentally before anything else on a religious constituent base; the religion is the one who gives the meanings to the phenomena and the other”.¹²⁶

¹²³ *Ibid*, p 123.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, p 193.

¹²⁵ Woltering, (2009) p 15.

¹²⁶ Affāyah, p 288.

However, Affāyah believes that the Qur'anic discourse about other religions can be understood within its historical and social context with taking into account the atmosphere of conflict with the other religions at the beginning of the Islam. As evidence Affāyah claims that after the establishment of Islam, especially after the period of Righteous Caliphs, non-Muslims became part of Islamic civilisation. In regards to of the image of the West, the author finds that, although Arabs and Muslims early on opened the door to the West and European, they could not draw specific features, or a specific image, of Europe. He expressed surprise towards this, and wondered if it was because of a lack of willingness to know the Other. If that were true, then one needs to ask how Muslims could translate and absorb the Greek philosophical heritage while failing to draw a clear image of the West during the greatest challenge they faced from Europe – the wars of the Crusades.¹²⁷ Affāyah did not give a specific answer to his question, but he confirms that

Arab and Islamic jurisprudence in dealing with the other, ruling by specified religious paradigm, represents the critical horizon of their view, and the judging and calibration of the other. Even if other intellectual levels intervene, especially in the field of philosophical debate, the imaginary was set on a religious base and made it a reference and the shelter from which to look at the other, name and judge him.¹²⁸

A different trend and view towards the relationship with the West can be found in the next study *Arab Representations of the Occident, East-West encounters in Arabic fiction*,¹²⁹ by Rasheed El-Enany. Although El-Enany in his introduction states that his study could be seen as reversed Orientalism, he clarified the difference between his work and Said's:

If Orientalism, according to Edward Said, provided the conceptual framework, the intellectual justification for the appropriation of the Orient through colonialism, the representations of the West I have studied in this book would, by contrast, seem to suggest in my view a different story; one not of

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, p 307.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, p 307.

¹²⁹ Rasheed El-Enany, *Arab Representations Of The Occident* (London: Routledge, 2006).

appropriation but of emulation. And if Orientalism was about the denigration, and the subjugation of the other, much of the Occidental images explored here will be seen to have been about the idealization of the other, the quest for the soul of the other, the desire to become the other, or at least to become like the other.¹³⁰

Casini notices that El-Enany's work lacks a theoretical section.¹³¹ He started by showing his premise, which was based on his experience that the culture that produced him and countless others cannot possibly be anti-Western. To measure the validity of such a hypothesis, El-Enany examines Arab writers' attitudes towards the West over 150 years, and he shows that Arab writers' perceptions of the West have not been static, but rather have undergone various changes over time.

El-Enany discussed over fifty authors and works within four periods. The chapter titles are illustrative of the author's methodology and thought process. The first chapter is about "The Pre-Colonial Period: Enchanted Encounters";¹³² the second chapter is titled "The Colonial Period: Encounters under Duress";¹³³ the third chapter "The Postcolonial Period: Proud Encounters";¹³⁴ the fourth chapter "The Postcolonial Period: Humbled Encounters";¹³⁵ and the final two chapters are concerned with the reception of America, and the encounter between East and West as seen through the eyes of female Arab writers.

In his list of primary authors whose texts are studied in his book, El-Enany presents between five and thirteen authors in each chapter. Each author is presented by their name, date of birth and death, and their connection to the West. El-Enany also places the contents of each novel in its contextual position within the cross-culture encounter. This is followed by an analysis of the story's moral themes and events. The author concludes each chapter with an overview of the period and its writers. As it has been noted in his introduction about the changing representation of the West over time, El-Enany highlights the development in the relationship between East and West during the periods in question.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, p 7.

¹³¹ Rasheed El-Enany, *Al-Ma'nā Al-Murāwigh* (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-'Āmmah li-Quṣūr al-Thaqāfah, 1993) pp 9, 24 and 93.

¹³² *Ibid*, p 15.

¹³³ *Ibid*, p 34.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, p 87.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p 113.

In his findings El-Enany emphasizes his personal experiences. He confirms that the realities he found indicate that “Westernism āhasū become ingrained in the fabric of Arabic society”¹³⁶, and adds the insight that, “With few exceptions, Arab intellectuals, no matter in which period, have never demonized the European other or regarded him in subhuman terms”.¹³⁷ Yet Woltering does not agree with El-Enany conclusion; he believes there are a number of Egyptian intellectuals who view the West in negative ways. Woltering states that some of these intellectuals’ works could be labelled as incitements. This disagreement, as Woltering indicates¹³⁸, can be referred to by the differences in material and timeframe for each study. El-Enany focuses on Arabic fiction in various periods, while Woltering is concerned with Egyptian non-fiction resources after the Cold War, as is clear below.

El-Enany draws upon the issues he investigated in his previous works, such as *Istintāq al-Naṣ*¹³⁹ (Questioning the Text) and *al-Ma‘nā al-Murāwigh* (The Tricky Meaning). In these two books El-Enany examined the writings of Arabic writers like Yahya Ḥaqqī, Louis (Louīs) ‘Awaḍ, Fu‘ād Qindīl, Yūsuf Idrīs and al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ. The material in the *Arab Representation of the Occident* is derived from the writings of novelists from various Arabic countries, but it is selective and Saudi authors have no presence in this study.

One of the main features of El-Enany’s study is that it provides the largest overview of Arab attitudes towards the West, in the number of works that he studied. In addition, by using a historical approach El-Enany was able to highlight the main trend for each period, as well as the changes in attitude of Arabic authors towards the West.

Other studies question the image of the West in Arabic novels. Generally, the way of analysing novels in these studies is similar. As El-Enany did, the authors tend to choose a number of novels, and each one is examined in a separate section. The analyses start with general statements focusing on the background of the authors and their work. Then they examine the perception of the West as revealed in the narratives and analyse it separately. One of the main differences between studies was that some of the authors gave

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, p 207.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, p 9.

¹³⁸ Woltering, p 175.

¹³⁹ Rasheed El-Enany, *Istintāq Al-Naṣṣ: Maqālāt Fī Al-Sard Al-‘arabī* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣrīyah al-Lubnānīyah, 2006) pp 63, 70, 81 and 130.

attention to the variation of time and divided their collections according to time period as El-Enany did. In the discussion below we find examples of these studies.

Sālim al-Mu^ʿawwash used a historical division in his study titled *Ṣūrat Al-Gharb fi'l-Riwāyah al-ʿArabiyyah* (The Image of the West in Arabic Novels).¹⁴⁰ In the introduction, the writer expresses that his main goal is to expose the impact of Western traditions on Arabic novels from two angles. First, their effect on the novel's content – this includes the attitudes of some Arab writers, their ideas and topics – and second, their effect on the writing techniques of Arab authors.¹⁴¹ These goals seem to some extent incompatible with the title of his research about the image of the West.

Al-Mu^ʿawwash divided his book into two parts: each part comprised of two chapters in addition to a conclusion. The first part, “The Main Influences in Arabic Novels”, is a very long introduction to the topic, which comprises half the book. In two chapters and more than 150 pages, the author discusses Arabian and Western lifestyles, the development of culture in the East and the meeting between East and West. In the second chapter, he traces the development of Arabic novels, types of Arabic novels and the most prominent Arab novelists. Although this chapter seems to be an introduction to the main topic of the research, the author made a great effort to go back to early Islamic history and cover all stages of the development of the novel in both the East and the West.

The second part of this book presents the main topic of the author's research. It has two chapters: “The Image of the West in Arabic Novels between 1860-1914” and “The Image of the West in Arabic Novels between 1914-1939”. He focuses on the way the authors view the West, and whether the West affected the style of writing used by these authors.

Al-Mu^ʿawwash is only concerned with novels written up to the early period of the twentieth century. He is concerned also with famous works written in Arabic. That, however, was a notable feature of the studies of the image of the West in Arabic novels: the authors focus on famous works, so that famous Arabic writers, such as Rifā^ʿah al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, ʿAlī Mubārak, Jurjī Zaydān, Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, were studied by El-Enany and Al-Mu^ʿawwash and many others. Although Al-Mu^ʿawwash occasionally examines a novel in depth, his overview of the image of the West in Arabic

¹⁴⁰ Salim Al-Mu^ʿawwash, *Ṣūrat Al-Gharb fi'l-Riwāyah al-ʿArabiyyah* (Beirut: Mu^ʿassasat Al-Riḥāb AL-Ḥadīthah. 1st, 1998).

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, p 9.

novels is rather short and insufficient. In less than four pages, his book's conclusion is about the style of writing that writers used, and how that changed with time, but lacks any mention of the image of the West in the works he studied.

Another title examined in this research is *Al-Riḥlah ila al-Gharb fī al-Riwāyah al-ʿArabīyah al-Ḥadīthah* (The Journey to the West in the Modern Arabic novel) by ʿIṣām Bahī.¹⁴² The author limits himself to Arabic novels that represent the West, and he also studies a very limited number of novels – only six novels in total. The book is divided into two parts, showing the attitudes of Arab writers towards the West. The first part is titled “Rejection of Westernization”¹⁴³; and looks at works such as *Adyīb* by Ṭāha Ḥusayn, *Mausim al-Hijrah Ila al-Shimāl* (Season of Migration to the North) by al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ and *al-Marfuḍūn* (Rejected) by Saʿdī Ibrāhīm which are taken as examples of rejecting the West. The second part of the book is “Reconciliation or the Dream of It”.¹⁴⁴ It contains three chapters titled “Spiritual and Physical” which addresses *ʿUṣfūr min al-Sharq* (Bird from the East) Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm”; “Science and Faith”, addressing *Qindyīl ʿUmm Hashim* (Hashim’s Mother’s Lamp) Yaḥyā Ḥaqqī”; and “Search for Self in the West” addressing *al-Ḥayy al-Lātīnī* (The Latin Quarter) Suhayl Idrīs”.

Each part has an introduction explaining the meaning of its title and why it was chosen. The inner chapters start with a summary of the story being analysed with a focus on the protagonists of the novels by explaining the environment that surrounds them, their background and how that affected their view of the West. The author supports his propositions by some quotations from the novel that he studies. This summary is followed by an analysis of the story's events and themes. The language and the style of writing are also studied.

Although Bahī uses the word “modern” in his book title, the most recent novel he studies is *al-Marfuḍūn* (Rejected) by Saʿdī Ibrāhīm and written in 1981, whilst the other novels belong to earlier colonial times. In general, the study does not cover the journey to the West in the modern Arabic novel. There are many other novels that can be added to the research conducted by Bahī, yet they were not included. Also his limited view of Arab writers’ attitudes towards the West seems insufficient for showing the variety of opinions across the region. In his conclusion, Bahī does not provide a clear image about

¹⁴² ʿIṣām Bahī, *Al-Riḥlah ila al-Gharb fī ʿl-Riwāyah al-ʿArabīyah al-Ḥadīthah* (Al-Hayʾah al-Miṣriyyah al-ʿAmmah Liʾl-Kitāb 1st, 1991).

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, p 120.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p 115.

the West. However, he does come out with some interesting findings: Bahī claims that in the novels under his study there is an absence of the true Islamic vision, because the image of Islam in these novels is warped by superstitions. In addition, he claims that the writers did not show enough awareness of colonialism even though the majority of these works were written during the colonial era. He records that there is no references to Palestine in these works, which does not comply with the previous findings provided by El-Enany. El-Enany proved that Arabic writers interacted with the West in their writings about colonial issues, and that Palestine was at the heart of the relationship with the West.¹⁴⁵ This contradiction can be understood in light of the great disparity in the number of novels studied in each of the two works.

More on the subject of novels and the image of the West is a text called *Ṣūrat al-Gharb fi'l-Adab al-ʿArabī al-Muʿāṣir* (The Image of the West in Modern Arabic Literature), by Jan Naʿūm Ṭannūs.¹⁴⁶ This book examines novels written by fourteen famous Arab authors: six Egyptians, six Lebanese and two Syrians. In only one-and-a-half pages, Naʿūm Ṭannūs introduces his work to the readers by clarifying his goal as intending to correct the one-sided view through which the West has always been represented, with the perception being that the West is represented in either a completely positive or a completely negative light. This creates the impression that the other is either an angel or a demon. Ṭannūs claims that realistic knowledge of self and other can make mankind more understanding and receptive, each individual to another.¹⁴⁷

Unlike the previous studies Ṭannūs did not follow a chronological approach. Ṭannūs examined the works of famous Arab writers such as Mikhāʿīl Nuʿaymah, Mārūn ʿAbbūd and Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm. In his conclusion, he summarized the material that he studied (the author, his nationality, his protagonist, his attitude towards the West and so on). He also compared positive and negative representations of both East and West. Ṭannūs concludes that according to the materials he studied “All the fictional characters reject the Western civilization on various levels, some of them adopt certain values, such as the arts and literature, and reject other values such as women's emancipation”.¹⁴⁸ He also noted that none of the Arabic authors criticised Christianity in the West. Ṭannūs

¹⁴⁵ El-Enany, p 208.

¹⁴⁶ Jan Naʿūm Ṭannūs, *Ṣūrat al-Gharb fi'l-Adab al-ʿArabī al-Muʿāṣir* (Beirut: Dār al-Manhal al-Lubnanī, 1st, 2009)

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid* p 7.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p 401.

claimed that Arab writers who wrote about the West were aware of the separation of religion and state in the West and the growing phenomenon of atheism there.¹⁴⁹

There are numerous important points we can discuss about this book; firstly, this book examines the novel form in most of its chapters; only one chapter examines a poem by Khalīl Ḥāwī. Further, this book seems to have been written at different times and not in succession as a sustained topic: there are no clear connections between the chapters. The incoherence of the studies as a whole is made manifest in the writer's separate attempts to answer the research question, which is only made clear for the readers in the title of the book and the analytical tables appearing in the conclusion. Lastly, despite the limited nature of the material of this book, it covers a huge part of Arabic modern literature, starting with the pioneers of modern Arabic literature, like Marūn ʿAbbūd (1886-1962) and Mikhaʿil Nuʿaymah (1889-1988), and including some writers that are still alive, like Emily Nasrallah.

A final text on the subject of novels is *Ṣūrat al-Gharb fi'l-Adab al-ʿArabī, Riwayat (Fyyāḍ) Li Khayrī al-Thahabī namuthajan* (The Image of the West in Arabic literature, Novels (Fayyāḍ) by Khayrī al-Dhahabī as an example), by Ghassān Saʿīd.¹⁵⁰ Saʿīd divides his article into two parts. The first part is an introduction to his topic, focusing on the theoretical side of “representation”. However, he goes rather deeply when he seeks to explain the concepts of “image” and “other”.

He explains how many types of "other" we deal with can affect our perception of ourselves, and whether the image of the “other” represents our self-perception. He also refers to the image of Islam and Arabs in Western media, exposing the negative image of Muslims found in Hollywood's movies. Despite the short length of this article, it is the only one of the literature reviewed here that attempts to compare Western representation of Arabs with Arab representation of the West, with the writer finding the latter to be more positive. Arab intellectuals – as Saʿīd claims – can be divided into three groups in terms of their attitude towards the West: completely positive, completely negative and moderate. He cites an example from each group to highlight these perceptions, and discusses the tense relationship between the two cultures.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p 401.

¹⁵⁰ Ghassān Saʿīd, *Ṣūrat al-Gharb fi'l-Adab al-ʿArabī, Riwayat (Fyyāḍ) Li Khayrī al-Thahabī namuthajan*. *Journal of Damascus University*, vol. 24: 3-(2008).

He moves to the second part by studying Khayrī al-Dhahabī's novel *Fayyāḍ*. This novel is a good example of the typical image of the West drawn by some Arab writers. Sa'īd goes through passages from the novel and tries to find reasons why the writer depicts the West in the way he does. In the conclusion, Sa'īd returns to the importance of the images he studied, and considers his work as part of the wider research needed for exploring cross-cultural themes and tropes. He clearly aims to clarify the biased perception of the self towards the other.

Finally, Sa'īd chooses a sample from the negative group to clarify his ideas; thus, the image of the West in *Fayyāḍ* is a negative image. As Sa'īd states "The image which provided by al-Dhahabī to the western person, whether it was man or woman, is a perverted image and inaccurate and based on the historical animosity and cultural differences and misunderstandings which moulded the other".¹⁵¹

Robbert Woltering in his study titled *Occidentalisms: Images of 'the West' in Egypt* will be examined next. Out of his conviction that "no image is free from distortion",¹⁵² and in his attempt to answer the question "how is the West is perceived and constructed in Egyptian public discourse? Woltering examines Arabic non-fiction which appeared in Egypt at the end of the Cold War. He points out in his foreword that his work is "not exactly the reverse of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) in which the author not only uncovered the distortions of the image of the Orient and explained why this image was thus distorted, but also decried this distortion vociferously."¹⁵³

The introduction is made up of three sections. It starts with an in-depth discussion about the term Occidentalism. The following two sections explain the theories, approaches and methodologies used in previous studies¹⁵⁴. After the introduction, Woltering clarifies in the first chapter the kind of approach he adopts in his research. Although Woltering focuses his work on the post-Cold War era, he also references earlier work, for example by exploring how the West has been portrayed in modern Egyptian history since the French invasion in 1798. The chapter is made up of an introduction and seven sections.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, p 103.

¹⁵² *Ibid*, p iii.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, p iii.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p 16.

Famous authors such as al-Jabartī, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Afghāni and Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī are taken as case studies in the first three chapters, whereas the political movements in Egypt from al-Wafd to the Muslim Brotherhood are looked at in the other sections. In the second chapter, titled “Post-Cold War Occidentalism in Egypt”, Woltering selects three Egyptian writers who belong to different affiliations: Jalāl Amyīn, Muḥammad ʿImarah and Riḍā Hilā are representative of Leftist-Nationalism, Islamism and Liberalism, respectively. The third chapter “is geared to present Egyptian post-Cold War text that related to the West in whatever shape or form”.¹⁵⁵

By narrowing his analysis geographically to Egypt and temporally from the end of Cold War, Woltering claims that his outcomes will be more specific compared to Affāyah and El-Enany.¹⁵⁶ In contrast, Woltering does not limit himself to one type of non-fictional text; media texts as well as books and articles covering different topics were included, and so he wrote a wide-reaching work. In an attempt to avoid the danger of bias in the selection of the texts, Woltering used a small Egyptian company called *Mahrusa*, to help him collect the materials he required from Egyptian newspapers, so this work is based on random samples of articles. A flaw in this method is that Woltering treated both famous writers who represent public opinion and unknown writers who represent their own personal opinion equally in his analysis. In addition, it is difficult to prove the complete neutrality of any human action.

Lastly, Woltering at the end of his researches draws an important conclusion, which might not be far from the one El-Enany previously mentioned. Woltering states that “conflict between the West and the Muslim world is far from inevitable, and confirming our position that existing conflicts are about policies rather than principles”.¹⁵⁷

So far the literary works that I have mentioned were mainly concerned with the image of the West in narrative Arabic discourse. There are other studies of more relevance to the questions of this research. These studies questioned the image of the West in Arabic poetry. I only found three studies that studied the image of the West in Arabic poetry.

The first study titled *Ṣurāt al-Gharb fi 'l-Shi'r al-ʿArabī al-Ḥadīth* (The Image of the West in Modern Arabic Poetry) was written by Ihāb al-Najdī.¹⁵⁸ The writer seeks to

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p 34.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p 172.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p 176.

¹⁵⁸ Ihāb Al-Najdī, *Ṣurāt al-Gharb fi 'l-Shi'r al-ʿArabī al-Ḥadīth*, (Kuwait: The Foundation of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Al-Babṭayn, 1st, 2008).

explain the way some Arab poets view the West in their writings. This book is made up of an introduction, five chapters and a conclusion. The introduction explains three things: how words such as West and East are ideologically loaded, the image of the West in Arabic writings and the common points where East and West meet. He confirms that there is no one agreed meaning of the West: “If the meaning of word ‘West’ is not something agreed upon, it produces many of the semantic contents, what is meant by this research is the European West in the political geography”.¹⁵⁹ In this study, al-Najdī discusses the political dimensions of the relationship between East and West, the aesthetic dimension of representation as Arab writers wrote passionately about Western countries they visited, the nature and the human dimension of the West and, lastly, the technical dimensions.

An important point, which may be emphasized in reading this book, is the order based on the author’s topics rather than a historical order. Such a reading of primary texts on the part of the author makes him use some poetic verses in more than one place in the book, showing how repetition is sometimes possible depending on the subject and topic he is addressing. The author states that he will not restrict himself to studying solely the writings of famous poets, but rather, he will focus on materials that are not well known.¹⁶⁰

Another important point that seems problematic in the book is the discrepancy between the title and the content. The title alludes to broader Arabic poetry, whereas the content mainly showed interest in Egyptian poetry. In addition, Al-Najdī did not impose any limit to the time period that his research studied, but in fact the texts he studied were written during the first half of the twentieth century. In his conclusion he states that one of the objectives of his studies could be “detected āasū the view of Egyptian poets in the first half of the twentieth century to the West”.¹⁶¹

However, Al-Najdī in his conclusion tends to divide the image of the West according to the topic that the poem addressed. He provides different images about the West; for instance, in the political dimension the West is represented as despotic and colonialist. While in the aesthetic dimension the poets expressed their fascination with the West.

Al-Najdī examines Arabic poetry written in a vertical way regardless of the fact that other types of poetry might not be properly addressed in the book. Najm Kaḍim in

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p 20.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p 8.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, p 393.

his study *al-Ākhar fī'l-Shi'ar al-ʿArabī al-Ḥadīth: tamaththul wa-tawzīf wa-ta'thīr* (The Other in Modern Arabic Poetry: Representation, Impact and Effect)¹⁶² gave more attention to the new style in Arabic poetry. Interestingly, the author dedicates his book to Exeter, a city in the UK that he describes as the 'city of the other'.¹⁶³ In his short introduction, Najm emphasizes the point that his main focus is to study his topic as a part of comparative literature.

Although there were a limited number of texts that Kaḍim examined in his study, he attempted to cover many topics which focused on the image of the West in Arabic poetry. In his chapters, he discussed Western people, places and events. He also addressed the various dimensions of the presence of otherness, including humanitarian, intellectual and cultural presence. The last chapter has the same title as the book and is divided into three sections: the image of the other as the enemy, the image of the other as a friend and the impact of the other on modern Arabic poetry.

In the introduction, Najm points out that the timeframe of the book is the period between 1914 and the first Gulf War in 1991.¹⁶⁴ Unlike al-Najdī, Najm focuses only on famous poets.¹⁶⁵ His material is limited, which makes him use the same poetic lines more than once in the book when making his points. An important point that the writer tries to make concerns the concept of the other. The other for Najm is not only Western, it includes any non-Arabic presence. For example, Omar Khayyam and Gandhi are taken as others,¹⁶⁶ and India is also mentioned as a place where the other lives,¹⁶⁷ but in the poems that are featured in the book the other is mainly Western. Most of the poems in the book follow two stylistic forms derived from the fluid, non-traditional Arabic poetry. Modern Arabic poetry which is called *Shi'ar al-Taf'īlah* and *al-Shi'ar al-Ḥurr* (free poetry), forms the bulk of poetry presented. In the appendix, only six out of sixteen poems are written in a formulaic, traditional style. Finally, although Najm examines many poems written by various Arab poets, he does not even mention one poem written by a Saudi poet.

¹⁶² Najm Kaḍim, *Al-Ākhar fī'l-Shi'ar al-ʿArabī al-Ḥadīth* (Beirut: al-Muʿassasah al-ʿArabiyyah li'l-Dirāsāt wa'l-Nashr, 1st, 2010).

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, p 4.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p 15.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p 16.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p 75, and p 151.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p 61.

In the conclusion, Kaḍīm expresses a positive view towards the Arab views of the West. He confirmed that Islam made people “receptive to the ‘other’ confessing pluralism in all its forms stemming from the multiplicity of tribes and peoples, but also of the belief that this diversity is for the benefit of the mankind”¹⁶⁸. However, he mentioned three relationships between the poets and the West: 1) a friendly relationship, such as that shown by Jamīl al-Zahāwī and Aḥmad Shawqī; 2) a relationship of rivalry, such as that of Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb and °Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bayyātī; 3) a hostile relationship, such as that of °Abd al-Razzāq °Abd al-Wāḥid, Adonis and Maḥmūd Darwīsh.

Finally, I looked at the study titled *Jadal al-Tajdīd: al-Shi‘r al-Su‘ūdī fī Niṣf Qarn* (The Controversial Renewal in Saudi Arabian Poetry in Half a Century) by Sa‘ad al-Bazī‘ī.¹⁶⁹ This study is extraordinarily important for researchers because it is the first study to address in one of its chapters the image of the West as represented in Saudi poetry. al-Bazī‘ī in this book draws a general picture of Saudi poetry across five decades. He presents the efforts of renewal in Saudi poetry, which is a major challenge to the tradition of preservation. Thus, the question of his research focuses mainly on the attempt of renewal in Saudi poetry. This renewal is among the new topics addressed by poets. From this perspective al-Bazī‘ī considered writings about the other in Saudi poetry as part of these renewal attempts. al-Bazī‘ī states that he examines the way in which Saudi poets address non-Arabic places and culture “āasū a part of the efforts, or rather battles, āthatū move towards different horizons of what is locally prevalent”.¹⁷⁰

In the second and third chapters, the author investigates the image of the West as it is drawn by Saudi poets. The titles of these chapters are “Dialectic of self and the other: al-Rumayḥ (1930-1950)” and “al-°Īsā (1923-2013)”. In these chapters he chooses to study the writings of some Saudi poets from the 1950s and 1960s, and he tries to clarify the kind of interaction with the West found in these writings.

Al-Bazī‘ī begins with studying Muḥammad al-Rumayḥ’s writings. He gives a short summary about this poet’s life, his literary career, his relationship with the West and some of his ideas about poetic renewal and modification. He then examines one poem written by al-Rumayḥ and analyses it thoroughly by beginning with the title and finishing his analysis down to the last line. This is followed by his study of a second poet,

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, p 212.

¹⁶⁹ Sa‘ad Al-Bāzī‘ī, *Jadal al-Tajdīd: al-Shi‘r al-Su‘ūdī fī Niṣf Qarn* (Riyadh: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah wa’l-°lām, 1st, 2009).

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, p 71.

Muḥammad al-^ḥĪsā, with the poetry analysed in a section called “Muḥammad al-^ḥĪsā: Lidia and the other religions”. Lidia, is a Christian Arab girl from Lebanon that al-^ḥĪsā wrote poetry about. Although this poem is one of praise, al-^ḥĪsā addresses the issue of the other with its various features¹⁷¹.

The third chapter has the same title as the second one. But this chapter focuses on other poets: Ghazī al-Quṣaybī (1940-2010), Sa^ḥad al-Ḥumaydīn (1947-), al-Dumaynī (1958-) and Ḥasan al-Sab^ḥ (1948-).¹⁷² These four poets represent the new generation of writers who build upon the tradition of al-Rumaiḥ and al-^ḥĪsā'. The chapter starts with al-Quṣaybī and studies three poems he wrote about Western cities and women. Furthermore, one poem about Palestine by al-Ḥumaydīn is studied, one poem by al-Dumaynī about New York, and three poems by al-Sab^ḥ about New York, Andalusia and Don Quixote¹⁷³.

Although al-Bazī^ḥī is primarily concerned with the renewal phenomena in Saudi Arabian poetry, his positive views towards relationship with the West are rather clear. al-Bazī^ḥī claims that when a Saudi poet uses a Western symbol or artist to express his views it means this Western other is close to his thoughts and feelings.¹⁷⁴ He also concludes that despite the major problems between East and West, at the forefront of which is the Palestinian question, Saudi poets have kept a balanced view of the West, and the West has not lost its positive image in Saudi poets' eyes even in their texts that critique the West.¹⁷⁵

The main value of this book is in the fact that it is the only book – according to my research thus far – which addresses Saudi poets' representations of the Western other. This book, however, discusses these representations in the writings of only six poets. It also relies on very limited amounts of material in its investigation of the topic. “Other”, in this book, mainly meant the West, but it also meant non-Muslims as well Muslims. All ten poems studied in this book are written in the non-formulaic style, although in the same period there were many classically composed poems in Saudi Arabia.

In conclusion, apart from the study of Affāyah, the studies in the field concentrate on modern Arabic literature. In general, in these studies, we can mention two approaches in dealing with the topic: one historical and one order-based by topics. Apart from El-

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, p 82.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, p 87.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, pp 89, 95 and 98.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p 81.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p 104.

Enany, al-mu^ʿawwash and al-Bazi^ʿī's studies, the studies in the field used an order based on topics. The use and understanding of this approach depends on the writers' sources and historical timeframes.

Although the majority of the authors tried to be impartial and show the two sides of the image, it's clear that there were different trends in their ways of dealing with the topic. Whereas El-Enany, Al-Najīdī, Kaḍīm and al-Bazi^ʿī show a positive attitude toward the relationship with the West, Affāyah, Ṭannūs and Bahī show a negative attitude. Consequently, the images of the West provided in these studies were not identical.

Apart from this and other minor differences between the previous studies, the method of analysing the documents and questioning the texts are generally similar; they all attempt to gather the words and descriptions that describe the West, and to go beyond that by analysing the meaning of these positive or negative words. That however should not be a surprise as Chen states that "the basics of the image studies have not changed dramatically since the 1950s"¹⁷⁶.

Although some of the studies in the field are academic, well written and contain profound analyses, there are general weaknesses in them which need to be avoided in this study, such as generalization. Said himself has been criticised for generalizing in his *Orientalism*, and excluding some Arab regions such as North Africa and west of Egypt; Salhi claims that "Said was not the first one to do so, in most studies conducted on the Middle East of the Arab world, be they in humanities or in social sciences, Maghreb is often overlooked"¹⁷⁷. As this this literature review showed, the region of Saudi Arabia was also overlooked in the vast majority of the studies on the image of the West in Arabic literature. This study seeks to shift the argument of cross-cultural interaction into a new scholarly terrain, which has not been examined before in studies about Saudi poetry. Although al-Bazi^ʿī studies only ten literary texts by six poets in Saudi poetry he remains the only author who has studied the image of the West in Saudi poetry.

The use of an order based on topic, as used by most of the authors previously mentioned, may produce useful results. However, this approach does not help enough for various reasons that arise when studying the image of the West in the Saudi imagination and poetry; one of those reasons is the dramatic change and economic development that

¹⁷⁶ Chen, (2007) p 8.

¹⁷⁷ Netton (ed), (2013) p 256.

Saudi Arabia went through in the last decades. These changes affected people's lives and thought in many ways. In addition, there were several important events that gripped the Middle East in the last century. Lastly, there were also the successive intellectual currents, such the Islamist or Arab nationalist movements. All these events have caused some considerable transformation in Saudi society, and affected how Saudis define themselves in front of the West, and consequently their views towards others from one period to another. That however, necessitates that the last seven decades of the Saudi state be divided into several periods in order to investigate the characteristics of each period and the factors affecting them.

Thus, the historical approach, which we described at the beginning of this thesis is important because the period which this research covers is the most important period in the history of the country, not only in terms of its transition from a very simple state to a modern country, as was mentioned in the first chapter, but also because of the rapid development of its relationship with the West, which went through dramatic changes.

Such changes were also influenced by the political and social circumstances of the region. These changes affected the stances adopted by poets and their perception of the West. The historical approach can help to trace these changes in the identity, as well as the image, of the West, and will therefore reflect positively on the results of the study. In addition, the majority of the texts in this research have not been studied before, as some of them were printed in the first half of twentieth century and never reprinted again.

3. Chapter Three The Formative Stage, 1920-1945

3.1 Before the Establishment of the Modern Saudi State

Unlike some other Arab and Muslim countries, Arabs living in what is now Saudi Arabia did not have much direct contact with the West before the Arab Revolt of 1916. During that time, there was no Western economic presence in most of the Arabian Peninsula. In fact, the connection with the West was always conducted by a broker, who was always either an Ottoman Turk or an Arab ruler. In this period, the lands constituting Saudi Arabia were governed by various rulers. These rulers had various views on the Ottoman Empire and other Arab countries, and they also had various views on Arab-Western and Ottoman-Western conflicts.¹⁷⁸ It is important that we examine some texts written before the establishment of the third Saudi state which reveal the kind of perceptions the people of the Arab Peninsula held toward the West. In so doing, we will be better able to comprehend the impact of the state on the way that Saudi society perceived the West.

The Najd region, situated in the centre of the Arabian Peninsula, was engaged with local conflicts before the establishment of the Saudi state in the early twentieth century. Such conflicts happened because Najd was not under direct Ottoman control, and the Ottomans did not consider Najd as strategically important for their empire otherwise, they would have sought to subdue it. Nevertheless, the people of Ḥijāz were interested in the political situation of the Ottoman Empire. They were interested in the conflicts with which the Ottoman armies were engaged in whether on the European or Asian fronts.¹⁷⁹

The fact that the Ḥijāz was under direct Ottoman rule affected the way that the locals viewed the West. The Ottomans' way of dealing with the local inhabitants of the

¹⁷⁸ Al-Amr, (1978) p 143, and Al-Rasheed, (2002) pp 22, 25 and 29. In his memories the Saudi writer °Azīz Dīā° (1914-1997) mention that the people in lījaz were not aware of the Western countries, they might only recognize the name of these Western countries involved in war with or against th the Othomans. See °Azīz Dīā°, *Ḥayātī ma°'l-Jū° wa'l-Ḥub wa'l-Ḥarb* (Beirut: al-Tanuīr, 2ed, 2012) pp 7-8.

¹⁷⁹ Al-Rasheed, (2002) p 31.

Ḥijāz is interesting, as the Ottomans were tough in their dealings with Arab lands except the Ḥijāz region. Throughout the Arab lands, the Ottomans were levying soldiers for their wars in Europe and against Russia. However, they did not conscript the men of the Ḥijāz region. Further, the Ottomans imposed heavy taxes upon the inhabitants of Arab lands, except the lands comprising the Ḥijāz region. Indeed, they even sent money to the rulers and inhabitants of the Ḥijāz.¹⁸⁰ Thus the people of the Ḥijāz region did not show displeasure when interacting with the Ottomans. They called the Ottoman Sultan, “The Caliph of Allah” and “the Commander of the Faithful”, religious titles granted to Islamic rulers. In addition, the relationship between the Ḥijāz and Istanbul brought people from these two areas closer to each other after the establishment of the Ḥijāz railway line in 1908.

There are three texts relating to the period before the emergence of the modern Saudi state. These texts were written by writers from the Ḥijāz region, and are important because they show the authors’ awareness of some important political events happening in the region. In addition, these texts inform us about the nature of the early contact between the people of the Ḥijāz and the West. These texts show that the interaction the people of Ḥijāz had with the West was different to the kind of interaction the inhabitants of other parts of the Arabian Peninsula had with the West.

One might note that the nature of the political situations that arose and also the way certain rulers interacted with the West are reflected in each one of these texts. The first text will be examined here reveals the extent to which the people of the Ḥijāz were loyal to the Ottoman Empire. This kind of interaction with the Ottoman Empire also undoubtedly shaped the relationship between the people of the Ḥijāz and the West.

The poem of ʿAbd al-Jalīl Barrādah (1824-1909) is the oldest literary text which mentioned the West –among the three chosen texts-, and was written towards the end of the nineteenth century, in the period after Greece was defeated by the Ottomans. Although this text was written before the establishment of the Saudi state, it sheds some light on the kind of relationship the people of Ḥijāz had with the Ottoman Empire. Further it reveals the way the relationship with the Ottomans affected the way that the West was perceived.

¹⁸⁰ Bakrī Shaykh Amīn, *al-Ḥarakah al-Adabiyah fī l-Mamlakah al-ʿArabiyah al-Suʿūdiyyah*, (Bierut: Dār Ṣādir, 1st 1973) p 316.

Barrādah praised the Ottoman victory over the Greeks.¹⁸¹ He stated that such a victory is nothing less than a dream come true, and is a vengeful act against the Greeks:

كذا فليكن ما يجرز المجد والفخر كذا فليكن ما يجمع الفتح والنصر

كذا فليكن ما يبلغ السؤل والمنى كذا فليكن ما يدرك الثأر والوتر

.....

حديث عن اليونان يضحك باكيا ويطرب محزوننا ويلهو به¹⁸²

In similitude to that, which secures us glory and pride. In similitude to that, which combines conquest and victory.

In similitude to that meets our desires and what quenches our thirst for revenge.

In similitude to that the laugh which is shown on the face of he who cries. The defeat of the Greeks brings happiness to the disgruntled. The News about Greece grants happiness and cheerfulness to the young.

The author here expresses happiness that the Ottomans won the battle against the Greeks. The poetic method of praise used here resembles the one used by Arab classical poets especially when they praised the victories of the Arabs over their enemies. Nevertheless, there are some differences between Barrādah and the old classical poets. The old poets lived close to the place where the events happened, whilst Barrādah lived in Medina and the battle happened in Europe. As such, this is why he used the word "News". Another difference is that many of the classical poets wrote their poems of praise expecting to get rewards from the then Arab rulers. However, Barrādah wrote his poem praising the victory of the Ottoman Caliph who was lived far away from Medina and did not know Arabic. Thus, Barrādah did not expect to gain any rewards from the Ottoman Sultan and we can argue that Barrādah's poem expresses a sense of deep loyalty to the

¹⁸¹ The editor dated the text in (1313) h, wich equal 1895 m. However, I could not find any battle between the Otomans and Greek at that years, the closest war between them was in 1897, called Domokos, which witnessed the victory of Ottoman. See Tony Jaques, *Dictionary Of Battles And Sieges* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2007) p 308.

¹⁸² °Abd Allāh Al-Mu[°]ayqil, *Mawsū[°]at al-Adab al-°Arabī al-Su[°]udī al-Ḥadīth* (Riyadh: Dār Al-Mufradāt, 1st, 2001) vol 2 p108.

Ottomans. Praising the Ottomans and their victories over the Greeks shapes this poet's view of the West. In the same poem, Barrādah accuses the Greeks of being traitors and deceivers:

فعاثوا وجاسوا في البلاد بجهلهم وعم على جيرانهم منهم الغدر¹⁸³

The ignorance of the Greeks brought corruption to their country.
And their treachery was cast to spread to their neighbours.

After this, Barrādah praises the Ottoman Sultan for his patience, wisdom, bravery and staunch faith. Then Barrādah turns to the Greeks describing them as cowards:

سمعنا بأن الجبن فيهم سجية ولما التقينا صدق الخبر الخبر¹⁸⁴

We heard that it is natural for them to be cowards. Such news was confirmed the moment we met them.

As previously stated, this poem predates the ascension of Al Saud to power, and it tells us a lot about the way the people of the Hijāz viewed the Ottoman Empire and how the relationship with the Ottomans shaped their perception of the West. In addition, the reference to revenge in the first verses of this text indicates the extent to which the poet was aware of the previous defeats suffered by the Ottomans at the hands of the West.

The second poem is a long text written by Ibrāhīm al-Iskūbī (1848- 1913). The victory of the Ottomans over the Greeks triggered the idea of the first poem mentioned above. In contrast, the theme of the second poem was the defeat of the Ottomans when Libya fell to the Italians in 1911. Al-Iskūbī delivered a strong message to the Sublime Porte in Istanbul. In his poem, he aimed to express his uneasiness at the kind of weakness now sensed in the political and military machinery of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, as a result of this poem, he was reported to the Ottoman officials and was sent to Istanbul to face trial. In his poem, al-Iskūbī writes about Europe in five main points:

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, p 108.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p 109.

1- *Europe as the hidden enemy*: unusually the poem begins without alluding to the graceful features and characteristics of the Ottoman Sultan. He begins by condemning the Ottomans for the friendship they had cultivated with Europe:

يا ال عثمان والمغرور من غرا
بأهل أوروبا أو عهدهم طرا
أتأمنون لموتورين ديدنهم
ألا يروا منكم فوق الثرى حر¹⁸⁵

Oh, house of °Uthman! The deluded who trust the Europeans and accept their covenant!

Do you trust a group of vengeful people whose main objective in life is to see you all destroyed?

Al-Iskūbī had his own reasons for criticizing both the Ottomans and the Europeans:

فهذه دولة الطليان حين رأّت
اسطولكم ليس يغني فاجأت غدرا

.....

وأنزلت بطرابلس عساكرها
فهل أروية كفت عنكم الشرا¹⁸⁶

The state of Italy, when seeing that your (Ottoman) naval forces had become weak, treacherously attacked it.

In Tripoli the Italian soldiers landed. Did Europe protect you from evil?

2- *The European desire for revenge*: Al-Iskūbī reminded the Ottomans of old hostilities between them and the West:

لا تحسبوا أنهم ناسون مافعلت
أسلافكم بهم في سالف مرا

.....

هي التي أنتم فيه منازلهم
غصبتموها عليهم فاعلموا قهرا

¹⁸⁵ Ibrahīm al-Iskūbī, *Dīwān Ibrahīm al-Iskūbī*, Muhammad Al-Khaṭrāwī (Ed) (Medina: Maktabat Dār al-Turāth, 1992) p 176.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, pp 176-177.

أيقضتموهم بضرب الهام فانتبهوا من نومهم ورقدم أنتم الدهر¹⁸⁷

Do not think that they forgot what your ancestors had done to them years ago.

You live in their previously owned lands which were forcibly taken from them by your ancestors.

You awakened them by striking their heads, but when they rose you fell asleep for ever.

Such recognition led al-Iskūbī to argue that the Ottomans should have never thought of fighting Europe:

فليترك ماخطوتم نحوهم قدما وما أغرتكم على أملاكهم شبرا¹⁸⁸

I wish you never put a step in their land, and never took a single inch from their properties.

3- *The History of Europe*: The poet reminded the Ottomans of the way the Arabs previously helped them spread the religion:

فقامت العرب قبل الناس أجمعهم دنيا وديننا فشدوا عزمكم أذرا

وأهل أوروبا والغرب أجمعه في ظلمة الجهل تستاقونهم أسرى¹⁸⁹

The Arabs stood with you in your worldly and religious affairs before anyone and strengthen your resolute

Europe and the whole West then was in darkness which allowed you to take them as prisoners.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p 177.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p 177.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p 177.

4- *The Right Way to Deal with Europe*: Al-Iskūbī advanced his vision of how interactions with Western colonizers should be viewed. He proposed that the only way the colonizers should be approached is through resistance:

فمن كمصر وأرض الهند نام لهم أروه كيف يرى نجم السرى ظهرا
ومن تنبه كالجابون ردهم مثل النعاج على أعقابهم أسرى¹⁹⁰

Those like Egypt and India appear to have been submitted to the colonizer, they showed him the stars in the midday; (that is, they made him suffer a lot).

The Japanese were nevertheless attentive to colonial deception. They chased the colonizers like ewes.

5- *The Solution*: For al-Iskūbī, the main solution for winning the case against the colonizer is to go back to the true religion, but he also focuses on arming Muslim countries:

فهذه العرب والاتراك قاطبة ما عندهم منه مايكفيهم قدرا
فرخصوا لجميع المسلمين به بل اكتشفوا لهم عن صنعه السترا

.....

فلا لكم قوة في دفع اوربة ولا تسببتم أن يأخذوا حذرا¹⁹¹

And these are the Arabs and the Turks who do not have enough weapons.

So allow all the Muslims to get them but rather disclose the process of manufacturing them.

You are not able to defend your country, and you did not help Muslims to prepare themselves to face Europe.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p 177.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*, p 178.

Then al-Iskūbī speaks against the present conditions of Muslim education. He also studies the cause of what he considers underdevelopment:

لو ألف عام طلبتم علم أوروبية و حالكم هذه لم تبلغوا العشرًا

.....

مكاتب كخيال الظل هل أحد سما بها فضله أو طالب أثرى¹⁹²

If you spend thousands of years trying to reach the knowledge of the Europeans whilst your in this predicament you will not reach even the tenth of their knowledge.

The Katātīb¹⁹³ (schools) are unproductive. Has anyone ever reach any height or is affluent

Al-Iskūbī shows a sense of bitterness in these lines. He does not like the state of decline in the Ottoman Empire. The poet does not hide the feeling of loyalty he holds for the Ottomans, but at the same time, he does not seek to flatter them. Al-Iskūbī considers the West as an enemy to Muslims. Although the West is militarily and scientifically superior, Muslims, according to al-Iskūbī, should stand together under the banner of Islam against the West. This unitary Islamic proposition was written just five years before the Arab Revolt occurred in 1916 which was, to al-Iskūbī's disappointment, not Islamic because it called upon the Arabs to unite together under the umbrella of Arab nationalism. Such nationalist calls affected the way in which the next generation of poets wrote about the West. The next text will reveals these calls to us.

The third text was written on the 2nd of January 1919. During this period, following the First World War, the Sharif of Mecca, Hussein bin Ali, was aiming to separate Arab lands from nearly four hundred years of Ottoman rule. In this period, the Arab perception of the Ottomans in the Hijāz region was increasingly changing and, backed by some Western powers, the Arabs began viewing the Ottomans and the Germans as their enemies whilst considering the British and their allies as friends. Such views are expressed by the anonymous writer of a poem published in *Al-Qiblah*, the

¹⁹² *Ibid*, pp 178-179.

¹⁹³ Place to teach children the Quran, religion and the principles of reading, writing and arithmetic, and are supervised by a person called (Al-Muṭawwa^c)

official newspaper of the Arab Revolt in Mecca. As mentioned, the name of the poet is not revealed in the newspaper, although perhaps not intentionally as there is no logical or political reason which would cause the writer to hide his name since all the ideas proposed in this poem reflect the political atmosphere in the Arab lands during the period.

This poem is long and comprises seventy-nine lines, summarising the incidents of the First World War from beginning to end. It also praises the Sharif of Mecca and his sons. In this poem, the reader can find many Western names. This poem, as the Western Allies might have looked at it, does not follow a poetic tradition but rather appears as a newsletter. It offers the reader a factual narration of what is going on in the world but it also reflects the way in which the writer is showing his deep knowledge of what is going on in the world even though media outlets in the Ḥijāz at the time were of poor quality. The poet begins with these lines:

أثارت عجاج الحرب في الأرض رمية	رماها ولم يعبأ بها رجل (حربي)
وماهي إلا رمية من مسدس	أصاب بها ما اشتطها حبة القلب
فطارت شظاياها من الدول الوسطى	الى الدول العظمى لثائرة الحرب ¹⁹⁴

A bullet raised the dust of war āwhich the Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated withū. The one who performed such an action did it without paying attention to the consequences, which might follow.

It was just a shot from a pistol, which hits right at the centre of the heart. The heart was fragmented with its remains reaching the weak countries before arriving at the great countries. Such fragments caused war.

The poet in these lines refers to the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, in Sarajevo on 28th of June 1914, which sparked the First World War¹⁹⁵. This text reveals dramatic changes in the way the West was perceived. The text was published in Mecca, the capital of the Sharif and one of Islam's

¹⁹⁴ Sa'ad Abu Dyyah, and °Abd al-Majīd Maḥdī, *al-Thawrah al-°Arabiyyah al-Kubrā Qaṣā'id wa Anāshid* (Amman: Dār al-Fikr, 1st, 1988) p 204.

¹⁹⁵ John Keegan, *The First World War* (New York: A. Knopf, 1999) p 56.

holiest cities and even with that in mind, this poem did not present a perception of the West from an Islamic point of view. The following lines show sympathy towards the Christians whose churches and historical sites were destroyed by the Germans:

ولم يبق في تلك البلاد كنيسة وحطم اثار البلاد بلا ريب¹⁹⁶

(The Germans) did not leave any church intact and destroyed the historical sites of the country.

The large number of cities and people mentioned in this text indicates the clear change in the way the West was perceived in the region. After many years of a lack of communication between the Hijāz and the West, and during the First World War, the West became the focus of attention in the Hijāz. There is no doubt that the magnitude of the political events happening in the West encouraged people to follow the news of the war, especially when the fate of the Hijāz was associated with the war's outcome. The interest in the West at the time was not only shown among the elites, but also among normal people and in local newspapers. This may have led the poet to show his wide knowledge of the war and Europe as well. After mentioning the incident of the assassination, the poet writes:

دسيسة (غليوم) أخل وما درى بها من نظام الاجتماع وبالشغب

.....

سنون طوال أربعون ونيف أعد بها جيشا يحار له لبي

.....

وطارت مناطده في السما وأمست تخيل للمشاهد كالعصب

وفي اليم غواصات (ولهم) وزعت لإغراق سفن بئس ذلك من دأب¹⁹⁷

This war occurred after the intrigue of (William).¹⁹⁸ He unintentionally breached the peace system.

For more than forty years, he has been preparing the army. I was awed.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p 206.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p 206.

¹⁹⁸ Guillaume is an abbreviation of Frederick William Victor Albert of Prussia (1859–1941).

His zeppelin flew towards the sky. For the onlooker it seemed like a cloud.

Submarines of (Wilhelm)¹⁹⁹ were sinking the ships. What a bad job performed by such submarines.

More than twenty five names of people and sixteen names of places and countries have been mentioned in this text. The West does not appear as a single entity. There are two parts to the West represented by the poet - bad people (Germans) and good people (the Allies). As a result of this, the poet describes the Germans as savages:

وأهلك أطفالا صغارا ونسوة	بقر بطون الحاملات بلا ذنب
وقطع آذانا عليها قروطها	وايدي نساء سامها سنن الجب

.....

وقد قذف الأسرى أمام خطوطه	ليجعلهم من ظلمه هدف الضرب ²⁰⁰
---------------------------	------------------------------------------

He killed children and women. He stabbed the bellies of pregnant women without quilt.

He cut ears laden with earrings. He cut women's hands.

He put prisoners on the battles fronts in order to make them targets for the shooting of the enemy.

Nevertheless, the poet uses all these heroic qualities to describe the Allies:

هم (الحلفاء) الخيرون فعالهم	أولو العزم ليسوا كالشراذمة الذرب
ضمير يخاف الحق في كل حالة	يقومون في وجه المطامع بالذب
وتحسب ماتعطي لأسرى عدوها	من الزاد والأثواب ما زاد عن حب
ولما رأوا ظلم العدو وجوره	وما اعتاده الألمان من طرق الجنب
أتاهم (لويد جورج) بالحزم والنهي	وبالفكر والرأي السديد وبالأرب

.....

¹⁹⁹ Wilhelm Anton Souchon was a German and Ottoman admiral in World War I (1864 –1946).

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p 208.

