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**Sudanese literature in English translation:
an analytical study of the translation with a historical
introduction to the literature.**

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Abstract

This thesis sets out to record, analyze, and assess modern Sudanese literature within its historical, cultural, and political context. It highlights the diversity and distinctiveness of that literature, the wide range of its themes, and the resilience and complex background of its major practitioners. A principal preoccupation of the study, however, is to point out the various challenges this literature, its universality and appeal notwithstanding, poses to translators. The close and intimate connection between its bold and vibrant colloquial expressions and the cultural and geographical environment in which these expressions are entrenched makes the task of the translator, especially one translating into a somewhat "remote" language like English, fraught with difficulty, at times unachievable. The near impossibility of rendering such expressions, proverbs, allusions to religious texts, and metaphors into English is illustrated in many examples. Paradoxically, such inadequacies and challenges, analysed from a semantic and syntactical perspective and investing in translation theory, point to a remarkable resilience and inventiveness of the translators involved as well as to the importance of translation in acting as a bridge between cultures.

This thesis is structured in three parts. Part One examines the historical, cultural, social, political, religious, and linguistic factors that went into the making of modern Sudanese literature. Using postcolonial theory, it explores in some depth Sudanese cultural identity and self-identification as expressed in and partly shaped by the evolving literature. That body of written, and, in part, oral expression, was traditionally nourished by the two main streams of Arab and African cultures, but was steadily enriched under British occupation by exposure to Western, and principally English, literature and literary criteria as well as by a modern system of education. The study highlights what it claims to be highly distinctive and indeed unique features of Sudanese literature, reflecting the many-sidedness and complexity of its country, itself being a huge melting pot, whose very existence has been severely tested in more recent times.

Part Two of the study offers a critical survey of Sudanese literature, examining its two main genres, poetry and fiction, and its evolution over three major literary periods, the

Neoclassical, the Romantic and the Social Realist. The contributions made by literary movements or groups established and led by some prominent cultural and national figures and in which belles-lettres and patriotism were interwoven are also highlighted and assessed. This part elaborates on the dynamic which saw modern Sudanese writers interacting with influences from Western literature and investing in new literary genres while maintaining links with and creatively building on traditional and modern Arabic literature, itself evolving under various influences and requirements from without each country and within.

Part Three focuses on Sudanese literature in English translation through a close analysis of representative texts with a view to illustrating and addressing specific problems and challenges associated with the task of translation. The samples are drawn from the literary genres and texts discussed in Part Two and are reflective of the themes tackled in the first two parts, thus emphasising the coherence and unity of the study. The methodology used involves applying theories of translation but also invests in insights gained from interviews conducted with some of the writers and translators discussed in the study as well as from feedback provided by ten native speaker informants. Taking into consideration the hybrid nature of modern Sudanese Literature and the cultural and linguistic diversity of its context, many difficulties are highlighted along with the range of strategies used by translators to address them.

Table of Contents

Introduction

This work endeavours to survey, showcase, and critique modern Sudanese literature emphasising its diversity and versatility within its cultural and political context and highlighting the various challenges its translation into another language, in this instance English, poses to translators. A wide range of literary works from poetry, the novel, the short story, folktales and popular ballads are selected for analysis. Theories of translation and postcolonial literary criticism are invested in with a view to illuminating various aspects of the works under analysis as well as to relate the study, specific as it is, to other postcolonial literatures, with the role of literature in the formation of national identity being a major question, theme and preoccupation of this thesis.

Little is known of Sudanese literature in the West. The first attempt to collect representative samples of Sudanese literature in English translation was made by 'Uthman Ḥassan Aḥmad and Constance Berkley, in 1981. During his term of office as Cultural Counsellor of the Sudan in Washington, Aḥmad compiled and edited a series of Sudanese publications. Among them was an anthology of Sudanese poetry which comprised translations of seventeen poems by northern poets, and twelve poems written in English by southern and northern poets. Aḥmad also collected and edited an anthology of sixteen short stories, ten of which were translated from Arabic and four were written in English. Determined and indefatigable and with a sense of a mission, he also edited a collection of Dinka songs and Sudanese folktales, along with a bibliography of documentary and educational films on the Sudan.

Sudanese folktales somehow stood a better chance of being recorded, albeit in a small part, than poetry and novels. The first booklet of Sudanese folktales contained eight tales. 'Abdullah al- Ṭayyib's most popular book, Alaḥaji, which comprised twenty-one tales, came out in Arabic in 1978. A 1978 collection of folk stories from northern and central Sudan by Al-Shahi and F.C.T. Moor appeared as one volume in the series Oxford Library of African Literature. Another collection by Jamal Moḥammad Aḥmad contained fourteen tales. In 1998, the celebrated Denys Johnson-Davies produced his Tales from Sudan, which contained six stories he translated as part of a major contribution he was making towards securing a foothold for Sudanese and more generally modern Arabic literature in the English-speaking world.

The present study seeks to ally itself to that endeavour. While critically recording and assessing representative works from a variety of literary genres, it hopes to make available to scholars and non-Arabic speakers a useful reference or introduction to Sudanese literature, opening a window and a bridge benefiting to both cultures. The study perhaps acquires a special immediacy and poignancy in view of the current political and national crises in which the Sudanese people find themselves. This, however, remains an aspect or an aspiration somewhat extraneous to the academic aims and methods of this study.

The thesis is structured in three parts: Part One examines the historical, cultural, social, political, religious and linguistic factors that contributed to the creation and development of modern Sudanese literature. It explores in some depth Sudanese self-identification and nationalism and the role of literature in the crystallisation and development of Sudanese identity as well as its role in the national and cultural resistance to foreign occupation using works by Sudanese writers such as Francis Deng's book, *Dynamics of Identification* (1973), as a theoretical framework. A case for the uniqueness of Sudanese literature in relation to both Arabic and African literary traditions and models is made.

Part Two of the study offers a critical survey of Sudanese literature, examining its two main genres, poetry and fiction, and its evolution over three major literary periods, the Neoclassical, the Romantic and the Social Realist. The contributions made by literary movements or groups established and led by some prominent cultural and national figures and in which belles-lettres and patriotism were interwoven are also highlighted and assessed. This part explores the dynamic which saw modern Sudanese writers interacting with influences from Western literature and investing in new literary genres while maintaining links with and creatively building on traditional and modern Arabic literature, itself evolving under various influences and requirements from without and within.

Part Three focuses on Sudanese literature in English translation through a close semantic and syntactical analysis of representative texts with a view to illustrating and addressing specific problems and challenges associated with translation. The samples are drawn from various literary genres reflective of the themes tackled by the study. The methodology used in analysing the various genres involves applying theories of translation and benefiting from insights provided by writers and translators interviewed as well as feedback from ten native speaker informants who have read and reflected on the texts provided. This Part of the thesis avoids assessing the theories or passing judgement on the literary samples; rather, it aims at

applying the theories of meaning, equivalence and limits of translatability to discuss both linguistic and cultural untranslatability. The feedback thus contributes to the analysis. Taking into consideration the hybrid nature of modern Sudanese Literature and the cultural and linguistic diversity of its context, as well as the different levels of the 'ammiyyah or vernacular Arabic in the Sudan, many difficulties are highlighted along with the range of strategies used by translators to address them.

This work has invested in a huge body of sources in both Arabic and English. Admittedly, it has been restricted by some constraints, one of which has been the relative lack of translated material. The lack of critical studies adds to the many difficulties encountered, as traditional Sudanese literature is basically an oral literature, which, however, should provide opportunities to shed light on little known texts and their contribution to the cultural mosaic and multiple identity of the country. Apart from the primary sources, namely the literary texts themselves, the main sources for this study were unpublished material and documents in the Sudan Central Archives of Khartoum, the Public Records Office in London, and the Sudan Archives in the Palace Green Library in Durham, the main library of Durham University and the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. During the author's three visits in April 2006 and her somewhat more recent visit on 14th August 2007 to the main library of Durham University and the Sudan Archives at Durham's Palace Green Library, she accessed some of the Intelligence Reports and Reports on the Administration and Condition in the Sudan which the Governor-General produced every year during the Condominium era. She has also consulted Richard Hill's Hand-list of Arabic Manuscripts for the Mahaddiya manuscripts. With the exception of books written by members of the British administration in the Sudan and its Intelligence Reports and memoranda, most of the sources are Arabic books and articles in journals by Sudanese and Arab historians and writers, archival material available in the library of the Faculty of Arts at Khartoum University, articles written by Sudanese and non-Sudanese authors in السودان في رسائل و مدونات [Sudan Notes and Records (SNR)] and the Sudan Library at Khartoum University. A considerable amount of unpublished material, particularly poetry, has been collected in the process. It is hoped that an annotated anthology of selected Sudanese literary masterpieces in English translation can be produced at a later stage.

Part One

Modern Sudanese writers, this thesis argues, have produced a rich and wide range of poetry and fiction reflecting the hybrid nature of the Sudan, which combines Arab, African and Bedouin traditions with Nile, desert and tropical cultures and Islamic, Christian, and Pagan beliefs. This admixture gives Sudanese literature its uniqueness and distinctiveness, but also its relative intractability given the widespread illiteracy and limited publication and documentation in a country the size of the Sudan. It is the largest country in Africa with an area of one million (1,000,000) square miles, and it is ethnically and linguistically a heterogeneous country, densely populated by Arabs, Nilotics (Shaigiyyah, G'aaliyyin etc), Nubians, Baja, Furs and more than 500 other tribes who speak about 150 languages. Such racial diversities and richness of culture will definitely result in a unique body of literature, which is Arab and African at the same time.

Many events have had a formative impact on modern Sudanese literature: the Afro-Arab conflict, the conflict between the north and the south, the British occupation, the Condominium rule (Anglo-Egyptian rule), the Mahdist Revolution and the various political and military upheavals since independence. An understanding of the complex matrix in which Sudanese culture developed is essential for a more mature understanding of Sudanese literature and its role in helping to shape the Sudanese people's identity, anxieties, and aspirations.

Modern Sudanese writers have produced a rich and wide range of poetry and fiction. The selected works in Part Three aim to reflect the hybrid nature of the Sudan, which combines Arab, African and Bedouin traditions with the Nile, desert and tropical cultures, and Islamic, Christian and Pagan beliefs. This admixture gives Sudanese literature its uniqueness. They represent the early modern and modern eras, and the trends in Sudanese literature, and reflect its distinctiveness. Much Sudanese prose and poetry was translated by Sudanese academics, some by Arabists in the West. There were also representative works written in English by educated southerners and some northerners. Some of the authors of the literary works made their own English translations of their works. Such exploration and research is obviously a difficult and laborious task given the lack of publication and proper documentation in a country the size of the Sudan.

This work is also restricted by constraints of space and the availability of the translated material. Given the total corpus of Sudanese literature, there is little Sudanese Literature in

English but, even so, there is too much to collect in one volume. I have tried my best to make this volume representative of all eras and trends in Sudanese literature. Before presenting an account of Sudanese literature, I begin with an account of the identity profile of the Sudanese people.

1. A Profile of the Sudan and Sudanese People (Unity in Diversity):

Sudan is a vast and complex country. Its geography and demography, and its linguistic and religious situation, give rise to its unique profile; unity in diversity. It is the largest country in Africa and includes a large part of the African Sub-Sahara. It is located in the northeast of the African continent, and is separated from Arabia by the Red Sea. It has borders with nine other countries including Egypt and Libya and it stretches into the heart of Africa. The River Nile links it to Ethiopia and Uganda to the south and to Egypt to the north. As the biggest country in Africa, one million square miles, it is a land of great geographical variety. It is situated entirely in a tropical zone and is divided into three general climatic regions: a desert area in the north, a semi-arid central area, with considerable amounts of rainfall, and a tropical rainy region in the south. There are highlands areas such as Jabal Marrah in the west and along the Ethiopian border in the east and southeast. With high humidity and cool winters, the coastal plain of the Red Sea has a different climatic character from the rest of the north. Natural vegetation follows the climatic variations and ranges from desert vegetations such as acacia and short grasses in the northern areas, to swamps and forests in the wet southern areas. Geographically Sudan is the region of transition between the Sahara and sub-Saharan Africa, or what is known as the "Sudanic" region[1]. Like its neighbours, it lies in a long belt stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea. It shares characteristics with other Sudanic societies and acts as a cultural link between northern and sub-Saharan Africa. In this way, the Sudan is both a bridge linking major areas of the world and a meeting place for diverse ethnic and cultural groups. At the beginning of this century Sudan was the land route for pilgrimages from West Africa to the "Holy Places." The "Sudan Road" (Al-Naqar,1985:98-99) started from Maidugary in Northern Nigeria,

entered the Sudan at Ginaina, and crossed the country from the southwest to the northeast, to the Red Sea port of Sawakin, or Port Sudan. The road was described by historians as

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[1] *Bilad al Sudan* refers in general to the land of the Blacks and in particular the belt of Sudanic states.

populous, and always carried intense traffic. E. Alexander described one such caravan coming from Timbucto as:

> It was a wonderful organisation, this slowly moving community with its population of varied races and cattle and sheep and forming a column that stretches for miles and miles along the way. Whole families were there, carrying all their belongings and perched upon the backs of oxen are little children, some of whom had been brought forth on the road.... Thus for fifteen hundred years [sic] has this river of life run out and very likely that I was looking at a picture that was true of the Age of an even earlier prophet than Mohamet, when Moses led Israel out of Egypt. (Alexander.B, 1907: 1-5)

The "Forty Days Road" (Asher,1984:13) was another ancient caravan route. It began in the far west of the Sudan, Darfur, and traversed the Libyan desert via a chain of oases, and met the Nile in Northern Egypt. It was a historical route that, for centuries, played a major role in trade between Africa and the Mediterranean. Until recently, it was still used by Arabs taking their camels for sale in Egypt. Whilst the various climatic and topographical features create great diversity in the physical context of the Sudan the Nile, however, acts as a unifying factor. Running from the south to the northern border, it crosses boundaries and cuts across various climatic and vegetation regions. As a means of transport and irrigation, it provides common experiences that link many different parts of the country. Other areas, far from the Nile basin, are linked to it by migration and trade. The present republic represents "historical continuity and geographical homogeneity" (Hasan,1985:2). Political organisation has always centred around the north central riverian Sudan, represented by the states of Cush-Meroe, Nubia-'Alwa, the Funj Kingdom and the Turco-Egyptian administration, while geographical homogeneity is represented in its physical make-up, its peoples and their activities.

Sudan was an object of interest to several Arabs and Westerners. Many historians, anthropologists, researchers, explorers and travellers went there, and they recorded their expeditions and adventures in the Sudan. Those interested in the Sudan included Sir Richard Palmer who wrote about *The Bornu Sahara and the Sudan* (1936), S. Trimingham wrote *Islam in the Sudan* (1949), S. Hillelson penned *Sudanese Arabic Texts* (1935) and *English-Arabic Vocabulary* (1935), A. N. Tucker authored *The*

Eastern Sudanese language (1940) and other books, H.F.S Amery wrote *English/Arabic Vocabulary* (1905), Harold MacMichael penned *A History of Arabs in the Sudan* (1922) and Crawford wrote *The Fung Kingdom of Sinnar*. The historians P.M. Holt and Richard Hill were among the civilians who lived in the Sudan and wrote several books about its history.

Richard Hill's book, *On the Frontiers of Islam*, is credited highly by critics for enriching knowledge about the Sudan. Part Two of Hill's book, of which the writer of this thesis undertook the Arabic translation in partial fulfilment for the Master's Degree, was about the way of life and culture of the people who lived in the Sudan. It was an account with observations by a diarist who had travelled and stayed throughout northern, central and eastern Sudan.

The role of the Sudan as a bridge to Africa, and its impact on the continent, goes back as far as the ancient Sudanese kingdoms of Cush. B.G. Haycock (Ḥasan,1985:98-99) and P.L. Shinnie discussed the ancient Nubian civilisation and noted that the Nubian "developed settled life of elaborate towns and villages, with high quality of artistic production, shown mainly in church paintings and pottery, and developed agriculture. Ḥasan,1985:43) The achievements of the Meroitic civilisation included melting iron in a scientific manner and developing the complicated hieroglyphic writing into alphabets which became an African language known as the Meroitic. Nubian was the spoken tongue and a number of documents were written in that language, but tombstones were nearly all in Greek or Coptic. The rich cultural and artistic heritage of the Sudan was revealed in an exhibition at the British Museum from 9 September 2004 to 9 January 2005 which highlighted ancient monuments and archaeological sites. Sudan's ancient treasures were represented by some stunning ancient artefacts, aspects of a fascinating material culture, and the challenging works of contemporary Sudanese artists. Most of the material was provided by the Sudan National Museum. The selection of the Sudan as a capital for Arab culture for the year 2004-2005 created a focus on the diversity, and the hybrid nature, of Sudanese culture. The indigenous African side of the culture was also a point of focus.

However, some scholars have opposed the concept of Sudan as a bridge. Ali Mazr'i argued that the Sudan does not act as a bridge between Black Africa and Arab Africa, nor does it play any special linking or mediating role. It occupies a "marginal" position in an intermediate place between two distinct sectors of Africa. This intermediacy gives it a double identity, in its capacity as both an "African country in a racial sense and an Arab country in a cultural sense. A large portion of Arab Sudanese are in fact Arabised Negroes rather than ethnically Semitic. For many of them, Arabism is a cultural acquisition rather than a racial heredity." (Mazru'i,1985:241-42) In the same sense, W.E.B. Dubois, the founder of Pan-Africanism makes the following observation:

> Anyone who has travelled in the Sudan knows that most of the 'Arabs' he
> has met are dark skinned, sometimes particularly black, often have negroid
> features and hair that may be Negro in quality. It is then obvious that in
> Africa the term 'Arab' is often misleading. The Arabs were too nearly akin
> to Negroes to draw an absolute colour line. (Dubois, 1946:17)

The issue of Sudanese identity will be discussed by considering three main factors: the ethnic, linguistic and religious.

1.1. The Ethnic Dimension:

Ethnic origin is the most important factor in Sudanese identification. Given its location, the Sudan is a meeting point of Africanism and Arabism. Almost all Sudanic states border Arab or North Africa and Black or sub-Saharan Africa, and experience religious tensions between their Islamic regions and Christian or Pagan ones. However, none of them has an Arab-African identity in the same degree as the Sudan. The foreign relations of the Sudan reflect a basic cultural identity. Mansour Khalid, the Foreign Minister of the Sudan from 1971 to 1975, noted that, "in the light of its polyethnic structure, the concept of the Sudan the bridge gives way to that of the Sudan the melting pot of cultures" (Khalid,1973:37). M.O. Beshir stated that the Sudan "cannot be described as an Arab or an African country, but as a lively Afro-Arab cultural entity" (Beshir, M.1976). Although located in Africa, Sudan has contacts with Arabia, the Middle East and the Mediterranean; the Pharaohs, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks and British all extended their influence to the south, including the lands that now constitute the Sudan. Of all these invaders, only Muslim Arabs succeeded in creating a long-lasting impact with their religion and culture. The indigenous ancestors of the northern Sudanese were involved in conflicts with Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Arabia. Led by King Pianky (751-716 BC), the Nubians conquered Egypt itself, and under Tahraqa (668-663 BC) they proceeded to conquer Syria and Palestine. Interestingly, Muddathir 'Abd al- Raḥim ('Abd al-Raḥim,1985:28-38) mentions four modes of Sudanese self-identification: Islamism, Arabism, tribalism and regionalism.

Tribalism and regionalism are often closely associated, if not identical. Beshir states that the process of Arabisation and Islamisation in the Sudan was brought about by Arab Muslim immigrants, who gradually penetrated and mixed with the indigenous people through marriage. The influence was mutual as Arabisation of the indigenous people also meant Africanisation of the immigrants although these influences were restricted to the northern

areas; until the nineteenth century, the South remained a region uninfluenced by them. Until the growth of the spirit of nationalism during the Condominium rule in the Sudan the main divisions along these lines were between the Negroes of the South and the brown-skinned and, within the latter groups themselves, between the Nubians of the north and the Beja of the east. The three main divisions were further divided along tribal and regional lines. Arab tribal divisions, which existed within the context of Arabic language and culture, superseded the indigenous divisions. They gave the Nubian, Beja and Negroid populations a unifying cultural bond which they had not known before. This major ethnic identification had a large number of sub-groupings, the largest being the Arabs, Dinka, Beja, Nuba, Nuer and Nubian. The description of these tribes and their subgroups demonstrates Sudan's unity in diversity. In the Sudan, 'Arab' is a complex cultural identification that is difficult to define. Local identities are integrated into broader ones. The whole experience is best expressed by Francis Deng as "fluidity of identity" (Deng,1973:11). In the Sudan, to be considered Arab, a person must speak Arabic and must belong to a tribe that is believed to have come originally from the Arabian Peninsula. Arabs have sometimes been thought of as people who speak Arabic as their native language but, in some situations, many Sudanese who are native speakers of Arabic are not considered Arab. In the South, a person is identified by their tribe or a local group, but in Khartoum he is known as *janubi* (southerner). Because of the north-south conflict, especially after independence, the 'southern' identity replaced the tribal identity.

1.2. The Religious Dimension:

Religion is the second factor of identification, as religious dimension consolidates ideas in the Sudan. In the Sudan, religion is inseparable from society and politics. Before the Arab migration, Eastern Sudan was largely inhabited by Hamitic-speaking peoples in the north, and negroid tribes in the south and southwest. In his article on external Islamic influence and the progress of Islamisation in Eastern Sudan, Yusuf Fadl Ḥasan mentions that, before the establishment of the Islamic Funj Kingdom, the kingdoms of Nubia and 'Alwa on the Nile Valley adopted Christianity in the middle of the sixth century A.D, although the people living east and southwest of the Nile remained largely pagan (Ḥasan 73-75). Christianity came to the Sudan through the travels of the traders, those escaping from religious persecutions by the Roman Empire and missionaries from Egypt and the Mediterranean. Christian states flourished for centuries however, they began to decline following the Muslim conquest of

Egypt. Christians now constitute roughly five percent of the population as a result of Western missionary activity in the central and southern areas of the Sudan in the nineteenth century. In the South, Christianity is the religion of the educated, while ordinary people believe in popular religions associated with tribal traditions. Islamic influences on the Sudan were felt through three major channels: the first and the most important came from Egypt in the middle of the seventh century, the second came about the same time from Arabia, across the Red Sea, the third from the Maghrib and the central *Bilad al-Sudan*. The real Islamisation started with the establishment of the Funj Kingdom 1504-1821. From their capital, Sinnar, they extended their influence over the Arabs and their subjects as far as the third cataract of the Nile. Before that, the spread of Islamic faith was achieved by traders and nomadic Arabs who were not well informed on Islamic doctrine. Before the arrival of the '*Ulama* (religious scholars), the general atmosphere was one of ignorance and religious uncertainty. Among the scholars who brought Islamic learning and *Sufi ṭariqas* was Ghulam Allah Ibn 'Ayd who came from Yemin, settled in *Dunqula* in the North of the Sudan, and built mosques and taught the *Qur'an* and religious sciences. Another scholar was Ibrahim al-Bulad b. Jabir, who read Islamic law in Cairo. When he returned to Sudan in 1570, he was the first to introduce the two Maliki text books, the *Risala* of Abu Zayd al-Qayrawani (d.996) and the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalil B. Isḥaq (d.1563) in the Funj Kingdom. After his death, his three brothers, his sister Fatima and their descendants played an important role in consolidating the tradition of learning and the Muslim law in many parts of the country. (Ḥasan :76) Although nearly two-thirds of the population of Sudan believe in One God, and in Prophet Mohammad as his Messenger and in the Qur'an as the record of God's word to humanity, there is no standard version of Muslim religious practices. Local traditions may vary between different communities of Muslims; Arab Muslim nomads reflect the Sahara Desert traditions while modern Nubian Muslims reflect ancient and medieval traditions. In some pre-modern Islamic communities, the *faki* (local leader) was a key character as he was the teacher and healer of the community.

In addition to there being various Sudanese religious groups, there were two styles of Muslim organisation, the local grouping around the *faki*, and national organisations such as the Khatmiyya and Ansar. The rivalry between these two sects played a significant role in their emergence as important national forces. The *fakis* were members of older great families with their well-established loyalties, such as tombs and *khalwas*.

 Although relations between the Sudan and Arabia began as early as the dawn of history, the process of Arabisation did not start till the rise of Islam in the seventh century. The process of

Arabisation and Islamisation was not always a result of military conquest. It was mainly brought by immigrants who gradually penetrated into the Christian kingdom of Nubia. Their readiness to mix with the indigenous population facilitated the assimilation of the immigrants, and the spread of their culture and religion, and gave them political leadership in the host society. By virtue of their political control over central Sudan, the largely Africanised Arabs were able to penetrate remoter parts of the land, including areas that were geographically less similar to Arabia than central Sudan. However, they could not enter the South because of the swamps, flies and tropical humidity, which were unsuitable for desert people and camel breeding. Some of the Africanised Arabs, therefore, turned westward into Kordofan and Darfur, Lake Chad and Bornu. The further they went, the more familiar they became with the environment and the greater became their influence, through Islamisation and racial assimilation. Thus the six northern provinces of the republic became Islamised and, to a lesser extent, Arabised, while the south remained untouched by these influences till the nineteenth century. This situation remained undisputed till Anglo-Egyptian rule in 1898 and the subsequent growth of Sudanese nationalism. Before the nineteenth century, the Sudan as a clearly defined entity did not exist.

1.3. The Linguistic Dimension:

Language is also a basic factor in Sudanese identity, and is no less important than the ethnic and religious factors. Each major language family represents clearly 100 distinguishable subgroups. In many cases, a special language is part of the tribal and ethnic identity, and helps to make that identity more distinctive, hence it helps to strengthen local identities. However, the major languages such as Arabic have a regional or national influence. More than 120 different languages are spoken in the Sudan with various linguistic classification systems being used by the scholars who studied this large number of Sudanese languages. Greenberg (1966:153) classified languages in the Sudan as Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan. Arabic is a Semitic language in the Afro-Asiatic group. It is spoken by the approximately forty percent of the population who are identified ethnically as Arab. Although the languages of the Beja tribes of eastern Sudan belong to the Afro-Asiatic group they made use of the Arabic language in education, politics and religion. Another major grouping of the Afro-Asiatic language family is Chadic, which is spoken in western Sudan along with Hausa, which was brought by West African immigrants. In southern Sudan, most tribal groups speak Nilo-Saharan languages, the Fur language in western Sudan being a separate branch of the Nilo-Saharan. Within this group, the Chari-Nile language is spoken by the Dinka, Nuer, and

Shilluk Southern tribes. The people of the Nuba Mountain speak a special language family called the Niger inhabitants-Kordofanian.

Although Beja tribes in east Sudan spoke a major language from the Afro-Asiatic group, they made use of the Arabic language in education, politics and religion. In the south, Juba Arabic was the medium of communication for southerners, both among themselves and with northerners. The Nubian tribes of northern Sudan, who spoke different dialects, used Arabic to communicate with each other.

Arabic has been the language of interregional activities and trade and is the basic language of literacy for most Sudanese. In addition to the nearly forty percent who are ethnically identified as Arab, another ten percent of the population speak Arabic. Thus Arabic became the language of urban culture and education, while most other languages remained languages of folk culture and popular customs. In the fourteenth century, the linguistic structure of the country started to change. The Arabic influence depended to a large extent on the movement in the Sudan of the Arab tribes that were located in the central part of the country. As Arab conquests proceeded from north and east, Arabic replaced the local languages. Before discussing the Sudanese Colloquial Arabic (SCA), I would like here to give a brief historical survey of Sudanese Arabic, its sources and the various social, political and economic factors that had great influence on it.

The period of the Funj Kingdom (1504-1821) witnessed the establishment and consolidation of Islamic Arabic institutions in the Sudan, and the boom in Sudanese Arabic literature. Most of the literature was religious. *Tabaqat Wad Dayf Allah* (Ḥasan,1971) is the principal record, and it preserves the culture of most of the northern Sudan. Hillelson states that:

> It is a kind of biographical dictionary containing notices of the men of religion and learning who flourished in the Funj kingdom from its foundation in the early sixteenth century to the author's own time (Hillelson, 1935:45).

There are several manuscripts containing these writings. Two of them are used by Hillelson in his book, Sudan Arabic Texts (1935). One of them is edited by Sulayman Mandil, and the other by Sheikh Ibrahim Ṣadiq, and both were published in 1930. In his introduction to the tabaqat, Hillelson indicates that the words and phrases and grammatical forms utilised show that these papers belong more properly to the written language. Many quotations and proverbs are colloquial verse, although the main text lacks real vernacular prose style. Lack of vowel markings increases the problem of determining what is being written.

Another indication of the structure of the SCA is contained in two documents that go back to the Mahdi time in the late nineteenth century. One of them is a letter from Khalifa 'Abdullah to the Amir 'Abd al- Ra'uf of the Dinka tribe. A part of the letter reads as follows:

أنا بسأل منك كتير. آنت ما جبت الكلام الليل الورقة دي , أحضر قوّام مع أهلك و وليداتك و نسوانك , ما سمح تقعد في دار جانق القعاد بطّال² ‎(Ḥasan,1971:122).

It translates as:

I ask about you much. You did not say your words. Now listen well to the speech of this letter; come quickly with your people and your children and your women; do not stay in the Dinka country to stay there is bad indeed (Ḥasan,1971:123).

The underlined words in the Arabic text may be an attempt to write vernacular or simplified Arabic so as to make it understandable to an uneducated tribesman.

Another record of the SCA speech forms is found in the historical traditions of the Shukriyya tribe. To this date, some of them retain the sixteenth-century spoken forms, which were passed down as oral traditions until they were recorded by Hillelson in 1920. He indicates that, although the vocabulary is colloquial, the syntactic structure is of a poetic nature. One example of these forms is a song to al-Khalifa 'Abdullah al Ta'aishy by Al- Ḥardallu Abu-Sin, the famous poet of the Shukriyya tribe. He recited it praising Al-Khalifa and apologising for not coming to Omdurman with the rest of his folk when the Khalifa called them to attend the 'Eid with him as he was in love with a lady in Rufa'a. He wrote:

كان شافوه ناس عبدا لله كانوا يعذروا	زولي الفي الجمال فايت الكبار و القدرو
درديق الشبيكي الفصلو فوق صدره	السبب الحماني العيد هناك أحضره
و غيك بقطع اللا صق مع الفشفاش	كلام الناس براه لايشا في لاش
إن بريا شتا بفتقا علي رشاش ³	جرحات ديفت النقعة أم نعاما طاش

---

² They are, respectively, the Sudanese colloquial for the standard Arabic words كثير (much), لا (do not), الخاص بك (yours), الخطاب (of) , بسرعة (letter) , أبناؤك (quickly), زوجاتك (your children), الخاص ب (your wives) , طيب (good) , تقيم (stay), الزنج (the Negroes), الإقامة (staying) and سيء (bad).

(Amery, 1873-1955:446)

It translates as follows:

My beautiful friend surpasses his superiors and his equals.

If the people of 'ibdillah saw him they would have excused me.

The reason which prevented me from attending the festival there.

Was the necklace pendent on his breast.

What the people say is all nonsense.

The love of you rends the heart from the lungs.

The wounds (which you cause me) are like the game of the desert or the scared ostrich.

If they heal in the winter they will open again in the early rains (Amery, 1958:446).

The language used is a mixture of colloquial and standard. The word يعدروا is classical but the grammatical rules are not observed, as is always the case with the dialect. The underlined words [4] are Sudanese dialect, which is difficult to understand. The verse meaning and poetic music depend on the vowel marks and the phonology.

Here is an example of Sudanese singing called al-namim quoted in Amery (1958:445):

أليلِ و البنات ما مِّهِنْ توبات   ومقادر الزمان ما مِّهِنْ حودات

البنات ما مِّهِنْ توبات   ومقادير الزمان ما مِّهِنْ حودات أليلِ

---

[3] The underlined words respectively mean: necklace pendent, nonsense, love, heart which is attached to the lungs, game of a desert, scared, healed, winter, open and autumn

[4] - الإبل (camels) with the third letter omitted;

- الذي يبرى (الذي يتبع he who follows)

- wine

- نتئآنس we chat

- بناتنا (literally our girls) the plural for بنت . the plural form for which there is no analogy in the classical language; it occurs in the dialect as *fa"ul bannut* بنوت girls.

- يضج To make a row . the ض and ج is reversed in SCA.
Strips of dried meat

14

<div dir="rtl">

الياكل طعامات المشرّك مات و البيْرا الهرف لا بدْ من الوقعات

و نتونس مع بنوتنا نشرب سمسكوت في بيوتنا

نحن الجنة وين بتفوتنا فوق النار يجِضْ شرموطنا

</div>

Translation:

Camels and women cannot be dispensed with,

And the rotation of time cannot be deviated from.

The rotten edge of the bank (of the river) is bound to give way,

And he who eats his food in a snare is a dead man.

Let us drink wine in our houses and pass time with our women

On the fire we roast our strips of dried meat.

All the same we go to paradise.(Amery:445)

The underlined5 words are Sudanese spoken dialect.

Another poet says:

<div dir="rtl">

الشبل المستضعف

جابوك للسوق ساكت درادر و ضيعة

أمك في البنات ماها المره السمِّيعة

نترة ناس أبوك أل للرجال لويعة

وِإتْ أكان كِيرْ جنباً ثَغلبْ البيعة [6]

</div>

(Al-Mubarak, 1958:147)

It translates as:

They brought you to the market for idle show.

Though your mother amongst women is not to be trifled with.

---

[6] (The following words are commonly used to mean:

- only - ليست ب (she is not that)

أنت with the omission of the middle letter.

كان (if) –

- كبرت (grew old) the final ت is omitted from the past form e.g. *rikib* ركب (you mounted), (شرب you drank)

كبر (grew old).

He whom your father strikes with his paw has no hope of recovery.

Had you but grown up you would not have been brought to be sold

To the foreign merchant (Al Mubarak,1958:147).

The underlined words belong to the Sudanese dialect. The above examples are presented here to indicate the diversity of Sudanese dialects and the use of mixture between colloquial and standard Arabic as in the two manuscripts. It also demonstrates the deviation of grammatical rules and the use of colloquial words in a poetic structure as in the two songs.

During Anglo-Egyptian rule in the Sudan, a system of administration was established as it was necessary to develop some means of communication between the top administrators and the native Sudanese who worked under them. In 1905 the first English-Arabic vocabulary was published by H.F.S. Amery who was a captain in the Intelligence Department of the Egyptian army. Amery merges aspects of the colloquial and the classical and this sometimes leads to confusion. He states that in the transliterated forms of colloquial Arabic the English letter t may stand for ت t, ث th or ط ṭ (with a dot under it). The letter d may stand for د d, ض , and ز z or ذ th. For instance, he translates طيب (all right) as taiyb instead of ṭaiyb (with a dot under the letter t). He does not differentiate minimal pairs. He writes ba'ad for both بعض (some) and بعد (after). Despite its shortcomings, the book became the linguistic foundation on which S. Hillelson and others built. In 1923 'Abdullah 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Amin, a Sudanese official, published al 'arabiyyah fi al-Sudan" (Arabic in the Sudan). It was very interesting, being prepared by an educated native speaker of SCA. Two years later, Allan Worsley, a medical doctor in the Church Missionary Society Hospital in Omdurman, wrote his Sudanese Grammar in 1925. It was the acknowledged standard SCA work, on which other works that followed built. The better-known book, Sudan Colloquial Arabic (1946) by Trimingham, quotes his description of sounds used in the Sudan and utilises his grammatical analysis. He also gives examples of phonemes introduced into SCA and not normally found in Arabic. Phonemes like ny and ch are probably the result of African influence. Examples given include ناوه (cat) and وش (face) instead of هره and وجه . Sudan English-Arabic Vocabulary (1925), by S. Hillelson, drew much from articles published in SNR and the work of Sheikh 'Abdullah 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Amin.