سياسي فرنسا ذلك الرجل النذب
و(جورج كلمنسو) فتى الحزم والنهى
هلمو إلى صلح خلي من الجذب²⁰¹
و(ولسون) نصير السلم قام مناديا

The Allies do good deeds. They are courageous, not scammers.

They have got good consciences, defending the right and fight injustice.

They love their captives; they give their captives food and clothes.

But when they see the injustice and treachery of the enemy, and the Tyranny wich Germans use to do.

Lloyd George²⁰² appeared with rigor, wisdom and good opinion.

And Georges Clemenceau²⁰³ was a man of rigor and wisdithoutin justice.

And Wilson²⁰⁴ - was a man of peace, who called to a peace without probems

It is not the aim of this research to analyse deeply the previous three texts as they are outside of the time frame of this thesis. Nevertheless, the purpose of indicating these three texts is that, each historical period of time allows a certain perception of the West. In the first text we read that that Westerners are presented as cowards and non-Muslims as enemies. The second text shows differences between the East and the West. We also find a recognition of the good features that characterise the West as a military, industrial and educational power. The third text offers detailed information of the events that happened in the Great War, its causes and its leaders. This text refers to the state of knowledge in Western countries and the differences between these countries. It is clear that the cultural movement and media in the Ḥijāz in the early twentieth century had an impact on the change in the Ḥijāzi perception of the West. This is because of the arrival of Western colonial forces and the participation of the people in the Ḥijāz led by the Sharif

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, p 211.

²⁰² David Lloyd George. Prime Minister of the United Kingdom at the head of a wartime coalition government between the years 1916 and 22- (1863 –1945).

²⁰³ Georges Benjamin Clemenceau. Prime Minister of France from 1906 to 1909, and again from 1917 to 1920- (1841 –1929).

²⁰⁴ Thomas Woodrow Wilson. The President of the United States, from 1913 to 1921- (1856 –1924).

in war against the Ottoman Empire. These political factors affected the perception of the West in the region.

3.2 Texts from the Formative Period of the Saudi State

In studying the formative period which arose after the establishment of the Saudi state, it is important to examine ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Al Mubārak’s (1893-1925) poems written in 1923. There are two poems written by Al Mubārak for two reasons. First, they appeared in a period in which the lands of Najd and Ḥijāz were under Saudi rule and in a Saudi state newly established. Second, these poems tend to mention something about the West in a period in which scholars barely find resources on what the Saudi people thought of Western people, their cultures and states.

The way Saudi texts represented the West in the early Saudi era can be divided into three types: political, cultural and emotional. There are no clear differences between these types. A poet might, for instance, write one poem about war while referring to political and emotional issues. This division, however, might be considered as a frame of reference through which we can study Saudi poems. In these divisions, we shall see the influence of each factor that may affect the image of the West in Saudi poetry. In early Saudi poetry, we find remarkable interest in Western political events, as these events were important in people's daily lives. As such, the Western colonial presence in the Arab world appeared in Saudi poetry.

3.2.1 The Political Image:

The first interaction the Arabs had with the West was political in nature, which was during the colonial period. This, along with the First World War, influenced their perception of the West. Two subsections can be placed under this heading: Occupation and Tyranny, and the Second World War.

3.2.1.1 Occupation and Tyranny:

After the First World War, it was clear for many Arab intellectuals that the relationship between the Arab world and the West had taken a new course. This war seems to have "brought an end to the first formative phase of the awakening.... The centre of preoccupation shifted from the religious and intellectual spheres to the political. Europe now no longer appears as western civilization but as western imperialism."²⁰⁵

Jamal Hamdan states that "Imperialism is a European invention. During the modern period, Europe has not been imperialised, except in some strategic imperial posts in Gibraltar, Malta and Cyprus. Clearly then imperialism is a European product. Europe exports it to the outside world. This product is manufactured in Europe to be consumed outside rather than inside."²⁰⁶

In 1918, most lands and territories which comprised of the Arab world, except what is now Saudi Arabia and Yemen, were under colonial rule.²⁰⁷ In the Arab world, colonialism has always been seen as a process in which the colonizer exploits and plunders the wealth of nations. Colonial lands and people were also seen as benefiting the colonizers. The Arabs then were convinced that Western imperialism – especially from Britain and France - were directly responsible for the political fragmentation of the Arab World. "[E]ven political boundary in Arabic world has been directly or indirectly drawn by Western interests."²⁰⁸ So it is not surprising that Saudi poets – even if their country were not colonised by the French or the British - were sharing the view of other Arabs' towards the West.

There are five Saudi poems which deal with the West in the period between 1923 and 1930 - all of them saw the West as a bundle of imperial and colonial states. Two were written by the aforementioned °Abd al-°Azīz Al Mubārak who was one of the most famous religious scholars in al-Aḥṣāʾ. This poet wrote two poems when the English dismissed Sheikh °Isā Al Khalifah from Bahrain in 1922.

The other poems were written by Khālīd al-Faraj (1898-1954). He was born in Kuwait, studied and worked in India, and later died in Syria. As a well-travelled man of

²⁰⁵ Hisham Sharabi, *Arab Intellectuals And The West* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1970) p 133.

²⁰⁶ Jamāl Ḥamdān, *Istrāṭījyyāt al-Isti°mār wa'l-Tahrīr*, (Cairo: Dār al-Hilāl, n d) pp 150-151.

²⁰⁷ Jan Romein, *The Asian Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962) p 114.

²⁰⁸ Sharabi (1970) p 134.

cosmopolitan learning, al-Faraj was interested in the outside world, especially the West. Al-Faraj was living in Bahrain when the English dismissed Sheikh ʿĪsā, and he then moved to Kuwait after receiving an invitation from some Kuwaiti intellectuals. In Kuwait al-Faraj wrote a poem titled, "The West and The East".

Whilst Al Mubārak was focused on an Islamic perspective, al-Faraj was interested in nationalist issues, and these sentiments appeared in his work. These two poets are good examples which show how the Islamic discourse differed from the nationalist discourse in the ways they represented the West. Both of them deal with similar situations but from different viewpoints. At that time, they recognised that the West is a colonial power that was occupying Muslim and Arab lands who forced Arab leaders to do their bidding. These poets did not visit the West, nor did they have any personal experiences of the West.

It is important to mention that al-Faraj is not a perfect example of the nationalist discourse. At the time that his poems appeared in print, the nationalist trend was still in its early stages among Arab people. Yet it is obvious that al-Faraj adopts a different discourse by considering Islam as part of the Arab identity – and not the main focus of identity - as his poetry clearly shows.

To begin with, Al Mubārak expressed sadness in his poems regarding the dismissal incident in Bahrain, and he also addressed many issues relating to the West. According to Al Mubārak, a cultural renaissance in the Arab and Muslim lands could be achieved through Islamic teachings but he was aware of the importance of applying economic and industrial reforms. Al Mubārak opens his first poem by showing a sense of frustration because of the situation in Arab and Muslim lands. He calls for reform but no one listens:

ويعي الخطاب وأين مني الواعي	هل من يجيب إذا دعوت الداعي
والماء يخلفه سراب القاع	ذهب الرجال وخلفوا أشباحهم
وأحث للإصلاح غير مطاع ²⁰⁹	كم ذا أنادي غير مسموع النداء

Are there any people who would understand and respond to what
I am going to deliver?

Men have disappeared and left their shadows as water being
replaced by mirage.

²⁰⁹ Al-Hilū, (1979) p 177.

How many times did I call you but there were no listeners? I pressed for reforms but no one followed what I proposed.

Al Mubārak's view of the West relates to an Islamic perspective. Many lines of his poem mourn the present situation of the Muslims and they express a feeling of uneasiness that the Muslims are weak, dispersed and manipulated by their enemies. He then compares the Muslim present with the past, and comments that Muslims once controlled the world and although he believes that it is true that they were poor, he is convinced that they were rich with values. They were brave, courageous and pious. He then calls Muslims to imitate their ancestors by showing determination to progress and seek knowledge.

In Al Mubārak's poems, this sense of pride in the history of Islam shows how the poet was deeply influenced by Islamic and Arabic history. As such, it is not surprising to find such a discourse in Islamic literature, especially when Muslim writers refer to the West, as they found themselves far behind the West in terms of modern industry.

The first reference to the West in this poem is in the call for seeking knowledge:

فخذوا من الغربي خير علومه وذروا قبيح خلائق وطباع²¹⁰

Take from the Western beneficial knowledge but avoid their bad habits and manners.

Al Mubārak emphasizes the importance of seeking knowledge. According to Al Mubārak, seeking knowledge enables people to overcome poverty. For instance, one way through which people can fight poverty is through preparing an army of farmers and craftsmen.

هيوأ لطرء الفقء عن أوطانكم جيشا من الزراع والصناع²¹¹

As an army of farmers and craftsmen, prepare to fight against poverty in your countries.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, p 179.

²¹¹ *Ibid*, p 180.

That might be the first step to rebel against enemies. The rest of the poem warns people against their enemies. Those who were presented as the enemy in the poem were given bad traits. In more than one line, Al Mubārak insists on warning the reader from considering the enemy as a friend as he stated that enemies act slyly in a manner quite akin to snakes.

"Be careful of your enemies even if they pretend friendship. This pretentious friendship resembles the way snakes devour their prey.

Do not think that foreign people can be friends with weak people. It is pure deception"²¹².

According to Al Mubārak, what the West is doing to the Muslims is something that the Muslims need not be surprised at. For Al Mubārak, the English weapon in the Arabian Gulf was money. The English owned the material means which helped them in their campaign against the Muslims in the Gulf and so the Muslims could not defend themselves.

Al Mubārak shows an awareness of the major political events happening in the world. According to Al Mubārak, Western powers came to the Arabian Gulf after they were expelled from the East, particularly after the Japanese defeated the Russians in 1905. This date marked the first defeat of a major Western power by an Eastern nation:²¹³

أمالهم بالأبيض القطاع	قطعت حماة الشرق أبطال الوغى
ما فاتهم بالأصفر الخداع ²¹⁴	فأتوا بلاد العرب كي يستدركوا

The valiant patrons of the East barricaded the hope of the West colonising their lands by the sword.

Then they (Westerners) came to Arab lands using the power of money to recover their loss in the East.

²¹² *Ibid*, p 178.

²¹³ Sharabi, (1970) p 129.

²¹⁴ Al-Ḥilū, (1979) p 181.

The rest of the poem explains the political circumstances which led to the dismissal of Sheikh ʿĪsā in Bahrain.²¹⁵ Al Mubārak attributes the origin of such a political event to the deceptive ways in which the West most often used to betray Arab rulers. He mentions how the British broke their vows with Sheikh ʿĪsā.²¹⁶

Al Mubārak used similar ideas in his second poem. It primarily focuses on the same event. He wrote it after the first one because the level of language he used in it is relatively calm when compared to the level language used in the first poem. The words chosen for the second poem are devoid of the kind of political and rhetorical intensity encountered in the first poem. The first poem opens with impassioned words that call for resisting the West. The second poem leans towards using words loaded with grief and sorrow. Here there is a sense of lost hope. The poem opens in these words:

الله في الخلق مراد عجيب	في سر معناه يحار اللبيب
.....	
أقول والدمع على وجنتي	يهمي وللحزن بصدري وجيب
الحمد لله على ماجرى	وحسبنا الله ونعم الحسيب ²¹⁷

Allah has a mysterious purpose in his creation; even geniuses cannot understand the secrets in Allah's fate.

I am saying these words while the tears are watering my cheeks, and the sadness is shaking my soul.

Praise and thanks be to Allah for what has happened and Allah is sufficient for us and the best protector.

In the second poem, Al Mubārak recalls the same issues he previously mentioned in the first poem. He complains of the treachery of the Christian British because they dismissed Sheikh ʿĪsā from Bahrain. The British used the excuse that Sheikh ʿĪsā was an old man, and so in his response to this argument, Al Mubārak said: "They found it

²¹⁵ *Ibid*, p 181-182.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, p 181.

²¹⁷ *Ibid*, p 183.

shameful that he has grey hair. And it is a disaster that someone who has his own shortcomings loves to find shortcomings in other people.

Britain has become old, so why does it not stop expanding its imperial dominions. Instead of that Britain opens her mouth to eat up the world and uses for that all kinds of tricks"²¹⁸.

The second poem emphasizes the deception of the West. It praises Sheikh °Ísā and urges Arabs and Muslims to seek knowledge.

Al Mubārak ends his poem by showing hope that the East will rise again:

لابد للشرقي من كرة تقضي على الغربي عما قريب
فقد أفاق الشرق من سكرة وجد ذاك المستغر اللعوب
وهب من نومته ثائرا وكاد منه يستحيل الهوب²¹⁹

The Easterner has to prepare to attack and overcome the Westerner soon.

The East has finally woken up from their slumber, and became serious after being heedless.

So the East rose from his sleep ready to take arms, when such a revolt was considered merely impossible.

These two poems were written in the early Saudi era. They refer to a number of important points:

- There was direct contact between the Arab world and the West. Such contact affects people's lives. It also calls upon poets to express their feelings toward the West.
- During the first few decades of the twentieth century, the inhabitants of the lands now comprising the Gulf States did not envisage themselves as living in separate states. Al Mubārak lived in Saudi Arabia but he showed a greater concern for Bahraini politics. So it is not accurate to claim that this is

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, p 184.

²¹⁹ *Ibid*, p 184.

merely a Saudi view about the West. Rather, it was a view coming from the whole Arabian Peninsula.

- Religion is important for the poet. He derives from religion his knowledge and power to face the modern West. He uses religion to call for a new Islamic awakening.
- Despite the religious effect on the poet, he used the word "East" in the context of resisting the West. The use of the word East here indicates the strong sense of belonging to the East in the face of the West.
- Although the poet is a religious scholar, he shows awareness of the major political situations in the world. In the poetry written in this period one also finds some nationalist sentiments reacting to colonialism.
- In the poem written during this period, the most prominent feature of the West in general, and the British in particular, is deception. This should not be understood as a right or wrong position. Rather the positions on the West were given as ways of reacting against occupation, domination and injustice.

On the other hand, and as previously mentioned, al-Faraj wrote a poem titled "The West and The East". The poem appeared during a period of political tension which was the aforementioned British dismissal of Sheikh ʿĪsā of Bahrain. After this event happened, he left Bahrain and wrote this poem which expresses angry sentiments against the West. The poem compares between the West and the East in the following:

الغرب قد شدد في هجمته والشرق لاه بعد في غفلته
 وكلما جد بأعماله يستسلم الشرق الى راحتته²²⁰

The West was increasing the heat of the battle while the East was still oblivious and heedless.

Whenever the West became serious in its endeavour, the East became relaxed.

²²⁰ ʿAbd Allah Al-Shabbāt, *Ṣafahāt Majhwlah min Adab Shāʿir al-Khalīj*. (Cairo: Dār al-ʿItisām, 1st, 1988) p 92.

The ideas in this poem can be listed as below:

- Western superiority: For al-Faraj, the West is a military force. Technologically advanced, such a force aims to enslave the world. He believes that the West has got very advanced technology but it uses it in a wrong way. The West encompassed the world with its railways, closed distances with its cars, and navigated the world by its fleets. Its submarines possessed the bottom of seas. The globe is not enough for its ambitions. Even Western thought dominated the world. The West in al-Faraj's opinion plundered all resources in the world and enslaved people.²²¹
- All Eastern peoples are suffering from the West: al-Faraj describes the weakness of the East and its reaction against Western superiority. The East is mindless of its problems. Al-Faraj criticizes Eastern people as they pacify themselves when recalling the greatness of their ancestors and the old glory of their countries. They also put their trust in the willingness of fate to relieve them from their plight.²²²
- The Arabs and the West have a unique relationship: The Indians and Chinese have suffered a lot from Western intervention in their lives, but the Arab case seems to have surpassed the Indian and the Chinese cases since the Arabs are not united. Al-Faraj gives the example of Baghdad which at that time was under British colonial control. He states that "the West is leading it to the grave"²²³
- In this poem, one also notes a calling for awakening. Al-Faraj ends his poem by calling the Arabs to rise up and face the West. Facing the West demands using a strategy that the West could understand, namely military power:

ياقوم في أحوالنا عبرة	فلقم النائم من رقدته
فمن تغدى بأخي ضحوة	حتما تعشى بي في ليلته
.....	
والغرب لا يسمع صوتا لنا	إن لم يك المدفع في نبرته
لا يدفع الغرب سوى بأسه	أو قوة تسمو إلى قوته ²²⁴

²²¹ *Ibid*, p 92.

²²² *Ibid*, p 93.

²²³ *Ibid*, p 93.

²²⁴ *Ibid*, p 93.

Oh people we can learn a moral lesson from our desperate situations. Those of you who are still sleeping need to wake up.

Those who tricked my brother during daytime will trick me during nighttime.

The West will not listen to us if our voices were not enmeshed with the sound of cannons.

Nothing will stop the mischief of the West except a force resembling or quiet similar to its force.

For al-Faraj unity is what must drive Arabs to achieving victory. First, we need to bear in mind that Islam and Arab nationalism calls for unity. Second, we should ignore sectarian divisions:

ونحن من يعرب في دوحته	فحسبنا الإسلام من جامع
في دينه واسأله عن أمته	لا تسأل الاخر عن مذهب
أو لا فأرسلهم إلى رحمته ²²⁵	يحمي كيان القوم إجماعهم

Islam gathers us together. We, Arabs, are blessed that we belong to its lofty tree.

Do not ask the other about his doctrine but rather about his nation.

The existence of a nation is protected by their Unity, if this is not established then we leave them under the mercy of Allah.

Even if al-Faraj agrees with Al Mubārak in several points about the West, he criticizes Al Mubārak and many of his contemporaries for recalling the greatness of their ancestors and their old glory.

Unlike his contemporaries, al-Faraj focused on some Western political events even if they do not relate to Arab political causes. In his *dīwān* (collection of poems), al-Faraj wrote a poem about *The Kellogg–Briand Pact* which was signed in 1928 between Western powers. He states, “On the 27th of July 1928 at 3:50 p.m., delegates belonging to

²²⁵ *Ibid*, p 93.

the fourteen biggest countries in the world gathered in a famous hall in Paris. They sat around a table which looks like a horseshoe. They signed a pact of peace. Then there followed the firing of guns, ringing of bells and prayers".²²⁶

Unlike his other poems in his *dīwān*, al-Faraj wrote the above introduction to this poem. For al-Faraj, writing an introduction to this poem reflects the importance of the issues he is dealing with.

We can divide al-Faraj's poem into four main sections:

1-Where were you? In the first line al-Faraj seems concerned with peace. He is wondering about peace, and if it existed:

ياسلم هل لك في الوجود حقيقة حتى يسطر باسمك الميثاق²²⁷

Oh, peace! Is there something called peace which can be written down in the form of a pact!

He recalls the place where Cain killed his brother Abel. This incident ushered in a cycle of killing which stayed on for thousands of years²²⁸.

2-Peace is our miracle: al-Faraj shows happiness with such a great achievement. He describes peace as a "mystery which confused the most knowledgeable. And it is our twentieth century which uncovered your secrets and unlocked your mysterious aura".²²⁹

3-Peace is just a trick. He quickly shows the real position of this pact:

الله مهزلة ولعبة للاعب جلى بها الزعماء والحذاق

.....

ولو أنهم كبحوا جماح نفوسهم لخبث بهم فتن وزال شقاق

لكنهم جعلوا الخداع ستارهم فالجسم قاس والثياب رفاق²³⁰

We leave Allah to deal with their jest and tricks which has become evident by the leaders and the shrewd individuals

²²⁶ Su'ud Al-Zayd(Ed), *Diwān Khālid al-Faraj*. (n pub. 2 , 1989) p 151.

²²⁷ *Ibid*, p 151.

²²⁸ *Ibid*, p 151.

²²⁹ *Ibid* p 152.

²³⁰ *Ibid* p 152.

If they manage to restrict their selfish appetites, then that will cease the discord, and abate the schism.

But they have disguised their deception behind a veil. There are aggressive in nature in soft attire.

Al-Faraj in these lines warns political leaders, proposing that we no longer trust these tricks. He asked them to consider that the time when they were imprisoning people's minds is now gone forever. In his poems, al-Faraj gave a clear and strong message that there is no peace without justice and equality:

231 فالان لاسلم يجيء ولاهنا مالم يساو القزم والعملاق

But now peace will not happen unless the giant seems to be equivalent to the dwarf.

4-There is no peace without power: al-Faraj emphasizes this idea while dealing with the West. According to al-Faraj, Western ears are habituated to hearing the sound of cannons:

صم ولكن إن تكلم مدفع سمعوا وبن العدل والاشفاق
ميثاقهم ان كان سلما بينهم أما لأهل الشرق فهو وثاق²³²

They are deaf, but if the cannon speaks they will listen, and we will see the justice and mercy.

Signing the pact led to peace among them, but for the Eastern people it was just a shackle.

Even with these limited texts, these two poets' work gives us an idea on the image of the West in the first decade of Saudi history. It is no surprise that these texts present a negative view of the West. We should take into account that all these texts react to Western occupation of Arab lands and so the actions of the West on Arab lands encourage

²³¹ *Ibid* p 152.

²³² *Ibid* p 152.

these poets to write on the West. At the end of this chapter, we will compare between external and internal factors regarding the image of the West in Saudi poetry. These poets belong to two different schools of thought. Their poems show the effect of religion and Arab nationalism on the image of the West in early Saudi poetry. Although these poets expressed their feelings about similar issues, they differed in the way they presented what they considered important values. They used different strategies to face and resist Western danger.

There are also several points which need to be mentioned:

- Their contact with the West: As the West controlled most of the world during that time by military force, the poets showed deep frustration at events in their region and their nation.
- Both poets have a negative view towards the West. They proposed that as developed countries have military power they do not hesitate to use all means to achieve their interests at the expense of developing countries.
- Not satisfied with the idea of being Arabs, they consider themselves as Easterners. The word "East" is repeated sixteen times in comparison with "Arab" which is repeated five times. In addition, the word "Arab" is being used when the writer complains against colonialism or feels pride of history. In contrast, the word "East" is used in the context of confrontation with the West. This affiliation to the East might be understood as a historical necessity. The Arabs in their history did not consider themselves as part of the Eastern nations, except under the umbrella of Islam. They saw themselves as being different in many ways. However, when the world had been divided by the West to the East and the West, they found themselves among Eastern nations. Another factor that may explain the appearance of Eastern identity in Saudi texts is the great example of resistance to colonialism that was shown by other Eastern nations such as Japan and China. Motivated to resist colonialism, the Arabs sided with other Eastern nations with whom they shared a common cause. Yet with the end of the colonial era we do not expect to find a considerable influence of the "Eastern identity" on the image of the West in Saudi poetry. Because the only reason that manifested this identity is the resistance of the colonialism, which was a common theme between the Arab and the Eastern nations.

- The West in these texts is not only a military power, but it is presented as a political power as well.

Later in this work, we will see if this picture of the West will change when the West becomes busy with its own business - the Second World War.

3.2.1.2 The West and the War:

During the twentieth century, European wars drew political maps for Europe but also for the rest of the world. The victory of the Allies in the First World War helped intensify British and French colonial activities. It allowed them to divide the Arab lands among themselves, and their activities in these lands affected people's lives and culture. For example, the British colonial presence in Egypt influenced the education system there which would not have happened had Britain lost the war. Ḥāzim al-Bablāwī argues that "the history of the world is the history of European wars".²³³ Whilst this is quite probably reductionist, the two greatest wars in the twentieth century are named "World Wars", but in reality they were Western wars.²³⁴

The Second World War was one of the most critical events in world history. Millions of people participated in this war,²³⁵ and the warring countries used all kinds of weapons, so it is not surprising that we find some Arab literati engaged in debating or writing about the war. Those literati were mostly based in the Arab countries which were then colonized: the Arab Maghreb countries, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. Saudi Arabia was not under direct colonial rule but it had political links with Britain. Also, in the period between the First and Second World War, the media was developing dramatically,²³⁶ and this development familiarised people with the latest news of the European wars. Most importantly, it facilitated the proliferation in Arab lands of texts narrating events, views and ideas about the wars.

²³³ Ḥāzim Al-Bablāwī, *Naḥnu wa'l-Gharb 'Aṣr al-Muājahah 'm al-Talāqī?* (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq, 1st 1999) p 17.

²³⁴ Al-Najdī, p 152.

²³⁵ Robert Parker, Alexander Clarke, *The Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) pp 264-281.

²³⁶ Ibrāhīm Al-Ḥāzimī, Ma'ālīm al-Tajdīd fi'l-Adab al-Su'udī bayn al-Ḥarbayn al-Ālamyyatain, *Mjallat al-Dārah* (June 1975) no 2, p 13.

The Second World War represents a good example of how Saudi poetry represented the West during such a period when the Arabs and Saudis were not directly involved in Western acts. In other words, it shows they viewed and expressed their feelings toward the West when they were not directly under the pressure of Western actions, even though many battles took place close to their lands, such as El-Alamein in Egypt.

During this period, the Saudi government did not favour one side against the other. Yet most Saudi poets considered the war as a human disaster. Some poets stood in favour of one warring group against the other. Some stood on the side of the Allies and others on that of the Axis. Whilst showing their views on the First World War, Saudi poets saw Europeans as good people or bad people. As we found in some previous texts, such divisive views do not seem to take hold within the later Saudi views on the Second World War. Perhaps later Saudi poets learned a lesson from the previous war. They seem to have understood that Western countries fight for their own benefit and not for those of the Arabs.

In the period after the Second World War, many Saudi poets seemed to forget Western colonialism and Arab disagreements with the West. Poems emphasized the theme of disaster, and they showed sympathy towards human tragedies. °Ali Ghassāl (1924-) expresses this theme:

الحرب نيرانها في الكون تستعر والناس من عظم الأهوال قد ضجروا²³⁷

War is raging all over the world. People are sick of the disaster they are facing.

He claims that people are suffering from the horrors of war, and he then illustrates for us some tragic pictures about the war:

وتلك أرملة يرثي لها الحجر	هذا فتى فوق وجه الأرض منطرح
تكاد من حالها الأكباد تنفطر	وتلكم عائلات شملها بدد
يصغي لمرفوع شكواهم وقد جأروا	لا يحرم الطفل والشيخ الكبير ولا

²³⁷Al-Mu°ayqil, (2001) vol 2 p173.

قد أودت الحرب بالأكوان أجمعها أجل هي الحرب لاتبقي ولا تندر²³⁸

Here is found a young man lying on the ground. And here is a widow found in a desperate situation.

Here are the families the war fragmented. Their situation, miserable as it is, also makes us feel bad.

This war does affect even children and old people, and in the midst of war there is no one who is willing to listen to their complaints.

War could destroy the whole world, yes, war is destructive.

As Saudi poets saw themselves outside the zone of the War, they played the role of wise man. Ibrāhīm Fūdah (1924-1994) seems aware of the tense political situation surrounding the war. He states that the West is losing the right path because of the bad leadership prevalent there, and that the people will pay dearly for this:

أرى الحرب تتبع أقبالها وحب التملك أوحى لها
فخاضت تجرر أذيالها غمار الحروب وأهوالها

.....

فماشهد الناس أمثالها مجال العقول وأشغالها²³⁹

War is pursued by warlords which is driven by the love for possessions

They penetrated with conceit in the battle facing its difficulties.

People never witnesses a war of this nature, which baffled the minds.

Fūdah was sure that people will finally realize the mistakes made by their leaders, but by then they would have paid dearly for it. He expected that at the end of the war, these nations that followed their leaders to the war will curse them:

²³⁸ *Ibid*, vol 2 p 173.

²³⁹ Ibrāhīm Fūdah, *Matla' al-Fajr* (n p: 1984) p 33.

وتلعن –من حر ما نالها- ز عيما تملك إجلالها²⁴⁰

The nations curse the warlords due to its suffering, when previously the same leader was glorified.

The most dangerous thing of all is revenge. This feeling might stay alive for generations to come, and so war then might stay for a long time:

وتبكي ضحاها واصالها وتغدو تناشد أنسالها

شباب البلاد وأجيالها لتأخذ بالنار من غالها

.....

لئن أعطت اليوم أرجالها فقد يأخذ النار أطفالها²⁴¹

War makes the nation cry day and night. It calls its progeny.

Its youth and its off spring to take revenge against those who destroyed their country.

Today if men are sent forth to war, their children will take revenge in the future.

The horrors caused by war and its modern and terrifying weapons reinforced the concept of power. Some poets employed this concept of power in their efforts to provide their readers with some moral lessons. Ghassāl, in this regard, writes:

ياشرق حسبك مالاقيت من عنت فكن قويا لكي يدنو لك الوطر

بالأمس قد كنت في مجد وفي عظم سام ودون علاك الشمس والقمر

واليوم قد قال دستور الحياة لنا إن الضعيف لمغلوب ومحتقر

فانظر ترى الغرب منصورا بقوته إن القوي على الايام منتصر²⁴²

O' East, you are soaked in trouble. Be thus strong enough so that your dreams might come true.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p 34.

²⁴¹ *Ibid*, p 34.

²⁴² Al-Mu^cayqil, (2001) vol 2 p 173.

Your past was just glory and greatness. You even reached the sun and moon.

Today the constitution of life teaches us that the weak are powerless and despicable.

See how the power of the West is victorious. The powerful is able to overcome the hurdles of life.

He describes how Arabs will not be strong enough and able to face the huge military power of the West unless they unite among themselves. This idea of unity seems to have been agreed upon by most Arab writers of the period.²⁴³ The use of this idea of unity refers us to the rhetoric of Arab nationalism which had an important impact on Arab poetical imaginations of the period. Ghassāl encourages the Arabs to unite and seek to overcome differences among them. For him, this is the essence of power:

فوحّدوا ياشعوب العرب شملكم فبالوئام سما الأجداد وانتصروا²⁴⁴

O Arabs; you need to unite for it is through amity that our ancestors were able to register victory against their enemies.

The disaster caused by war called upon some Arab poets to blame Hitler and Nazi Germany. In 1941, Ḥusayn °Arab (1919-2002) wrote a poem about Tariq ibn Ziyād, an Arab leader and soldier who died in 720. In this poem, he also mentioned the Second World War:

فقل لزعيم الريخ هل أنت عالم بما تجتني أم تلك نزوة ظالم²⁴⁵

Ask the leader of the Reich if he knows what he is doing or his actions are merely capricious.

²⁴³ Al- Najdī, (2008) p161. See also Amīn, (1973) p 332.

²⁴⁴ Al-Mu°ayqil, (2001) vol 2 p 173.

²⁴⁵ Ḥusayn °Arab, *Al-Majmū°ah al-Kāmilah* (n pub, n d) vol 1 p 235.

In this poem, °Arab described Hitler as not a just ruler, but that he was walking on path that lead to more evil.²⁴⁶ He glances at the future in order to predict the fate of the aggressor. Even if the first years of the Second World War recorded greater victories for Germany, °Arab believed that Hitler will finally regret what he does, and he also will be defeated as Napoleon Bonaparte (1769 –1821) was defeated at Waterloo. According to °Arab, Hitler may face the fate of Roderick (died 711 or 712):²⁴⁷

ألا إن في لذريق عبرة راغم وإن (بواترلو) لذكري هزائم²⁴⁸

In the defeat of Roderick there emerges a moral lesson. And Waterloo is well known in the history of war and defeats.

Strong statements against the Germans and their leader Hitler began appearing in Saudi poetry as the Allies clearly appeared to be winning the war. In a poem written in 1945, Fu'ād Shākir (1905-1973) condemns the Germans for their brutal attacks. He describes their aggressive actions thus:

عمل تبرؤ المروءة منه هو من صنع زمرة أجلاف
ليس من شرعة القتال انتقام من شيوخ أو من صغار ضعاف²⁴⁹

Such horrendous action is devoid of honour; it is pursued by a group of undisciplined individuals.

It is not from the principles of war to take retribution against the elderly, the young and the weak.

Shākir mentions the victories of the Germans and then he moves onto describing the successive military defeats that the Germans suffered. He mentions the counterattacks carried out by the Allies, and, According to Shākir, that the Allies will soon reach the centre of Berlin:

²⁴⁶ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 235.

²⁴⁷ The Visigothic King of Hispania for a brief period between 710 and 712. He is famous in legend as "the last king of the Goths". See: Kohn, George Childs, *Dictionary Of Wars* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013) p 321.

²⁴⁸ °Arab, (n d) vol 1 p 235.

²⁴⁹ Fu'ād Shākir, *Waḥī al- Fu'ad* (n p, 3 ed. 1967) p 318.

هدف الكل منهم قلب ألمانيا وبرلين قبلة الأهداف²⁵⁰

Their purpose is to overturn Germany. And overturning Berlin is their main objective.

Shākir predicted that the Allies will soon reach all the way to Berlin and that will be like reaching out to the heart of the human body, through which they could destroy the rest of the body.

Shākir concludes his poem by warning Hitler against divine punishment, wondering if Hitler had a conscience, or if he felt anything about the pain and death that he caused:

أفحي الضمير تلقى عذابا من رزايا تندم واعتراف²⁵¹

Do you have a conscience that makes you suffer and regret from your sins.

Lastly the poet threatens him with divine punishment:

فانتظر فيك حكم قضاء الله يهوي عليك بالانصاف²⁵²

You wait. And then the edict of Allah will be addressed to you.
Such edict will be just to you.

When the war was over, poets were more able to see the whole picture. They saw the destruction left by the war. They expressed their indignation against those who started the war. Muḥammad Ḥasan Faqī (2004-1914) in his poetry shows how the Nazis adored fighting wars:

عبدوا الحرب وشبوا نارها فانتنت تاكلهم كالحطب
أترى الطاعة قد أودت بهم حينما دانوا به للذنب

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p 318.

²⁵¹ *Ibid*, p 319.

²⁵² *Ibid*, p 319.

أم تراهم أمة مذبولة تتلهى بالدم المنسكب²⁵³

They worship wars, which almost always turn the table against their heads.

Have not you seen how obedience to the dictates of war caused them to lose their lives?

Or they are a fool nation who enjoys seeing gushing blood.

According to Faqī, the barbarism of some Western leaders is totally incompatible with the civilized image the modern West aims to present to the world. This image primarily relates to civilization, human justice and freedom. The message which Faqī is trying to deliver is that although the West is technologically advanced, some Western leaders act savagely.²⁵⁴ He states that all generations will curse Hitler:

وثوى هتلر في مرقده بعد ما بآء بلعن الحقب²⁵⁵

You see Hitler in his deathbed cursing the age in which he lived.

Yet Faqī's attitude towards Hitler and the Nazis does not encompass the whole German nation. He emphasizes that their main problem was that they have a bad leader. He warns them that such a leader will lead them to destruction, and he called out to the German nation saying:

أي شعب عبقرى أنتم ويلكم لولا دعاة العطب
خدعوكم بالأمانى التى لم تكن الا كبرق خلب²⁵⁶

What a genius nation you are? Beware of the agents of destruction.

They deceive you by cherishing hope inside you. Such hope is nothing but a flash of lightning.

²⁵³ Muhammad Faqī, *Al-A'māl al-Kāmilah* (Jeddah: Al-Dār al-Su'ūdiyyah li'l-Nashr wa al-Tawzī', n d) vol 1 p 410.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 411.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 411.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 411.

Faqī also refers to the massive devastation of the World War II. Some Garman cities were reduced to rubble and ash.²⁵⁷ He advises the Germans not to choose a violent leader in the future:

واحدروا عقلية ملتائة يا بني المستقبل المرتقب²⁵⁸

Oh sons of the future, beware of an irrational leader.

Saudi poets congratulated the Allies after their sweeping victory, and Shākir concludes his poem by congratulating the Allies. He asks them to start a peaceful era:

يا شعوبا سطررت أمجادها بالدم الغالي وسامي القرب
اهنئي اليوم بنصر نلته من أعاديك بحد القصب
وعدي الدنيا بسلم دائم تجدي الراحة بعد النصب²⁵⁹

Oh people, you acquired glory with your dearest blood and great sacrifice.

Today I congratulate you for the victory against your enemy, a victory achieved by the blade of the sword.

If you promise the world that, your destination is permanent peace, then you will find comfort instead of anxiety.

There is a similar line in Shākir's poem where he offers the Allies two options:

فإما حياة للورى ورفاهة وإما دمار للورى وحمام²⁶⁰

People either live a happy, life or rush onto destruction and death.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 411.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 411.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 411.

²⁶⁰ Shākir, (1967) p 312.

Al-Faraj showed another way of dealing with this war. In his *Dīwān*, we find two poems: one about Hitler and the other about Mussolini. The poem about Mussolini shows al-Faraj's view of the Italian leader. In the first lines, al-Faraj describes the kind of glory Mussolini tried to achieve:

(بنيتو) بنيت صروح الفخار وجددت مجد بني الأصفر
ولقبت فكتور بالامبرور وكدت تسميه بالقيصر²⁶¹

You established monuments of pride and renewed the glory of the Romans.

You called Victor an emperor and were about to name him Caesar.

Al-Faraj does not approve of Mussolini naming the Mediterranean "our sea":

تتادي بدون حيا بحرنا ومالك منه سوى إظفر²⁶²

You proclaim that the Mediterranean is our sea but on the contrary you possess from it just a fingertip.

Al-Faraj believes that Mussolini's sense of pride was something which cannot be checked. His nation (Italy) was full of cowards who can just fight weak people:

ألم تتعض من قتال الضعيف من حبشي ومن أمهري
وماكنت تجهل شعبا لديك متى يدخل الحرب يستأسر²⁶³

Did you not learn your lesson from warring the Abyssinians and those who speak Amharic?

Were you not aware that once your people find themselves in war they prefer to be taken hostages? (since they are coward).

²⁶¹ Al-Zayd, (1989) p 144.

²⁶² *Ibid*, p 144.

²⁶³ *Ibid*, p 144.

Yet when he expressed his opinion on Hitler after the war is over, Al-Faraj could not hide his appreciation of the German leader. He criticized some of the actions, which led Hitler to destruction, and he blamed him for fighting a two-front war:

علام فتحت الجبهتين عنادا وأعداك كادوا يسلسون قيادا²⁶⁴

Why did you fight a two-front war obstinately when your enemies were about to surrender?

Al-Faraj believes that Hitler deviated from the path granted to him by Bismarck. The result is that – similar to what happened to Gallium – Hitler's actions brought him failure. Previously, Napoleon's military prowess constituted him as a conqueror but he ended up being defeated.²⁶⁵

Al-Faraj also points out Hitler's other mistake, which was his alliance with the coward Italians:

وحالفت شعبا كالنعامة قلبه يطير فوادا في الوغى وفوادا²⁶⁶

You had an alliance with a coward nation who act like an ostrich. In the thick of battle their hearts lose patience and fly away one after another.

Al-Faraj acknowledges the disasters caused by Hitler. Yet he thinks that his enemies need not blame Hitler for what he did, since their actions were not less aggressive than those of Hitler. Al-Faraj blames Britain and France for occupying Arab lands and supporting Israel:

هم نقموا منك التعدي وأنكروا وما احترموا للوادعين حيادا
وقد حللوا ما حرموا من جرائم وكل بأنواع النكال تمادى
على المدن قد ألقوا قنابل ذرة بها تركوا تلك البلاد رمادا²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p 145.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p145.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p 145.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p 145.

They denounce your aggressive actions, but they also did not respect those who are neutral.

They sanctioned the crimes, which were illegal. And they transgressed by different modes of tortures.

They have thrown nuclear bombs on cities. It turned these cities into ashes.

In these lines that express his thought, we may understand why Al-Faraj was the only Saudi poet who liked Hitler. Both the Nazis and the Allies were killers, but the Allies did something bad to Arab people:

وصالوا علينا باليهود وسلطوا
كلابا علينا استأسدت تتعادي
فعاثوا بنا أضعاف ما عثت فيهم
وأفنتوا نفوسا أز هقت وبلاداً²⁶⁸

They made the Jews attack us and assigned dogs to attack us who thought they are lions.

They did to us more than what you have done to them. And they killed people and destroyed countries.

A sad tone dominates the last two lines of al-Faraj's poem:

وداعا فما للوم بعدك موقع
وإن كنت لم تفعل هناك سدا
فقدنا بك الركن الركين على العدى
وحطمت امالا لنا ومراداً²⁶⁹

Farewell. After you have passed away there is no space for blame although your actions were not mostly right.

When we lost you, we lost our support against the enemy. And as a result our hopes and desires were shattered.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p 145.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p 145.

Another element of the theme of war and its impact was the American atomic bomb attack against Japan towards the end World War II, which was one of the most controversial events in history. The United States possessed the most awesome and destructive technology imaginable, and the size of the devastation shocked the world. On this particular incident, Saudi poets expressed feelings of fear and frustration. The feeling of frustration led Ṣāliḥ al-°Uthaymīn (1930-2012) to describe the future of humanity in pessimistic terms. For al-°Uthaymīn the West is evil since it used the atomic bomb. He spoke against those people who use science to destroy their fellow humans, and gave a pessimistic outlook on human nature:

هو ابن الحياة سليل العدم طغى فاستبد فقاسى الألم

.....

يفكر في الشر أنى سرى ويسعى الى أمل مدلهم²⁷⁰

He is the son of a meaningless life. He practices aggression and tyranny which made him live a painful life.

He thinks of finding evil in the world. Such evil though would destroy his hope in life.

Al-°Uthaymīn addressed a human being thus: "Oh son of life who is fond of harming people. Think about what you are doing. For your actions will not bring you success. With an invention which decorates the shadows of life with precious pearls at the same time as you infuse them with flame and blood. By this invention human dig their graves by their hands".²⁷¹

Muḥammad Aḥmad al-°Aqīlī (1916-2002) was lenient in his views of the causes and effects of the atomic bomb. Unlike al-°Uthaymīn, al-°Aqīlī viewed the atomic bomb positively and found some benefits in it. One benefit of such bomb is that it allows its possessors to end the state of war and instead push the warring groups towards finding a peaceful solution to their conflicts. Al-°Aqīlī could not hide his fascination of this innovation:

²⁷⁰ Ṣāliḥ Al-°Uthaymīn, *Shu'ā' al-Amal* (n ed, n d) p 130.

²⁷¹ *Ibid*, p 131.

صدى نبأ قد رددته الجوانب وسر اكتشاف حقيقته التجارب
أصاغت له الأفلاك والدهر واجف وحاتر له الأفكار والكون واجب

به رجحت للسلم في الكون كفة وأدرك أسنى غاية الصبر طالب²⁷²

The news of the invention of the nuclear bomb echoed everywhere. It was an invention which experiments uncovered its secrets.

(This news of the invention of the bomb) reached the orbits causing terror. Making people perplexed and the universe fearful.

Due to this bomb the peace outweighed the war, the patient one achieved his ultimate goal

But he did not forget to ask them to use this power to achieve goodness:

قوى لو تسخر في المنافع أحدثت رفقاً تخطته العصور الذواهب²⁷³

If some powers make use of the benefits they have then they will gain improvements, which was never achieved in the previous eras.

Al-°Aqīlī was fascinated by this "scientific miracle". He wondered how could a very small particle that the eye cannot see and fingers cannot touch destroy both people and buildings with such devastating effects. He concludes his poem by praising science:

عناصر قد كانت نهاية ماجلى لها العلم أسراراً دعته المطالب
تواصت بها غر الجهود ويممت تغوص بحوثاً تكتنفها المعاطب
فأسفر صبح البحث عن معجز بدا بأعظم ماقد أنتجتة المواهب²⁷⁴

²⁷² Muhammad Aḥmad Al-°Aqīlī, *Al-Majmū'ah al-Shi'ryyah al-Kāmilah* (n pub. 1st ed. 1992) p 170.

²⁷³ *Ibid*, p 171.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p 172.

Such particles were the fruits in the efforts made by science to discover the secrets of the world.

The efforts made by science continued to discover the destructive secrets leading to the invention of these particles.

Such efforts uncovered a great miracle, and contain the best of talented people's innovations.

3.2.1.3 The United Nations:

When the war was over, people realized the huge cost they had paid. "Because of the widespread recognition that humankind could not afford a third world war, the United Nations was established".²⁷⁵ Saudi poets rejoiced that this United Nations project was undertaken so that peace around the world could be achieved. Ḥusayn °Arab considered the UN project a meeting ground between East and West. It marked a new start of an era in which the oppressed could be liberated, there will be no difference between East and West, and finally there will be an opportunity to shake hands and seek to achieve peace. As world events have panned out since then, his views seem very idealistic. But these views indicate how the horrors caused by the war made °Arab exaggerate the kind of happiness and peace which could be found in this new moment of human history. In the first line of his poem, °Arab celebrates Saudi participation in establishing United Nations:

ولما تلاقينا على خير موعد شربنا صفاء الود من خير مورد²⁷⁶

When we met each other we filled our love from the best spring.

Then °Arab used his imagination to describe this great meeting between East and West, which made them one united group:

مشى الشرق جيئاشا الى الغرب صاخبا بعزيمة جبار ورغبة منجد
فيا مرحبا بالخطب يهدي نفوسنا الى الوحدة العصماء غاية مهتد

²⁷⁵ Pallab Saha, *A Systemic Perspective To Managing Complexity With Enterprise Architecture* (Hershey, PA: Business Science Reference, 2014) p 397.

²⁷⁶ °Arab, (n d) vol 1 p 235

فما الشرق الا الغرب نبيل سجية وما الغرب الا الشرق عزة محتد²⁷⁷

The East headed to the West firmly, with a great desire to help it.

Welcome to the great encounter which make our souls calm and guide it to great unity.

The East is nothing but the West with good civilities. The West is nothing but the East with greater historical pride.

In this poem, °Arab commented on the Charter of the United Nations, and understood that peace cannot be possible without power, for power sometimes helps the weak and saves peace from descending into war. He states that, "Seeking righteousness demands a powerful force which protects the weak and warns the aggressors. This righteous force also preserves the legality of peace and protects the heritage of our glory".²⁷⁸

إذا صاح مظلوم وزمجر ظالم تقدم منا أصيد بعد أصيد
مشى الجيش شرقيا كخطب مجرد مع الجيش غربيا كخطب مصمد
فيا شمس هذا ملتقانا فأشرفي وياللمنى هذا هو انا فغرد²⁷⁹

If the oppressed call for help, you will find us, powerful people, ready to help them.

The Eastern army, as a sharp sword, marches alongside the Western army, as a solid sword.

Oh, sun! this is our meeting place so rise upon us. O' hope this is what we desire.

The fascination with the material and figurative signification of power makes the poets view wars as products of heroism. It further makes them posit the future as a playground for those who possess power.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 237.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 237.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 237.

During the Second World War, most Saudi poets seemed to forget Western colonialism and occupation of Arab lands. Apart from al-Faraj, all of them dealt with the West naturally as they would have done with any other part of the world. They did not say that the West deserved what had happened to it during the devastation of World War II. They just raised their voice against the war, showing how the war was a universal, human disaster. Apart from al-Faraj's poems, all the rest of the poems do not express Islamic or Arab nationalist sentiments or identities. The most common ideas in this text express normal human values such as supporting justice and peace, and even al-Faraj agreed with other Saudi poets in his disapproval of the crimes committed in the name of this war. Al-Faraj posited a unique perspective by stating that winners of the war are equal to the defeated, as they both committed crimes against humanity.

It is arguable that Saudi attitudes toward the West at this stage, as the poetry shows, were to a large extent not affected by religion or culture. The Saudis show this neutral stance toward the West when the West is not showing any intentions to occupy Arab and Muslim lands. Issues of religion, traditions and nationalism appear in Saudi poetry when Saudi poets speak of the danger that the West creates in having colonial enterprises in Arab lands. However, the values of Islam and Arab nationalism use to enhancing the self-image in front of the West. But when the West is busy by a war in his land, then the Saudi and Arab poets do not feel that they are not in direct confrontation with the West to use their own values and identities.

3.2.2 Cultural Image:

3.2.2.1 On the cultural and social level, there are various views that were held towards the West. Muḥammad al °Abd al-Qādir was a religious scholar, and he considered the West as an enemy invader of Muslim lands. Every single act the West does, this poet believed, lead to violence. One clear example of this occurs when the first oil company in Saudi Arabia was established in 1933. He looked at this new phenomenon in the lives of the Saudis as a trick played by a Christian enemy against the Muslims. He writes:

مد العدو لنا من كيده شرّكه حتى تصيدنا في هذه الشّرّكه²⁸⁰

The enemy prepared a trap for us. And we became entrapped by accepting the establishment of the oil company.

In this line, he uses two Arabic words which have the same spelling but different pronunciation (company is *sharikah*, and trap is *sharak*). In using these words, the poet expressed his hostile views on the West.

It is fair to say that not all workers in the oil companies were foreigners. Also the oil companies were important for Saudi Arabia. But conservative voices during that time such as that of al °Abd al-Qādir rejected any rapprochement with the West. He made it clear that all Western progressive phenomena are superstitious and deceiving. °Abd al-°Azīz al-°Iljī (1872-1943) was also a religious scholar expressed his views towards the deception of the West in his poem from which we can find the following lines:

وقولوا لعباد الصليب تقهقروا وكفوا عن الإسلام كفا مؤبدا

.....

وليست خرافات التمدن بينكم خدعتم بها الحمقى غيبا وأنكدا²⁸¹

Tell the worshipers of the cross to go back to where they come from so that they will stop corrupting Islam.

Tell them that the myths of civilization which they invented can only deceive fools and stupid people.

In another poem, al-°Iljī warned about the call encouraging women to receive education and work opportunities. He stated that no one supports this call apart from Christians or ignorant Muslims.²⁸² In addition, al-°Iljī, in many lines of this poem, mentioned that the Prophet Muhammed, his Companions and the righteous *Salaf*, the

²⁸⁰ Al-Ḥilū, (1979) p 192.

²⁸¹ *Ibid*, p 436.

²⁸² *Ibid*, p 472.

earliest generation of Muslims, were the right examples whom we should follow to get our glory back.

But the views of al-^ʿIljī on the West do not represent those of all Saudi poets. In fact, some religious scholars from his region, al-Aḥṣā^ʿ, viewed the West quite differently. Al Mubārak, like al-^ʿIljī, referred to the West and the British as Christians, but Al Mubārak emphasized the importance of embracing useful Western achievements. In so doing, he did not forget to mention that Muslims need not adopt bad Western customs and habits.

Al-Aḥṣā^ʿ poets' reaction to the West relate to their views on the activities of the oil company based in their region. Another issue which effected their views on the West was the fact that the Arabian Gulf during that time was under British colonial rule. Ten years later, in other parts of Saudi Arabia — particularly in the Ḥijāz — we can see a cultural interaction with the West. Saudi poets showed this interaction in their writings. They read Greek myths, and used these myths in their poetry. Saudi poets were not the first in the Arab world who did this. Other Arab poets and writers, especially Egyptians, also used this method.

3.2.2.2 The use of Greek and Roman myths in Arabic literature represents one of the aspects of the impact of the West in modern Arabic literature. Many Arab poets used these myths in their writings. In so doing, they set out to imitate well known Western writers. Still, these Greek and Roman myths influenced Western literature. "English poets from Shakespeare to Robert Bridges turned for inspiration to Greek mythology. Jean Racine in France and Goethe in Germany revived Greek drama".²⁸³

Some may argue that these ancient myths do not represent the modern West, and Arab writers used these ancient myths because they considered them as symbols of world heritage. But Western writers viewed these myths as being part of their cultures. Geoffrey Miles believed that there is "a continuous line of inheritance and influence connecting ancient Greece and Rome with the modern 'western' world, shaping our arts, our institutions, our values and philosophies. One small aspect of that tradition has been the

²⁸³ All-art.org, 'History Of Art: *Greek And Roman Myths In Art*', 2012 <http://www.all-art.org/odissea/galereja%20_illustrations.htm> [accessed 9 January 2012].

use of classical mythology in English literature".²⁸⁴ As this belief demonstrates, some Western writers thought of themselves as the legitimate heirs of the Greeks and Romans, including their myths. These Western writers were also intermediaries between these myths and Arab writers. Arab writers, however, "got their knowledge of the Classics through this or that modern European language and not directly through Greek (or Latin)".²⁸⁵

The use of these myths by Arab writers ran through two stages. First, they took it upon themselves to introduce these myths to their Arab readers. They translated these myths and inserted them into their poetry. Such a task was followed by °Ali Maḥmūd Ṭāhā (1901-1948) and Elyas Abu Shabkah (1903-1947).²⁸⁶ Greek myths became a phenomenon in the schools of *al-Dīwān* and *Apollo*. Second they used these myths as allegories referring to a topic writer's wish to deliver to their readers. Such was the case in many Arabic poems written after the second half of twentieth century. Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb, Salāḥ °Abd al-Sabūr and al-Bayyātī applied such a method.²⁸⁷

Kaḍim, in his investigation about the image of the West in Arabic poetry, noticed that the more avant-garde poets of Arabic poetry used Greek myths to express their openness towards Western influence.²⁸⁸ Muḥammad Ḥasan °Awwād (1906-1980) was one of the Saudi literary pioneers. As he was deeply influence by the school of *al-Dīwān*, he used Greek myths in his poems. °Awwād wrote two poems, the first of which was an introduction to the Iliad. The second referred to the legend of Gordias. In the first poem, he introduced the main Allāhs in Greek myths to the reader as such:

فتلك "ديانا" ربة الصيد إنها	هي البدر قد تغشاه هذي الغياهب
و"زفس" أبو الارباب فيما تخيلوا	هو المشتري حيث السنا فيه غالب
و"مارس" اله الحرب والرعد عندهم	قديما هو المريخ إذ هو لاهب
وأن "أبولو" سيد الشعر والرؤى	هو الشمس تجلوها الفنون ال عجائب ²⁸⁹

²⁸⁴ Geoffrey Miles, *Classical Mythology In English Literature* (London: Routledge, 1999) p 3.

²⁸⁵ Ahmed Etman, 'Greek Literature', 2015

<<http://www.bibalex.com/hellenisticstudies/courses/greekliterature.aspx>> [accessed 24 January 2015].

²⁸⁶ Hudā Qaza°, 'Al-Ramz al-Ustūrī Fi'l-Shi'r Al-Ḥadīth', *Al-Ḥiwar al-Mutamaddin*, 21 (2012)

<<http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=292819>> [accessed 27 January 2015]

²⁸⁷ °Ali °Abd al-Riḍā, *al-Ustūrah fī Shi'r al-Sayyāb* (Baghdad: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah wa'l-Funūn, 1978) p 21.

²⁸⁸ Kaḍim, (2010) pp 100 and 161.

²⁸⁹ °Awwād, Muhammad Ḥasan, *Dīwān al-°Awwād*. (Cairo: Dār al-°Ālam al-°Aarabī, n d) vol 2 p 122.

That is "Diana" Goddess of hunting. She is the full moon which may be covered by the clouds.

And "Zeus" is the father of Gods. They imagine him being Jupiter beaming with lights.

And "Ares" is the God of war and the thunder. He is al-Mirrīkh (Mars) as he is on fire.

And "Apollo" is the God of poetry and dreams. He is the sun full of artistic wonders.

His second poem was about Gordias, and forty five lines out of sixty nine tell his story. Gordias was a poor farmer from Macedonia, and an eagle landed on his ox-cart, which was interpreted as a sign that one day he will become a king. On Gordias, °Awwād writes:

كان قبل المسيح في عهد اسكن (م) در يشقى بحقله فلاحا
 يحرث الأرض للزراعة معني (م) يا ويسقي الثرى مساء صباحا

 ولبيناه قائم ذات يوم اذ بنسر الى المزارع جاحا
 فاعتلى وهو هاديء ذروة المح (م) راث وانقض هادنا مرتاحا

 ثم خاضوا به ففسره الكه (م) ان أمرا من السماء ألاحا
 منذرا أن يحيل ممتلك الحرا (م) ث ملكا متوجا جججاحا²⁹⁰

Before the time of Jesus, in the era of Alexander, he was working hard in his farm.

He ploughed the land so the seeds can be planted. He irrigated the land day and night.

²⁹⁰ °Awwād, (n d) vol 2 p 134.

While engaged with his work, one day an eagle came down near him

The eagle landed on the pole of his ox-cart and stayed calm there.

People debated this incident. Soothsayers interpreted it as a sign from the sky. They said that the owner of the cart would one day become a king.

In the second part of his poem, °Awwād addresses the question of luck. For °Awwād the question of luck seems to be the main message of this legend. In this legend, Gordias has nothing except luck to be a great king. °Awwād, however, discredited luck as it is contrary to justice. Luck may give fools wealth and prestige, but in this case it does not give clever people what they deserve. He begins in the following lines:

يا لأعمى أصم أهوج مجنو (م) نا كثيرا الشذوذ من حيث لاحا
لست بالمستطيع تسمعه الصو (م) ت ولا أن تريه هما رزاحا²⁹¹

There is a blind, deaf, cyclonic, crazy and strange person.

You cannot make him hear you. You cannot share your problems with him.

The educational character in these poems is obvious. The poet realizes that these myths were totally new for the majority of his readers. Thus, poets, by composing this kind of work, tried to introduce new cultural products into their own culture.

Because of the religious nature of most of these ancient myths, they are totally against the Islamic faith, and so Awwād uses some words showing his disbelief in these myths. These words are (زعموا), “they claimed”, and (فيما تخيلوا), “they imagined”. In the rest of the first poem, he distanced himself from Greek beliefs. He seemed to apologize to the reader who expects not to find such pagan ideas in poetry, and he writes:

ألوهية مزعومة قد تنازعت عليها بمغنى الخالدين عصائب

²⁹¹ *Ibid*, vol 2 p 235.

خرافات فكر طال بالناس عهدها تخيلها اليونان والجهل ضارب
وكانوا بعهد غابر جاهلية كما كان في التاريخ هذي الأعراب

وما ثم بعد الكفر ذنب مؤاخذ عليه وهل يلحى على الشتم ضارب²⁹²

Alleged divinity has been claimed by a group of immortals.

Superstitious people believed in it for a long time. The Greek imagination came up with it when ignorance was predominant.

During this time, the Greeks lived in Jahiliyyah (ignorance), in a way similar to what the Arabs previously had in their history.

Non-Muslims cannot be judged according to their beliefs in myths because there is no sin after infidelity.

These poems acted as a centrepiece for a literary battle between °Awwād and another Saudi poet, Ḥamzah Shaḥātah (1909-1982). It is important to mention that °Awwād called himself Apollo, and he was clearly a big admirer of mythical Greek Gods. Shaḥātah, however, called himself the Night. He wrote several poems satirizing Greek Gods and Goddesses, especially Apollo. Shaḥātah titled his first poem "To Apollo". Under this title he wrote: "they claim that there is a God of poetry and the sun called Apollo, and we are first unbelievers of him..... we seek to demolish and destroy this God, seeking of Allah the only true Allah". This statement seems very religious. But the implication here is that he used a religious rhetoric to vilify his opponent Apollo, °Awwād.

There was a long history of quarrels between those two poets.²⁹³ In a rather long poem of sixty lines, Shaḥātah expresses his contempt of Apollo. In many lines, we can replace the word Apollo by °Awwād to understand what Shaḥātah meant. He writes:

يا أبولون يا اله المجاني (م) ين على غابر الليالي عزاء²⁹⁴

²⁹² °Awwād. (n d) vol 2 p 123.

²⁹³ Ḥamzah Shaḥātah, *Diwan Ḥamzah Shaḥātah*. (n p: 1st ed) p 247.

²⁹⁴ The sign (م) indicates that there is one word divided between the two parts of this line of the poetry.

لست الا خيال فكر مريض علقته أحنى القلوب غباء

.....

يا أبولون خدعة أنت تستهو (م) ي خشاش الأحياء والبلهاء²⁹⁵

Oh Apollo you have been a God for mad people since time immemorial.

You are a sick image of diseased thought, and stupid hearts believe in you.

Oh Apollo you are a trick which attracts bastards and fool people.

Shaḥātah attacked Apollo and those people who believe in Apollo. He referred to Greek myths in this text only to attack his opponents (°Awwād).

Shaḥātah was not the only Arab poet who was not in favour of using Greek myths in literature. Many Arab poets who used Greek myths in their writings had to bear with many critical views from those against the use of these literary models in poetry.²⁹⁶ But in Egypt and elsewhere in the Arab world, such views were not as scathingly critical as those used by Shaḥātah in his response to (°Awwād). This may explain the way religion and locality affected the perception of Western cultures in Saudi poetry.

One of the most significant cultural interactions with the West at this period was the reactions shown by Saudi poets towards Rudyard Kipling's *"The Ballad of East and West"*.²⁹⁷ There are three Saudi poems written as responses to Kipling's famous line: "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet". °Aḥmad Ibrāīm al-Ghazzāwī (1900-1981) wrote the first poem. He understands Kipling's words as being expressive of Kipling's arrogance and class background. This kind of perception towards Kipling refers us to how suspicious the poet was in his views of Western people. Al-Ghazawi began by saying that East is not East and West is not West:

لا الشرق شرق إذا ما تارت الهمم كلا ولا الغرب غرب يوم يصطدم²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Shaḥātah, (n d) p 248.

²⁹⁶ Abd al-Riḍā, (n d) p 35.

²⁹⁷ Rudyard Kipling, *The Cambridge Edition Of The Poems Of Rudyard Kipling* (Cambridge [u.a.]: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2013) p 245.

²⁹⁸ M °Abd al-Maqṣūd and A Balkhāir, *Waḥī al-Ṣaḥrā'* (n p, n d) p 47.

The East is not East when people get ready for war. Nor West will be West in the day of fighting.

Then he moved to explain what has happened to the East given that the East is now in this inferior position:

أجل تقهقر هذا الشرق فانغمزت قناته بعد أن صالت بها الأمم²⁹⁹

Yes the East retreated back and became weak after a period of glory.

The poet agreed that Eastern glory is now lost because Eastern people forgot their duty and lost the right path. He turned to the West to compare between East and West:

بينما ترى الغرب قد جاشت مصانعه واكتظ بالقوم ضجت شملهم نظم

ترشفوا العلم أحقابا مسلسلة يد صناع وفكر ناضج وفم³⁰⁰

While you see the West has many factories run by organized workers.

They handed the knowledge down from generation to generation.

They have skilled hands and mature thought and voices.

After mentioning many Western inventions, he shifts to speak of the lost glories of the East. East in this poem means all Eastern countries in all ages included India, China and the Pharaohs. He writes:

ياشرق أين عهدا فيك زاهرة الصين جاد بها والهند والهرم

أين المفاخر في مسناك شيدها أبناؤك العرب الأمجاد والعجم³⁰¹

Oh East why did you lose the prosperous eras in which the Chinese, Indians and the old Egyptians who built pyramids had glorious achievements to offer?

²⁹⁹ *Ibid* p 47.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid* p 47.

³⁰¹ *Ibid* p 48.

Where are your glories, which were achieved by Arabs and non-Arabs?

Al-Ghazzāwī responded to Kipling's words by emphasizing the importance of Muslims pursuing education, continuing learning and searching for the best knowledge, otherwise they will regret that they did not do that.³⁰² Yet he did not forget to call upon Muslims to stick to their religion:

واختر لأهلك ما ترجو منافعہ فأنت بالدين والتمدين تحترم³⁰³

Choose for your people what you think is helpful. Two things make you respected: religion and civilization.

For this poet, if the East achieves glory, Kipling will come to apologize for what he previously claimed:

وقل (لكبلنغ) إما جاء معتذرا هذا هو الشرق لا ماقلت أو زعموا³⁰⁴

And say to Kipling when he comes to apologize that this is the East not what he said or other claimed.

The second poet who reacted to Kipling's words is Muḥamad Faqī. He wrote two poems. One was published in 1942 called "East and West will meet". He wrote the second poem in 1943, and named it "East and West will never meet". Although these two titles appear contradictory, the content in both poems is very similar and both poems were written during the Second World War. He begins the first poem with these optimistic lines:

بدا عهد فجر بالسعادة مشرق يبشر بالمستقبل المتألق

وإن وراء الفجر شمساً منيرة فيا أيها الشمس المنيرة أشرق³⁰⁵

The dawn of happiness appeared, ushering in a bright future.

³⁰² *Ibid* p 48.

³⁰³ *Ibid* p 48.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid* p 48.

³⁰⁵ Faqī, (n d) vol 1 p 413.

Behind this dawn is a bright sun. Oh sun it is now the right time
to rise up.

The poet asked the happy sun to shine on the West, as the West is suffering from
war:

أطلبي فهذا الغرب تجتاحه النهى وتهدم ماشادات بمعول أحمق
غزا الذعر والموت الزؤام ربوعه فويل لمن ولى وويل لمن بقي³⁰⁶

(Oh sun) rise up on the west where smart people are now fighting,
destroying what they have achieved by foolish hands.

The West is now being swamped by fear and death. Woe onto
those who died in this fighting. Woe onto those who still keep
fighting.

All of the Western scientific achievements did not protect Western people from
the horrors of War. Faqī believed he knew what was missing from the West on the way
towards achieving peace. He claims that knowledge cannot be mainly conducted and
controlled by genius minds, and believes that they still need something else, which can
check the danger which scientific progress creates - they needed faith:

ولكن بإيمان عميق ومبدأ قويم وروح كالنمير المرقق³⁰⁷

But by a deep faith, right principles and human sense.

Faqī turns to the East. He encourages Eastern people to regain back their glory.
He believes that Eastern people were the real model for Western civilization:

نهضت وكان الغرب وسنان لاهيا يدين بأوهام وسخف ملفق
وشيدت دور العلم يخفق فوقها لواء تداجيه الخصوم وتتقي

.....

³⁰⁶ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 413.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 413.

فلما استبان الرشد سار وراءه حثيثا ولم يمهل ولم يترفق
وأكدى أخوه الشرق من طول وكدة فخلفه نضوا وقال له الحق

You had your awakening while Western people who believed in legends and superstitions were fast sleeping heedlessly.

You built schools that raised your glory: you made your opponent fearful.

When the West found the right way to achieve glory, it rushed onto it quickly and fiercely.

Here the East could not keep up to the West so the West left the East behind and said to it: you follow me.

In the last lines, Faqī asks the East to take on its rightful role in life. Faqī emphasizes the similarities between the East and the West, and he asks the East to move forwards and achieve its dream. According to him, both the East and the West can meet:

تقدم الى الغرب المجلى مصافحا فلست بمبخوس ولست بمرهق
فإن جميلا أن نرى الحق سائدا عو المنا والشرق بالغرب يلتقي³⁰⁸

Move forward in the direction of the West and shake hands with it. You have the ability do this.

It is good to see the right dominant in our world and see the East meet the West.

In his second poem, Faqī analyses the meeting between East and West in a detailed way. As the title of his poem indicates, he denied that such a meeting might happen. Yet he began his poem by mentioning blood ties between all mankind:

أبت قرب الإنسان الا تلاقيا على غلواء الدهر بعد التجافيا³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 413.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 436.

All humans need to meet one day even if life makes them separate from each other.

He believes there is nothing that makes people closer among themselves than old blood ties. This relationship should be reinforced by values of justice, freedom and equality:

فإما تلاقى بعد ريب وجفوة ففي أن ترى ورد المناسب صافيا
وفي أن ترى حق العدالة شائعا وفي أن ترى ظل المساواة ضافيا
.....
وفي أن ترى حرية الرأي موردا مباحا وألا يدفع الضيم صاديا³¹⁰

After a long separation, the first thing, which gathers humans together, is ties of blood.

Then the justice and equality which should distributed for all.

Freedom of speech then is granted to all people, which protects poor people from being free.

Faqī repeated the same meaning of handshaking and parity between East and West, a theme he mentioned in his first poem:

بلى نلتقي يا غرب مسعى وغاية فما كانت الاعوان الا عواريا
وما الشرق اذ مد اليمين لصنوه سوى نسب رام التكافؤ فاديا
.....
بلى نلتقي يا غرب عدلا ورحمة كما نتلقى فكرة وأمانيا
لنرفع اعلام الحضارة والسنى وندعم أساس السلام بواقيا³¹¹

Oh West! We have similar purposes as all things we have got in our lives are loans.³¹² The East spreads its friendly hands just

³¹⁰ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 436.

³¹¹ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 436.

³¹² The word "A^cwān" has no clear meaning in this text

seeking for equality without recalling any sad events from the past.

We share with the West justice, mercy, ideas and hopes.

Both of us rise flags of civilization and light and support the principles of peace.

Faqī did not forget the bloody history between East and West, yet he hopes for a better future, that freedom and brotherhood will be promised to us tomorrow. He ends his poem by proposing a question to both East and West. He asks whether they are going to meet:

فهل نلتقي كفئبين ودا وحرمة وعهدا وثيقا يقتضى ودواعيا³¹³

Are we meeting because we like and respect each other, and between us there is a strong treaty of peace?

The trend of interaction with the Western literature in Saudi poetry indicates the connection and awareness of the West. However, the most important point here is that the Saudi reply and correction of what they believe is a wrong view of the relationship between the East and the West indicates their self-esteem and confidence in their cultural view towards the West. Many lines in the previous texts can support this point, and clarify the clear sense of confidence among the Saudi poets.

Contrary to Kipling's words, these views of the West appeared in another poem written by Faqī. It is titled, "Inspiration of the River Thames". This poem was written just after the end of the Second World War (1945). It expresses new images and attitudes towards the West and, for the first time, the West is represented in a positive way. The poet was impressed by the West, especially Britain. Faqī argues that Britain's victory in World War II was predestined by Allah:

يابني التاييمز أنتم أمة كتب الله لها أن تغلبا
قد بلغت منزل الشمس قلم ترتضوه وانطلقتم خبيبا³¹⁴

³¹³ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 436.

³¹⁴ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 405.

Oh people of Thames! You are a nation whose victory was decreed by Allah.

You reached the level of the sun which was not enough for you so you even pressed ahead.

In this poem, Faqī praises the manners and the behaviour of the English. He also praises their patience:

خلق يدفع عنه الغضبا خلد المجد لكم مؤتلقا
انه الجبن فقال الكذبا³¹⁵ واصطبار قال من يجهلكم

Your infinite glory gave you characteristics which repelled rage from your life.

And your patience was described by those who did not know as cowards, but they uttered a lie.

Faqī wishes that the Arabs were as patient as the British. While praising the traits of the British, Faqī viewed British colonialism as a sign of power as their flag fluttered wherever they went. Faqī ends his poem by calling for peace and amity between East and West, and he reminds the West of previous Arab glory:

أن يقوم الود فينا نسبا يا بني التايمز هذا عهدنا
قمم المجد ونلنا الأربا نحن قوم قد فرعنا حقبه
.....
موتق يرضي العلا والنسبا³¹⁶ فتعالوا تعقد العزم على

Oh Thames people, we are amicable to those with whom we relate.

We are a people who one day ascended the summit of glory and achieved our goal.

³¹⁵ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 405.

³¹⁶ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 406.

So come on and let's draw a charter of glory and brotherhood.

Other voices of Saudi poets expressed similar views on the previous glory of the East and the equality between East and West. Some of them were nevertheless less sympathetic to the West. In his poem, al-Ghazzāwī asks the following questions:

هل كان للغرب المصوت نأمة	أيام كان الشرق لا يستسلم
أو كان للغرب المدل بعلمه	بصر بما أمسى به ينتعم
أو كان للغرب المدلل نهضة	لولا جود المسلمين العقم ³¹⁷

Did the West –which today has got loud voice-even mutter a sound when the East was victorious?

Or is the West aware of the knowledge that is being practiced now?

Would the spoilt West have had an awakening without the ancestors of the muslim.

Al-Ghazzāwī concluded his poem by mentioning the ingratitude of the West. For him, the West took good things from the Muslims and gave back invading warriors.³¹⁸

In another poem entitled "When", °Awwād expressed a similar feeling, and asked several questions. For instance, he asked "when are we going to restore glory?". In this poem, °Awwād was not in favour of Muslim fascination with Western civilization. He wrote, addressing Eastern youths:

ولا تتوانوا إن سمعتم مقالة	يردها الشاني وقولا مفندا
يفيض على الأسماع والسمع مطرق	محاسن أوروبا ويطري مرددا
ويوحى إلينا أن للغرب عزة	تربع منها هامة المجد مقعدا
فردوا رؤاه واتركوا سوء قوله	ولا توهمونا أن للغرب سؤدا

³¹⁷ °Abd al-Maqsūd and Balkhaīr (n d) p 51.

³¹⁸ *Ibid*, p 51.

فما ولد الغربي في الناس راقيا ولاخلق الغربي في الكون سيديا³¹⁹

Do not be frustrated when you hear a person who hates you telling lies.

He amplifies about the great advantages of Europe. He even sings the praises of Europe.

He make us feel that the West has greater pride, which made it achieve greater glory.

Leave such lies, and do not follow such bad words. And do not make us feel ever that the West is superior.

The Westerner was not born civilized; nor was he or she found in the universe as superior to other people.

Saudi poets were profoundly interested in Western literature. They considered Western literature as rich sources for their literary endeavours, particularly those pursued by the al-Dīwān, Apollo and al-Mahjar schools. Muḥammad Al-°Aqīlī (1916-2002) wrote a poem about the English romantic poets Percy Shelley (1792 –1822).³²⁰ In this poem al-°Aqīlī praised Shelley for his talents and his romantic poetry. But al-°Aqīlī did not mention any special feature in Shelley, only general things which can be mentioned about any other poet. However, his style of writing was influenced by Shelley and other romantic poets. He mentioned many things about pastoral life in this text. As an example of this, we may look to the following lines:

روح على الفن من إشعاعه ألق يلوح في ومضات الفكر بأتلق

.....

إذا شدا أصغت الافاق صامته و مادت الأرض من ترجمه طربا

³¹⁹ *Ibid*, p 25.

³²⁰ “English Romantic poet whose passionate search for personal love and social justice was gradually channeled from overt actions into poems that rank with the greatest in the English language” Encyclopedia Britannica, 'Percy Bysshe Shelley | Biography - English Poet', 2014 <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/539749/Percy-Bysshe-Shelley>> [accessed 11 March 2015]. See also: Abrams, M. H, *English Romantic Poets* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960) p 324.

.....
 قد ساجل الطير أنغاماً مرقرة معبراً عن معاني النفس ألقانا³²¹

A spirit of art from his brightness looms in the intellect and shines.

When he sings, the orbits listen in silence and the land dances.

Beautiful songs he sang with birds, songs which express profound meanings hidden inside the soul.

One of the most important features in this poem is how a Saudi poet perceives Western poets. Here the Saudi poet does not mention any differences between East and West. Instead, there is an indirect call for peace and unity between all humans:

نفس تحلق في دنيا منزهة عن الصغائر في افاقها فسح
 ترى العوالم أهلاً والدنا وطناً والحب ديناً به الأرواح تنشرح³²²

His spirit (Shelley) is flying around the spacious worlds, which are free from trivialities.

Here his spirit considers all lands as spaces inhabited by relatives, all countries as his homeland and love as a religion for all spirits.

At the end of Second World War °Awwād wrote a poem about his own views of Western literature. He was deeply influenced by the atmosphere of the war. °Awwād imagined that the conflict between different schools of literature can be viewed as a state of war. It appears as if it is a true war, as it has soldiers and weapons: the battlefields are newspapers and books, the weapons are the brain, and the soldiers are the writers:

فتبرز للأنظار حرباً عتيدة لها كل ما للحرب من كل مشكل
 بأسلحة ليست من النار ركبت ولاهي من صم الحديد المصلصل

.....

³²¹ M Al-°Aqīlī, *Al-Majmū'ah al-Shi'riyyah al-Kāmilah* (Jazan: al-°Aqīlī company, 1st, 1992) p 375.

³²² *Ibid*, p 375.

ولكنها من معدن العقل أفرغت بفن معرى أو بفن مجلل

.....

هناك أوروبا كلها في تطاحن عنيف ولسنا عن مداه بمعزل³²³

It appears as if it is a true war. It has everything that a true war has.

Its weapons are not made to fire; nor are they made from strong iron.

It is made from the art of rationality. whether this art is obvious or ambiguous

The entire Europe is in a violent war there, and we are not immune to its flames.

The last line indicates the effect of Western culture on Arabic and Saudi literature or Saudi culture, as the poet states that “we are not immune to its flames”. °Awwād here indicates the intellectual and literary activity of Arabic literature at the turn of the last century, which was largely interaction with Western literature and the Arabization of its literary doctrines.

One of the notable points is that, the language of the poets in the cultural image about the West contained a trend of self-esteem. The texts addressed in this section are mostly free from the complaint and the feeling of defeat in front of Western power that emerged in the political poetry texts. That however can be referred to the pride in the Arab and Islamic heritage among Saudi poets, which gives them confidence in the face of the West.

3.2.4 Emotional Image:

³²³ °Awwād, (n d) vol 2 p 202.

There are several titles, which clarify the emotional attitudes towards beautiful women in the West: "Beauty in Frankfurt", "Beauty in Toledo" "Tris; that is her name" and "Andalusian in Cordoba". Yet, and apart from the names of Western towns and European names, the poems with these titles do not reveal anything related to the West. There is furthermore nothing extraordinary about the poets focusing on the beauty of these Western women - it is normal that love poetry mainly focuses on the beauty of the girls being addressed. Such words can be used for any beautiful girl in the world, and has nothing to do with East or West. Only one emotional poem by °Awwād mentions a religious difference between his beloved Rena – a Christian girl - and himself. However, °Awwād refers to Rena's Christian religion in order to express his fascination with her beauty. °Awwād writes:

يازينة المتبرجات وفتنة المتفرجينا

والاية الكبرى لوحداية الديان فينا

.....

ياعين أتباع المسيح الفاتتات المسلمينا³²⁴

You are the best of unveiled beauties. You are a temptation for spectators.

You are the great evidence of the unity of Allah.

You are one of Christ's followers who tempt Muslims.

Even °Awwād shows his favorable stance of Christianity in some lines. He comments on the Doctrine of the Trinity in these words: "If they are right I would claim that Allah should choose your body".

وزعمت أنك جوهر اللاهوت فيه ولن أمينا

وزعمت أن يسوع قام فحل فيك وأنت فينا

وأقمت للتبشير داعية بذلك لن يلينا

وجمالك الساطي شفيع دعايتي في المؤمنينا³²⁵

³²⁴ °Awwād, (n d) vol 2 p 87.

³²⁵ *Ibid*, vol 2 p 87.

I will claim that you are the Essence of the Divine, and I am not lying.

I will claim that Jesus stood, and then entered your body.

And I will become a faithful unrelenting missionary.

Your enchanting beauty will be an evidence for my claim.

He claimed that he will be a Christian missionary for the sake of his beloved. Such a claim in Saudi Arabia is unacceptable. This explains why °Awwād ends his poem by mentioning to the reader that he was telling a joke rather than something serious:

لا لا فما أدبي بمعتسف ولست به ظنينا

أو يستخف بأي معتقد طوى أمما سنينا

لكنني أهوى معاينة الحسان إذا ضرينا³²⁶

Nay I am not ashamed of my poetry nor do I need to conceal it.

My poem does not seek to mock any religion, which has many believers throughout the years.

But I like to joke with beauties if they like it.

The whole story shows the poet's awareness of the different religions. He seems under great fascination of her beauty rather than real love. Instead of feeling sorry for not being able to have a relationship with this girl because of the differences in their religions, he used these differences as a game. It seems that religion was not the only difference between the poet and his heroine. Yet the difference in their religions was strong enough in the poet's mind to make him have no hope of any relationship with her, which explains why he resorts to foreplay. In general, the emotional engagement with the West in Saudi poetry in this period did not exceed the image of fascination with the beauty of Western women. It did not reflect a real love, which might have encouraged Saudi poets to change their views of the West.

³²⁶ *Ibid*, vol 2 p 88.

In conclusion, following this look at the political, cultural and emotional engagement of Saudi poets with the West, the above shows the thoughts of Saudi poets in the period before and during the Second World War. There are individual differences among Saudi poets in the way they react to the West. For instance, whereas al-Faraj's poems refer to the interaction between East and West, al-^oAqilī's poems do not refer to this interaction; nor do they dwell on the differences in religions. Yet we can point out some important features that explain the image of the West in the first stage of Saudi history.

Religion plays a key role in Saudi poetry in this period. At the beginning of this period, Al Mubārak in his poem written in 1923, called the English people, "Christian English". Al-^oIljī called them, "the worshipers of the cross". It is interesting to notice that since then no other poet has mentioned these expressions while referring to the West or Westerners. This may indicate how most Saudi poets refer to the differences between them and Western people not through religious terms, but in other ways, such as perhaps nationalism. In Saudi poems, which refer to political events, religion has always been used as a reactionary discourse against the West. However, in cultural discourse Şhaḥatah used the weapon of religion to attack his opponents. In showing religious sentiments against his opponents, Şhaḥatah was involved in a personal dispute.

Regarding this period it is claimed that there are some factors which affected the Saudi people's view of the West. These factors include religion, their desert home, lifestyle and customs, and of course nationalism. These factors are brought to the fore mostly when Saudis feel that they are under Western attack. In other words, when Saudis are fearful of the West, they use religious and nationalist sentiments to protect themselves or their culture. When they feel they are not under attack, they are relaxed in their views of the West. They express positive feelings towards the West, and they seek a good relationship with the West.

The socio-economic background of each Saudi area clearly affects its poets' views towards the West. During the formative stage, there were more than thirty poems in the Ḥijāz region. In al-Aḥsa^o there were twelve poems. In Najd, we find one poem about the Hiroshima incident which was written by Şāliḥ al-^oUthaymīn. The Ḥijāz was connected with the outside world particularly because the fifth pillar of Islam, the Hajj, mostly takes place in the Ḥijāz region. Millions of Muslims visit this area annually. Also, this area was the centre of the Arab Revolt led by the Sharif of Mecca in 1916. In addition, the level of

education in Ḥijāz at that time was much better than that of other parts of Saudi Arabia, and so Ḥijāz people were familiar with the West. By contrast, in al-Aḥsa^c, people paid less attention to the West. They were mostly concerned about Western colonies in the Arabian Gulf. The People in Najd were far from paying any attention to the West as their literary texts show.

Images of the West in this period showed a significant change. In the years before World War II, Saudi poetry represented the West as an imperial colonizer. They argued that the West understands only the language of violence. The West seeks to further its own interests at the expense of weak nations. During World War II, this image did not stay the same. Many texts shifted into representing the West as an imperial entity with no faith or soul as it uses technology to destroy its people and endanger humans. After World War II, Saudi poetry showed images of reconciliation with the West. Many Saudi poets expressed their positive feelings towards the West and by showing these feelings, they hoped for achieving a better tomorrow. In this period, many poets expressed their admiration of the West, but this kind of image did not emerge before World War II.

4. Chapter Four the Recognition of the West 1946-1967

At the end of the first stage in Saudi poetry, we noticed a new, positive view toward the West. This period witnessed the establishment of the United Nations following World War II, and the Arab World was passing through a new stage in its history. There were many aspects of change in their region. The Arabs now found themselves in a new situation whereby they had to deal with the maps newly drawn by the major colonising forces of the period; Britain and France. On 22 March 1945, the League of Arab States was formed to "draw closer the relations between member States and co-ordinate collaboration between them, to safeguard their independence and sovereignty".³²⁷

The newly independent Arab countries played a significant role in fostering closer relationships between Arabs and the West after World War II. Many Arabs, including Saudis, considered themselves part of the Arab nation who wanted to expel the colonizer from their lands. Supporting Algerian resistance against French colonialism was part of the national sentiments now emerging among Arab people. In this period, we find some nationalist regimes with anti-imperialist ideologies. The Egyptian regime was typical of the rise of nationalism in this period.

One of the most effective factor that influenced the image of the West in Arabic literature and particularly in Saudi poetry in this period was the creation of the state of Israel in 1948.³²⁸ Many Arabs considered the emergence of Israel a trick played by Britain. Palestine, before the founding of Israel, was under the authority of the British mandate following the events of the First World War. What the Arabs considered worse was the direct Western recognition and huge Western support for Israel. That was the beginning of a long and bloody conflict between Arabs and Israel. It led to several wars between them, and Western countries were always present and playing a role in these conflicts.³²⁹ With these political factors in play, we can expect that the positive view toward the relationship between Arabs and the West would disappear.

³²⁷ "Pact of the League of Arab States, 22 March 1945". The Avalon Project. Yale Law School. 1998. Archived from the original on 25 July 2008. Retrieved 15 July 2012.

³²⁸ Yehoshafat Harkabi, *Arab Attitudes To Israel* (New York: Hart Pub. Co, 1972) p 429. And El-Enany, (2006) p 171.

³²⁹ Mark A Tessler, *A History Of The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994) p 269.

For many Arab countries, the years that followed the World War II marked a real time for change. The new Saudi state started building schools and sending students abroad on scholarships. They also began building state institutions as Saudis had no tangible infrastructure. On the political front, despite the fact that Saudi Arabia officially came into being in 1932, the following years were key for the unification of the Kingdom. This implies that Saudi Arabia only became a unified and stable country only several years after its official establishment.³³⁰ This phase also marked the death of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1953), the founder of Saudi Arabia. His eldest son, Suʿūd (1902-1969), ascended the throne, but was forced to abdicate in 1964, and so his brother Faisal became the king of Saudi Arabia.³³¹

During the 1950s, the political change which occurred in the whole of the Middle East affected Saudi Arabia. In Egypt, this period witnessed the overthrow of King Farouk by the Revolutionary Command Council.³³² It is in this period that the idea of nationalism found a hospitable space in the Arab World.

The Saudi state's attitudes toward these changes were complex. They supported Nasser's efforts to nationalise the Suez Canal in 1956.³³³ But in the following years, the Saudi state felt that Nasserism was a danger to the kingdom. In addition to that, Nasser's nationalist ideology conflicted with the traditional Islamic ideology, which formed the fundamental basis of the Kingdom. Nasser was backed by the Soviet Union while the Saudi state was generally close to the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States.³³⁴

The relevant aspect here is that the new nationalist ideology was mainly advocated by the educated classes in the Arab world. Poets and writers were more likely to adopt this ideology and call for it. Yet the official attitude of the Saudi regime became clearly against nationalist movements, especially during King Faisal's period. Many Saudi poets were affected by these anti-nationalist sentiments, which the Saudi regime was promoting in order to prevent the spread of nationalism in the Arab world. Many Saudi poets were working with the government due to the state's need for them in its first stage,³³⁵ and even

³³⁰ Muhammad Al-Khāzīm, *Ikhtirāq al-Burj al-ʿĀjī* (London: Dār Ṭwā, 1st, 2011) p 25.

³³¹ Al-Rasheed, (2002) p 102.

³³² Robert L Tignor, *Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010) p 254.

³³³ Al-Rasheed, (2002) p 110

³³⁴ *Ibid*, p 124.

³³⁵ Such as: Faqī, Qurashī, al-Qusaybī, Ḥsayn ʿArab and many other. See p 272.

so, some Saudi poets were diehard supporters of the idea of Arab nationalism and Nasserism. The Saudi government thus tried to control them by offering them generous financial rewards or by subjecting them to repression or intimidation.³³⁶ As a result of that, some of the nationalist poetry that was written in that period was hidden or never published.

Economically between 1939 and 1953, oil revenues in Saudi Arabia went up from 7 million to over 200 million.³³⁷ The Kingdom was mainly dependent on oil revenues, and one can say that Saudi Arabia, which was historically one of the poorest areas in the world, had now become a very rich country due to oil. The people of Saudi Arabia became more able to get a proper education and better communication with the rest of the world. In the previous chapter, we noticed the impact of the mode of isolation which Saudi poets who lived in the centre of the kingdom showed while writing their views on the West. We found only one poem from Najd (the centre of Saudi Arabia) which mentions the West. Now Riyadh, in the heart of Najd and Saudi Arabia, had become the capital of the Kingdom. The centre of the Arab Peninsula was now for the first time directly connected with the outside world including the West. This chapter examines the influence of economic and social developments that the Saudi state faced in this phase and how these changes influenced Saudi poets' views toward the West.

4.1 The Political Image.

The political view in Saudi poetry in this stage will be divided into four parts, in regards to the political topics that have been addressed:

4.1.1 Palestine and the Deceptive West

It seems clear that, the political issues that followed the establishment of the UN – especially resistance to colonialism and the founding of Israel – affected the positive and optimistic spirit, which Saudi poets cultivated in this period. After 1947, Palestine

³³⁶ Aḥmad ʿAdnān, *Al-Sajīn* 32 (Beirut: Al-Markaz al-Thaqāfi al-ʿArabī, 2011) p 107.

³³⁷ Sharaf Sabri, *The House Of Saud In Commerce* (New Delhi: I.S. Publications, 2001) p 7.

became the main cause, which defined the political relationship between the Saudis and the West, as Saudi poetry shows. In the few years which followed the establishment of Israel, most Saudi poets viewed the West politically, and they were affected by the Palestinian problem. Many Saudi poems written on Palestine appeared in this period, including from the already discussed poet al-Faraj, who was interested in nationalist causes. Another Saudi poet, Fuʿād Shākir, also wrote a poem which speaks of the Palestinian question, which was the largest national cause which occupied the minds of the Arabs at the time.

On the 29th of November 1947, the General Assembly issued a resolution, which recommended the partition of Palestine.³³⁸ Al-Faraj was clearly against this partition of the land. He asked the UN about the meanings of some words such as security and justice:

هل العدالة سلب المرء موطنه والأمن هل هو في التقتيل والنقم³³⁹

Does justice mean stealing people's homeland? Does security mean killing and seeking revenge?

For al-Faraj, the US support for Israel was the major cause for the onset of the Palestinian tragedy. He compared between US President Truman and Hitler. As Al-Faraj believed, only the names and looks were what made these Western leaders different from each other.³⁴⁰

Al-Faraj also attacked Britain and blamed them for offering the Jews what became known as Balfour Declaration. The Balfour Declaration was a political promise which aimed to help the Jews establish their own national homeland on Palestinian land:

من اليهود؟ فلو لاكم وجيشكم لما استطاعوا بأن يمشوا على قدم³⁴¹

Who are the Jews? Without you and your army they could not even walk [on Palestinian soil]

³³⁸ Tessler, (1994) p 323.

³³⁹ Al-Faraj, p 159.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p 159.

³⁴¹ *Ibid*, p 159.

The last line in al-Faraj's poem proposes a way to recover Palestine from imperial forces. For al-Faraj, the world is unfair since the judge is now the enemy:

ومن يرجي من الأعداء مرحمة يجد لديه حنان الذئب للغنم³⁴²

The one who hopes that the enemy will offer mercy will probably find mercy in the way wolves deal with sheep.

In the following year, Shākir wrote a poem addressed to the European Commission of Inquiry where he mentioned Palestine. The general attitude of Shākir was not that different from al-Faraj, but he was more open and receptive to the West. Shākir expressed his strong belief that Palestinians had a right to stay on their land:

سلوا اللجنة التحقيق فيم تحقق ومالحق إلا أبلج الوجه مشرق³⁴³

You can ask the Commission of Inquiry about what they are examining but the truth is very clear.

Shākir asks how killing and expelling innocent people from their homeland can be justified.³⁴⁴ He ended his poem by reminding the Commission of Inquiry that if they acknowledge Palestinian rights, history will record their honesty. Yet if they do not do this, they will open a new era of wars:

فإن كانت الأولى فبشرى ومأمل ويانعم ما يصفو الزمان ويصدق

وإن كانت الأخرى فواضيعة المنى ويابؤس للكون الذي سوف يصعق³⁴⁵

If the first choice happens [acknowledging Palestinian rights], that is good news: the world will be happy and less troubled.

Yet if it is the second choice, what hope remains! A disastrous world will be in order.

³⁴² *Ibid*, p 159.

³⁴³ Shākir, p 247.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p 247.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p 247.

The rest of the poems, which will be examined in this section, were written by al-Faraj. In his views toward the West and other international events, al-Faraj expressed a satirical and critical mode of poetry. In December 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Al-Faraj wrote about this event asking two questions:

من هو الإنسان قل لي ثم ما تلك الحقوق³⁴⁶
ولماذا قرروها وبها منهم خروق

Who is the human? Tell me, then what are his rights?

Why did they call for it at the same time as they are not fully committed to them?

The poet argues that how can the big states in the UN adopt such a declaration of human rights while they are to be blamed for the many cases of injustice occurring in the world. Al-Faraj shows awareness of American domestic issues, giving an example of a black American. He also addressed the apartheid in South Africa and Palestine:

وبأمريكا زنوج عتقاء أم رقيق
ثم قانون لمالا (م) ن فريق وفريق
وفلسطين تعاني منهم مالا تطبيق
ثم قالوا العالم الحر على الناس شفيق³⁴⁷

In America there are blacks. Are they free people or slaves?

The law of Malan³⁴⁸ divided humans onto groups.

Palestine has suffered what is unbearable from them.

Then they claim that the free world is sympathetic to human causes.

³⁴⁶ Al-Faraj, p 164.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p 164.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p 164.

It is clear that al-Faraj believes that the West bears full responsibility of Palestinian suffering. In addition, Western practises contrast starkly with the principles of humans rights which they claim to care about. These points appear in al-Faraj's poem which mentions the North Atlantic Treaty, which signed in April 1949. This treaty calls for human freedom:

قالوا تصان حقوق المرء كاملة وهم بمليون من إخواننا قذفوا³⁴⁹

They said: all human rights should be protected while they displaced a million of our brothers.

In another poem titled *al-A 'ājīb* "the miracles", al-Faraj mentioned several things he saw as contradictory in the ways the West views human rights such as; there is supposedly a free world but the all its free inhabitants are 'enslaved' by it; there are Christians but their priests are Rabbis (they are led by Jews); and as for the Arabs they have turned into nuns, when slapped on their left cheek, they would offer their right cheek.³⁵⁰

Al-Faraj mentioned Muslims and Jews in his poetry. He was against Israel and the West, but he did not try to raise Islamic religious sentiments and use it against them. Al-Faraj shows his concern for Christians in Palestine, and he wrote on a meeting between the Pope, the Sheikh of al-Azhar (the highest Islamic authority in Egypt), and the Archbishop of Canterbury.³⁵¹ In this poem in which he mentions the meeting between these religious figures, he did not use a satirical style. He asked them whether they live with other human beings in this world:

ألا تشعرون بما قد جرى وهل أحد بات لم يشعر

.....

ألم تسمعوا أنة اللاجئين ألم تبصروا العالم البربري

أهين الصليب وبيت الإله بهتك النساء وقتل البري³⁵²

³⁴⁹ Al-Faraj, p 161.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p 175.

³⁵¹ *Ibid*, p 177.

³⁵² *Ibid*, p 177.

Do not you feel about what happened? Is there anyone who does not know the size of the tragedy?

Have you not heard the cry of refugees? Have you not seen the barbaric acts?

The cross and the house of Allah have been insulted by those who raped women and killed innocent people.

At the end of his poem, al-Faraj attacked those religious leaders and asked them why they do not say the truth and feel the suffering of weak people. He warns them that if they do not do what they have to do and empathise with people, they will lose the people's hearts.³⁵³

This poem shows the role of religion in al-Faraj's poetry. It also shows to what extent religion affects his views on the West. Al-Faraj's attitude toward the West seems to be built on national and humanitarian perspectives. He seems unsatisfied with the character of the religious leader, and indeed he blames religious leaders for the tragedies occurring in the world. In another poem, al-Faraj talked about millions of people whose leaders were liars,³⁵⁴ which can be understood to mean that these leaders were religious leaders. However, in his poetic *Dīwān*, al-Faraj did not mention religion or religious leaders' roles in alleviating human suffering. The majority of his poems in his *dīwān* were about politics. He sought to achieve justice for the oppressed, defending the ideology of Arab nationalism more than Islamic sentiments.

This section shows the role of Islam in drawing an image of the West in Saudi poetry. In the texts examined here, we find that Saudi poets were aware of the religious differences between a Muslim Arab world and a Christian West, but they never mentioned that religious differences caused the main problem between the Arabs and the West.

4.1.2 Resistance to colonialism and Arabic nationalism

³⁵³ *Ibid*, p 177.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p 177.

The loss of Palestine in 1948 represented a critical juncture in modern Arab history. It surged through the Arabs and invigorated them against the West. However, this period cannot be named as the period of the Palestinian question because, for the Arabs, Palestine has continued to be a fundamental and contentious cause until the present time. This period can then be best described as one of resistance to colonialism.

Western colonialism on Arab lands first appeared in 1789, the year when Napoleon invaded Egypt.³⁵⁵ However, by the time the First World War ended, most Arab lands were under direct Western rule and influence. France and Britain divided the Arab world among themselves. Britain acquired Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Sudan, and Palestine. France took Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and Syria. Italy also had its colonial share on Arabian land in the form of Libya.³⁵⁶ Colonialism seems to be responsible for drawing a certain image of the West in many Arabic texts. Poets supported their people in their fight against colonialism, and it was this fight that the poets showed as important in their views on all Eastern and African nations who were struggling to gain their freedom from their European colonisers.

The case of China became a role model for the poets who were concerned with writing against the coloniser. It seems that the victories which China achieved throughout its history of resistance against European powers made Saudi poets show optimism that Western defeat can be achieved. Al-Faraj continued showing interest in political events and stood his ground against Western imperialism. Al-Faraj attacked Arab leaders and their ways of seeking to gain Arab rights of freedom and justice. In one of his poems about Palestine, al-Faraj stated that if he forgets the pride he holds for his Arab predecessors, he will choose to be Chinese.³⁵⁷ In another poem, al-Faraj was cynical and sarcastic in his view of France. He began the poem by showing how the lions of France became rats in China, and the Chinese became good cats:

كم حاول الفأر ارتشاف المنى والقطة الصفراء وسط الطريق³⁵⁸

The rat tried to pursue high hopes but the yellow cat was always ready to interrupt its march.

³⁵⁵ Tignor, (2010) p 196.

³⁵⁶ Anthony Ham, *Middle East* (Footscray, Vic.: Lonely Planet, 2009) pp 119, 122 and 247.

³⁵⁷ Al-Faraj, p 173.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p 173.

Al-Faraj compared the armed resistance of the Chinese with the Arab disapproval and condemnation of Western colonialism. He attacked Arab leaders, blaming them for the decline of Arab people:

تمضي فرنسا في اعتداءاتها ونحن لا نملك إلا النقيق
لا موجب الأفعال قمنا به كما يريقون دماء نريق
.....
يا قادة هل أنتم قادة أعمتكم أو عاها بالبريق
.....
لم يفعل الأعداء في كيدهم بنا كما كاد الشقيق الشقيق³⁵⁹

France continues its attacks and the only thing we can do is to croak like frogs.

We never did what we have to do. We never shed blood as they did.

O' leaders, did you become blind leaders by accepting French promises?

Our enemy never treated us as we, brothers, did to each other.

In another poem titled “MacArthur”, al-Faraj wrote on the occasion of the dismissal of Douglas MacArthur, the American general, from the Far East.³⁶⁰ For al-Faraj, MacArthur represented the face of imperialism, and so he attacked MacArthur for what he did to the East. He accused MacArthur of cowardice because he fled when the Japanese troops determined to face him, and so MacArthur attacked Japan by dropping atomic bombs on its fields and people as a way of seeking revenge.³⁶¹ These massacres, al-Faraj stated, never happened before in human history:

³⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p 173.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p 173.

³⁶¹ *Ibid*, p 174.

مجازر نيرون لم يأتها ولا موسيليني ولا هتلر³⁶²

These massacres were things, which neither Nero nor Mussolini and Hitler had previously done.

In this poem, al-Faraj also mentioned the Korean War and blamed MacArthur for the damage which the war caused. At the end of the poem, he called him Ares (the God of war):

أيا مارس الحرب بئس الفعال فعالك في الشرق والمخير

زرعت لقومك بغض القرون يورثه الأصغر الأكبر³⁶³

O' Ares, the God of war, how evil are your deeds! and your mentions in the East.

You have planted for your People, animosity for centuries, the young inherited from the old.

One of the important points in his poetry is that al-Faraj believes that this act by MacArthur will cause this feeling of anger in future generations.

Al-Faraj died shortly after these events. One of his last poems was about the Korean War.³⁶⁴ He criticised America for the aggression it launched on Korea. He showed – for the first time - an indirect support for the communists in North Korea:

قالوا اعتدى الكوري لما شاء أن يتوحدا

منعوا الشقيق شقيقه كي لا يمد له اليد³⁶⁵

They said Koreans attacked when they tried to unite among themselves.

³⁶² *Ibid*, p 136.

³⁶³ *Ibid*, p 86.

³⁶⁴ A war between North and South Korea, see Cumings, Bruce, *The Korean War* (New York: Modern Library, 2010).

³⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p 136.

They prevented a brother from helping his brother.