In 1900, during their rule, the British introduced English language education based on the British system, and decided to abolish Arabic from the South. It was suspected by nationalists

that their purpose was to isolate the South and to fight the feeling of national identity that might have led to a unified resistance. In 1949, during the Sudanisation of the Condominium rule, Arabic became the lingua franca of the North, and English the lingua franca of the South. General 'Abboud's decision to Arabise the South, during his military regime after independence, 1958-1964, met fierce objections from the educated Southerners. By the end of the civil war in the South and the signing of the Addis Ababa Accord in 1972, Arabic was declared the official, administrative and literary language of the Sudan, and English was to be used for national and international communication.

In his introduction to Sudan Arabic; English Arabic Vocabulary, Hillelson does not focus on classical written Arabic. He concentrates on spoken Arabic. According to him, Sudanese Arabic, like any other spoken dialect, consists of a number of local speech forms of various groups, which share some similarities due to geographical and political contacts (Hillelson,1925:13). It is not a homogeneous language with definite rules of grammar and a fixed vocabulary. Because of its phonetic and grammatical features and characteristic vocabulary, it forms a distinct dialectical group and occupies an independent position amongst the dialects of the Arabic tongue. In spoken vocabulary two elements have to be distinguished, the dialect and the common language or koine. The word bet in the common language is applied to any shape of house, while the dialect gives many alternatives that express different aspects or shades of meaning, such as *maraba', guttiya, durdur, kurnuk, tukul,* etc. The dialect consists of words and idioms typical of local speech, while the common language words and idioms are current throughout the Sudan or the Arabic-speaking world. Thus a dialect in central Sudan may be unintelligible in western Sudan. To illustrate how differences of local usage may hinder communication, Hellilson presents two versions of the same sentence, one by a Halawin in central Sudan and the other by a Rubatabi from the north of the Sudan. The sentence "get the knife from the bottle-shaped basket in the store-room," is produced as follows:

In the Robatabi dialect : جيبي الخوسة في الكمبوت في المارجون

In the Halawen dialect. : جيبي السكين في الكابدلو في القطيع

Thus the words for knife, bottle-shaped basket and store-room respectively mean خوسة , مارجون , كمبوتin the Rubatab dialect and قطيع , كابدلو, سكين in Halawen. The Sudanese sub-dialects are not easy to classify as a result of immigration and tribal fusion. Although each area has its own speech with its characteristic vocabulary, pronunciation and idioms, it is

difficult to trace its precise geographical boundaries. Qasim details the local dialects as follows:

In the north the Nubian language in its four dialects is still spoken by the *Kunuz, Sakkut, Maḥas* and *Danagla*. In the east, Tu-Bedawi in five dialects is used by the 'Ababda, Ḥalanga, 'Amar'ar, Bishariyun and Hadandawa. All these Beja tribes speak a Hemitic language, while some of Banu 'Amir, also a Beja tribe, uses Tigre, a Semitic language closely connected to the Abyssinian language. Towards the southeast, the Angessana still use their own language, while in the South more than a hundred distinct languages exist. This multiplicity of language can also be seen in the West where the Nubian and Darfurian languages are in use. But most of these regions have been influenced in some way or other by Arabic while Arabic itself has been in varying degrees to their influence (Qasim, 1972:40-49).

Migration and displacement were the result of civil wars, and drought and desertification had a considerable impact on language use and language change. A sociolinguistic study by Dr Catherine Miller and Dr A. Abu Manga, (Miller&Manga,1991:156-59) of a migrants' community on the outskirts of Khartoum, indicates that language use in the capital city demonstrates a strong tendency towards Arabisation, while in their home-region people use more vernacular than Arabic. In the migrants' community, Arabic and vernacular are used side by side, and even seventy-five percent of migrants' children born in Khartoum are Arabic speakers. (Miller&Manga,1991:156-59) The vernacular languages are used only for communication with adult relatives and traditional music and songs. The local varieties of Arabic that migrants used to speak in their home-regions (e.g., Western Sudanese Arabic or (WSA), and Juba Arabic or (JA) differ considerably from the Sudanese Standard Arabic (SSA) to which they are exposed in Khartoum. They have non-standard phonological and morphological features, which will be dealt with in Sudanese Colloquial Arabic. SCA has some relation with the Arabic of some Arab tribes in the Arabian Peninsula. I note here the following characteristics of the Sudanese colloquial.

Some features of the SCA that will be illustrated later in the texts of Sudanese literature have a strong relation with some of the tribes of the Arabian Peninsular. Like the tribe of Banu Sa'ad, the Kordofanians substitute the (glottal stop) همزة for ع as in سأل ; ﻩ (h) for ح as in Hassan . Other phonetic features are the replacement of غ (g) for ق (q) as in قال (say), ت (t) for ث (th) as in كثير (much) and ب (b) for م (m) as in مكان (place). The omission of the nunation is a feature of the Arab tribe of Rabi'a; they omit the n from the plural masculine, as

in نضربوا (you hit pl.) for تضربون, the diminutive form of nouns of the measure faʻil like kelib كليب (dog) and دريب derib (path) all over the Sudan. Demonstrative pronoun plurals are ديل for these and ديلاك delak for those. As contrasted with Egyptian دول and دولاك Baggara, the Sudanese western tribe, has دول for the masculine and ديل for the feminine and inanimate objects. Various forms of broken plural are used all over the Sudan, for example Faʻul بنوت for girls, faʻiala ديكة for cocks. Faʻʻal : صغّار, hawks. fiʻlen: the dual used in the parts of the body occurring in pairs eg. , كرعين legs ; عينين eyes. Nouns denoting occupation take the form of faʻali (plural faʻʻala):حطّابي instead of hattab حطّاب woodcutter. The particles دت or تب for gat قط (at all) are used to strengthen the negated verb. Reversing the g and d in جضةgudda for ضجة dugga (row) is also a feature of the Sudanese SCA.

This microcosmic picture, composed of tribal and ethnic identities, language and religion, results in a diversity of peoples and cultures with overlapping levels of cultural and historical experiences. It is against the above profile and foundation that both Sudanese nationalism and cultural identity emerged and developed.

1.4. Sudanese Self-Identity:

Having discussed the geographical, ethnic, religious and linguistic dimensions of Sudanese identity, I will now examine how the Sudanese identify themselves. The words 'Sudan' and 'Sudanese' were first used to denote 'black.' Until the beginning of the twenty first century, therefore, the Sudanese, as was noted earlier, identified themselves by four different modes: tribalism, regionalism, Islamism or Arabism. Tribalism and regionalism are closely associated. They saw themselves as members of different tribes and sub-tribes and adherents of various ṭariqas or religious brotherhoods, as belonging to this or that region of the country and, in the case of northern Sudanese in particular, as Muslim and/or Arab peoples. However, they never thought of themselves as Sudanese, and the term Sudanese used to be applied to the less sophisticated, non-Islamised and non-Arabised sections of the population.

As we saw above, the key to that profile is diversity within which there are factors of unity. Islam unified the divisions among the Arabised themselves, and united them with other sections of the population in the eastern, western and southern parts of central Sudan, which had accepted Islam but were not likewise Arabised. The process of Islamisation and Arabisation brought about a significant degree of cultural unity and social cohesion, but it also had some divisive elements. That was because the Islamisation of the Sudan was largely a product of the missionary activities of popular religious brotherhoods or Sufi ṭariqas, each of

which was centred around the personality and teachings of a particular sheikh (saint). There was strong rivalry between the numerous Islamic ṭariqas and sub-ṭariqas, as religion and politics have traditionally been closely linked in Muslim societies. Nonetheless, the Shiekhs achieved a remarkable degree of unity by cooperation and sympathy among their followers. As a part of his religious reform, al-Iamam Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdi (1844-1884), the leader of the Mahdi Revolution in August 1880, tried to abolish the tariqas, but he encountered hostile resistance from them, especially the Khatmiyyah, the largest Sufi order in the Sudan. Sufism in general, and the principal ṭariqas khatmiyyah, Qadiriyyah, Sammaniyyah, Shadhaliyyah, witnessed a revival after the overthrow of the Mahdiyya. Hence, under the Anglo-Egyptian administration, official Islam was mainly Sunni but it was kept under control. Lord Cromer established an official Council of 'Ulama (religious scholars) to deal with the numerous ṭariqas. The Council had a dual purpose: to control the ṭariqas and to counteract Mahdism. In his pamphlet "*al- ḥarakat al–fikriyyah fi al-Sudan*" of 1941 in al-fajr Magazine, and in the debates held at the Graduates Club, Maḥjūb talked about Sudanese cultural identity, its definition and its independence from Egyptian culture. At that time emerged a new politico-literary vocabulary, such as *al-dhatiyyah al-Sudaniyyah* [Sudanese identity] and *al-adab al-qawmi* [national literature].

 The Sudanese nature and characteristics of friendliness, informality, modesty and compromise play a substantial role in the management of unity in diversity. An opposition leader who had originally planned to overthrow the government may negotiate a compromise and enter a coalition with it. This willingness by the Sudanese people to preserve diversity while maintaining cohesion is not always free of conflict; the Sudanese people are willing to engage in conflict to defend certain values. European administrators noted these characteristics, namely the Sudanese people's courage and patriotism. Robert O. Collins, the famous historian of the Sudan, in addressing the Sudanese crisis of identity, asks the question, who then is this person who calls himself Sudanese? And he answers:

> He is neither Arab nor African, he is Sudanese in which the individuality of each ethnicity is melted. Belonging to two worlds but of neither, this Sudanese, demonstrates a beneficent of characteristics unique among people and a subject of commentary by virtually every observer who has ventured south of Aswan or north of Equatorial lakes - an individual generous in spirit and in kind, possessed of a tolerance born of patience in a harsh land, no matter how humble or complete with integrity, which accompanies cavalier self esteem. What other nation, despites the fire of wars, maintain a common civility few others have sustained in the face of diversity. What other nation has a people who can pass through the most unassuming or the most sophisticated of worlds with the aplomb and panache of the Sudanese? (Deng,2007:439)

The issue of Sudanese identity remained a problem in the North-South relations. Francis Deng (1973:1-8) attempted to review and analyse the previous trends of identification and integration in a positive manner. Much of the literature which tackled this matter focused on the negative presentation of the Southern problem, i.e. the differences between the North and the South, the North domination, the historical enmity, the South subjection and the British divisive policies and the Southern separatist movements. According to him integration can be achieved and developed in a balanced and less disruptive way than in the past. To redefine Sudanese national character in a manner that both integrates and reflects realities about the country, it is necessary to conceive the country as the 'Sudan' not in cultural, religious or racial terms and its people as Sudanese. A genuinely integrated Sudanese culture and identity could be the ultimate outcome of freedom of association between the South and the North, plus public information through the mass media which builds on the total of Sudan's cultural variety. He agrees with Muddathir 'Abd Al-Raḥim's recognition of the dualism of the Sudan and the emphasis of the Arabism of the North but he thinks that cannot be a basis for national unity. The contact between the Ngok Dinka with one of the biggest tribes of Western Sudan, the Ḥomr Baggara, is an example of harmonious relations and possible lines of integration. Their interactions resulted in some Ngok chiefs being Arabized and some of them preferred to stay in the North instead of the south. The south only became receptive of northern influence immediately after the establishment of peace and order following the granting of the South Self-Government in 1972 by Ga'afar Numayri. To make use of the cultural recognition following the autonomy, both the Southerners and the Northerners should be well informed of each other's culture. The study of creoles such as the Southern Arabic and other linguistic modes of communication could give insights into the complexities of the Sudanese cultural context and perhaps provide some foundation for planning linguistic integration. The media of folklore songs and tales could be effective tools for promoting cultural integration. The power of songs in fostering identification and promoting policies can be observed in the favourable way the local people react to a song on the radio in their local language, especially if the content is relevant to them. In this respect, Deng agrees with 'Abd Al- Raḥim and quotes him as:

> "The dominant form of literary expression in the immediate post-1924 period
> was the anonymous poem or song. That type of patriotic song which Khalil
> Farah popularised halfway between literary and colloquial Arabic in style, was
> 'designed' primarily to articulate the 'graduates' and the multitude - a function

of considerable importance in a predominantly illiterate society." ('Abd al-Raḥim, 1985:28-38).

Some songs by Deng quoted in this book show how dynamic folklore is in demonstrating not only changes but also sentiments of various participants concerning what happens in society at its different stages of transition. In the section entitled Re-structuring Identification: A Step Towards Lasting Peace he quotes a poem by the Northern Sudanese poet Ṣalah Aḥmad Ibrahim entitled Malual. He comments on it as capturing "the essence of the South-North history," "revealing the complexities of the identity of the Sudan," and articulating "the challenges now facing the Sudanese in the process of nation-building" (Deng, 2007:450).

It reads as:

Malwal, before you deny me
Listen to my story of the South and the north
The story of enmity and brotherhood from ancient times
The Arab, the carrier of the whip,
The driver of the camels,
Descended on the valleys of the Sudan like summer rains
With the book and the ways of the Prophet….
Carrying his ambitions and his plates
And two dates and his ancestral tree…
A reality blossomed in the womb
Of every slave mother of a free man
The progeny of the seed of your Arab ancestors
Among them were the Fur and the Funj
And all those who are charcoal-black
A reality as large as the elephant and like the crocodile
And like the high mountains of Kassala…
He lies who says in the Sudan
That I am pure
That my ancestry is not mixed
That my ancestry is not tinted
He is truly a liar …. (Ahmed&Berkley,1982:77)

In their foreword to his book The Dinka of the Sudan, George and Louise Spindler wrote:

> From these songs we can at least dimly sense the real qualitative difference between Western and Dinka patterns of thought and experience; and the same time, we can sense the common-human quality of the emotions and motivations involved (Deng, 1984:3).

This should apply to the northern Sudanese as a root for cross-cultural understanding and respect. A concert performed by the Southern Kwoto Group and the Northern فرقة عقد الجلاد

['Iqd al-Galad] Group at the Friendship Hall in June 2006 during the Peace celebrations week consolidates this. It is free expression and a discovery of belonging only to a nation extending from Wadi Halfah in the farthest North to Nimoli in the farthest South. The scene evokes national sensation between the Southerners and Northerners and consolidates the popular and creative role in peace making. Deng's stories are no less powerful or adaptable than the folk songs. Like *The Dinka folktales* they demonstrate the universality of the human experience. Although they may differ from Arabic literature they can be appreciated by Northerners.

Seed of Redemption is a political novel which addresses the complicated and sensitive issue of national unity and social transformation in the Sudan. It exposes and discusses the most sensitive and deep-rooted issues in the individual and collective psyche of Sudanese people. The remedy is for us to find a leader with whom the people of the disadvantaged areas "could identify, but who would also have a national consciousness that accommodates everyone" (Deng,1986:294) and adds, "We must consolidate our domestic base as Sudanese if we are to move regionally and internationally with a sense of identity, security and strategic direction. We could then build on both our Arab and African connections while knowing who and what we really are" (Deng,1986:294).

Cry of the Owl provides a deepening awareness of the Afro-Arab roots of this huge nation which comprises powerful forces of both unity and cleavage. It contains a very interesting description of the culture of the Dinka tribes of Southern Sudan, their intermingling with other Sudanese cultures and an analysis of the problems of the relationships between the Arab and the African and the Muslim and non-Muslim in the contemporary Sudanese self. This is achieved in an enjoyable form of narrative full of lively characters who demonstrate the life experiences of Sudanese society.

Elias, the main character in the story, is the remaining son of an African Dinka tribal chief and heir of great cultural traditions. He grows up on the memory of the heroic deeds of his tribe and learns about an ill-omened night when invaders from the north kidnap his mother and older twin brothers. His mother is eventually rescued but only one of his brothers returns home and is physically disabled as a result of the tragedy. Deng uses Elias' character as an example of the history and suffer ring of certain tribes. Elias goes on to study and joins the army in the north then becomes involved in politics there, becoming spokesman of the Association of the Revolutionary Minorities of the Sudan (ARMS). Deng, therefore, portrays his character as an educated nationalist who also has conflicting feelings with regard to his

culture and background based on experiences of tribal wars. Elias falls in love with Fadeela, a northern Muslim girl, and they have a child. However, Fadeela's father, Mḥuammed al-Jak, objects to the marriage first on religious grounds, then because he believes Elias is his son. The story unfolds to reveal that Muḥammed al-Jak is the Arab who kidnaps Elias' mother, holds her captive and forces himself up on her. She is rescued by her people soon after becoming pregnant by him and gives birth to Elias without ever revealing the truth to her husband or family. Hence Elias is half Arab, half Dinka. Another twist in the tale reveals Fadeela's father not to be Muḥammed al-Jak but his best friend who was killed in the same tribal fight with the Dinka in which Elias' mother was rescued. Al-Jak marries his best friend's pregnant bride to protect her and takes Fadeela as his own daughter. The novel ends with a series of sudden discoveries regarding the inter-relationships of the characters which assert the pivotal theme of blood relationships bringing people back together over long periods of time. Elias and Fadeela vow to show strength in the circumstances and work their way through the confusion and emotional turmoil that these discoveries have left, whilst discovering the truth about themselves, their people and their country in an effort to reconcile the past and look to the future with hope for peace and harmony. Hence, the author uses these characters to explore the most profound issues of the cultural plurality and the ethnic and religious prejudice in life in Sudanese society. The story represents a fusion of myth and reality as its setting coincides with a period of civil war, poverty and cultural conflicts in the Sudan. Elias recalls his father as saying that the cry of the owl is a source of both evil and wisdom. He reflects on the story of his family and wonders whether "the cry of the owl can be both a signal of tragedy or a wise vision into their complex destiny, fraught with anomalies and dangers, but also blessed with opportunities and a sense of mission" (Deng,1989:356). The author uses the fictional mythology of the owl in his novel as an analogy to represent events in Sudan of the time and the hope that one nation could shed cultural animosities based on ignorance and discrimination and be brought together so as to revive and save the future of the Sudanese people.

11. Sudanese Literature and Nationalism:

Most of the African states were decolonised only by the 1960s because of the rise of the spirit of nationalism and the long-standing struggle for independence. What do the terms colonialism, imperialism and nationalism mean? Colonialism is the loss of native place to the outsider. It is the physical presence of the coloniser by its army and personnel. Edward Sa'id defined imperialism as an "act of geographical violence through which virtually every space

in the world was explored, charted and finally brought under control. It claimed to be "an educational movement which set out consciously to modernise, develop, instruct and civilise" (Sa'id,1994:269). Nationalism is "the mobilising force that coalesced into resistance against an occupying empire on the part of people possessing a common history, religion and language (Sa'id,1994:269). Nationalism was often led by the elite, such as doctors, lawyers and writers, who had been partly formed or produced by the colonial power. Nationalism was the long struggle for independence and their native rights by the peoples of Africa, India, the Caribbean, Ireland, Latin America and elsewhere. It was the realisation that European and Western culture and its claim to guide and civilise were imperialism, and this resulted in a readiness of the colonised to search for and restore their own identity.

Until the end of World War I, nationalism as such was known in the Sudan only as an extension of Islam. After World War II there emerged many nationalist organisations and movements such as Pan-Arabism, Pan-Africanism and the Negritude, and parties like the Congress of India, Sinn Fein in Ireland and al-Wafd in Egypt. Among the great nationalist leaders in Asia were Nehru and Sukarnu, and in Africa were Jomo Kenyatta 1898-1978 (Father of the Nation), Jamal 'Abd al-Nasser 1918-1971 (A New Pharaoh), Patrice Lumumba 1925-1961 (Martyr to the Cause), Julius Nyerere 1922 (The Eternal Idealist), Kwame Nkrumah 1909-1972, Leopold Senghor 1906 (Man of all Cultures) and Nelson Mandela 1918 (Symbol of Reconciliation)   Although there were many African nationalist movements, Sudanese nationalism was very much influenced by the Egyptian example as a result of the close links in trade and education and Egyptian publications. For the West, Islam symbolises terror, devastation and barbarism; it creates a lasting trauma and danger for Europe and Christian civilisations.

However, as nationalism gradually spread into the Muslim Arab World and became the accepted basis of political organisation, taking the place of the international brotherhood of all Muslims, the Sudan, like other parts of the Arab-Muslim world, was rediscovered and reasserted. Some Sudanese began to take pride in their African ancestors, such as Ṭaharqa and Piankhy, and in Egypt some nationalists began to identify themselves as children of the Pharaohs, rather than Muslims or Arabs. The Egyptian writer   aha Hussein declared that Egypt was a part of the Mediterranean or European world, rather than the Middle East or the Arab world. Muḥammed Miftaḥ al-Fayturi, a Muslim Arabic-speaking poet from northern Sudan, identified himself as African and nothing but African. Thus, whereas for four or five decades Fayturi's predecessors had identified themselves as Muslims and Arabs, now at least

some Sudanese (northerners and southerners) in the age of nationalism, with Pan-Africanism still active as a political force, have come to take the reverse position, that of identifying themselves in purely African terms, to the exclusion of Arabic and Islamic influences. Politically conscious Sudanese treated their African past in the same way as the Egyptians treated their Pharonic history and the Iraqis their Assyrian background. They consider their non-Islamic present and pre-Islamic past a part of the Jahiliyyah, i.e., the 'Age of Ignorance.' It was no longer an object of glorification.

Sudan's long struggle against the British occupation began at the start of the twentieth century. Nationalism in the Sudan is inseparable from politics. This research relies on the Arabic history books of Mekki Shebaikah, the Sudanese historian, (Shebaika,1964) and of Na'uam Shuqair, (Shuqair,1972) the Syrian historian, who traced the political and social events that contributed to Sudanese nationalism. Other sources are books and articles written by Sudanese politicians and scholars such as Aḥmad   Khair : كفاح جيل Struggle of a Generation, Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥjūb الحركات الفكرية في السودان [The Intellectual Movements in the Sudan] (1974), Muddathir 'Abd al-Raḥim Imperialism and Nationalism in the Sudan (1969) and Moḥammad 'Omar Bashir *Revolution and Nationalism in the Sudan* (1974). According to Shebaikah, (Shebaika:45) in Western Sudan resistance to government authority spread from 1908 to 1918 in nineteen different districts. The largest opposition movement was led by Dinnar, Sultan of Darfur. In the South, inter-tribal raids prevailed. In 1903, the Nyam Nyam revolted, under Chief Rikita. Sultan Yambio led his people against the Anglo-Egyptian government troops. A Beir secret society caused trouble in 1917. There were Shilluk disturbances in 1915, and Nuer Disturbances in 1913, 1914 and 1917. An expedition against the Annuak in 1912 cost the lives of three Sudanese officers, forty-two soldiers and three British. Of all possible types of opposition, the most disturbing for the new administration was the religious. In 1900 in Omdurman 'Abd al-Karim, a close relative of al Mahdi, and nine others preached Mahdism and incited people to revolt. They believed in the Mahdi and the coming Nebi 'Eisa (Jesus Christ) to save the Sudan and the Islamic nation. The most serious religious revolt was that by 'Abd al-Qadir Wad Ḥaboba in 1908.

More serious than those temporary revolts, however, was the spirit of discontent among the troops and their hostility after the conquest. After the departure of Kitchener for South Africa, the Fourteenth Sudanese Battalion mutinied. In January 1900, the Battalion arrested its British officers and seized ammunition. They complained about payment and pension

regulations, the system of promotion and their bad treatment at the hands of the British officers.

None of the above-mentioned revolts, or many others, could be interpreted as nationalistic. They were mostly tribal conflicts motivated by tribal beliefs or interests. The common factor they shared was resistance to the alien rule which tried to impose its own values. From 1820 to 1956, the Sudan had a long history of struggle against foreign occupation, which was interrupted only by the national rule of the Mahdiyyah (1885-1898). In that struggle the conflicting parties were Egypt, Britain, and the two major Sudanese religious sects: the Khatmiyyah (followers of Sayyid 'Ali al-Mirghany 1878-1968) and the Mahdists or Ansar (followers of Sayyid al-Mahdi 1885-1959). For the intelligentsia and the mass of the people in the north and the south, the reoccupation saw the end of certain of these conflicts, but the beginning of others. Five major events are considered landmarks in the Sudanese nationalist movement: the Mahdist Revolution of 1880, World War I in 1914, the White Flag Revolution in 1924, the Graduates' Congress of 1938 and Independence in 1956.

The first period of foreign occupation (1820-1880) was by Muḥammad Pasha, the ruler of Egypt, at that time a province of the Ottoman Empire, who conquered the Sudan. His expedition's aim was to capture men and gold so as to obtain money to rebuild the army and boost the economy. Mekki Shebaikah (Shebaika:60) described the Sudanese suffering under the oppression of the Turko-Egyptian government, the high taxes imposed, the method of collecting them, flogging, forced labour, the slave trade and misgovernment. Lord Cromer, the British Consul-General in Cairo (1882-1907), commented on the situation in the Sudan: "the power gained by semi-civilised skills over the old tribes of the Sudan has been grossly misused. Slave hunting pashas and corrupt extortionate tax collectors have rendered the name of Egypt hateful to the people" (Cromer,1911:267-287).

The second colonial period was Anglo-Egyptian rule (1898-1956). The British had studied the Sudan and were convinced that their colonial period would not last long as there were many factors of resistance. The British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, in a statement in the House of Commons in 1922 said that, "Sudan is a part of the British Empire as we have in it financial and agricultural interests and moral responsibilities we do not want to lose" (Ali, 1999:229).

Against the above background, Sudanese nationalism grew. The foreign occupation of more than a century was a period of continual conflict and unrest. Opposition to the new administration and rebellion against it broke out in different districts, and for different reasons and motives. In the opinion of the Sudanese scholars, "Mahdism was, in a sense, the

first Sudanese national movement against imperial rulers although its form and spirit were traditional and Muslim rather than modern and secular" (Bekheit, 1939:11-12). The success of the Mahdist movement demonstrated the ability of the religious orders, the Sufi, the 'Ulama and the Fakis, to mobilise opinion and armies, and even to create a state. The Mahdist state was a continuation of that tradition of Sudanese national states that had existed in the Sudan since the days of the ancient kingdom of Meroe, and was disrupted during the sixty years of Turco-Egyptian rule.

The Mahdi Revolution broke out in August 1880 as a result of the discontent of the people with Turco-Egyptian misgovernment, high taxation and the tension between religious orders. The first phase of the Mahdiyyah was characterised by continual victories over foreign rule on the battlefield. In the second half of 1883, the Sudanese leader ' Uthman Digna won many battles against the Egyptian forces. The army, led by Lieut. General William Hicks, was destroyed by Sudanese fighters in November 1883 in the Battle of Shaykan south of al-'Obied in Western Sudan. The Fall of Khartoum and the killing of General Gordon completed the Mahdists' victory. However, 'Uthman Digna, the Mahdist leader, was defeated in Suakin in 1888 and Wad al-Nijoumi was defeated in Toshki in 1889. The fact that the Mahdists were no equal to their enemies did not stop them from resisting them. They were armed with patriotic and religious spirit and the Prophet's battle cry, 'seeking victory or martyrdom.' The Ansar (followers) were frustrated, ill organised and ill equipped after the death of the Mahdi and the defeat of his successor, al-Khalifa 'Abdullah. Nevertheless, they were inspired by their belief in Allah and the Mahdi, and the coming after the Mahdi of al-Nabi 'Eisa (Jesus) to 'fill the earth with justice after being filled with injustice.' As was noted earlier, the feeling of nationalism was a part of the belief in Islam. Thus Mahdi risings never ceased and the most serious of them was that of 'Abd al-Qadir Wad   aboba, in 1908. He was a devout follower of the Mahdi. When he was questioned by the Deputy Inspector C. C. Scott Moncrieff and the Mamur Yusbashi Muḥammad Sherief he attacked them. He fled but was later caught and hanged. In Trimingham's opinion, "the secret of Almahdi's achievement was the strength of his personality and his power of influencing the susceptible Sudanese by suggestion. He was the leader, thrown up by the times, of a peculiar type of Sudanese nationalism. Behind all was his very real unwavering belief in his divine call - a belief which exercised a compelling influence on others" (Trimingham,1949:151). Devotion to the Mahdi dissolved all tribal and religious allegiances. In his book, Trimingham speaks about the "peculiar type of Sudanese nationalism" (Trimingham,1949:151). British administrators in the Sudan were warned about the "peculiar religious susceptibility of the people of that country to religious fanatism"

(Trimingham,1949:151). In a memorandum of 1899 to the Governor-General about his administration, Major-General Lord Kitchener wrote that "the absolute uprootal by the dervishes of the old system of government has afforded an opportunity for initiating new administration more in harmony with the requirements of the Sudan" (Shebaika,1959:276-287). In Sudanese novelist Ṭayyib Ṣalih's short story, The Doum Tree of Wad Ḥamid, (Johnson.Zein,1996:37) the villagers are willing to oppose the efforts of the government officials with force, if necessary, to preserve a beloved tree next to a holy man's tomb. In his poem "Fuzzy Wuzzy," Rudyard Kipling described the eastern Sudanese tribesman who defeated the British soldiers in fighting in the 1880s as "a first class fightin' man.":

> We've fought with many men across the seas
> An' some of 'em are brave an' some was not
> The Paythan an' the Zulu an' Burmese;
> But the Fuzzy was the finest o' the lot.
> We never got a ha'porth's change of 'im:
> 'E squatted in the scrub 'nd 'ocked our 'orses,
> 'E cut our sentries up at Suakin,
> An' 'e played the cat an' banjo with our forces
> So 'ere's to you, Fuzzy-Wuzzy, at your 'ome in the Soudan;
> You're a pore benighted 'eathen but a first-class fightin'man;
> We gives you your certificate, an' if you want it signed
> We 'll come an' 've a romp with you whenever you're inclined.
> (Kipling,1912:400-404)

On this same matter, Sir Winston Churchill wrote:

> the triumphs of the Mahdi were, in his lifetime, greater than those of the founder of the Moḥammedan faith; and the chief difference between Orthodox Moḥammedanism and Mahdism was that the original impulse was opposed only by decaying systems of government and society, and the recent movement came into contact with civilisation and the machinery of science … I believe that if in future years if prosperity should come to the peoples of the Upper Nile, … then the first Arab historian who shall investigate the early annals of that new nation will not forget, foremost among the heroes of his race to write the name of Muḥammad Aḥmad . (Churchill, 1899:86)

As noted earlier, the feeling of nationalism was entwined with religious sentiment. The Mahdist rebellion drew its strength from two forces: "First the religious fervour of the credulous, fanatical but courageous population; secondly the well-merited hatred engendered by the long course of misgovernment [7] By "misgovernment" the report intends Egypt. After the army mutiny in 1900 and 'Abd al-Qadir Wad Ḥabbouba's serious uprising in 1908, Sir Reginald Wingate, the Governor-General of Sudan, showed great concern. In a letter to Gorst,

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[7] *Secret Intelligence Report*, Khartoum, September 1908.

he wrote, "Mahdism in this country is not really dead. It has been stifled but there is still plenty of vitality in it and only the occasion is needed to bring it to the surface; nor is it to be wondered when one remembers that most of the present generation have been born and brought up in the faith." (Wingate,1908) The British administration decided not to relax till it could "crush them almost mercilessly in their inception" (Wingate,1908). The British administration put down all revolts, put ʿAbd al-Raḥman the Mahdi's grandson, under surveillance and banned the circulation of the Mahdi's Ratib (daily religious reading). But the Anṣar still remained a threat to the British administration's security and the anti-British feeling spread to non-Mahdists including the army.

World War II marked a turning point in the development of the Sudanese national consciousness. M. O. Bashir gives a detailed account of the influence of WW II and the establishment of the Graduate Congress in his book: *Revolution and Nationalism in the Sudan.* He states that when Turkey declared war on Britain and its allies, and called for the Muslims to resist their oppressors, the government became worried that this might influence the Sudan. According to Bashir, Wingate, the Governor-General, assembled the religious dignitaries and assured them of Britain's respect for Muslims and its good will towards them, and the British government promised non-interference in any religious practices. The outbreak of war was a turning point for the leaders of the three ṭariqas: Sayyid al-Mirghani of the Khatimiyyah, Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Mahdi of the Anṣar and al-Sherief Yousif al-Hindi. The government, which had placed confidence only in Sayyid al-Mirghani, now had to approach and befriend the other two, whom it had previously suspected. Thus the government won them to its side, so as to influence the people through them. The government's post-war policy was to separate the Sudan from Egypt and at this time the Egyptians were demonstrating, and demanding that the British leave the Nile Valley. The two Sayyids and three other Sudanese notables sent a letter of support to the Governor-General congratulating the King on the signing of the peace treaty, showing their loyalty to the British government, and denouncing the movement taking place in Egypt. The two Sayyids and Sherief Yousif al-Hindi asked the government's permission to proclaim to their followers a form of propaganda intended to cultivate a spirit of national unity among the Sudanese. They were not given permission and were told that a national policy of the Sudan was hardly desirable. If the sense of nationality was to grow, it would do so naturally, and to cultivate it by means of propaganda would be a false move. However, following the ʿUrabi Revolution in Egypt in 1881, government policy towards Sudanese nationalism was reversed. A delegation of

Sudanese dignitaries, led by Sayyid al-Mirghani, visited London. Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi presented King George V with his father's 'Sword of Victory,' as a symbol of his submission. That visit was attacked by the Egyptians and became an object of criticism. To respond to the attack, the three religious leaders were permitted to issue a newspaper. The Anglo-Egyptian dispute and that between the two Sudanese camps was reflected in the writings of Sudanese intelligentsia, mainly in Ḥadarat al-Sudan, the first Sudanese political newspaper, from June 1920 onwards. The two Graduates Clubs in Omdurman and Wad-Madani, which were centres of literary activities, started to discuss political issues. They focused on the unity and solidarity of the country.

In addition to the rivalry and hostilities between ṭariqahs, mainly the two major sects, Khatmiyyah and Ansar, the Anglo-Egyptian dispute produced two camps. The Unionists advocated the 'Unity of the Nile Valley' while the other camp, mainly Mahdists, opposed it. The two camps were united in opposing the government's Native Administration which encouraged tribalism and the 'Southern Policy,' which aimed at separating the South, removing all features of Muslim-Arab culture from it, and substituting tribal customs with Christianity and the English language. However, they were divided over the future of the Sudan. One camp, consisting mainly of Mahdist elements that feared Egyptian domination of Sudan, supported the independence of the country by way of cooperating with the British against Egypt. The other, mainly Khatmiyyah, camp supported the 'Unity of the Nile Valley.' The moderates among the nationalists supported the slogan 'Sudan for the Sudanese.' In this situation, Sudanese political consciousness grew in the years 1920-1924. The realisation of the unity of the Nile Valley would have meant the negation of Sudanese nationalism. The literate Sudanese were for the unity and solidarity of the Sudan. Their activities became literary rather than political and the main theme was nationalism. The two main centres were the Omdurman and Wad Medani Graduates Clubs. In Omdurman, there were also reading circles where books coming from Cairo and London were read and discussed, and this was reflected in the meetings of their literary groups. Such agreement and disagreement were reflected in the writings of the more articulate amongst them. A dominant theme among the literate was the need for unity. A good example of the anti-British and pro-Egyptian feeling was expressed by the hundreds of copies of an anonymous letter sent to different addresses. Sir Lee Stack sent a badly translated copy to Lord Allenby in Cairo, the British Consul in Egypt, who sent it to London where it was circulated to the Cabinet. The propaganda and leaflets developed into political organisations the first of which was the Sudanese Union

Society, founded in Omdurman in 1920 by graduates of Gordon College, who were members of the Graduates Club. Their political activity took the form of circulating leaflets attacking the British administration, the religious men and al-Hadarah newspaper. Army officers started to engage in political activity. Second Lieutenant ʻAbd al-Laṭif and an ex-postal clerk, ʻObaid Ḥag Al Amin, founded the White Flag League in May 1924. ʻAbd al-Laṭif' wrote an article entitled "The Claims for the Sudanese Nation," which demanded self-determination. He sent it to Muḥammad al-Khalifa Sherief for publication in al-Ḥadarh. Sherief did not have time to publish it as both of them were arrested. Sherief was freed but ʻAbd al-Laṭif was imprisoned for a year. Five months later, Sherief wrote an article that he intended to publish in The Times, but he did not. In the article he declared his support for self-government and the union with Egypt. The Sudan question, he argued, must be settled on the basis that the Sudan was for the Sudanese and not for the English or the Egyptians. A national government somewhat like that of Mesopotamia would be immediately established, suitable for the conditions of the country and giving time guarantees for the development of the Sudan, and the realisation of its independence. A declaration would apply to the areas of education, employment, army, administration, agriculture, commerce and other matters. The declaration should define the position of England, and the political relation of it to the Sudan, and should also determine Egypt's vital interests, and such necessary bonds as would be in the interest of both countries. Secret cells were formed in various towns and circulars and leaflets were sent to employees telling them they deserved better payment, and to merchants about the unjust tax impositions. A delegation from the League set out for Cairo proposing to meet the Egyptian Wafd Party but was arrested on their way and sent back. That led to many demonstrations and ʻAbd al-Laṭif was arrested once more and sentenced to three years in jail. The wave of demonstrations was joined by a mutiny of the cadet students at the Military College. On 9 August, they seized arms and marched to ʻAbd al-Laṭif's house and to the prison where ʻAbd al-Laṭif and others were held where they presented arms outside the prison. The fifty-one cadets were sent to a prison where the inmates demonstrated and mutinied. The League spread the news all over the country through its members, especially postal clerks. On 19 November, Sir Lee Stack was shot dead in Cairo. Lord Allenby issued an ultimatum to the Egyptian government requiring it to evacuate all Egyptian army units and all officers from the Sudan within twenty-four hours. Saʻad Zaghlul refused to carry out the order and the Egyptian soldiers refused to evacuate. As a result, the Sudanese battalions all over the country mutinied in solidarity with the Egyptians. The Khartoum troops were attacked by the British and they fought to the last man. To their

disappointment, the Egyptian troops evacuated on receiving an order from the new government in Cairo. (Beshir, 1974 : 80-87).

In this way, the 1924 Revolt was totally crushed and its remaining leaders were either sentenced to life imprisonment, or executed by firing squad. In reaction to the mutiny the government enacted a new policy. The government attributed the recent developments to the emergence of a small but vocal educated class of Sudanese and the growth of national consciousness. The government realised the importance of strengthening the traditional authorities. Sir John Maffey, the Governor-General in 1927, emphasised the political role of the native administration when he wrote that the latter "will provide a shield between the agitator and the bureaucracy," (MacMichael,1934:362) and serve as "protective glands against the specific glands (of nationalism) which (would inevitably) be passed on from the Khartoum of the future … nothing stands still and in Khartoum we are already in touch with the outposts of new political forces" (MacMichael,1934:362). Native authorities were to be developed so as to "sterilise and localise the political germs which spread from the lower Nile to Khartoum." (MacMichael,1934:362) When the political leaders, the agitators and the propagandists were arrested and imprisoned, there was no longer any means of contact with the masses, and the League was paralysed. This enabled the British administration to crush the revolt without great difficulty. Thus ended the Sudan's first major revolt after the Mahdiyyah defeat.

Aḥmad Khair (Khair,1946:20-30) argues that the British knew the Sudan was rich in resources and, as they wanted to live in luxury and provide their home country with more riches, power and cheap raw materials, a new education policy was enacted. Not a single school was opened, except in the South where non-Arabic non-Muslim schools were opened to comply with the 'Southern Policy' of separating the South and eliminating the Arab/Muslim influence. The Military College was closed, educational missions to Cairo were stopped and replaced by missions to Beirut and training courses in administration for Sudanese were stopped. After the 1924 Revolt, Gordon Graduates and educated Sudanese faced a very hostile attitude and harsh treatment from the British Administration. The suffering they experienced and the disappointment they felt had to have an outlet.
Since political or military resistance was impossible, Sudanese nationalists resorted to literary and social outlets. Poetry, which had always played a social role in Arab societies, became the most important form of expression. To advance the nationalist movement, nationalists

started serious discussion and study groups. The post-1924 generation attributed the failure of the 1924 revolution to the lack of knowledge and lack of political maturity:

> Our generation is the living articulated position of Young Sudan. We aspire to distinguish ourselves by having an outlook on life, political, social and literary. We stand at the crossroads and we shall either follow the right road or go astray (Al Fajr1935).

The new generation of educated youth made every effort to attain cultural maturity. Through their knowledge of English, they knew the modern world and studied international politics and history and other nationalistic movements. Through the Arabic language they rediscovered themselves and their roots. They studied Sudanese society, and created links with people so as to enlighten them. It was from these study circles that future Sudanese leaders and political parties emerged. Despite the difficult situation they worked in, they succeeded in producing journals such as al-Sudan and al- Ḥadarah (the Renaissance); al-Fajr, founded by ‘Arafat Muḥammad ‘Abdullah in 1934, was the pioneering literary journal in the Sudan, the main contributors to it being major poets and men of letters. The emergence of the al-Fajr group and the contribution of its members played a substantial role in the cultural movement. The al-Fajr editorial team were all graduates of Gordon Memorial College, now Khartoum University: ‘Arafat Muḥammad ‘Abdalla, Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥjūb (a poet and lawyer who later became the prime minister), Muḥammad ‘Ashri al-Siddiq, his brother ‘Abdallah, Yusuf Muṣtafa al Tinay (a poet and later a diplomat) and Mu‘awiya Muḥammad Nour, a brilliant literary journalist who gained an excellent reputation in Lebanon and Egypt and was very much admired by ‘Abbas Mahḥmūd al-‘Aqqad, who was also associated with the al-Fajr group. The group argued that there was a special Sudanese identity and they believed it was their mission was to create the poetry and the language that would support and express it. They coined words like الذاتية السودانية (Sudanese identity) and الأدب القومي (national literature) and discovered the hybrid nature of their identity.

> A wide range The objective towards which the literary movement in this country should be directed is to establish an Islamic-Arabic culture supported by European thought and aimed at developing a truly national literature which derives its character and its inspiration from the character and tradition of this country, its deserts and jungles, its bright skies and fertile valleys. By giving an increasingly more prominent place for political studies of a kind more directly concerned with our problems and ambitions, this movement should then be transformed from a cultural to a political movement whose final goal should be the achievement of the political, social and cultural independence of this country (Abdel Rahim, 1986:114).

of subjects was covered and commented on: literature, foreign affairs, Arab unity, Italian Imperialism, nationalism, internationalism. The writings of Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥjūb showed the determination of his generation to consolidate their knowledge of Arabic-Muslim culture and to develop an appreciation of world thought and literature, whilst stressing the need for Sudanese writing to remain independent and original. He called for a literature that would have close relations with the neighbouring Egyptian culture, but would be independent from it. In a pamphlet published in 1941 he wrote:

Pro-Egyptian Sudanese nationalists were so disillusioned by the course of events that they decided to rely on themselves. The signing of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Nile Waters Agreement was offensive and disappointing to the politically conscious public. It stressed the welfare of Sudanese as the primary aim yet it did not refer to their freedom. They lost interest in Egypt and looked forward to the day when they would get rid of the Agreement, which had given the Sudan less water without consulting the Sudanese people. Muʿaway Muḥammad Nur, an intelligent man who had a considerable reputation as a literary journalist in Lebanon and Egypt and was associated with al-Fajr, had an unpleasant personal experience in Egypt. Nationalists had grievances against the regime that they could not publicly express, but they referred to them obliquely in magazines such as Al- Ḥadarah, al-Naḥdah and al-Fajr until 1934. Al-Fajr, which was devoted to literature, became involved in the social and political affairs of the country. An article entitled "Our Policy" stated that:

> Obviously we are not satisfied with the present run of things, and we definitely wish to stand for a new order of intelligent reform. We wish to see the young enlightened generation taking an active part in the affairs of this country, certainly not in a notorious, negative and irresponsible way; but in a truly civic temper and with real responsibility … We ought to have a share in the moulding of our destinies. This is a task, we are sufficiently aware, that is neither easy nor smooth nor clear. It needs to be all that. And in this precisely lie our duty, hope and policy. (Al-Fajr,1936:1212).

They reminded the government of its duty to train Sudanese people for self-government. Native administration was not the right basis for self-government, because it was in the hands of semi-literates, was based on tribalism and tended to create a form of religious sectarianism. Sudanese Nationalists rejected it and considered the tribal Nazirs, Shaikhs and Chiefs as tools used by the Governors and Commissioners to exercise their power over the people. Their efforts culminated in the establishment of the Graduate Congress.

III The Graduate Congress 1938:

In his book, *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Sudan,* Muddathir Abdel Rahim (1986: 117) states that between 1924 and 1936 the Sudanese people were not able to organise themselves in any form. A group of university graduates turned the reduction in salaries, a result of the Great Depression, into a political issue of national importance. They suspected that the decision was intended to reduce the status of the graduate class, vis-à-vis the class of the tribal Shaikhs and chiefs who were used as agents to carry out the government's new policy of Native Administration. The graduates went on strike and refused the mediation of Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥman. A committee of ten from the graduates negotiated with the government and arrived at a compromise. The class of educated Sudanese then realised the importance of being united however, they thought the committee had failed to arrive at a final solution and were not happy at them 'begging' the government to change its decision. That disagreement, and the resulting personal clashes, caused the graduates to split into two camps: the Khatmiyyah (followers of Sayyid al-Mirghani) and the Mahdists or Ansar (followers of Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Mahdi). According to Aḥmad Khair, (Khair:45-50,72) the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian agreement, which restored Egypt as a co-ruler of the Sudan, was a turning point. The agreement disappointed the entire politically and nationally conscious Sudanese public, regardless of their political tendencies. Sudanese political leaders expressed resentment at not being consulted. They also felt offended by the claim, in the Agreement, that the primary aim of the administration in the country must be "the welfare" of the Sudanese. Their aim was the independence and sovereignty of the Sudan. Sayyid ʿAbd al Raḥman went to London to question the British government about the sovereignty of the Sudan, but received no answer. He was told that the sovereignty of the Sudan was represented by the 'two flags,' as described in the Condominium Agreement. The Nationalists felt that they were not being treated as human or adults. The educated Sudanese took advantage of the rivalry between the two governments, England and Egypt, to play them off against each other. In an article in al-Nil, 5 October 1937, the writer praised England for establishing in the Sudan several educational institutions (e.g., Gordon College and Kitchener School) and said that the Egyptians should also build a Farouq Institute, a Naḥas College. In the 19 October 1937 issue of al-Sudan, the acting editor praised the Egyptian government for accepting forty-four Sudanese students free in their schools and expressed the people's hope that Britain would offer Sudanese university graduates the opportunity to pursue higher education in England. As a result, significant expansion and improvement in education occurred. New Native Administration Ordinances were enacted and more posts were created for Sudanese graduates to enable them to participate in the administration of the country.

Those gains were accepted by the nationalists, although they did not entirely meet their aspirations. Their concern was the government's Southern Policy and its aim of creating two entities in the Sudan; one Northern, the other Southern. Sudanese reaction to that British policy was reflected in an article by the editor of al-Sudan (AlSudan,1936) which obtained wide publicity in Cairo and led to agitation by al-Azhar University students. It criticised the government for restricting Islam while supporting the Christian missions in the South. The nationalists felt that they had to assert themselves so as to achieve independence, their ultimate goal.

The editorial in al-Fajr (16 August 1936) appealed for all graduates to come to the Graduates Club, Omdurman, to form a front and formulate a progressive programme. Many suggestions were made, but eventually they agreed to call it مؤتمر الخريجين the Graduates General Congress, as suggested by Aḥmad Khair of the Wad Madani Literary Society. After a long negotiation about its role and membership, it was agreed that its purpose, as stated in its constitution, was to serve the public interests of the country and of the graduates. It was officially founded in February 1938, and letters of notification were sent to the provinces, Authorities and the Civil Secretary, asking that in matters of public interest involving the government, or lying within the scope of its policy and concern, the government should give due consideration to their views and suggestions which they might submit from time to time. The government accepted, provided that the Congress did not seek recognition as a political body, or represent any but the views of its members. It should regard itself as "a semi-public organisation interested in philanthropic and public affairs, and competent to hold and express opinions on such matters as come within its purview" (Henderson,1952:536-537).

The Congress submitted two memoranda, one on the expansion of education, and the other on the Omdurman Institute of Islamic Studies; both were accepted. However, there was a clash regarding the leave regulations of Government Officials, and concerning the campaign for the conscription of Sudanese into the Sudan Defence Force when the War broke out. After some dispute, the Congress members were allowed to participate in the Omdurman Broadcasting Station, which was founded in 1940. Encouraged by its success, the Congress submitted a memorandum (Henderson,1952:536-537) of twelve demands, the most important of which were: the right of self-determination after the end of the war, the formation of a body of Sudanese experts to approve the Budget and the Ordinances, the formation of a Higher Education Council and the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive.

After studying the memorandum, Sir Douglas Newbold, the Civil Secretary, decided to form an Advisory Council which was established in 1943. He sent back the memorandum to the

Congress, telling them that the Governor General had rejected it for its failure to respect the Government's wishes and observe its warning. Each of the two largest ṭariqahs wanted to use the Congress to achieve its goal. That resulted in a major crisis between the two groups in the Congress. Since the 1920s there had been differences between those who advocated 'the Sudan for the Sudanese' (i.e., the independence of the Sudan from both the British and the Egyptians, but through cooperation with Britain) and those who called for the 'Unity of the Nile Valley,' and therefore preferred to cooperate with Egypt. According to Aḥmad Khair, the latter thought that mistrusting the Government of the Sudan was the first principle of sound nationalism. The whole point behind the Congress was to break away from the authorities of the ṭariqahs and create a nationalist movement to resist foreign rule. The Congress was popular in towns and large villages and it succeeded in launching public programmes, such as the Education Day. By 1942, the majority of Sudanese people, including the educated and the eminent members of the Congress, were loyal to the ṭariqahs. Further differences in the Congress finally split it into the Independence Front, under the leadership of the Umma Party which was established in 1945 and supported by Anṣar, and the Unionist or the Ashiqqa' Party which was established in 1943 and led by Isma'il al Azhari, supported by the Khatmiyyah. Apart from the two major parties, the Umma and the Unionist, the pre-Independence history of the Sudan witnessed the birth of many other parties. In 1951 a group of tribal leaders broke away from the Independence Front and formed the Socialist Republican Party. After the end of the 'Southern Policy,' the Southern Sudanese elites emerged into the political arena in 1947. They opposed self-government and independence till the backward areas that had been neglected reached the cultural and material standards of the North's civilisation. In 1946, the Sudanese Communist Party was born, and was soon followed by the Muslim Brotherhood of the Sudan. All politically conscious Sudanese and all political parties were preoccupied with the ways and means by which Anglo-Egyptian rule could best be brought to an end. All groups of Sudanese nationalists held similar views and were united in opposing "native administration," which was the government's 'Southern policy' from the thirties till 1956, it being aimed at the elimination, by administrative means, of all traces of Muslim-Arab culture in the South and its substitution by tribal customs and Christianity. The British administrators realised that the country and its people were reasserting their resistance to foreign rule. According to Moḥammad Moḥammad 'Ali, Sir John Maffey stated that: "the Sudan was living its golden age and as that would not last long, they had to take practical steps before the end of the period. They had to make use of the

tribal systems, local laws and old traditions and encircle it with strong fortifications before it end in the face of the contemporary ideologies" (Ali:238).

How far was the colonial regime responsible for the Sudan's underdevelopment? What did they do in the interest of the Sudanese? For more than a century, hardly any services were carried out for the Sudanese people. The colonial regime built very few schools, hospitals or railroads, and only did so for their own services. British colonial policy in the Sudan differed from their policy in other African colonies. According to Aḥmad Khair, the British Administration made little or no effort towards the advancement of the Sudan. Its educational policy aimed at leaving the Sudanese people ignorant. It was arranged to serve their own purposes, to promote their language and culture and teach their history. In an attempt to Anglicise the Sudanese, they closed thousands of Qur'ani schools (khalwas) so as not to revive the religious spirit of struggle of the Mahdiyya period. From every five hundred applicants they accepted only forty pupils. The Ministry of Education limited intermediate education as much as possible until in 1946 there were only eleven schools and the pupils had to pay fees. Sir Harold MacMichael, the Administrative Secretary for the Sudan government, said that it seemed clear to him that the highest level of education in the Sudan should be secondary vocational training. He expresses his doubts as to whether the Sudanese mentality was developed enough to make them consider introducing university education. (MacMichael:364) Gordon Memorial College, now Khartoum University, was built to commemorate General Gordon, who was killed by the Mahdiyyah troops in 1898. It was originally only a secondary school, but later developed into the Khartoum University College, from which all Sudanese politicians, leaders and all other intelligentsia graduated. According to documents written at that time by the British Civil Secretary the British aim in establishing it was to make use of its graduates as a medium to help them to communicate. The British called the medical school Kitchener Medical School, in commemoration of Lord Kitchener, but it was built by an Iraqi businessman in the Sudan as a sign of his gratefulness to the country, not by the British. There were no scholarships and no work opportunities for its graduates, while the government spent a lot of money on church missionaries and on sending Southerners to schools and colleges in Uganda. If they ever sent scholars, they chose old people, over fifty, for very short courses, to limit the chances of the young and enthusiastic persons who could benefit from it. There were no scholarships to Egypt, the educated were strictly forbidden from travelling on their own and the reading of Egyptian journals was prohibited. The British pursued those who left to study in Egypt, deported them back and

punished them. The first statement about the nature of Sudan, the modern Sudanese nation, was made by Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥjūb at a time of intense nationalist activity, both in Egypt and the Sudan. He discussed the matter in the early 1920s at the Graduates Club in Omdurman, and in articles in al-Fajr, the principal Sudanese journal of the thirties. He concluded that Sudanese nationalism must be firmly based on Islam, Arabic culture, and African soil and traditions, and that it should be open to, and actively interacts with, international currents. Sudanese culture should have close friendly relations with Egypt but would be independent of it. It would retain its own distinct character but learn from the culture and thoughts of all other nations, both ancient and modern (Maḥjūb,1974:55) As they were concerned with practical politics, neither the advocates of Sudanese nationalism nor the Unionists were able to elaborate on or add to the description of Sudanese nationalism that Maḥjūb had provided. Political development, especially after independence in January 1956, obliged the Sudanese to resume thinking about the goals and nature of their nationalism. The principal factors were the termination of the separatist Southern Policy in 1946, and the development of Pan-Arabism and Pan-Africanism as regional forces with strong appeal to the Sudanese. The end of the Southern Policy and the participation of Southerners as members of the Legislative Assembly in 1948 was a great victory for Unionists, who were unanimously opposed to this Policy? They were the product of the Policy, which had the effect of completely eliminating cultural and religious bonds between South and North, but had also filled Southerners, especially those who went to missionary schools, not only with a spirit of local patriotism but with bitter hostility towards their northern compatriots.

To conclude this section it must be mentioned that, although in most cases the Sudanese nationalist movements won out, nationalism has its pitfalls and these must not be overlooked. Almost all Sudanese parties unanimously, and regardless of their political allegiances, fought foreign rule, but after independence was achieved they disagreed. They fought for the freedom of the country and won national independence, but they were unable to protect it. Democracy did not have a real chance; it was ravished three times by military coups. The militarists always claimed that their aim was to eradicate misgovernment, corruption and greed and then hand over rule to civilians. Even in periods of parliamentary rule, there were sharp differences, personal ambitions and shifts in party alliances. Allegiance to the race and the tribe came first, and the country followed. The famous Southern Sudanese writer Francis Deng's song entitled "The Educated are Spoiling the Country [Bor]" is a critical appraisal of the educated that represented their constituencies in parliament. To achieve their personal

gains they allied with any political leader offering much. The singer, being illiterate, prefers that their parliamentary seat be vacant rather than abused. He writes:

> Kourjok Akout of my maternal aunt,
> What is the turmoil of Bor about?
> Why is the Land in Turmoil?
> This I will try to explore
> Some are competing for the land
> Others were concerned with their mouths. (Deng,1973:156)

In a chapter about the pitfalls of nationalist consciousness in his book The Wretched of the Earth, Frantz Fanon foresaw this turn of events. His notion was that, unless national consciousness at its moment of success was somehow changed into a social consciousness, the future would hold not liberation but an extension of imperialism. This social consciousness will be illustrated in the following two sections, on Sudanese Literature in a Postcolonial Context and the Cultural Resistance.

1V Sudanese Literature in a Postcolonial Context:

The above account of Sudanese nationalism shows how far the coloniser was responsible for disfiguring the character of the Sudanese people and distorting their identity. As Frantz Fanon writes:

> Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the
> native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past
> of the people, distorts, disfigures and destroys it (Fanon,1968:210).

Before dealing with Sudanese literature within a postcolonial context, a brief account of postcolonial theory is given, which deals with the relationship between culture and colonialism. Colonised people have their life transformed and reshaped by the experience of colonialism. Culture may enable an active society to modify and resist overseas cultural domination. Both men and women have to strive hard to search for and regain their lost geographical identity and to impose their own independent and integral culture. They have to search for an authentic national origin to defeat the obliterated, misrepresented one provided by the coloniser.

 The postcolonial theory of literary criticism has a long history outside Europe and America. According to Bart Moore-Gilbert, postcolonial theory is fairly new in the West but it has had a great impact on the current modes of cultural analysis. It emerged as a result of the

inadequacy of European literary theory in dealing with the complexities and varied cultural provenance of postcolonial writing. It is concerned with the linguistic, cultural and geographical transformation of things into other things that they are not. It deals with the inter-linking of the issues of race, nation, empire, migration and ethnicity with cultural production (Moor-Gilbert,1997:6-11).

The contributors to this theory include Robert J. C. Young, *Post colonialism*: Avery Short Introduction, 2004; the Afro-American W.E.B. Du Bois *The Souls of Black Folks*, 1994; the South African Sol Plaatje, *Mafeking Diary*: A Blackman's View of a Whitman's War, 1999; the Trinidadian C.L.R. James, *Fighting Racism in the World War II,* 1980; Frantz Fanon from Martinique (but an activist in Algeria) *The Wretched of the Earth,* 2001. Other contributors are African critics such as Chinua Achebe, who edited *African Short Stories*, 1985; Ngugi WaThiong'o, *Decolonisation of the Mind*, 1985; Anda Diop and the Indian Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony*, 1997. Critics such as Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka, *Art, Dialogue and outrage*: Essays on Identity and Culture, 1988; and Wilson Harris have objected to the more recent works of theorists like Edward Sa'id, Spivak and Bhaba. The experience of colonisation produced a huge and diverse body of literature through the imposition of the coloniser's culture and language. These literatures are discussed in the introduction to The Empire Writes Back. (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin,1999:5) The writer says that beyond their special and distinctive regional characteristics, the literatures of Australia, Africa, India, Pakistan, etc., have one thing in common: they emerged in their present form out of the experience of colonisation, and asserted themselves by grounding the tension with the imperial power and by emphasising their differences from the assumptions of the imperial centre. Since the imperial structure has been dismantled in political terms, the empire needs to write back to the centre. Recently the strength of that literature has become undeniable. Nineteenth-century imperial expansion pushed the colonial world to the margin of experience. That marginality became a huge source of creative energy. But this body of literature is under the direct control of the imperial power, which imposes a certain imperial discourse and prevents the assertion of any different perspective.

Two groups of writers responded to Empire; metropolitan writers and representatives from non-European cultures. The latter always encountered discrimination and restrictions upon their self-expression. Writers claim to be objective but they write with the Empire in their mind and European life forms the centre of interest. Colonised heroes are always degenerate and corrupt, social separation requires that a strict divide be maintained between the whites and the natives, as any social contacts, especially sexual, will be fatal. The first texts were

produced by representatives of the imperial power: administrators, soldiers, travellers and sightseers. In colonial writings, the Other was mistranslated, misrepresented. The African continent remains the 'dark continent,' always described as grotesque, mysterious and hostile to Europeans. It signifies the unconscious and a painful absurdity. African and Asian and Caribbean characters are represented as natives, Blacks, Nigers, dependent and deprived. They are inferior and of lesser species. The narrators are always stressing how un-English everything is and stereotypic reproduction is as irrational, savage, wild, lesser, less human, uncivilised, wild man, animal, or headless mass. Metropolitan culture has suppressed the authentic elements in the colonised society. Critics think that such texts can never form a basis for the indigenous culture, nor can they be integrated in any way with the culture that already existed in the country invaded. Despite their detailed reportage of landscape, custom and the language, they inevitably privilege the centre emphasising the 'home' over the 'native,' the 'metropolitan' over the 'provincial' or 'colonial' and so forth.

 From the above account, it is clear that narrative fiction has a major role in the history and regions of the world. It also became the method that colonised people used to assert their own world of Empire. Stories are at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange identity and the existence of their history. Grand narratives of emancipation and enlightenment mobilised people in the colonial world to rise up and throw off imperial subjection. Writers like the Egyptian Rifaʿah al-ṭahṭawi, the Tunisian Khayr al-Din and religious reformers like Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muḥammad ʿAbdu, who were aware of the Western imperial impact on Islam, emphasised the importance of developing an independent culture to resist the West, by developing an indigenous Arab-Islamic identity. The same narratives stirred many European and American writers to fight for narratives of equality and Human community. At a deeper level, these writers claim objectivity simply to hide the imperial discourse within which they are created. As Joseph Conrad wrote,

> The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it from those who have a different complexion and slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. What redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it; not a sentimental pretence but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the idea-something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to … (Conrad, 1988:58)

Kipling, in The Ballad of East and West, states that:

The indigenous theories developed in order to accommodate differences within the various cultural traditions, and to counteract and dismantle some of the assumptions of European theory. Almost all indigenous books deal with the devastation caused by colonialism and call for a break with the exploitation and sabotage, so as to move forward and create a new order, to discover a pre-colonial self by shedding current servitude and physical disfigurement. They call for cultural resistance, by breaking barriers between cultures and writing back to the metropolitan culture, and counteracting the European narrative about Africa and the Orient. It is the idea of writers commenting on their societies while they are away from them, writing back and suggesting the opposition between former coloniser and the Other. Frantz Fanon's book, The Wretched of the Earth, is basically a study of the Algerian Revolution and it became a model for decolonisation and other liberation struggles. In the introduction to the book, Jean-Paul Sartre describes it as "a classic of anti-colonialism in which the Third World finds itself and speaks to itself through his voice."

Fanon observes, "because it is a systemic negation of the other person and a furious determination to deny the other person all attributes of humanity, colonialism forces the people it dominates to question constantly: 'In reality who am I?'" (Fanon:2001, 139) As a doctor, he said he took it upon himself to translate people from passive victimised objects into subjects who had begun to recognise that they were in charge of their own destiny. As he writes:

> If psychiatry is the medical technique that aims to enable man no longer to be a stranger to his environment … I owe it to myself to affirm that the Arab, permanently an alien in his own country, lives in a state of absolute depersonalisation … The events in Algeria are the logical consequence of an abortive attempt to decerebralise a people. (Fanon:143)

In his book, Black Skin, White Masks, Fanon argues that the black man and woman have been translated internally and psychologically; their desires have been changed into another form.

In his novel, Ambiguous Adventure, Cheikh Hamido Kane describes the method of the colonial phase of imperialism as consisting of knowing how to kill with efficiency and how to heal with the same art. The physical violence of the battlefield is followed by the psychological violence of the classroom. He writes:

> On the Black Continent, one began to understand that their real power resided not at all in the cannons of the first morning but in what followed the cannons. Therefore behind the cannons are the new school. The new school has the

nature of both the cannon and the magnet. From the cannon it took the
efficiency of a fighting weapon. But better than the cannon it made the
conquest permanent. The cannon forces the body, and the school fascinates the
soul (Kane, 1972: 14).

However, colonial alienation always distances one from the reality around him and identifies
him with that which is most external to his environment. The editorial of al-Fajr, the pioneer
Sudanese literary magazine, described its policy as follows:

In form and organisation we are to follow—as closely as we can—the
traditions of the best-known English weeklies. For this purpose we have gained
the services of young writers—all from the younger generation—each to take
charge of one section … We, young men of this generation, are the sons of the
soil, the first fruits of a new order that is to link the Sudan with the rest of the
world. (AlFajr V.I. No 19, 1935).

Muḥammad 'Abd al- Ḥai, a Sudanese poet and critic, criticised them as "ambitious but rather
unauthentic. Their policy did not take into consideration the obviously different type of reader
the magazine was expected to address, nor the special problems it was to face" ('Abd Al-
Ḥai,1976).

 However the young writers soon realised the necessity of close involvement in the cultural
and political issues of the country. They clearly stated their new policy that not to follow
religiously in the footsteps of other Arabic or European papers … There are problems in their
own life—political, social, economical, religious—which have no parallel in other countries,
Arab or otherwise. Furthermore, they realised that the ethno-linguistic mix and the diversified
identity profile discussed earlier gave rise to the hybrid nature of their cultural tradition. To
identify themselves with the whole nation, rather than with their ethnic group, they had to
find a common definition in terms of a cultural identity. So the new assertion and
identification aspired to a comprehensive ideal.

The British Education and language policy in the Sudan was dealt with above in the section
on Sudanese Nationalism. It aimed at disfiguring the Arab identity by abolishing the Arabic
language and imposing English as the official language of the state, as the medium of
instruction in secondary school and university, and as the first language in the South.
European syllabi were imposed: history, geography, politics and English literature; the Civil
Secretary's Memorandum on Southern Sudan Policy (1930) declared the adoption of "group
languages" for use in schools in the south and a linguistic expert was appointed to advise on
the production of new books. African countries were defined as colonies, and they defined

themselves in terms of the languages of Europe, as English-speaking- Anglophone, or French-speaking- Francophone.

As part of the Southern Policy, the Civil Secretary addressed three governors of the Southern provinces regarding the creation of "closed areas" and the introduction of English. He wrote:

> The policy of the government in the Southern Sudan is to build up a series of self-contained racial or tribal units with structure or organisation based, to whatever extent the requirements of equity and good government permit, upon indigenous customs, traditional usage and beliefs. The recent introduction of English words of command in the Equatorial Corps of the Sudan Defence and their use in the Police in the provinces concerned is a step in the right direction, but more is required. Every effort should be made to make English the means of communication among the men themselves to the complete exclusion of Arabic. In short, whereas Arabic is considered by many natives as the official language, the object of all is to counteract this idea (Civil Secretary's Memo, Kh.,25.1.1930).

Khair notes that in the North religious education was opposed (Khair:39). The Religious Institute and thousands of Qur'anic schools were closed; teachers of Arabic and Islamic studies were oppressed. Northerners were prohibited from performing their religious rituals, such as prayers, while they were in the South. In this way, as mentioned earlier, the British were trying to create a new Sudanese identity that denied the Arab heritage and acknowledged British culture.

Ṭayyib Ṣalih, the Sudanese novelist, wrote back to the coloniser in Arabic, his own language. Writers such as W.B. Yeats and James Ngugi expressed the predicaments involved in sharing a language with the colonial overlords. Ngugi's book *Decolonisation of the Mind* (1986) was an attempt to promote the issue of liberation by exploring deeply African language and literature, and by bidding the English language farewell and writing in his indigenous language. He renamed himself Ngugi Wa Thiango instead of James Ngugi, and used his own dialect for writing. He called for a decolonisation of the mind. In 1964, Chinua Achebe, in a speech entitled "The African writers and the English language" said:

> Is it right that a man should abandon his mother tongue to someone else's? It looks like a dreadful betrayal and produces a guilty feeling. But for me there is no other choice. I have been given the language and I intend to use it. (Achebe, 1975: 30).

One purpose of colonial education is to promote its own history and culture. James Joyce expressed this through the mouth of one of his characters. He writes:

The language we are speaking is his before it is mine. How different are the words home, Chris, ale, master on his lips and on mine! I cannot speak or write these words without unrest of spirit. His language so familiar and so foreign will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay. My soul frets in the shadow of his language (Joyce.J.A,1964:189).

Taban Lo Liyong, a Southern Sudanese writer and critic who is considered one of the continent's most famous writers, has different insight. In his article entitled, "The Role of Creative Artist in Contemporary Africa" (Liyong,1973:87-104), he is sceptical about Africa's old culture and humanism and he attacks Negritude. He writes that the individuals should aspire for English, French, German etc. and keep Swahili as the language of the people. Swahili "has the short comings of Arabic which bound Arabic civilisation in their present limits and the short comings of African cultures which kept us backward and prey to colonisation", "let us get Westernised in order to place ourselves on top of this most technically advanced, civilisation, let us snatch the leadership." He believes that sticking to traditions and old culture is a waste of time, money, manpower and brain power. The poetry of Negritude and humanism is a poetry of cowardice and wailing over race. He rejects Negritude for its "reformist mentality" and the humanism in Negritude is not sincere, it is a "camouflaged hatred". And if Europeans and Americans are defeated some day, they will be "the most humanistic people on earth." He believes the solution is in shedding humility and servitude, turning to education and employment. In his poem "PARASITE", he describes the common man and the unemployed as a parasitic, good-for-nothing-collection of bones, exploited by politicians and bred for votes. He writes:

Efficiency demands
Everybody should carry his own weight
Or face the firing squad
For the common man is a parasite
And, he must be made to work
For his own advancement
And ours as well. (Liyong,1973:26).

Critics give most attention to texts by Chinua Achebe, Wilson Harris and Ṭayyib Ṣalih because they answer back to imperial and new-colonial culture and the fictional stories of the powerful imperial narrative. For the native decolonizers to do their job, they have to re-imagine an Africa stripped from its imperial past, just as Europeans saw it as a blank place when they took it. To demonstrate this process of redoing, Edward Sa'id (Sa'id,1994 :254-255) presents two episodes by James Ngugi (later Ngugi wa Thiango) and Ṭayyib Ṣalih, He draws a comparison between

Conrad's river in *Heart of Darkness*, and Ngugi's river in The River Between. Ngugi brings life into Conrad's river:

> The river was called Honia, which meant cure, or bring-back-to-life. Honia river never dried: it seemed to posses a strong will to live, scorning droughts and weather changes. And it went on in the very same way, never hurrying, never hesitating. People saw this and they were happy. (Ngugi.,1965:1)

Conrad's images of the river its exploration and its mysterious setting are experienced in an understated, unidiomatic and mysterious language. The white man is portrayed as less important, although his influence is obvious in the division that separates the villages, the riverbanks and the people from one another. Ngugi powerfully conveys the internal conflict and tensions, leaving it unresolved or contained after the novel ends. Out of the suppressed pattern in Heart of Darkness, Ngugi generates new obscure legends (mythos), which suggest a return to an African Africa. Another incident of the redoing and reclamation of an imaginative territory is Ṭayyib Ṣalih's, Season of Migration to the North in which the whole situation is reversed. Conrad's river is the River Nile, whose water revives its peoples, while the British narrative style is somewhat reversed by the use of Arabic, in that is the voyage northward of a Sudanese to Europe, and the narrator speaks from a Sudanese village. Thus the voyage in the Heart of Darkness is converted into a *hijra* from the Sudanese countryside, still burdened with the colonial legacy, into the heart of Europe. The crossings from north to south, and vice versa, are more enlarged and complicated, and the discrepancies suppressed by Conrad are better articulated by Ṭayyib Ṣalih, who writes:

هناك مثل هنا ، لا أحسن و لا أسوأ . و لكنني من هنا، كما أن النخلة القائمة في فناء دارنا، نبتت في دارنا و لم تنبت في دار غيرها، و كونهم جاءوا إلى ديارنا , لا أدري لماذا ، هل معنى ذلك أننا نسمم حاضرنا و مستقبلنا ؟ إنهم سيخرجون من بلادنا إن عاجلا أؤ آجلا كما خرج قوم كثيرون عبرالتاريخ من بلاد كثيرة . سكك الحديد, و البواخر، و المستشفيات و المصانع و المدارس ستكون لنا، و سنتحدث لغتهم دون إحساس بالذنب ولا إحساس بالجميل. سنكون كما نحن قوم عاديون و إذا كنا أكاذيب فنحن أكاذيب من صنع أنفسنا.