He described this war as a red war due to the colour of the communist revolution. Again, he called MacArthur the God of the war.³⁶⁶ In this poem, al-Faraj criticised Arab protests against their enemy.³⁶⁷

In 1954, al-Faraj died in Damascus. His attitude toward the West is one of the strongest in Saudi and Arab poetic traditions. Most of the poems in his *Dīwān* were written in the form of reaction to various political events, especially those in which the West played a big role in causing. Taking into account the gloomy sense which appears in his poems, we can say that his poetry also reacted to world political events relating to the conflict between East and West. In his poetry, we can notice Islamic, nationalist and Eastern identities as well. Yet he was not totally loyal to any of these identities. Not any one of them played a role in drawing an image on the West in his poetry. In my opinion, his poetry reacted to political events, but his attitudes toward the West also defied Western acts. This may explain why he uses all identities that he thinks may support his attitude (Islam, Arab, East). Thus his support to North Korea or any other group fighting the West can be attributed to an emotional rather than ideological point of view.

This point becomes more pronounced in other Saudi poets who addressed colonialism at that time. Sa^cad al-Bawāridī (1929- ..) wrote a poem about the Portuguese colonisation of Goa. Goa became free from Portuguese colonialism in 1961. For al-Bawāridī, Portuguese colonialism brought destruction to the Indians, and he described the colonizers as tyrants and dictators who enslaved people. He began his poem by calling the Portuguese “Fir^caun”,³⁶⁸ or Pharaoh, who is a symbol of tyranny in Arab and Islamic cultures. The defeat of the Portuguese in Goa was like the death of Pharaoh which happened when the sea was divided into two halves by the Prophet Moses:

أتى الأمر يا فرعون وانفلق البحر واران على الأتباع في لجه الذعر³⁶⁹

Oh Pharaoh, the order came when the sea was opened and the fear
overwhelmed your followers.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p 136.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p 136.

³⁶⁸ The story of Moses' confrontation with the Pharaoh of Egypt is a very prominent one in the Qur'an. See for example; (Qur'an, 7:31. 10:83. 17:101. 28:38. 20:24 and 40:29).

³⁶⁹ Sa^cad Al-Bawāridī, *Dharrāt fi'l-Ufuq*, (Cairo: Dār al-Ish^cā^c, n d) p 50.

Al-Bawāridī described how the Portuguese were aggressive towards local people who were seeking freedom. Similar to what we have already seen in al-Faraj's poetry, al-Bawāridī did not hide his cynicism regarding the coloniser's activities. In so doing, he used the medium of literary language by associating the Portuguese with Pharaohs.

In the same year, the Belgian colonialist authorities in Congo assassinated Patrice Lumumba, the first legally elected Prime Minister of the Republic of Congo (1925 – 1961). The Saudi poet Ḥasan Qurashī (1934-2004) wrote on this incident. Qurashī spoke of Lumumba as a great hero who was killed by an unscrupulous tyrant, and so Lumumba - as Qurashī stated - never died. He was still alive in people's mind. He will inspire the next generation. He is the song which shakes the poet's heart. Such qualities show to what extent Qurashī was an admirer of this African leader. This also refers to the new language in Saudi poetry which glorifies resistance and sacrifice. There are so many words used in Qurashī's poems which refer to heroism, courage, sacrifice, pride, glory and victory:

في خاطري تعيش في كل صباح باكر

يا مشعلا لم يكثرث للناب والأظافر

.....

يمضي الى الموت وفيه عزيمة المصابر³⁷⁰

I am reminded of you every early morning.

You are a torch, which does not care about fangs and claws.

You walk towards your death with determination and patience.

In contrast, the colonizer in this poet was described as coward and treacherous.³⁷¹ What Qurashī mentioned regarding the Belgian colonizer might refer to all Western powers:

ساومك الجلاذ للحياة غير عاذر

فقومه عاشوا بلا حس بلا ضمائر

³⁷⁰ Ḥasan Qurashī, *Al-A'māl al-Kāmilah* (Beirut: Dār al-ʿAwdah, 1983) p 224.

³⁷¹ *Ibid*, p 224.

لم يعرفوا لغيرهم كرامة المناصر

ولم يفيقوا من ضلالات ومن صغائر³⁷²

The executioner bargained on your life without giving an excuse.

His people lived without feelings, without conscience.

They never admit that other people have dignity.

And they did not wake up from these delusions.

Qurashī promised that tyrants will receive their deserved punishment:

وسوف تتأثر الشعوب للفتى المغامر

ويعلم الطغاة جمعا بالمصير الساخر³⁷³

People will avenge the courageous man.

And all tyrants will know what is like for someone to dare to satirise fate.

The last two poems analysed in this section were written in 1961. When we compare the language of these two poems with al-Faraj's language, we can note some differences in the ways the two poets wrote on the West. One of the important points we can mention here is the rise of the language of challenge. While al-Faraj was pessimistic and frequently criticised Arab passivity, al-Bawāridī and Qurashī spoke from a challenging perspective. They seemed more confident in their efforts to criticise Western powers. They also seemed confident that victory is something the Arabs can achieve despite the many losses they had suffered in the previous years.

Other major difference between al-Faraj's poetic language and al-Bawāridī and Qurashī's poetic language is that while al-Faraj named Western countries and leaders in his poetry, al-Bawāridī and Qurashī did not mention any names of Western leaders. They

³⁷² *Ibid*, p 225.

³⁷³ *Ibid*, p 225.

focused on the action rather than on the actor. In general, they attacked tyrants and murderers and they did not consider the West in general as an enemy.

The previous poem can shed some light on the attitude of Saudi poets towards colonialism in general. It is clear that Saudi poets consider themselves as a part of the East. Although Saudi people did not experience any kind of direct colonialism, they showed antagonistic attitudes against Western imperialism. When Western colonialism occurred on Arab lands, Saudi attitudes were sympathetic towards Arab causes.

In 1956, Egypt faced the Suez Crisis, which resulted in the Tripartite Aggression.³⁷⁴ The Arabs considered this war a clear conspiracy as they believed that the three Western powers, which started the war, aimed to destroy Egypt and support Israel. Thus, Saudi poets were sympathetic towards what their Arab brothers suffered from Western powers. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Idrīs (1930-..) wrote a poem titled "Port Said" addressing this crisis. In his first line, Ibn Idrīs mentioned how the Western attack on Egypt was part of their hatred for Eastern people:

حقد أمض قلوبهم وسعار فتامروا فتجلت الأسرار
ضاقوا بوعي الشرق إذ نفض الكرى واستنهض المستعبدین فثاروا³⁷⁵

Malice and hatred fuelled their hearts. They conspired, and then their secrets were revealed.

They were fed up with Eastern awareness, which was part of the efforts to inspire the oppressed to rebel.

This poem was about an Arab cause, but Ibn Idrīs used two identities: "East" and "Arab". The reference to the Arab identity in this text differs from what al-Faraj would have imagined. The word "Arab" in this poem is used in the context of pride. This indicates a new way of considering the Saudi views toward the West:

أبناء يعرب كابرا عن كابر صبر على الهيجاء وهي تدار³⁷⁶

³⁷⁴ L. J Butler, *Britain And Empire* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2002) p 110.

³⁷⁵ ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Idrīs, *fi Zawraqī* (n pub, 1984) p 49.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p 50.

Arabs people, from the older to the younger generations, withstood the intensity of war.

As the Arabs were longing to gain their liberation from Western hegemonic presence and influence in their areas, Saudi poetry was not that far from this heated political scene in the Arab World. The political victory that Egypt achieved after the Suez War inspired the Saudi poet to speak proudly of what he considered a collective Arab victory.

The word “West” in this poem referred to enemy, colonizers, unjust people, aggressors, and fools. The use of such words indicates the extent to which Saudi poetry showed this feeling of anger against the West, particularly against France and the UK. Although Israel was an enemy for all Arabs at that time — Israel participated in the attack against Egypt — the poet did not mention what Israel did to the Arabs over the course of the poem. This is because his great anger was mostly channelled against what Western countries did in Egypt. In this text, the poet attacked the leaders of France and United Kingdom:

موليه هل سجلت يوما مفخرا لفرنسة لما طواها العار

.....

إيدن طويلا ما مصصت دماننا واليوم دون دماننا البتار

فارجع بلعنات الشعوب فلم نعد نرضى يدنس أرضنا استعمار³⁷⁷

Mollet, have you ever brought pride for France, a country which has always been surrounded by shame.

Eden, you sucked our blood for very long. But now you should face our swords.

And go back now with the curses of peoples as we, from now on, will not accept to be contaminated by colonialism.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p 51.

This mentioning of France's defeat by Germany in World War II is part of the disregard for Western colonizers after the Second World War. Anthony Eden,³⁷⁸ the Prime Minister of the UK during the Suez Crisis, was described as a vampire. The event took place in Egypt, a country that was under British colonialism at the time. Britain represented the colonizer's role in this text more than France.

An important issue, which related to resistance is the Algerian political movement against French colonialism. Algeria suffered 132 years of French occupation, which began after the Ottoman ruler of that city surrendered to French invaders in 1830. The end of the French occupation of Algeria came after a long and violent war, and cost hundreds of thousands of victims, the vast majority of whom were non-combatants.³⁷⁹ Toward this issue, Saudi poets showed enthusiasm. The long conflict for freedom and the number of victims which the Algerian War of Independence caused played a role in fuelling Saudi poets' anger against France. Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Sanūsī (1942-1987) opened his poem with these strong lines:

تكاد تستعر النيران ملء دمي ويصرخ القلب ملسوفا من الألم³⁸⁰

Fire is almost fuelling my blood and my heart is crying from pain.

He directly attacked the French president Charles de Gaulle and accused him of being a tyrant:

(جنكيز خان) و(هولاكو) ولفهما وكل ما سجل التاريخ من نقم

عادوا وعادت مخازيهم يمثلها (ديجول) في فحة نكرا وفي نهم³⁸¹

Genghis Khan³⁸² and Hulagu³⁸³ and all those people who are similar to them and every single crime which history recorded were represented by De Gaulle with his rudeness and greed.

³⁷⁸ (1897–1977) see David Dutton, *Anthony Eden* (London: Arnold, 1997).

³⁷⁹ Phillip C Naylor, *France And Algeria* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000) p 47.

³⁸⁰ Muhammad Al-Sanūsī, *Al-A ʿmāl al-Kāmilah* (Jazan: Nādī Jazan al-Adabī. 1st, 1983) p 279.

³⁸¹ *Ibid*, p 279

³⁸² (1162–1227) The founder of the Mongol Empire, which became the largest contiguous empire in history after his demise. See Prawdin, Michael, Eden Paul, and Cedar Paul, *The Mongol Empire, Its Rise And Legacy* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1940) p II.

³⁸³ (1218–1265) A grandson of Genghis Khan, was a Mongol ruler who conquered much of Southwest Asia. *Ibid*, p 308.

In this text, there is no mentioning of an Eastern identity. Rather the poet mentioned Islamic and Arab identities. When we compare between these two identities, we notice that the Islamic identity is used more than the Arab identity. In this poem, the Islamic identity becomes the key point in facing the French. Many Islamic references had been used demonstrating real Muslims who have nothing except faith.³⁸⁴

The poet warns France that Algeria will not be lost like Palestine. This shows how Saudi poets blamed the West for the loss of Palestine:

وإنها يا بغاة السين مقبرة لكل عالج وسفاح ومحتكم
ولن تكون فلسطين التي ذهبت في غفلة حين عاث الذئب بالغنم³⁸⁵

Oh Seine Oppressors, Algeria will be a grave for every infidel,
killer and dictator.

It will not be Palestine that was gone while we were heedless of
what the wolf was doing to the sheep.

Although Saudis did not experience any colonialism in their lands, Saudi Arabia had a problem with the United Kingdom. This problem can be included under the title “Resistance to colonialism”. In 1949, a dispute between Britain and Saudi Arabia occurred over the legal status of the Buraimi Oasis. It was discussed at a Washington conference in January 1956.³⁸⁶ This tension between Saudi Arabia and Britain might have been the only chance for Saudi poets to address the issue of colonialism on their own land. In a poem by Qurashi, which was titled “The Cry of Buraimi”, we find this feeling of hate and anger:

هذا الدخيل بأرضنا ماذا يروم
كم خضبت يده الدماء
دماء أحرار الشعوب³⁸⁷

What does this stranger in our land want?

³⁸⁴ Al-Sanūsī, (1983) pp 280-284.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p 284.

³⁸⁶ Francois Duchene, 'The Study Of International Affairs', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* Vol. 32, No. 3 (Jul., 1956), pp. 318.

³⁸⁷ Qurashī, (1983) p 629.

His hand is full of blood,
The blood of those people who want to be free.

Hate and anger are not the only feelings we find in the text. There is a deep feeling of contempt. The mentioning of England refers to feeling of humiliation prevalent all over the world:

هذا الدخيل
وعليه سيماء الذليل
.....
صفعته كوكبة الفداء
فازور يبكي كالنساء
.....
في (دنكيرك)
كالثعلب المذعور يبكي في الشرك
وعلى ثرى إفريقيا السوداء جلله السواد
في كينيا والماو
يطؤونه كالكلب كالجرذ الحقيقير³⁸⁸

This stranger,
carrying the features of a spaniel,
has been slapped by the free people.
He began crying like woman.
In Dunkirk,³⁸⁹ he was as a paranoid fox crying in a trap.
And in the sands of black Africa he was surrounded by blackness.
In Kenya and Mau,³⁹⁰

³⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p 629.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p 630.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p 632.

They trampled on his face like dogs and despicable rats,

The poet mentioned other areas which were able to gain freedom from British colonialism. The reference to these areas indicates what the poet wanted to deliver to the reader, that a powerful colonial power such as Britain could be defeated. For the poet, Britain, this country whose empire previously did not lose sight of the sun, became an object of irony. The lines of the poem almost became a bundle of insults. The poet did not forget to end his poem by threatening the aggressors - they will face a terrible fate if they did not leave occupied lands.³⁹¹

Fu'ād Shākir also wrote more than one poem on the same event. And although he did not use Qurashi's language, he came up with similar ideas. Britain has two options: either to pull-out, or face the sword.³⁹² The Saudi poets seem deeply affected by the atmosphere of resistance which later defeated developed countries. Thus, they used unrealistic language in dealing with a superpower such as Britain.

Although the Saudi texts that we found about colonialism and Arab nationalism are limited in number. It is possible that, there are many texts, which have been hidden or lost for many reasons.³⁹³ However, the texts, which have been examined in this chapter, prove that these Saudi poets were deeply engaged in the wave of writings on resistance to colonialism. Saudi poets supported all movements that they considered just in their efforts to resist colonialism. They did this despite that some of these movements were against their religion such as the Communists in North Korea. In addition, one out of ten poets who addressed this topic mentioned Islam. Al-Sanūsī in his poetry about Algeria used many Islamic references as stated above. But we may understand the reason for that by taking into account the Islamic face of Algerian resistance to colonialism and the famous Islamic leader Abdelhamid Ben Badis (1889-1940).³⁹⁴ All of these words, which were used to describe fighters against France, do not portray the French as *Kuffār*, or infidels.

³⁹¹ *Ibid*, p 634.

³⁹² Amin, p 327.

³⁹³ See p 132.

³⁹⁴ An emblematic figure of the Islamic Reform movement in Algeria, and a leader of the reform movement in Algeria. See Kevin Shillington, *Encyclopedia Of African History* (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2005) p 99.

This should not be a surprising result, as the liberation movements across the Arabic world were mostly nationalist and socialist by the end of World War II. Saudi poets were included in general Arab movements. They did not adopt a nationalist or communist ideology — probably for political or social reasons — but they also did not understand the conflict with the colonizer as a conflict between Islam and Christianity.

4.1.3 America

The United States dominated the international political scene after the Second World War. Saudi poets (as the coming texts will show) were aware of this fact and sought to write on the various political manifestations in US foreign policies. Some Saudi poets mentioned the nuclear war, which the US launched on Japan. But, to my knowledge, no Saudi poet mentioned anything on the United States before World War II. After World War II, Saudi poets showed more interest in the political role, which the United States played on the international scene. Here we will examine nine Saudi poems in which the writers expressed their views on the political role of the United States. Some poems recounted the roles of Britain and France in the context of colonialism. But the role of America was recounted in various poems on various topics, and the Saudi view on America swung between negative and positive.

Al-Faraj was one of the first Saudi poet who was interested in American political roles. In more than one poem, al-Faraj criticised Harry Truman, the 33rd President of the United States (1945–1953). Al-Faraj blamed Truman for the concession of Palestine to the Jews. It has already been noted before how al-Faraj did not see any difference between Hitler and Truman.³⁹⁵ When Israel erected a statue for Truman in Tel Aviv,³⁹⁶ al-Faraj wrote a poem in which he mentioned how Truman may have been a Jewish Rabbi:

في تل أبيب بني صهيون قد نصبوا تمثال حاخامهم هاري ترومان

عليه أثم من جاروا ومن ظلموا ولعنة الخلق في سر وإعلان³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ See “Palestine and the Deceptive West” p 124.

³⁹⁶ I could not find any official resources about this status, but as al-Faraj stated under the title: ‘this status had been built in US and presented to Israel’. See al-Faraj, p 190

³⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p 190.

In Tel Aviv, the sons of Zion erected a statue for their rabbi Harry Truman.

He carries the sins of the unjust and oppressor and curses from people.

Al-Faraj also blamed the United States for building this statue:

أهدي لهم ذلك التمثال من بلد به الأباطيل من زور وبهتان

فيه لحرية الأنسان قد نصبوا تمثال إفك حشوه روح طغيان³⁹⁸

This statue has been sent to them as a gift from a country full of falsehoods and lies.

āIn the USū, they set up a statue which represents the freedom for all humans. But in reality this statue of freedom is stuffed by the spirit of oppression.

This text described the United State as a country of lies. It is true that the US has a status for freedom but this one does not represent a real freedom.

It seems that al-Faraj’s view of the United States relates to the Palestine issue. This anger and hate against Truman are attributable to the great support that Truman offered to Israel. Al-Faraj believes that Truman bears full responsibility for the injustice which Palestinians suffered at the hands of the Israelis. This feeling by al-Faraj drives him to try to expose the lies of America, the lies relating to justice, human right and so on. In his poetry, al-Faraj mentioned American racial discrimination against blacks. Since Truman left office in 1953, the language of al-Faraj changed. In his poem “To Eisenhower”, he called Eisenhower, the President of the United States from 1953 until 1961, “the free president”. He asked him to help the Moroccans against French colonialism:

يا ترى هل للرئيس الحر مقياس يقيس

إن قطر المغرب المسكين بالظلم تعيس

³⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p 190.

من ظلامات فرنسا وبما كانت تفسوس³⁹⁹

I wonder whether a free president does measure justice.

The state of Morocco became miserable due to injustice

Caused by France and what it was doing.

Al-Faraj in this poem confirms that Arabs are not communists. They were just seeking freedom and justice:

وإذا بالعدل والأنصاف نادتهم نفوس

قيل عنا بالشيوعية أغرى القوم روس

لا شيوعية والله لدينا يا رئيس

إنما بالظلم منهم طفحت منا الكؤوس⁴⁰⁰

When people call for justice

We are told that Russia brought us communism.

I swear to Allah that we are not linked to communism

Yet we are no longer able to bear up with their injustice

These lines confirm the point that have been previously mentioned. Al-Faraj was not attracted to Communism when he criticised the US for warring against Korea. Rather he was against imperial hegemony. Furthermore, the difference between al-Faraj's language in this text and his aggressive language in another text about Truman is clear. National sentiments seem to be the main factor which affected al-Faraj's views on the West.

In 1957, King Saud, the son of the founder of Saudi Arabia, °Abd al-°Azīz, visited the USA.⁴⁰¹ On this occasion, the Saudi poet Ibrāhīm Fūdah sent a poetic message to

³⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p 186.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p 186.

⁴⁰¹ Anthony H Cordesman, *Saudi Arabia Enters The Twenty-First Century* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003) p 107.

president Eisenhower.⁴⁰² It is clear that the atmosphere of the friendly visit deeply affects the language of Fūdah's poetry. However, this text revealed the Saudi view towards the United State some years after al-Faraj's death. Far from the intense enthusiasm of al-Faraj, Fūdah in the very first few lines of his poem expressed his great appreciation of the US president for the wisdom, knowledge and power he showed:

أقر الرئيس ايذنهاور تحيتنا مشفوعة برقيق العتب والشجن
وقل له يا رئيس الغرب أنت لها وق وهبت عميق المنطق المرن

.....

يا سيد الغرب دولارا ومعرفة وقدرة أنت فيها قائد السفن⁴⁰³

Send President Eisenhower our greetings with gentle admonition and sadness.

Say to him: president of the West, you are most competent and wise.

O'Lord of the West: by your dollar, your knowledge and ability, you become the ship's captain.

This text refers to the important political role, which the United State played after the Second World War. The poet called Eisenhower the "President of the West" and the "Lord of the West". The sovereignty of the US was symbolised in its economic and technological power. It seems clear that scientific development became one of the important images, which Saudis cultivated regarding the United States. Such an image was propagated by Saudi poets not only because of the large number of scientific discoveries ,which were found in America, but also because the Saudis had a strong relationship between their country and the US after the Second World War, especially in the field of oil. The progress in media outreach between East and West also brought the image of the US to the fore as a technological power. All that may help to reveal the new image of the United States in this text as a country of "technological advances".

These lines on the technological advances in America were not meant to dazzle the readers. The Saudi poet asked the American president to use his country's power and

⁴⁰² Fūdah, (1984) p 113.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid*, p 113.

knowledge to achieve peace in the East. The poet starts his poem by mentioning the importance of achieving peace, confirming that Arabs are neither communists nor capitalists – such an idea was mentioned by al-Faraj before and is going to be repeated again by other Saudi poets:

لسنا شيوعية بل إن أكثرنا يرى الشيوعية الحمراء كالدرن
ولا نقاتلهم من أجلكم أبداً إن لم تمس سلام الروح والبدن⁴⁰⁴

We are not communists, but rather the majority of us view red communism as tuberculosis.

Yet we are not going to fight them if the communists do not intend to disquiet the peace of our souls or our bodies.

The poet confirmed that the Arabs will remain neutral and have no bad intentions against any side. In other lines, he mentions to the US president that he is speaking on behalf of all Arabs.⁴⁰⁵ He also talked a lot about peace in the Middle East, and that the only way to achieve peace is by removing Israel from the map. This idea was not strange at all at that period of time. But what seemed strange is that the poet was giving this advice to America. He seems to have believed that America can accept this idea. He also asked the American president to stand by the Arabs in their war in Algeria and to help weak people.⁴⁰⁶ When we compare this point of view in Fūdāh's poem with similar points in al-Faraj's poem, we can note the big change which the image of the US in Saudi poetry went through.

This positive view towards United State can be explained by the friendly atmosphere of King Saud's visit to America. But there are also other factors which may have affected this view. First, the anger which Arabs felt after the creation of Israel was now getting tempered, in the period spanning ten years after the critical event. Second, just a year before this event, Egypt faced the Tripartite Aggression that shifted the outrage from Palestine and Israel to Britain and France. America played a significant role in stopping the war. These points can explain the positive image on the US in this text.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p 113.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p 115.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p 118.

Another poem on America by Muḥammad Ḥasan Faqī may give us a clearer image on the United States as there is no particular event which invited the poet to mention the US in his poem. However, we could infer that the poet wrote this poem while on a trip to the US. The evidence for presuming that he was on a trip to the US was that he keeps mentioning in the poem the expression "I saw". In his poem "Uncle Sam", Faqī expressed his views on US society and wars. The poet started with one of the most famous images about America in twentieth century. For Faqī, that America is the country which knows no impossibility:

عشق المسير إلى الأمام	قالوا بأن العم سام
ت تنطق بالتفوق والتمام	في كل يوم بيدع الأيا (م)
.....	
ط يكون من غير الأنام ⁴⁰⁷	قد كان من فرط النشا (م)

They said that Uncle Sam had passion for going forward.

Every day he showed miracles which disclose superiority and perfection.

Super active, some may think that he is not a human.

The poet's admiration of the United State leads him to criticise "Red Indians". He states that Americans came to these lands that previously lived in the dark ages. The extermination of Red Indians was nothing but natural evolution:

قبله عيش النعام	عاش الهنود الحمر فيها
م ولا فنون ولا نظام	مثل الوحوش فلا علو (م)
.....	
وفي الفضاء وفي الرغام	حتى أتاهم من تحكم في البحار
على التمزق والخصام	فتمزقوا وعدى الفناء

⁴⁰⁷ Faqī, (n d) vol 1 p 318.

النور من بعد الظلام⁴⁰⁸ حكم التطور أن يجيء

Red Indians had lived there before like animals.

Like monsters, no knowledge, arts or order.

Until they were visited by those who control seas, space and land.

They were torn to pieces and death extinguished them due to their dispersion and feuds.

The law of evolution orders that light appears after darkness.

Even the wars in which America participated, Saudi poets believe, were the only way to achieve civilisation and peace.⁴⁰⁹

The poet's admiration of America did not prevent him from criticising the economic greed and material life which turned millions of American workers into slaves to the owners of capital. He also criticised the warmongers who make a fortune by selling weapons.⁴¹⁰ Racism against black Americans received its share in this text. The poet criticised racial discrimination against blacks and advised Americans to solve this problem before it is too late:

الله قد خلق السواد فكفوا هذا العرام

.....

لا تعملوا للإقسام ونفسوا هذا الصمام⁴¹¹

Allah created blacks so stop this fighting.

Do not work for division. Solve this crisis.

The poet did not forget to mention the Palestine issue. However, unlike Fūdāh, Faqī considered the United States as a friend and warned it from the danger of Zionism:

صهيون حام عليك فاحذر أن يصيبك بالسقام

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 318.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 319.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 320.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 320.

قد حام كسبا للمطا (م) مع ليس كسبا للغرام

.....

بأدره واكشف للخليفة عن محياه اللثام⁴¹²

Zionist are hovering over you; beware that Zionist will afflict you with an ailment

Zionist is aiming to gain from you. He is not looking for amity.

Make a move and expose Zion's mask in front of all human beings.

These texts show how the US was important for the images, which Saudi poets developed in their writings on the West in the period after the Second World War. Since this period, America became a symbol of the whole West. The American president was called the "Lord of the West", revealing the extent to which the images on Britain and France in Saudi political poetry began disappearing. However the importance of the United States was born out of the responsibility which the US had in the efforts to solve Arab-Israeli conflict. The only negative image on the US refers to American support of Israel. But in general America is represented positively in most Saudi political poems which appeared in this stage.

Saudi poets show deep understanding of the reality of America. They expressed their ideas about some internal American issues relating to society and economics. However, the image of America can be found not only in political poetry but also in some other poems, which describe nature, scientific progress and love. The Saudi image on America will be clearer when we address these topics later.

4.1.4 Internal Western Issues

Some Saudi poets addressed what can be called "internal Western issues". These issues do not relate directly or indirectly to the Arab or Eastern worlds. They may include the debates around the Berlin Wall and Red Indians. These topics seem useful when we

⁴¹² *Ibid*, vol 1 p 321.

examine the representation of the West in Saudi poetry because most Saudi poets showed their views on the West while they are not under the influence of nationalist sentiments. In these texts, we can expect that the poets will make their own judgment based on humanitarian sense and their own values.

The Berlin Wall represented an exceptional topic for Fu'ād Shākir, as he wrote two poems about it. In 1963, Shākir visited Germany and saw the Wall. He stated that "I saw this Wall while people were standing on both sides of the beach of sorrow and tears".⁴¹³ In both poems, Shākir expressed his deep sorrow for this humanitarian tragedy. In his first poem, he described this wall as the greatest tragedy in the universe:

مأساة هذا الوجود للأبد أسوأ ما سجلته كف يد⁴¹⁴

It is the tragedy of the world forever; the worst thing which has been recorded by a human hand.

He noted the tragic scenes caused by this wall:

فرق بين امرئ وزوجته ووالد مشفق على ولد

.....

كم أشيب فيه واقع جزعا ويافع فيه خائر الأود

يرقب من أهله وشيعته نظرة حب وعطف مبتعد⁴¹⁵

It divided husband from his wife and father from his son.

Many old people did fall in front of it because of the intensity of grief.

A young man also was pessimistic.

He was waiting for his family to offer him a glimpse of love and sympathy from the other side of the wall.

Shākir wishes for it to collapse as soon as possible. He is sure that one day this wall will collapse and the Germans will again be one nation:

⁴¹³ Shākir, (1967) p 303.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid*, p 303.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid*, p 303.

ياحائط الظلم لا نهضت ولا قمت على خائر ولا وتد

.....

إن أنت لليوم سامق صعدا فلست للعيش في حياة غد

فإنها أمة موحدة ووحدة الشعب ووحدة البلد⁴¹⁶

Oh, wall of injustice: I hope you never rise.

If you rise up today, you will not be here tomorrow.

This nation is united and the people need their land united too.

Shākir ends his poem by praising the Germans. He extolled how they gave a great example in patience and struggle to rebuild their country, even though their defeat in the Second World War had a high price to pay. He wrote of his belief that Germany will rise again.⁴¹⁷

Although the second poem on the wall is short, there are new ideas in it. Shākir started his poem with this poetic image:

جدار برلين على سمكه تنفذ منه دمة الثاكل⁴¹⁸

Although very solid, the Berlin Wall has tears of sorrowful which can permeate it.

He repeated his wish that the wall needs be destroyed soon. What is new in this poem, however, is that Shākir states the similarity he notes between this Wall and Israel:

كأن إسرائيل من خلفه تقوم بالظلم وبالباطل
أقفر من أهل ومن أهل⁴¹⁹ كلاهما معتصب أبق

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid*, p 303.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid*, p 304.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid*, p 308.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid*, p 308.

It looks as though Israel behind the Wall does practice injustice and commit falsehood.

Both of them are political rapists, clearing the land from its people.

These lines shed more light on the feeling of sympathy which Shākir showed towards the Germans. He may have believed that Hitler's hostility to the Jews had something to do with this tragedy of the Wall in Germany. These lines also show that Saudi poets did not forget their national affiliations. They used such as an event of the destruction of the Berlin Wall to remind the world about Arab rights in Palestine.

Shākir repeated what he thinks that the Wall will not stay forever. Interestingly, what he mentioned in this poem in 1962 happened after thirty years:

متى أرى في الغد أحجاره	موطوءة بالقدم الناعل
يندك تحت الأرض لا فوقها	يوطأ بالراكب والراجل
وتلتقي الأسرة في أرضها	بلا قيود وبلا حائل ⁴²⁰

When will I see the Wall trampled on by boots?

It is this moment when the Wall goes under land not over it; riders and footmen pass over it.

And families meet without restrictions and without obstacles.

At the end of this period in 1967, Ghāzī al-Quṣaybī visited a museum of the “Red Indians” in the United States and wrote a poem about this experience. In the first half of his poem, al-Quṣaybī described the Red Indian lifestyle as the tourist guide spoke to him about it. They loved drums, riding horses and gathering around their leaders. They smoked and threatened the white aggressors with death. Yet in the morning they faced what they had not expected:

حتى إذا جاء الصباح

حملوا الفؤوس

⁴²⁰ *Ibid*, p 308.

ومضوا إلى البيض اللئام
لكن سيلا من رصاص
سد الدروب فلا خلاص
وتساقطوا مثل الذباب
حتى الزعيم
صرعته امرأة فخر على التراب⁴²¹

In the morning,
they carried their axes and went to the villainous whites.
Yet a barrage of shots blocked the routes.
There was no scape.
They fell like flies,
Even the leader was killed by a woman. He fell on the sand.

Although al-Quṣaybī was born in Bahrain and studied in Egypt and the USA, we still find in the last line of his poem the impact of Arabian culture on him as a poet. In portraying the tragic end of those people, al-Quṣaybī stated that even their leader was killed by a woman. In the tribal morals, it is shameful to fight women because it is a sign of weakness. Thus, and as the leader himself was killed by a woman, it was taken by the poet as a sign of the inability and weakness of those people.

Al-Quṣaybī continues speaking about this experience. After years, all that was left of those people were just museums and some of their shows for touristic displays.⁴²² In the last part of his poem, al-Quṣaybī offers what seems to be the main reason of writing this poem, and began pondering the future for the Arabs:

قل يا أخي والنجمة المعقوفة الشوهاء تلمع في المنائر
والمسجد الأقصى يردد ما يرتله اليهود من الشعائر

⁴²¹ Ghāzī Al-Quṣaybī, *Al-A ʿmāl al-Kāmilah* (Jeddah: Dār Tihāmah, 2ed, 1987) p 283.

⁴²² *Ibid*, p 286.

هل يبصر السواح يوما ما

حضارتنا بقايا

ملء المتاحف أو سيايا

في حانة في تل أبيب⁴²³

Tell me my brother while the disfigured star looks shiny on minarets,

And Al-Aqsa Mosque echoes Jewish rituals:

Will the tourists on day see the rest of our civilisation

Shelved in museums or transformed into maids

Working in a bar in Tel Aviv's?

It seems clear that this poem was written after the Egyptian defeat of 1967 war between Egypt and Israel. A sense of pessimism fuels the poem as the poet refers to what happened to Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, given that after the Six-Day War in 1967, Israel controlled it.

An important point in this poem is the way it represented Westerners and Americans. Shākir's views on the West were tied to the political tension surrounding the Berlin Wall and the Palestinian question. For al-Quṣaybī, writing on the Red Indians allowed him to rethink the Arab-Israeli conflict. The differences in these two poets can be attributed to their different personal experiences. Shākir wrote on the human disaster which he faced and experienced while al- Quṣaybī wrote on historical issues which came onto his mind while visiting an American museum. Still, the question of Palestine was what the Saudi poets used in their writings on the West.

4.2 Cultural Image:

⁴²³ *Ibid*, p 286.

Few Saudi texts can be studied under this title. In this period, what was known as the conflict between the Eastern and Western blocs (Communism and Capitalism) was a serious cultural issue relating to the ways Saudi poems represented the West.

Faqī wrote a poem titled "Capitalists and Marxists". In this poem, he expressed his views on these two groups. His views in general are not that different from other Saudi poets in the political part of this chapter.⁴²⁴ The poetry of Faqī clarifies more clearly Saudi poets' opinions on the conflict between the so-called Eastern and Western blocs. In his poems, Faqī addressed these two ideologies. Faqī seemed to be dismissive of both views. Yet the way he dealt with these two ideologies revealed how Marxism and Capitalism permeated Arab societies. Many people in Arab countries - including Saudis - believed in these two ideologies.

Faqī warned both sides in the first couple of lines. He emphasises that both groups seek personal benefits; none of them want to help the Arabs or have good intentions for them:

فهذا شيوعي يمد يمينه إلينا وغربي يمد لنا اليسرى

.....

فيبدون حبا ما تجيش صدورهم به لشعوب يرتجون بها النصرا

ولو علمت تلك الشعوب بما انطوت عليه القلوب الغلف لامتلأت ذعر⁴²⁵

Here is a communist who shows his right hand to us [Pretending to help us], and here is a Westerner who shows his left hand.

They show love to people they think they will help them achieve victory.

Yet if these people know what they hide from them they will start panicking.

The poet mentioned how they seek to deceive people, and how they had similar tricks. The Capitalists give many promises to persuade governments and people to do

⁴²⁴ See p 146.

⁴²⁵ Faqī, (n d) vol 1 p 460.

what they want them to do, but if they fail to do so, they then use extreme power against those who would not obey.⁴²⁶ Then he attacked Marxists. They promised to combat poverty and injustice. They also promised to create a socialist paradise in their countries. Justice and equality are their passions:

وقد دخل الفردوس من امنوا به فكان جحيما رد ايمانهم كفرا
وكان لحرياتهم متنفس فضايق الى أن عاد من ضيقه قيرا⁴²⁷

The believers entered their promised paradise, but it was a hell, which turned them unbelievers.

They had some space for freedom, but this space began shrinking till it became a grave.

The poet attacked both Marxists and Capitalists. He shows a concern about spiritual life in the East which he believes it is at risk:

لقد كان هذا الشرق بالروح سيدا وكان وإن ضاق السبيل به حرا
وقد بات لا يدري أيسلك يمنا فينجوا أم أن اليسار به أحرى
فليس اليمينيون خيرا فيرتجى وليس اليساريون من ضدهم خيرا
وما نحن إلا كالجسور إذا انقضت مارب منها حطموا الجسر فالجسرا⁴²⁸

This East was a spiritual lord; it was free despite the straitened conditions.

At this moment, it does not know where to go for survival: right or left.

We cannot pin our hope on right wing people. The leftists are no better than their categorical opponents.

Between them we are bridges. When they reach their goals they will destroy these bridges.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 461.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 461.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 462.

The last line shows deep feelings of insecurity on both sides. Faqī went further when he claims that the only way for us to feel secure is when they fight each other:

مغانما في ضعفهم وسلامنا إذا الخلف فيما بينهم أنشب الظفرا
وما نحن منهم عنصرا وعقيدة وإن كان منا من يقلدهم نكرا⁴²⁹

Our benefit is in their weakness, and our peace will be achieved when their dispute intensifies.

We do not belong to their race and faith although some of us do like to imitate them.

This poem was written at the height of the conflict between these two groups. The poet wrote a footnote which read: "The conflict between Capitalism and Marxism is at its peak, and the battle is still raging".⁴³⁰ Such a conflict threatened many countries in the world, especially in the East. However, some countries were battlefields for the military conflict between Capitalism and Marxism. But almost all the world was a battlefield of a cultural conflict and so the poet did not hide his concern about the spread of such ideas among his people as the last line shows.

The many lines in the poem, which attack communism, indicate that the influence of Communism on Arabs and Saudi people was pervasive. This shows that the poet believed that Communism is more dangerous than Capitalism. However, between 1953 and 1956, in Saudi Arabia there was a workers' movement.⁴³¹ Some of the leaders of this movement were deeply influenced by Communism.⁴³² Thus, it is not surprising that this text attacks Communists more than Capitalists.

Here it is important to mention that the poet did not use Islamic or Arab nationalist sentiments. He did not even mention any thing, which indicates that he is a Saudi. The only mentioning of identity in this text is when the poet recalls the word "East". What does it mean that the poet adopts an Eastern identity against Capitalism and Marxism. In the period in which the poem appeared, China and North Korea - which were considered

⁴²⁹ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 460.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 462.

⁴³¹ Michel G Nehme, 'Saudi Arabia 1950–80: Between Nationalism And Religion', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 30 (1994), 930-943 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00263209408701030>>.

⁴³² Sulṭān al-Jumayrī, 'Ḥadīth °an al-Tajribah al-Niḍāliyyah al-°Ummāliyyah fi'l-Su°ūdiyyah (2)', *al-asr.ws*, 2015 <<http://al-asr.me/articles/view/14073>> [accessed 28 January 2015]

part of the East in many Saudi poems – had already adopted Marxism.⁴³³ Thus, the East here might have meant the Arab world. However, the use of the word "East" does not settle on a fixed meaning but varies according to the background of the poet and the poem's historical context.

There are other Saudi texts, which dealt with the West in cultural terms. Some of them were not as deep as what Faqī tried to do in his previous poem. These poems however reflect how Saudi poets responded to Western cultural events. When Jean Paul Sartre refused to receive the Nobel Prize in 1964,⁴³⁴ the Saudi poet Shākir expressed his admiration of Sartre. In his poem, Shākir stated that Sartre did not accept the Prize because he believed that accepting such rewards narrows one's literary talents. Shākir tried to explain his views on this event:

ومن توجهه بتاج التمام تغلف بالقدرة العاجزة⁴³⁵

Those who are crowned by the crown of perfection will develop disability.

There is another Western cultural issue. It might be seen as marginal, but it shows the development in dealing with Western culture in Saudi poetry. In the previous period, Saudi poets introduced Greek myths into Saudi culture by writing some poems about the stories of Greek myths. In this period, Saudi poets continued this phase of using Greek myths and the Saudi poet °Abd al-Salām Ḥāfiẓ used some Greek Gods in a long poetic play which he wrote. In a poetic play titled "Lights on the Anonymous", Ḥāfiẓ wrote about a love story where we can find a dialogue between a few characters. In one of the theatrical scenes, the poet engaged Cupid - the God of love - with Venus - the Goddess beauty. The poet presented these Greek Gods as characters. He did not try to explain even in a footnote what is the background of Cupid or Venus. The poet assumed that his Saudi or Arab readers understood these Greek names and had sufficient knowledge about these myths. Before he wrote this dramatic piece, Ḥāfiẓ wrote many poems in which we find these new mythical stories. In this period, Saudi poets moved from the stage of definition

⁴³³ A. James Gregor, *Marxism And The Making Of China* (n p: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) pp 71, 121.

⁴³⁴ Burton Feldman, *The Nobel Prize* (New York: Arcade Pub., 2000) p 78.

⁴³⁵ Shākir, (1967) p 305.

for their audiences to the stage of use and employment due to increasing familiarity with Western cultural myths and legends.

One of the new features of the cultural image of the West in Saudi poetry appear in the translated European poems. There are three translated poems which can be taken as examples of how Saudi poets saw Western culture. Ḥusayn Sarḥān (1915-1994), Ḥasan Qurashī and Ghazī rewrote translated poems according to the Arabic poetic traditions. Sarḥān wrote a poem titled "Poem from Romania" which was originally written by H  l  ne Vacaresco.⁴³⁶ Qurashī wrote a poem titled "The Sunset" translated from Lamartine.⁴³⁷ Both Western poets are well known romantic poets. Their poems have similar features and both wrote passionate and romantic poetry.

Al-Quṣaybī translated a poem into Arabic. This poem is titled "Enough for us". The original writer is anonymous. In introducing this poem to his readers, Al-Quṣaybī wrote "to the dear brother to whom this poem is written; he allowed me to translate it, and to the female writer wherever she is". From this introduction we can expect that al-Quṣaybī translated it from English, as English was the only foreign language that al-Quṣaybī was familiar with. We can also expect that this poem was originally written by a young female poet who might have been al-Quṣaybī's colleague in the USA as he was a student there. In this poem, we find a love story between young lovers from different cultures. They fall in love but they always ponder the possibility of separation. After raising questions about separation, the poet ended the poem by asking his lover not to answer:

حبيبي لا تجب هيهات ندري

ما تخبئه ليالينا

حبيبي ما وراء الغد؟

يكفيننا بأني ملكك الان

وأنتك لي⁴³⁸

⁴³⁶ 1864–1947 was a Romanian-French aristocrat writer.

⁴³⁷ Alphonse Marie Louis de Prat de Lamartine (1790 –1869) was a French writer, poet and politician who was instrumental in the foundation of the Second Republic.

⁴³⁸ Al-Quṣaybī, (1987) p 242.

Oh my love! Do not answer. We never know

what our coming nights are hiding.

Oh my love! What is behind tomorrow?

It is enough for us that you are mine now and I am yours.

This love story must have touched al-Quşaybī. In many poems, al-Quşaybī mentioned how he fell in love while he was studying in the West. Al-Quşaybī's poems are different from Sarḥān and Qurashī's poems. These two Saudi poets chose to introduce the Arabic reader to what they believed to be great Western poetry. Al-Quşaybī, nevertheless, translated poems written by an anonymous Western poet. Al-Quşaybī believed that the real value of great poetry is the emotional experiences which it narrates. In his poem, he showed concerns about the possibility that love between a man and a woman who belong to different cultures might not always end up being a success. Translating this kind of poetry might be seen as an important cultural engagement between Saudi Arabia and the West, and this can be seen from an emotional perspective as well.

The important point relating to the image of the West in Saudi poetry is that in the previous phase we noticed that Saudi poets tried to introduce Greek myths as a new cultural product to their local culture. In this chapter, we noted that Saudi poets moved to a new phase by trying to translate Western poetry to their readers, assuming a level of knowledge regarding the West on the part of Arabian readers. That may indicate the increase of the direct relationship between Saudi Arabia and Western culture and also the large effect of Western poems or general Western culture on Saudi poets.

4.3 Cities

In this stage (1946-1967), due to the new political and economic development in their country, Saudi poets had an opportunity to visit, live and study in the West. The number of Saudi poems written on Western cities during this period indicates a remarkable change in the relationship between Saudis and the West. In researching the poems published in this period, I found thirteen poems written on Western cities. These poems can be divided into two parts: 1- descriptive poems 2- descriptive and critical poems.

4.3.1 Descriptive Poems

Five poems describe nature in Western cities. The poets in these texts tried to tell their readers about what they saw in the West. Some of them expressed their strong admiration of the beauty of the landscape in the West. They also show fascination with the development in the West. Two poets wrote five texts in this part, and some of these texts can be considered weak in terms of artistic value. Nevertheless, there are some important points relating to the question of this research that will become clear in the following.

Al-[°]Aqīlī is one of the poets of Jizan, in the far South-West of Saudi Arabia, on the borders with Yemen. In the early fifties, Saudi cities were far less developed than modern Western cities. Unlike many other Saudi cities in this period, Jizan had to wait for a long time before the train of development arrived at its station.⁴³⁹ Another poet from Jizan who addressed scientific development in the West was Al-Sanūsī. He wrote a poem celebrating the opening of a power station in 1959. In this poem, we can note how the simplicity of Jizan differs from modern development in Western cities.

⁴³⁹ In 2005 King [°]Abd Allāh Bin [°]Abd al-[°]Azīz apologized to residents of Jizan for delaying the development in their region see Al-Sharaq al-Ausat, 2011
<<http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=4&article=613204&issueno=11799#.VMkZDGisWrM>> [accessed 28 January 2015]

Al-°Aqīlī went to London and Paris. He wrote two long poems on these cities. In his *Dīwān*, Al-°Aqīlī did not mention when he left Jizan. But in his *Dīwān*, we find some pictures he took while he was in London and Paris. In seventy seven lines in his *Dīwān*, Al-°Aqīlī describes what he considered the face of civilization and beauty which London reveals to the visitor. He described Heathrow, Trafalgar Square, and the River Thames. Al-°Aqīlī also wrote eighty-six lines on Paris. He expressed similar fascination, which he previously showed in London. He described Forest Bologna, the Eiffel Tower and the Seine River. In these two poems, there are some emotional and historical issues. What deserves to be highlighted here is how a Saudi poetry represents the West.

Al-°Aqīlī's positive impression on the West is one of the most important points in his poems. In the first few lines in the poem which Al-°Aqīlī wrote on London, he shows fascination with English planes. He was amazed that this piece of metal can fly faster than sound and then reach London in several hours:

الضحا في جدة يا للرجا وعلى لندن من قبل الغروب
حفنة من تربة الأرض غدت تمتطي الريح لتأى في الهبوب⁴⁴⁰

In the forenoon we were in Jeddah and just before the sunset we
arrived in London.

A handful of soil is riding the wind and then flying away!

In his poem on Paris, Al-°Aqīlī mentioned the huge difference between the place that he comes from and the place he visits. He mentioned how he was amazed when he saw the elevator in the Eiffel Tower and described it as a "train going up".⁴⁴¹

In both poems, the poet shows awareness of many historical and cultural issues.⁴⁴² He also used some Greek myths⁴⁴³, which show his knowledge of Western culture. In the two poems on London and Paris, we note how his cultural and religious affiliation and belonging influenced Al-°Aqīlī's views. In the London poem, Al-°Aqīlī describes a beautiful girl that he met in London. He focuses on her bodily features: "white like the

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p 77

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid*, p 77.

⁴⁴² *Ibid*, pp 34, 36 and 78.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid*, pp 31 and 39.

milk", blonde hair and blue eyes. He concluded these lines by mentioning how pride prevents him from developing a relationship with her:⁴⁴⁴

فتنة تأسر ألباب الورى وتلف القلب حبا في عذاب
فتذكرت اعتزازي والتقى وصرفت النفس عن غي مريب⁴⁴⁵

Glamour steals people minds and makes their hearts falls in love and pain.

Yet I remembered my honour and my Allahliness before I turned away from this lure.

In his poem on Paris, we find some lines, which show how the poet disproved of what he saw in Forest Bologna. He saw how lovers tend to meet in Forest Bologna, a view which the poet posited as one of threat to chastity:

ومشاهد تقذي العفاف وتصدم ال (م) قلب المهذب والتقي الزاكي⁴⁴⁶

These scenes hurt chastity and shock a chaste, clean and pious heart.

In public spaces in Western cities, these scenes were common. Yet they were criticised by the poet. Sometimes, the poem associates the prevalence of these scenes on Parisian streets with French infidelity and atheism:

إن أوغلوا فجرا وفسقا حسبهم لا ذنب فوق الكفر والإشراك⁴⁴⁷

If they go deep in debauchery and lewdness, it is enough that there is no more sin above infidelity and atheism.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p 32.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p 79.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p 73.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p 73.

Another Saudi poet, the previously discussed Shākir, wrote three poems on these European spaces: The Alps, Berlin and Dusseldorf. In the first poem, Shākir was fascinated with the beauty and grandeur of the Alps. From the first line of his poem, Shākir associated this magisterial landscape with the greatness of Allah's creation:

لمن المشارف تحت عرشك تسبح وبحمدك اللهم فيه تسبح⁴⁴⁸

These mountains swarm under your throne. They celebrate the praise of Allah.

In this line, the poem seems to be affected by the Quran, especially from verse 88 in Surat *Al-Naml* (وَتَرَى الْجِبَالَ تَحْسَبُهَا جَامِدَةً وَهِيَ تَمُرُّ مَرَّ السَّحَابِ ۗ صُنِعَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا شَيْءٌ ۗ إِنَّهُ ۗ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ بِمَا تَفْعَلُونَ) Thou seest the mountains and thinkest them firmly fixed: but they shall pass away as the clouds pass away: (such is) the artistry of Allah, Who disposes of all things in perfect order: for He is well-acquainted with all that ye do". In the second part of this line, he alludes to verse 44 in Surat *al-Isra* (وَإِنْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ إِلَّا يُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِهِ) "there is not a thing but celebrates His praise". The poem seems to be a celebration of Allah's creation. The Alps in this text are no more than physical and graphic examples on the greatness of Allah. The important thing that we note in this poetry is the deep influence of religion on the poet.

In his other poem about Berlin, Shākir focused on how Berlin's stores promote their goods. Shākir notes that in these stores, one finds beautiful girls who are employed to socialise with customers so that they might convince them to buy things.⁴⁴⁹ In his poem on Dusseldorf, Shākir shows admiration for this beautiful city. He also mentions development in this city by describing the skyscrapers and factories prevalent there. In addition, Shākir recalls how Germans are keen on improving their country:

معالمها في العين حسن وبهجة وأبناؤها في الجد صدق ومخير

فمن ناطحات للسحاب كأنها لها في ذرا الجوزاء ثأر فنتأر⁴⁵⁰

Its landmarks are beautiful; they are sources of pleasure. Its people are honest and hardworkers.