(Salih,2004:59)

It translates as:

> Over there is like here, neither better nor worse. But I am from here, just as the date palm standing in our house and not in anyone else's. The fact that they came to our land I know not why, does that mean that we should poison our present and our future? Sooner or later they will leave our country, just as many people throughout history left many countries. The railways, ships, hospitals, factories and schools will be ours and we will speak their language without either a sense of guilt or a sense of gratitude. Once again we shall be as we were—ordinary people—and if we are lies we shall be lies of our own making (Johnson.D.Season,1996, 49)

Khartoum the Ultimate Imperial Adventure is the most recent book (2005) by Michael Asher, the traveller and desert explorer. It is written to the memory of the brave soldiers, British, Sudanese, Egyptian and others who fought and died in the Nile campaigns, 1883-1889. It is about the British conquest in the closing years of Queen Victoria's reign, the massacre of the 12,000 strong column of Lieut. General William Hicks Pasha, and the siege and murder of General Gordon by the Dervishes, which shocked the Western world. It is a classic tale of the British Empire, which brings to

life the cast of characters of Winston Churchill, Lieut. General William Hicks, Lieut. General Sir Gerald Graham, Major General Charles Gordon, Major General Sir Herbert Kitchener and Lieut. General Lord Garnet Wellesley, and images of the breaking of squares, veracious fuzzy-wuzzy and British gunboats are vividly drawn. It depicts Sudanese culture from the points of view of both the outsiders and the tribesmen themselves.

In his book *In Search of the Forty Days Road*, Michael Asher describes a journey through the nomadic life of the Sudan and the Libyan Desert (much of which lies within the borders of the Sudan). He introduces his journey as a love affair with the Desert, and a captivation with Sudanese nomadic Arabs. However, he portrays it as a "shadowless wasteland, a place of mystery, fearsome infinite, as alien to men as the surface of the moon. It is a scavenging, dust-choked place, a place of old bones and spiked bushes where the scarecrows of cairns a man's unlooked-for grave. It is a land like a parched throat, a land like dried cardboard. There are fierce-looking men who ride masterfully on enormous bull-camels" (Asher.M,1984:10-11).

The same Western view of Sudanese people is expressed by the Sudanese novelist Jamal Maḥjūb through one of his characters in his novel In the Hour of Signs. In a letter from the Anglo-Egyptian garrison at Khartoum to his friend in England, Captain Hamilton Ellsworth describes Sudanese fighters as "savages of the most unwholesome race. They resemble strange two-legged animals; their skin is the colour of saddle leather and they are as agile as monkeys, strong too. They fight like the devil himself and they know every thorny patch of scrub by heart—even give them names" (Ma ḥjub,1996:42).

In his book, In Search of the Forty Days Road, Asher realises that the camel-men he sees in the desert are Arab and the word triggers many associations in his mind. He recalls images of "hordes of white-robed figures sweeping, not over the desert but over the streets of London in summer,

wearing spotless white head cloths, and followed by trains of women in vampire-like masks. These images coupled with vague of oil derricks, concrete palaces and squadrons of gauche American cars. But these memories has submerged a far older stratum of associations: the vivid childhood characters of the Arabian Nights mysteries, hawkish men with furled turbans, with viciously curved daggers, camel-riders, their faces watched in white cloth, carrying ancient and ungainly flintlocks, black tents in the desert, dim figures moving beneath the palm at an oasis-ghost which still lurked in the darker recesses of my memory. These ghosts, I thought, belong to a world created by a childish fantasy, a world if it had ever existed at all, had long since faded (Asher:9).

He notes he knows that this world did exist in the Sudan. There are rich merchants who flow regularly to London and Paris, just as there are diesel lorries, TVs, telephones and discotheques in the country, but those things are as alien to some sections of the population as cornflakes and pork pie. To his amazement, he discovers that those Sudanese camel-men seem to correspond much more to the mysterious Arabian Nights characters of his earlier imagination. However, he is delighted in Sudanese culture. Unlike the other postcolonial writers, he speaks about the strangeness of the Sudanese culture with admiration. As he says, "I learned to shed some of the prejudices of my European upbringing and to see in a new perspective a society which has little in common with my own." He finds the hospitality and generosity of the Sudanese astonishing: it is not uncommon to be invited by a stranger whom you have met in the street, or to find on leaving a cafe that someone have paid your bill. He is indebted to the nomadic people of the Sudan, amongst whom he has travelled, and who have taught him "some of the most profound lessons" of his life. He finds the communal nature of the Sudanese people more difficult to assimilate. Back Home he was brought up to believe in the individual but, in the Sudan, society is the most important and powerful entity. "It was a society without alienation, where even outcasts belonged" (Asher:9). Sudanese people believe in the saying دبر الجار قبل الدارو الرفيق قبل الطريق [Ask for the neighbour before the house and of the companion before the way].

Even non-Westerners among the postcolonial writers are always conscious of Empire in their writing. Edward 'Aṭṭiyyah was a Syrian who lived in the Sudan, studied in Oxford and came back to Sudan to teach at Gordon College. In his memories in the Sudan, he is very happy when he got off the train at Aswan to board the Sudan Government steamer. He admires the steamer and the Sudanese people, but he does not fail to attribute their "cleanliness and order" to the British:

> I remembered so well from even years before; the tidy clean cabins, the shining brass knobs, the well-scrubbed decks and, dominating the whole picture, the Sudanese waiters, in impeccable green belts and red slippers, moving and wheeling in comparable grace. I had been in love with these steamers in my childhood, and I was so glad to come back to them after the flies and dust and general disorder of Egypt. This was British civilisation again, the tidiness and cleanliness and cultured comfort which the British had brought with them into the East. The Nile steamer at Aswan was a friendly outpost and symbol of the British Administration in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (Attiyyah, 1946e:134).

He describes the "lovely picture," the "beautiful orange sand" of the landscape and mentions the "hard and terrible life" of the desert people, but his mind "flew back to the green fields of England and the terraced vineyards of Lebanon" and he "felt bewildered before the appalling lottery of birth which decides the geographical distribution of mankind" (Attiyyah:135).

It has been said earlier that literature is central to the cultural enterprise. The Empire's desire is to be accepted, adopted and absorbed. This caused the periphery to be immersed in the imported culture and to deny its origins "in an attempt to be more English than the English" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin:4).

When he was in Victoria College in Egypt, Edward 'Aṭṭiyah felt as one of the British community, he shared their inmost feelings as Englishmen, but in the Sudan things are different, and he is regarded as foreigner by the British community. He is disappointed and shocked when he found himself among the non-British staff. He does not gain recognition by the tribe he had long tried to belong to. "Cultured, westernised individuals like myself were superior persons, were my peers, but the tribe was inferior; the tribe was a part of the East" (Attiyah:136). The "British privilege" and the "British prestige" manifested by the "feudal castles, housing and spacious gardens" plus his exclusion began to arouse a feeling of resentment and hostility towards the British Empire. He begins to rebel against the glory that he has longed for as the object of personal pride. The dominant motifs of the colonial narrative embody a sense of imperial centrality and superiority, imagery of the racial divide and the danger of cultural contacts. In Khartoum, for instance, he portrays the racial divide as a "fence" which cuts right across the town running more or less parallel with the river and two or three streets away from it. On one side of it live the British officials, on the other everybody else, and social communications between the two are almost non-existent. In some individual cases, the boundaries are occasionally crossed, as international frontiers are when tourists with passports and tickets go on a holiday to visit foreign lands.

Khartoum is created by the British and other foreigners. It has no homogeneous population, no character and culture of its own to adopt and assimilate newcomers, and stamp them with its own

imprint. The native population live in Omdurman. The population of Khartoum consists of British, Egyptians, Greeks, Syrians and Armenians. They are different communities with no common identity or culture. They speak their own languages and observe their own culture. The "fence" is also established between the British tutors and their pupils in Gordon College. The tutors are members of the Political Service who expect their pupils to show them not only the respect by pupils to their tutors, but the submissiveness demanded of a subject. They exercise on them the kind of military authority and discipline that they enforce in the barracks. In the eyes of the pupils, their tutors are a symbol of "the Director of Education, the Civil Secretary, the Governor General and the Union Jack".

Many Arab novelists have tackled the question of the search for identity, self-assertion and the conflict of civilisations. It is the idea of writers commenting on their societies while they are away from them, writing back and suggesting the opposition between the former coloniser and the Others. It was explained earlier that during the thirties and forties the new nationalist Sudanese consciousness crystallised. The distinct Sudanese identity began to take shape within the concepts of Arabism and Africanism. That was clear in the language of the new poetry mentioned previously, and it will be demonstrated in Part Two of this thesis, A Background Survey of Sudanese Literature, Section B. Ṭayyib Ṣalih is one of the Sudanese intellectuals who studied in Khartoum University during the colonial period then pursued his work in England. Although he was encountered by the Western civilisation, which had a traumatic effect on him, he did not reject all western culture or what he had learned from the West. Although his work was distinguished by his commitment to his Sudanese cultural roots, it also reflects his acculturation to western artistic and philosophical beliefs. His novel "موسم الهجرة إلى الشمال" [Season of Migration to the North] tackles the East-West conflict, which is not a new theme. It has been tackled by a number of Arab writers, e.g., the Egyptian Tawfiq al-Hakim in "عصفور من الشرق" [A Bird from the East], the Lebanese Suhail Idris in "الحي اللاتيني" [The Latin Quarter] and Yaḥia Ḥaqi in "قنديل أم هاشم" [The Saint Lantern.] However, in Ṣalih the conflict is associated with the problem of colour. Ṣaliḥ portrays it through the bitter experience of a black African who visits London and violently confronts the Western civilisation. It is a reversed situation. His immigration is from a small Sudanese village in northern Sudan, from the heart of the jungle of Africa, to the heart of civilisation, the Empire. There, the hero, Mustafa Saʿid, attains the utmost degree of knowledge. He becomes a doctor of economics and a notable writer in addition to his extensive knowledge of literature, art and philosophy. In his private life, he has affairs with four English ladies, which end tragically. He pushes three of them to commit suicide and marries the fourth one, then kills her. It is not a real love; it is only physical desire and a

sensual love that lacks sincerity and leads to destruction. So their relationship with him is one of exploitation. What they feel for him is only an emotional obsession and a strong desire for the sexual satisfaction that they lack with their European partners. He wonders what attracted Ann Hammond to him. She was less than twenty, lively, intelligent, and was studying Oriental languages at Oxford. Her father was an officer in the Royal Engineers, and her mother from a rich family in Liverpool. For her, he is a symbol of African warmth and violence:

رأتني فرأت شفقا داكنا كفجر كاذب. كانت عكسي تحن إلى مناخات استوائية , و شموس قاسية ,

و آفاق أرجوانية. كنت في عينيها رمزا لكل هذا الحنان. و أنا جنوب يحن إلى الشمال و الصقيع

(Ṣalih,2004:40).

It translates as:

> When she saw me, she saw a dark twilight like a false dawn. Unlike me she yearned for tropical climes, cruel suns, and purple horizons. In her eyes I was the symbol of all her hankerings. I am South that yearns for the North and the ice. (Johnson.D.Season,1996:30).

One day they found her dead. He writes:

غرفة نومي كانت مثل غرفة عمليات في مستشفى. ثمة بركة ساكنة في أعماق كل امرأة. كنت أعرف كيف أحركها و ذات يوم وجدوها ميتة انتحارا بالغاز ووجدوا ورقة صغيرة باسمي. ليس فيها سوى هذه العبارة : مستر سعيد لعنة الله عليك . كان عقلي كأنه مدية حادة. و حملني القطار إلى محطة فيكتوريا و إلى عالم جين مورس.

(Salih,2004:41).

It translates as:

> My bedroom was like an operating theatre in a hospital. There is a still pool in the depth of every woman which I knew how to stir. One day they found her dead. She had gassed herself. They also found a piece of paper with my name on it. It contained nothing but the words: "Mr Sa'id May God damn you." My mind was like a sharp knife. The train carried me to Victoria Station and to the world of Jean Morris. (Johnson.D.Season,1996:31).

 For him theirs is a possessive love, exactly like the relation between the colonisers and the occupied land. They exploit it, exhaust it and drain all its resources for their enjoyment. He now assumes the character of the invader and resolves to take revenge. One of his tools of revenge is sex: His intention is made clear by a sentence he repeats all through the first part of the novel like a poetic refrain: "The train carried me to Victoria station and to the world of Jean Morris." Feeling fed up with the first three ladies, their flirtatiousness and how they despise him, he deserts them, and so they kill themselves.

He writes,

(Şalih, 2004:42):

It translates as:

> My bedroom is a spring-well of sorrow, the germ of fatal disease. The infection had stricken these women a thousand years ago, but I had stirred up the latent depth of the disease until it had got out of control and had killed. (Johnson.D.Season, 1996:33).

He marries the fourth one, Jean Morris, after chasing her for three years. She is addicted to his body but she has never treated him as a husband. She never forgot that she was European and he was Black. When he can no longer put up with her insult, rejection and arrogance, he kills her and ends up in jails. He writes:

لبثت أطاردها ثلاثة أعوام. كل يوم يزداد وتر القوس توترا، قربي مملوءة هواء، و قوافلي ظمأى، و و تزوجتها. يلمع أمامي في متاهة الشوق، و قد تحدد مرمى السهم، لا مفر من وقوع المأساة السراب صارت ساحة حرب. فراشي كان قطعة من الجحيم. أمسكها فكأنني أمسك سحابا، أو غرفة نومي صهوة نشيد عسكري بروسي و تفتأ تلك الابتسامة المريرة على فمها . أضاجع شهابا ، كأنني أمتطي أقضي الليل ساهرا، أخوض المعركةبالقوس والسيف و الرمح والنشاب. و في الصباح أرى الابتسامة ما مرة أخرى. كأنني شهريار رقيق، تشتريه في السوق بدينار، فتئت على حالها، فأعلم أني خسرت الحرب صادف شهرزاد متسولة في أنقاض مدينة قتلها الطاعون. كنت أعيش مع نظريات كينز و تويني ، و بالليل أواصل الحرب بالقوس و السيف و الرمح و النشاب.(Şalih, 2004:43).

It translates as:

> I pursued her for three years. Every day the string of the bow becomes more taut. It was with air that my water skins were distended; my cravens were thirsty, and the mirage simmered before me in the wilderness of longing; the arrow's target had been fixed and it was inevitable the tragedy would take place. So I married her. My bedroom became a theatre of war; my bed a patch of hell. When I grasped her it was like grasping at clouds, like bedding a shooting star, like mounting the back of a Prussian military march. That bitter smile was continually in her mouth. I would stay awake all night warring with bow and sword and spear and arrows, and in the morning I would see the smile unchanged and would know once again that I had lost the combat. It was as though I were a slave Shahrayar you buy in the market for a dinar encountering a Scheherazade begging amidst the rubble of a city destroyed by plaque. By day I lived with the theories of Keynes and Tawny and at night I resumed the war with bow and sword and spear and arrows. (Johnson.D.Season, 1996:33)

Thus four relationships with women fail. They despise and hate him and they want no more than bodily satisfaction. He, on the one hand, does not tolerate this relationship, which hurts his dignity, and on the other hand is insistent on revenge. Then, after seven years in jail, he decides to go back home. His return to his village is a return to the roots. There he experiences real, healthy love. He marries a lady from his village and has two children. But even there, in his tranquil village, he triggers conflict. He tries to urbanise the village by

54

introducing farming technology and forming cooperative societies. Like any farmer in the village, he leads an ordinary life, digs the ground with his feet in the mud, yet his head carries the most sophisticated cultures of the world. In his simple house there is a secret room that represents Victorian London. When in London, he also prepares his bedroom in an oriental fashion, so as to attract British ladies. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

و على الجدران مرايا كبيرة، حتى إذا ضاجعت امرأة، بدا كأنني أضاجع حريما كاملا في آن واحد،

تعبق في   الغرفة رائحة الصندل المحروق و الند، و في الحمام عطور شرقية نفاذة، و عقاقير كيماوية،

و دهون، و مساحيق، و حبوب (Şalih,2004:40).

</div>

It translates as:

> On the walls were large mirrors, so that when I slept with a woman it was as if
> I slept with a whole harem simultaneously. The room was heavy with the smell
> of burning sandalwood and incense, and in the bathroom were pungent Eastern
> perfumes, lotions, unguents, powders and pills. (Jonson.D.Season, 1996:31)

He writes in Arabic (his own language), not in the language of the coloniser, and delivers speeches and gives Arabic lectures about the Arabic classicist, Abu Nawas. It seems that this complex character of Mutasfa Sa'id is destined to destruction. He is the factor of conflict and the victim of it. At the end, he drowns in the river during the flood. His Sudanese widow, Ḥosna, is forced to marry the old man Wad Rayyis, so she murders him and kills herself. History repeats itself: murder and manslaughter in London and the same in the Sudan. Also the same scene of murder that had involved both Jean Morris and Ḥosna is repeated: two open white thighs in London and two open white thighs in the village of wad Hamid in the Sudan. Thus the novel portrays the attitude of the African individual towards Western civilisation. Sa'id comes to London bearing grudges against Europe for exploiting and under-developing Africa and the Africans. He comes bearing the humiliating wounds of a post-colonial person of the third world. A person, who is politically and racially oppressed, exploited and humiliated. His ambition knows no limit. By teaching in London - the cradle of knowledge, and studying economics - the key to all sciences, he is defying the colonisers who had earlier come to his country, claiming to develop and educate. He comes with all the violence and conflict precipitated deep inside him, not to seek reconciliation but to invade. Despite his position and career, he is still in a very violent confrontation with Western civilisation. This confrontation goes back to a basic problem, that of colour. His problem is the search for his authentic, African character in that Western civilisation. By having relationships with these

ladies, he tries to integrate in that new environment, but he fails because he refuses to do it at the expense of his self-esteem. He does not tolerate this relationship, but he has deep inside him the desire for revenge. The ladies, on the other hand, want bodily relationships only and as a result they commit suicide. They kill themselves not for social circumstances or genuine love, but because of a physiological habit that they are addicted to. Trying to defend him, at the Old Bailey, his former teacher Professor Maxwell Foster-Keen says:

<div dir="rtl">

هاتان الفتاتان لم يقتلهما مصطفى سعيد و لكن قتلهما جرثوم مرض عضال أصابهما منذ ألف عام (Ṣalih, 2004:42-43).

</div>

It translates as:

> These girls were not killed by Mustafa Saʻid but by the germ of a deadly
> disease that assailed them a thousand years ago. (Johnson.D.Season, 1996:33).

The writer is telling us that Muṣṭafa Saʻid is right, and that his act of killing is justified, as he himself is a victim. It is the same idea as Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth*; human experience is the same for all mankind. The Algerian national war of liberation gave rise to mental disorder. One case Fanon cites in his book is the murder by two young Algerians, thirteen and fourteen years old, of their European playmate. Asked by the psychiatrist, the younger one said, "We weren't a bit cross with him. Every Thursday we used to go and play with catapults together. One day we decided to kill him because the Europeans want to kill all the Arabs. We can't kill big people" (Fanon: 189). The older boy was defiant and rebellious. He admitted his act and answered the questions by asking, "Have you ever seen a European in prison? Has there ever been a European arrested and sent to prison after the murder of an Algerian?" (Fanon: 189).

Ṭayyib Ṣaliḥ's work is a blend of Sudanese Sufi mystical beliefs and western rationalism. He believes in science but does not refuse the existence of metaphysical forces: "I cannot say positively that there aren't metaphysical forces in the world. It is not my job as a writer to say that they do not exist" (Ṣaliḥ,1978).

Sudanese society is very much influenced by Sufi teachings and religious traditions. The setting of most of Ṭayyib Ṣaliḥ's work is in the village of Wad Ḥamid, which is named after a *wali* (saint), and many of his characters represent popular Islam. The doum tree of the holy man Wad Hamid is a symbol of mysticism and the protection of the village. It is like "some

mythical eagle spreading its wings over the village and everyone in it"
(Johnson.D.Zein,1998:6). Al-Hanin of *The Wedding of Zein* is another pious holy man who is
fully dedicated to his worship. The villagers believe in him as a saint and tell strange stories
about him. Their village is protected and made prosperous by his blessings. If they are ill or in
trouble, the villagers seek protection by visiting the shrine of the holy men or sit under the
Doum Tree of Wad Ḥamid. Zein himself is believed to be a mystical character. He is a very
close friend of al- Ḥanin who calls him (Zein) "The Blessed one of God." His close friendship
with al- Ḥanin made people believe that he was one of Allah's saints. Although he is the fool
of the village, the villagers love him and his presence always brings happiness, laughter and
vigour wherever he goes. A miraculous strength flows in his weak body when he is angry.
The society in *The Wedding of Zein* is divided into various camps, some of which stand for
the positive aspects of city values, while the others stand for the negative ones. The first is
represented by people such as al-Hanin, al-Zein and Maḥmūd's group; the other is represented
by Sayf al-Din, who is corrupt, and the Oasis group. Tension is always created in the village
when these values conflict. Conflict also arises when the government attempts to modernise
the village by removing the doum tree on the first occasion, in order to build a water pump for
an agricultural scheme and, on the second, to make room for a stopping place for the steamer.
The government failed when all the people united under the flag of popular Islam and stood
against government intervention in their sacred beliefs. Al-Hanin's sudden appearance from
nowhere and intervention saves the life of Sayf al-Din from the hands of al-Zein. The village
prospers by accepting the introduction by the government of secondary education, a large
hospital, an agricultural scheme and all the means of modernisation previously rejected. The
conflict between popular Islam and modernisation comes to an end when the modernisation is
achieved under the auspices of popular Islam. Tayyib Salih suggests that popular Islam and
modernisation are not contradictory: "What all these people overlooked is that there is plenty
of room for all things: the doum tree, the tomb, the water pump, the steamer's stopping place"
(Johnson.D.Zein,1998:19). Popular Islam tolerates both orthodox Islam and paganism. This
is illustrated in *The Wedding of Zein* where the opposites are reconciled:

> The girls of 'the Oasis' danced and sang in the hearing and under the very eyes
> of the Imam. The Sheikhs were reading the Koran in one house, the girls
> danced and sang in another; the professional dancers rapped their tambourines
> in one house, the young men drank in another (Johnson.D.Zein,1998:113).

The same idea of tolerance, in the absence of which conflict arises, is expressed in *The Season
of Migration to the North*: "We are all brothers; he who drinks and he who prays and he who

kills. The source is the same, no one knows what goes on in the mind of the Divine"
(Johnson.D.Zein,1998:112). Similarly, on the day of Daw al-Bayt's wedding, contradictions
occur: "On that day, the one who prayed got drunk, and the decent, respected man danced"
(Johnson.D.Bandar Shah,1996:124). Ṣalih wants to say that the solution lies in love. In *The
Wedding of Zein* love works miracles. As we have seen, it reconciles the opposites.

 In *The Season of Migration to the North,* Tayyib Salih tackles the encounter of Western
civilisation, represented by Muṣṭafa Saʿid, with popular Islam, represented by the narrator and
his grandfather. The narrator's grandfather is deeply rooted in his land, unlike Muṣṭafa, who
belongs to the ʿAbabda tribe, which is neither Sudanese nor Egyptian, and his mother from a
pagan tribe that does not relate to Islam. Since he was a child he has enjoyed the feeling of
being free of any social ties. "When the sea swallowed up the shore and the waves heaved
under the ship and the blue horizon encircled us, I immediately felt an overwhelming intimacy
with the sea … The whole of the journey I savoured that feeling of nowhere"
(Johnson.D.Season,1996:26-27). While in London, he prepared his room in a mystic oriental
manner to attract British girls. In the Sudan, in his village Wad Hamid, he builds a secret
room that represents the Western world:

> A real English fireplace with all the bits and pieces, above it a brass cowl and
> in front of it a quadrangular area tiled in green marble, with the mantelpiece of
> blue marble; on either side of the fireplace were two Victorian chairs covered
> in a figured silk material (Johnson.D.Season,1996:136).

Saʿid by his nature is isolated from the traditions and society. Even his relationship with his
mother is void of any love; he sheds no tears, neither when he leaves the Sudan nor when he
receives the news of her death while in Britain. He does not pay attention to the love Mr and
Mrs Robison showered on him. In the village, Saʿid is contrasted with the narrator and his
grandfather, and paralleled with Wad al-Rayyis. Neither Saʿid nor Wad al Rayyis have a
heart. Both of them are sex-thirsty and sex-obsessed. Wad al-Rayyis has married many times,
and Saʿid puts mirrors on the walls that reflect his image and give him a feeling that he has
"slept with a whole harem." Wad al-Rayyis would take "no heed of anything in a woman
except she is a woman." To Saʿid, British girls represent the cities he wants to conquer in
retaliation for the British invasion of Africa. "The city has changed into a woman. I would
pitch my tent driving my tent peg into the mountain summit" (Johnson.D.Season,1996:34).
After each adventure with a woman, Saʿid always repeats sentences like, "And the train
carried me to Victoria station and to the world of Jean Morris;" or "The mysterious called me

to the coast of Dover, to London and the tragedy" (Johnson.D.Season,1996:29).Rejected by the women they love, both men are frustrated, driven mad and kill. Sa'id's tragic murder of his wife, Jean Morris, in London, is repeated in the village of Wad Hamid when his widow murders her husband Wad al-Rayyis and commits suicide. "And two open white thighs." (Johnson.D.Season,1996:27) both in London and Wad Ḥamid . The above excerpts from *the Wedding of Zein* and *Season of Migration to the North* have a literary and historical reference. They demonstrate postcolonial experience of postcolonial characters in postcolonial situations. The tension resulting from the conflict of civilisations can be reconciled by love and tolerance.

Having discussed Sudanese Literature in a postcolonial context, this thesis now proceeds to discuss cultural resistance.

V. The Cultural Resistance:

The response to western dominance culminated in the great decolonisation movement all across the third world. Along with armed resistance in places such as Algeria, Ireland and Indonesia, there were considerable efforts in cultural resistance almost everywhere, and the assertion of nationalist identities. The political field saw the creation of associations and parties whose common goal was self-determination and national independence. Almost all writers emphasised the need to free themselves from Western intellectual domination, and to disassociate the language of thinking and education from the language of daily interaction in the home and in the community, The gap between the intellectuals and the practical labourers and between the rural and urban centres, would be bridged.

Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥjūb remembered the battles fought to overcome foreign rule, and how insurrections were put down by force of arms. He wrote:

> We soon began to realise that we needed different weapons. If we were to fulfil our role and regain the liberation of our country we have to discard of the sword and spear and use the new weapons of modern education, knowledge and culture.(Maḥjūb,1974: 31)

After independence, many books were written by Sudanese intellectuals and nationalists about the patriotic movement and the struggle against the foreign occupation. Among them were كفاح جيل [*Struggle of a Generation*] by Aḥmad Khair and السودان للسودانيين [*Sudan for Sudanese*] by 'Abd al-Raḥman Ali Ṭaha. Aḥmad Khair was a prominent figure in the Graduate Congress. In his book, he wrote about British rule and its disadvantages, and

induced the people to resist it. He was a lawyer and his introduction read like a prosecution statement. He used legal terminology:

<div dir="rtl">

هده ورقة اتهام أو صحيفة سوابق أتقدم بها للمواطنين جميعا ، نشر أكثرها في مقالات ....الخ
</div>

(Khair, 1946:2)

It translates as:

Here is a bill of indictment or a sheet of previous convictions, I present to the citizens. Most of which were published as articles etc.

'Abd al-Raḥman 'Ali Ṭaha summed up the whole idea of his book in four words. After the title he wrote:

<div dir="rtl">

السودان للسودانيين :طمع فنزاع – ووثبة فجهاد (Ṭaha , 1955:1)
</div>

Translated as:

Sudan for the Sudanese, greed then dispute - a rise then struggle.

By 'Greed and Dispute,' he was referring to Britain and Egypt, the two states of the Condominium rule, and their interests in the Sudan and their dispute over it. The second part was the rise of the Sudanese, to confront and resist the invaders and their interests. In the preface to his book, Ṭaha dedicated it to Al-Mahdi and his son 'Abd al-Raḥman, quoting a line from a poem by 'Abdullah al-Banna. It reads as follows:

<div dir="rtl">

أبوك غزا بالسيف فانقاد من طغى   و سيفك للأعداء رأي مسدد (Ṭaha :4)
</div>

He tells Abd al-Raḥman that his father, al-Mahdi, used the sword and miraculously defeated the oppressors. But 'Abd al-Raḥman discarded the sword and used his sound opinions, his diplomacy and his ability to convince others. Here he refers to his trips to London and Cairo to negotiate Sudanese affairs with their governments, and truly demonstrated wisdom. He insisted on discussing the issue of Sudan's sovereignty, which Lord Cromer had deliberately left vague in the Agreement of the Condominium rule, in January 1899.

 As has been stated earlier, one of the first tasks of the culture of resistance was to reclaim, rename and reinhabit the land. With that came a whole set of further assertions, recoveries and identifications, all of them quite literally grounded on a poetically projected base. *Al-Fajr* editorial wrote:

> The Sudanese identity is an ideal to which we should all work. It must be
> reflected on our politics, education, literature and culture. It is the essential step
> which we should take before we aspire to ally with some one nation or make
> our way with other nations to approach internationalism (Al-Fajr,1937).

The reading groups, the literary symposiums and the articles written by the educated nationalists demonstrated the determination of that generation to consolidate Arabic-Muslim culture without ignoring universal thought and literature. They had an appreciation of universal literature but they aspired to an independent Sudanese culture. The best contributors and writers to *al-Fajr* were Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥjūb, a poet, writer and a former head of state; ‘Arafat Muḥammad ‘Abdullah, the owner and editor in chief of *al-Fajr* magazine and Muḥammad ‘Ashri al-Siḍḍiq, a pioneer journalist. Their contributions included poetry, short stories and foreign affairs such as Arab unity, nationalism and internationalism, and European re-armament and imperialism. They wrote articles on Eastern and Western themes, Greek mythology, Shakespeare and al-Firdawsi, Muḥammad ‘Abdu and G.B. Shaw. Literary writing was generally criticised as weak and romantic, but some writers and poets, such as al-Tijani Yousif Bashir and Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥjūb, were always impressive.

This part of the thesis examines how cultural domination was resisted. Poets and writers dealt with the misrepresentation of Sudanese people, including the physical exploitation of the indigenous and the dehumanisation of the African population. The colonial scheme began from the assumption of native backwardness and the general inadequacy for independence and self-government.

Poetry played a pre-eminent role in the cultural resistance. Popular poetry found more publicity than standard poetry, as the latter could easily be tracked by the Department of Intelligence. All poems were anonymous but the poets who wrote in standard Arabic were easy to identify. Folkloric poetry was written in colloquial Sudanese language, which was sometimes illegible even for some non-Sudanese Arabs. Sudanese poets, such as Khalil Farah (1896-1932), a poet, composer and singer and ‘Obaid ‘Abd al-Nur, used the poem as a vehicle to rouse patriotic feelings. Many factors contributed to protect them from the Intelligence Department. The poems or songs were anonymous and mostly written in colloquial, or a mixture of standard and colloquial that was sometimes difficult to understand for non-Sudanese Arabic speakers. The poets used allegory with reference to Britain or Egypt, and it could be interpreted in more than way. The most popular and widespread song أم ضفائر (The Young Lady with Plaited Hair) by ‘Obaid ‘Abd al-Nur, post the White Flag Revolution

(1924). He remained anonymous till he left the country to study at the American University in Beirut. 'Obaid was pursued to Beirut by Samuel 'Aṭṭiyah, the Head of the Intelligence Department, and subjected to a very tough interrogation, but he denied any relation to the song. All sectors of society sang his song: the public, the civilians and the students of the Military School and Gordon College.

Sudanese poets counteracted the British language and educational policy. Muḥammad Sa'id al-'Abbasi (1880-1963) found satisfaction in Islam and the Arabic language. Islam is the firm bond and the Arabic language is the unifying factor. He writes:

و كفانا بالدين عروتنا الوثقى   وبالضاد لحمة و صداقة (Al-'Abbasi,1948:33)

And 'Abdullah al-Banana (1890-1985), in a long poem, mourns the Arabic language, describes its deterioration and recalls its previous greatness. He mentions how it was glorified and looked after in Damascus and Basra. He writes:

منابت العز حيّا الله ذكراك   ما كان أثراك من مجد و أسراك

ما كان أبهاك لما كنت بادية   و بالجدى و الندى ما كان أغراك

أم اللغات عويلي فيك متّصل   و مقلتي بسخين الدمع عبراك

أنعاك للبصرة العصماء حيث بها جريت في سنن العلياء مجراك

دمشق كم ثوب عز تهت فيه و كم قد ضاحك البدر وضاحا محيّاك

(Al-Banna,1921:45)

Shaikh 'Abdullah 'Abd al-Raḥman (1891-1964), in al-Fajr al-Ṣadiq, pp. 6-7, warns the Arabs against scorning their language and deserting it for the language of the Other. He warns that they will be humiliated and lose their Arabism. He adds that Westerners respect and preserve their own languages. He writes:

أجل كل قوم فرطوا في لغاتهم   غدو و صروف الدهر فيهم تحكم

أرى الغرب تعنى باللغات رجاله   و تمشي إلى أعلامها تتعلّم

بني وطني إن قمت للضاد داعيا   فاني أدعو للتي هي أقوم

أرى الضاد في السودان أمست غريبة و أبناؤها أمست لها تتجهم

و إن لم تحسوا داءها و هو فاتك   تهنوا و في غير العروبة تدغموا

('Abd al-Raḥman, 1947:6)

Under the British occupation, the Sudanese people emphasised their Arab descent, sometimes to the exclusion of their association with Africa and its Negroes. That inclination was helped by the British educational policy and the "closed district" policy. However that attitude was

changed later by the emergence of the school of the "Forest and Desert". They also took pride in Islam. Aḥmad Muḥammad Salih writes:

إلى العلا   إلى العلا

و أبعثوا مجدنا الآفل

و اطلبوا لعلاه الجديد

أمة أصلها للعرب

دينها خير دين يحب

إلى العلا

إلى العلا

(Ṣaliḥ ,1970:15).

For them religion meant the Homeland; Homeland is Islam and the folk are the Muslims. They are quite satisfied with the Qur'an as their Holy Book and Muḥammad as their Prophet. This meaning is expressed by 'Abdullah 'Abd al- Raḥman. He writes:

فليس سوى الإسلام من وطن لنا   و لا غير أهليه أعد صحاب

و بالمصطفى المختار صفوة خلقه   نبيا زكا في العالمين نصابا

كفى بقبيل الله أهلا و مذهبا   و بالله ربا و الكتاب كتابا

('Abd al- Rahman: 9).

Maḥjūb discussed the issue of education at length. He wrote:

> Education for education should be given to us in this stage; our aim in life is to be given higher education. A school of law, an agriculture school and a higher school of engineering both civil and mechanical, have become essential for the future of the country. It is time that Sudanese might have better chances in the government of their country and the only way for realisation of these chances is higher education. (Beshir, M 1974:126)

He went on to talk about amending the curriculum, increasing the size of the intake to Gordon Memorial College and continuing the admissions to Beirut University. He added that "we have realised the value of education and have come to believe that it is the key to our progress" (Beshir, M 1974:126). The pro-Native Administration advocates were convinced that the tribal leaders were wise and more interested in and involved with the people than the 'small but vocal minority' that was alienated from the people and their fates. Mahjūb thought that education would enable the educated to achieve a better understanding of the people and their needs. The Native Administration, together with the Southern Policy, kept the South in

63

an awful condition of backwardness, as "a human zoo to satisfy their tourist tendency curiosity. The vast fertile areas of the Northern Sudan were deliberately kept as feudal museums where people were passive and had no worries about modern life." (Maḥjūb,1945:71-73)

Poets wrote at length about knowledge, called for education and condemned ignorance. Al-Banna advocated education, and attributed the backwardness and weakness of the nation to ignorance. He associated education with morals:

<div dir="rtl">

ثم انشروا من شريف العلم أنفعه   فإنما هو معنى كل تمدين

و العلم زين و بالأخلاق رفعته   إن قارنته يد في خير تزيين
</div>

(Al-Banna: 20).

After the failure of the White Flag Movement, in 1924, and the subsequent tightening of the grip of the foreign occupation, people were overwhelmed by feelings of grief and disappointment. That feeling of suppression and emptiness had to have some kind of relief. Tawfiq Jibril (1897-1966) was the Sudanese poet who wrote the first poem about the 1924 Movement, commemorating four of the White Flag's heroes. He blamed the British for causing four of the vanguards to die by torturing them in a blazing fire and throwing them in a hole. They sent the leader and Sir al Khatim (the poet's brother) to jail for no reason other than defending their Homeland. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

أودى بأربعة صدور في الوغى   يا ويحهم ألقوا صدور رماح

في حفرة من بعد أن أصلوهم   نارا توقد في النهار الضاح

و مضوا "بسر الختم "بعد صفيّه   رب "اللواء الأبيض "الوضاح

للسجن للتشريد ,لا لجريرة   ما الذوّد عن أوطانهم بجناح
</div>

(Gibril, 1972:26)

The troops under Kitchener's command committed certain atrocities, including the disinterment of the body of the Mahdy. In a letter to Cromer, Kitchener wrote

> I thought it was politically advisable, considering the state of the country, that the Mahdi's tomb should be destroyed … When I left Omdurman for Fashoda, I ordered its destruction. This was done in my absence, the Mahdi's bones being thrown into the Nile. The skull only was preserved and handed to me for disposal. No other bones were kept ...[8]

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[8] Cromer, E. B. Letter to Salisbury, 12 March, 1899, P.R.O. FO/78/5 Cromer, E. B. Letter to Salisbury, 12 March, 1899, P.R.O. FO/78/5022.

In his book *The River War*, Winston Churchill stated that:

> the number of those who were killed during the reconquest is not known, but the number of casualties during the battle of Omdurman alone has been estimated as 11,000. The battle started at dawn and ended at about noon of 2 Sept. 1898. (Churchill,1899: 45)

During the First World War, the Sudan was stricken by the famous famine of 1306 A.H., which caused great devastation. People had great difficulty in obtaining sorghum while, at the same time, the dogs of the English were enjoying varieties of food. In this respect, Mustafa Qulalaty, a Syrian journalist in al-Ra'id, wrote an article entitled by the following line:

تموت الأسد في الغابات جوعا   و لحم الضان يطرح للكلاب

(Najilah:22)

He was arrested by the British Administration and deported from the Sudan.

The poet Munir Ṣaliḥ 'Abd al-Qadir blamed his misfortune on the British. He encourages his countrymen to wake up and resist the foreign occupation as they are not created to live like sheep. He wonders what disaster has befallen them and transformed them into slaves. He writes:

إن عقلي لم يكن متهما   لا تلمني فتكن متهمي
أخطأ الدهر و عمدا ظلما   و لم الدهر علي تقصيره
ما خلقتم لتعيشوا غنما   يا بن قومي أفيقوا إنكم
سادة كنتم فصرتم خدما   ليتني أعرف ما أحزنكم

Muḥammed (1999:316).

Many Sudanese poets wrote about Egypt and the Unity of the Nile Valley. Muḥammad Sa'id Al-'Abbasi was infatuated with it; for him it was the beloved and the second Home. The word 'Egypt' recurs throughout his poetry. Regarding unity with Egypt, he appealed to the Sudanese people to abandon factionism. He described factionism as a poison that they should counteract. He writes:

إن التحزب سم فاجعلوا أبدا   يا قوم منكم لهذا السم ترياقا

(Al-'Abbasi,1948).

The imperialist discourse and such justifications as the need to 'civilise' natives, or the appeal to the technological superiority of the West, were resisted by Sudanese poets. Al-''Abbasi celebrated the time of the Muslim Califs, rejected Western civilisation and condemned it as source of misery, humiliation and corruption.   He writes:

جزى الله هاتيك الحضارة شر ما   جزى من تصاريف الزمان المعاند

فلم تك يوما و الحوادث جمة   حما لضعيف أو صلاحا لفاسد

شقينا بها حتى لبتنا أذلة   و أغلالها منا مكان القلائد

رعى الله عهد الراشدين و تربة   سمت بالعصاميين عمرو و خالد[9]

(Al'Abbasi,1948)

When Lord Allenby visited the Sudan in 1922, public opinion was divided over the issue of unity with Egypt. The anti-British thought that the purpose of the visit was to consolidate British rule of the Sudan and to eliminate Egypt. Tawfiq Ṣaliḥ Gibril revealed the real purpose of the British, their failure to fulfil their promises for 25 years and their claims that they were the envoys of civilisation. He conveyed the people's resentment of the occupation, and he asked Lord Allenby about the real purpose behind his visit. He wondered whether his purpose was to encourage the separation of the Sudan and Egypt. He writes:

أيها القوم لا تجروا الذيول   يأنف الحر أن يعيش ذليلا

سمتمونا العذاب ضيقتم إلا   رض علينا حتى نوينا الرحيل

كل يوم تبدوا بثوب جديد   من دهاء فحسبكم تبديلا

تلك عشرون حجة بعد خمس   قد إتقضت و ما شفيتم غليلا

فادعيتم نشر الحضارة و العرفان   و الشعب ما يزال جهولا

ويح قلبي ماذا يريد اللنبي   يوم وافى يجر سيفا صقيلا

أتراه يريد يفصم حبلا   بين مصر و بيننا موصولا

(Gibril:49).

In the famous revolutionary colloquial song, أم ضفاير 'Obaid 'Abd al-Nur invites young ladies to join men, lead the march and to call out 'Long Live the Homeland.' He invited young men to sacrifice themselves for the country. Death is inevitable, by sword or spear, so better confront the coloniser and die for the country:

يا أم ضفاير قودي الرسن و اهتفي فليحيا الوطن

أصله موتا فوق الرقاب كان رصاص لو كان بالحراب

البدور عند الله الثواب اليضحي ويأخد العقاب

يا الشباب الناهض صباح ودع أهلك و امشي الكفاح

قوى زندك و موت بارتياح فوق ضريحك تبكي الملاح

(Gibril:49).

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[9] The underlined words refer to the two Muslim leaders 'Umro ibn al-'Ass and Khalid ibn al-Walid

Another episode in the justification of Empire employed theories of racial and cultural supremacy. Obaid expressed the arrogance of the foreigners and their attitude towards the colonised. The rulers are arrogant, on the assumption that they are a noble nation, descendants of a superior race, while the indigenous are only Nubians and slaves. Whoever protests or grumbles among the indigenous will be punished. He writes:

استبدوا و سووا القدر و قالوا نحن السما و القمر

و إنتوا مش من نوع البشر و البقول يِمْ يبلع حجر

نحن أهل الشرف التليد و انتوا نوبة و عيلة و عبيد [10]

(Najilah, 1959:216)

He addresses the dignitaries of the country, and wonders why and for how long they will remain passive towards the humiliation, attrition and degradation. To keep order, the police hit the demonstrators using stick and truncheon. He writes:

يا كبار البلد الأمين السكات دا بصح لا متين؟

ما بتشوفوا الذل و الهوان مص دمانا و عقب امتهان

غنمونا و حفظوا الأمان بالنبابيت و الخيزران) [11]

(Najilah,1959:216)

He draws a comparison between the Sudanese people and the forces they are confronting: a huge force vis-à-vis a weak Sudan, a cold English man before a sensitive Sudanese and a fortress against a hungry, thin and faithful man. He writes:

قوه هايلة و سودان ضعيف إنجليزي و مخلوق رهيف

طابية في قصاد زولا نحيف بطنه خاليه و إيمان نظيف [12]

(Najilah,1959:216

He applauds the country, assuring it that its children stood to defend her, lifting the crescent in their right hands. Their applause and shouting caused the mountains to shake and as a result the British were disturbed and they filled the streets with soldiers armed with guns and rifles. He writes**:**

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[10] The underlined words respectively mean: they did, peculiarities, not, and the minimum utterance. The terms بم and بغم in Arabic dialect mean the minimum utterance.

[11] The underlined words mean: passive attitude, for how long, and also.

[12] The underlined words mean: individual.

<div dir="rtl">

و في يمينن رفعوا الهلال[13]   لي نصرتك قاموا العيال

و غيرت ناس من حال لحال   صاحوا صيحة و هزت جبال

</div>

(Najila: 218)

Khalil Farah was the pioneer of the patriotic song and the political eulogy. He was considered a phenomenon in the history of Sudanese song, not only for his good poetry but also because he was a composer. He was the poet and singer who disturbed authority by his use of symbolism in his songs. He loved the Homeland and gave it the name of '*Azza*,' which became a symbol for the Homeland throughout Sudanese poetry. What distinguished his poetry was the fusion of Sudanese colloquial language with classical Arabic. In the political meetings they held under the cover of socialisation or a literary symposium, to mislead the government, he whispered to his comrades to beware and to mind their words as they were under police surveillance. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

أصله خشم المركز ذئاب   خبي كأسك لينوينا ناب

مابيصح تبريم الشناب[14]   نحن من الليث في جناب

</div>

(Faraḥ, 1977:10)

In the following lines he symbolises colonisation as an incurable disease that is ceaselessly eating up the country, draining its resources. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

في الأواخر فض الصحن   ظل ينهش دون انتقال

أو تصيب بعض الفطن   لو تفكر يا ذو الفضال

وعزة يا فاو هي الوطن[15]   هو تايه و من يومه ضال

</div>

(Farah, 1977:10)

By mentioning the shrine diffusing fragrance, situated on the western bank of the Nile in Omdurman, he refers to and greets al Imam al-Mahdi, the great symbol, who struggled and defeated the coloniser. At that place to the West of the Nile, they fought the coloniser's forces on the backs of their triumphant horses. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

كنا فوق أعراف السوابق   في يمين النيل حيث سابق

</div>

---

[13] The flag of the 1924 Revolution: a white flag with a map of the Nile Valley with a crescent.

[14] The underlined words mean hide, in front of, the police station and inappropriate.

[15] The underlined word means you shallow one.

السلام يا المهدي الإمام　　　الضريح الفاح طيبه عابق

(Najilah, 1959:59)

In the next lines, he uses one form of popular activity, i.e., hunting, to show the pride he took in his Sudanese nation: their self-respect, sense of honour and generosity and expertise in hunting. He writes:

نحن ما بنخاف من مِراسِنْ　　　للقنيص الخيل خَفَّ راسِنْ
و المجاهل مين غيرنا ساسِنْ؟　　　المكارم غرَّقنا ساسِنْ
إن عطشنا نمز مُر و آسن　　　و إن عشقنا بنعشق محاس

(Najilah, 1959:59**)**

In another song of the self-praise genre, he talks about them as the youths of the great Nile who attack and retreat alternately, like lions or crocodiles. It is their duty to defend their homeland, to enable the Nile to continue. He writes:

دوابي الكر شباب النيل　　　نحن و نحن الشرف الباذخ
نحن نموت و يحي النيل[16]　　　نحن برانا نحمي حمانا

(Najilah, 59**)**

They can no longer tolerate humiliation and being despised by the occupier who took their possessions, suffocated them and wanted to spill their blood. He writes:

كيف إنطاق هوان الأمة　　　يا نزلانا أمرقوا الذمة
ديل عايزين دمانا تسيل[17]　　　زروا حلوقنا و شالوا حقوقنا

(Najilah, 59**)**

In support of the unity of the Nile Valley, he sheds all nationalities, whether Sudanese or Egyptian, and calls them the sons of the Nile. He writes:

نحن الكل أولاد النيل[18]　　　مافيش تاني مصري سوداني

(Najilah, 1959)

---

[16] The plural of دابي in Sudanese dialect means snake, crocodile or lion, الكر means attack برانا means on our own.

[17] The underlined words mean say the truth, cannot be tolerated, they suppressed us and cofisicated our rights. They want.

[18] The underlined word means there is no more

Sa'ad Zaghlul, the Egyptian Prime Minister, insisted that Sudan and Egypt were one country and that theirs was one cause, but Mr MacDonald, the British Prime Minister of the Sudan, thought that they were two different countries. Al-'Abbadi, who supported union with Egypt, began his poem by expressing the unity of the two countries under one flag, connected by one Nile. He asks Sa'ad Zaghlul to tell MacDonald that the Sudanese are courageous Arabs and experienced and tough fighters who do not fear his force. He asks him to discard the policy of pressure and adopt a flexible one. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

ينساب تحت واحد لوا   نيل مصر و السودان سوا

سودان عرب ماهم هنود   يا سعد خبّر ماكدونالد

وسط العراك نصحى و ننود   ما بتخشى طيارة و جنود

و ارجع إلى الرأي السديد[19]   سيبك من الضغط الشديد

</div>

(Najilah, 1959)

He said to Baldwin, one of the British politicians, that Sudanese people now realise their rights, and that his policy of deceit will turn on him. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

يا بلدوين رأيك تِلِفْ   و الناس صحت ما بتتبَلِفْ

محور سياستك قاعدْ الِفْ   خايفْ يضربك من خَلِفْ [20]

</div>

(Najilah, 1959)

With great difficulty and effort, the Intelligence Department discovered the author of the song and arrested him. He was freed when Sayyid 'Abd al- Raḥman al-Mahdi intervened on his behalf, on condition that he would not write such stuff again. But al-'Abbadi would never cease. Using allusion, he refers to the occupying army as الغرام (the beloved) squatting at the heart of the country misleading the people. He appeals to Egypt, because it is a neighbouring country, to intervene. The Sudanese people aspire to a sip from its sweet Nile water and wish they were the bracelet on her wrist. This is an allusion to the brotherliness and the intermixing between the two countries. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

والهجر هذا موش حلال   الغرام عامل احتلال

و ليعش حاجبك الهلال   رشفة من نيلك الزلال

</div>

---

[19] Equally, stop.

[20] Cannot be fooled, قاعد in Sudanese colloquial denotes continuous tense, the ل of خلف has the vowel mark كسرة (i) because it is colloquial and for the purpose of the rhyme.

نرجو بي حرمة الجوار   نبقى لي معصمك سوا ر

(Najilah, 1959)

In a multi-tribal country such as the Sudan, the largely rural population had a deeply rooted tribal awareness. They took pride in their tribal identity and elevated it and demeaned that of others. There used to be poetical contests, *Musajalat,* between poets concerning pride in tribal identity and its assertion, and the relative superiority of tribal characteristics. The themes of those contests were descent and genealogy, mode of living, history, character and cultural traditions.

Ibrahim al-'Abbady rejects all tribes—*Ja'ali, Shaygi, Dongolawi*, etc. He mobilises people for nationalism and declares that Sudanese is their nationality and the Nile is their father. He writes:

شايقي و دنقلاوي و جعلي ما هماني

غير بذرة خلاف خلّت أخوي عاداني

يكفي النيل أبونا و الأصل سوداني

(Najilah,1959:218)

It was explained earlier how all Sudanese transcended their tribal, religious and regional differences and united to realise independence. To resist that nationalistic feeling, the British administration revived tribalism and introduced the Native Administration. That was reflected in Sudanese Poetry. Yousif Muṣṭafa al-Tinay called the sons of his country to unite and form a shield to defend the country. In an amusing caricature, he portrays the foreign occupation of the two Condominium states (Britain and Egypt) as two weak wolves ripping the stomach of the fighting lion (Sudan). He writes:

مرفعينين ضبلان و هازل

شقوا بطن الأسد المنازل

النبقى حزمة كفانا المهازل

نبقى درقة وطني العزيز[21]

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[21] The underlined words mean: two hyenas, withered, weak and let us become.

71

VI. Sudanese Poets and Writers in Exile:

Sudanese novelists such as Jamal Majḥūb and Leila, Aboul'ela and some poets, such as Muḥammad Miftaḥ al-Faitury, Ṣalaḥ Muḥammad Ibrahim and Muḥammad al-Makki Ibrahim, have been exposed to Exile imposed or chosen Exile, and they are positively and negatively influenced by it. They overcome it by occupying "a space of linguistic exile." This is a way for each post colonial writer to pass over to the Other, to write in the language of the Other, to bridge the gap, to gain recognition and respect, to be at one with the Other, by moving from the nostalgic and nationalistic to the notion of being 'in relation to,' rather than 'opposite from' the Other by building bridges to reconcile the differences. Bhabha wrote: "We are different but through writing the interstitial passage between different identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridism that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (Bhabha.H,1997:118).

Jamal Maḥjūb was born in London in 1960 of a Sudanese father and an English mother. He spent his childhood in Liverpool, then his family moved to the Sudan where he completed his schooling in Khartoum. At the age of seventeen, he returned to England where he studied Geology at the University of Sheffield. He currently lives with his family in Denmark. The experience of growing up, having two nationalities, and the way he sees his two countries, Sudan and Britain, is reflected in his works. There is a dynamic tension between his two halves, feeling not entirely belonging. The period when he grew up was a time of great turmoil in the Sudan, and at seventeen he returned to England as a foreigner. His first three novels deal with the Sudan and the changing political situation.

His novel *Navigation of a Rainmaker,* published in 1989, won the Guardian/Heinemann 1993 short story competition. He addresses the dilemma of a country falling to pieces. After independence in 1956, Sudan became a victim of the first intellectuals who ruled it. *In the Hours of Signs* depicts the religious, cultural and political differences, and the conflict between nationalists and sceptics, European and Arabs, Muslims and Christians. Later he wrote to describe the suffering of a generation after the Turabi coup in June 1989. The experience of his own life is echoed in the life of his characters. Like him, the character of Tanner in *Navigation of a Rainmaker* is a stranger in his father's land, the Sudan. He travelled from his mother's barren land England seeking consolation, only to be trapped in Khartoum, as silent eyewitness of the suffering

72

around him. The love story of Sherif in *The Wings of Dust* is set against the changing political situation of his North African homeland, and his memories of his existence in England and France. He wrote *The Carrier* to address his situation. It expresses the confrontation, and the problems, of Islam in Denmark. Unlike both Ṣaliḥ and Aboul'ela, Maḫjūb left the issue of identity unresolved. Yasin in *Travelling with Djinns* is travelling with his seven-year-old son, trying to answer questions to which he does not know the answer: who he is and where he comes from i.e. the question of identity.

His story, *Wings of Dust*, is built on the proposal and refutation of a variety of solutions to a deep identity crisis, which, as with the events in *Navigation of a Raimaker* remains unresolved. Also unlike Ṣalih and Aboul'ela, Maḫjūb does not employ landscape as a background to his stories; instead he tells his story relating it to the story of the Sudan and shows how a landscape was transformed into map. He structures his narratives around the landscape, molding the text to fit the land. From the Englishmen's point of view the earth itself and the valley turn into 'a perfect trap' (Maḫjūb, HS: 105). Two officers are able to escape the fate of Hicks , but the landscape devoid of markers closes in and engulfs them, bringing them to the brink of madness:' The night sucked them in , a whirlpool, like a drank dream that had crossed the stars and slipped its fingers insidiously into their heads' (Maḥ jūb, HS:73).

Leila Aboul'ela was born in 1964 and grew up in Khartoum. She moved to London in her mid-twenties. She now lives and works in Aberdeen. Her short story *The Museum* won the Caine Prize for African writing in 2000. In her Exile, Leila writes with Home in her mind, in the same way as Tayyiḅ Ṣalih. Her first novel *The Translator* was long listed for the IMPAC Dublin Award, and short listed for the Orange Prize. It is about a love story between Sammar, a young Sudanese widow working as a translator in a British university, and Rae, a Scottish lecturer in postcolonial politics. Recovering from collapse, following her husband's death and estrangement from her son, she falls in love with Rae, a cynical and self-proclaimed man who is grieved and exiled from the warmth of Home being twice-divorced. She is attracted to him despite the difference in age, faith and culture. In the novel Leila portrays a young woman torn between conflicting pressures, beliefs and desires. She successfully depicts the contrasting landscapes and cultures of Khartoum and Aberdeen. Like Tayyiḅ Ṣalih, who writes with his village always in his mind, she demonstrates the ability to live in the West with a non-western mentality. Her friendship with Rae, who seems to come from a separate world, develops into love but she does not forget her Home, culture or faith.

While in Aberdeen, Sammar always has Khartoum in her mind. She always compares the culture, the language, the landscape and the weather when in Khartoum.. She is afraid of snow, fog and wind. At such times she would hide at home, sometimes for four days, eating the last packet of pasta and drinking tea without milk. At the same time, she is impressed as, when looking from the window, she watches people doing what she can't do; snow and the severe weather does not hinder life. She observes that the city of Aberdeen insists on following its daily rhythm. She writes:

> If Sammar had searched anything sacred to this city and not found it, here it was; on people's faces as they pushed and scraped the snow off their cars, on the face of the bent elderly woman, miraculously still on her feet, beating the snow with her walking stick: she must get to the post office (Aboul'ela,1999:107).

And:

> Shops must open people must go to work. The snow filled the sky and poured down like it would never stop covering everything took her back Home. When she was young in Khartoum and when it rained at night, "thunder and lightning would wake her up so dramatic, so that she used to think Judgment Day had arrived. Lightening cracking the sky like eggshell and everything covered by darkness opening out in the light (Aboul'ela, 1999:104).

Like the narrator in *Season of Migration to the North,* while in Aberdeen Sammar imagines Khartoum:

> Home had come here. Its dim lit streets, its sky and the feel of home had come here and balanced just for her. She saw the sky cloudless with too many stars, imagined the night warm, warmer than indoors. She smelled dust and heard the barking of stray dogs among the street's rubbles and potholes. A bicycle bell tinkled, frogs croaked, the *muezzin* coughed into the microphone and began the *azan* of the *isha* prayer. But this was Scotland and the reality left her dulled, unsure of herself (Aboul'ela,1999:19).

And:

> Sometimes the shadows in a dark room would remind her of the power cuts at home or she would mistake the gurgle of the central-heating pipe for a distant *azan.* But she had never stepped into a vision before, home had never come here before. It took time to take in the perfect neatness of the buildings and the gleaming road. It took time for the heating in Jasmine's car to clear the mist of their breath on the window panes. (199 Aboul'ela: 9)

In the same way, Tayyiḅ Ṣalih narrator imagines his village Wad Ḥamid in the Sudan. Sometimes during the summer months in London, after a downpour of rain:

> I would breathe in the smell of it, and at odd fleeting moments before sunset I would see it. At the latter end of the night the foreign voices would reach my ears as though they were those of my people out here. (Johnson,D.Wad-Ḥamid:49)

Sammar relates the incidents sometimes comically and at other times painfully. "Home had come here." The same feeling has always happened before but not "so long, not so deeply." It is so deep and so long that specific time because of Rae's presence and what she feels for him. She does not dare confess it but it is always there. She also keeps her grief over the death of her loving husband, Ṭariq, and her separation from her only child, Amir, whom her aunt and mother-in-law, Maḥasin, decided to keep with her in Khartoum. All is hidden from Rae "like her hair and the skin on her arms under her *ḥijab* (veil)." Her grief "had formed, taken shape, a diamond shape, its four angles stapled on to her forehead, each shoulder, the top of her stomach. She knew that it was translucent; she knew that it held a mercurial liquid which flowed up and down slowly as she moved." (Aboul'ela:4)

The narrator of *The Translator* relates Sammar's story in a simple fluent style. Arabic words such as *azan, muezzin, injilizi, Allah Akbar, wudu'* are spontaneously recurring without explanation in brackets or footnotes. This is like the use of inexhaustible hackneyed phrases by Sa'id in *Season of Migration to the North.* Everywhere and in any situation, particularly when she is with Rae and Yasmin, Sammar silently observes how people behave and what they say and always compares it with the same situation back Home.

She sometimes relates her memories in a comic style. Rae's large black cat reminds her of the savage stray cats back home. When the fur of Rae's well-fed cat brushes against her knees, she remembers some other savage stray cats with visible ribs, dirty fur, amputated tails and black holes instead of eyes. Rae's cat is slow and serene as she walks around the room unlike the cats back home that are screaming furiously to get out of the room. Knowing that she was scared by cats when she was little, Tariq teases her and laughs at the expression on her face. He has a story about stray cats, the ones that lives around the hospital. "Their favourite meal," he says, "comes every time a baby is born. They wait around the dustbins, one juicy placenta drops in, and you should see how they fight for it!" (Aboul'ela :13).

Sammar is always contrasting Khartoum with Aberdeen. She thinks that in Scotland there are shops for everything yet no one can buy a sky like that in Khartoum, where everyone can look up and share its beauty without admission fee or price. After a snowstorm and after the white

covers the surface of everything; there is sunshine, like in Africa, turning Aberdeen into a mute city as if it is a part of the Third World. Looking from her balcony in Khartoum, she sees the watchman serving his friends tea while they sit on the pavement after praying on a large palm-fibre mat. Nearby, the kettle is boiling over the glowing coals. The sky is so much bigger than the world below, unlike in Aberdeen where it is so clear that she can count the stars. Her homesickness is cured by what she sees and how she feels towards it. She has been rewarded, protected by the balance within herself from the extremes such as pills, breakdown and attempting suicide. This balance interposes between her and things like that. It is that balance that Rae admires. Despite the conflicting pressures, she can pull herself together. For this admiration, she would gather her courage to talk to him. She would make him happy; she could do so much for him. She thinks of what she would tell him, all the things she would translate for him. He knows a lot, but he could not understand it until he lived it. He is a Middle East historian and a lecturer in Third World Politics. He wrote a book entitled *The Illusion of an Islamic Threat.* He is quoted and referred to as an Islamic Expert. The Arab and Islamic world holds his interest and attention, as it did that of others. But he did not know about "the stream of *Kawthar*, the Day of Promises or what stops the heart from rusting." She wanted to explain to him what the *shahadah* [bearing witness that there is no God but Allah and that the Prophet Muḥammad is his Messenger].

Even the gifts which they have given to each other in the past are symbolic of their understanding of each others worlds. She says, "You gave me silk because of how I was created and you give me wool to keep me warm." He says, "Wool because I want to protect you, and cotton because you are clean." She gave him the smoothest bowl, inside it a milky liquid smelling of musk, and she asks him, "Is it perfume?" "No," he pauses and speaks slowly, "it is something from you that will make me strong." When he names it he looks away, as if he is shy. "Admiration," he says.

In the same way that the occupiers try to make an impact or astonish the people of the third world, Sa'id in *Season of Migration to the North* started to impress his victims by relating fabricated stories about "deserts of golden sands and jungles where non-existent animals called out to one another"; "the streets of my country teemed with elephants and lions and at siesta time crocodiles crawled through it." When asked where is he from, he answers: "Our house is right on the bank of the Nile, so that when I am lying on my bed I put my hand out of the window and idly play with the Nile waters till sleep overtakes me." (Johnson.D.Season, 1996.39.193)

Sammar knows that she does not belong in Aberdeen, and whilst there she misses Khartoum. In Aberdeen, she imagines the *azan* when hearing other voices, and when in Khartoum the real *azan* "came as a relief and the reminder that there was something bigger than all this, above everything. *Allah akbar. Allah akbar."* (Aboul'ela :130) She is always aware of her homeland, like many other Sudanese writers and poets in Exile.

Thus the above quotes are chosen to represent the coming together of two different worlds' cultures, values, customs and beliefs. The relationship between Sammar and Rae represents the communication barriers and overcoming them through mutual understanding. She asks him to interpret her feelings for him as their cultural differences prevent her from expressing them. The relationship between Sammar and Rae provides a model of cross-cultural exchange conversion and love which resist the stagnant binary of East and West. She draws on both Islamic liberation theology and Islamic feminism to challenge both Orientalist and patriarchal Islamist notions of religious experience.

Her project is not to negate Scottish or English or Western values but rather to assert the validity of her own Sudanese and Islamic world view and to challenge the Orientalist discourse and maintain relation between East and West which she did. Emma in Debourah Scorggins' real story, *Emma's War* 2002*, paid her life for her vision of overcoming racism through romantic love. She wanted to break the seal of her whiteness and make herself that bridge between black and white but was shot dead. Emma was a young British Aid worker who turned spouse to one of southern Sudan's charismatic military commanders, Riek Machar, the now vice president of the South government. Scroggins notes that "Africa most memorable empire builders tended to be those romantics and eccentrics whose openness to the irrational made them misfits in their own society." She describes Emma Mcune and other Aid workers as romantics. She argues that "Aid makes itself out to be a practical enterprise, but in Africa at least it is romantics who do most of the work. The war is stereotypically referred to in the Western media and by many scholars as a religious and racial struggle between an Arabized Muslim north and a Christianized African south. In her review of this novel, Sondra Hole commends Scorggins for borrowing "layered map" metaphor of Sudanese British writer Jamal Maḥjūb to convey the complexity of the war:

> A surface map of political conflict, for example--the northern government versus the southern rebels; and under that a layer of religious conflict--Muslim versus Christian and pagan; and under that a map of all the sectarian divisions within those categories; and under that a layer of ethnic divisions--Arab and Arabized versus Nilotic and Equatorian--all of them containing a multitude of clan and tribal subdivisions; and under that a layer of linguistic conflicts; and under that a layer of economic divisions--the more developed north with fewer

natural resources versus the poorer south with its rich mineral and fossil fuel deposits; and under that a layer of colonial divisions and under that a layer of racial divisions related to slavery.

Hole criticised Scorggins for omitting a layered map of colonialisms, wave after wave, that have left the country divided and unable to build a nation. She also omits to gender the war, highlighting the horrible victimization of women and children, as well as the greater role of women in holding together the fabric of society. Sudanese poets, in Exile, are also aware of their Homeland. For the Sudanese poet, Muḥi al-Deen Al-Fatiḥ, like Sammar, "Home had come here." But, unlike Sammar, he is optimistic and defiant. He does not feel lonely in his Exile in Yemen, despite the seas, the mountains, the rainy nights and the long distances that separate him from his country. The remembrance of his country helps him to overcome his sadness and dejection. He feels that his beloved country is with him with all its greatness, tolerance and warmth. This strong feeling overcomes sadness and drives away Exile. In a TV show he reads:

<div dir="rtl">

لا لست وحدي لا و لا هذي الجبال المفضيات إلى البحار

المفضيات إلى الجبال بعاصمات مد وجهي

لن تخلق الآماد مسراك الذي يسري إلى الدنيا فيسريها و يبتلع التحدي

لالست وحدي رغم ما بيني و بينك من دخان العشق في زمن الرحيق

بمفازة السفر الطويل و سرادق الليل المطير

إذ أنت نازلة بكل جمالك المتناغم القسمات بالوعد الظليل

وبوجهك الطلق الدفيء

فأمام طلعتك الحميمة يهرب المنفى

و يرحل مأتم الأحزان من قبل المجيء

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(Al-Kitayyabi, 2006: 80)

In the same context, Rawḍa al Ḥaj, in her poem لك إذا جاء المطر [To you When it Rains] describes how rain reminds her of her homeland when she is away from it and how she interacts with nature and feels nostalgic. During a violent thunder and lightning and storm, she is deeply affected and her heart beat increases. She is deeply moved and elated by the sound of rain. She compares the sound of the downpour of rain as playing cheerful songs covering forests and deserts; all birds resort to their nests, settling peacefully as if they are listening to an underlying mystery. She writes:

و احترت في سر احتدام تذكري

لك بالمطر..

ما لاح في الأفق البعيد قدومه

إلا و أعياني التصبر و الحذر

تشتد بي حمى اذكارك

كلما غيث أطل أو انهمر

تتأزم الآفاق إرعادا.. و إبراقا

فيوشك بعض هذا القلب مني أن يفر

و يهزني صوت المطر

ينهل منتشيا بحب الأرض

يعزف أغنيات السعد للغابات

والصحراء و الأطيار

تسكن كلها فكأنما تصغي لسر

(Al-Ḥaj, 2002:9)

Al-Makki in his Exile longed for the homecoming, namely, for his countryside. He draws an analogy between Sudanese images and Western civilisation. He feels fed up with the arrogance   and the vanity, and expresses his love for his country. The atmosphere in the West is tasteless compared to his country, which is fragrant with the Sufi recitation of the Prophet's songs of praise. Houses diffuse the aroma of guests and food. He misses his beautiful neighbour and her perfume, which he wishes he could inhale, embrace, touch and see. He writes:

رياحكم ماسخة عجوز

في بلدي تعطر الهواء بالمديح

روائح الطعام و الضيوف من بيوتنا تفوح

و الجارة التي يرف بالشباب وجهها الصبوح

يا عطرها الشفيف ينشق النهار من شداه

أواه لو لمرة أشمه ، أضمه ، ألمسه ، أراه

أواه لو تفيد النازح الغريب آه (Al-Makki,1985:17)

He is fond of the countryside and of life in the village. When he comes to Khartoum he longs for his village and its warm welcome, compared to the lack of attention he finds in Khartoum. He recalls how the villagers rush off, carrying their lamps, to gather at the railway station to receive an absent son. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

و نزلنا في الخرطوم بلا استقبال

فتذكرت الشد المتدافع في إحدى السندات

برتينتهم وقفوا في وجه الريح

و أطل من الشباك فتى القرية

قد عاد أفندينا ابن القرية

و أنهالت بالأحضان تهانيهم

و أنا لا أحضن سوى الشارع[22]

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(Al-Makki: 25)

VII. Women Writers in Sudanese Literature:

Women in many societies have been marginalised and pushed to the position of 'Other'; metaphorically speaking, they are colonised. Feminist theory has a strong parallel with postcolonial theory, in that both seek to reinstate the marginalised over the dominant, to break with traditions and to develop new forms of discourse. Like postcolonial peoples, women have had to construct a language of their own when their only available "tools" are those of the "coloniser" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin:174).

Women's literature in the Arab world has certain features. There are two trends: one considers creative writing as a human issue that cannot be divided according to gender, while the other holds that gender may interfere with creative writing. Women as a gender are oppressed and misrepresented by man. This because both society and language are patriarchal. The language is a masculine language that is unjust to women.

There is no feminine noun for such words as chairman, manager and referee. Women are referred to as chairman, manager, etc. In the West, when a woman gets married the woman's

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[22] The underlined words respectively mean a small railway station, a lamp lit by kerosene and a government official.

first name is withdrawn and she takes her husband's name. She becomes Mrs X or Y. Women are more qualified than men to express their concerns about, for instance, issues of pregnancy, maternity, breast feeding, etc. They had to express their own vision of the issues that concern them and to change society's ideas about them, as they make up the largest part of society. The way women are depicted by men is always humiliating. They are always represented as either housewives, whose role is restricted to housework, submissive wives and kind mothers who beget and bring up children, or mischievous characters. There are some words and expressions that belong to women and it is inappropriate for men to use them, and vice versa. Issues such as love and sex are taboos that Arab women are prohibited from dealing with. If history were rewritten by women, their discourse would be freed from the male perspective and masculine language.

Feminist Women writers denounce the strict practices surrounding female sexuality, veiling, seclusion, virginity, circumcision, arranged marriage, polygamy and crimes of honour. A feminist text is a text that considers woman as an active element that reflects the woman's vision and her concerns, and in which ideas turn into issues. It expresses what is silenced.

 Some poetry does not carry any features of feminism but the mere signature of a woman makes it into a parallel discourse, indirectly feminist. Some think that no oppression or restriction is exercised on women, because even men sometimes cannot declare their political or emotional views in literary works. A patriotic, political or religious text does not indicate the writer's gender. However there are texts that are exclusively feminist. The British Administration ignored women's education, and was supported by the religious fundamentalists, who objected to it. Women's formal education started only during the colonial period, in 1900, and was restricted to urban women from the higher and middle classes. In fact, however, native education dated back to the later part of the sixteenth century. *Awlad Jabir*, the four sons of Jabir and their sister Fatima, were eminent religious teachers in the Nilotic Sudan, Fatima bint Jabir no less so than her four brothers. She was classified by the historians as "their equal in learning and faith" (Holt.P.M, 1967:149). She taught the Qur'an in her *khalwa* (religious school) in Tarang in Northern Sudan. Her son Soghayroon exceeded her in the number of pupils in his class. Other women teachers were 'Aisha *bint wad* al-Gaddal, who taught Arabic and Qur'an to her pupils in Jabal-Awlia, to the south of Khartoum, and Sayda Amouna, who taught the Qur'an in her two classes, one for girls and one for boys, in Dongola. During the Mahdiyya period, many women *khalwas* were established, such as the *khalawis* of *bint* Ata, Khadiga al-Azhari and Khadiga *bint* 'Abd Al-

Raḥim. The presence of Sudanese women in the field of religious education had thus preceded the systematic education that started in 1898, during the Condominium rule.