⁴⁴⁸ Shākir, (1967) p 305.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p 302.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p 307.

There you find skyscrapers rising upwards, seeking revenge from Gemini.

We find similarities between Shākir and al-°Aqīlī's poems. Both of them were fascinated with beautiful scenes in Western landscapes. Both were impressed by the developments in Western cities. Al-°Aqīlī seems more fascinated and impressed than Shākir, nevertheless. The explanation of this difference can be attributed to the differences we find in their personal backgrounds. Al-°Aqīlī is from Jizan which was a very underdeveloped city. Shākir is from Jiddah, one of the biggest cities in Saudi Arabia. At that time, Jidda was an important sea port for the whole of the Kingdom. Shākir studied in Egypt and worked under the Saudi King °Abd al-°Azīz. Gaining this privileged position, Shākir was able to travel abroad and so he went to many Western cities.

4.3.2 Descriptive and Critical Poetry

In the second part of Saudi poetry on the Western city, we find descriptive and critical poems, which engage with things other than beautiful landscapes and developed cities. In this part, Saudi poets presented critiques of Western lifestyles, and the position of religion in society and Western political systems. Many Saudi poems were devoted to the United States of America. On the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Spain, we found only one poem for each. That many poems were written on the US in this period reflects the extent to which Saudi poets were aware of the increasing political role, which the US played in the Middle East.

In the first part of this section, we saw how Saudi poets expressed their fascination with Western civilization. We also saw how religion and Arab traditions affected Al-°Aqīlī's views of some aspects of Western life. In this part, we shall examine the circumstances which impacted the views on Western cities in Saudi poetry.

Saudi poets expressed their admiration of Western civilization. Faqī wrote a poem titled "Copenhagen". In this poem, Faqī demonstrated his appreciation of the development in Copenhagen. He mentioned how in Copenhagen he saw glory:

رأيت بكوبنهاجن المجد كله بناء لها الأمجاد والحسن كله

.....

وأبصرت فيه المجد في عنفوانه فيا ليت في قومي من المجد مثله
 حضارة شعب كان بالأمس خاملا فجد وألقى في السماكين رحله⁴⁵¹

In Copenhagen I saw glory; the buildings were beautiful.

And I saw glory in its brighter day; I hope my people achieve similar glory.

It is a civilization of a nation who in the past was ignorant. They worked hard to position themselves among stars.

Faqī praised the people of Copenhagen. They are hardworking and honest people. He also praised the art he encountered in Copenhagen.⁴⁵² This form of praising art occurs in other Saudi texts, and one of the most common tropes in Saudi texts on Western cities was one of fascination with the beauty of nature. In his other poem on Hawaii, Faqī expressed his fascination with the beauty of nature. He wondered how, with all of these beautiful scenes now prevalent in our mundane lives, paradise in the Hereafter will look like:

وقلت له ياروض هل أنا حالم وإلا فهذا ربك الفتنة الكبرى
 إذا كانت الأولى تباركت هذه فماذا ترى من بعد ذلك في الأخرى⁴⁵³

I said oh meadows, am I dreaming? You are the biggest glamour.

If this beauty is in this life (Allah's blessing) what the beauty in paradise will look like?

The beauty of nature has been mentioned in Faqī's poem on England. It is also mentioned in another poem he wrote on Paris, one titled "Bride of the Danube". Faqī described beautiful rivers, green plains, towering mountains and colourful roses. This great appreciation of Western landscape appeared in most Saudi texts written on Western

⁴⁵¹ Faqī, (n d) vol 1 p 351.

⁴⁵² *Ibid*, vol 1 p 351.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 323.

cites and countries. Coming from a totally different climate and natural landscape, Saudi poets focused in their poems on green Western landscape.

The looks and dresses of Western girls similarly attracted Saudi poets. In Hawaii, Faqī was fascinated with the beauty of brunette girls.⁴⁵⁴ In all other Western places which they visited, Saudi poets were admirers of beauty. However, there are some points that draw Saudi poets' attention to the women in the West. These points can clarify some aspects of how images on the West were presented in Saudi poetry. It can also expose the causes which led Saudi poets to judge what they saw.

Women's chastity was one of the points which Saudi poets were interested in mentioning in their poems. Faqī mentioned how women in America were unveiled but nevertheless educated and chaste:

رأيت بها الغيد الحسان سوافرا فكدت هوى أنسى الحجاب وفضله
 وكن على علم وكن على حجا يعاف بمرآهن ذو الجهل جهله
 ولم أفتقد فيهن عند تغزلي عافا فصعب الحب قد بذ سهله
 إذا رمت منهم الوصال فلن ترى ولو عشت دهرًا من يبيعك وصله
 سيبدلنه لا سلعة مستباحة ولكنه حب متى شئن بذله⁴⁵⁵

I saw beauties uncovered, and I almost forget the virtues of the hijab.

They were [the ladies] educated and intelligent; an uneducated man will hate himself when he sees them.

And I did not miss noting their chastity when I am courting. For real love is not a fleeting moment.

You will never find a girl selling herself, even if you try for a long time.

They will give everything: not as commodities but as a real love.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 351.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 351.

This point on women's behaviour in Copenhagen seems to be a marginal point. The poet's focus on this point refers to a view he previously developed on American and Western women. The poet in these lines insisted on women's chastity; he was trying to correct the bad image which Saudis held on Western women.

In his other poem about England, there is another interesting point on English women. Faqī expressed dismay when recalling English women's behaviour. In his poem, Faqī exposed his previous views on English and French women. He mentions how he will not be surprised if he finds these women in Paris:

ياجيرة المانش ليس الحسن محتشما كالحسن يمرح فينا شبه عريان

.....

سمعت بالخلق السامي فأذهلني أني أرى غير ما أوعته اذاني

لو أنني في جوار السين ما نكرت مبادل العمر من حواء أجفاني⁴⁵⁶

Oh neighbours of the channel: the modest beauty is not similar to the almost naked beauty.

I heard of good morals and was then amazed. But what I see does not prove what I heard.

If I was in the close proximity of the Seine River, my eyes would not be in denial of witnessing nudity.

His views on English women are conservative. He stated that English women had a good reputation in the way they dress. But upon seeing how English women dress, he was surprised. Thirteen lines in his poem were devoted to giving English people some advice on how they need to see beauty and assess the value of chastity.

Here it might be worthwhile to recall what was previously mentioned, in the political part of this period, that Saudi poets in this phase do not treat the West as one homogenous entity. Their knowledge of the West developed as direct contact with the West increased. More Saudis visited and lived in the West either as tourists or students.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 418.

Due to increased contact between Saudis and the West, Faqī was able to differentiate between English and French women as far as manners and styles of life are concerned.

The impact of religion and culture on Saudi poets appeared in their statements on the indecency of women's dresses. The impact of religion was clear in Faqī's poem on Copenhagen. In this poem, Faqī expressed his fascination with the beautiful girls he encountered in Copenhagen. He stated that "I almost forget the advantage of the *Hijab*". His word "almost" indicates an opposite meaning; that is, whatever he see in the West, he will never forget his religion or religious precepts.

The impact of religion appeared also in Shākir's poem on Rome. Shākir also expressed his fascination with the beautiful statues and buildings he saw in Rome. Yet he ends his poem by showing pride of being an Easterner. Since the East is the land of prophets, and whatever the West does, it cannot match the East:

أي فضل نعدده اليوم للغر (م) ب وقد كان في سبات النوم
الديانات مهبط الشرق قدما بين عيسى وبين موسى الكليم
.....
طلعة من محمد قد أهلت بنبي ومصلى وحكيم⁴⁵⁷

What merit do we find in the West which for long was in deep sleep?

Religions landed in the East long time. There Jesus and Moses spoke with Allah⁴⁵⁸.

Muhammad then came as a prophet, reformer and man of wisdom.

Shākir used religion in this text to strengthen his position in front of the West. Nevertheless, his attitude was not completely religious. His views on the West were influenced by Eastern identity. He seems to use religion just because he thought religion is a strong point that he can use to face the West.

⁴⁵⁷ Shākir, (1967) p 301.

⁴⁵⁸ See the story of Musi in the Quran; Al-Baqarah:51/60/67/87. Al-A^crāf:104/148. Ṭāhā:9-86.

However, the impact of religion seems quite clear in Faqī's poem. Faqī, in the poem which he wrote on Paris, mentioned many faces of beauty which he encountered in the city. The only thing he criticized in this poem was atheism. Faqī stated that the presence of atheists in Paris will transform its beauty:

قد تبدلت بالبلابل والروض وطيب العبير قبح النعيب
من رعييل قد أنكروا الله والدين وداسوا الهلال بعد الصليب⁴⁵⁹

You replaced nightingales, lawns and aromas with ugly cows.

Those people who denied the existence of Allah, lived non-religious life, and trampled on the crescent after the cross.

For a Saudi who visits Paris for the first time, many things appear marvellous such as buildings and landscapes. But Faqī chose to talk about his personal experience of travelling in the West. In mentioning his encounters with French atheists, he showed to what extent he was influenced by and deeply attached to his religion.

Ghāzī al-Quṣaybī was "One of the most prominent poets writing about the city in contemporary poetry in both Saudi and the Gulf. There may be no other who has written more about cities in the whole of modern Arabic poetry, whether about Arabic or Western cities. This is an important factor to understanding his poetic experience towards the other".⁴⁶⁰ Al-Quṣaybī wrote a poem on Los Angeles, where he studied. This poem narrates the story of a young man who travelled from a quiet and humble place to a very modern and raucous place. In this poem, we note some turbulent emotions. He was fascinated by the busy and active life in the West. But he was feeling lonely in a city "without a heart". He opens the poem in these words:

سأكتب عنك يا عملاقتي الأخاذة الحسنة
وعن دنياك عن سحرك عن شاطئك الوضاء⁴⁶¹

I will write about you. Oh my giant, breath-taking beauty.

[I will write] about your magic your lightsome beach.

⁴⁵⁹ Faqī, (n d) vol 6 p 135.

⁴⁶⁰ Al-Bāzī'ī, (2009) p 88.

⁴⁶¹ Al-Quṣaybī, (1987) p 283

He devoted the first part of his poem to describing the lifestyle in Los Angeles. For a man from a modest and conservative background, many things in Los Angeles were breath-taking. The busy night life, beautiful girls, night clubs and open relationship between boys and girls:

وعن ليلك ذاب البدر فيه وجنت الأضواء

.....

عن الفتیان يجمعهم سكون الليل بالفتيات

فما في الليل غير الهمس والأنات والآهات⁴⁶²

[I will write] about your nights which the full moon melts in them,
and the lights getting mad.

About young men when the silence of night unite them with girls.
There is nothing there but whispers and groans.

This is what he saw in Los Angeles. In the second part of the poem, Gāzī expressed how deeply he felt towards this city He wrote :

سأكتب عنك يا عملاقتي المغرورة البلهاء

وعن قلبك لم ينبض وجف كصخرة صماء

وعن صنم تقدسه عيونك اسمه الإثراء

.....

سأكتب عن ماسيك الكنيبة حين تخلو الدار

ويبخل ليلك المحموم بالأصحاب والزوار

وحتى الجار يصمت عن "مساء الخير" حتى الجار

.....

وكيف تغلف الكذبة في ثوب من البسمات

⁴⁶² *Ibid*, p 238.

وكيف ينال باسم الحب ما لا تدرك الشهوات⁴⁶³

I will write about you. Oh my arrogant and fool giant.

āI will writeū about your heart, which does not beat and is now dry like a rock.

āI will writeū about a holy statue named wealth, one which your eyes sanctify.

I will write about your gloomy evenings when the house is empty.

In this thrifty night in which there are no friends and visitors.

Neighbours are silent and hesitant to say "good evening" to each other.

A lie covered by guise made of smiling.

How can one get what desires cannot reach under the name of love?

These lines show how being in the city was an experience fraught with emotional restlessness. This deep emotional experience was itself shaped by and in reaction to his encounters with a new and different space, one unlike what he had previously experienced in Saudi Arabia. Al-Bāzi⁴⁶⁴ indicates that al-Quṣaybi's poem draws a bleak picture of the US city, which converges in some characteristics with modernist writings in the West, like T. S. Eliot's "The Waste Land",⁴⁶⁵ among others.⁴⁶⁶ However, all these images that al-Quṣaybi depicted refer to the lifestyle he had in Saudi, which he missed while living in Los Angeles. In Saudi Arabia, at that time, cities were much smaller, nights were quieter, people were virtuous in their relationships and they cared about their neighbours. This poem reflects how Saudi culture and lifestyle influenced the way the poet viewed Western cities. The Los Angeles here might not represent merely a Western city, but also might represent the Western civilization that has created such heartless cities.⁴⁶⁶

There is another poem written by Faqī about Andalusia. It might be seen as irrelevant to the main focus of my dissertation since Arab poets – including Saudi poets – considered Spain and Andalusia as Islamic and Arabic more than Western lands. However, when Arab poets and writers visit Western cities, they record the differences

⁴⁶³ *Ibid*, p 239.

⁴⁶⁴ Regarded as one of the most important poems in the twentieth century; see Harold Bloom, *T.S. Eliot's The Waste Land* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1986).

⁴⁶⁵ Al-Bāzi⁴⁶⁴, (2009) p 89.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p 92

between their homeland and the West. They also show emotional attachment to the beauty of the landscape and the latest developments in the West. Yet in their writings on Andalusia, there is emotional attachment to Arab ruins, which still exist there.⁴⁶⁷ Faqī, in his poem on Andalusia, was similar to the rest of the Arab poets. Although the poet in his footnote said that he wrote his poem on Spain, he did not mention modern Spain at all in his poetry. He was totally occupied by the historical events of Andalusia. He started his poetry by crying for the loss of Andalusia:

يا أرض أندلس بكتك قلوب كادت عليك من البكاء تذوب⁴⁶⁸

Oh land of Andalusia, hearts cry for losing you. They almost melt down due to heavy crying.

Faqī mentioned the events that accompanied the loss of Andalusia. He recalled the Spanish inquisition and the pastors who found the inquisition. He also remembered the old victories and the glory of the Arabs and Muslims. He compared the civilization and mercy which the Arabs brought to Andalusia to the injustice of the new Spanish conquerors. Faqī is concerned with the Spain of the past, not the present. This trope of recalling the past in Spain is common in Arabic poetry.⁴⁶⁹ It refers to historic memories which Arab poets are still cherishing.

The representation of cities was a new topic in Saudi poetry on the West in this stage. However, it was clear that journeying to the West and seeing modern Western states was the main incentive, which led Saudi poets to express their feelings and attitudes towards what they saw. In the poetry written on the Western city, we can see the difference between the traditional Saudi poets represented by Al-°Aqīlī and the modern young Saudi poets represented by al-Quṣaybī. The first poet was fascinated by the modernity he found in London and Paris. For al-Quṣaybī, however, loneliness was a dark side of the modern Western city. This point can be recorded as a new development in Saudi views toward Western cities in this stage.

⁴⁶⁷ Muḥsin Al-Ramlī, *Al-Gharb Bi°uyūn °Arabiyyah* (Kuwait: Kitāb al-°Arabī, 2005) pp 230-231

⁴⁶⁸ Faqī, (n d) Vol 6 p 421.

⁴⁶⁹ Al- Najdī, p 222.

4.4 New technology

Saudi poets showed a new face of the West in this phase. Saudi Arabia, up until the end of Second World War, was not introduced to most modern technologies. The first airplane in Saudi Arabia appeared in 1945. President Franklin D. Roosevelt donated a Douglas model DC-3 to King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.⁴⁷⁰ Modern technology slowly appeared in Saudi Arabia. Wealth, which the exportation of oil brought into the country, facilitated the purchase of modern technology.

Saudi poets captured the changes, which occurred in their cities or villages. On the eve of opening a power station in Jizan, al-Sanūsī wrote a poem in which he showed happiness and admiration for the people who discovered electric power. His poem is titled "And then the birth of the light". In this poem, al-Sanūsī mentioned how people in Jizan became happy and cheerful after they obtained electricity in their houses. He also described the electrical wiring and the lighting columns. It seems clear that al-Sanūsī was fascinated with this great change which the city was experiencing, yet, what is related directly to the question of this research, the poet's fascination with electricity led him to praise those genius minds who offered the world this great energy. Al-Sanūsī said:

إن فولتا وإن واتا وأمبيرا عقول عظيمة وجهود⁴⁷¹

تلك أسماؤهم تشير إليهم في رموز لها جمال فريد⁴⁷²

Volta, Watt and Ampère they had great minds and did great efforts. Their names refer to symbols of unique beauty.

New ways of living which appeared after the emergence of Western technology in Saudi Arabia created a new image of the West in people's minds. It seems reasonable that the people who had a simple life for thousands of years will feel grateful to those people who changed their lives by offering them technological inventions. One of the common images on the West in this phase is one of scientific advancement.

⁴⁷⁰ *FOREIGN AID*, 1st edn (Washington: The Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia in Washington, 2009) <<http://www.saudiembassy.net/files/PDF/Publications/Focus/2009/09-FOCUS-02-03.pdf>> [accessed 28 January 2015]

⁴⁷¹ Count Alessandro Volta (1745-1827) James Watt (1736 – 1819) André-Marie Ampère (1775 – 1836).

⁴⁷² Muhammad Al-Sanūsī, *Al-Aʿmāl Al-Kāmilah* (Jazan: Nadi Jazān al-Adabī, 1983) p 268.

In Al-°Aqīlī's poem on London, he showed fascination with the speed of the airplane. He wrote another poem on the airplane titled "The miracle of knowledge: the airplane". Although there is no direct mentioning of the West in this poem, Al-°Aqīlī appreciated this new mode of transportation, which was originally invented in the West.

All Saudi poems on new technology showed feelings of fascination. When the Space Race between the Soviet Union and the United States appeared in 1957, some Saudi poets were not far from the scene. Sarḥān wrote a poem titled "the man and space". In this poem, Sarḥān expressed his condemnation of the conquest of space. In a cynical way, he asked the space invaders:

أتغزو السماء وأنت الضعي (م) ف وأنت الأسيف فما أجهلك

.....

473 (ججارين) يتلو خطاه (شبرد) ويتلوهما من غزا مجهلك

Do you invade the sky, while you are the weak and the rueful? What a fool you made of yourself!

(Gagarin) has been followed by (Shepherd). Then they were followed by everyone wanting to invade the sky.

Sarḥān attacked the two great powers as they made the whole world their battlefields. After they destroyed the earth, they tried to own the space:

عجزت عن الأرض حتى غدت جحيما تعذر أن تمتلك

.....

474 أفي الأرض ينضب منك النهى وتنشد في الجو حظ الملك

You were unable to control the earth; you left it uninhabitable.

If you lost your wisdom in the earth, do you want to compete with the angels in the sky?

⁴⁷³ Ḥusayn Sarḥān, *Ajnihah Bilā Rish* (Taif: al-Nādī al-Adabī, 1977) p 123. Yuri Alekseyevich Gagarin (1934 –1968) He was the first human to journey into outer space on 12 April 1961. Alan Bartlett Shepard, Jr. (1923 –1998) who in 1961 became the second person, and the first American, to travel into space. See: Alan Axelrod, *The Real History Of The Cold War* (New York, NY: Sterling, 2009) p 182.

⁴⁷⁴ Ḥusayn, (1977) p 123.

Sarḥān ended his poem by asking them to keep space as it used to be before they arrived. Since it used to be beautiful and open as Allah has created it:

بلى فدع الكون انشودة ويا بارئ الكون لبيت لك⁴⁷⁵

Yes just leave the universe as a song. Oh the creator of this universe I obey you.

Al-Sanūsī also wrote about this event. He concurred with Sarḥān on denouncing the conquest of space. Al- Sanūsī addressed all those who wanted to invade space. He titled his poem "To the Space Invaders". His poem expressed his concerns for the future of peace. He gave advice to the invaders and expressed his views on the truth of civilization:

عيشوا على الأرض أحببا وإخوانا ونسقوها أزاهيرا وريحانا

.....

ليس الحضارة (صاروخا) و(قنبلة) ولا التمدن (أقمارا) و(أفرانا)

إن الحضارة أسماها وأرفعها أن تحسن المشي فوق الأرض إنسانا⁴⁷⁶

Live on this earth as friends and brothers and plant flowers and basil.

Civilization is not an invention of a missile and bomb. Urbanity is not satellites and stoves.

Civilization in its highest is when we walk on earth as humans.

Even scientific progress can be a weapon which destroys humankind. As al-Sanūsī believed:

امنت بالعلم إصلاحا ومنفعة وقد كفرت به اثما وطغيانا

أجله اية للخير صناعة وأزدريه سلاحا جل أو هانا⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p 124.

⁴⁷⁶ Al-Sanūsī, p 310.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p 312.

I believed that knowledge is reforming and useful. I reject its sins and tyrannies.

I glorify its role in finding good; I despise it when it is used as a weapon whether it is a dangerous weapon or not.

He wondered whether all problems and conflicts in the world will disappear by making journeys to space:

يارائدي طبقات الجو هل فرغت مشاكل الأرض أوطاننا وسكاننا
وهل أضاء السلام الكون وانتشرت أنواره واستقام الحق ميزانا

.....

دعو الكواكب والأفلاك واكتشفوا أرضا طوت قبلكم فرسا ورومانا⁴⁷⁸

Oh astronauts! Did problems of countries and people disappear?

Did the light of peace spread in the universe and thus usher in justice?

Leave planets and orbits and discover the land which was inhabited by the Persians and the Romans before you.

Al- Sanūsī ended his poem with a religious idea. He invited those people who spread war and fears in the world to follow the right path which leads to peace and freedom. This way was not made by a spaceman but by Prophet Muḥammad:

يا أيها القوم هل لي أن أذكركم برائد حرر الإنسان وجدانا
محمد رائد الدنيا وقاندها إلى المحبة أجناسا و ألوانا

.....

من المدينة من أطواها انطلقت لا من نيويورك ولاموسكو وايفيانا⁴⁷⁹

Oh people, shall I remind you of a pioneer who freed people's souls.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p 312.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p 312.

Muhammad is the astronaut of the world and he is the one who leads people to love whatever their race or colour.

From Medina, from its mountains, rather than from New York, Moscow or Vienna, he started his journey.

It is not surprising to find Saudi poets interested in modern Western technologies. It was a huge step in Saudi society. Although they were interested in these technologies, Saudi poets expressed their own opinions on the role of knowledge in shaping people's lives. They also inscribed a religious rhetoric on this role. For example, they viewed the space race as a manifestation of Allah's greatness. To understand this Saudi attitude, we can relate it with the new image of the West, which became clear at this stage. Many Arabs and Saudi writers looked at the West as a modern advanced technological force, but they also looked at it as a purely material thing lacking the spirituality, which they found still affecting people in the East.

4.5 Emotional Image:

In the previous period we noticed that the emotional view on the West in Saudi poetry was one of fascination with the beauty of Western women. In this period, this image changed. In chronological terms, emotional texts can be divided into three phases. These phases may clarify the three stages, which Saudi poets passed through in their emotional experience of the West.

The first phase appeared in early Saudi texts. °Abd al-Salām Hāshim Ḥāfīz (928-1996) wrote a poem in which we find a romantic story that happened in Paris in 1954. The inspiration for this story came after he read about it in some Egyptian newspaper. The story tells that a young French girl named *Isabel* fell in love and got pregnant by her lover. But her rich father ordered her to get rid of the thing inside her and leave her lover; otherwise, he will disinherit her. The story has a tragic end when Isabel died during giving birth. Ḥāfīz wrote a poem to express his sympathy with Isabel and his condemnation of the cruelty of her father. In this poem, Isabel became a symbol of beauty, purity and innocence:

ذاب فيك الطهر ايزابيل فنا بل سموت اليوم روحا ضاع منا⁴⁸⁰

Purity melted in your soul, Isabel. You soar high when we lost your soul.

Her father became a symbol of brutality and cruelty:

أيها الإنسان ما أعتاك حسبك أيها الوحش المعنى أين رشذك

.....

أيها العاتي ملأت الغرب رعبا حطمت كفاك إحساسا وقلبا⁴⁸¹

Oh man What a savage! Where is your prudence?

Oh wicked man! You filled up the West with horror! You broke people's hearts and souls.

These are the main two points in this kind of poetry. However, there are some interesting points, which can be added here. Firstly, in this period, we can see the lack of direct contact with the West. The poet needed the Egyptian broker to know this Western story. Secondly, there is no influence of Islam or Arab traditions. The poet's attitude seems to be a general human sympathy; he supported Elizabeth although her acts would not be accepted in a conservative society such as Saudi society. So the poet here seems to be affected by Western culture more than his original culture.

In the following years some Saudi poets visited the West and they expressed some of their emotions. Faqī wrote a poem titled "The neighbourhood of Mayfair". In this poem, Faqī showed his admiration of an English woman whom he met in Mayfair:

في حي مايفير صادتني حباله ياليتني لم أشاهد حي مايفير⁴⁸²

In Mayfair neighbourhood I was hit by the arrows of love. I wish I did not see Mayfair.

⁴⁸⁰ c Abd al-Salām Ḥāfīz, *Al-Aʿmāl al-Kāmilah* (Madenah: Nādī al-Madīnah al-Adabī, 1st, n d) p 400.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid*, p 402.

⁴⁸² Faqī, (n d) Vol 6 p 177.

The poet mentioned her beauty in many lines. He confirmed that the special thing in this lady was her internal beauty:

قد كان يخدعني في الحسن منظره..... لكنه اليوم حسن غير منظور⁴⁸³

I was deceived by a virtual beauty.... But today the beauty is unseen.

Faqī also posed this lady as virtuous and chaste. He likened her to an angel:

الله فاتنة بالحسن حالية..... بالطهر لاهية عن كل محذور

.....

فإنما نحن من طين فليس لنا من الملائك حظ قيد إظفور⁴⁸⁴

What a beautiful woman... Her chastity protects her from making any mistake.

We are only humans from mud... So we cannot reach angels.

Although the poet described the magnificent beauty of this lady, he was only showing his admiration. The poet did not reach real love and did not express deep emotional attachment. He even did not show that he was interested in approaching her.

The second level of emotional relationship with the West in this stage appeared in the poem of °Abd al-°Azīz al-Rifā°ī (1923-1993). In his poem, he was not merely an admirer. Al-Rifā°ī wrote a poem in Heidelberg in Germany. His poem is titled "Language" and shows how the experience of love was not complete due to the lack of linguistic skills. He said:

لم أكن أفهم منها... وهي لا تفهم مني⁴⁸⁵

I was not to understand her and she did not understand me.

Nevertheless, their eyes revealed their mutual feelings:

⁴⁸³ *Ibid*, vol 6 p 178.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid*, vol 6 p 178.

⁴⁸⁵ °Abd al-°Azīz Al-Rifā°ī, *al-A °māl al-Kāmilah* (Riyadh, Dār al-Rifā°ī, n d) p 286.

وتولى الشرح عنه شبق من طرف عيني⁴⁸⁶

But my eyes explained how I felt.

This short experience was ended by a kiss:

قدتلاقت شفقتانا في حديث مطمئن

شفتايا شفتاها فهمت منها ومني⁴⁸⁷

Our lips met in a calm conversation.

Her lips and my lips made us understand each other.

Whether this emotional scene was real or not, these lines indicate a new level of emotional relationship in Saudi poetry. The poet did not spend many lines describing the beauty of Western women. He rather expressed his own feelings and experiences. But he also showed the obstacles that would prevent him from pursuing a relationship with a Western woman.

Al-Rifā'ī wrote another poem in which he tells the reader about his encounter with a girl from Vienna. In telling the story, he did not speak of the cultural and religious differences between him and the girl. In this poem, Al-Rifā'ī mentioned that the girl asked him why he does not drink alcohol. He answered:

فأجبتها : اشربيها نحن قوم ما شربنا

سكرنا من خمر عيني (م) ك وإننا قد سكرنا⁴⁸⁸

We answered her: drink alone since we never drank.

I am already drunk after contemplating the beauty of your eyes.

This is not the only line that showed the differences between them. A few lines later, the girl asked the poet if he was an Egyptian:

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p 286.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p 287.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p 258.

ورنت نحوي بعين	من فتور الحسن وسنى
أنت مصري؟ وقد قل	(م) ت إلى المصري أدنى
أنا من قطر به الصح	(م) راء والأمجاد مغنى
فاذكري – إن شئت – ليلا	سامرا فيه اجتمعنا
ضم فتيانا من البيد	وحسنا من فينا
اذكرينا كلما أمعنت الأيام	إننا قد ذكرنا ⁴⁸⁹

She looked at me with sleepy eyes.

Are you Egyptian? I said: I am close to Egypt.

I am from a place where there is desert and glory.

So just remember- if you like the night that brought us together.

Gathered young men from the desert and elegance from Vienna.

Remember us as the days pass, Verily we will remember you.

It seems that the poet used this answer to end the poem. Although the poem does not reflect a real experience of love in the West, it shows a new way of dealing with an emotional relationship between a Saudi man and a Western woman.

The third level in this stage appeared in the poetry of al- Quṣaybī who was a young student in the USA in 1964. Al-Quṣaybī wrote a poem titled "Christina". The poem tells us of the experience of a young man who falls in love with a Western girl who did not share this feeling. She calls him 'brother' and even kisses another man in front of him. "Christina here is not merely a beautiful girl, but is an American or Western girl. In addition, the general atmosphere of the poem, with its ballroom dancing, cannot be found in the poet's country Christina here represents Los Angeles with all its temptations".⁴⁹⁰ The poem comments on the Western lifestyle, and begins with:

أنت في دوامة الرقص معه	ضمة حرى فم قرب فم
------------------------	-------------------

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p 258.

⁴⁹⁰ Al-Bāzī'ī, (2009) p 91.

وأنا -يالسكون الزوبعة - ألم منفجر في ألم⁴⁹¹

In the midst of dancing with him, hot kisses and moving lips.

And me, what a calm storm, pain split to pain.

The poet describes his feelings when he saw her leaning towards her lover's shoulder, kissing her lover, whispering in his ears. All these scenes make the poet feel jealous. What makes it worse for the poet is that she calls him 'brother':

طالما ناديتني أنت أخي ولهيب الصدر يهتز أمامي

أخ والرغبة الخرساء في شفتي تسخر من زيف الكلام

أخ والنظرة الحمراء في مقلتي ترجف من عصف الغرام⁴⁹²

You always call me 'brother', while the warm chest moving in front of me.

Am I a brother while the mute desire in my lips laughs at this fake speech?

Am I a brother while the lustful look in my eyes, because of the passion, quivers?

This poem does not provide any special image of the West. It does not comment on the conflict between East and West. Rather, it reflects a real love experience that an Eastern man had in the West. Such a feeling did not occur in the previous period. Previously, Saudi emotional poems on the West were concerned with the love of fleeting moments and the beauty of Western women. The poem here does not show concerns over the differences between East and West, or even any concerns about her culture or religion. He just expressed a normal feeling that any Eastern or Western man might feel toward the woman he loves.

⁴⁹¹ Al-Quşaybī, (1987) p 243.

⁴⁹² *Ibid*, p 247.

In conclusion, in this section we can see the development of the emotional relationship with the West in Saudi poetry. The first poet was excited to read an emotional story in newspaper. Al-Rifāʿī discussed the language barrier and some differences in cultures. Yet with Al-Quṣaybī we reached the peak of the expression of an emotional experience with a Western girl from a Saudi poet. We may say that his poem was the first Saudi poem, which narrated a real love story between an Eastern man and a Western girl. That might not indicate only the improvement of the relationship with the West in general, but it also highlighted that this love relationship clearly overstepped all cultural differences that could separate the Saudi individual and the Western girl. However, this is still a rare experience because it is only a poem –as far as this research is concerned– which expresses this feeling at this stage.

This stage was an important stage in Saudi history. During this period, large amounts of oil were discovered in Saudi Arabia and this led to great changes in Saudi society. Here many Saudi writers had the opportunity to experience living in the West. It was also the time of conflict of ideologies in Arab countries. There were many liberation movements across the Arab world. The direct experience of travelling and living in the West allowed Saudi writers to present specific images on the West and so we can call this stage the period of the recognition of the West.

In the previous period, many Saudi writers looked at the West as though it was one entity. They did not differentiate between Western countries, and their knowledge of these Western countries was usually limited. In this period, however, as a result of the increase in direct contact with the West we find that Saudi writers were able to differentiate between Western countries. For example, they drew an image of Great Britain and France as imperial powers, which try to control weak nations. At the same time the United States had a slightly different image. Some Saudi poets showed a sense of admiration towards the USA.

The knowledge of Western countries among Saudi poets led some Saudi poets to talk about some internal Western issues such as the Berlin Wall and the racism against black Americans. They also referred to the differences between the behaviour of women in Paris and London. The recognition of the West made Western cities appear in many Saudi texts. Many Saudi texts wrote on Western cities in this stage. As already shown, I could not find a single text about the same topic in the last period discussed.

Lastly, the recognition of the West can be seen also in the development of the emotional Saudi poetry about the West. In the last period, the Saudi poets showed admiration of beauty. They wrote about different emotional experiences without showing deep emotional attachment. In this period we find change in Saudi poets' emotional dealings with the West. It reaches its peak when we find those poems telling about love stories between two lovers from different parts of the world, East and West, without recalling the differences in their cultures or religions.

Thus, there is no one single image of the West in this period of time. There is a clear imperial image on colonial powers in the West: Britain, France and Portugal. The issue of Palestine was key in the image of the West in Saudi poetry and attracted severe criticism from Saudi poets. Nevertheless, the general image and representation of the United States has been shown to have been a positive one, with Germany also sharing in the positivity of Saudi poetic attention.

5. Chapter Five Saudi Poetry and the West, 1968- 1990

With the defeat of Egypt and the Arabs in the 1967 Six Days War against Israel, the Arab world entered a new stage. Researchers seem to agree that this war was the beginning of the decline of Arab nationalism.⁴⁹³ They also seem to agree that this year was a major influence on Arab life at various levels.⁴⁹⁴ “Arab intellectuals did not see the defeat in only military terms, but were to see it in the fullness of time as a symptom of the collapse of the national dream in the post-dependence era”.⁴⁹⁵ Although Saudi Arabia was in one way or the other against the radical view of Arab nationalism, and the national movement in Saudi Arabia was under pressure and strict monitoring by the Saudi government,⁴⁹⁶ Saudi Arabia was affected deeply by the humiliating rout of the strongest Arab army at the hands of Israel. This, however, can be seen through many pieces of poetry written during this time in the Kingdom.

The Saudi attitude towards the Egyptian government changed after the death of Nasser in 1970, and it took a strong stance on the side of Egypt in the October 6th War in 1973, when Saudi Arabia led an oil embargo against the US and other Western countries during the reign of King Faisal. This war and the announcement of peace between Egypt and Israel a few years after the conclusion of the 1973 war and many other events that related to the Arab-Israeli conflict in the 1970s made Palestine the central pillar of the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the West, which affected the image of the West clearly in that decade.

Yet the developments in the Palestinian issue were not the only political events that filled the political arena in this period. The Middle East faced other major events that affected state and society in Saudi Arabia. On December 2nd 1971, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) was formally recognized as an independent state, while Qatar and Bahrain declared themselves as independent countries in the same year. In 1975, King

⁴⁹³ Adeed Dawisha, 'Requiem For Arab Nationalism', *Middle East Forum*, 2003
<<http://www.meforum.org/518/requiem-for-arab-nationalism/>> [accessed 29 January 2015]

⁴⁹⁴ Al-Bāzi‘ī, (2009) p 95. And El-Enany, (2011) p 113.

⁴⁹⁵ El-Enany, (2011) p 113.

⁴⁹⁶ For more about the nationalism in Saudi and see; Mufid al-Zaydī, *al-Tayyārāt al-Fikriyyah Fi'l-Khalīj Al-‘Arabī* (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Wiḥdah al-‘Arabiyyah, 2000) pp163-235. ‘Adndān, (2011) p 107.

Faisal, recognised as one of the strongest kings of Saudi Arabia, was assassinated by a member of the royal family and was succeeded by his brother, Khālid.⁴⁹⁷ Also in the same year, civil war erupted in Lebanon.⁴⁹⁸

David Lesch believes that 1979 shaped the modern Middle East, due to the important events that happened in that year. These were important events such as the Shah of Iran being overthrown and the announcement of the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini. Furthermore, in the same year, militant Islamic extremists seized the Holy Mosque of Mecca to protest increasing Western influence in Saudi Arabia, but were defeated by Saudi forces. This was a severe mishap for the Kingdom, and was called the "Storm of Mecca" and described as "one of the most spectacular events in the modern history of Saudi Arabia".⁴⁹⁹ In addition, the Soviet Union began their invasion of Afghanistan and the Afghans started fighting for their homeland and their religion. Soon after the Soviet invasion began, many Muslim Arab fighters, including Saudis, joined their Afghan brethren under the now famous name of Mujahedeen. These events especially may have had a more significant effect on Saudi society more than any other events in this period.

In 1980, the Iraq-Iran War started and continued for eight years.⁵⁰⁰ One year later, Anwar al-Sadat, the President of Egypt, was assassinated by Islamists.⁵⁰¹ In 1982 When King Khālid died, King Fahd succeeded to the throne of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Here, it is possible to argue that at this stage, where Saudi Arabia was taking advantage of their considerable oil wealth and due to the increases in education, the media and transportation links between Saudi Arabia and the rest of the world, Saudi society was more susceptible to be influenced by surrounding events than ever before.

On the economic front, the 1970s witnessed rapid growth in Saudi Arabia. Due to the oil price revolution in 1973 following the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, Saudi Arabia became one of the fastest-growing economies in the world.⁵⁰² This period is colloquially

⁴⁹⁷ Al-Rasheed, (2002) p 137.

⁴⁹⁸ Mehran Kamrava, *The Modern Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) p 329.

⁴⁹⁹ Thomas Hegghammer, and Stéphane Lacroix. 2007. 'REJECTIONIST ISLAMISM IN SAUDI ARABIA: THE STORY OF JUHAYMAN AL-[ain]UTAYBI REVISITED', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 39: 103 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/s0020743807002553>> see also: Lesch, David W, 1979 *The Year that Shaped the Modern Middle East* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2001) p 2.

⁵⁰⁰ Kamrava, (2005) p 170.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid*, p 135.

⁵⁰² Malīkah Al-Ṭayyār, *al-Taṭawwr al-Iqtisādī fi'l-Mamlakah al-ʿArabiyyah al-Suʿūdiyyah* (Paris: C.E.E.A., 1st, 1997) p 74.

known inside Saudi Arabia as the time of *Al-Tafrāh* (the boom). Stephane Lacroix stated that "the 1973 oil boom (al-tafra)...completed Saudi Arabia's transformation into a rentier state".⁵⁰³ As a result of this economic capital, "Saudi society since the boom of 1973 has had the peculiarity of having a relatively large "middle class", if one means by that term those Saudis who live relatively comfortable, though not luxurious lives".⁵⁰⁴ Social life in Saudi Arabia was deeply affected by these changes in the economic and political fronts. Al-Naqīb claimed that at this stage and due to this sudden wealth, Arab Gulf countries including Saudi Arabia entered an authoritarian stage.⁵⁰⁵

On the other hand, the years 1969 to 1980 has been named the "liberal moment" by °Abd al-°Azīz al-Khiḍir.⁵⁰⁶ He claimed that in those years, Saudi Arabia witnessed the marginalization of the role of Al al-Shaikh family. Fatwas (religious edicts) were not dispensed by one person from a scholarly family anymore, but by a committee of °*Ulamā*° and the religious censorship on the media eased to a lesser degree than previously experienced.⁵⁰⁷

According to al-Khiḍir, this liberal movement ended after the aforementioned events that occurred in Mecca in 1979. Since that time, Islamic religious programmes began appearing more on state TV. Islamic extra-curricular activities were increasing in schools, and many other aspects of Islam began to manifest themselves with significant government support for many reasons⁵⁰⁸. In addition to the aforementioned events, the collapse of the ambitions of nationalist movements, allowed the Islamic movements to take a huge part in Saudi Arabia and many places in the Arab world.⁵⁰⁹ This influenced society's view towards many issues including the perception of the West. Thus, a new phenomenon emerged that was named *al-Sahwa Al-Islamiyya*, or "Islamic Awakening", and grew fast to become an influential force in Saudi society, especially in schools and universities.

⁵⁰³ Lacroix, (2011) p17.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p 21.

⁵⁰⁵ Khuldūn Al-Naqīb, *al-Mujtama° wa 'l-Dawlah fi 'l-Khlīj wa 'l-Jazīrah al-°Arabiyyah* (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Wiḥdah al°Arabiyyah, 1st 2008) pp143.

⁵⁰⁶ Al-Khiḍir, p 69.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p 69.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid*, pp 72-73.

⁵⁰⁹ See: Roel Meijer, *Cosmopolitanism, Identity And Authenticity In The Middle East* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1999) p 119. Zahia Smail Salhi, 'The Algerian Feminist Movement Between Nationalism, Patriarchy And Islamism', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 33 (2010), 113-124 p 117
<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2009.11.001>>

Though *al-Sahwa* was related to the religious views of Muḥammad bin ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, it was actually a hybrid of two ideologies as it was also socially and politically influenced by the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and inspired by its intellectuals.⁵¹⁰ Events such as the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Afghan's struggle against the Soviet Union gave *al-Sahwa* the chance to spread inside Saudi society and to disseminate its thought.⁵¹¹ The impact of *al-Sahwa* in Saudi society was deep in many aspects of life. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mufliḥ, in his novel named *Ḥikāyah wahhābiyyah*, which chronicled the march of the Islamic Awakening in Saudi Arabia said ‘the awakening swept everything, who says otherwise is not telling the truth’.⁵¹² As such, the Islamic Awakening is a good example of the influence of outside events in Saudi Arabia during this stage. Furthermore, what is related strongly to the question of the research here is that one of the fundamental constants in the discourse of *al-Sahwa* is the need to face Westernization. This discourse, which reached its peak by 1990, led a formidable opposition campaign against Saudi government due to the arrival of non-Muslim reinforcements on Saudi territory in order to participate in the Liberation of Kuwait in 1990-1991.⁵¹³

5.1 The Political Image

Though there were a high number of political events during this time, only a few political texts could be found – in hundreds of *Dīwāns* - dealing with the issue of the West. There are a few theories that may explain the limited number of poems about the West politically; first, although there were many important political events, the majority of these events were internal Middle Eastern issues, and the West was no longer a direct player in Arab lands as colonialism was in its last days. Secondly, the tightened security of the Saudi government and its way of using the carrot, as well as the stick, made many

⁵¹⁰ Lacroix, (2011) p 48.

⁵¹¹ Turkī Al-Dakhīl *Salmān al-ʿWdah Min al-Sjīn ilā al-Tanwīr* (Abu Dhabi: Dār Madārik. 1st, 2011) p 31.

⁵¹² ʿAbd Allāh Al-Mufliḥ, *Ḥikāyah Wahhābiyyah*, (Casablanca: Al-Markaz al-Thaqāfī al-ʿArabī, 1st, 2013) p 218.

⁵¹³ For more information about *al-Sahwa* please see: Lacroix, (2011), ICG Middle East Report N°31 *Saudi Arabia Backgrounder: Who are the Islamists?* (2004). Al-Dakhīl, (2011).

Saudi poets wary of dealing with political issues,⁵¹⁴ and they may have hidden some of their poetry or preferred not to publish it in their *Dīwāns*.

However, this limited number of poem could expose the main lines of the image of the West in political poet in this stage, which can again be divided into three parts, beginning with:

5.1.1 Anti-Colonialism

At the beginning of this period, the influence of the anti-colonialism movements in the Eastern countries and in other part of the world could still be felt. Only one poem could be found relevant to this research that was written in the early years of this period (1968) by Usāmah °Abd al-Raḥmān (1942-2013). The poem was titled "A Message to a fighter in Latin America". In this poem, Usāmah shows his feelings of support to the freedom fighters in South America. Usāmah tried to speak on behalf of all Arabs as he started his poetry by saying:

من شفتي بردى والنيل
والشمس العاشقة رمالي
والتمر الراقص في حوض نخيلي⁵¹⁵

From both edges of the Nile and Papyrus
And the lover sun threw at my sand
And the dancing date in a palm's bosom

By using two famous rivers in Egypt and Syria, and using the sun, sand and date fruit that symbolise the land of the Arabian peninsula, Usāmah can be said to be clearly influenced by Arab nationalism. Then he call the fighters in South America by saying:

يا رافع علم الحرية خفاقا
من أقصى المكسيك إلى

⁵¹⁴ Lacroix, (2011) p 16.

⁵¹⁵ Usāmah °Abd al-Raḥmān, *Lā °Āṣim*, (Kuwait: n pub, 1988) pp165.

اقصى تشيلي

في أرضك هل عاث دخيل

كدخيل عاث بأرضي في إثر دخيل

أخبرني هل جرحك مازال كجرحي

هل نفس القرصان يمارس نفس التنكيل

أخبرني هل نفس القرصان يعذب أطفالا

باسم التوراة ويجلد أزهارا باسم الانجيل⁵¹⁶

O palpitating bearer of the banner of freedom!

From Far Mexico to remote Chile

In your land, did an intruder ravage?

Like a foreigner who ravaged in my land right after an intruder

Tell me, is your injury still like mine?!

Does the same freebooter execute same abuse?!

Tell me, does the same freebooter torture children in the name of the Torah?!

And lash flowers in the name of the Gospel?!

In many lines, Usāmah repeated the same question; “is he the same pirate who did this and that?” However, it is clear that he was signalling to the colonising power, not only because he said that he is the same pirate that the Arabs suffered from, but also because he utilised some symbols in his poetry that indicate the Bible and Torah. The Bible here symbolises the Western world, which was seen as a Christian world then and up to the present day, whereas the Torah symbolises Israel particularly. After that, he calls upon this fighter to give him his hand and to fight with him side by side:

ضع كفك في كفي وسلاحي بجوار سلاحي

وتعال نحارب في كل سبيلي⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid*, p 166.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid*, p 166.

Put your palm on my hand and your weapon next to mine
And come let's fight in every path

Interestingly, the poet was a young person studying in the USA at the time when he wrote this poem, but the liberation movements in the Arab lands and in South America at that time influenced him. He may have been charmed by the character and influenced by the death of the famous revolutionary leader Che Guevara in 1967.

Though Usāmah blamed one actor for the suffering in the Arab lands and South America, he did not name any Western countries. He was also following the other Saudi poets in the previous period al-Bawāridī and Qurashī.⁵¹⁸ The poet here focused on the evil acts of the colonisers, and he also raised human values and supported freedom fighters. One noticeable thing here is that he uses the language of weapons and resistance against the invaders. We cannot find any special effect of Islam between his lines. In general, Usāmah followed al-Bawāridī and Qurashī and repeated their ideas about the same issues.

Uniquely for this work, this is the only text that could be found in Saudi poetry carrying the language of fighting against the invaders. It seems, that at this stage, Saudi writers moved away from ideas of liberation and resistance. Al-Bāzi^ḥ provides a reason why Saudi poets gave less attention to the liberation movements at this time. He claims that, from the beginning of the seventies, the interest of Saudi poets increased on domestic society, its problematic development and cultural change.⁵¹⁹

In contrast, Saudi poets show their adherence to general human values, as we can find in the poetry of Ḥamad al-^ḥAs^ḥūs (1956-..). Ḥamad wrote a poem in the beginning of the 1980s, titled "The remnants of the burning message". This poem is a message to Adam, the father of mankind. He calls upon him and says:

يا والد الأحفاد والجدود
يا والد الشعوب البيض والملونين السود
تركت هذا الكون كي يكون

⁵¹⁸ See pp 133 and 134.

⁵¹⁹ Al-Bāzi^ḥ, (2009) p 94.

في غاية الجمال والسكون

فمالذي حدث⁵²⁰

O father of the grandchildren and the grandfathers.
 O father of white and black races!
 You left this universe in order to be
 Of great beauty and tranquility
 And what then happened?

In this poem, there is a romantic dream about the peace that should be brought about among all humans, as they are all brothers from one father:

تسألني عن وحدة الشعوب؟

أقول والكلام في فمي يذوب تمزقت... تمزقت

تلك الشعوب

واشتعلت من بينها الحروب قويا يا أبتاه يأكل الضعيف

تسألني عن السلام

أريد أن أقول يا أباي...

فيقطع الكلام صوت الرصاص والصراخ⁵²¹

That you ask me of the unity of the people?

I say, as the words dwindle away in my mouth:

Those races have torn apart

And wars ignited between them, with the strong eating the weak, O
 Father!

You ask me about peace, O Father! I want to say...

But the sound of yelling and bullet cut off the voice

⁵²⁰ Ḥamad Al-^cAs^cūs, *Dawā'ir li'l-Ḥuzn wa'l-Faraḥ* (Riyadh: Nādī al-Riyadh al-Adabī, 1986) p 77.

⁵²¹ *Ibid*, p 78.

The poet here talks about general problems in the world, and he did not name any country as invaders, and he did not call for resistance. The only country he named was Russia in its invasion of Afghanistan, but it can be said that he just mentioned it as an example of how the strong kill the weak in this world. In his last line, he confirmed this message:

يا أبتى العفو منك

لكن اخر الحروف

يحمل صرخة من عالم ملهوف

يصيح فيك أبتغي سلامتي أبتغي سلامتي

O Father! Pardon is from you, but the last letters

Bears an outcry from a depressed world.

Shouting to You, I seek my safety, I seek my safety

5.1.2 Palestine

One of the early texts written in 1969 by al-Ghazzāwī was titled "Treat the Arabs justly". This poem was a message to the West asking them to be just with the Arabs. The poet tried to inform Western leaders about the injustices Palestinians suffered.

أبلغ العرب صوتهم إنكارا فاستشاط اليهود منهم جهارا

إن في القدس فتنة تتلظى أشعلتها يد الجناة نهارا⁵²²

The Arabs voiced their denial. and the Jews flared up openly

Indeed.

In Jerusalem is calamity burning with rage. Sparked by the hands of perpetrators in the day time.

⁵²² Al-Ghazzāwī, vol 3 p 1225

Al-Ghazzāwī blamed Western countries not because they supported Israel but because they were supposed to be the allies of the Arabs, and because they claimed that they colonised the developing countries for the dissemination of progress and justice:

أين عدل الحليف أين عهود	قطعت غدوة فباتت بوارا
ألهذا على الشعوب أنختم	أم بهذا وعدتم الأمصارا
أولم يعلنوا على الخلق طرا	أنكم منقذو الشعوب إيسارا ⁵²³

Where's the justice of the ally? Where are the covenants? They were severed early in the morning, thus remained ruined.