The Sudanese woman had had a large and important weight since the ancient Sudanese civilisations. She played an important role in shaping the history and the politics of the country. Each of them had her heroic role in the political, economic and social issues of the country. Ancient Sudanese, such as Candice, the Cushite Queen, had led armies, headed governments and built monuments. 'Ajoubah had a pivotal role in the fall of the Christian kingdom of 'Alawa. Bint Makkawi travelled from Fashoda to Qadir to alert the Mahdi about the advance of the invaders' army. Women had an obvious influence in folk singing. In the *Dalluka* (drum) singing, they sang eulogies about generosity, gallantry, chivalry and courage; or defamatory poems about cowardice and misery. The poetry of Miharah bint 'Aboud and Shaghaba al-Marghummiya during the foreign occupation induced men to go to war. Miharah bit 'Abboud sang for the men of the *Shaiqiyyia* tribe, their gallantry, and how they were always there to help the destitute. She described them as courageous and strong like lions, while their enemies, the Pasha's men, were only hens. She said:

غنيت بالعديله لعيال شايق

البرشو الضعيفة و يلحقوا الضايق

الليلة استعدو و ركبوا خيل الكر

قدامن عقيدن بالأغر دقَّرْ

جنياتنَا الأسود الليلة تتنتر

يالباشا الغشيم قول لي جدادك كر [23]

(Babiker.F, 2002:303)

In her book, *African Women: Heritage and Modernism,* Faṭima Babiker discusses the issue of women's education(Babiker.F,2002:305:307). In 1908, under increasing pressure, the authorities agreed that Babiker Badry, a pioneer of Sudanese women's education, could open a school, provided that the pupils paid fees to the government, and that he opened it in his own name, in his own house and at his own expense. The first intake consisted of his daughters and

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[23] The underlined words respectively mean: a traditional song which exists all over the Sudan. It is sung during the procession of the groom to the house of the bride. Here the poetess wishes the horsemen a successful and peaceful journey; (الشايقية) the sons of Shaiq,(أبناء قبيلة شايق) those who help the helpless الذين يغيثون المرأة المستضعفة) woman),(الفرس الأبيض) (the white horse), the leader of the horsemen is pushing forward arrogantly on the back of his white horse.

relatives. In 1920, two trends emerged among the Sudanese people, one for women's education as a necessity for progress; another against it which looked upon it as a break with Islamic traditions and a colonial trick to corrupt society. The incident of the Sudanese midwife, Mindamat, who converted to Christianity in June 1946, aggravated the situation as she had studied in the Missionary Schools. The British government took advantage of the traditions, and of the fundamentalists' opinion, to justify their educational policy. It established the Unity High School for Girls for foreign pupils only. Sudanese pupils were not admitted and this issue was reflected in the press. Mahjūb urged the education of women, but in order to stay at home and be a good mother. Ahmad Yousif Hashim (1903-1958), the owner and editor in chief of the Sudanese daily paper *al-Sudan al-Gaded* (1944), wrote an article in 1939 protesting and attacking the British Adminstration. This forced the administration to admit the Sudanese pupil Khalda Zahir, later the first Sudanese woman doctor, to the Unity High School. An article by Maḥmūd Ḥamdi, in al-*Nahḍa al-Sudaniyya,* Issue 3, October 1931, raised the issue of women's education and provoked reactions, both for and against. Hussein Sherif in *Ḥaḍarat al-Sudan* and Mahjūb shared the same view. The poet condemned ignorance because it sabotaged and undermined the country and argued that ignorant women, with their lies and bias, were always a source of upset to their neighbours. He commended educated women as they were as beautiful and as chaste as angels, righteous and devoutly obedient, virtuous and free of any suspicion. Al-Banna writes:

و اترك سبيل الجاهلات فإنما بالجهل تمتهن البلاد وتخرب

هن اللواتي جارهن مروع مما يقلن و قولهن مكذب

و عليك بالمتعلمات فإنما ترجو ملائكة الجمال و تخطب

القانتات العابدات السائحات المستفز كمالهن المعجب

يجررن أريال العفاف تحنفا فالريب يبعد و الفضيلة تقرب

(Babiker.F,2002:307)

The spread of free education raised the level of literacy of Sudanese women, gave them new employment opportunities and participation in public life in all fields of activity. However, despite their economic independence, Sudanese women lacked intellectual freedom. They encountered opposition not only from society but also from their own families and censorship from the government. Therefore, most Sudanese female writers and poets wrote under false names, such as Um-'Adil, or bint al-Shamaliyyah, etc. Some signed their work with their initials only and their literary works sometimes ended up 'under the pillow.' They had to

assert themselves in a male-dominated arena. Their poetry and fiction started to reflect life from a female perspective; women could now write about their own concerns. The overwhelming desire to safeguard their chastity and family honour may sometimes have led to their withdrawal from school, and hence to an arranged marriage. Among the Sudanese women writers are Malkat al-Dar, Zeinab Bilail, Fawziya Danial, and Buthaina Khiḍir. The first novelist in the Sudan was a woman, Malkat al-Dar. Her novel, الفراغ العريض [*The Broad Vacuum*] is the first Sudanese feminist novel. It was written in the early sixties of the last century but was published only recently. At that time, the dominating culture in the Sudan was that 'the girl is for her paternal cousin,' i.e., the girl should marry her paternal cousin.

Since the 1960s the female profile in the Sudan has changed. Sudanese women are no longer silent, passive and submissive. In the political movement, they were empowered and given the right to vote and be elected and have occupied portfolios in almost all governmental departments.

The Sudanese female novelist and story writer, Buthayna Khidir, has written many novels and many collections of short stories. Some of her works have been translated into French and German and she has translated folk tales and children's stories from Italian. In her writings she interacts with the reality of her feelings to the extent that she becomes a part of it. She skilfully and daringly portrays it defiantly through her use of inspiring language. Her story collection, رائحة الخريف [The Smell of Autumn], depicts a significant feature of contemporary Arab life in the Sudan, Iraq, Palestine, Lebanon, Somalia and Algeria; these people who no sooner than they achieve peace get involved in internal conflict and fighting. She portrays how the collapsing reality is reflected on the people and more so, on the women. She writes expressing regret or disapproval, sighing and wailing. Using typical Sudanese female colloquial expressions she writes in a poetic language:

زى هلاهيل ثوبها زى بلدا موحدة. قسموها حتت حتت. زى شعبا تفتت لي كويمات. و أصبح صرر..صرر..كلما يلموه في ربطة سلام..ينبهل. صرة حراية من الجنوب. و صرة حرابة من الغرب.و صرة حرابة من الشرق. و صرة زيادة...جاية من الخزان شمال !! النوم حليلو.. سافر خلاص.. أحي انا.. وآ..ي .. حتى الحلم بقى لي صعب. حلم السلام. حلم الأمان بقى لي صعب.. ووبين علي.. يا بلدا ممزق بالحروبات و الهواويل و المحن.. ووب السجم.. ووب..ووب يا بلد [24].   (Buthayna,2006)

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[24] The words خلاص and بقى , حرابة are the Sudanese colloquial words for حرب, صا ر and خلاص . Words such as ووب , سجم and أحي are used by Sudanese women to express sorrow and discontent. In standard Arabic, they mean آه and ياويلتاه , (woe) و مصيبتاه .

It translates as:

> Like her ragged dress, her united country is torn into pieces, like a nation
> disassembled into heaps and becomes bundles. Whenever it is united in a bond
> of peace it breaks up again. A war faction from the South. A war faction from
> the West. A war faction from the East, and one more faction coming from the
> dam in the North, How I miss sleep, it is gone forever, ah! Dear me! Ay! a..y!
> Even dreaming became difficult. Dreaming of peace, dreaming of security has
> become difficult. Woe unto me! Oh! to a country torn by wars, terrors and
> plights. Alas! Ah! Oh! Woe! Oh country! [25]

The Smell of Autumn is introduced by Dr ʿAfaf ʿAbd al-Mʿuṭy, an Omani critic, translator and a professor of comparative literature. She notes three features. The first is the regional one where the author chooses the Sudanese environment with its nature, climate and tribes as a context for all the stories of the collection. The second is the feminist feature where the feminist self emerges, aware of its concerns and problems of social change and how it is reflected on women. The third, the human feature, depicts the incapacity of the human mind before the universal miracles.

Here is the English translation of a comment by ʿAbd al-Basit Sabdrat, an ex-Minster for Information and Culture. He writes:

> Now Buthayna writes in a tongue which turns some of the sentences into fire
> vengeance, which speaks loudly and clearly for the old Buthayna about whom
> Jameel [26] said everything and she could not say anything. I do confirm that
> each sentence is a bride (from the Negroes) and from (the pure Arabs), so are
> the Sudanese folk: While African blood flows in the vein, the artery transfuses
> Arab blood and the tongue records the most beautiful meaningful sentences. [27]

The same themes of Exile, silence and identity are tackled by other Arab poets and writers both male and female e.g. the North-African female writers such as the Algerian Malika Mukkedm and the Moroccan Rachida Yacoubi. However they are more popular than their Sudanese counterparts.

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[25] Translated by the writer of this thesis

[26] Jameel Ibn Ma'mir the *Umayyad* poet

[27] Translated by the writer of this thesis.

Contemporary Sudanese female poets are more outspoken than traditional ones. They undermine the stereotypical image of women that was often presented by male writers and journalists. Besides their role as women, they need recognition as individuals, as human beings in their own right, with vital need for self-expression and self-fulfilment. What is important for them is not who they are, but how they express themselves although some female poets and writers find difficulty in expressing themselves. The Sudanese woman poet al-Raḍiyyah Adam feels that the words she uses to express herself are bigger than her, and she stands in awe before them. Although her words are part of her, they are a source of suffering deep inside herself. She writes:

<div dir="rtl">

الكلمة تجرح أغواري

الكلمة بعض من عجزي

الكلمة عندي لا كلمة

الكلمة بعض من ذاتي

</div>

(Al-Raḍiyyah,1994)

Like men, or perhaps even more so, Eastern women feel but they are unable to translate their feelings into words or actions. They are helpless because of the silencing process imposed upon them. She states that, in the eyes of men, the female is nothing but a beautiful toy for men to use for sensual pleasure. In her poem الشرق و الحريم [The East and the Harem] quoted in Haddarah, al-Raḍiyyah Adam writes:

<div dir="rtl">

أنثى لا أكثر من أنثى

هيفاء دعجاء العينين

طسناء ساحرة الساق

مغناج تلعب بالردفين

</div>

(Haddarah, 1972:94)

Al-Raḍiyyah depicts how Eastern women are victimised by men. They are always subject to assault by men, and they are always blamed and punished for it, sometimes even stoned. She writes:

<div dir="rtl">

يهتكني ، يسهم في رجمي

يسلبني بريقي و نضاري

ويظل يمصمص شفتيه

</div>

<div dir="rtl">

"فاجرة كانت" يا عجبي

و يصفق في الجمع يديه

</div>

(Haddarah,, 1972:98)

Sa'ada 'Abd al-Rahman is against immigration for work. One of her poems is a call for the immigrants to come back as their dilemma is no longer in earning it is in the unceasing war and its consequences exemplified in the loss of sons and husbands. She says:

<div dir="rtl">

علي مَهلْك

وشْن لاحقْ؟ ترى المقسومة لابتخَتَاك ولا بتنْفاتْ ولابتنْسَك

عَلي مَهلكْ تعال راجع تعال أهَلك

قُبُلْ ضبق السنين تَحَلّك

تعال شوف البلد عِمرَتْ و انسدت وراك بيوت

و بقَتْ المحنة لا في الطاقة لا في الفاقا لا في القوت

و نحن وكِرْنَ في الحرب الابَتْ نيرانا لاتْخَتانا لاها تَموت

يا ما اترَمَّدَتْ جنيات و يا ما اتَّرَّملْنْ بُنُوت

ومن اهَلَكْ

</div>

Many lines starts with تعال (come) imploring the immigrant to come back. He is reminded that immigration has proved to be futile (بو) and only a lie. He has to come back and participate in the development of his country which owes him much and to his family and those widowed by the unceasing war. The poetess expresses her need for him to protect her and the others such as her neighbours to whom she always shows her pride in him. She says:

<div dir="rtl">

تعال و الغربة شِنْ فيها امْ حصادا بوْ

كِضيبْ و الفاتو قبّالك هتاك شينْ سوْ

قابضَة علي الوهن ايدي اخاف تَعَصِف عِشيشْنا النوْ

بلوداتك بَعَدْ بي خيرها صُدْ و الفَى العُقُبْ من ضَوْ

و بدر انبك كان خاب لو يعشيك ما بتْبيت القْوْ

تعال اركز مع الراكزين

وخلي الباقية ليهم قِسْمَة تصبح من نصيب اتنين

يا الداخراك للحوبة بلدك ليها حق و دين

تعال اوفيها يا دوبا

ودا الوكتْ القبيل راجين

تَبِدْ فِجَّثْنا يا العوبة

ودحراً للحروب يا الزين

</div>

87

<div dir="rtl">

تعال نبنيها من طوبة و علي مَهَلْكْ

تعال للقِمْحَنْ آلعوبة وَ تَرى انقفلن بيوتنْ گُرْ

انا اثْنَبَّرْتَبَكْ للجارة و الدَّرَتْ البدسْ الفارَّة

يا توب الليالى ام قُرْ

تعال الزَمْ وَكِتْ عُوزِتْنا ما بفوتا الشديد الحُر

</div>

Sa'ada uses the intermediary language but in her poem "علي مَهَلْكْ " she mixes the everyday language of Omdurman with the Badia language. She uses Badia lexis such as شْن (what) , القِمْحَنْ (those who lost everything), لا بَتَحْتَاَك (won't miss you), صِدْ (come back), الفَى (catch up with), العقُب (one's folk), گُر (woe), بَعَدْ (still) اثْنَبَّرْتَبَكْ (boast off to my neighbour express my pride on you and), الدَّرَتْ (the dry season), من ضَوْ (early before it is too late, literally before darkness), آلعوبة (good), للحوبة (the time of need), فِجَّتْنا (our place), قُرْ (the severe cold). The accent and التشكيل (case ending) here are basic to understanding the meaning and for the purpose of the rhyme. The use of انقفلن and اتَّرَملْنْ instead of انقفلت and اترملت is obvious grammatical deviation. The words تاكولا and كِضِبْ, اهَلَكْ. مَهْلْك are colloquial Sudanese for الوقت and مَهْلْك ,أهْلَك , كَذِب.

One feature of Sa'ada's poetry is the use of images and proverbs. Consider the following:

<div dir="rtl">

ترى المقسومة لابَتَحَتَاَك ولا بتْنفاتْ ولابتِنْسَك

</div>

What is destined cannot be avoided. " What will be will be"

<div dir="rtl">

يا توب الليالى ام قُرْ

</div>

Likening him to the بوث (clothing or cover) denotes his provision of food clothes and warmth during severely cold nights.

<div dir="rtl">

بلوداتك بَعَدْ بي خيرها صِدْ و الفَى العقُبْ من ضَوْ

و بدرانبك كان خاب لو يعشيك ما بتْثبيت القَوْ

</div>

It is a call for him to come back as his country is still fine and productive. One's past saving, however little is sufficient to sustain him in future. The reference here is to the Sudanese proverb: عشاك كان بات بغديك.

Sa'adah 'Abd-al- Raḥma and Wijdan Ṣubaḥy are two of the female poets who have laid the foundation of a Sudanese feminist poetry movement. Their poetry is feminist in both spirit and text as it reflects feminist features. They violate the strict code that governs the relationship between male and female sexes. Their most important tool is language. They use colloquial language because it enables them to

express themselves better. Their intellectual discourse is insightful and daring and it enables them to get to the heart of the matter. Saʿadah uses a uniquely female lexical item as the title of one of her poems كُرْ علي. It is a typical Sudanese women's expression, one that can never be used by a man. She introduces a different vision and demands a different attitude from the male. She, however, needs the man to help the woman to become an active element, to be able to violate stagnant laws. She aspires to express visions and concerns other than her love for the man, to generate a constructive dialogue with him. The underlined lexical itemsin the following lines are derived from everyday language . She writes:

<div dir="rtl">

كُرْ علي

علمني يا زول يا سمح إن أكون مرتا قضية

و إني في شكل التجاوز اخترق كل القوانين الحبيسة و موضعية

ما هو قبلك كان بفجر فيني اسم الحب فروض الأنثوية

و كُنْتْ بعد كل يوم يمر لا دَخَلْ بيت العَدَلْ

لا ضُقْ حريرة و لا وليدا لا بنية

علمني هما غير احبك و أرسمك جواي واقع و أناقش فيك ذاتي

و أبتعد بي هاجس إني نصف ادم و يبقى آدم مني ضائع

و كر علي[28]

</div>

('Abd al-Raḥman, S, 2002:12)

In one of her poems, Saʿadah confronts the man and drives him from her poetic kingdom, thus reproducing the First Sin of Adam. She alone is able to shape her destiny. She has her legitimate rights and the freedom of choice and he has no right to ask her what, how or why. She writes:

<div dir="rtl">

أخبرتك أني لن أقبل

لن تملك حق مفاوضتي عن كيف و ليس و لات وهل

أمضيت زمانك في قلبي فكفاك يقينا إذ تنهل

فافسح لسواك مجالسهم قد خص لغيرك فترجل

</div>

---

[28] The underlined words respectively mean وا حسرتاه (dear me), امرأة (woman), كنت [I was], دخلت [I entered] and ذقت [I tasted]. The word حريرة is a reference to the red threads, which the bride and the groom used to wear as a part of the traditional marriage rituals.

89

و ينص العرف على أني لي حق خيارات أمثل

و لأنك ما عدت حبيبي و يقينا ما عدت الأمثل

فأخرج منبوذا فتفضل

الباب على مصراعيه و ليخرج غيرك كيف حمل

('Abd al-Raḥman, S. 2002:25)

She is no longer the submissive apologetic female. Man's presence in her life is not an issue and she can do without him. She portrays him as a subordinate over whom she has power and she threatens revenge. She is free to desert him and choose whoever she likes. She writes:

لا لن تلقاني خانعة وأ ذوب حنينا أتوسل

أرجوك حبيبي سامحني حرمت ج ريرة أن أفعل
بل أفعل ما يملي طيشى و أهيم كما يحلو عيشي

فوجودك ما كان الفيصل

أخبرتك يوما لن تقوى فتخوض غماري فتعقل

و ليكفك شرفا أن تبقى في صفحة عشاقي مهمل

كفتات موائد سلطان تقتات موائده القُمَّلْ

مجنونا إذ جئت وحيدا و دخلت إلى حصني أعزل

جرجر أذيالك مهزوما و لترضي بالجزية أفضل

أخطأت فقد سمتك عشقي يا بعض صنيع من حمقي

فظننت بغيرك لن أفعل؟

من قال هواك يؤرقني من قال نواك يؤرمني؟

بالأمس خرجت فهل يعقل؟

أن أوصد خلفك أبوابي

و أصد نديمي و شرابي

لا يعقل طبعا لا يعقل

العين بواحدة تؤدى لا رأفة و القاتل يقتل

('Abd al-Raḥman, S. 2004)

Paradoxical to Sa'adah's challenge and confrontation is Wijdan's explicit confession. Despite the male's cruelty and her wounded pride she is pleading for his mercy. A female

90

poet now courts the man she loves. She attracts him by flattery and words of love. Wijdan tells her lover that it is for her to love him and for him to hurt her. She writes:

<div dir="rtl">

لسه في جواي حية

لسة في جواي مشاعري و بيك حفِّية

ولسه ما برّيَتْ جروحي و إلا شمس الحب أبية

مخلوقة لي ريدتك عيوني و أنت مخلوق للاأذية

عشمانة في قربك حبيبي و أنت لساك في ظنونك

لا لانت الفرقة البيننا ولا شفاعتي غشت عيونك

و رغم قسوة حبك أنت لسة في جواي حية

و لسة شايلة عشان عيونك

غيمة ماطرة و كون مزركش بالوصال

واحة محمومة خواطر و بسمة كمال

</div>

(Ṣubaḥi, 2005)

In another love poem, Wijdan is celebrating her love and describing her lover's beautiful expressive eyes as a source of attraction and admiration to her. She is so in love with him that she is left with the same choice: "his love" or "his love." She writes:

<div dir="rtl">

عيونك أكدن حبي و أدّني الخيار ذاته

ما هي السّتت أغاني الريد

و هي الجابت حروف موزونة في الدوبيت

عيونك ماها عادية عيون بلور تقول عين حور

عيون جذابة خلابة عيون معروشة حنية

مسورة بي رموش دورين

عيون ذخة مطر رشاش طفل هبّاش

عيون ريدة

عيون توحي بخيارين بس:

هواك وهواك

</div>

(Ṣubaḥi, 2005:35)

The Sudanese feminist movement started, as a political movement, with the establishment of the Sudanese Women Union. There were many prominent figures such as Faṭima Aḥmad

Ibrahim, the first woman MP in Sudan Africa and the Middle East in 1964, and the first Arab and African woman from the Third World to head the Women International Democratic Front (WIDF) 1991-1994, she was the founder and the editor in chief of مجلّة أسبوع المرأة *Usb'u al Mar'a* (1955). Faṭima Talib Isma'il was a pioneer in women education, one of the founders of the first women organisation " The Women Union) 1947 and a leading member of the Sudanese Women Union and the founder of the first women education, organisation. Khalda Zahir al-Sadati was the first Sudanese female doctor (1952) and the first Sudanese women to be jailed for political reasons in 1948. Nafisa Aḥmad al-'Amin was an MP, the first women Deputy Minister (1971) and a member of the Sudanese Socialist Union 1972. A subsequent stage saw the empowerment of women, by granting them their political and economic rights. In the third stage, they created their own literature, which enabled them to express themselves and to present their own issues in their own language. Eventually they were able to move beyond the paternal language and use their own lexical items. They can now correct the stereotyped image of women drawn by men, e.g., the image of women in *A Thousand and One Nights*. The poetry extracts presented above range from the confrontation by the outraged poetess who defies a man, using violent language, to explicit confession by the submissive one who is lamenting and pleading. Like Sa'adah and Wijdan, many other Sudanese female writers are outspoken and assertive. Najwa, one of the characters in *The Minaret* by Leila Aboul'ela, with a Muslim ḥijab and a down-turned gaze, could cross over to the Other and gain his recognition.

The freedom and self-fulfilment, which Sammar in *The Translator* enjoys in the West, ends suddenly when she returns to her country and is confronted by her authoritarian aunt, Maḥasin. But she is eventually able to bridge the gap, reconcile differences and move from the nostalgic to the notion of 'in relation to' rather than 'opposite from' the Other. Sammar could overcome her crisis, represented not only by the bereavement, illness and nostalgia, but by the Sudanese traditions and the oppression of Maḥasin, her aunt and mother in law. Maḥasin denies her marriage: "Tariq's wife will never be to any man" (Aboulela:138). After she loses all hope, and after she settles with her son in Khartoum where she belongs, Rae converts and comes to Khartoum to propose marriage to her.

In *Season of Migration to the North,* Ḥosna bint Mahmūd, in a small village in the Sudan, where the girl has no say in her marriage or her life as a whole, refuses to marry Wad al Rayyis, and when she is forced to, she kills him and commits suicide. She also asks the narrator to marry her.

In traditional poetry as well as the Sufi and 'Uzri poetry, women are represented as dolls. Poets focus on their outward appearance and their sensual love for them (women), but Muḥammad al-Makki Ibrahim goes beyond their beauty to their entirety. He is attracted not only to the beauty of his beloved's eyes or the softness of her hands. For him, her eyes are his health, Home, folk and dress. Thus he introduces a new approach and a new representation of women by Sudanese male writers. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

عيناك عافيتي

بيتي و أثوابي

عيناك وحدهما أهلي و أصحابي

</div>

(Makki:22)

He does not resort to a sensuous description of her hands, but he explains what they mean to him. The magic touch of her hands comforts him, safeguards his life and grants his heart vigour and bloom. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

كفاك تحرسان

عمري و تاريخي من الأفول

و إن هما على الجبين مرتا

أراحتا الجبين

من فورة الحمى و من طراوة الذهول

و إن هما على الفؤاد حطتا وأنصتا

لكان خفقه اكتسى

ضراوة و وهجا و عنفوان

و دق حتى آخر الزمان

</div>

(Makki: 22)

VIII. The Uniqueness of Sudanese Literature:

Sudan has a complex position as an African state. It is located on the Arab frontiers of the African world and, as a result, it is somewhat removed from African politics. However, it takes a strong stance against racial segregation in South Africa and strongly supports national liberation movements and other Third World causes. It joined the Organisation of African Unity. At the same time, it is not in the middle of the Arab world, geographically or politically. It always acts as a mediator between conflicting parties. It hosted the Arab Summit Conference in 1967 and played an active role in the negotiations. It has a special relation with Egypt because of the Nile Valley and the Nile waters. It is influenced by the Arab-Israeli conflict. Thus it plays the same role in the Arab world that it plays in the African world. However, although the Sudanese people never deny that the Sudan is an African country, the Africanism of the Sudan does not take a higher priority than its other cultural identifications. Although African movements like Pan-Africanism and Negritude affected Sudanese intellectuals and authors, they had much less appeal than the Nasserism movement. Similarly, the Sudan is influenced by the major intellectual currents in the Arab world, including the Islamic movements in the world. It participates in the world Islamic organisations. Thus the location of the Sudan, its foreign relations and the identity profile discussed earlier reflect its unique cultural identity. In a paper presented to the Symposium on Afro-Arab relations, Khartoum (January 1976), Muhammad 'Omar Bashir described the Sudan's identity as "The Sudan cannot be described as an Arab or an African country, but as a lively Afro-Arab cultural entity" (Beshir, 1976:17). This unique identity could only produce a unique literature. The uniqueness of Sudanese literature is mostly exemplified by the folklore i.e.الدوبيت (*al-dubeit),* المسدار *(al-musdar,* ا لشاشاي *(al-shashay),* الواواي *(al-waway),* النميم *(Al-namim).* These genres are an imitation of the local environment. The uniqueness of Sudanese literature is best exemplified by the subsequent section. The School of The Forest and The Desert.

IX. The School of the Forest and the Desert:

The School of the Forest and the Desert reflects both the realism and the Sudanism of Sudanese literature. The theme of الغابة و الصحراء (The Desert and the Forest) in Sudanese literature is a development of the dispute of the call to Arabism at the expense

of Africanism, and vice versa. It is also a resolution of the dispute. After independence, the Sudanese Parliament decided that the Sudan would follow both the Arab League, by virtue of its Arabic component, and the Organisation of African Unity (now the African Union), by virtue of its African component. Sudanese poets attended events such as the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in April 1955 and the All-African People's Conference at Accra in December 1958, at Tunis in January 1960, and at Cairo in 1961. Although those occasions were political and poetic, Sudanese poets such as Muḥammad al-Faituri, Mūḥy al-Din Faris and Jaily 'Abd al-Raḥman were influenced more by their personal experience in Cairo, and by the image of the Sudan in Egyptian literature. Arab and African Anthropologists, historians and political scientists were very much interested in the relationship between Africanism and Arabism in the Sudan. The Sudan Research Unit sponsored a conference in February 1968 entitled "Sudan in Africa." The conference's main objective was to emphasise points of contact, similarities and contrasts between the Sudan and its neighbouring countries from linguistic, anthropological, historical, social and political point of views.

The degree of fusion of Arabism and Africanism was expressed by one of the papers given at the conference:

> Arabism and Africanism have become so completely fused in the Northern Sudan that it is impossible to distinguish between the two even from the most abstract view and the great majority of the population rightly feel that they are Arab and African at the same time, to an equal degree and without any sense of tension or contradiction ('Abd al-Raḥim,1985:237).

Sudanese poets were exposed to the Pan-African literary and liberation movements, as well as Arab literary movements. This is a very broad theme for Sudanese poets and intellectuals. Foreign occupation is a main source of inspiration for Sudanese poets. Arabic is accepted as an African language, given its long history in Africa. Modern Sudanese poetry has created a language within the Arabic language. It expresses the oneness of experience and vision. It is a Sudanese poetic experience in an African context. It is an enrichment of both Arabic and African poetry. That it is written in Arabic in no way contradicts the fact that it is produced in the rich continent of contemporary African poetry. In it, African and Arabic constitute one language. The poets have coined their own language, a third language within the Arabic language.

This genuine belonging to both the Arab and Negro traditions is declared by Muḥammad al Mahdi al-Majdūb. As his poetry reveals, he is the poet in whose work this ceremony of

belonging found fuller expression than in any other poet amongst his contemporaries. He is probably the first Sudanese poet to attempt to write poetry in the Arabic language with the consciousness of a real belonging to a Negro tradition. In one of his poems, he states that he is firmly rooted in the Negroes, although the Arabs may boastfully claim his origin. He wrote:

<div dir="rtl">

عندي من الزنج أعراق معاندة   و إن تشدق في ا نشداي العرب

</div>

(Al- Majdūb,1973:13)

His poetry reflects the unity between the Arab and Negro origins at the deep level of the tradition. He declared that his tradition is both the beads and feathers of the Negroes of the forest, and the palm-tree, which is of the Arabs and the desert. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

تراثي أصداف و ريش و نخلة   أعنقها و الغاب من حولنا يشدو

</div>

(Al-Majdub,1973:41)

He considers his belonging to Africa a call for liberation from the restrictions of the modern world. "And I am happy with the South and don't care for those who blemish or blame its naked people." He befriends them because their love for life is a true feeling, not an illusion. He would that he were one of the Negroes, and he has a *rebab* (a native musical instrument). To its tune he staggers and walks straight, wears a belt of beads on his hips, arranges seashells in his temples, drinks the *Marisa*[29] in a tavern and jests without blaming or being blamed. He wishes he could be free, and without the restriction of noble descent from *Quraish* and *Tamim*[30]. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

و أرضاني الجنوب فما أبالي   بمن يصم العراة ومن يلوم

هم عشقوا الحياة و عاشرتهم   كما تبقى المشاعر لا الحلوم

فليتي في الزنوج ولي رباب   تميل به خطاي و تستقيم

و في حقوي من خرز حزام   و في صدقي من ودع نظيم

و أجترع "المريسة" في الحواني   و أهذر لا ألام و لا ألوم

طليق لا تقيدني قريش   بأحساب الكرام و لا تميم

</div>

(Al- Majdūb,1973:24)

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[29] A cheap kind of Sudanese beer.
[30] The names of two large Arab tribes

The disillusion about the Arab glory was common among many Arab poets. Nazar Qabbani wonders if the Arab is "the best nation in the world," as it is believed. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

جلودنا ميتة الإحساس

أرواحنا تشكو من الإفلاس

أيّامنا تدور بين الزار

و الشطرنج و النعاس

هل نحن(خير أمة قد أخرجت للناس)؟

</div>

(Qabbani,1981:15)

> Translation:
> Our skins are numbed, unfeeling,
> Our souls lament their bankrupcy,
> Our days pass in witchcraft, chess and heavy slumber.
> Are we that "best of all communities raised up for mankind"?
> (Khouri and Algar,1974:211)

Many Sudanese poets depict the harmony and intermingling of elements of the Sudanese nation. Muhammad Al-Makki writes about the harmony of symbols in his poem الوعي [The Awareness] and أمتي [My Nation]. He mentions the water buffalo of the forest and the oryx of the oasis. The potential of the nation is represented by its symbols: the idol, the drum and the Qur'an. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

موكب وعد موكب إمكانات أمتنا

نار و دخان

وثن طبل قرآن

جاموس الغابة وعل الواحة أمتنا

</div>

(Al-Makki: 99)

The same idea is expressed by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥai in the Fifth Anthem, الصبح [The Morning] of his poem العودة إلى سنار [Sinnar a Homecoming]. Features of the Arab-African intermix are evident in the reception festival on his return to Sinnar, the capital of the first Muslim Kingdom in the Sudan. The most prominent of these features are the horses trotting in the circle of fire, and one of the guards of the Kingdom of Sinnar walking proudly in his leopard skin. Horses are very important elements of Arab life, while the leopard is an African symbol. He writes:

الليلة يستقبلني أهلي:

خيل تحجل في دائرة النار

حراس اللغة المملكة الزرقاء

ذلك يخطر في جلد الفهد

و هذا يسطع في قمصان الماء

('Abd al-Ḥai, 1999:14)

He repeats the same idea of the horse, the spear and the Holy Book mentioned by al-Makki in the above lines. He writes:

سنار

تسفرفي

نقاء الصحو، جرحا

أزرقا، جبلا، الها، طائرا

فهدا، حصانا، أبيضا رمحا،

كتاب

('Abd al-Ḥai, 1999:28)

The marriage of symbols is further illustrated by the presents given to him by his folks: a bead from the teeth of the dead, a skull pitcher, a prayer mat of buffalo skin - a symbol that glitters between the palm tree and the ebony - thus reconciling the desert symbol (the palm) with the forest symbol (the ebony) He writes:

أهدوني مسبحة من أسنان الموتى

إبريقا جمجمة

مصلاة من جلد الجاموس

رمزا يلمع بين النخلة و الأبنوس

('Abd al-Ḥai,1999:14)

Al-Nur **'**Uthman Abbaker is one of the pioneers of the school of The Forest and the

Desert. Unlike Muḥammad **'**Abd al-Ḥai who stands halfway between the 'Forest' and

the 'Desert', Al-Nur is very much pro-Forest. He is preoccupied with specifying the

Sudanese identity and he writes from the viewpoint of the depths of the forest,

sometimes mentioning the desert t achieve this In his search for roots, he calls on people

to collect their roots, the source of which lie in the rocks in the depths of the forest's

night, and in the cellars of the early legends. He writes:

هدا مخاض النار فاحتطبوا جذور منابع في الصخر

في أعماق ليل الغاب في غبو الخرافات الأول   (Abbakr,1994:32)

After a long journey and a hard labour, which he expresses in the lines above as "the
deliverance of fire," he was eventually able to specify this identity as: "the offspring of both
the desert and the forest, the promising newborn which can transcend fences." He writes:

مولود النبعة و الصحراء

يتقطر وعدا،حبا

يجرح شح الأرحام و يجتاز الأسوار   (Abbakr,1994:64)

The themes of Sudanese poetry include identity, racism, the black colour, the call for African
unity and solidarity and the struggle against colonisation. In the following lines, Al-Majdūb
declares his belief in his roots, which extend to the forest and the colour black. He does not
believe in a race that destroys God's justice. Blackness is a castle and a refuge from a false
lightning. It is the most sacred tie with his fellows in Africa. He writes:

آمنت بالغاب لا الإنسان غابته

عقل يدمر عدل الرب في السحب

وادك الحر حصن تستريح به

من بارق كذب للأضواء منسكب

و ليس عندي من حد و قربني

لوني إليك و لوني أقدس القرب

(Al- Majdūb: 13)

Unlike al-Majdūb, Muḥammad Miftaḥ al Faituri's feeling bitter with regard to the question of
colour is one of bitterness. In his poem إلى وجه أبيض [To a White Face], he writes:

ألان وجهي أسود

99

ولأن وجهك أبيض

سميتني عبدا

(Al-Faituri, 1972:121)

Ṣalaḥ Aḥmad Ibrahim is less bitter than Faituri and always proud of his Arabism, but he expresses the same idea. When he tackles the question of colour and racial discrimination he does not preach, but effectively derives his point from his real experience. His poem في الغربة [In a Strange Land], which he dedicated to a friend from Somalia, is deeply moving as it was the result of his own experience. He writes:

هل يوما ذقت هوان اللون

و رأيت الناس يشيرون إليك ينادون

عبد أسود

عبد أسود

(Ibrahim, Ṣ. 1977: 17)

In an environment of harmony, it becomes possible to write poetry that celebrates the naked reality of racial and cultural intermarriage. The offspring of this intermarriage is depicted by S alah as Arabs, Fur, Fung, Beja, Zaghawa, Fajala, Barta and Nuba; all those are charcoal black-skinned, with thick lips and frizzy hair. They are the progeny of the seeds of the Arab ancestors. The main reality is that no one in the Sudan is pure. S alah write

كذاب الذي يقول في السودان إنني الصريح

إنني النقي العرق , إنني المحض ....