Is that why you took up residence with the people? Or is this what you made as promise to the nations?

Did they not announce to the entire world, that you are will save the people from captivity?

He then calls loudly to the leaders of the Western countries to rescue the Middle East:

ساسة الغرب مالكم أين أنتم	كادت الأرض ثورة وانفجارا ⁵²⁴
---------------------------	-----------------------------------------

The Western politicians what is wrong and where are you?

The land is almost being engulfed in outbreak and explosion.

There are many lines in this poetry attacking Zionist Jews and Israel; yet the important point here is the attitude of the poet toward the West. In this text, the West does not appear as an enemy, or a supporter, of Israel. Also, we cannot find the same language about the West that we faced in the political poetry in the previous period (1946-1967). According to this poem, the West are friends who let the Arabs down when they needed them, and even then the poet did not give up and continued asking the leaders of the West to hurry to help Palestine.

⁵²³ *Ibid*, vol 3 p 1225.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid*, vol 3 p 1225.

This view toward the West seems unexpected after the defeat of Egypt by Israel and the clear support of Western governments for Israel. It is especially unexpected coming from a famous Saudi poet such as al-Ghazzāwī who was named as the poet of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz himself. However, this poetry indicated that there were still some Saudis who believed that the West had good intentions toward the Arabs and might help them to rid themselves of Israel.

In the following few years and due to developments in the Palestinian issue, the attitude towards the West became sharper, especially after the 1979 Egypt–Israel Peace Treaty which was received with enormous controversy across the Arab world with Egypt being suspended from the Arab League in 1979–1989. Saudi poets expressed their deep frustration towards Egypt and they blamed the USA and the whole West as they were supporting Israel. Aḥmad al-Ṣālih (1943–...) wrote a poem in 1980 and started by saying that:

مشى الروم

فوق جبين الفتى المستريح بباب زويلة

يقلب كفيه, يرفع طرفاً يمد إلى النيل عينا

تنام على القهر تصحو على الصبر تسأل عن طالع السيف أنى يحين⁵²⁵

Byzantines walked

Over the forehead of the boy relaxing by the door of Zwaylah (Bāb Zuwaylah)

In grieve he raises his eye looking at the Nile

Sleeps on oppression and wakes up on patience, asking about the sword bearer when will he ever come

This text paints an image of the humiliation among the Egyptian people - as the poet claimed. The poet used historical symbols in many lines of his text, and he names Westerners as "Romans", and brands Sadat as "*Kāfūr*":⁵²⁶

⁵²⁵ Aḥmad Al-Ṣālih, *Musāfir* (n p, n pub, 2004) p 229.

⁵²⁶ Abū al-Misk Kāfūr, (died ad 968), Ethiopian slave who, as vizier under the Ikshīdīd dynasty, was the facto ruler of Egypt from 946 to 966 and the jure ruler from then until his death, see Encyclopedia Britannica, 'Abu Al-Misk Kafur | Biography - Ikshidid Vizier', 2015

تمنع أبا المسك بالعار

بيجن يقرئك السام⁵²⁷

O father of musk! Enjoy the shame⁵²⁸

Begin⁵²⁹ wishes you death in salute⁵³⁰

America in this text has also been named as the "*Firinjah*":

وجاء الفرنجة في ثوب عزرا

صلاح الفتوح

أعاد الزمان

لفرعون حكما

The franks have return in Ezra's⁵³¹ dress

O' Saladin

Returned the ream

to the Pharaoh ruling

This text is rich with the notorious historical symbols in the Arabian cultural memory. However, even though the poet used "Romans" and "*Firinjah*", he did not employ these terms in a religious way. It is possible to claim that these two words were used to denote invaders and assailants.

However, the frustration towards Egypt and the decline of nationalist ideologies in conjunction with the rise of religious sentiments led many people to find a solution in

<<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/309575/Abu-al-Misk-Kafur>> [accessed 29 January 2015]

⁵²⁷ Al-Şālih, (2004) p 229.

⁵²⁸ Father of musk (owner of musk) is a metaphorically for Kafour, the Egypt ruler who al-Mutanabbi (Famous Arabic poetry) satirized.

⁵²⁹ Menachem Begin (1913 –1992) the sixth Prime Minister of the State of Israel,

⁵³⁰ Refers to the greeting of the Jew to the Prophet (PBUH), in which they outwardly depicted greeting whereas they were in the real sense wishing him death trying to make use of the phonetic closeness between both words "Sam" and "Salam".

⁵³¹ A religious leader of the Jews who returned from exile in Babylon, reformer who reconstituted the Jewish community on the basis of the Torah. See: Bright, John. 'Ezra | Biography - Hebrew Religious Leader'. Encyclopedia Britannica. Last modified 2015. Accessed February 5, 2015. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/199520/Ezra>.

Islamic ideology. This was rapidly reflected in Saudi poetry. Ḥsayn °Arab wrote a poem called "Camp David". The goal of this poem was to attack Sadat and the Camp David Treaty. In this poem, °Arab was seeing through a purely Islamic lens, and he also believed that everything that had happened in Palestine since the time of the end of Ottoman rule was a part of a huge conspiracy against Islam. °Arab tried to tell the story of the Al-Quds (Jerusalem) from the beginning:

قصة القدس قصة الأشجان	وحديث الدموع والأحزان
إنها مسرحية من فصول	تتوالى خداعة الألوان
كان عبد الحميد أولى ضحاياها	وعهد الخلافة العثماني
وتتالت قوافل الشهداء الغر	من غير رهبة أو تواني
تفتدي الحق والعروبة والإسلا	م من غير رهبة أو تواني ⁵³²

The story of Jerusalem is one of grief, and a story of sorrow and tears.

It is a drama of seasons, coming in deceptive colors.

°Abd al-Ḥamīd was the first victim, and the reign of the Ottoman Caliphate.

Then caravans of heedless martyrs followed, fearlessly and tirelessly.

Ransoming themselves for Truth, Arabism and Islam, tirelessly and fearlessly.

°Arab stated that conspiracies were being hatched against Palestine mainly by America and Russia:

طوقتها المؤامرات فباتت	في جحيم يفور كالبركان
بين (روس) يزوجونها بحشود	من يهود والدعم (أمريكاني) ⁵³³

⁵³² °Arab, vol 1 p 230.

⁵³³ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 230.

Conspiracies encompassed it and thus it remained in a blazing fire
like boiling volcano.

Between Russia they forcefully bring in crowds of Jews and
American support.

Also the dilapidation and the weakness that the Arabs were suffering from was as
a result of the conspiracy:

فرقتنا دسائس الشرق والغرب وثارت نواعق الغربان⁵³⁴

Machinations of the East and West disunited us

And all living and astir crows got agitated

Then he attacked Sadat:

دخل الكامب ليس يعرف مالكامب ولا ما في كهوفه من محان

كان عنزا بين الذئاب وهل تأمن عنز في صحبة الذوبان

.....

حيلة دبرت بليل وسارت في فجاج الرمال كالثعبان

حاك كيسنجر سداها وألقاها إلى (موش) إلى (ديان)⁵³⁵

He joined the camp knowing not what the camp was, nor the
afflictions in his caves does he know.

He was like a goat between wolves. Would you feel safe with a goat
in the company of Jackals?!

A trick hatched at night and marched through the routes in the sand
like python

Kissinger weaved its warp Aand threw it to (Moshe) to (Dayan)⁵³⁶

⁵³⁴ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 231.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 231.

⁵³⁶ Moshe Dayan (1915 – 1981) was an Israeli military leader and politician.

This poem is a good example of the general mood in Saudi Arabia – and perhaps all of Arabia - towards the events in Palestine and towards the West as well. At that time, Egypt was under an Arab boycott,⁵³⁷ whereas the peace with Israel was far from being accepted in other Arab countries. In addition, the Islamic Awakening and its various causes influenced many writers and was seen as the only solution for Arabs and Muslims and their problems.

On the other hand, the image of Western countries seems to have been affected due to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the Camp David Treaty just gave the Saudi writers more reasons to attack the West, especially those leaders involved in the peace process.

°Abd al-Raḥmān al-°Ashmāwī (1956-..), one of the most famous Islamic poets in this period, attacked the concept of Western justice; he claimed that their justice does not deter the unjust and it is incapable of granting rights to the oppressed. In his opinion, there is no difference between the leaders of Israel and the USA in the victim's eyes:

أَيكون العدل في عرف طغاة اليوم

إرهابا وقهرا

كم إلى كم يعتدي الظالم

يستمرئ غدرا

.....

أي فرق بين ريجان وأنديرا وعزرا

إسألني كل قتيل ذاق طعم الموت مر⁵³⁸

Could Justice in the eyes of the day's tyrants become

Terrorism and oppression?

How many times does the oppressor transgress

Relishing betrayal

Any difference between the Reagan⁵³⁹, Andira⁵⁴⁰ and Ezra⁵⁴¹?

⁵³⁷ David Lea and Annamarie Rowe, *A Survey Of Arab-Israeli Relations, 1947-2001* (London: Europa, 2002) p 56.

⁵³⁸ °Abd al-Raḥmān Al-°Ashmāwī, *Shumūkh fi Zaman al-Inkisār* (Ryadh: al-°Ubaykān. 1st 2002) p 74.

⁵³⁹ Ronald Wilson Reagan was the 40th President of the United States (1981–1989).

⁵⁴⁰ Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi (1917 – 1984) was the third Prime Minister of India.

⁵⁴¹ Ezer Weizman (1924 -2005) In 1977, he became Defense Minister under Menachem Begin.

Ask every fallen who tasted the bitter taste of death

It seems that the reputation of the peace process was bad to the Saudi writers during the eighties, and what made it worse was the continued Israeli attacks on the Palestinians. Because of that, the attacks of Saudi poetry extended to include the international organizations that sponsor the peace between Palestinians and Israelis - they saw the negotiations and conferences as a waste of time.

Al-^cAshmawī in another poem attacked the United Nations and described it as an unbalanced, blind camel:

يزن الأمر بميزانين هذا راجح في الوزن والأخر شائل
وكان الهيئة الشمطاء فيهم ناقة مسمولة العينين حائل⁵⁴²

It weighs the issue with two scales; this is preponderant suspended
up high

The United Nations is a feeble torn eyed she-camel

He also satirizes those Arab leaders who were rushing to the conferences and sought to achieve peace between Israel and Palestine through the UN:

وقفوا أمام وسائل الإعلام في سمت لتأخذ صورة وتبسموا
واستمطروا من هيئة الأمم التي هرمت بقايا عطفها كي تغنموا⁵⁴³

They stood in front of the media

In a manner to take a picture and smiled

They asked from the senile decrepit United Nations

The remnants of her sympathy so as to gain booty

⁵⁴² Al-^cashmawī (2002) p 61.

⁵⁴³ Al-^cAshmawī (2002) p 13.

5.1.3 War against Islam

The view of °Arab about the conspiracy against Islam and Palestine was not a lone view. In the 1980s, many Saudi poets dealt with Islamic issues around the world, including Palestine, and categorized it as a war against the Islam. Aḥmad Farah °Uqaylān (1924-1997) wrote a poem called "Our story with the Crusade". In this poem, °Uqaylān made the conflict with Israel as an episode of conflict between Islam and Christianity which began in the old history of the Crusades:

هي قصة سوداء تقطر من دماء الأبرياء

.....

شنت على الإسلام أخبث حملة متعفنه

وتسترت بصليبيها تخفي نوايا القرصنه

.....

فاسأل صلاح الدين إذ ركعت له في مسكنه

أوما رأيت لويسها القديس يقتحم الكنانه

فتداس في دار ابن لقمان كرامته المهانه⁵⁴⁴

It is a black story dripping with the blood of the innocent.

It mounted on Islam most insidious rotten campaign.

Covered up with the cross, hiding its freebooter's intentions.

Ask Saladin the festering who kneeled to him at his residence

Or did you not see Saint Lewis invading Kinana (Egypt)

And crushed in the home of Ibn Luqman was his humiliated
dignity.⁵⁴⁵

Colonialism was also one of the episodes of the conflict:

⁵⁴⁴ Aḥmad °Uqaylān, *Risālah ilā laylā*. (Madena: al-Nādī al-Adabī fi'l-Madenah. 1981) p 25.

⁵⁴⁵ Refer to the house of Ibrahim Ibn Luqman where the imprisonment of Louis IX after his defeat in Egypt in the year 1249. See: Vermeulen, Urbain, and J. van Steenbergen, *Egypt And Syria In The Fatimid, Ayyubid And Mamluk Eras IV* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005) p 139.

فجنت على الإسلام شرذمة الملاحدة الجناه

وإذا الدعية تدهم الأحرار مع زحف الطغاه

من خلف الاستعمار تكشف وجهها و بلاحياء⁵⁴⁶

The atheist perpetrators perpetrated against Islam its indentedness

If a bastard female invades the freeborn with the match of tyrants

From behind colonization revealing her face with no shy

The last attempt of the enemies of Islam was the creation of Israel:

ورأى الخؤون بأن إسرائيل تصلح للجريمه

وبأنها السرطان في أحشاء أمتنا الكريمة

فتحالف القرصان والسرطان والأفعى القديمه⁵⁴⁷

The traitorous believed that Israel is suitable for crime

And as a cancer in the bowels of our precious nation

Thus, the freebooter, cancer and old Snake came to alliance

The idea of war against Islam was not limited to military war. In fact, the majority of the texts addressing this idea can be categorized under the title of "the intellectual invasion", which is going to be addressed in the following section.

5.2 The intellectual invasion

In this stage, the new image of the West in the eyes of the Saudi poets appeared at the forefront of their poetry. With the end of the colonialism era, many Arab writers started to become concerned about the effects of colonialism, and the growing influence of the Western media and culture on the Arabs. They tried to resist this invasion and

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p 26.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p 26.

uncover hidden aspects of it, and this was not unique to Saudi writers. Many writers in the Arab world from different backgrounds addressed this issue.⁵⁴⁸ °Abd Allāh Al-Baraddūnī (1929-1999) is a famous Yemeni poet, with one of his poems entitled, "Invasion from the inside". This poem can shed some light on this new phenomenon in Arab literature. He wrote:

فضيع جهل ما يجري وأفضع منه أن تدري
 فهل تدريين يا صنعاء عن المستعمر السري
 غزاة لا أشاهدهم وسيف الغزو في صدري
 فقد يأتون تبغا في سجانر لونها يغري
 وفي صدقات وحشي يؤنسن وجهه الصخري
 وفي أهداب أنثى في مناديل الهوى القهري⁵⁴⁹

Terrible is the ignorance of what is happening and more terrible is to know.

Do You know about the secret colonizer, o San'a?!

They are raiders I cannot watch with the sword on my chest.

They could come a colourfully enticing box of cigarette.

And could be in form of wild charity making amiable their stone faces.

And in the female eyelashes in kerchiefs of lust and coercion.

He then gives many examples of the possible faces of this hidden colonialism. It seems clear that al-Baraddūnī did not mean the superficial meaning of these words, but he tried to raise public awareness towards the new way that Western domination was taking.

⁵⁴⁸ Dr °Adnān bā Hārith, in his Website gathered 117 books about the intellectual invasion, almost all these resources published in 1978 onwards. See: Bahareth.org, '2015 , <<http://www.bahareth.org/index.php?browse=sources&id=1041>> [accessed 24 January 2015].

⁵⁴⁹ °Abd Allāh Al-Baraddūnī, *Dīwān °Abd Allāh Al-Baraddūnī* (Sanaa: al-Hay°ah al-°Ammah li'l-Kitāb, 2000) vol 1 p 680.

Saudi writers shared with other Arab writers their view about the intellectual invasion, but they were generally influenced by the spread of the Islamic Awakening in the 1980s. Many of them dealt with this topic as a part of the war against Islam. It is important to take into account the situation of the social and economic life in Saudi Arabia in the 1970s and 1980s, and the consequences of the oil fuelled economic boom where many modern products – such as televisions and videos - entered Saudi conservative society and started to affect their daily life. In addition, many educated and intellectual people in Saudi Arabia – especially those who had studied in the West - started to raise issues about their culture and society and even their religion.⁵⁵⁰ These rapid changes in Saudi society met with much scepticism. However, many of these new materials and ideas became a part of the debate about the intellectual invasion.

°Abd Allāh al-Shubānah (1947-..) wrote an important long poem that is seventy lines long called, "°Ahmad and Edward". This poem summarizes the many aspects of the Islamic idea about the intellectual invasion. He started his poem by raging about Saudi Arabia, as it contains the most important Islamic places. He also expressed his concern about attack from the enemy, and he explained the kind of attack that he means:

ولكنه فكر خبيث منظم	ولست بدأ أعني هجوما مسلحا
وقد عقدوا عزمًا أكيدا وصمموا	غزانا به الأعداء من كل جانب
وألا يرى في القمة اليوم مسلم	على أن يظل المسلمون بقاعهم
فبان لهم أن الجيوش ستهزم ⁵⁵¹	لقد جربوا حربا لنا عسكرية

Thus, I do not mean an armed attack, but the an organized malignant thought.

The enemies attacked us with it from every side, and they are firmly resolved and determined

That the Muslims remain in abasement, and no Muslims, today, is to be seen in on the top

⁵⁵⁰ For more information about the intellectual movements in Saudi in this period see: °Abd Allāh al-Ghaththāmī, *Hikayat al-Hadathah fi'l-Mamlakah al-°Arabiyyah al-Su°ūdiyyah* (Beirut: al-Markaz al-Thaqāfi al-°Arabī, 3ed, 2005) and al-Khidir (2011) p 456, and Lacroix(2011) pp 15-17.

⁵⁵¹ °Abd Allāh al-Shabānah, *Al-Zafarāt al-Ḥarrā* (Riyadh: Dār al-Liwā°, 1987) p 80.

They have tried on us military war, and was clear to them that
armies would be defeated

The enemy, according to the poet, decided to intellectually invade by utilizing new weapons. He gave examples of these weapons, including pictures of women in magazines, TV, videos and some articles that call for modernity.

This war, according to al-Shabānah, reached its goals and that was why the Arabs lost their good moral behaviour, determination and courage, and the effect was that they did not follow their religious teachings as they should do. However, the main goal for this war was to target the youth:

وجر أعادينا إليهم شبابنا فأكثرهم بالغرب والشرق مغرم

تشابه كل في انحراف وضيعة فأحمد فينا مثل إدوارد فيهم

فهند بني قومي كجوليت عندهم فلا شيء في عرف الفتاتين يحرم⁵⁵²

Our enemies dragged to them our youths, and most of them are with
the West and East infatuated

Resembling every one of them in deviation and loss, thus Ahmad
amongst us is like Edward to them

Hind, my dear people is like Juliet in the West where nothing in the
life of both girls is prohibited

In the last part of this poem, al-Shabānah began to talk about Saudi Arabia again as he considered it as the only part of the Islamic world which was still trying to adhere to the teachings of Islam. However, he mentioned that the enemy was now focusing their attack on Saudi Arabia, and he claimed that he had started to see the consequences of this attack.⁵⁵³ There are many lines in this poem that addressed the importance of adhering to the Islamic religion in all aspects of our lives, and exhorted people to fight against Westernization. He repeated his clear message at the end of this poem:

⁵⁵² *Ibid*, p 82.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid*, p 87.

لئن كان من الشرط الرقي تنكب لأحكام ديني فالتخلف أكرم⁵⁵⁴

If the condition for progress is deviation from my religious rulings,
then backwardness is more honourable

In this poem, we can see a real concern towards many aspects of modernity in Saudis and Muslims lives, but he did not name any Western country as a primary culprit. However, there is another poem by al-^cAs^cūs titled "المربية" the governess that is about the one who is raising the children of the Arabs, and directs our minds to see this governess as America:

سأحكي عن مربية حكايته ستؤذيك
مربية منحناها على الأجيال تمليكا
وتصنعهم على يدها لكي يبقوا ممالিকা
أتدري من تكون أخي رفيقي تلك أمريكا
وتلك الحية الرقطاء منظرها سيغريك⁵⁵⁵

I will narrate the story of a governess which will hurt you.

A tutoress(or governess) whose duty to alienating generations.

Preparing them by her hands to remain slaves.

My brother, my companion! Do you recognize that is America?

That is the spotted snake whose appearance will entice you.

In these lines, we can see how the danger of America is in its influence on the young generation rather than in its military power. It seems clear that the poet meant the power of the media, especially films and television programs that are considered lewd or suspicious in the eyes of conservative Saudi society.

Another Saudi poet clarified the impact of Western television programs on people in Saudi Arabia. Al-^cAshmāwī stated that those who watched these programs in their

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p 87

⁵⁵⁵ Al-^cAs^cūs,(1986) p 65.

rooms will desire to visit the West and experience the night life there, and soon they will admire the Western lifestyle. That – as he believed - will lead them away from their religion:

العالم المسحور جمع هاهنا	في غرفتي واندس بين ثيابي
ما بين أونة وأخرى ألتقي	بقوام راقصة ووجه كعاب
وأزور باريس التي ما زرتها	وأزور لندن قبلة المتصابي
وأزور أمريكا التي أهديتها	بعد التحية صادق الإعجاب

.....

مالدين مالخلق الرفيع ومالذي	تتعلقون به من الأسباب
أتريد مني بعد هذا ركعة	تندى بذكر الخالق الوهاب ⁵⁵⁶

The enchanted world gather here in my room and sneaked between my clothes.

Every now and then I either meet a female dancer or buxom girl.

So I visit Paris that I had not visited before and London is the target of the childish (or youth).

And did I visit America , which I salute with sincere admiration

What is religion? What is high morals? and what means are you clung to?

Do you expect from me, after this, one *rak'at* [part of the Islamic prayer] magnificent with the remembrance of the Creator, the Bestower?

On the social front, some writers expressed their concern about the materialistic way of life that started to affect Saudi society. The new, sudden, wealth affected many people and made them slaves to money, to which they lost their warm, simple and humble

⁵⁵⁶ °Abd al-Raḥmān Al-°Ashmāwī, *Jawlah fī °Arabāt al-Ḥuẓn* (Riadh: al-°Ubaykān, 2002) p 23.

lifestyle. This can be seen as we read the poetry of Ibrāhīm al-[°]Awājī (1941-..) titled "Dollar":

Dollar!

This desolate piece of paper.

Sorry! I mean:

This fascinating piece of paper.

This irresistible march.

This raging storm⁵⁵⁷.

Al-[°]Awaji talked about the negative effects of the dollar on the behaviour and manners of the people. He ended his poem by saying that:

Yet what a cruel thing for one to realise

Some of the awesome deeds performed by

The Dollar.

Even in this poem, there is nothing related directly to the West except the word "Dollar" as obviously the famous currency of the USA. This poem generally deals with the devastating effect of modern, Western inspired life on Saudi society. The selection of the dollar rather than any other currency could perhaps be an indication of the influence of the USA particularly in the new business life in Saudi Arabia.

One of the new results of the oil boom in the 1970s was that the Saudi society witnessed the appearance of their own bourgeoisie class. These people were a rich target to be influenced by the Western media and contributed to a negative image of their community. This phenomenon was attacked by Saudi writers. Fawziyyah Abu khālid wrote a poem in 1982 called "Obsessions of a petty-bourgeois of the Bedouins". The West was not the main topic of this text, but this text painted an image about the West as the

⁵⁵⁷ Ibrāhīm [°]Awājī, and Maryam Ishaq al-Khalifa Sharief, *The Tents Of The Tribe* (London: Echoes, 1996) p 169.

place of pleasure for the wealthy and corrupt Arabs. She also compared between the life of luxury in the West and the suffering and death in Arab lands.⁵⁵⁸

°Abd al-°Azīz al-Nuqaydān (1939-..) wrote a poem that questioned the rich Saudi or Arab traveller that he saw spending his money in the West on female dancers:

ألم تتعب لذاتك	وقد تعبت حبيبائك
ألم تقنع وقد ماتت	من التجوال رحلاتك
وقد ملأت بنوك الأرض	أموالاً حوالائك
.....	
وملتك المطارات التي	منها انطلاقاتك
.....	
ألم تخجل؟ لقد خجلت	بأن تلفاك مراتك ⁵⁵⁹

Are your pleasure organs not tired, even your girl friends have gotten tired

Are you not convinced, while your bound places (or trips) are perished due to your roaming

The Banks of the world are filled with your transfer monies

And fed up with you are your take off airports

Are you not ashamed? Even your mirror is ashamed for seeing you.

It is clear that these questions are full of anger and resentment that the poet feels towards these acts committed by rich Arabs in the West. It also gives an indirect image about the West as a place which was tempting the sons of Arabia to do evil deeds.

Al-°Ashmāwī addressed the same topic but from a different perspective, although the picture that he was drawing about the West was more detailed. Many rich people in Saudi Arabia used to send their children to the West to study there, and to become fluent

⁵⁵⁸ Fawzyyah Abu Khālid, *Qirā'ah fī al-Sir li Tārīkh al-Šamt al-°Arabī* (Beirut: Dār al-°Awdah, n d) p 143.

⁵⁵⁹ °Abd al-°Azīz Al-Nuqaydān, *Tarānīm al-Rimāl* (Buraydah: Nādī al-Qašīm al°Adabī, n d) p 79.

in foreign languages. Al-^cAshmāwī expressed his concerns about the future of those young people who were facing a life of lust in the West. In one of his poems, he tells a story of a young person who went through this experience, and this person spoke about the nightlife in Europe:

في أرض أوروبا أضعت كرامتي وأضعت في حاناتها ثرواتي
وعلى مسارحها نثرت دراهمي وأجدت فيها أحسن الرقصات

.....

باريس تعرفني ولندن لم تزل ترنو إلى جيبي وحسن هباتي
وعيون مانيلا تراقب مقدمي ولكم زرعت بأرضها شهواتي⁵⁶⁰

In the land of Europe I wasted my dignity and wasted in its bars my fortune

And in its theaters scattered are my monies and in them I mastered the best of dances

Paris knows me and London is still gazing at my pocket and precious gifts

And the eyes of Manila watching out for my arrival and for how long have I cultivated in their land my lust

The young man blamed his father's wealth, because by this wealth he was sent to the enemy's land to be corrupted:

أنا يا أبي الغالي ضحية ثروة فتحت لقلبي أسوأ الصفحات

.....

أرسلتني للغرب يا أبتى ولم تشفق على عقلي من السكرات

أنسيت أن الغرب سر شقاننا وإليه تنسب أبشع الافات⁵⁶¹

O dear Father! I am a victim of a wealth, that opened up to my heart the worst of phases (or pages)

⁵⁶⁰ ^cAbd al-Raḥmān Al-^cAshmāwī, *Mashāhid min Yawm al-Qiāmah*, (Riadh: al-^cUbaykān, 2002) p 49.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid*, p 49.

You sent me to the west without being apprehensive about my
sentience from inebriations

Did you forgot that the West is the secret of our misery? And to it
are attributed the worst of evils

Then the character raises the alarm that he is not alone as there are many other
Saudi men with him in Europe:

أنا لست وحدي في طريق متهاتي أبناؤكم في الغرب بالعشرات
سلمتموهم للعدو غنيمة فلتغسلوا الأدران بالعبرات⁵⁶²

I am not alone in the way of my tracklessness, your children in the
West are in tens

You submitted them as booty to the enemy, so as to wash away the
filth with tears.

This poem was written to attack the trend of sending young students to the West. As such, we can decipher a clear image about the West as a place of corruption particularly when viewing it under the lens of an intellectual invasion. At this stage, the West had left Arab lands and there was no military presence. However, the West had returned with a more effective weapon, which succeeded in changing many aspects of what was deemed to be a pure life. We can argue that these texts were written with conspiracy theories in mind that might have some foundation to them considering political and social events of the time. However, the main point is that these poems reveal the extent that the image of the West was damaged during this period, especially due to the growing influence of the idea of an intellectual invasion.

On the other hand, the fear of the intellectual invasion exposes the most important values in Saudi society as seen by the poets. Islam supersedes all else, and the poets of that period believed that the West was continuing to attack Islam. This idea cannot be understood without taking into account the general situation of the Middle East, especially the growing frustration toward the Palestinian tragedy. In addition to this, there

⁵⁶² *Ibid*, p 49.

was a new war in Afghanistan which was considered as a *Jihād* against the *Kuffār*. This also confirms the powerful effect of the Islamic Awakening in the 1980s in Saudi Arabia.

5.3 The Cultural Image:

In the early 1980s, a new intellectual and literary movement began in Saudi Arabia and controlled the majority of the cultural platforms in the country. This movement was called *al-Hadātha* or modernism. This term "at the first designated a break with a literary tradition seen as fossilized and the adoption of new narrative and poetic modes".⁵⁶³ This movement also called for social modernism. This movement rapidly became a target for the Islamic movement and the conservative writers in Saudi Arabia. The opponents of this movement considered modernism as a part of the war against Islam and Arab values.⁵⁶⁴ What is related to the research question is that, though the modernist intellectuals did not paint any noticeable images of the West in their texts, they show a great admiration of Western writers especially the modernist writers such as W. B. Yeats and T. S. Eliot. In contrast, the reaction of the opponents was very strong; they labelled the Western modernist and the Saudis who admire it as one and the same. Thus, in the poetry of the opponents of modernism, we can see a negative image of the West but from a cultural view.

Al-Nuqaydān wrote a poem titled "To the lover of foreign poetry". In this poem, he compared between Arabic and foreign poetry, whilst mainly focusing on Western poetry. He said:

لا تزرنى فليس بحرك بحري أنا معروف وأنت في التيه تجري
 أنت لا تعرف الروي ابتداء والقوافي منحورة فوق صخري
 هل سباك الجديد روحا وعقلا فلبست الثياب من نسج هنري
 التراث الكريم نحويه فخرا وترى أنت هدمه كل فخر⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶³ Lacroix, (2011) pp135.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p 136.

⁵⁶⁵ Al-Nuqaydān, (n d) p 113.

Visit me not, as your poetic meter is not same as mine. I am known
while you wander in the wilderness

To start with, you know not the rhyming letter, and the rhyme is
engraved in my stone

Did the latest one capture you mentally and spiritually, such that you
wore clothes of Henry's imitation?

The noble legacy we protect with pride. But you see every pride in
its destruction.

The rest of the text is praise of Arabic poetry and the Arabic language, which contains culture and the Islamic religion within it, and which the poet believed could express real human feelings more than any other language. He also described it as a language that can continue to age but never dies.⁵⁶⁶

The poet also wrote another poem about a similar topic. In one of his trips to the West, he wrote "Between the Foreigners". In this poem, he clarifies his attitude towards Western culture and literature. He started his poem by saying:

لا الجلد جلدي ولا النبرات نبراتي كلا ولا عرفوا نهجي وعاداتي
لا الشدو يطربني منهم إذا عزفوا ولا مواويلهم من صنع ساداتي
أشعارهم كسراب لا نظام لها عطل من اللحن أو إيقاع نغمات⁵⁶⁷

Neither the skin nor the accent is mine. Never! And they know not
my way and norms.

Neither singing when playing their instruments moves me. Nor are
their colloquial poems of the ways of my masters.

Their poems are a similitude of a fata morgana without congruity.
Devoid of melody or even tone rhythm

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p 114.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p 110.

The poet repeated here praising of the Arabic language, and he also praised Arabs as the founders of civilization:

من أين نهضتكم جاءت لتمنحكم سر التقدم في شتى المجالات
شمس المعارف منا أشرقت سلفا على دياركمو في خفق رايات
ومن سناها قبستم كل سابقة والفضل للعرب في محو الجهالات⁵⁶⁸

From where did your renaissance come to give you the secret of progress in various fields?

The light of knowledge from us shone in advance upon your homes in form of throbbing banners

From their resplendence you acquired all the precedence and to Arabs the merit of whipping out ignorance is due.

Islam was the main value that al-Nuqaydān raise in this poetry. He spent the rest of the poem praising the justice, mercy and manners that could be found in Islam. He also discussed race and ethnicity, in order to show the difference between Islam and the racism in some Western countries:

البيض والسود في ديني سواسية الله أكرمهم في صدق آيات⁵⁶⁹

Both black and white in my religion are equal, Allah has honoured them in the sincerity of verses.

Al-Nuqaydān was deeply influenced by the Islamic emotion, and his work can also be considered as a part of the effect of the Islamic Awakening in this period. This text also shows the importance of the Arabic language in the context of the conflict with the West. The conservative writers consider it as the most important value after Islam. However, this voice was not the only voice in Saudi Arabia talking about Western culture; in fact, the majority of Saudi writers had a good relationship with foreign literature, including Western literature. This relationship can be seen in the criticism of various different literatures, which took Western poets and writers as case studies and emulated

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p 110.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p 111.

them in many ways in their attempts to renew Arabic literature. Saudi poets, including the conservatives, started in this stage to write in a new style of poetry named *al-Taf'īlah*, which is poetry that is free from rhyme, and this is considered as a part of the Western influence on modern Arabic poetry that is accepted to the present day.⁵⁷⁰

In addition, Saudi poets continued in this stage to use famous Western writers and leaders in their poems. Names such as Julius Caesar, Shakespeare, Napoleon Bonaparte and Don Quixote, appeared in Saudi poems, not to introduce them to the Saudi reader, but to use their history as inspiration for the poem. Thus, Saudi writers expected that their readers have enough background information about these names. In other words, as Western culture began to influence more in Arab and Saudi culture at this stage, many facets of Western culture became a part of the general culture that it was expected that everyone should understand.

As an example of this, al-Quṣaybī wrote a poem titled "Caesar Dying". The poem visualized the feelings of Julius Caesar towards the betrayal of Brutus.⁵⁷¹ He also wrote another poem titled "Knights", and this poem is written as a sort of play and consists of short scenes with each scene about a famous fighter. Some of these fighters are Arabs and some are not, and these include Caesar, Napoleon and Don Quixote. At the beginning of the poetry, the poet gives a summary of the death of each one of them, then every one of those fighters and leaders expresses their views towards life and death. Caesar, for example, says:

أطاعية أنا هم أجلسوني على عرش روما وهم مجدوني

.....

فواعجا حين صدقتهم بحد خناجرهم مزقوني⁵⁷²

Am I a tyrant and they sat me on the throne of Rome and praised
me.

⁵⁷⁰ Muṣṭafā Jamāl al-Dīn, *Al-Iqā' fi'l-Shi'r al-'Arabī min al-Bayt ilā al-Taf'īlah* (Beirut: Dār al-Nu'mān, 1970) p 153. And Jayyusi, Salma Khadra, and Christopher Tingley, *Trends And Movements In Modern Arabic Poetry* (Leiden: Brill, 1977) p 557.

⁵⁷¹ Madison J Davis and A. Daniel Frankforter, *The Shakespeare Name Dictionary* (New York: Garland, 1995) p 66.

⁵⁷² Ghāzī Al-Quṣaybī, *Wrūd 'Alā Dafā'ir Sanā'* (Beirut: al-Mu'assasah al-'Arabiyyah li'l-Dirāsāt wa'l-Nashr, 2ed, 1989) p 41.

Oh, how wonderful! When I trusted them with the edge of their
daggers they ripped me apart.

While Napoleon Bonaparte seems to regret his dream of controlling the world:

في سانت هيلانة ما أشتهي ففيم حاولت امتلاك الوجود؟⁵⁷³

In St. Helena, is what I desire, on what did I attempt possessing
existence?

Don Quixote said that he fought but he never killed:

حاربت ما شئت ولم اقتل أحد

ولم أيتم طفلة ولا ولد⁵⁷⁴

I fought as I wished but neither did I kill anyone.

Nor make any baby or child became an orphan.

The message of this poetry seems to be about the purpose of life especially for those who believe that they achieved great goals in their lives or became an example for others. The poet used famous Westerners and Arabs both in the same way to clarify his idea; he supposed that the reader was aware of the Western characters just as they do with the Arabs, or at least they know enough to understand his point. In contrast with the previous period, the Saudi poet here did not deal with myths; they dealt with real leaders, except Don Quixote, which represents part of Western literature. In general, these poems indicate that there is an increase knowledge about the Western history and Western literature among Saudi writers and Saudi readers alike.

In the previous period, we saw some attempts of Saudi poets to translate what they liked from Western poetry. In this stage, Saudi poets seem to have abandoned these attempts and only one attempt could be found for this research by al-^oAqīlī published in the first year of this period in 1968. He translated a poem titled "The Snake", by the English poet Rusken. This attempt by al-^oAqīlī demonstrates the interest of Saudi poets

⁵⁷³ *Ibid*, p 49.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p 49.

towards Western literature,⁵⁷⁵ however they seem to prefer to leave this work to translators, as the researcher could not find any similar attempt at translating Western poetry through this period.

Saudi interaction with Western literature increased when an Arab writer won a literary competition. In 1984, the Saudi poet °Abd Allāh al-Faisal (1923-2007) won a Paris prize for foreign poetry and Ḥusayn Sirāj (1912-2007) expressed his happiness at this event by writing a poem praising al-Faisal, whilst also demonstrating his feelings toward Paris. Sirāj looked at this event as an important interaction between the East and the West, and he described al-Faisal as an Eastern plant shining in a Western sky:

يا شعلة شعشت في الغرب نابضة بالحب والفكر أشكالا وألوانا
كأنها الكوكب الساري وقد لمعت أطيافه في سماء الغرب ألعانا⁵⁷⁶

O torch! You vibrantly radiated in the West, with colours and kinds of love and thought.

Like a star traveling by night, its spectra lit the sky of the West with melodies.

Sirāj also seemed to look on this event as a kind of spiritual unity between the East and West, and we can see this from an image that he draws in the poetry:

هبت صبا نجد من رضوى مغربة للسين حتى جرى مسكا وريحانا⁵⁷⁷

The Šibā of Najd (famous wind in Najd) blow towards the West, thus river Seine full of musk and basil

In this poem, Sirāj draws a positive image about France, and he believes that it his duty to praise France as they awarded the prize to al-Faisal:

وما فرنسا سوى للفن مربعه وحصنه الراسخ الإبداع أركانها
هم كرموك فنال العرب مكرمة في العالمين بها حسا وإعلانا⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁵ Al-°Aqīlī, p 396.

⁵⁷⁶ Ḥusayn Sirāj, *Al-°māl al-Kāmilah* (Jeddah: °Abd al-Maqṣūd Khūjah, 2005) vol 1 p 67.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 67.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 67.

France is the square of art, and a strong castle of innovation.

They honoured you, thus the Arab earned a noble deed with it fame
and excellence in the world

When Naguib Mahfouz the Egyptian writer won the Nobel Prize in (1988),⁵⁷⁹ the Saudi poet Ibrāhīm al-^cAllāf (1931-..) expressed his happiness toward this event and he wrote a poem praising Naguib and Egypt.⁵⁸⁰ There is no clear image about the West, as the writer was more concerned about the Arab writer's achievement. However, these two texts demonstrate the importance of Western literary prizes to Saudi poets, and we can consider it as a part of the effect of Western culture on Saudi poetry during this period.

5.4 Cities

In the previous period (1946-1967), the number of Saudi poems composed about Western countries increased to reach thirteen texts. However, in the period being presently discussed, the number increased again to reach twenty texts. That may be due to the economic growth in Saudi Arabia throughout this period, which reflected the connection of Saudi people with Western cities as more people had opportunities to travel and study abroad, either through Saudi government scholarships or merely for tourism.

Saudi poetry about Western cities in this stage can be divided – similar to the previous period - into three parts. First, the descriptive texts, which did not exceed beyond the mere description of the landscape or the development of Western civilization. Second, the texts that conveyed a negative view towards Western cities. Finally, and third, the Andalusian texts about Spain. Though there are similarities in the poetry about Western cities between this period and the previous one, we will find that there are some differences in the ways of expression in relation to each of the previously mentioned parts, and this is due to changes in perspective over time.

⁵⁷⁹ Feldman, (2000) p 19.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibrāhīm Al-^cAllāf, al-Majmū^cah *al-Kāmilah* (n p, n pub, 1989) p 630.

5.4.1 In the first part, the participation of Saudi poets decreased compared with the previous period. Only five texts could be found which can be considered as descriptive texts. Three out of these five texts were written by Faqī, who also wrote some texts on the same topic in the last chapter. One of his poems was titled "San Francisco". In about sixty lines of poetry, he expressed his fascination with the nature, weather and buildings of the city. For example, he said:

مفاتن كأساطير الخيال بدت	تسبي النهى وتشد القلب والخاطر
تجسد الحسن واستجلى الجمال بها	وأشرق الفن يزهو بالسنى الباهر
أرض موشاة بالأزهار مفعمة	بالورد والنور يعبق نشرها العاطر
نهارها وهج أفرح مخضلة	ظلالها ومساها بهجة السامر ⁵⁸¹

Temptations like myths of imagination appeared, intriguing the intelligence and strongly binding on the mind.

With them beauty materialized and elucidated, and the light of art began thriving with brilliant sparkle.

A land embellished with flowers, brimful with roses, and light whose fragrance is freely spread .

Its day is incandescent parties in refreshing shades, and the evening a delight of night entertainment.

Faqī did the same in his other two texts, titled "Niagara Falls" and "Island of Hawaii". In both poems, Faqī wrote many lines in order to be able to express his fascination with the beauty of the landscape. He also shows his rhetorical skills by using different ways to describe these places and making many likening phrases about what he saw. In some lines, Faqī praised the beauty of the women in those places. However, in his poetry about Niagara Falls, Faqī mentioned the use of the falling water for the generation of electrical power:

إن كان يدهشني مشاهد ما أرى	وتكل عن إعجابها الأقلام
فالقوم قد جعلوه مصدر قوة	ومجال طاقات لها استحكام

⁵⁸¹ Faqī, vol 6 p 650.

داروا المصانع من قواها حركوا الأتقال واندفعت بها الأجسام⁵⁸²

Although the scenes of what I see astonish me and pens weary of its admiration.

But then the people made it a source of power and an energy field with intensification.

From its power they ran factories, moved loads and bodies dart off.

So the poet was not only impressed by the beauty of the nature that he was viewing, but he was also fascinated by the technical progress of the West.

There are two texts written by other poets that can be studied under the first part of this section. One by al-Rifā'ī titled "Como",⁵⁸³ and another called "To Marbella"⁵⁸⁴ by Sirāj. Both deal with the subject of nature in the West, and nothing beyond that. Apart from the mention of the place names in the title of the poetry or between its lines, there are no other indications or allusions to the West. Thus, these landscapes that Saudi poets were fascinated by could have played the same poetic role even if they were in any other part of the world.

However, it is worth indicating that even if these texts did not exceed the mere description of Western cities, we can extract some points that may shed some light on image of the West at this stage. These points show that the West had become more familiar to Saudi poets. Firstly, the limited number of descriptive texts from this period may indicate that Saudi poets perhaps began to leave their enchanted view of Western cities behind them. Secondly, apart from the mention of the generation of electrical power in Faqī's poetry about Niagara Falls, the poets did not pay much attention to the technology in the West, whereas they spent many lines of text on this topic in the equivalent texts from the previous period. That may also be as a result of the increased level of interaction with the West. This point agreed with what al-Bazī note about the transformation in the Saudi poets view towards the West, he stated that "It is interesting

⁵⁸² *Ibid*, vol 6 p 661.

⁵⁸³ A city in Italy, overlooked a lake of Como.

⁵⁸⁴ A city in Andalusia in Spain.

to note the disappearance of the fascination with the of the other in the next phase of the Saudi poetry”.⁵⁸⁵

5.4.2 The second part of Saudi poems about Western cities is the largest part in this section. The majority of Saudi poets used their poetry about Western cities as a gateway through which they could express their negative attitudes toward the West, or toward some Western political positions. These attitudes came from different backgrounds, as the texts will show. Nevertheless, the main link between these texts is that these texts are free from the admiration of the West.

As a result of the Islamic Awakening in Saudi Arabia, some Saudi poets started to view the West through an Islamic lens. They began evoking the holy places in Saudi Arabia in their texts, as well as issues of conflict in Islamic countries, for which they blamed the West. Here, there are three examples of the impact of the Islamic view toward Western cities in Saudi poetry. Each one of these examples represents a different level of impact that resulted from the Islamic Awakening in Saudi Arabia.

The first of these texts is titled "London" by °Abd Allāh Bā Sharāhīl (1951-..). In this text, the poet tells the story of when he visited London. When he first came, he had a positive perspective about London, but he quickly changed his view and started to compare between London and his home city Mecca:

يوم في لندن قد حطت رحالي	بعد أسفار طوال وارتحالي
جنتها أحمل في أفيائها	صوراً تملأ عقلي وخيالي
فإذا بي عندها في سأم	واكتئاب وانفعال وملال
أجمال أين منها موطني	مكة الفيحاء ينبوع الجمال ⁵⁸⁶

A day in London, after dismounting, after my long journeys.

I came to it having in mind about it, pictures that filled my brain and imagination.

⁵⁸⁵ Al-Bāzi‘ī, (2009) p 93.

⁵⁸⁶ °Abd Allāh Bā Sharāhīl, *al-A‘māl al-Kāmilah* (Beirut: al-Mu‘assasah al-‘Arabiyyah li’l-Dirāsāt wa’l-Nashr, 2003) vol 2 p 136.

And suddenly I am there in boredom, depression, passivity and listlessness.

Where are the beauties in it! My home town, the Redolent Makkah is the source of beauties.

The most important point is that the poet praised Mecca as being the birthplace of Islam:

يا ربوع الوحي والبيت الذي خصه الله بأسرار الجلال
أنا في لندن أهفو لربي مكة للنور في تلك الجبال⁵⁸⁷

O territory of revelation and the House, which Allah distinguished with secrets of sublimity.

I am in London passionately excited about the Lord of Makkah, for the Light in those mountains.

This text represented a simple idea for a Muslim who was proud to be from such a holy place. The poet did not feel comfortable in London; he might also have missed the Islamic environment that surrounded him in Mecca. However, the poet did not try to go much deeper than that.

The second text by Aḥmad al-Bahkālī (1955-..) is titled "Visions in New York". The poet visited New York in 1984 and expressed his view about the famous city that he visited. At the beginning, al-Bahkālī mentioned the famous image about New York; skyscrapers, scientific progress and the financial centres. Yet he was not impressed about what he saw:

أوهذي جزيرة الحلم هامت
حولها أنفوس وذاب نشيد؟
أو هذي خرافة العلم يهمني
في الماقي بريقتها والوعد؟⁵⁸⁸

Isn't this the peninsular of dream, that people crave and poem strive in vain for?!

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid*, vol 2 p 136.

⁵⁸⁸ Aḥmad Al-Bahkalī, *Awwal al-Ghayth* (Riyadh: al-Nādī al-Adabī fi'l-Riyadh, 1992) p 22.

Or is this a scientific fable that poured forth unto the eyes with its stimulant and promises?!

The modern and busy life of New York City was a summary of the problems of humanity in the modern era, as al-Bahkaī felt:

يا نيويورك يا خلاصة كون نازف نحن فيه شمل بديد⁵⁸⁹

O New York! O summary of a drain globe in which we are a scattered gathering.

Al-Bahkaī saw all aspects of modern life in a different way; the asphalted roads looked pleading, almost inhuman, and the borough of Manhattan seemed to be bleeding freely.⁵⁹⁰ Yet the poet stopped a lot in front of Statue of Liberty. This landmark was the saddest statue crying for the lost freedom that she saw:

وبمنأى هناك أبأس رمز فوق وجه الثرى دليل طريد

يدهم الموج ساقه ويغطي وجهه الثلج والدخان البليد

.....

وكأني به وشعلته الحمراء نار لها الدموع وقود

وهو يبكي جواد حرية الأرض بذى الأرض خاتلته القرود

ما تراه يقول لو ذات يوم شيع الصمت ما تراه يقول⁵⁹¹

And at a distance lies the sadist statue, ousted and docile on top of the earth.

The wave do seize its leg and the face, is covered by the snow and dull-witted smoke.

As if I am by it and its red torch seems like a fire with tears and fuel.

It cries over the horse of freedom to the earth, on this earth that monkeys deceived.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p 22.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p 24.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid*, p 25.

What do you see if silence were bided farewell? What do you see if say?

The poet believed that if the future was revealed for Frédéric Barthold – the designer of the Statue of the Liberty - to see before he designed the famous landmark, he would have broken his tools used to construct the statue.⁵⁹² The poet also attacked the United Nations, as he saw its huge building in New York. The UN represents the tyranny of the great powers over the developed countries, as he stated.⁵⁹³ After these lines we find the reason of this negative idea of al-Bahkaī, he mentioned examples of the conflicts afflicting the Islamic world at that time, which caused great human suffering:

وتذكرت دير ياسين لا ماء يروي ولا تزول السدود

.....

واحتواني نشيج لبنان حيث الس (م) وس خيل كما البغات أسود

وبأفغان بات يرفض نهر مائج من دم خلاياه سود⁵⁹⁴

And I remembered the Deir Yassin, no water to drink nor are the barriers removed

The Lebanon sober encompassed me in that the woodworm became horses just as the little birds became lions.

And in Afghanistan suddenly outburst is a river, stormy from blood made of black cells.

So far, the poet did not raise any Islamic or national flag to face the West, but in the following lines he stated that Islam is the religion of peace, which will solve the people's problems:

نحن أهل السلام غرد في أذاننا عندليب الغريد

.....

⁵⁹² *Ibid*, p 25.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid*, p 26.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p 26.

قد نماه نبينا في ربا طي (م) بة ما عاقه هناك صدود⁵⁹⁵

We are people of peace, singing to our ears, the warbling of his sweet voice.

Our Prophet has developed it in Taibah (Madenah), without there being any hurdles hindering him.

The poet did not stop at this point; he went beyond that when he alludes to the approach of the Islamic conquests:

لم تزل في الجفون صورة مجد يتنزي إليك وهو أكيد
صورة الفتح لم تغب سوف تبدو يا نيويورك يومه الموعد⁵⁹⁶

Not farfetched is the picture of a glory, Coming to rule you and is definite.

The image of conquer is not lost. Its promised day shall come, O New York.

Although this text contains this new idea, within these texts anyway, about an Islamic conquest of the West, it still seems much less abrasive than the text of °Āyḍ al-Qarnī (1959-..), the famous caller and preacher of the Islamic Awakening. Al-Qarnī wrote a poem titled "I saw America", about his trip to United States in the 1990's. Al-Qarnī started his poem by praising the Islamic nation in more than 28 lines. This is interesting because the praising of the Islamic nation rather than the Arab nation or the Saudi state from Saudi poets in a text about the West, clearly indicates the identity that this poet is adopting in front of the West. Even before mentioning the United States, al-Qarnī attacked some Arab and non-Arab leaders, those he believed were against Islam, including Gamāl °Abd al-Nāssir and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. He also attacked the UN Security Council:

يا أمة من عمرها لم تحي إلا بالجهاد

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p 27.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p 27.

كفرت بمجلس أمن من نصب المشانق للعباد⁵⁹⁷

O nation whose history hasn't thrived except with Jihad.

You disbelief in the Security Council of who set up scaffolds for the servants.

After that he started to talk about his journey to the USA, and he clarifies that he did not go to America as a visitor, he just went there to see the way the *Fath* (the conquest) would be headed:

ما زرت أمريكا فليست	في الوري أهل المزار
بل جئت أنظر كيف	ندخل بالكتائب والشعار
لنحرر الإنسان من	رق المذلة والصغار
وقرارنا فتح مبين	نحن أصحاب القرار ⁵⁹⁸

I did not visit America because I am not the visiting type from behind.

Rather, I came to see how we will come in with battalions and flags.

To free mankind from the belittling and mean enslavement.

And our decision is an explicit conquer because we are people of decision.

He also expressed his view about life in the USA, which he believes is a materialistic life that was making people living like machines:

وعجبت للإنسان مب	(م) تور الإرادة والمصير
يحيا بلا دين ولا	قصد ولا هدي منير ⁵⁹⁹

And I am amazed at a human being devoid of will and determination.

⁵⁹⁷ c Āiyḍ Al- Qarnī, *Al-Qarār al-Akhīr*. (Ryadh: Al-°Ubaykān, 2ed 2009) p 128.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p 129.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p 129.

Living without religion, objective or clear guidance.

This text might represent the thought of the Islamic Awakening about the West at its peak. There is no doubt that the USA here, and perhaps the whole West, are portrayed as an enemy in this text. However, this severe speech towards the West was a new phenomenon at this stage, which did not appear in the previous stages of Saudi poetry, or maybe in any other Arab poetry. Such severe texts loaded with confidence in the power of Islam and containing such strong threats of an Islamic conquest might be hard to find in Arabic poetry in previous centuries. It seems clear that the influence of the Islamic Awakening in addition to the sense of the injustice of the West towards Islamic issues such as Palestine, Lebanon and Afghanistan lead to this extreme attitude towards the West.

On another hand, some Saudi poets wrote texts against Western cities or countries but from the perspective of Arab nationalism or merely just due to them being homesick. The texts are not necessarily attacking the West, but they are included under the category of negative and critical Saudi poetry about Western cities in this phase.

As an example of the homesick Saudi poetry about the West, al-Shabānah wrote a poem titled, "the motherland and nostalgia". He wrote this poetry whilst he was in The Hague. In this poem, there are many lines about missing home and family, yet there are also other lines about the cities and countries that he experienced. The poet expressed his negative view towards the West but this does not emanate as a result of a religious opinion. Within the lines of his poem, we can discover that the poet missed his familiar lifestyle, and normal habits:

فلم أرى في ربي باريس «نخلاً» ولا «البطحاء» ألفينا بيون

ولم أرى في السويد هناك «بشتاً» ولم أرى «برقعا» فوق العيون

.....

أقول لمن معي لما مررنا ب«لكسمبورغ» يا قوم اسمعوني

ب«لكسمبورغ» لم ألق ارتياحا وفي «النرويج» لم تصدق ظنوني⁶⁰⁰

⁶⁰⁰ Al-Shabānah, (1987) pp 156-157.

I did not see in Paris a date tree and not Baṭḥa⁶⁰¹ we found in Bonn.

And neither did I see a bisht⁶⁰² in Sweden nor a veil over the eyes

I am telling those with me as we passed by Luxembourg, O people!

Hear me.

In Luxembourg, I found no rest, and in Norwich, you won't believe me

Although there was no direct attack against the West in this text, the reader will end up with a negative idea about the places mentioned. In addition, the poet did not complain about any particular thing he experienced in the West, he just expressed his feelings of discomfort that he was experiencing there. We can also notice that there is no religious view being espoused here apart from that of the Burku^c,⁶⁰³ which is more likely to be used here as the traditional clothes of women in Saudi Arabia. For instance, the poet could have used the word "Hijab" which is particularly worn by a Muslim female and has religious connotation, whereas the Burku^c is a traditional face cover used in some parts of the Arabian Peninsula.

Another Saudi poet was clearer in his depiction of Paris. °Abd Allāh al-°Abbāsī, in his poetry about Paris, described the city as the site of a struggle between the people and Evil, and Evil always wins:

البارحة استدعتني أن أبقى

باريس أن أشهد صخب الليل

صراع البشر مع الشر

وكيف يفوز بلا جند إبليس⁶⁰⁴

Yesterday caused me to remain

Paris to witness the hustle and bustle of the night

Human beings struggling with evil

⁶⁰¹ A district of the Riyadh city.

⁶⁰² A traditional dress in Saudi Arabia covers the entire body.

⁶⁰³ A face-veiling dressed traditionally in some part of Arab peninsula.

^{604c} Abd Allāh Al-°Abbāsī, *Rasā'il ilā ibn Baṭṭūṭah* (Jeddah: Tihāmah, 1st, 1982) p 77.

And how can the Satan win even without Soldiers!

There is no mention of religion in this text, the poet's attitude seems to be based on the traditional and conservative life in Saudi Arabia rather than a religious attitude. As evidence of that, in some of his following lines al-°Abbasī said that he missed the desert, and he wished if he was riding a camel across the desert, with the moon in the sky as his guide.⁶⁰⁵ Thus, as al-Shabānah missed his neighborhood in Riyadh, and his familiar surroundings, al-°Abbasī missed the quiet life in the desert compared to the bustling life in Paris. The desert in this text represents the identity that the poet raised in the face of the West.

The aforementioned desert identity appeared yet again in another poem about New York by Muḥammad al-Dumaynī. Al-Dumaynī did not try to clarify his view toward New York, but we can notice some key factors that can shed light on the image of the West in this text. In some of his lines, he said:

نيويورك

أنا واقف في زقاق العشيرة

أبحث عن سيف قومي وعن خاتم يفتح القدس لي⁶⁰⁶

New York

I am standing on the alley clan

Searching for my people sword and ring to open the Quds for m.e

The last line especially clarifies the role that the poet believes America is playing in the Palestine issue. In some other lines he said:

ماجئت أبحث عن معاني السلم في قاموسك المصنوع من سقيا دمار

لم تكوني غصن "وايتمان" لكن كنت قبره⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p 80.

⁶⁰⁶ Muḥammad Al-Dumaynī, *Anqaḍ al-Ghibṭah* (Amman: Dār al-Shurūq, 1989) pp 17-18.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p 19.

I have not come searching for the meaning of peace in your lexicon
that is made from blood shed.

You are not the stem of peace of the white man, rather you are its
grave.

Then the poet evokes the pride of the desert man by saying that we *āArabsū* never
asked for America's help, and that we Arabs are stubborn like camels:

قد تفر الإبل من حر الوغى
غير أن الإبل لا تستجد⁶⁰⁸

A camel might flee from the heat of a war

But never does a camel seek assistance.

The desert in these texts also represents the identity of the poets as they related to
Western civilization. Such an identity did not appear in the equivalent texts of the last
period. Al-Bāzi⁶⁰⁹ believes that the mention of the desert in this text indicates that the poet
feels his own identity is endangered.⁶⁰⁹ It could be argued that the poet does not feel that
his desert identity is endangered. In fact, it is more likely that the poet seeks to find a
strong identity with which to face the West. As has been noted in many parts of this
research and in various topics.

However, it might be important to mention that the desert and Arab national
identity are used only in the texts that did not use the approach of the Islamic Awakening.
In other words, the poets who used Islamic identity in their texts to face the West did not
mix it with any other identities. That seems understandable even if this desert identity
does not conflict with the Islamic view, because the *Sahwa's* rhetoric intentionally avoids
belonging to any other identity except Islam. One of the main principles in Islam is
equality between Muslims regardless of their regional origins, their colour or their

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p 19.

⁶⁰⁹ Al-Bāzi⁶⁰⁹, (2009) p 99.

wealth.⁶¹⁰ As such, the poets who expressed the Islamic view tried to keep their texts purely Islamic.

However, we can still find some Saudi poets who did not adopt any specific identity in order to face the West. Al-Bawāridī wrote a poem titled "looking for a place", and in this poem, al-Bawāridī imagined a conversation between him and a shipmaster. They try to find a place to visit, but each place they suggest has a problem, not only Arab and Muslim places but all over the world:

وقال لي :

أي تراب تشتهي أي وجود

لقد زرعت جسمه يا أيها المسكين بالنيران والبارود⁶¹¹

And he said to me:

Which land do you desire, which existence!

I have cultivated its body with fire and gunpowder, O miserable person!

The only identity that the poet raises here is the identity of humanity. In fact the whole *Dīwān* of al-Bawāridī was constructed from a humanitarian from. His *Dīwān*'s title is "Poems addressing mankind". In his last lines, al-Bawāridī confirmed this meaning by saying:

يا أيها القبطان

أي مكان في الثرى يستقبل الإنسان

أي مكان

وأي مرسى ما به شيطان⁶¹²

O you South and North Poles!

Where on earth welcomes mankind?

⁶¹⁰ The Prophet Mohamed (pbuh) was clear about this and said that: "there is no difference between an Arab and an Ajam (not an Arab), only by goodness" Musnad Ahmad (22391).

⁶¹¹ Sa'ad Al-Bawāridī, *Qaṣā'id Tukhātib al-Insān* (Riyadh: Dār al-Ṣāfi, 1989) p 67.

⁶¹² *Ibid*, p 72.

Which place?

And which anchorage is devoid of Shaytan?

5.4.3 Andalusia also received its share of Saudi poetry about Western cities in this period. Yet Andalusia has always differed from other Western locations in the eyes of the Arab poets. Saudi poets in this stage repeated the lamenting for the loss of Andalusia, and the praise of its former glory. Such themes were also conveyed in the previous period and in many other Arabic texts.

Aḥmad Bā °Aṭab wrote a poem about Granada. Although his text carried many repeated ideas about Andalusia, he shows a great sense of belonging to that place, and he called the old Muslims who were in Spain "my father":

أفي أرض قومي غريب أنا أما كان قصر أبي ها هنا

.....

ذكرت أبي في ذرى الكبرياء وقد حرس المجد أبوابه⁶¹³

Is it in my people's land that I am a stranger? Was my father's palace not right here?

I remembered my father within the shelter of majesty and his doors has been guarded by glory.

He saw that many acts that occurred there do not conform to Islam and Arab traditions, and so were therefore signs of Arab weakness. He was so ashamed to see it there:

وأغمضت عيني كي لا أرى جبيني يمرغ فوق الثرى⁶¹⁴

And I closed my eyes in order not to see my forehead rubbing on the sand

⁶¹³ Aḥmad Bā °Aṭab, *Uyūn Ta °shaq al-Sahar* (n p: Dār al-Aṣfahānī, 1988) p 47

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid*, p 48.

On the other hand, al-°Aqīlī wrote a poem titled "Inspiration the city of Cordoba" which is a traditional poem about Andalusia. He praised the Muslim heroes and scientists who were in Andalusia. He also praised Islam as a religion of civilization.⁶¹⁵ At the end of his text Al-°Aqīlī wonders if another leader like Ṭariq bin Zyād will appear:

هل تنجب الأفلاك طارق اخر فيعيد ما قد شاده الإباء
فترف أعلام الفتوح وتحتفل دنيا الجلال وتجتلي الظلماء⁶¹⁶

Would the stars bear another Tariq, to return what the fathers had
built?

That the flags of conquer flutter and the hustling and bustling world
celebrates and darkness clears

The appearance of the theme of Islamic conquest here is also a new idea that we could not find in the previous stage. The poets surely realized the huge gap between their country and the West, but they seem to have hope that the future may be different. Is this hope or dream a result of the Islamic Awakening? That is possible considering the large effect of this movement on Saudi society at that time. Due to the Islamic Awakening and other factors, this period carried many changes in the image of the West and began including talk about conquest.

5.5 New Technology

In this stage, the poets continued to express their attitude toward new innovations which were mainly Western products. The Saudi view towards these innovations has more than one face. In the early years of this period, we found al-°Allāf wrote about jet aircrafts. His poem was descriptive and excited about this super innovation and there is no attitude or identity adopted in his text.⁶¹⁷ However, this text is the only one to be found

⁶¹⁵ Al-°Aqīlī, p 633.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid*, p 646.

⁶¹⁷ Al-°Allāf, (1989) p 434.

that stopped at the borders of description, and the point here is that this text falls under the admiration of the West.

Other Saudi texts were about some events that related to new technology such as the Space Shuttle Challenger disaster in 1986. The Saudi poet °Ali Abu al-°Ulā (1943-..) expressed his sadness at this disaster, and the deaths of its seven crew members:

ركابها سبعة لم تبق فرحتهم إلا ثوان وغاب العمر والحذر⁶¹⁸

Its riders were seven with their happiness dashed except for seconds and the life and caution were gone.

He also expressed his concern about humans undertaking adventures in space:

قل للألى صنعوا للعلم مركبة لا توغلوأ فهو جرم قاده بشر⁶¹⁹

Say to those who manufactured a carriage for science: do not go in because it is a crime led by man.

Another poem is by Ibrāhīm al-°Allāf about Prince Sultan bin Salman's excursion into space, who was the first Arab and Muslim to fly in outer space. Even if this event is a Saudi event in the first place, it is related strongly to new technology in the West, as Prince Sultan was a member of the crew of the 18th space shuttle, which launched from Florida in the USA. The crew comprised of six people who were all American apart from Prince Sultan and a Frenchman. However, al-°Allaf's text did not include any specific attitudes toward the West, and he did not raise any human or Islamic values. The purpose of this text is to express his happiness toward this Saudi participation in this trip and offering congratulations to Prince Sultan.⁶²⁰ The only point in such a text is that Saudi poets still admire the advanced technology of the West, and felt proud when they had a chance to participate.

Some Saudi poets dealt with space shuttles in a romantic way. They expressed their surprise about this competition between the major powers in discovering space. Al-Nuqaydān wrote a poem titled "Reaching the Moon". He introduced his text by saying,

⁶¹⁸ °Ali Abu al-°Ulā, *Suṭūr Fawq al-Saḥāb* (Makkah: n ed. 1st 1993) p 82.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid*, p 83.

⁶²⁰ Al-°Allāf, (1989) p 528.

"Before spending dollars on the unknown world of the Moon, clean up the tears from the world of the sad Earth", and this introduction clarifies and sets out his idea in his poem. The moon, as Al-Nuqaydān believes, is the beauty of dark night and the friend of the poets. Thus, he believed that this competition will distort the beautiful face of the moon. Al-Nuqaydān clarifies that he is not against the acquisition of knowledge, but he desires that knowledge should be for improving our lives, and not to destroy it:

أنا لا أنكر العلم ففي العلم ضياء لدروب الفضلاء

.....

لا أريد العلم ظلما غاشما لهبا يشوي قلوب الضعفاء

لا أريد العلم سما قاتلا لعبت فيه أيادي الأقوياء⁶²¹

I do not deny knowledge because in it is the light for the paths of the virtuous ones.

I do not want the knowledge that is tyrannical burning injustice roasting the hearts of the weak.

I do not want the knowledge that is a lethal poison which the hands of the strong had played with.

Then he reminds the world about the Prophet Muhammed who established the state of justice and mercy, whereas the major powers of the space race filled the world with conflicts and wars.⁶²²

Another Saudi poet wrote a short text about the same topic, and he agreed with the previous poet that the land we live on is full of problems, so why are we competing eagerly for the sky?⁶²³ Nevertheless, the poets here are repeating the same ideas that were delivered by Saudi poets in the previous period. Poets such as Sarhān and al-Sanwsi mentioned similar views about the conquest of space in the previous stage. In addition, the poets here did the same as the previous poets when they used this opportunity to praise the Prophet Muḥammad and Islam.

⁶²¹ Al-Nuqaydān, p 85.

⁶²² *Ibid*, p 85.

⁶²³ Al-Sanūsī, (1983) p 344.

This praise can be considered as part of the impact of Islam on Saudi poets, which is obviously true. Yet it might also reflect fear and uncertainty for the unknown future of science. Saudi poets are seeing themselves and their people as being far behind these advanced technologies and resort to their strong point, which is religion.

Saudi poets also recorded their attitudes toward the arms race between the major powers. Al-°Allāf wrote a poem to express his concern about this race on the road to death. He said that in the past, they used to fight each other on the ground but now they reached the sky and used it as an arena of war. He was also concerned about the extreme power of new weapons, which threatened the whole world. In this text Al-°Allāf did not name the West. He also did not show any type of identity to express his idea - it seems to be just a general human concern.⁶²⁴ However, his attitude here is consistent with his previous attitude in his poetry about Prince Sultan going to space.

Another text by °Arab is titled "The atom and missiles" and, in this text, °Arab dealt with the horror and devastation of modern warfare. He asked:

ما الذي بالذل السلامة خوفا وأحال البشير فيها نذيرا
عصف الرعب بالنفوس فما تسمع لحنا ولا تحس سرورا⁶²⁵

What has replaced peace with fear and made the bringer of goods
news a warner?

Fear has swept off the minds and thus you can neither hear melody
nor happiness.

The poet refers to new weapon technologies, especially nuclear arms, as such power led some leaders to threaten to exterminate entire countries. °Arab reminded these powerful people of the power of Allah:

قال لو شئت لاتخذت السما (م) ت مهادا وجنة وقصورا
ولأرسلتها شواظا على الأر (م) ض فعادت جهنما وسعيرا
نسي الله ربه فتمادا ينفث الحقد في العباد سعيرا⁶²⁶

⁶²⁴ Al-°Allāf, (1989) p 256.

⁶²⁵ °Arab, vol 1 p 273.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 274.

He said if I wished, I would take the heavens as resting place, garden and palaces.

And I would send it down on the earth as flame causing it to become a blazing hell.

He forgot Allah, his Lord and transgressed, spitting hatred like fire on the servants.

He considered those people to be only an atom in space, their power worth nothing next to the power of Allah. He ends his poem by praying to Allah to chastise the tyrants who spread evil in the world:

تعاليت مستجيبا قديرا	مالك الملك يا مذل الطواغيت
قضاء وأحكموا التقديرا	الطغاة البغاة قد قدروا الشرا
.....	
ونكل بهم نكالا كبيراً ⁶²⁷	فاقض فيهم قضاء منتقم عدل

King of the Dominion! O subduer of tyrants! Glorified and Capable
You are in answering.

The transgressors and tyrants have possessed evil in judgment, and
precisely consolidated.

Pass on them the judgment of a just retaliator and make a great
example of them.

It seems that the advance in technology and powerful weapons lead Saudi poets to remember the power of Allah. That can be seen as the poets having a sense of the greatness of Allah who gave man the ability to invent, and can be also an expression of the hidden fear of these weapons, so they reassure themselves by recalling that all these weapons are not worth anything when placed in front of the power of Allah.

⁶²⁷ *Ibid*, vol 1 p 275.

5.6 The Emotional Image

There are few texts that can cover the emotional perspective toward the West at this stage. However, some of these texts did not exceed more than the mentioning of some places in the West. In other words, these text can be used in any other part of the world, the only link with the West is the name of the Western place where the events took place. As an example of this, there is a poem by al-⁶²⁸Īsā titled "Young Lady of the Bridge". He also wrote, "Memoirs of the Bridge over Geneva Lake", and apart from this sentence there is nothing else related to the West. Al-Bāzi⁶²⁹ī has noted that the image of the "Other" in al-⁶²⁸Īsā poetry seems ambiguous and has unclear features. However, the observation appears to apply only when he discussed the image of the Christian Arabs in his poems, as explained in the literature review.⁶²⁹ But in his poem's titles, above, about Western places, there are almost no features of the image of the West. There is another poem by al-Qurashy titled "A Flower in Versailles", and again this text does not exceed beyond normal romantic poetry, and apart from the place, we cannot find any indications to the West. These texts seem to only be telling a traditional love story. The poets may describe their beloveds, but nothing about the West.

Not far from the two previous poems in content, al-Qurashī wrote another text titled "Christmas Eve ". In this poem, the poet talks about a romantic who spent Christmas Eve alone. Again, there is nothing that can help to draw an image of the West in this text. Yet there are two points that might be useful here, first, the poet is adopting Western culture when he considers this night as a night of love. It goes without saying that in the Islamic culture and particularly in Saudi there is nothing special about this night. Secondly, the mentioning of the festive atmosphere, including wine, that he did not take part in because he missed his beloved:

نعم الكل بالطلى والغواني غير أني حطمت وحدي دنائي⁶³⁰

Yes, everyone is with wine and beautiful girl, except that I am shattered alone.

⁶²⁸ Al-Bāzi⁶²⁹ī, p 82.

⁶²⁹ See: p

⁶³⁰ Qurashī, (1983) p 35.

Though this might be a fictional account, the poet is adopting Western culture and using its atmosphere to express his feelings. These two points clarify the influence of Western culture on the poet, and it also can indicate that he had this experience in a Western town. That being said, this text does not help to illustrate an image of the West.

Sirāj wrote a poem about a love story that he experienced in Andalusia in Spain. In this poetry, Sirāj was looking for his beloved named Maria. Thus, he mentioned many places that he used to see her in.:

فركبت الصعاب جوا وبحرا وقطعت الطريق حزنا وسهلا
لأرى عندكم مراح "ماريا" قيل سارت الى حمى فنخرو لا⁶³¹
ما سمعتم بها؟! يا إلهي أين أزمعت يا "ماريا" الرحيل⁶³²

And I travelled tiresomely by air and by sea, and traversed the road
which was easy and harsh.

To see your places Maria visited. It was said that she went to
Fuengirola sanctuary.

Did you people not hear of her? O my Allah! Where have you
decided departing to? O Maria!

On his way to find his beloved, he described other beautiful girls from different races that he saw in Andalusia. In the context of Arabian culture, and particularly within the standards and norms of Saudi poets, some of his lines carried obscene sexual descriptions:

والصبايا وقد خرجن عرايا يتهادين بكرة وأصيلا⁶³³

And the young girls have come out naked, were exchanging gifts
day and night

⁶³¹ A large town on the Costa del Sol in Andalusia in southern Spain.

⁶³² Sirāj, (2005) p 355.

⁶³³ *Ibid*, p 356.

Even if this poem is about a Western girl and described events that happened in a Western country, it does not reflect a real love experience. This is not only because the poet mentioned he flirted with other women in his text, but also because he ended his texts by raving about unknown Muslim people who built an Islamic centre in Andalusia which is irrelevant to the theme of the poem.

Another text by Ismā'īl Jawharī titled "In Munich" expressed a moment of emotion between a man from the East and a girl from the West. This moment did not develop into a love story, however, the poet tried to tell us about his first emotional engagement with a Westerner. The poet conveys to the reader that he could not succeed, and he also was not sure if the Western girl reciprocated the same feelings he had towards her:

أغريباً قد كنت أم إعجابا	نظرت واستضحكت لست أدري
لجمال يحير الألبابا	وتحيرت كيف أبدي شعوري
اللسانان أفقدانا الخطابا ⁶³⁴	وكلانا له لسان ولكن

She looked and laughed without me knowing whether it was because
I was a foreigner or just for admiration

And I was nonplussed on how to share my feelings for a beauty that
bewilders the mind

Each one of us had their language, but both languages robbed us of
conversation.

The second line explained the language barrier which prevented the poet from expressing his admiration towards her fascinating beauty. He also alludes to the same problem in the third line when he admitted that, "we both have tongues but our tongues did not help us".

This emotional experience ends shortly when the girl left with a smile, while the poet could not find an appropriate response to her smile. In his last lines, Jawharī said:

ثم لما ابتسمت كانت تولت	وهي في بسمه تدبر اللبابا
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⁶³⁴ Ismā'īl Jawharī, *al-A'māl al-Shi'riyyah wa'l-Nathriyyah al-Kāmilah* (Jiddah: 'Abd al-Maḥṣūd Khūjah. 2005) vol 2 p 740.

هكذا مر بي اللقاء سريعا مثل هتان مس أرضا يبابا⁶³⁵

And she was in a smile that controls the brain, and when I smiled
she had turned away.

This was how the meeting past by swiftly just like a rain that
touched the ground in a waste.

Although this experience was rather short, it reflects a positive attitude towards Western people. It also shows the language barrier between people from different cultures. In addition, the confusion expressed by the poet toward the smile of the Western girl may not be because of the lack of a mutually shared language only; it might also because he was not sure what the right thing to do was given the cultural context. Perhaps, fear of making a mistake or falling in misunderstanding was the reason behind his hesitation. This seems to be a part of the differences between their cultures.

The final emotional text by Usāmah [°]Abd al-Rahmān is titled "Cordovan". This is the only emotional poem that could be found in this period expressing the experience of love with awareness of the differences between cultures. From the title, it seems clear that the beloved is from Spain and in the majority of the poem there is only a normal description of beauty. Nevertheless, in the last lines the poet explained his view towards love and beauty as a common and shared value among humankind:

والحب مفرد مذاقه لكنه بلا هويه

تقابل الجمال بالجمال في وردة رقيقة ندية

يا أنت يعربية أنت أم غير يعربية

أم فيك جاءت فتنة الشرق والغرب في الملامح القرطبية⁶³⁶

And the Love is unique in taste but it has got no identity.

She reciprocates beauty for beauty in form of a tender and delicate
rose.

O you girl! Are you Arabian or non Arabian?

⁶³⁵ *Ibid*, vol 2 p 740.

⁶³⁶ Usāmah, (1988) p 30.

Or was it for you the trial of the East and West came looks of the
Cordovan girl?

Thus, Usāmah believes that love has no identity, which indicates that he is aware of the cultural differences but he still believes that love is a gathering of different people. In addition, when he says, "the beauty met the beauty", he refers to the East and West, as Muslims were in Andalusia. He expressed his idea about the equality between East and West in terms of beauty, and that became clearer in his last line. Thus, human values came first in this text. The poet shows a sense of tolerance toward the West, and does not differentiate between East and West in terms of love.

However, the emotional poets of this period do not express real emotional experiences. The reader can find the admiration of beauty and some romantic expressions in the texts as well as the poets' views toward the emotional relationship with Western people. Yet that is not enough to draw a profound experience and an emotional relationship with Western people. In contrast, we can notice that the previous period recorded at least one serious emotional relationship whereas in this stage we cannot find any similar text.

In conclusion, during this period the West seems to have lost its fascination in the eyes of Saudi poets. Three reasons may have led to this result: political developments, especially concerning Palestine; the Islamic Awakening; and *Al-Ṭafrah* (the boom). The political events, especially in Palestine, led Saudi poets to hold the West responsible for this tragedy. The peace talks between Egypt and Israel seemed to shock Saudi poets. They attacked Sadat and all people involved with the talks. The West shouldered its portion of the attack because of its support of Israel and its sponsorship of the peace talks.

When we compare the image of the US of this stage with the previous one, we notice an increase in negative images and attitudes held by Saudi poets towards the US. In the previous period, generally, the US was represented positively in most Saudi political poems. However, in this stage Saudi poets expressed a negative view towards the US, as we find above in the Intellectual Invasion and the Cities sections. It is generally agreed that the political events and continued support of Israel against the Arabs were the main reasons for that negativity. This attitude seems to prevail in all Arabic countries not only in Saudi. El-Enany states that "notably in 1967 and 1973, the image of the United

States in the Arab World on the whole and consequently in its representation in literary creations began to change radically towards the negative".⁶³⁷

The end of the colonial era opened the door for the intellectual invasion theory. Arab people, including Saudis, started to feel that the West was trying to control their countries and change their societies by this new way of invasion. The Islamic Awakening seems to be the main supporter of this theory. Perhaps the feeling of danger among Arab people at a time when they had lost their faith in the Arab nationalism movement pushed them to resort to the strongest element in their identity, which is Islam.

The Islamic Awakening movement seems to be the strongest element affecting the Saudi view towards the West in this stage. Many poets saw the West through this lens and expressed their attitude according to it. As examples, they expressed their suspicion toward the scholarships that sent students to the West, and they also considered satellite television as a direct attack from the West to their conservative society. Yet the Islamic Awakening reached its peak with the poetic prophecy of taking over the USA via conquest, as composed by al-Qarnī. Cultural rhetoric also was not free from this view towards the West, and some Saudi poets expressed their strong refusal of copying Western culture. Furthermore, while they are attacking the West, the poets did not forget to express their pride in Islam, and this demonstrates the effect of the Islamic Awakening in this period.

The boom also affected the Saudi view negatively towards the West in this stage; Saudi poets expressed their discontent with the manifestation of a materialist lifestyle, which appeared in Saudi society, and consequently they rejected the Western materialist life. They also attacked wealthy Saudis who spend their holidays in the West and lavishly spend their money there.

One of the most obvious pieces of evidence regarding the loss of fascination in the image of the West is that, though there are many texts about Western cities in this period, the majority of these texts criticized the materialistic lives of those in the West or expressed feelings of discomfort at being in Western cities. In contrast with the last period, we will notice to what extent Saudi poets changed their view toward Western cities, and they generally are no longer fascinated by these places.

⁶³⁷ El-Enany, (2011) p 153.

6. Chapter Six Identity and change

This dissertation's aim is to examine the image of the West in Saudi poetry and the elements that affect Saudi attitudes towards the West. In the previous chapters the reader may find the main issues that played a role in shaping the image of the West in Saudi poetry. Furthermore, by using a historical framework, we were able to observe the changes that have occurred in this image at different times, and recognize the conditions that produced this image in different contexts (political, intellectual, emotional, and others). One of the main outcomes is to reveal the main elements that impact on the Saudi view of the West. Elements, such as Islam, Arab nationalism and human values - as shown in the previous chapters - are the identities of Saudi society.

In this chapter, we will gather the parts of the image that were dispersed throughout the previous sections, and examine the extent of the power of these identities in terms of their sustainability in all periods and their impact on the image of the West. In addition, we will identify the changes that shaped these identities due to the influence of different times, topics, circumstances and personal attitudes.

There are many circumstances, which contributed to shaping the image of the West in Saudi poetry throughout the period, which this dissertation covers. However, it seems clear that Islam, Arab nationalism, the desert with its cultural framework and common human values are the most important elements that influence the Saudi views towards the West. These elements can be considered as the core values that shape the identity of Saudi people. The view and reaction of Saudi writers towards the West were shaped - consciously or unconsciously - by these elements. In addition, in many cases the poets used them to raise the awareness and enthusiasm of readers towards some issues. In other words, these elements are deep rooted in Saudi society, driving people to react.

In his discussion of identity and globalization, Bashir Khalaf states that globalization with all its economic power wants to be able to weaken the local identities, but it will have an opposite effect by raising questions in people's minds about the differences between their own identity and the identity of globalization. This may also

make them see the danger of the intrusive culture, and resist being absorbed by globalization.⁶³⁸ Although the concept of globalization is rather new for the periods which this dissertation examines, Khalaf's argument is consistent with the findings of this dissertation; the interaction with the West raised the sense of identity among Saudi poets. However, this feeling of identity reaches its peak under the sense of danger. The section below titled "Identity and Conflicts" will clarify this point.

In the Saudi case, identity may be even more important. Here it might be useful to indicate the point raised by Giacomo Luciani about the rentier states. According to Luciani, it is unlikely that movements motivated by socioeconomic considerations will rise in such states. Thus, the only way of protesting this could happen in culture or identity.⁶³⁹ Although this research is not addressing movements in Saudi society, Luciani's point explains the role of identity in Saudi society. Saudi poets realised early that the only way that motivates such a conservative and rentier state society is by using its values and identity. That appears clearly when the poets try to warn people of any possible Western danger. Al Mubārak, al-[°]Iljī, Al-Faraj and many other Saudi poets use the values of Saudi society to express their rejection of some Western acts in Arab lands, or to warn people from the danger of the West in their land.⁶⁴⁰ In another case, a poet may use these values only to consolidate his position against another Saudi writer or poet when the argument is related to the West, as Shaḥātah did in his response to [°]Awwād⁶⁴¹.

Luciani's argument becomes clearer when we use it to understand the *Sahwa* movement of the eighties. By using Islam, the *Sahwa* was able to create a noticeable movement inside Saudi society. Under the shadow of the *Sahwa*, the individual attitudes of the poets against some Western acts became a general movement against the West. Many poems about the West in the *Sahwa* period can be associated with these titles: "War against Islam" and "Intellectual invasion"⁶⁴². Here we can find a practical application of Luciani's theory. Thus, these values proved that again they are the most effective elements to motivate Saudi society.

⁶³⁸ Khalaf, Bashīr. Al-Hawiyyah wa'l-[°]Awlamah, *Al-Hiwār al-Mutamaddin*, 616 (2006) < <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=70310> > [accessed 27 January 2015].

⁶³⁹ Hazem Beblawi and Giacomo Luciani, *The Rentier State* (London: Croom Helm, 1987) p 76.

⁶⁴⁰ See pp 72- 80.

⁶⁴¹ See p 104.

⁶⁴² See p 203.

6.1 The Valuse and the sustainability of influencing

These values or elements in Saudi society can be divided into two groups; the original (permanent) values and temporary values. The temporary ones appeared in certain historical circumstances and were used in a specific period of time. These values are interesting if we place them in a historical framework. For instance, the East became a form of identity in some Saudi poems, especially those which appeared in the formative stage. The poets called themselves Easterners and showed pride of the victories of the Eastern people against the West, especially in China and Japan. Here, according to the division of the world between East and West, the Arab will be considered as part of the Eastern world. Yet, as it was clarified in the first chapter of this dissertation, this division is a Western product. Western writers started to isolate themselves from the rest of the world by calling themselves Westerners; then they divided the Eastern part of the world to Far, Middle and Near East. Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Eastern identity is unknown among Arab and Muslim people. Therefore, Eastern identity can be only taken as a temporary identity used under the common resistance against the West in the early years of the twentieth century. That will explain the absence of this identity in Saudi texts from the beginning of the second period in this dissertation.

Arab nationalism can be placed under the heading of a temporary type of identity. Although Arab nationalism is an original identity in Arab land, and particularly in Saudi Arabia, in the Saudi texts about the West we can find out how the trend of Arab nationalism was limited in the first period before it reached its peak in the second period under the shadow of Nasserism. Yet Arab national identity did not prevail in the last period. That does not mean Saudi people disavowed their Arab identity, but rather means that they preferred the use of other identities that superseded their nationalist sentiments, and that may be because they had lost their faith in the Arab nationalist movements after the Arab defeat of 1967 and the death of Nasser. Thus, Arab nationalism has also been used by Saudi poets under historical circumstance, and they preferred to use another identity when facing the West.

The original identities are those values which appeared in all periods of Saudi poetry which this dissertation covers, and used by Saudi poets in their texts about the West in different circumstances. Islam and human values could be considered as original identities for Saudi people. These two identities have appeared in various topics about the

West in Saudi poetry. However, there is a significant difference between these two values in terms of the amount and the type of use.

6.1.1 Islam:

Regarding the role which Islam had played in the Saudi view toward the West in all periods of this study, Islam became the main effective element in the Saudi view towards the West. Due to several facts which the first chapter shows, this result should not surprise the reader; the land of Saudi Arabia is the birthplace of the Prophet Muḥammad and from these lands the message of Islam spread to the outside world. In addition, the holiest places for Muslims are located in Saudi Arabia, in Mecca and Medina. Lastly, the deep influence of Wahhabism, which is still controlling Islamic thought in Saudi Arabia.⁶⁴³ All these factors gave Islam the chance to be the most effective element in the Saudi view towards the West.

Yet there is another fact which might be as important as the previous ones; the political authority in Saudi Arabia derives its legitimacy from the call of Wahabbism. Thus, and taking into consideration the authoritarianism of the Saudi state which does not allow other ideologies to spread in its land, Islam in its Wahabbist strain was the strongest and main element in the Saudi view.

Since the beginning of the connection with the West in 1920s Saudi poets expressed their feeling towards the West through the Islamic lens. Poets in the early Saudi era such as Al Mubārak and al-^cIljī found that Islam and its values were the best identity one could use when facing the West, and throughout different Saudi periods many writers expressed the same rhetoric. Some poetic lines from the first Saudi period can be easily attributed to the last period without noticing a significant difference; for instance al-Shabānah and al-^cAs^cūs,⁶⁴⁴ Saudi poets of the last period, shared similar concerns with al-^cIljī (1872–1943), who is from the first Saudi era studied. It might be useful to compare their views about the West to see how their ideas changed through the long period. Al-

⁶⁴³ Lacroix, (2011) p 36.

⁶⁴⁴ al-^cAs^cūs, (1986) p 65.

°Iljī attacked those people who are following the West by seeking the path of development and leaving the Islamic path:

أنتم تنورتم بقول باطل	لا بل تدمرتم على خسران
أترى أوروبا علمت أمثالكم	الات حرب أم علوم هوان
Iإنني أخافك إن بليت بعلمهم	أن تخدم الدهري والنصراني ⁶⁴⁵

You sought enlightenment by saying the false things; you left the losers.

Did Europe teach you the art of war and introduced you to unuseful sciences?

I am afraid that if you receive their education, you will utilise your skills in serving the Christians.

In al-Shabānah's text, which was written many years later and under different circumstances, we find similar views towards the West. Al-Shabānah said:

لئن كان من شرط الرقي تنكب	لأحكام ديني فالتخلف أكرم
ومن قال أن الدين فيه تخلف	يعادي الترقى فهو للدين يظلم
.....	
فصاح به الأعداء هذا تخلف	ورجعية في عرفنا وتجهم
فيا قاصدي الكفار تبغون عندهم	رقيا متى كان الجهول يعلم ⁶⁴⁶

If progress demands that I leave off my religion then to be seen as backward is better.

But those who say that religion is backwardness are enemies of progress and unjust in their views about religion.

The enemies shouted at him saying: "this is ignorance and backwardness".

⁶⁴⁵ Al-Hilū, (1979) p 475.

⁶⁴⁶ Al-Shabānah, (1987) p 88.

Those who go into the land of the unbelievers and intend to seek progress should know that ignorant people can never be knowledgeable.

These two poets show their concerns about Western influence on society and religion; they also questioned the knowledge of the West that some people claimed was the only way to development. However, this view toward the West was not only an Islamic view, but it gives a good example about how Islam appeared in different Saudi texts from different periods and was used in almost the same sentences. That, however, is an example of the deep and continuing influence of Islam among Saudi people.

There are other examples shown by al-⁶⁴⁷Ashmāwī and ⁶⁴⁸Uqylān in the recent Saudi period, whose ideas were similar to those by Al Mubārak (died in 1925). In the last period, the Islamic view became an important tool for facing the West. It became a movement rather than individual attitudes, as it was shown in the first and second period. The various Saudi voices which adopted various ideologies to face the West seem to have united under the Islamic flag in the last stage. There are two main reasons which might lead to this result. First, there was the loss of hope of Arab nationalism. Second, there appeared the influence of some Islamic movements especially the *Ṣaḥwah*.

However, the majority of Saudi poets used an Islamic identity in their texts about the West but that does not mean they were always similar. Islam has influenced most of them in one way or another, but this was reflected in their texts which themselves reflected their individual types of life, level of education and the historical context in which their poems appeared. This will be clear in the section titled "Identity and individualism".

Islam is the first element or identity that appears in the conflicting issues with the West. We noted how poets such as Barrādah⁶⁴⁷ and al-Iskūbī⁶⁴⁸ used Islam to face the West in the case of victory and also defeat. It was similarly used by many other Saudi poets in times of tension with the West, such as the dismissal of Sheikh ⁶⁴⁹Īsā, anti-colonialism and the issue of Palestine. Although Saudi poets used different identities in moments of tension, Islam remained the most common identity in their texts about the

⁶⁴⁷ See p 60.

⁶⁴⁸ See p 62.

West. They may have found that Islam was the strongest way to protect their identity or even their existence. In this context, the poets will use these words "*Naṣārā*", *Firinjah*, *Kuffār* and Crusaders, which flavours their poetry with an Islamic twist. They also tend to evoke the glories of the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad and the early Muslims.

Islam also appeared in other issues which do not affect the Saudis or Muslim people directly. Issues such as the Second World War, the conquest of space, description of cities and nature in the West, were not free from the effect of Islam. For instance, many Saudi poets wrote about the conquest of space in different periods; the majority of them expressed a deep religious feeling.⁶⁴⁹ They find this topic as an opportunity to talk about the greatness of Allah. The description of nature was also another opportunity to express similar meanings by Saudi poets.⁶⁵⁰ Thus, Islam did not appear here as an identity to face the West; it rather played its role as a religious conviction which the poets used to express their feelings towards neutral issues.

Islam also has another type of influence in other topics that do not relate to the conflict between East and West. When the poets talk about cultural or emotional issues that they feel may conflict with Islam and the religion of their readership, they make excuses in their poetry so as not to seem to be defying Islam. When ʿAwwād introduced some Greek myths, he stated "Non-Muslims cannot be judged according to their beliefs in myths because there is no sin after infidelity".⁶⁵¹ He also made another excuse in his love poems about a Christian girl. Here he claimed that he would be a Christian missionary for the sake of his beloved. He followed that directly by saying that "I do not aim to mock any religion, I am just joking".⁶⁵²

Islam even influenced the remaining elements or identities of Saudi people. In his book about the Arabian Gulf and Arab nationalism, Riyāḍ al-Rayyis tried to give a reason for the weakness of Arab nationalism in the Gulf compared with other Arab countries. He stated: "Arab nationalism changed from the emotional league and identity in general to be a specific ideology....nationalism advocated the separation of religion and state which is unacceptable in principle in Islam."⁶⁵³ Thus, even in the peak of nationalism in the Arab world, Islam maintained its influence among Saudi people. Here, we can claim that Islam

⁶⁴⁹ See pp 175 and 237.

⁶⁵⁰ See p 164.

⁶⁵¹ See p 105.

⁶⁵² See p 119.

⁶⁵³ Riyāḍ Al-Rayyis, *Riyāḥ al-Shimāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Rayyis, 2000) p 37.

is the most permanent and strong of all the elements in Saudi poetry about the West as it appeared in all Saudi eras studied by this thesis. It was also used as the strongest motivation to face the West during moments of tension. Furthermore, as long as the facts that gave Islam this power in Saudi are constant, Islam will continue to be the most powerful element in Saudi society.

6.1.2 Human Values:

Human values such as mercy, justice, peace and equality are not incompatible with Islam, but my goal here is to investigate these values in different contexts, especially when the poets use them to prove their points of view. These values however are part of the nature of humankind. Thus, it is not surprising to find that Saudi poets evoke these values many times when they talk about the West. These values appeared in many texts about the West in different times and in various topics regardless of whether these texts reflected moments of conflict or not. This seems to be a common theme between Arabic poets in their texts about the West. Kaḍim and al-Najdī show some examples of Arabic poets who express similar human values about Western disasters.⁶⁵⁴

A common use of human values is when a poet sends a message through his text to the West. Al-Faraj wrote many poems about different political issues, especially the Palestinian issue. Although al-Faraj used Arab nationalism and Islamic identity to emphasise his point of view, in the majority of his texts al-Faraj mentions some human values to persuade his reader of the importance of his argument. In his poem about Palestine in 1947, al-Faraj sent a message to the Security Council:

يا مجلس الأمن بل يا هيئة الأمم ماذا التلاعب بالألفاظ والكلم
هل العدالة سلب المرء موطنه والأمن هل هو في التقتيل والنقم⁶⁵⁵

Oh, Security Council and even all the United Nations, how do you
manipulate and play with words?

⁶⁵⁴ See: Kaḍim, (2010) pp 107-111. And al-Najdī, (2008) pp 236-246.

⁶⁵⁵ Al-Faraj, p 159.

Does justice mean stealing people's homeland? Does security mean killing and seeking revenge?

Similarly, Fūdāh in his text titled "To president Eisenhower" also used values of justice and peace to defend the rights of Palestinian people.⁶⁵⁶ The final example is al-°Ashmāwī. In one of his poems about Palestine, al-°Ashmāwī raised similar questions to what al-Faraj raised before him:

أَيُّكُونُ الْعَدْلُ فِي عَرَفِ طَغَاةِ الْيَوْمِ

إِرْهَابًا وَقَهْرًا

كَمْ إِلَى كَمْ يَعْتَدِي الظَّالِمُ بِسْتَمْرِيءٍ غَدْرًا⁶⁵⁷

Could justice in the eyes of the day's tyrants become terrorism and oppression?

How many times does the oppressor transgress and relish betrayal?

Despite the fact that their poems appeared in different periods, Al-Faraj and al-°Ashmāwī used similar human values about the same issue.

Yet human values also appear in Saudi texts which do not necessarily address moments of tension. Human values are the elements which appear in Saudi poetry about the West when the issue is not related directly to Arab or Muslim people. Topics such as the nuclear bomb, the Berlin Wall and the description of Western cities were things Saudi poets showed interests in. Al-Sanūsy began his poem about the conquest of space saying that:

عِشُوا عَلَى الْأَرْضِ أَحِبَابًا وَإِخْوَانًا وَنَسَقُوهَا أَزَاهِيرًا وَرِيحَانًا⁶⁵⁸

Live on this earth as friends and brothers and plant flowers and basil.

⁶⁵⁶ See p 145.

⁶⁵⁷ Al-°Ashmāwī, (2002) p 74.

⁶⁵⁸ Al-Sanūsi, p 311.

Also, Shākir addressed the Berlin Wall in two texts and expressed his attitude against the injustice associated with this wall.

Human values appeared strongly in Saudi texts about the resistance to colonialism in non-Arab countries. Al-Faraj's texts about China and Korea is a case in point. Usāmah °Abd al-Raḥmān also used these values to show his feelings of support to the freedom fighters in South America.⁶⁵⁹ In his lines, Usāmah raised the value of freedom as the common value between him and those fighters:

يا رافع علم الحرية خفاقا

من أقصى المكسيك إلى

أقصى تشيلي⁶⁶⁰

O palpitating bearer of the banner of freedom!

From the board of Mexico to the far end of Chile

In all these examples, which are not related to the conflict issues in the Arab and Muslim world, human values appeared; Islam was not the main issue. However, the appreciation of human values reaches its peak when the optimism for peace overshadows Saudi poets. The text of °Arab about the establishment of the United Nations is a good example, showing how the poet exaggerates the kind of happiness and peace which could be found in this new moment of human history. In that text, °Arab emphasised common human values. He stated that there are no differences between East and West.⁶⁶¹

Human values are surely important and are permanent elements in the Saudi texts about the West. These values are used in all periods under various circumstances. Yet it seems they are related strongly to the sense of peace. When Saudi poets feel security or talk about issues which do not affect their lives, they used this type of elements considerably. When they feel threatened, they prefer to use more local identity such as Islam or Arab nationalism.

⁶⁵⁹ See p 190.

⁶⁶⁰ °Abd al-Raḥmān, (1988) p 165.

⁶⁶¹ See p 97.

6.2 Identity and Time

Time is a key factor that affects identities and thus attitudes in Saudi Arabia. With the passage of time, the elements of identity can be changed and might be removed from Saudi thought. The speed of Saudi economic development since the discovery of oil caused a deep impact on people's lives and thought.⁶⁶² The aim of this section is to step out of the historical framework and discuss the main observations and changes that happened in Saudi poetry about the West by focusing on the role of time. Through the lens of time, we will notice the change of the type of language that the poets used in their texts. In the political language particularly, there are noticeable differences between one period and another.

In the first period and particularly in the 1920s, the reader will notice clearly the tough language that poets used against the West. Poets from different groups were clearly against the West; in general they used to deal with the West carefully and call it an enemy or *Naṣārā*. They also called for the use of force to counter the West as Al-Faraj did in several texts.⁶⁶³ Although Saudi poets admitted that the West is powerful, they did not show generally a sense of hopelessness at that early time. In the forties, the level of political language changed to be more optimistic, especially after the establishment of the UN. Later, and due to the success of anti-colonial movements and the rise of nationalism, a large sense of challenge appeared in Saudi texts. However, many Arab writers shared this feeling of challenge. El-Enany, in his study about the Arab representation of the Occident in Arabic fiction named this period as a "proud encounter".⁶⁶⁴

In the recent period, there are two types of language that have been used by Saudi poets. After 1968, with the failure of the Arab projects to unite and to face the West and Israel, we found a new language on the surface. Saudi poets showed a pessimistic feeling towards their nation in the issues that related to the West. Such feelings were seen clearly in political poetry. For instance, al-Ṣāliḥ titled his poem "Sorrows of the Palms in Aswan", while Fawzyyah Abu khālid titled one of his poems about that time "One hundred years

⁶⁶² Tim Niblock, *Saudi Arabia* (London: Routledge, 2006) p 77.

⁶⁶³ See pp 78 and 81.

⁶⁶⁴ El-Enany, (2006) p 87.

between suffering in the earth."⁶⁶⁵ Within their lines, there are many examples of their frustration, and °Arab started his poem about Camp David saying:

قصة القدس قصة الأشجان وحديث الدموع والأحزان⁶⁶⁶

The story of Jerusalem is one of grief, and a story of sorrow and tears.

However, this language seems to change after the Islamic awakening. It was clear that there is a sense of Islamic power in Saudi texts. °Uqaylān, al-°Ashmāwī, al-Bahkalī and al-Qarnī,⁶⁶⁷ show confidence in the way they talk and write about the West. They used to evoke the Islamic triumphs in their texts. They also used optimistic language toward the Islamic conflict against the West, especially under the aforementioned categories such as "war against Islam" and the "intellectual invasion". In more than one text, poets talked about the defeat of the West and the conquest of America.⁶⁶⁸

The reason behind this sudden rise in the morale of the poets was that the impact of the Jihad movement, in Afghanistan particularly, which had large support and a good reputation among Saudi society. They praised the victory that was achieved against Russia. The glorious history of the Islamic civilization, which was evoked by the Islamic Awakening, might be the reason behind this challenge and confident rhetoric in Saudi poetry about the West in the eighties.

This type of language in Saudi poetry is not expected to last long. The change in the historical circumstances, especially the reputation of the Jihadist movements, changed the level of enthusiasm. Moreover, that was followed by frustration and pessimistic feelings, which were reflected in the poets' language. This is quiet similar to what happened previously after the failure of Arab nationalism in the sixties.

Another point can be discussed under the title of "The identities and the time". Saudi people's feelings toward themselves and their country have changed throughout time. In the first chapter, we found out how the land of Saudi Arabia was partially isolated for thousands of years in terms of government, way of life, levels of education and the connection with the outside world.