أجل كذاب

(Ibrahim, Ṣ.:15)

In this genre of poetry, the Sudanese poets have, for the first time, come to terms with themselves, their history and tradition. They no longer attempt to prove an identity; they would rather create and live the Afro-Arabic culture, both the Forest and the Desert. After centuries of struggle, colour and race are no longer a stigma, and the issue of colour cannot be separated from the issue of identity. Almost all Sudanese poetry demonstrates this sense of identity. Eventually, Africans declare their belonging to Africa. Al-Faituri pioneered this trend. In his poem أنا زنجي [I Am a Negro], he declares that he is زنجي [a Negro], his mother

100

and great-grandfathers are Negroes. He urges others to declare in the face of humanity, without fear, that they are Black and they possess freedom. He writes:

قلها لا تجبن لا تجبن

قلها في وجه البشرية

أنا زنجي وأبي زنجي الجد

و أمي زنجيّة

أنا أسود

أسود لكني أمتلك الحريّة

(Al-Faituri,1972)

In a poem that is sung by the famous Sudanese singer, the late Ibrahim al-Kashif, the Sudanese poet Al-Sir Qadour is proud of his Afro-Arab identity. He describes Africa, his dwelling, as the land of bounty, and his age as the age of pride and enlightenment. He is proud of his self-esteemed grandfathers, and he is ready to join their processions and their firm stance, which knows no retreat, and to tell the world that he is Sudanese and African. He uses simple words, sometimes colloquial. He writes:

أرض الخير إفريقيا مكاني

زمن النور و العزة زماني

ديل أجدادي جباهم عالية

مواكب ما بتراجع تاني

أقيف قداما و أقول للدنيا

أنا سوداني

أنا إفريقي أنا سوداني

(Al-Giqir,2005:55)

Poets have started to admit the black colour and they no longer feel torn between the two races. On his "Return to Sinnar," Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥai declares his double identity. When he was asked about his race, he answered in a clear and simple language. He writes:

بدوى أنت؟

- لا

101

<div dir="rtl">

من بلاد الزنج؟

- لا

أنا منكم

تائه جاء يغني بلسان

و يصلي بلسان
</div>

('Abd al-Ḥai, 1999:16)

Ṣalaḥ Aḥmad Ibrahim summed up his Sudanese identity in four lines of verse. He clearly stated that he was from Africa, from its Sahara Desert and the Equator. He is charged by the heat of its suns and grilled like offerings on the Magi Fire, till he becomes as black as ebony wood. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

أنا من إفريقيا

صحرائها الكبرى و خط الاستواء

شحنتني بالحرارات الشموس

و شوتني كالقرابين على نار المجوس

لفحتني فأنا منها كعود الأبنوس
</div>

(Ibrahim, 35 :)

The idea of taking pride on one's idea is common among Arab poets. The Palestinian poet

Harun Hashim Rashid expresses the same idea. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

فلسطينيي

أنا اسمي.

فلسطيني

نقشت اسمي

على كل الميادين

بخط بارز يسمو

على كل العناوين
</div>

(Khouri and Algar:230)

Translation:

> Palestinian
> Palestinian is my name
> In a clear script,
> On all battlefields
> I have inscribed my name,

Leopold Sedar Senghor, the Senegalese former head of state, himself a renowned poet and politician, wrote poems in praise of Black colour. He reacted against cultural integration and founded the theory of Negritude, and called for Africanism. Later, he called for Euro-Africa, i.e., the political union of Blacks and Whites. His main goal was to build a world of an interracial, intercontinental union. He wrote a poem in French addressed to New York. It was translated into English by Arnold von Bradshaw. In it Senghor appeals to the city to rediscover the heritage of its African-American builders and emerge as a model of tolerance and coexistences:

> New York! I say New York! Let the black blood flow
> into your blood
> That it may rub the rust from your steel joints, like oil
> of life,
> That it may bring to your bridges the bend of buttocks and
> the suppleness of creepers.
> Now return the most ancient times, the unity recovered,
> The reconciliation of the Lion the Bull and the Tree. (Moore and
> Beier,1966:58)

Black colour is dealt with by many Sudanese poets. For Muḥammad al-Faituri this bias towards the black colour is sometimes carried a long way by some African poets. The belief in Negritude sometimes develops into arrogance and racism. There is a great similarity between the Sudanese poet al-Faituri and Leon Damas in his poem البطاقة السوداء [Black Label] Damas writes:

> The White will never be Negro
> For beauty Is Negro and Negro is wisdom
> For endurance is Negro and Negro is courage
> For patience is Negro and Negro is irony
> For laughter is Negro
> For joy is Negro
> For peace is Negro
> For life is Negro.   (Moore,1962:xx)

For Al-Makki Ibrahim, colour is an important characteristic that adds beauty to the primary composition of everything, like the flower saturated in colour. The flower in his poem الرحيق و البرتقالة [The Fruit and the Nectar] is an allusion to his beloved country. It is a Mullato, partly Arab and partly African. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

الله يا خلاسيّة

يا وردة باللون مسقيّة

يا مكحولة العينين

يا مجدولة من شعر أغنيّة

بعض الرحيق أنا و البرتقالة أنت

يا مملوءة الساقين أطفالا خلاسيين

يا بعض عربية

و بعض زنجيّة

و بعض أقوالي أمام الله   (Al-Makki:216)

</div>

Translation:

      A Mullato (Creole)
      A rose drenched with colour
      Your eyes are deep wells of kohl
      Verses of lullaby entwine your body
      I am the nectar
      You are the fruit
      And a thousand Creole buds
      In your womb.
      African
      and Arab
      You are the equivocal word of God. (Ahmed and Berkley, 1982:93)

Unlike other Sudanese poets, Muḥammad al-Makki Ibrahim (1939) always depicts large scenes of the environment in a precise language and musical phrases. His poem الوعي [The Awareness], from his collection أمتي: الوعي الحلم الغضب [My Nation: The Awareness, The Tolerance, The Anger], accounts for three qualities that he thinks characterise Sudanese people. He draws a diverse image of the Sudan and its people as seven doves, a flow of turbans, palms wandering in the wilderness, a fire and smoke, an idol, a drum, a Qur'an, a procession of hope and a procession of the nation's ability. It begins:

<div dir="rtl">

سبع حمائم

سيل عمائم

نخل في البرية حائم

نار و دخان

وثن طبل قرآن

موكب وعد

موكب إمكانات أمتنا   (Al-Makki)

</div>

X. Sudanism of Sudanese Literature:

After the dispute between Africanism and Arabism, and vice versa, and the school of "The Forest and the Desert," there appeared the tendency to "Sudanism" in Sudanese poetry. The issue of the nationalism of Sudanese literature was raised by Sudanese intellectuals who had English culture alongside their Arabic culture, including Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥjūb, and Yusif al-Tinay (1909-1969) in *al-Fajr* magazine. The nationalistic feeling that developed amongst the Sudanese was started by a call for modernism from Ḥamza al-Malik Tambal (1893-1960). It started as a political call, under a literary cover, with his book الاستعمار (*Foreign Occupation*), which then called for artistic truth in the feeling of the poet, and in the way he depicted the environment. He called for a great Sudanese literary entity. He wanted the reader to identify the specific Sudanese spirit and environment when reading Sudanese poetry. He wanted the non-Sudanese to say, when reading Sudanese poetry, this poem was written by a Sudanese poet: this is a Sudanese way of thinking, this landscape is available in the Sudan, this is a Sudanese situation, this beauty belongs to Sudanese women and the plant of this garden or this forest grows in the Sudan. He writes:

نريد لأن يقال عندما يقرأ شعرنا من هم خارج السودان إن ناحية التفكير في هذه القصيدة تدل على

أنها لشاعرسوداني. هذا المنظر الطبيعي الجليل موجود في السودان. هذه الحالة هي حالة السودان.

هذا الجمال هو جمال نساء السودان. نبات هذه الروضة أو هذه الغابة ينمو في السودان.

(Al-Malik.T, 1972:51)

He criticises the neo-classicists for their imitation of the classical poem, in which they begin any poem, regardless of its purpose, with the *ghazal* (love poetry), the repetition and their attempt at the *Takhmis* and *Tashtir*.[31] He stresses the meaning over the
structure and the spirit over the form. 'Abd al-Majed 'Abdeen criticises him for ignoring language and style. (Abdin, 1953:334). That call was continued by a Sudanese critic, al-'Amin 'Ali Madani . In his book   أعراس ومآتم   (*Weddings and Funerals*), he was influenced

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[31] *) Tashtir* is the addition by the poet of a hemstitch from a poem by one of his predecessors to his poem and the *Takhmis* is the addition of a fifth hemstitch to a stanza of 2 lines.

by the major Romantic School, namely, Jubran Khalil Jubran. He had a major dispute with his opponents in the matter of *al-Takhmis wa al-Tashtir*, ‘Abd al-Raḥman ‘Ali Ṭaha in his book التقليد و التجديد (*The Imitation and Innovation).* Taha thought that the best example of poetry was that of al-Banna. The Sudanese critic Muḥammad Ibrahim al-Shūsh agreed, and he introduced al-Banna's famous poem, مطلع العام الهجري (*The Hijri Year*), as a decisive poem between traditional and modern poetry, to demonstrate Sudanese literature to the Arab world. The same call was then adopted by the Sudanese poet and critic, Muḥammad Muḥammad ‘Ali (1870-1922), in محاولات في النقد (*Attempts at Criticism*).

Muḥammad al-Mahdi al-Majdūb (1919-1982), Muḥammad al-Makki Ibrahim (1939),

Ṣalaḥ Aḥmad Ibrahim (1933-1993) and Ga'far amid al Bashir endeavoured to write such purely Sudanese poetry. However, the "Sudanism" of poetry was achieved most effectively by Al-Majdūb. Some of his poetry could not be anything but Sudanese. He has his own vision and poetic style. He stated that "meter and rhyme are not necessary." (Al- Majdūb,1969:3) He was sometimes sarcastic about the traditional introduction of the classical poem, which involved describing the camel and standing at the ruins or the abandoned encampment of the beloved. He expresses his boredom with Arab poetry and mocks it. To him it is mere sounds and yelling signifying nothing.

He writes:

ما به إلا مهانة جائع يتقرب	و مللت من شعر الأعارب
سوى أني أصيح و أصخب	طبل أدق به و ما في رجعه شيء
عمر على شرفاتها يترقب	و ركبت في صبح الطفولة ناقة
فوثبت أحذر مرجلا يتلهب	و أناخها فتحطمت مقهورة

(Al- Majdūb,1969:13)

However, he does not totally discard the Arab heritage. Many of his poems combine the traditional and the contemporary in vocabulary and poetic images. The uniqueness of his poetry comes from his care for the phenomenon of "Sudanism," and his skill in handling it. His poetry is full of purely Sudanese images that are available only in the Sudanese environment. He presents documentary aspects of Sudanese life without laborious decoration or retouch. The lines that follow depict an authentic Sudanese local picture. Although he is an educated middle class civil servant, he feels no embarrassment about relating his experiences in a native tavern. Native pubs are always found in the slums at the outskirts of the village or the city. His pub is indicated by a banner that leads him towards it, as a sail leads travellers. His مريسة (Sudanese native beer) is brewed in a برمة (a pot made of clay). The pot's mouth is

rounded like the moon. The مريسة is served in a دلق (a jug). It is a bulging jug with a reclining neck that seems to be whispering, being full of the bubbling drink. The lady attending them is a buxom girl. The way she dresses reveals her well-developed body and she wears no false hair. The sweat on her forehead is spreading like pearls. He enjoys the drink, which she serves him in a قرع (calabash), and the grilled strips of dried meat and the stories she tells. These details give a complete picture of a drinking session and its atmosphere in a Sudanese native pub. The poet addresses Sudanese issues and social practices from a Sudanese perspective, using local images and Sudanese lexical items. He writes:

مريستنا ملأت برمة   على فمها يستدير القمر

تلوح راياتها فوقنا   شراعا يعود بنا من سفر

يوشوش متكئا "دلق"   عليه جلال النهى و الخطر

"تقعده"بيننا كاعب   لها عرق كالجمان انتثر

تشد إزارا على صخرة   و ما الصقت شعرا بشعر

تناولني فاسيغ الشراب   و أجرع من "قرع" معتبر

و تطعمني من قديد الشواء   و تطرفني بعجيب السير

(Al- Majdūb, 1969:48)

His choice of the subject matter of many of his poems, such as السيرة [The Wedding Procession] and قرية قمراء (A Moonlit Village) reflects a cultural consciousness. In such poems, the subject matter reflects a process of fusion of pagan and Islamic elements. To express these cultural wedding rituals, he creates a third language, i.e., a Sudanese-Arabic vernacular. In his poem قرية قمراء (A Moonlit Village) he writes:

دلوكة في الليل ترتعد بكت   و أرسل شجوها الكمد

مجنونة نفضت أضلاعها   و تكاد من أجلادها تقد

و بعض من آهاتها الشتم   شحج الرنين يكاد ينقصم

ساروا و للصبيان تصفيق   و الآنسات لهن تحديق.

و من البخور غلت حويّات   في أعيني منهن آهات

رقصت مع الأحلام عذراء   و برقصها للحب أنباء ...

و يهيج بالفتيان "شبال"   و إلى حنين عبيره مالوا...

و السوط يأكل ظهر مبتدر   و جراحه وجد و تسآل...

و تعارضوا كل بعكاز   يهوي به و يطير كالباز...

"طمبورهم" في الليل ذو وهج   كالخيل هاج صهيلها غاز.

(Al-Majdūb,1969:75)

Translation

Dallukatun (a drum) thundering at night has become dumb and expressed its grief through its suppressed wailing tune.
Shaking its ribs like mad, as if the skin-cover was about to be pierced.
The resonance of the *Shatam* (a small drum*)* was almost suppressed by its sighs.
They went in the wedding procession: the boys were clapping and the girls were gazing.
The incense coming from the incense burners high up, made my eyes sigh.
A maiden danced and her dance stimulated love and dreams.
And the impassioned young men inclined to take a *Shabbal* incited by the dancing lady's perfumed hair.
Her buttocks move with the tune and her breasts are burnt with passion.
The waist, almost diminishing between the buttocks and the breast, is feebly crying.
And the whip is eating on the back of every young man who takes the initiative for the *butan*.
And they start the '*ardah,* each is jumping with his stick like a falcon.
And their *tambour* stirs up dust like horses whinnying at an invader.[32]

The above is an excerpt from his poem ليلة قمراء"A Moonlit Village", which depicts a part of Sudanese traditional wedding rituals. On the wedding day, the groom and his family and friends walk in a large procession to the bride's house, where they give a great party. The poem opens by describing Sudanese folk drums, the *daluka* and the *shatam*. Both are cylinders made of clay and tightly covered on one side with sheepskin.

The دلوكة *dalukah* is very much bigger than the شتم *shatam*. They are struck together alternately. The fifth line is about the incense that Sudanese people believe to be very important in driving away Satan and the evil eye. The sixth to the ninth lines are about the traditional dance. The bride, with her eyes closed, performs expressive movements with her chest, buttocks and hands. The tenth line is about the شبّال *shabbal*, i.e., when the young man inclines towards the dancing lady, clicking with his thumb and middle finger, and she responds by spreading her perfumed hair on his shoulder. The عرضة '*ardah* in the eleventh line has another form, صقرّية *saqriyyah,* from صقر *Saqr*, the Arabic name for falcon. To perform '*ardah,* young men enter the arena holding their sticks and swords, and they start jumping in harmony with the sound of the *daluka*. In the *saqriyyah*, they sit and jump like falcons.

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[32] Translated by the writer of this thesis.

In the last line, the word طمبور *tambour* refers to the dance performed, the instrument used and the tune they make using their throats: all three are called *tambour*, thus the whole scene is uniquely Sudanese. The rituals, the traditions connected with them and the lexical items used (شبّال عرضة *'ardah,* بطان *buṭan,* طمبور *ṭambour* etc), are exclusively Sudanese. In the *buṭan*, young men stand with courage and patience to be whipped by the groom on their bare backs. Impressed by their courage, the dancing lady leans and gives them the *shabbal* as a reward. The *buṭan* is performed by the young men in support of the groom, who did the same for them on a similar occasion. The *buṭan* and the dance provide the only chance for young men and women to see and to be seen.

Sudanese poets skilfully portray Sudanese female beauty. Although many poets who had the chance to travel abroad admired Western women, most Sudanese male poets love the uniquely Sudanese beauty and wrote a lot of poetry describing Sudanese women. They wrote about native Sudanese cosmetics and costumes, they admired the Sudanese *thoub* and the way a Sudanese woman wraps herself up in it, covering her body but displaying her posture.

In his poem غمائم الطلح (The Acacia Wood Clouds), al-Majdūb draws a picture of a Sudanese lady who is having a traditional smoke bath[33]. It begins:

تندي الرّوادف تلوينا و تعطيرأ	و حفرة بدخان الطلح فاغمة
تخفى و تظهر مثل النجم مذعورا	لمحت فيه ـو ما أمعنت ـعارية
ترد ثوبا إلى النهدين محسورا	مدّت بنانا به الحناء يانعة
بدر الدجى و روى عن نورها نورا	قد لقها العطر لف الغيم منتشرا
و ناهدها المشدود تدويرا	يزيد صفرتها لمعا و جدتها صقلا
كدرّة في ضمير البحر مسجورا	أرخى الدخان لها سترا فبعّدها
هين الصعود خصاص الباب مكسورا	حتّى إذا ضاق كن عنه أنفذه

(Al- Majdūb, 1969:229)

Translation

> And a hole opening a mouth filled with the *talh*
> Smoke spreading moist colour and fragrance over the buttocks
> I glimpsed without scrutinising in this smoke a lady appears and disappears
> like a frightened star

---

[33] A Sudanese traditional bath sees the woman sitting on a hole filled with burning talh [acaia wood] and wrapped with a *shamlah* (a special cover made up of the hair of goats and camel. It is believed that this smoke- bath slims the body and gives the skin fragrance and fair colour.

She extended a finger newly dyed with *henna* to put back her *thoub*[34] which disclosed her breast

Wrapped in the spreading fragrance she looks like the moon wrapped in clouds in a dark night and the moon's light resembles her light

The *talh* smoke added glitter to her golden colour and refined her smooth skin and added roundness to her firm breast

Sudanese (more African than Arab) embellishment.

 smoke sent a drape screening her so she appeared far as a pearl deep in an overflowing sea

When the hut is too narrow for it, it can easily rise and escape through the broken palm leaves door[35]

Some Sudanese poets like a woman who applies *fisada*[36] to her cheeks. Yusif Mustafa al-Tinay likens his beloved to Venus, the goddess of love and beauty. She is a personification of beauty in the form of a young lady. She glitters with beauty and *fisada* .He writes:

فينوس من ساق الجمال   مصورا في زي غادة

يضوي على قسماتها   نور الملاحة و الفصادة

(Al-Tinay, 1955:99)

Al-Tijani describes his beloved as youthful and as gentle and dreamy as an angle that has descended from eternity. On her cheeks the *fisada* glitters. He writes:

فيا وادعا حالما كالملا   ك تهبط من حجرات الأبد

يرف عليه شباب الفنون   و تبرق في وجنتيه الفصد

(Al-Tijani: 1987:61)

Al-Nasser Ghareb-Allah describes how the Sudanese woman dresses and the way she braids her hair. Her breasts are naked but for a scarf which touches one breast and betrays the other. Her head is adorned by alternately interwoven black plaits. He writes:

بادیات النهود غیر وشاح صان نهدا و خان آخر مسا

توجت رأسها ضفائر سود تتلاقى لديه طردا و عكسا

(Ghareb-Allah, 1969:25)

Many Sudanese poets were impressed and inspired by white, particularly blonde, woman. Al Tijany Yousif Bashir used to sit in the street near the Coptic Church at the *Masalma,* just to

---

[34] The national Sidanese dress women wrap around their dodies like the Indian *Sari*

[35] Translated by the writer of this thesis.

[36] An old Sudanese habit of making scares on the woman cheeks as a sign of beauty. It is uniquely Sudanese more African than Arab habit.

have a look at the white-skinned Coptic Sudanese women. In his poetry he expresses his faith in the serenity of beauty as a cure for the ardency of longing. He went so far as to express his faith in Jesus Christ, the Church and those who attend it. He describes the maidens as they sit inside the Church in regular rows like a string of pearls regularly set in a necklace. It is an indication of the religious tolerance and coexistence. He writes:

آمنت بالحسن بردا   و بالصبابة نارا

و بالكنيسة عقدا   منضدا من عذارى

و بالمسيح و من طاف حوله واستجارا

إيمان من يعبد الحسن في عيون النصارى

(Al-Tijani, 1987:58)

Most Sudanese poets were fond of blonde women and particularly golden hair. Al-Majdūb describes golden hair as a waterfall which flows into the depths of souls. He writes:

شعرها العسجدي كالشلال ينثال في قرار النفوس

(Badawi, 1964:578)

Al-Tinay tells his beloved that her golden hair has implied meaning and molten
sunrays. He writes:

إن في شعرك المذهب معنى   و فيه ذوب شعاع

(Al-Tinay, 1955:45)

Ṣalaḥ Aḥmad Ibrahim is inspired by a white woman named Maria. He wishes he had Fidias's [37]chisel, the spirit of a genius and a hill of marble, so as to carve Maria's "frantic charm" into a life-size statue. In a highly sophisticated verse he details the portrait making the hair like a waterfall, some of it resting on the shoulders and some scattering down the back, drawing a stammering light on the eyelashes, an inexplicable riddle on the eyelids, a refracting light on the cheeks and sugar on the teeth. He writes:

يا مرية

ليت لي يا مرية ازميل فدياس و روحا عبقرية

و أمامي تل مرمر

لنحت الفتنة الهوجاء في نفس مقاييسك

---

[37] A skilful Greek sculptor.

تمثالا مكبر

و جعلت الشعر كالشلال بعض يلزم الكتف

و بعض يتبعثر

و على الأهداب ليل يتعثر

و على الأجفان لغز لا يفسر

و على الخدين نور يتكسر

و على الأسنان سكر   (Ibrahim: 55)

He continues, addressing Maria as Helen[38] In his old age, he assumes reluctance but is secretly watching her beauty as he tosses about in frustration, with a thousand fires and a thousand scorpions on his body. He likens his torture to that of Prometheus[39] who was tied to the rock. He describes her eyes as clear and as moist as the springs, her lips as fleshy and sweet as bunches of grape, her cheeks as beautiful and glorious as his dreams and her posture proudly and arrogantly swaying. Besides his mastery of verse the poem reflects his knowledge of western culture and literature. He writes:

يا مرية

ما لعشرينين باتت في سعير تتقلب

ترتدي ثوب عزوف و هي في الخفية ترغب

و بصدرينا برمثيوس في الصخرة مشدود يعذب

فبجسم ألف نار و بجسم ألف عقرب

أنت يا هيلين

يا من عبرت تلقاءها بحر عروقي ألف مركب

يا عيونا كالينابيع صفاء .....و نداوة

و شفاها كالعناقيد امتلاء...و حلاوة

و خدودا مثل أحلامي ضياء...و جمالا

و قواما يتثنى كبرياء...و اختيالا

و دما ضجت به كل الشرايين اشتهاء...يا صبيه

تصطلي منه صباحا و مساء ....غجرية   (Ibrahim, 55:)

---

[38] Helen of Troy, who was famous for her outstanding beauty.
[39] The reference is to Prometheus the mythical hero who is believed to have kidnapped the holy flame i.e. Knowledge and gave it to humanity. That angered Zeus and he chained him to the rock. The poet uses this t illustrate the idea of punishment.

Al Majdūb, Ṣalah, Moḥy al-Deen Faris and Jaily Abd al-Raḥman succeeded in portraying the characters of simple downtrodden Sudanese people and talking about their tragedies. Al-Majdūb wrote about the beggar, the shoeblack, the pickpocket, the fortune teller and the peanut seller. In his poem الحاجة, Ṣalah talks about the character of the Nigerian woman who comes to Sudan to work so as to make money to go on a pilgrimage. The poem describes in accurate detail her character: how she looks, talks, dresses and what activities she performs. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

ربطت طفلها بحزام

على ظهرها ... وجهه الأغبر

عظمة نتأت من عظام

مائل رأسه الضخم: فرخ نعام

تطلع من بيضه دهشا ، أو كما

يفعل الكنغر

وسعت في الطريق

جائع ، و هي لم....

لا يهم....

إنها الحاجة
</div>

(Ibrahim :121)

Other special Sudanese literature is أدب الفكاهة [Sudanese Humour and Satire Literature] Sudanese humour poetry is discussed by the Sudanese critic al-Amin Ali Madani as a pure Sudanese poetry which it contains Sudanese folkloric examples. It is also described by the Egyptian writer, Muḥammad Ḥassanein Haikal, as a special Sudanese poetry. Poets sometimes mix poetry that is written to be read with oral poetry. In his very long poem (10 pages) كلب و قرية (A Dog and a Village), Muḥammad al Mahdi al- Majdūb relates the story of a puppy he has brought to his house. In a humorous manner he tells how the puppy is received by his household. His wife protests, his children are exited and the hens and the billy goat are furious. Al-Majdūb uses his poetry to demonstrate the Sudanese cultural phenomenon exemplified in the use of local Sudanese images, language, and comic dialogue. There is a link between the structure of the poem, particularly the meter and the lexis, and the spirit of Sufism, which is considered basic in Sudanese culture. The poem has the rhythm of the ذكر (dhikr) and the حضرة (Sufi circles) as shown by its structure and the repetition of the word Allah. In the first five lines, he introduces the puppy that is raised by the stallion, أبو السرة (the

father of al-Surrah), on the white Sudanese native bread كسرة. The two names, stallion and Abu al-Surrah, are used satirically. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

في بيت الفحل أبو السّرة   جرو ربّاه على الكسرة

الله الله على الكسرة   بيضاء تهيج لها" الحضرة"

الله الله الله الله

</div>

(Al- Majdūb, 1969:30)

It was said earlier that Al-Majdūb, although he supported neither the classicists nor the modernists, was critical of the modern form of the poem. He sarcastically describes the unity of the poem in terms of food. He likens the new changes in the poem to changes in the *'asidah*.[40] The poem is turned upside down like the porridge that is solid in its mould, but will melt like the *madidah*[41] once it is turned over into the bowl and the *sharmout*[42] is added to it. On mentioning the meal, he asks Salama, the café man, to serve him a nice cup of tea, and he reminds him to wash the cup and dry it and spare him from the crowd. The vocabulary used is colloquial e.g. تمره (dry it). He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

وحدة الشعر قصيدة قلبوها كالعصيدة

حين كبوا حولها الشرموط ماعت كالمديدة

صاحب المقهى سلامة أعطني شايا تماما

نظف الكوب و تمّره و جنبني الزحاما

</div>

(Al-Majdūb,1969:50)

Al-Majdūb describes the contradictions he suffers in Khartoum. He ridicules the tram, describing it as an unreliable donkey, as well as the chef who cheats on him with poor food that lacks natural cooking butter. He misses the food of his beautiful town, al-Dammar. He wishes he could obtain his aunts' soft كسرة which is ground by handmill, instead of the hard كسرة of Khartoum. He misses the dates which are as sweet as the eyes of honey-coloured virgin ladies, and Arabic pumpkin containing milk freshly obtained from the cow, and its bubbling foam is calling him. He writes:

---

[40] A very thick meal prepared by pouring a boiling liquid such as water or milk on the flour.
[41] A somewhat thick Sudanese soup made by pouring a boiling liquid on the flour.
[42] A Sudanese native meal made from dried meat and dried okra.

<div dir="rtl">

هذا الترام حمار غير مضمون	إني من الدامر السمحاء دوخني
صياحه بطبيخ غير مسمون	و كم أروح إلى الطباخ يخدعني
فيها القواديس في أحجار طاحون	من لي بكسرة خالاتي و ما يبست
معسولة كعيون الخرّد العين	كنزي قلادة تمر عدها مائة
رغو يفور على زهو يناديني	و قرعة حلبوا فيها و أعجبها

</div>

<div align="center">(Al-Majdūb, 1969:33)</div>

In the following lines of a poem, Khalil 'Ajab al Dor, mocks one of the Sudanese tribes, *al Masalit.* About fifteen of the farm workers who are always from the *Masalit* and their typical names are 'Isa, Abubaker, Isḥaq and Haroun. He mocks the way they pronounce their names: Isaqa for Isḥaq (Isaac) and Abbaker for Abu-Bakr. He goes on to describe their favourite meal and the way it is prepared. The لقمة [porridge] of millet is made in the صاج (baking tin) and it is soft and more delicious than the round flat loaf of الفيني [the fine white flour], as if it were made in the دوكة (clay oven).

It is a typical Sudanese picture and the lexical items are colloquial Arabic. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

من المساليت هم نصف الثلاثين	لو كنت مبتدرا في الزرع من نفر
ولد اساقة أو موسى بن هارون	من كل من اسمه عيسى بن أبّكر
ألذ في الطعم من قراصة الفين	ولقمة من دقيق الدخن دافئة
كأنها صنعت في دوكة الطين	صنعتها بيدي في الصاج ليّنة

</div>

<div align="center">(M.M.Ali,1999:47)</div>

The poet, 'Abd al- Ḥalim Ali Ṭaha, wrote a poem in the form of the Sufi poem:

<div dir="rtl" align="center">

عيب شبابي الما سرى   ما عب شال انجلتر

ا الشيخ Griffiths سطر قال ديل جماعات خيّرة

لازم يروحو انجلترا

</div>

<div align="center">(Abd al-Rahman, F 2001: 12)</div>

Mr Griffiths the then Director General of the Ministry of Education retired and was replaced by Mr Hodgin who stopped the scholarships to England. In the form of a *Badia Dubeit*, Ṭaha wrote:

<div dir="rtl" align="center">

الخبر الأكيد الليلة هدجكن جابو

قال بعثات محال ناس المعارف تابو

</div>

<div align="center">(Abd al-Rahman, F 2001: 12)</div>

<div align="center">115</div>

The Sudanese poets Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥai (1944-1986) and Al-Nur 'Osman Abbaker (1938), the two prominent figures of the School of Desert and Forest were interested in Sudanism of Sudanese literature. They were very much concerned with the search for roots and establishing identity. Both are considered examples of the Sudanisation of Sudanese literature. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥai was a highly distinguished poet and critic who died very young. He graduated from Khartoum University. After obtaining a PhD in comparative literature from Oxford University in 1973, he taught literature at Khartoum University. He published five volumes: العودة الى سنار (The Return to Sinnar), (Ode of Signs), حديقة الورد (The Last Rose Garden), السمندل يغني (Samandal Sings) and الله في زمن العنف (Allah in the Time of Violence). Beside his works in literary criticism, he translated and wrote studies in African comparative literature. He was famous for his love of reading and meditation. He read oriental and western literature, fully embraced them and came out with his own vision. Like other modernists, he was attracted to the idea of resurrection and the fertility myth by Eliot's "The Wasteland," and by Jabra Ibrahim Jabra's translation from Frazer's "The Golden Bough."He was influenced by the Tummuzian [43] poets, such as Badr Shaker al-Sayyab, Adunis, Jabra, al-Khal (1917) and Khalil Ḥawi (1925), etc., who used historical archetypes to express continuity in culture and human experience. Those poets expressed suffering through symbol, allusion, myth and archetype. Inspired by Eliot's concept of modern civilisation as a spiritual wasteland, they applied mythological symbolism to the state of the Arab world. They chose historical archetypes from Arab history, not only to reaffirm its good qualities but also to call attention to such negative qualities as oppression, tyranny and lust. As it will be demonstrated below, unlike the above poets, 'Abd al-Ḥai fully celebrates the Sudanese historical experience. For Sayyab the Gulf is both life-giver and death-giver, Nizar Qabbani questions the heroism of Abu Zayd al-Hilali and the Arab nation as "the best nation." Abd al-Hai's poem *Return to Sinnar* demonstrates both the mystic sense of racial continuity, and the longing for renewed harmony. It is classified by some Sudanese critics as demonstrating his Sufi inclination, and by others as demonstrating his Sudanism. This is best expressed by the Sudanese poet, 'Abd al-Qadir al Kitayyabi in an elegy for 'Abd al-Ḥai. He writes:

---

[43] The reference is to Tammuz, the god of fertility in the Middle East, named Adonis by the Greeks.

<div dir="rtl">

سِنار و السقف النوريّة النسق[44]   يا حي دونك عبد الحي شارته

نافورة اللغة القدسيّة اللألق   صوت تجوهر أو سحر تناثر من

قطبا رحاه على طاحونة القلق   خلف التيجاني و المجذوب يطحنه

</div>

(Al-Kitayyabi, 2006:260)

Translation:

> O God, this is ʻAbd al-Ḥai before you
>
> His sign is Sinnar and the roofed galleries glittering with light
>
> He is an audible voice or a dispersed charm from the
>
> Fountain of the sacredly bright language.
>
> He is behind his two pivots, Tijani and Majdūb,
>
> Ground by them in the mill of agitation[45]

The poet refers to the influence of Tijani's Sufism and Majdub's Sudanism on ʻAbd al-Ḥai. **ʻAbd al-Ḥai's** journey to Sinnar is a journey to the depths of Sufism, which is incorporated in the Sinnar Kingdom. He describes **ʻAbd al-Ḥai** as an audible voice, and a charm that emanates from Sinnar, the fountain that spread Islam and Arabic culture. **ʻAbd al-Ḥai's** collection *The Return to Sinnar* is an attempt to answer the question of identity, while *The Time of Violence* is of pure Sufi inclination. *The Return to Sinnar* contains five anthems. It recalls the memory of the Sudanese Kingdom of Sinnar in the seventeenth century, which managed to integrate fully the Arab and African races into one nation. All racial differences were transcended, and the poet resorts to the past to look for the harmony that he could not find in present-day Sudan. His English translation of excerpt from The Return to Sinnar is included in the Anthology of Modern Sudanese Poetry by Uthman Hassan Ahmed and Constance Berkley. To seek his identity and assert himself, he turned towards Sinnar, his origin and roots. In the following scene of his reception festival, from the First Anthem, البحر [*The Sea*], the poet reflects how Sinnar welcomes him:

<div dir="rtl">

الليلة يستقبلني أهلي

خيل تحجل في دائرة النار

</div>

---

[44] Sinnar was the capital of the Fung Kingdom (1509- 1821) Known as the السطنة الزرقاء [The Black Sultanate] or the Kingdom of *Fuqara'* (Sufis). It contributed to the spread of Islam and the Arabic culture especially after the fall of the Christian Kingdom of ʻAlawah.

[45] Treanslated by the writer of this thesis.

و ترقص في الأجراس و في الديباج

امرأة تفتح باب النهر و تدعو

من عتمات الجبل الصامت و الإحراج

المملكة الزرقاء ـحرّاس اللغة

ذلك يخطر في جلد الفهد

و هذا يسطع في قمصان الماء

('Abd al-Ḥai :14)

Translation:

> This night my kinsmen welcome me:
> A horse trotting in the circle of fire,
> Dancing in bells and silk,
> A women opening the door of the river,
> Calling out of the darkness
> Of the silent mountain and the dense forest.
> The guards of the blue language
> Kingdom:
> One comes walking proudly in his leopard skin,
> And one sinking in his water garments.
>
> (Ahmed and Berkley, 1982 :92)

He finds it full of life, activity and diversity. Arab features are intermingled with African ones. A man is wearing a tiger skin which is a symbol of Africa and the forest and horses are symbols of the Arab. The spirits of his grandfathers from the past transmigrate into the spirits of the children of today, strengthening the forearms of the drummers and the lungs of the chanters.