⁶⁶⁵ °Awājī, (1996) p 135.

⁶⁶⁶ °Arab, vol 1 p 230.

⁶⁶⁷ See pp 201, 202, 223 and 228.

⁶⁶⁸ See pp 225 and 226.

In the first period, the difference between Saudi regions was clear in the Saudi poems about the West. For instance, during the formative stage, there were more than thirty poems from the Ḥijāz region about the West, but only one text from Najd. Not only that, the Najd text about the West in the formative stage was about the Hiroshima incident - it was about a shocking event that happened in the last year of the first period. The Ḥijāz texts however were about various topics. The Ḥijāz poets expressed a different level in their connection with the West. They went farther than mere political events to write some texts about Western culture. They even tried to introduce Greek myths to their readers and, unlike political poetry, cultural texts about the West needed a deep connection and wide knowledge of Western culture, while political texts were mostly reactionary towards some events.

This example exposes the wide gap between the Ḥijāz writers and Najd writers in terms of their connection and understanding of the West. However, this case seems to have changed completely in the following period. The poets from different parts of Saudi participated equally in the majority of the topics. It seems that the efforts to “standardize society” by the Saudi authorities succeeded. In addition, the growing importance of the Saudi capital Riyadh gave those people in the center of Saudi Arabia a chance to be on an equal basis with other parts of Saudi Arabia in terms of the connection and understanding of the West.

The lens of time can also expose another point. In the formative stage, the first steps to build the new country of Saudi Arabia were hard. For some people it was difficult to divide between the quick social changes and the Westernisation of society. Al-[°]Iljī, for example, expressed his deep concern about the first oil company in Saudi land. Also. Issues such as female education took a large share of the debate. Some writers considered the call for girls’ education as one emanating from this creeping Westernisation.⁶⁶⁹ Throughout time, the image became clearer for Saudi people. The oil companies and girls’ education became non-controversial issues any more.

The huge change in Saudi society in the oil era caused this kind of confusion. Nehme believes that "the speed with which the Saudi economy was being transformed from being extremely traditional to capitalist and modern has created many

⁶⁶⁹ °Abd Allāh Al-Sadḥān, *Muqāwamat al-Taghyīr fi'l-Mujtama' al-Su'udī*, (Riadh: al-Sadḥān, 2010) p 11.

contradictions, dualities and paradoxes in the personalities of Saudi individuals."⁶⁷⁰ Furthermore, time is a key fact of the relation with the West for a conservative society such as Saudi. New ideas and events need time to be accepted by such a society. However, after a period of time, and with rising levels of education, Saudi poets changed their views and understanding towards many issues that affected their views towards the West.

6.3 Identity and conflict

This research is clear that the conflict with the West was the first motive for writing about the West in Saudi Arabia. The first connection between the Arabs and the West in the modern era was a military and political contact, and thus it is not a surprise to find that the first texts about the West were political texts. Even before the establishment of Saudi Arabia, the three texts that I examined in this research were from the Hijāz.⁶⁷¹ The first Saudi texts outside the political frame were the cultural texts of the mid-1930s. However, events such as colonialism in the Arab Gulf and in the rest of the Arab world were part of the conflict which played a main part in the drawing of the image about the West in Saudi poetry.

The conflict between the two nations is related to pushing for more adherences to these identities. In a comparison between the Saudi texts about conflict and other texts, which appeared in times of peace or about other, personal topics, the elements of identity appeared prominently in the former. The dismissal of Sheikh ʿĪsā from power in Bahrain encouraged al Mubārak to describe that case as a war between Muslims and Christians.⁶⁷² Some events allowed al-Faraj to use Arab nationalism to make his reader enthusiastic to face the West.⁶⁷³ Conversely, when the United Nations was established, ʿArab wrote a poem celebrating this event, and in his text he did not mention any type of identity. He emphasised unity between East and West:

وما الغرب الا الشرق عزة محتد⁶⁷⁴

فما الشرق الا الغرب نبل سجية

⁶⁷⁰ Nehme, (1994) p 938.

⁶⁷¹ See pp 58-69.

⁶⁷² See p 75.

⁶⁷³ See p 79.

⁶⁷⁴ ʿArab, vol 1 p 235.

The East is nothing but the West with good civilities. The West is nothing but the East with greater historical pride.

The same result will appear in the next period when we compare Saudi texts about colonialism in Algeria,⁶⁷⁵ and the issue of Palestine,⁶⁷⁶ with other political texts such as those addressing the Berlin Wall,⁶⁷⁷ or the texts about the USA,⁶⁷⁸ which do not relate to the conflict between Arabs and the West. In all these cases, the various identities discussed appeared strongly in the poetry about conflict, but were mostly absent in other texts. In light of this fact, many images that tell about the West in Saudi poetry can be understood as a reaction against the conflict between Arabs and the West.

Conflicts do not just emphasise local and national identities but also push for the active adoption of these identities. Sometimes, conflict inspired the poets to create a new identity to face the enemy, as the Saudi poets did when they used the East as an identity to face the West in the first period.⁶⁷⁹ The permanent identities became ready weapons and were recalled whenever the poets saw danger. Identities such as Islam and Arab nationalism appeared in various events in Saudi time. By using these identities the poets were not only able to motivate people to resist the West, but also express the benefit of the long history of the Islamic and Arab nation to evoke memories of victory and giving descriptions of hostility against the West. It is hard to find words such as *Naṣārā*, *Firinjah*, *Kuffār* and even enemy in any Saudi texts outside the frame of the conflicts.

In the recent period, the conflict was not restricted to sporadic events. The conflict with the West appeared to be a big title in this period. The obvious example is the titles of "war against Islam" and the "intellectual invasion", which appeared only in the last period. These titles clarify the insistence of the writer to relate the conflict with the West to Islam and local identities. Even in the peak of the resistance to colonialism, Saudi poets did not make the West a permanent enemy.

The conflict with the West appeared always in the political images of the first and second periods. It is rare that we find an impact of the conflict in cultural or emotional or

⁶⁷⁵ See p 139.

⁶⁷⁶ See pp 124 and 194.

⁶⁷⁷ See pp 150-152.

⁶⁷⁸ See p 142.

⁶⁷⁹ See pp 77 and 78.

city poetry about the West. However, with the extreme degree of the conflict in the recent period, even the cultural view participated in the conflict issues. Some cultural contact with the West, which was accepted in the previous periods, became an arena of the conflict under the title of intellectual invasion.⁶⁸⁰ The texts about Western cities also became an opportunity to attack the West and raise the issues of conflict.⁶⁸¹ A comparison between the city texts in the second period (1946-1967), and the same topic in the following period (1968-1990), will reveal remarkable differences between the poets' positions and stances in both periods. The language of appreciation, which appeared in the texts about Western cities in the second period, had disappeared in many texts in the last one. In the last period, poets such as al-Bahkalī and al-Qarnī used their texts about the USA as an opportunity to talk about the conflict with the Islamic world. They went farther by talking about the Islamic conquest of the West.⁶⁸²

The widening circle of conflict with the West came to include cultural texts and city texts in the last period, which indicates the growing role of the elements of the conflict. Giving scholarships for Saudi students and purchasing satellite dishes became part of an insidious Western attack against Saudi society. Moreover, it goes without saying that Islam was the main element used in the last period to face the West.

On the other hand, if we investigate the texts that are far away from issues of conflict, the majority of Saudi writers do not show much interest in evoking their identities. Even if they do, that should not be in the context of the confrontation with the West. The poets generally separate between their attitude in the political texts and their view toward the West in other texts - if we exclude the poets affected by the theory of the war against Islam in the recent period.

Poets such as Qurashī, Fūdah and al-Quṣaybī wrote texts about conflict issues with the West, but they also wrote other texts which are personal or emotional. Every one of them can be a good example of the important impact of the element of identity in the light of conflict, and the marginal attendance of these elements in other texts. For instance Qurashī wrote several texts about the West. He showed interests in Western culture, and he even translated some Western texts.⁶⁸³ In his cultural and romantic poems about the West, he did not mention any elements of identity. Furthermore, he adopted Western

⁶⁸⁰ See p 203.

⁶⁸¹ See pp 223-227.

⁶⁸² See pp 225 and 226.

⁶⁸³ See pp 160 and 237.

culture in these texts. In some of his verses, there are clear violations of the teachings of Islam.⁶⁸⁴ However, when Qurashī wrote about conflict issues, he used different language and evoked Arab nationalism and the desert in more than one line. In his poetry about the resistance to colonialism in Algeria, Qurashī said:

أمستعمرون ومستعبدون؟

بدار بها يعربي الكفاح

محا محال

فنحن رجال وأشبال أسد نماها النضال

وتأبى العروبة أن تستكين⁶⁸⁵.

Are we colonised and enslaved?

In land where there is an Arab with a resisting spirit,

this is impossible.

We are men and do resemble lions who grew up resisting.

The Arab spirit never wilts.

In addition, he violently attacked Britain when he wrote about the Buraimi issue. His lines about the UK in that text almost became a bundle of insults.⁶⁸⁶ This should not be considered as a contradiction in his view towards the West. It is rather an example that explains to what extent the conflict atmosphere can affect the poets' attitudes towards the West. The conflict does not only push the poets to evoke their identities to face the West, but also to draw a negative image about the West. Thus, the majority of the negative images about the West in Saudi poetry came as a reaction to the conflict issues and not a fixed position against the West.

⁶⁸⁴ See p 237.

⁶⁸⁵ Qurashī, (1983) p 224.

⁶⁸⁶ See p 139.

6.4 Identity and Poetic Genres

The Saudi view towards the West was investigated within the scope of several historical periods and poetic genres associated with them in this research: the political, cultural, and emotional views and the perspectives expressed in the texts about Western cities. However, these topics differ in their level of presence among Saudi texts about the West. The differences between these topics influenced the image of the West on various levels.

To begin with, the political writings had the biggest share of the Saudi texts about the West. As previously demonstrated, the political and military face of the West was the most noticeable side of the Saudi relation with the West. Thus, most of the Saudi texts about the West addressed political issues. To further illustrate the point, seventy-four texts out of around two hundred Saudi texts about the West which were investigated in this dissertation address political issues. There are several reasons which bring the political texts to the forefront of Saudi Arabian texts about the West. One important reason is that political events constantly top the news headlines, and due to the history of the formation of the modern region we now identify as the Arab world and the West's pivotal role in it, people show more interest in political news than anything else. In addition, the West's political - and military - actions affect people's daily lives.

The political view toward the West has some features that are important to highlight in this section. First, the political view that tends to be expressed is mostly a quick reaction toward political events such as the Second World War, colonialism, or the events in Palestine and Korea. This means that it is more likely to represent the feelings of the poets at the moment of the event. Thus, the political texts about the West are more likely to be loaded by emotions especially when the political events relate to Arab or Saudi land as they are usually seen as acts of colonialism by Western powers or a further negative development in the Palestinian issue. The political events may push the poets to adopt an extreme attitude toward the West. Most of the negative description about the West in Saudi poetry is in political texts – as has been shown previously in the section “Conflicts and Identity”. However, in light of this fact, the image of the West in the Saudi political texts is not necessarily the real image of the West in the poets' eyes. Rather it reflects their reaction more than their attitude toward the West.

Second, in the political texts which deal with public events, poets might be found to be under the influence of social and cultural conditions occurring in the countries where they live. Therefore, their attitudes might not be purely personal; they might take into account what their readers desire to read. This does not mean that Saudi poets did not express their own ideas about such events, but rather it means that the public opinion about the main issues might influence - consciously or unconsciously - the poets' opinions about these public events.

Third, political texts about the West are likely to be affected by the formal position of the Saudi government. Some Saudi poets removed their texts from public access because the Saudi government did not agree with their views. During the period when Egypt's Jamāl °Abd al-Nāṣir and Saudi King Faisal were not on good terms in the 1960s, some Saudi writers left Saudi Arabia to join the Saudi opposition. Many of these writers opposed the Saudi government's alliance with the West, but later many Saudi writers went back to the country. However, it seems hard to find their texts which highlighted oppositional attitudes towards the Saudi government and also the West. But most of these texts were recited every Wednesday in a Cairo based radio station called *Ṣawt al-°Arab* which was active during the Nasser era.⁶⁸⁷

On the other hand, many poets were working with the government. Some of them held senior positions, such as ministers or ambassadors as it will be clarified in the next section "Identity and individualism". Thus, it was hard to find an oppositional view by those poets who represented the formal position adopted by the Saudi government. In addition, although the Saudi government does not necessarily demonstrate direct control of the literature written in Saudi Arabia, many Saudi poets showed strong support for their government against the West whenever they found it suitable to do so. In the Buraimi incident, many Saudi poets expressed their opposition to the United Kingdom. Some of them overstated their hostility to the West. Al-Qurashī used strong and tough language which is not something normal to be found in Saudi texts about the West.⁶⁸⁸ He described Great Britain as a country of "dogs and despicable rats".⁶⁸⁹ The poet might use this language against the UK because he thought that it will appease the Saudi government.

⁶⁸⁷ Mamoun Fandy, *(Un)Civil War Of Words* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security International, 2007) p 41.

⁶⁸⁸ See p 139.

⁶⁸⁹ See p 139.

However, this example may clarify the point regarding the direct or indirect effect of the local authority on the poets' political views toward the West.

Fourth, political texts tend to use clear and direct language. Due to the nature of the political message which aims to address the public, poets need to use this type of language to reflect people's views. Al-Faraj is a good example of this, as the vast majority of his texts were about political topics. He used direct language in his poetry, and this may facilitate the task of searching for the image of the West in Saudi poetry. Although the image of the West in Saudi poetry was rather clear, the image in political texts was even clearer.

On the other hand, texts which represented the West as a cultural, rather than political, entity also have some features which are worth examining in this section. In comparison with political texts, poems about cultural concerns were not expressions of reactions towards some events - they dealt with personal interests. Issues such as the translation of Western literature into Arabic and the introduction of Greek myths into Saudi poetry need a high level of knowledge and awareness of Western cultures. In addition, it reflects the personal interests and tastes of the poets. These texts are far from reflecting public opinion.

Saudi cultural views of the West were also not affected by any government influence on the poets' opinions of the West. Because cultural texts do not deal with political issues and do not discuss them directly, it is unlikely for the political authority to influence the poets' view of the West. Furthermore, the cultural view of the West – except in the last phase - always tends to shy away from the tensions between Arabs or Muslims and the West. The cultural image about the West – mainly in the first and second periods - is more likely to be personal. However, this fact might have changed in the last period. Under the title of “War against Islam”,⁶⁹⁰ and “The Intellectual invasion”,⁶⁹¹ the cultural view of the West was affected by the public opinion which opposed the West.

During the 1980s when modernism was on the rise, many Saudi writers appreciated Western literature. But there were also some poets who were influenced by the movement against the West. There are number of texts in the last period which

⁶⁹⁰ See p 201.

⁶⁹¹ See p 203.

attacked Western culture, literature and even Western songs. For instant, Al-Nuqaydān said in his poem, one titled “Between the foreigners”:

لا الشدو يطربني منهم إذا عزفوا ولا مواويلهم من صنع ساداتي
أشعارهم كسراب لا نظام لها عطل من اللحن أو إيقاع نغمات⁶⁹²

Their singing when they play their instruments did not enchant me

Their songs were not those of the masters of words whom I know

Their poems were like a mirage with no order

They were devoid of melody or even rhythm.

Saudi poets were among those most closely connected culturally with the West and opened new windows into different cultures by translating or introducing new ideas to their local culture. Some Saudi writers in the first period studied and translated Greek myths.⁶⁹³ But some poets in the last period showed an opposing attitude and called for the rejection of foreign literature. This radical attitude against a foreign culture is a result of appropriating culture as an arena of conflict with the West.

In the first and second periods, the conflict with the West appeared mainly in political texts while cultural texts were - to some extent - far away from the cycle of conflict. Even the attitudes against the West that emerged in cultural texts are mostly personal - they did not attack Western culture as the texts in the last period did. However, using cultural texts to face and resist the West is more serious and had a deeper impact than political texts. The conflict with the West in political texts is mostly about certain events or Western acts against Arab lands. When this conflict disappears, the language of political discourse becomes less fierce.

For example the tough language against the West in Saudi texts about colonialism or the Buraimi situation changed when these issues were no longer problematic. In contrast, the conflict in cultural texts which addressed general phenomena such as imitating the West and leaving the teachings of Islam appeared in more than one event.

⁶⁹² Al-Nuqaydān, p 110.

⁶⁹³ See pp 101-105.

Cultural issues are controversial and thus society will remain in controversy for a long time to decide what is good in the West and can be imitated and what is bad and should be avoided. Another argument raises the point about these things which can be considered non-Islamic, and therefore must be proscribed and avoided.

With these controversial issues, many writers could not differentiate between Westernisation and modernisation. Al-Shabānah in his texts about the intellectual invasion attacked magazines, televisions and videos. He considered these new phenomena signs of Westernisation.⁶⁹⁴ Al-°Ashmāwī also attacked Western television programs and explained its impact on Saudi people according to him.⁶⁹⁵ It goes without saying that these phenomena which were new at that time became part of the daily life of many people in Saudi Arabia. Yet the extension of the conflict to include cultural relationships with the West made some poets suspicious of the faces of modernity as they considered them parts of Westernisation.

There is another serious issue about the conflict with the West in the cultural texts. The poets in political texts attacked a foreign enemy, but in the cultural texts there are other enemies who might be more dangerous to the religion and culture of the people. The poets in cultural texts about the West attacked local people who carry out the enemy's schemes. Al-°Ashmāwī called those people in one of his poems “Bats of darkness”,⁶⁹⁶ while al-Shubānah gave a very clear description of them and said:

فقد نجح الأعداء فيما مضوا له فأنت ترى من خطوهم يترسوم

وأنت ترى منا نصير عدونا علينا لهم في كل حال يعظم⁶⁹⁷

The enemy achieved what they planned to do, so you can see who follow their footsteps.

And you see among us those who are helping our enemy, who always praises them and consider them better than us.

⁶⁹⁴ See pp 205-206.

⁶⁹⁵ See p 207.

⁶⁹⁶ In his poetry titled “Naḥnu Adrā” (we know more).

⁶⁹⁷ Al-Shabānah, (1987) p 83.

As a result, the conflict with the West became an internal conflict between members of the same society about controversial issues. Such a conflict certainly will be the longest-lived and will have a deeper impact than the conflict on political issues.

It seems clear that the conflict portrayed in the Saudi cultural texts do not perceive any physical existential threats or threats to the sovereignty of Saudi Arabia, but they reflect how these poets feared for their identity. Thus, the attitude of Saudi poets became even more severe and deeper in the face of this perceived cultural encroachment of the West that threatened their identity.

To sum up, the cultural views of the West are mostly reasonable and tolerant, unaffected by public opinion and the effects of political authority. However, when the conflict with the West reaches the cultural level - as we saw in the last period - it has a deep impact on people and the poets' views of the West.

6.6 Identity and individualism

One of the key facts of the image of the West in Saudi poetry is that the individual differences between poets played an important role in the formation of the image of the West. These differences can be noted through the levels of education, levels of loyalty to the government and also the different historical periods when these poets published their texts.

Saudi poets came from different ideological backgrounds, for example religious and nationalist sentiments contributed to shaping a certain image of the West amongst others. Yet we can divide Saudi poets in to three categories regarding their ideologies and views toward the West.

Firstly, the majority of Saudi poets did not use their identities – such as Islam and Arab nationalism - in all their texts to confront the West or to make a clear separation between themselves and the West. They dealt naturally with the West; during times of conflict they might use their identities to face the West, while during peace time they might not show any identity in their attitudes toward the West.

There are then those who did not show any interest in their nation's issues. Al-[°]Aqīlī, al-[°]Īsā and Sirāj did not refer to the tension between their nation and the West. Al-[°]Aqīlī wrote many texts about Western cities, but he did not refer to any tension with the West. He also wrote his poems during colonial times and during the times when the Palestinian issue was on the rise.⁶⁹⁸ Similarly, Al-[°]Īsā was a Saudi ambassador in many countries. He wrote many emotional works but he did not discuss political issues, and he was not even interested in expressing any religious or nationalist sentiments in his poems. The emotional issues, which he wrote about while living in the West, touched only upon the subject of love.⁶⁹⁹ We can say the same about Sirāj who wrote three texts about Andalusia, although he was politically disengaged. Similarly, the Islamic and Arab cultural memory of Andalusia and its great Islamic culture did not appear in his poems, but instead he was mainly concerned about praising the beauty of Andalusian women and the landscape.

Some Saudi poets adopted anti-Western views in all their texts. Poets such as Al Mubārak, al-[°]Iljī, Al-Faraj and al-[°]Ashmāwī focused on conflict. All those poets adopted an Islamic view against the West except Al-Faraj who was an Arab nationalist. For Al Mubārak and al-[°]Iljī it might not be a surprise to find in their work the adoption of a strong, anti-Western voice. That may be expected for two reasons: first, they wrote at an early time of the Saudi state, and they had a limited connection with the West. The only thing, which encouraged them to write about the West, was conflict issues such as colonialism in the Arab Gulf. Second, both of them were religious scholars, so it is expected that they will adopt a religious view towards anything relating to the West, or anything else for that matter.

While Al-Faraj and al-[°]Ashmāwī can be taken as good examples of principled poets with their own convictions and ideologies who were always concerned about their nation's issues, each one of them adopted a different view. The majority of Al-Faraj's texts were about political issues. This might be due to the period of time in which he lived, as it was the period, which witnessed the rise of anti-colonialism movements. Al-Faraj also witnessed the rise of Arab nationalism and he adopted an Arab nationalist view in most of his works. On the other hand, al-[°]Ashmāwī witnessed the rise of the Islamic Awakening in the 1980s which was reflected clearly in his work. Al-[°]Ashmāwī was more

⁶⁹⁸ See for example pp 115, 162 and 163.

⁶⁹⁹ See p 238.

than a mere poet, as he was one of the famous faces of the Islamic awakening in Saudi Arabia, and he is still its most famous poet. Al-[°]Ashmāwī produced more than twenty Diwāns and it is hard to find one text in all of this body of literature which does not stem from an Islamic perspective.⁷⁰⁰ When he dealt with the West he used the same Islamic view in all his texts about the West. We cannot consider these poets to be extremists in their attitudes toward the West. These poets did not show any interest in Western cities, culture and civilization. What drew them to the West, however, was Muslim or Arab conflict issues with the West. Thus we do not expect a tolerant attitude from them against the West.

One important facet about the different individual views towards the West relates to the relationship between the poet and the Saudi government. Previously this dissertation discussed the effects of political authority on the poets' views towards the West,⁷⁰¹ yet here we might need to explain two things:

First, the poets whose writings this dissertation examined are all educated people. They used classical Arabic, Fasīḥ, which means that they had to be trained in the language. Their poems were different from the genre associated with the local Arab dialects [°]Āmmīyya (colloquial).

Second, in the beginning of the modern Saudi state, the number of educated people in the country was limited. With the economic development of Saudi Arabia after the discovery of oil, educated people, including poets, held senior positions in the Saudi government. In fact, the majority of Saudi poets in this research worked with the government. For example, Al-Quṣaybī was the Minister of Industry in 1975 and Minister of Health in 1982. After this, he was appointed as an ambassador in Bahrain and Britain before he became the Minister of Electricity in 2003 and the Minister of Labour in 2005.⁷⁰² Al-[°]Isā was an ambassador of Saudi Arabia in Mauritania, Qatar, Kuwait, and Jordan,⁷⁰³ while [°]Alī abu al-[°]Ula was the mayor of Jeddah, and the deputy governor of Mecca region. Also al-[°]Awajī was the secretary to the Minister of Home Affairs.

⁷⁰⁰ Suhaylah Zayn al-[°]Ābidīn, *al-Tayyār al-Islāmī fī shi'r [°]Abd al-Raḥmān al-[°]Ashmāwī* (Riyadh: al-[°]Ubaykān, 2004) pp 25 and 130.

⁷⁰¹ See pp 247 and 263.

⁷⁰² BBC News, 'Diplomat And Poet Alqosaibi Dies', 2010 <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10982835>> [accessed 30 January 2015]

⁷⁰³ 2015 , Riyadh Newspaper, *Nubthah [°]an al-Sha'ir Muḥammad al-Fahad al-[°]Isā* <<http://www.alriyadh.com/800242>> [accessed 12 March 2015]

These poets were not just working with the government - they were part of the Saudi government. The different roles which they held in the government influenced their views of the West. Even if there is no direct influence by the government, some of them had long experiences in foreign affairs which made them also more diplomatic in their views of the West. The rest of the Saudi poets were mostly working with the government on different levels. However, the authorities in Saudi Arabia were strict with those who showed different views from those announced by the government. A number of university professors and teachers at the beginning of the nineties including al-^عAshmāwī went through this difficult period, and lost their jobs because of their opposition to some government policies.⁷⁰⁴

We can note here that once the poet decides to distance himself from the government, he becomes better able to express his own views. Al-Faraj is a good example of this. He lived in more than one country and died in Syria. He focused on political issues without caring to follow what the Saudi government thought. It is obvious that the Saudi poets' attitudes toward the West were influenced by their individual experiences. Some poets travelled in many Western countries, some worked and others studied in the West. On the other hand, and as would be expected, some poets had limited knowledge of the West.

In the early period, there was a limited connection with the West.⁷⁰⁵ Al Mubārak and al-^عIljī have never been to Western countries and they considered the West to be a homogenous block. They did not note the differences between Western countries. For these poets, the West is an occupier, a military power and Christian in identity.⁷⁰⁶ However, al-Faraj was a contemporary to al Mubārak and al-^عIljī. He studied and worked in India, and was interested in political events. He offered different views of the West as he was aware of the differences between Western countries.

Another example can be found in Faqī's work. Faqī was an ambassador in Indonesia and also visited Western countries. He wrote about England, Paris, Copenhagen, Hawaii and Spain, and some of his lines showed how he was interested in the West. He was aware of the differences between Western cities and noted the differences in manners and behaviour.⁷⁰⁷ The Saudi poets who had no personal experience

⁷⁰⁴ Lacroix, (2011) pp 272.

⁷⁰⁵ See p 58.

⁷⁰⁶ See pp 76 and 100.

⁷⁰⁷ See p 171.

in the West were primarily concerned about public matters such as wars, colonialism or new innovations. Other poets who had good connection with the West described Western issues such the Berlin Wall,⁷⁰⁸ "Red Indians",⁷⁰⁹ and racism in America.⁷¹⁰

The individual differences between these poets in their views toward the West do not only depend on their adherence to certain ideologies, their relationships with the government and the extent of their contact with West, but also depend on how they viewed the role of poetry in addressing different concerns and purposes. During the periods which this dissertation covers, Saudi poetry went through several shifts and developments. Saudi writings were influenced by the literary movement in the Arab world, particularly those of Egypt and Syria, and by the Mahjar poets (migrant poets).⁷¹¹ These poets were in turn influenced by modern Western literature. Another remarkable change in Saudi poetry is that most poets in the land of Saudi Arabia at the early time were religious scholars such as al Mubārak and al-ʿIljī, and before them Barrādah and al-Iskūbī. But the spread of modern education in the new Saudi state influenced the new generation of poets who came from different backgrounds. These new poets led literary lives and were open to the modern literary movement that contained differences between classicists, romanticists and modernists. It is no surprise to find that there are changes not only in the style of their poetry, but also in the understanding of the message and the role of literature in life.

It is not the aim of this research to examine the development and changes in Saudi poetry, but what is related to this research is this: Does the change in understanding the nature and role of poetry affect the image of the West in Saudi poetry? As will be shown in this research, the structure and style of the poem will reflect the poet's adoption of a certain image of the West.

Saudi poets who wrote about the West can be put into three categories: First, the classical poets – especially in the early Saudi state - who viewed poetry as a direct way to deliver a message to the reader. Sometimes their texts become a list of events, and a

⁷⁰⁸ See p 150.

⁷⁰⁹ See p 147.

⁷¹⁰ See p 148.

⁷¹¹ The *Mahjar* poets are group of Arabic writers emigrated from Arabic lands –mainly Syria and Lebanon to the USA and Latin America who achieved fame on the Arabic literary scene from their location. Allen, Roger, Terri DeYoung, Joseph E Lowry, Devin J Stewart and Germain Mary S St, *Essays In Arabic Literary Biography* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009) p 176. Julie Scott Meisami, and Paul Starkey, *Encyclopedia Of Arabic Literature* (London: Routledge, 1998) p 2/492.

form of oral history.⁷¹² This stems from the literary tradition of the ancient Arabs who relied on poetry as a record of events and gave rise to the saying that poetry is the compendium of the Arabs (Dīwān al-°Arab). They mainly rely upon the powerful effect of declamation and tend to use direct and clear ways to achieve their goals. Even the poetic imagery and symbolism in their texts tend to clarify and emphasise certain ideas that they deem to be important messages. The texts of Al Mubārak, al-°Iljī and al-Faraj belong to this category as does al-°Ashmāwī. In this poetry, “the poetry can be seen as a vivid mirror of these events”.⁷¹³ They described the West in clear and direct language and often were involved in politics. The majority of the political poetry about the West in the first stage can be considered neo-classical poetry.⁷¹⁴

The second category involves poets who expressed their ideas in metaphorical ways. Poets such as al-°Uthaymīn, Faqī and al-Quṣaybī did not aim to record events in their texts as in the tradition of the classicists. Instead, they desired to express their feelings and emotions by using imagery. In their texts the main subject is the poet himself. The poet here is interested in knowing the West simply because he wants to know himself more, and utilises the West as a portal to achieve this. In doing so, the poet also creates a clear image of the West, particularly as it pertains and reflects on his own identity. Al-°Uthaymīn’s poem about the atomic bomb, al-Quṣaybī’s about Los Angeles and the poetry of Bā °aṭab about Andalusia,⁷¹⁵ all attest to such a trend in Saudi poetry.

The third category includes the poets of the 1980s who were interested in modernist poetry.⁷¹⁶ One of the characteristics of modernist poems is that “they tended to adopt complex and difficult new forms and styles”.⁷¹⁷ T.S Eliot, the pioneer of modernist poetry in the West, declared in 1921 that “poets in our civilization...must be difficult”.⁷¹⁸ Commenting on Eliot’s work, Alex Davis and Lee M Jenkins note that, “The publication in the following year of *The Wasteland* served to confirm the truth of this pronouncement: Eliot’s allusive poem, and its seven pages of accompanying notes, insists that ‘difficulty’

⁷¹² See for example pp 66-68.

⁷¹³ Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Badawī, *Modern Arabic Literature* (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1992) p 51.

⁷¹⁴ See for examples: pp 62, 66, 72, 77 and 80.

⁷¹⁵ See pp 95, 171 and 232.

⁷¹⁶ For more information about Modernism, see: George A Kennedy, *The Cambridge History Of Literary Criticism* (Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1989) and Rebecca Beasley, *Theorists Of Modernist Poetry* (London: Routledge, 2007).

⁷¹⁷ Chris Baldick, 2008. *The Oxford dictionary of literary terms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) p 213.

⁷¹⁸ Scofield, Martin. *T.S Eliot: The Poems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) p 34.

is a sine qua non of the modernist artwork”.⁷¹⁹ Influenced by this trait of modernist poetry, Saudi poets represented the West in complex ways. Al-Dumaynī, one of the famous Saudi modernist poets, wrote a text about New York. His modernist images carry multiple interpretations. For instance, al-Dumaynī said:

نيويورك ابتعادك كاقترابي منك
أرض تنجب الأنواء, ممحاة لطمس الفرق
بين الجهل والجهال
مكتبة تبيع الحبر بالتخفيض
كي يتناقص الكتاب⁷²⁰

New York, your distance is as my closeness to you
A land that gives birth to distant places, an eraser of differences
Between ignorance and the ignorant
A library selling discounted ink
So that there will be fewer writers

Al-Dumaynī was aware of the complexity of his lines about New York. As he stated in the same poem:

إن الوضوح مباشرة تطمس الفن⁷²¹

Clarity directly kills art

Al-Bāzi^{‘ī} noticed the ambiguity in al-Dumaynī’s text. He stated that “Al-Dumaynī’s poem did not allow the reader to understand its meanings and indicators easily, even those who are expert in modern poetry”.⁷²² Although the reader may not get

⁷¹⁹ Davis, Alex, and Lee M Jenkins, *The Cambridge Companion To Modernist Poetry* (Cambridge [UK]: Cambridge University Press, 2007) p 1.

⁷²⁰ Al-Dumaynī, (1989) p 20.

⁷²¹ *Ibid*, p 20.

⁷²² Al-Bāzi^{‘ī}, (2009) p 99.

the meaning of some of Al-Dumaynī's lines, negative images about the West are conveyed, as shown in the previous chapter.⁷²³

In the end, we find that there are three different levels of the image of the West in Saudi poetry regarding the types of poetry that were used by poets to express their ideas. The image of the West becomes clear and direct in classical poetry, while its image in the romantic poetry came as a side image, a reflection of sorts of the writer himself, as he was the centre of the idea in the text. The image here is loaded with emotions and feelings. Lastly the image of the West becomes indirect and open for multiple interpretations in Saudi modernist poetry.

In conclusion, the historical approach as described in the last three chapters is important in exploring the image of the West in Saudi poetry and following the changes that happened to this image during the history of modern Saudi Arabia. The previous chapters also show the identities in Saudi society that played a role in shaping the Western image. Furthermore, this chapter uncovered the extent of the power of these identities and their role in shaping the image of the West in general. In contrast, the West, or the concept of the "other", is important in clarifying the identity of society and may become especially refined and strengthened among people when there is a sense of danger. These identities in relation to their use by Saudi poets in their texts about the West can be divided into two types: temporary identities which are used mainly in a particular period of time such as those of East and Arab nationalism, and permanent identities such as Islam and general human values.

Islam is the strongest element that has played a role in shaping the image of the West in Saudi poetry. Islam appeared in all periods of time in Saudi Arabia that were investigated in this research, was linked with different topics and affected not only the image of the West but also affected other identities, for example Arab nationalism in the 1960s. However, Islam has the ability to be transformed into a general movement linked to ways to face the West as happened in the most recent time period. On the other hand human values also played a significant role in the image of the West as portrayed in all time periods studied. These values appeared generally in the text when the poet is talking to Western nations, or when he was dealing with issues that are not related to conditions in Arab or Muslim lands.

⁷²³ See p 228.

There are several elements that affect identities and the image of the West in Saudi poetry. As a new country with a short history in modern times, and in addition to having been through tremendous economic development, Saudi Arabia may be seen as a good example of the effect of specific time periods on identities and images of the West. In the early phase of the modern Saudi state, the sense of patriotism was limited in that some Saudi poets dealt with issues outside the country as national issues. They also lacked information about the West, and so there was a simple and generalised view of the West. With time, and with the rapid increase in the number of connections with the West, the portrayal of the image of the West in Saudi texts became more detailed.

The conflict between East and West is one of the most effective element in shaping the image of the West. It not only strengthens identities, but leads to them being used in radical ways. In the shadow of the conflict between the Muslim, Arab, East and the West, the West is described as “Nasārā”, “Firinjah” and “Kuffār”. The conflict mainly affected political attitudes toward the West but at the peak of the conflict in the 1980s, cultural texts about cities were also affected deeply by the conflict between East and West. Generally the concept of conflict between the Eastern, Arab, Muslim part of the world and the West was behind the majority of the negative images of the West.

Differences between subject matter also had an impact on the image of the West. Political texts dealing in general with issues of conflict with the West, are more likely to be influenced by public opinion and by the interests of political authority. In contrast cultural texts are more likely to be free from these effects, and it is also considered more acceptable to express personal attitudes towards the West in these.

Lastly individual differences between poets played a substantial role in shaping their views of the West. Whether these differences are in terms of their connections to the West, their level of education, or their relationship with the government or to the school of poetry to which they belong, each of these factors affect - partially or totally - the poet's view of the West.

Conclusion

From the outset, this research has investigated the image of the West in Saudi poetry as its primary research goal. In addition, this research has attempted to answer two other questions: How has the image of the West in Saudi Arabian poetry changed over the course of the economic development seen in Saudi Arabia over the past decades? What were the reasons that led to these changes in perception throughout the selected period?

However, before attempting to answer the above questions, the research had to deal with two contrary facts. The first fact was the long and deep historical conflict between East and West, Islam and Christianity, Arab and *Firinjah*. Such a conflict made words such as East and West multivalent and imbued with emotion from both sides. This, however, opened the door to hundreds and even thousands of attempts to deal academically with the East-West conflict from various aspects: political, economic, social, cultural and others. The research had to discuss the concept of the term of ‘the West’ as it was understood and used in Saudi texts, taking into account its long history and the conflict ideology behind this term. The first chapter of this research demonstrated that terms such as ‘East-West’ and ‘Orient-Occident’ are culturally, socially and politically rather than geographically defined, thus the meaning of these terms might widen or narrow depending on the ideology, which utilised these terms. Also, these terms have more to do with those who use them rather than the actual Orient or Occident.

This led to an examination of some of the characteristics of Saudi society that can have an effect on the points of view of Saudi poets towards the West. Here, we face the second fact, which is that Saudi Arabia is a historically very young state. The age of the Saudi state is less than ninety years. Throughout these years, Saudi Arabian society took great leaps that took it from being a poor and destitute community to becoming one of the fastest growing countries in the world, taking advantage of the huge oil reserves in its territory. Not only that, but the bulk of the lands which we now know as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia contains several parts that for a very long period of time had different political, economic and social lifestyles. Thus, attempting to track the development of the image of the West in a rapidly changing state, each part of which has – to some extent -

different backgrounds, may be considered challenging. This research has shown that the different backgrounds of the people from different areas of Saudi Arabia clearly affected the image of the West in Saudi poetry, especially in the first period studied.

The hypothesis that has been proposed by this research was that there are several main components in Saudi society, and these components played a major role in shaping the level of interaction and reaction of the society towards the West. In the Saudi case, Islam and the desert location and origins of the Kingdom - as two influential components in the social and cultural life of the local inhabitants for centuries - are the main assumed internal components. In the third, fourth and fifth chapters of this research these two components were investigated to find out to what extent they affected the Saudi view towards the West. The other components that had an impact on the shaping of the image of the West during the selected period were also highlighted.

This research adopted a historical approach – by dividing the lifespan of the modern Saudi state into three periods up to 1990 – with some reference to identity to answer the research questions, as it is arguably the best way to track the changes in the image of the West in Saudi society. This is not only in terms of its transition from a very simple state to a modern country, but also in light of the rapid development of the relationship with the West. In addition, it can be more accurate in determining the effects in each historical period. The selected periods were: 1920-1945, 1946-1967 and 1968-1990. Each period had a historical introduction, which indicated the most important political, economic and social events of the period, and clarified the historical circumstances that affected Saudi opinion towards the West. Within the historical framework, this research utilised an order based on topics to take advantage of these two systems to achieve the goal of this study and answer the research questions.

Regarding the research questions, the historical approach answered mainly the first two questions. The third question was partially answered by shedding light on the effects in each period discussed alone. However, through the dramatic changes in Saudi society in the last ninety years, not only has the image of the West changed but also the identity of Saudi society. Thus, a chapter gathering the various parts of the image of the West that were dispersed throughout different time periods in Saudi history examined the effects of the Saudi view toward the West in all periods outside the time limitations imposed by this research. In addition, this research examined the influence of time, different topics, conflict and personal attitudes on the image of the West.

The findings can be summarized in the following paragraphs:

The recognition of the West has developed significantly among Saudi people from the beginning of the modern Saudi state to the end of the selected periods. In the first texts, Saudi poets dealt with the West as a homogenous entity and they looked upon them as Christian invaders. There was a wide gap in terms of the connection with the West between the various components of Saudi society. The socio-economic background of each Saudi area clearly affects its poets' views towards the West in the first time period.

This research proved that the main effects which shaped the Saudi view toward the West in the selected periods were the basic components of the character of this community that distinguish it from other communities, primarily the West. These characteristics can be summarised as Islam, Arab nationalism, perceptions of the East and also human values such as justice, equality, and mercy. This constitutes the research's theoretical paradigm. The image of the West in Saudi poetry was never a single idea expressed by all, but the various poets displayed different attitudes in their texts from one poetic topic to another.

Firstly, the political image, which comprises the largest part of Saudi poetic texts about the West. In the first years of the first period, and as previously mentioned, Saudi writers considered 'the West' as a single entity. Generally, when Saudi poets addressed issues of conflict between the Arabs and the West, such as colonialism or the Palestinian issue, they represented the West as an imperial coloniser who understands only the language of violence. The West always sought to further its own interests at the expense of weaker nations.

On the another hand, Saudi poets represented the West more naturally when they talked about non-conflict issues between the Arabs and the West, such as the Second World War, the nuclear bomb, the establishment the United Nations⁷²⁴ and internal Western issues. In this context, there is a more positive image of the West. However, because the issues of conflict were considered an important incentive to write about the West, the negative image was the most prominent in the Saudi political texts about the West.

⁷²⁴ Saudi Arabia became a member of the United Nations in 1945, see: Un.org, 'United Nations Member States', 2015 <<http://www.un.org/en/members/>> [accessed 30 January 2015]

On the subject of the cultural image of the West, it was interesting to find that the earliest attention paid to Western culture and literature among the Saudi poets started in the Hijāz region in contrast to other writers in the rest of Saudi land. The Hijāz poets introduced Western myths to their readers as early as the 1930s, even though there are no other cultural texts about the West in the other parts of Saudi Arabia before the Second World War. In the second period, they tried to use these myths in their poems. Generally, the image of the West in the cultural texts was positive except in the final period when the idea of the “Intellectual invasion” became a part of the conflict with the West.

Western cities take a large share of the attention of Saudi poets in their poetry about the West. Saudi writers expressed different attitudes about the West. Some of them show their fascination about nature in the West, or the level of development. At the same time, Saudi writers included in their texts criticism to some Western acts, or expressed their negative feelings towards the lifestyle in the West. However, in the last period studied, there is an increased level of criticism of Western cities in the Saudi texts as these authors seemed no longer fascinated by these places. The resulting work of Saudi poets seems, to a large extent, compatible with what Kaḍīm mentioned about cities in the image of the West in Arabic poetry. Arabic poets might express their fascination about Western cities and places, but they also use poetry as an opportunity to express their attitudes towards the relationship between their nation and the West. This confirms that the Saudi attitude is not far from the general Arabic attitude towards the West, when we take into account the particular circumstances and attitudes of each Arabic society.

New technology in the West was a matter of discussion in some Saudi poetry. Saudi writers drew a new image of the West; they looked at the West as a modern, technologically advanced force. Although some Saudi poets expressed their enchantment with this advanced technology, the majority of Saudi writers looked at it as purely a material achievement lacking the spirituality which they still found amongst the people of the East. Significantly, Saudi poets expressed their religious feelings and beliefs in the majority of their texts about the new technology. They remembered the greatness of Allah when they addressed the advanced powerful weapons, or the space race between USA and Russia, in their poetry.

The emotional image of the West – as previously discussed - was generally poor. It seems hard for the Saudi people to build a profound emotional relationship with Western people. In the first period, we found only a limited number of emotional texts,

and only one Saudi poet showed his interest in the differences between a Western girl and himself. In the second period there was a noticeable development in terms of the number of emotional texts and the level of the relationship that was expressed by Saudi poets. However, in the last period studied, there was a noticeable drop in the number of this type of poetry in Saudi texts about the West.

However, in the long selected period (1920-1990) of this research, there is only one text that was found which could express a Saudi-Western love by Ghāzī al-Quṣaybī, who was a young student in the USA when he penned the poem. The rest of Saudi texts about the emotional relationship with the West did not go beyond the general admiration of beauty, which is not enough to detail a profound experience and an emotional relationship with Western people.

The above points summarises the image of the West in Saudi poetry and its development throughout time across different topics. Yet the important question here; what were the main factors behind these images and representations? The last chapter of this research tried to answer this question.

The effects that were examined in this research, which played the main role in drawing the image of the West in Saudi poetry, can be divided into two types; permanent and temporary. The permanent effects were ones that affected the Saudi view toward the West in different periods, such as Islam and general human values. The temporary effects are the values used under special historical circumstances such as the East and Arab nationalism. Islam was the main effective factor throughout all the time periods studied. Islam appeared in all different types of poetry among the majority of the Saudi poets in their texts about the West. Such is its ubiquity, that Islam also influenced the other elements that comprise the identity of the Saudi people.

Human values such as justice, mercy and equality also appeared in every Saudi period, yet it was generally used in only two kinds of occasions; when Saudi poets addressed the West by their texts and when they are addressing an issue that does not impact upon those living in Arab and Muslim land. In contrast, temporary identities such as the Eastern and Arab nationality used only under a historical circumstance. When we examine these identities and effects through the lens of time, we notice the change of the type of language that the poets used in their texts about the West. There are noticeable differences particularly in the political language utilised between one period and another.

In the first period, Saudi poets showed their sadness towards the occupation of Arab and Muslim lands by the West. Later, and due to the success of anti-colonial movements and the rise of nationalism, a large sense of challenge appeared in Saudi texts. However, after the Arabs were defeated by Israel in 1967, Saudi poets began to express pessimistic feelings. The language of the poetry changed again after the Islamic Awakening of the 1980s.

Through examining Saudi poetry through the lens of time, we can also notice changes in Saudi society in terms of their feelings toward themselves and not only to the other. In the first period there was a clear difference between the poets of various regions in Saudi Arabia and their representations of their relationship with the West. However, in the following periods, Saudi poets were almost the same in that respect and had a more united perspective in terms of their relationships with the West.

Conflict with the West was the primary motive for writing about the West and it has played a major role in creating an image of the West in Saudi poetry as a way of standing against powerful Western countries. These conflicts also pushed poets and society to adhere more closely to their local identities and traditions. In contrast, local identities did not play an important role when Saudi poets wrote about non-conflict issues. Thus, the majority of negative images about the West in Saudi poetry can be understood as a reaction to the conflicts between the Arabs and the West.

Although the political poems played the biggest role in creating the negative image of the West in Saudi poetry, this research has shown that the image of the West in Saudi political poetry is not necessarily the real image of the West that exists in the minds of these poets. There are several reasons that lead to this analysis. First, the political texts were usually written as a reaction to some act committed by the West in Arab and Muslim lands. Second, the poet can be influenced by public opinion about a particular event or about the West at that time, thus he might adopt an extreme attitude to satisfy his readers. Third, the poets are likely to be affected by the formal position of the Saudi government and will therefore be conscious about what they write. Nevertheless, the negative image of the West in the political texts is usually delivered in clear and direct language.

On the other hand, the image of the West in the cultural poems more likely represents the poet's real attitude towards the West, and this is because of a few reasons. Firstly, it reflects a personal interest, which is usually outside the arena of conflict with

the West. Secondly, cultural poetry needs a high level of knowledge and awareness of Western culture. Finally, it is not affected by public opinion or government influence.

The Saudi Arabian cultural texts about the West were mostly distant from the conflict issues. However, in the last period studied, culture became a main arena of the conflict with the West. This research demonstrated that when the conflict with the West reached a cultural level – with the last period as an example - it has a deeper impact than the conflict represented in the political poetry. Saudi poets express their concerns for the identity of their society and thus, they challenged this greater Western threat with greater severity.

The personal differences in character and attitude between Saudi poets on various levels played an important role in representing an image of the West. First, the poets differ in terms of their interest toward their identity and the differences between themselves and the West. The majority use their local identity only when writing about conflicts, while some of them did not indicate any type of local identity in their texts. However, some Saudi poets show a clear sense of separation and confront the West. They adopted anti-Western views in every text they wrote about the West. Second, the Saudi poets also differ in terms of their relationship with the Saudi government. This research proved that the majority of Saudi poets were working with the government which led to the control of the image created about the West, so as not to contradict the point of view of government. Third, the Saudi poets' attitudes toward the West was influenced by their individual experiences with the West. Some of Saudi poets had a chance to visit, study or work in the West, while others had never been to Western countries.

Lastly, the differences in structure and style of the Saudi poem (classicists, romanticists and modernists) had also affected the poets view toward the West. The classical Saudi poets – especially in the early days of the Saudi state - used their texts to deliver a direct message to the reader, thus the image of the West in their poetry was clear and direct. Meanwhile, the romantic poets attempted to deliver their message in metaphorical ways, as they desired to express their feelings and emotions by using imagery. In contrast, the modernist Saudi poets expressed their ideas about the West in an indirect way, which led to them producing a foggy and unclear image, which can be open to multiple interpretations.

This thesis has highlighted numerous social as well as literary aspects of Saudi Arabia throughout history. Nevertheless, before rounding off this conclusion, I hope the following recommendations will prove useful to future researchers:

The dramatic changes in Saudi society during the last century at various levels, which changed the simple tribal life forever, provide rich material for researchers in various disciplines.

Researchers who are willing to study the identities and the image of others in middle eastern societies especially in Saudi Arabia, should not ignore the regions long history before the Sykes–Picot Agreement in 1916, and should enlarge their scope to find the true components of these societies.

This research would recommend avoiding generalizations in future studies about the image of the other. It would be more useful to focus on one part or region of the Arab lands rather than clustering them all together, and perhaps not addressing some areas as many studies in the literature review could not cover what they claimed in their titles. Also, some issues might deserve a specific study in terms of its impact on the image of the West in Arab literature such as colonialism, the creation of Israel and recently the War on Terror.

Ghāzī al-Quṣaybī was a talented Saudi poet, who lived for a long time in the West. He also wrote many poetry texts, novels and article about his experience there. In this research, I studied some of his poetry about the West only up to 1990. I think it would be fair to say that, he deserves a special study about the image of the West in his works, and this should be perhaps considered for future research. I might support this recommendation with the words of al-Bāzī⁷²⁵ (about al-Quṣaybī), when he said: “al-Quṣaybī one of the Saudi poets who had one of the strongest connections with the West, if not the strongest. Al-Quṣaybī, besides his long personal experience with the West, also translated some English sources into Arabic.”⁷²⁵

This research covered the period since the establishment of Saudi Arabia until 1990. However, in the following years since the end of that period, Saudi Arabia faced major events, which certainly left its stamp on the image of the West, such as the Second Gulf War in 1990, and the events of September 11 2001, in addition to many social

⁷²⁵ Al-Bāzī⁷²⁵, p 88

changes in the last 24 years. That period, which was not covered in this thesis, might represent an opportunity for further research to complete tracing the image of the West in Saudi poetry up to the present day.

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