In the following scene he seeks inspiration from the past. He refers to the idea of resurrection and how the spirit of the grandfathers can inhabit the children:

الليلة يستقبلني أهلي:

أرواح جدودي تخرج من

فضة أحلام النهر

و من ليل الأسماء

تتقمص أجساد الأطفال

تنفخ في رئة المداح

و تضرب بالساعد

عبر ذراع الطبّال

118

('Abd al-Ḥai, 1999 :14)

Translation:

> The spirits of my grandfathers walk out
> Of the silver of the river's dreams,
> Out of the night of names,
> And possess the bodies of children.

(Ahmed and Berkley, 1982: 92)

In another scene, he employs more Arab-African symbols, such as a bead made out of the teeth of the dead, a pitcher out of the skull … , etc. He says:

<div dir="rtl">

الليلة يستقبلني

أهدوني مسبحة من أسنان الموتى

إبريقا جمجمة

مصلاة من جلد الجاموس

رمزا يلمع بين النخلة و الأبنوس

لغة تطلع مثل الرمح

من جسد الأرض

</div>

('Abd al-Ḥai **,** 1999:14)

naqsa

Translation:

> This night my folks welcome me
> They gave me a rosary made from the teeth of the dead
> A pitcher, a skull
> A prayer mat made of buffalo skin
> A symbol glittering between the palm and the ebony
> A language comes out like a spear
> From the ground
> And through the sky of the wound[46]

In the Second Anthem, المدينة (The City), the poet asks the guards to open the doors of the city of Sinnar, but before opening they ask about his origin, and in his answer he reveals his dual origin. He is neither a pure Arab nor a pure African, he is exactly like Sinnar: a mixture of the two. He writes:

---

[46] Translated by the writer of this thesis

119

بدوي أنت؟

- لا

من بلاد الزنج ؟

- لا

أنا منكم تائه جاء

يغني بلسان

و يصلي بلسان

‘Abd al-Ḥai, 1999:16)

After he is identified, the doors are opened to him and he enters into his origins and his Home, where he sleeps safe and secure. This image depicts the current state of affairs in the Sudan. After the independence in 1956, conflict erupted as a result of the national identity crisis based on racial, ethnic, cultural and religious differences that are more constructed than real. After the long war of the South came to an end in 1972 after seventeen years, conflict was seen again stirring up between the Arab-Moslem North against the African Christian South. In the 80s it extended into the non-Arab region of Nuba Mountains and southern Blue Nile and in 2003 it extended to Darfur in the West. The Bega of the East and the Nubian of the far North are restless. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed in January 2005 in Nairobi has foiled the myth of cultural and racial divide between the North and the South. It puts the framework and the principles which accommodate the racial, cultural and ethnic identity involved in the Sudan's plurality. At the end of the poem, in the Fifth Anthem الصبح [The Morning], the poet summarises Sinnar as both an Arab and African symbol: a mountain, a bird, a leopard, a white horse, a spear and a book:

سنار

تسفر في

نقاء الصحو، جرحا

أزرقا، جبلا، الها، طائرا

فهدا، حصانا، ابيضا، رمحا

كتاب

(‘Abd al-Ḥai, 1999:28)

As he puts it in a footnote in his volume, Sinnar is a language, a history, a homeland and a two-edged presence, the guards of the language kingdom; one comes walking proudly in the leopard skin and one shining in his water garments. Language is a very important element for him. It is identity, history and heritage. His folk in Sinnar are the guardians of the language. He describes it as the first spring, the fountainhead and God's guitar. It is the secret-word by which the guards at Sinnar open the doors and let him in.

The idea of the "palm and ebony" is demonstrated in the First Anthem: it is a symbol that sparkles between the palm tree and the ebony. By "palm" and "ebony" he refers to the "Desert and the Forest." As noted earlier, the forest is a symbol for the African component of the Sudan and the desert for the Arab component. The idea is the presence of both, side by side, transcending racism. This is the mystic sense of racial continuity and the longing for harmony, which has been already depicted and discussed with regard to the modern poets. However, 'Abd al-Hai, in his five anthems of his long poem العودة الى سنار [*Return to Sinnar*], was able to celebrate fully the Sudanese historical experience.

His dream of recalling the past is realised in his poem سنار [*Sinnar*] *1965*, which appeared in his third collection, السمندل يغني *Samandal Sings*. The poet navigates through the Desert into the Forest. It is a resurrection of تهراقا *Tihraq*[47], the buried towns and wrecked bones. The English translation of Sinnar by Al-Sir Khidir is included in Ahmed and Berkley's Anthology. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

ثم أمعنا مع الريح على الصحراء

(و الصحراء كانت مدنا مدفونة

في الرمل أشباحا تراءى

و عظاما نخرات)

و أنحدرنا عبر سور الغاب

و المستنقع الأخضر و الجسر أعدنا؟

</div>

('Abd al-Ḥai, 1999 :55)

Translation:

> Then we penetrated with the wind deep into the desert
> (The desert was buried towns in the sand,

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[47] The most famous of the Kings of Kush—ancient Sudanese kingdom.

Visible ghosts and wrecked bones)
And we descended through the fence of the forest
And the green swamp and the bridge.
Have we returned?
(Aḥmad and Berkley,1982:91)

To be able to see his beginnings and the origins of rituals is but a dream. Because he cannot believe that he is there, he keeps asking the same question, even at the bridge, when he is within a distance of two bow-lengths and at the first gate; have we returned, he asks to himsel? He answers: How could we not? Thus he assures himself that they are already there, and that the palm orchards, the horses in the pastures, the bronzed face, the book, the golden inscriptions, the shield and the spears of ebony are the indication. He writes:

قاب قوسين ِأعدنا؟

هاهي البوابة الأولى :بساتين من النخل و خيل

في المراعي .هاهي البوابة الأولى :أعدنا؟

كيف لا؟ وجه برنزي كتاب

و نقوش ذهبيّات و درع

و رماح آبنوس

كان حلما أن نرى البدء و ميلاد الطقوس

('Abd al-Ḥai, 1999 : 55)

Translation:

We are within a bowshot. Have we returned?
Lo! There is the first gate: Have we returned?
How could not we?
There is a bronzed face, a book,
Golden inscriptions, a shield
And spears of ebony.
It was dream I see the beginning
And the birth of rituals. (Aḥmad and Berkley,1982:91)

Thus, unlike all other modernists, Sayyab, Adunis and 'Abd al-Ṣabur, the poet fully rejoices in the revival of the beginning and the birth of rituals. He shares celebration with the curlew in the thorny branches. The poet derives words and expressions from the Qur'an, e.g., سدرة المنتهى (the Lot-tree), قاب قوسين (two bow-lengths) and عظام نخرات (wrecked bones). It is as if he is drawing an analogy between his voyage back to

Sinnar, to his roots and the Holy Prophet Muḥammad's (PBUH) holy journey, لإسراء[48] Like the Prophet's journey, it is a reality, not an illusion. In المعراج , the Prophet was made to transcend Time and Space, and taken through the seven heavens to the Sublime Throne, where he was shown some of the Signs of Allah. Like the Prophet's transition from one heaven to another, the poet moves from one gate to another until he arrives at Sinnar. The use of the سدرة المنتهى (the Lote-tree), in the seventh heaven, is an indication of achieving the ultimate goal. The poet confirms his arrival by the lote-tree and by the signs mentioned above. Like the Prophet's, his sight does not go astray. ما كذب الفؤاد ما رأى (The Prophet's mind and heart in no way falsified that which he saw). (M.M. Ali,1989:1378) He writes:

حين أبحرنا إلى سنار عبر الليل كانت

سدرة التاريخ تهتز بريح قادم من جزر الموتى

و كان الكروان الأسود الريش يغنّي

في غصون الشوك صوتا

كان غنّاه على شرفة (تهراقا)

('Abd al-Ḥai, 1999 :55)

Translation:

> When we voyage to Sinnar through darkness
> The lote-tree of history was shaken by a wind blowing
> From the islands of the dead
> And the black-feathered curlew was singing
> On the thorny branches an old tune
> From *Tihraqa's* balcony.
> (Aḥmad and Berkley,1982:91)

Al-Nur Osman Abbakr, another pioneer of this school, was born of a Cameroni father and a Sudanese mother from the Nuba tribe. He calls for the Forest and the Desert, i.e., Negro-Arab intermingling for the purpose of specifying the traits of the Sudanese identity. In two articles published in *al Sahafa* newspaper, entitled "The Forest and the Desert" and "I am not an Arab but …," he sums up his philosophy and his poetic vision. His poetry discloses an inclination more towards the forest than the desert. He shows his concern with the search for roots and establishing identity. Although he had mastered the Arabic language, he declares that, although he writes in the Arabic language, loves it and closely attached to its civilisation and

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48 The great mystic story of the *Mi'raj* i.e. Ascension of the Holy Prophet, Muslims believe, Muḥammad on the 27th night of the month of Rajab in the year before the Hijrah. The Holy Prophet was transported from the Sacred Mosque of *Makkah* to the Farthest Mosque of Jerusalem in a night and was shown some of the signs of Allah.

literature, it is only a second language for him. It is not his mother or father tongue. He describes his poetry as full of images that seem to be Western or existentialist, but they are actually the admix of the mother tongue which remained silent within him and came out through the second language, the Arabic language. He states that, on reading his poetry, one finds charming worlds that infatuate him with the charm of paganism and the *Kujur*. (Al-Sahafa (a daily newspaper),1967:1480) He portrays these charming worlds of the forest in his obscure ritual language. This is reflected in the ritual language he uses in his poetry, which is filled with the vocabulary of the Forest, and African heritage and myth. Like Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥai, he loves this language and sanctifies it. For 'Abd al-Ḥai, the language is النبعة الأولى [the first spring], قيثارة الإله [God's guitar] and النبع المقدس (the holy spring).

His poetry reflects many of the elements of African culture. He explores the links between the religions in Africa, with special reference to African religious rituals and Sudanese Sufism. Although Sudanese Sufism originated in the East, he believes that "all the supernatural truths in the Sudan are a production of the forest, the human bond in our existence is the soft motion of the dance, drum and the horn of the forest not the Eastern Sufism." (Al-Sahafa (daily newspaper),1967:1405) He talks about what the *Kujur* recites, and notes that the African rituals, such as incense burning, drumming, walking bare-footed, bare-headed or wearing a special hood, are also features of the Sufi celebration. The influence of African religions on Sudanese Sufism is clear in the following lines:

<div dir="rtl">

و في العين حب الحفاة العراة

يقيمون عيد الإله الصغير

بطندبة الناعيات القدامى

تدق الطبول

ويؤذن للشمس أن ترتدي

قناع المساء

يذاب احتراق اليتامى أصيلا

و يحمل في سلة أو رداء

لعرس الظباء

</div>

(Abbakr,1999:84)

The poet excavates in the old ruins and the rocks, and digs a well in the sand in search of the rock axes, so as to be able to learn, from the drawings in the cave, about the origin of the

124

human being and the things before the Age of Snow. He follows the songs of the Negroes, asking about his origins. He writes:

حفرنا نبعة في الرمل فجرنا جموح النهر

شارفنا عصور القمح نبحث عن فؤوس الصخر

لنعرف من رسوم الكهف أصل أرومة الأشياء والإنسان قبل الثلج

رجعنا دون أن ندري جذور حيلتنا الأولى

دفنا همنا في الرمل ,همنا في بحار العجز ,نتبع أغنيات الزنج

نساءل عن بقايانا

(Abbakr,1999:84)

He spends a long time among the caves and the wastelands searching for his clay, canine tooth and sharp nail. He writes:

أنقب في ثنايا غربتي عن طينتي و الناب و الظفر السنين

(Abbakr, 1999: 47)

As noted earlier, he always writes from the depth of the jungle. He glorifies the forest, as to him it is the first semen of the human being, and from there the pulse of life started, then moved in all other directions. He writes:

من قبل بلوغ العالم هدا العصر السامق كان النبض الأول في الغابات

و في الكهف العاري

جرس التسبيح لطقس ما برحا

في ذهن الطفل الأول في الصحراء

(Abbakr, 1999:76)

He is attracted by the sounds of the forest drums at night and responds to it. Perhaps it is the call of the forest for them to return to their roots. He writes:

قرع الطبول في الدجى يشدنا

أنستجيب؟ ربما نداء الغاب عودة إلى جذورنا

(Abbakr, 1999:47)

He appeals to history by going back to Sinnar and the ancient kingdom of Meroe, and he proves that the good seed produces the green branch and the pasture. He writes:

حتى يرفع إنسان رأسه

يرعب يجرف اطمئنان الموت على مروي

الغرس الطيب يعطي الغصن الأخضر و المرعى

(Abbakr, 1999:76)

It is useless to escape from the roots. The good lies in adhering to the roots and history, and to dedicating life to its richness and fertility. He writes:

تعللنا بأن رحيلنا عبث ,و أن الخير كل الخيران نختار ما حفرته

كف الجد ,أن نرعى موات حياتنا الأولى

لهدا الخصب نندر ما تبقى من لظى أعمارنا

(Abbakr, 1999:48)

He believes in the historical theory that states that the origin of the ancient Egyptian civilisation is Nubian. It is the pollination of the valley and the union of the source and the outlet. Pharonic art in Upper Egypt is always an inspiration of the Upper Nile. That entity Allah, God or Lord or whatever you call it, is known first in Africa as a creator of the universe before the mission of Muḥammad or Christ. According to Jamal Muḥammad Aḥmad, religion was a product of the Ethiopian mind. It was transported from there, the Upper Nile, to Egypt, the heart of civilisation, from where it was spread to the whole world (Aḥmad, J.M,1974:21),.

It is the theme of 'Return.' He will not desert the Home of his fathers and roam in the desert. His Homeland is his cradle, his exile and kingdom. He glorifies his folk in the 'land of birth and forefathers.' The idea of 'return' was tackled by his predecessors, such as 'Abd al-Hai, in his long poem *The Return to Sinnar*. He roamed extensively but eventually came back to where he had left the treasures behind. Muḥammad al-Makki Ibrahim also repents, and at last he is able to see his Homeland as the land of love and Promise, a jar of milk, a rose in its pollination season. He writes:

الآن أستطيع أن أراه

قصعة من الحليب زهرة تعيش موسم اللقاح

لا أستطيع أن أعود ماشيا فالبحر لم يعد مطيّة الشراع

لكن قدرتي على الرجوع لا تحدها البحار

126

في خاطر يعود بي أعود

على جناح غنوة كسولة أعود

ولو غرقت في الذي مضى

يا وطني سلمت لي

يا أرض ميعادي و يا محبتي

أنا إليك عائد

(Al-Makki: 32)

Another African feature that al-Nur expresses is the issue of resurrection, i.e., the communication between the spirits of the children and the grandfathers, and vice versa. His beginning is 'his end' and, at the same time, 'it is the beginning of another

بدايتي نهايتي بداية لآخر

(Abbakr: 32)

It is the same idea that Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥai expressed. The spirits of his grandfathers transmigrate in the bodies of the children and blow in the lungs of the drummer. He writes:

أرواح جدودي تخرج من

فِضة أحلام النهر

و من ليل الأسماء

تتقمص أرواح الأطفال

تنفخ في رئة المداح

('Abd al-Ḥai:14)

Al-Nur portrays the offspring of the desert and forest as a field pollinated by the dead in the season of self-sprouting and fertilisation of the living beings. He is the good plant sown by the dead, and it produces the green branch and the pasture. He writes:

مولود النبعة و الصحراء

زهرا شهدا....حقلا لقحه الموتى

في موسم إيراق الذ ات و إخصاب الأحياء

(Abbakr: 32)

127

Now he is able to specify his characteristics. He is a secret that the jungle conceals. Like his forefathers, he is as the menirate of the blue coast and the dark mountain. He is thick-lipped, red-eyed, wearing a shellfish for earrings, putting tiger skin on his shoulder and feathers on his feet. He writes

<div dir="rtl">

من هدا الظافر كالجبل الأسمر

كمنارة ساحلنا الأزرق

زبد المالح قرطا أدن

حول العنق فراء النمر

عليا الشفتين

جمرة سحر في العينين

لغز يضمره الغاب

وبرقصه ريش الرجلين

</div>

(Abbakr: 32)

He is received by a large celebration. In an atmosphere of African rituals, he is fortified by the *kujur*, which protects him from the black wind. They drink, sing, light the lamps and make offerings.

Despite his inclination towards the forest, the poet eventually calls for reconciliation and coexistence between them. Like ʿAbd al-Ḥai, he has come to terms with himself. Then he calls on others to shake off the feelings of fear, hate and bitterness; and to purify themselves by love, so as to be able to lead a free life. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

تطهروا بالحب و احتملوا زفير الشمس و الألم الممكن للحياة

هذا مخاض النار فاحتطبوا جذور منابع في الصخر

في أعماق ليل الغاب في قبو الخرافات الأول

هذا مخاض النار يفترش الشواسع من بيادر عمرنا

وعيا نداء للحياة طليقة

</div>

(Abbakr::64)

He offers that love, "the fire of Deliverance," which is stronger than the flood and all fires to a child in the quarter, and to the spikes of wheat that have given his life its colour and taste. The power of love enables him to tolerate others and forgive them. He is so moved by love that he cries and bends and kisses the child who mocks him and laughs at his colour. The influence of Muslim and Christian cultures is reflected in his poetry, by the use of Qur'anic and Biblical images and language. This is also an indication of the union of both the forest

and the desert that he has realised in his poetry. He comes to terms with himself and gets rid of fear, after having his heart expanded (Ali.A.Y,1989:1666) like Prophet Muḥammad, and after being "baptised," like Jesus Christ. He writes:

إن ملاك الرب أتاني ليلا

شق الصدر و غرق في صدر دماي أنامله

فانتزع الخوف وريح اللعنة فك لجام لساني

عمدني

و أراح جبيني حررني

من قهر الحاجة و الزمن

(Abbakr: 7)

Love and altruism weld together the fabric of the society and eliminate differences between the African Negroes and the Arab Bedouins, in a society based on love and altruism. He writes:

الكل يطرق دربه لقرينه

الصاحب البدوي و الأعراب

في عالم لم ندري كيف نغضه

و نعيد نسج فصوله نحيا بها أحباب

يا صاحبي تفكرا

ماذا بأبعاد المجاهيل التي في أفقنا

غير المجاهيل التي في بالنا

(Abbakr: 93)

Part Two

Modern Sudanese Literature: a Study of Genres and Schools:

The period of the Islamic *Funji* Kingdom (1504-1821), as noted in the Introduction, on p16, witnessed the flowering of the first Sudanese Arabic Literature. That was a result of the growth and consolidation of the Islamic institutions. Almost all of that literature was included in the only preserved record, the classifications of *wad Dayfalla.* Many trends have had a great impact on Sudanese literature in general, and on Sudanese literature in English in particular: the Afro-Arab conflict, the conflict between the North and South of the Sudan, the British occupation, the Condominium rule (Anglo-Egyptian rule), the Mahdist Revolution, and independence. This part of the thesis discusses the different Sudanese literary schools, with examples from major, and at times little known. The unique and inimitable feature of Sudanese literature, mainly poetic, will also be explored and critiqued from among the written and oral corpus.

 II A-Poetry

Poetry is discussed under three headings; Neo-Classical, Romantic and Realistic.

II A. 1. Neo-Classical School

From the beginning of Turkish Rule, through the Anglo-Egyptian occupation until the advent of World War I, Sudan was isolated from any foreign influence. The period of rule by the Turks, who took over after defeating the *Fung* kingdom in 1820, was a time of misery, suffering and panic. Under that corrupt rule the Sudanese people suffered oppression, forced labour, slavery and tax collection by brutal means. The Sudan was excluded from the plan of modernisation which the Turkish administration executed in Egypt. It remained isolated from Arab renaissance, any cultural or intellectual activities or modern literary schools throughout the Turkish rule and the short period of the Mahdist revolution (1885), which, having defeated the Turkish oppressors, was crushed in its turn by the Anglo-Egyptian troops in 1898 at the battle of Omdurman. The seclusion of the Sudan from the outside world, in addition to the identity profile which was explored in Part I gave the Sudan its unique character and enabled it to develop its own religious, social and linguistic traditions. Islam penetrated and dominated Northern Sudan through the migration of merchants and pilgrims from Arabia, Egypt and

North Africa. As primitive societies, Sudanese Islamic belief was not a spiritual kind of belief; it was mixed with local customs, traditions and practices, some dating back to the Pagan and Christian ages. People believed in the *faqihs* who dedicated themselves to the study of the Qur'an and the Islamic *fiqh*. Hearing of the *faqihs'* miracles, they travelled to them from all over the Sudan to seek their blessing and support. They believed that the *faqihs* had divine power over supernatural forces and could explain to them the natural phenomena which were very much feared. Due to the lack of hospitals, schools and courts, people came to the *faqihs* for study, healing and comfort. They considered the *faqihs* as intermediaries between them and God. The *faqihs* established their own *tariqas* (sects), of which they were the *sheikhs* and thus called *Shuyukh al-turuq*. They were so influential that a larger part of the book *Tabaqat wad Dayfalla* was allocated to their news and miracles than to those of the kings and *sultans* of the *Fung* state. They opened *khalwas* (Qur'anic schools) where children were taught the Qur'an and some Arabic grammar. It was through these Sufi sheikhs that the Sudanese understood and adopted the true faith of Islam.

A new class of *'Ulama* (religious scholars) emerged during the Turkish administration. Unlike the *Shuyukh al-turuq*, they qualified in the religious schools in *Mecca* or in *al-Azhar* in Cairo. Although the *'ulama* were qualified teachers or *Shari'a* judges, they were not popular among the masses that were more associated with the *faqihs*. They supported the Turkish administration, which paid their salaries, but were looked upon by the public as an alien class for their foreign education and their support of the Turkish rule.

The *'Ulama* poetry, is described by El-Shush (1962:15) as "highly subjective and naïve in its treatment, with weak style and shallow content." It is neither appealing to the people nor does it reflect their feelings and experiences. Its themes are always in praise of the Prophet and enumerate his miracles. The poet starts his poem by praising the Prophet, describing his love for him, reproaching himself for his sins and asking for God's forgiveness. An example of such style is "The Supplication" by Sheikh Muḥammad al-Tahir al Majdūb quoted by 'Abdin. The poet greets every part of Prophet Muḥammad (the cheek, the mouth, the chest etc.) one after the other and repeats the word of greeting at the beginning of every line. He writes:

سلام على رأس النبي محمد　　لرأس جليل بالجلال معمم

سلام على وجه النبي محمد　　فيا نعم وجه بالضياء ملثم

سلام على طرف النبي محمد　　لطرف كحيل أدعج و معلم

سلام على أنف النبي محمد　　لأنف عديل أنور و مقوم

131

Sudanese poetry was not influenced by the modernist poets such as Mahmūd Sami al-Barudy. The style remained decorative, repetitive and full of religious allusions and clichés. A poem written by the Sudanese poet al-Amin Muḥammad al-Darir in praise of the *Khedive* Tawfiq, on the occasion of his accession to the throne, is full of pun and assonance. He uses جناس (pun) in almost every line. Consider the repetition of the word توفيقin the following line:

مخايل الخير في توفيقه ظهرت   أكرم بشهم له التوفيق عنوان

(Ali, 1999: 91).

In the same poem he uses طباق (antithesis) through the repetition of the word أشعار. He writes:

أشعارهم ذات إشعار بحالهم   فهي الشعار حظوا بالوصل أو بانوا

(Ali, 1999: 91).

Another poem by the same poet in praise of the Prophet is void of any emotion or human feelings. He quotes a verse from the Qur'an in every line:

يا رب صل على من كان فاتج   بكر الوجود به عمراننا اتصل

ما للنساء كمثل المصطفى ولد   اذ منه مائدة الأنعام والعقلا

أعرافه الملسك ةالأنفال وافرة   لمن به توبة كي تذهب الوجل

(Ali, 1999: 91).

Unlike the '*Ulama* poetry, Sudanese colloquial poetry was capable of depicting everyday life experiences; feelings of joy and sadness. As government officials, the '*Ulama* supported the Turkish Administration, who paid their salaries. There was also anonymous colloquial poetry which mocked the *Pasha* and criticised his domination and the tax collection policy. Two famous lines are known by most Sudanese people and the first line is always used as a proverb. The poet wonders "what is so special about the Pasha and what authority he has, especially as his authority is limited to his villages and does not cover the wide cool East of the Sudan." It reads:

الباشا البشكوله شن عرضه و شن طوله

أكان حجر حلوله حت شزق الله البارد هوله

('Abd Al-Raḥim,1963:18)

A poem by Muḥammad Sherif, though lacking substance, it describes the cruel method of tax collection which the Turkish used and details how they impaled the citizen or put a cat in his underwear and hit it until it tore his private parts. It reads:

بضرب شديد ثم كتف مؤلم و   من بعده الالقاء في الشمس و الحر

و أوتاد ذي الاوتاد من بعض   فعلهم و أشنع من دا كله عمل الهر

('Abd Al-Raḥim,1963:19)

However, a poem by al-Sheikh Yahiya al-Salawi about the 'Urabi Revolution in 1919 is considered by many critics as unprecedented in its theme and poetic construction. It addresses a new subject; it calls for the support of the 'Urabi Revolution and was written at the request of Aḥmad 'Urabi himself. It consists of ninety nine lines written in gold and was sold in Cairo for one pound of gold per copy. He writes:

شغل العدا بتشتت الأحزاب   و الله ناصرنا بسيف عرابي

('Abd al-Raḥman, 1963 :85).

During the Mahdist period (1881-1898), poetry was linked to real life and current affairs. The Mahdist Revolution revived the '*Ulama* poetry and introduced elements of patriotism, enthusiasm, courage and popular songs of heroism. Encouraged by the government, the'*Ulama* fought the revolution by distributing pamphlets and writing poetry denouncing it. Although short, the Mahdist period was dominated by poetry written in support of the people, for war, and describing the Mahdi battles. Poets like Yahya al-Salawi, Muḥammad Ahmed Hashim and Muḥammad 'Umar al-Banna wrote poems of praise about al-Mahdi, his call for war and his victories, and about'Abdullhi al-Ta'aishi, the Mahdi's *khalifa* (successor), and the founder of the Mahdist State. The revolution pulled the '*Ulama* and poets out of their dreamy world and into the world of reality. It liberated their poetry from delusions, the invisible world and false heroism, and revived in them a spirit of enthusiasm. Muḥammad M. Ali quoted a well-known poem by the poet Muḥammad Omer al-Banna, from The Mahdist Manuscript

133

(p.396-397). He describes the army of the Ansar using classical warrior imagery, and compares the Mahdi warriors with those of the Prophet. Most of the imagery in the poem does not differ from the traditional imagery used in the classical poem. There are also many quotes from the Qur'an. The soldiers are described as courageous, and as firm as mountains. They put on armour because they are always expecting war. At war they fight sincerely and at peace they perform prayers. He writes:

قوم إذا حمي الوطيس رأيتهم   شم الجبال و للضعيف حماة

و لباسهم سرد الحديد و بأسهم   يوم اللقا شهدت به الغارات

في السلم تلقاهم ركوعا سجدا   أثر السجود عليهم و سمات

(Sa'ad, 1955:275-276)

A new style of writing is apparent in the opening of the poem. Unlike most poems of that time, it opens with two lines of wisdom: "War is patience, fighting is endurance and death for the cause of God is a new life. Cowardice is disgrace and courage is dignity if coupled with resolution." He writes:

الحرب صبر و اللقاء ثبات   و الموت في شأن الإله حياة

الجبن عار و الشجاعة هيبة   للمرء ما اقترنت به العزمات

(Sa'ad, 1955:275-6)

The poem also introduces the elements of enthusiasm and rejection of corruption. It calls for war and incites the Mahdi to rise and attack Khartoum, and expresses the poet's indignation with the state of corruption. He writes:

فانهض إلى الخرطوم أن بسوحه   أهل الغواية و الضلالة باتوا

نبذوا الشريعة من وراء ظهورهم   عن دينهم شغلتهم الشهوات

(Sa'ad, 1955)

Thus, poetry in the Mahdist period started to follow the spirit of the Revolution. However, Muḥammad M Ali argues that most of the poetry written during the Mahdist period was lacking in depth and originality. The poetry of Idris Muḥammad Omer al-Banna, Aḥmad, al–Imam al-Kabboushabi and Muḥammad Aḥmad Hashim was devoid of the Mahdist spirituality. Unlike the above mentioned poem by Muḥammad 'Omer al-Banna, their poetry

134

failed to convey the idea of al-Imam al-Mahdi about martyrdom and the reward of the martyr; they merely quoted the Qur'an. Ali quotes a poem by Muḥammad Aḥmad Hashim as an example of insubstantial poetry. Hashim writes:

قصور بل و حور ناعمات   لدى المولى بدوح فيه مدح

بها عين تسمى سلسبيلا   و تسنيما ختام المسك رشح

(Ali, 1999: 152).

Another example of the insubstantial poetry is a poem by Idris 'Omar al-Banna. He writes:

أنهارهم ملتفة برياض أشجا   ر الجنان تحفهم ريح الزهر

و بلابل الافراح تطرب بالغنا   و يطوف بالكاسات وُلدان غرر

(Ali, 1999: 153).

The Anglo-Egyptian occupation (1898-1956) marked a turning point in the history of the Sudan (Al-Shūsh, 1962:11-14). For the first time, Sudan emerged from its isolation and made contact with the outside world. The government introduced formal education with the aim of training a number of Sudanese to fill junior posts and gradually closed the *khalwas* for fear of another religious uprising, e.g. like that of the *Mahdiyyah*. Many Sudanese were dissatisfied with the system of education introduced by the colonizers, as well as with the growth of towns and urban communities, which they considered as promoting the disintegration of their religious values and tribal traditions. The overthrow of the Mahdi Revolution by the Anglo-Egyptian forces resulted in deep feelings of disappointment and bitterness. Sudanese poets, such as 'Abdullah 'Abdul Raḥman (1891-1964), Muhamad Sa'id al-'Abbasi (1880-1963) and 'Abdullah Muḥammad 'Omar al-Banna (1890-1980), read neo-classical poetry: however, they stuck to the traditional form of the poem (Ali, 1999: 152). They were among the first graduates of Gordon Memorial College to have a religious background. The Sufi and Bedouin influence, such as the influence of the *Shukriyya*h tribe, was clear in their poetry. The purity and eloquence of their poetry was acquired, besides their education and upbringing, from their life in the Bedouin land. They were influenced by the *dubeit* poetry (a couplet of verse) of Bedouin tribes like the *Shukriyyah*. Many poets were still committed to the traditional form of the poem. All poets started their poems with crying over the ruins, talking about love, describing the journey, then moving on to the main purpose of the poem. They also used classic musical and poetic images. Despite this escapism, almost all poets had one aim i.e. resisting colonization and achieving freedom. However, each had his own way of expressing that aim. Al-'Abbasi talked of journeys from one place to another, like the Arab Bedouins,

and of parting with friends. He described the rain, the clouds, the thunder and the desert animals. Even patriotism in his poetry was linked with the places he visited. The Nile symbolises a political bond with Egypt, which he loved and considered a partner to Sudan in the struggle against the colonizer, and to which Sudan is connected by the firm bond of religion and the Arabic language. He writes:

وبالضـاد لحمة و صداقة   و كفانا بالدين عروتنا الوثقى

جميل من بره الله ساقه   و بهذا النيل المبارك , و النيل

(Al-'Abbasi, 1948: 28)

To express their resentment, poets resorted to the revival of their glorious past and their Islamic civilisation. They rejected the new rule imposed upon them by the colonizers who undermined Islam and the Arabic language. However, their poetry was subject to criticism by Sudanese academics such as Ḥamza al-Malik ambal, al-Amin Ali Madani and Dr. Muḥammad Ibrahim al-Shūsh. Al-Shūsh (1972:5) attacked them for adopting the style of the classical poem, wherein the purpose underlying the poem was reached through a medium of descriptive allegory, incorporating elements of nature and the surrounding environment. In his view, the poetry of the time was sentimental, lyrical and oratory. Poems were mere imitation rather than a product of real experience, and the poets were viewed as preaching. Muḥammad M Ali disagreed with al-Shūsh. He believed that it was poetry of struggle, which kept pace with political and social events of the time. It depicted the degradation and laxity of morals of the time compared to the virtues, courage and morals of the past. Ali believed that it was quite natural for people to seek inspiration in the glory of Islam and the Arab as, for them, Islam and Arabism were their entity. On the foundations of these two beliefs the first Sudanese state, Sinnar, had been established, followed by the other Islamic states and when the Turkish occupation ended. 'Abdin (1967:225) noted the feelings of frustration and bitterness that marked Sudanese poetry during the period of the British occupation. He attributed them to the sensitivity of the poets and the bad circumstances in which they lived as a result of the injustice and corruption of the Turks. However, Muḥammad M. Ali (1999:314) believed that the poetry of discontent and indignation was the result of the beginning of a national awareness. He defended it as the poetry of resistance and noted the considerable role it played in raising the awareness of the masses and reviving the spirit of nationalism. Al-Shūsh (1972:6) criticized the traditional poetry as religious preaching, and the poets as public orators. The dominating theme was the revival of ancient Islamic civilization and the wish to counter the strong current of Western civilisation. Poets adopted the model of the classical

qasida, its imagery, diction, meter and rhyme. Al-Shūsh used the work of 'Abdullah al-Banna, who was looked upon as the leader of traditional poets, to introduce Sudanese literature to the Arab world. Al-banna's poem "Greeting the Hijri Year" or *Munajat al-hilal,* translated by Al-Shūsh, was considered as the line of demarcation between neoclassical and modern poetry. It was first recited in 1921 to a big audience in the Graduates Club. The poem draws a glorious picture of a past where rulers were steadfast and just, men generous and courageous, and women noble and virtuous. This picture is contrasted with the present dark picture of the Arabs and their state of degradation and immorality. Al-Banna writes:

حــدث فان حديثا منك يشـــــجيني   يا ذا الــهلال عن الدنـــــــيا و الديــن

طـفلا و انك قد شــهدت ذا الـــنو   طلعت كالنــــون لا تـــــــنفك من صغر

و أنت أنت فتى في عـصر زبلــين[49]   سايرت نوحا و لم تركب سفـــــــينته

خَبِّر ملوكاً ذوى عز وأبـــــهة ان المـــلوك وان عَزو الى هــون
وارمق بطرفِك من بغــــــــدادَ داثرَهَا واندبْ بها كلَّ ماضى العزم مَيْمون

سلها عن المسجد المُـــعمُور جانبُه بالعلم والــخير والآدابِ والدين
وسل زبيدة عن قـــــــــصر تَبَوأهُ بعد الامين حــسام الشهم مامون
سلها عن الجيش جيش الله أين مضى وكيفَ جـــُرد من ماضٍ ومسنون
اخلى منابرها من فى مقـــــابرها من كل متضــح الآثـــــــار مدفون

(Al-Banna, 1921: 70).

Translation:

Oh young moon, talk of the world of religion because in thy talk lies my

Young emerged like *nun (the* Arabic *letter)* eternally young as a child

And you have witnessed the age of *Zhu el Nun* (the ancient Prophet)

You voyaged with Noah, though you did not join his ark

And you are now as you were in the age of Zeppelin

Tell kings, who are oblivious in their majesty and greatness

That kings, however great, in the end they are disgraced

Glance at the changing fate of Baghdad and weep for everyone therein

That was full of courage and steadfastness

Ask Baghdad how many are those who are buried in her graves

---

[49] Ferdinand Zeppelin [1838-1917], the German airship builder. He devoted his time to the development of dirigible balloons.

Once so noble and so generous

Ask Zubeida about the palace that was occupied after al-Amin

By the sword of sagacity, al Mamoun:

Ask her about the army. The army of God, where it disappeared

And how were they disarmed of there sharp and piercing weapons

Alas, its alters are deserted by those who now fill the graves

Those whose traces are visible and those traces are buried

(Al-Shūsh, 1972:7)

Al-'Abassi similarly expresses the idea of rejecting Western civilization and idealising the past. There has never been a reform for the corrupt or protection for the weak. He praises the time of the Four Orthodox *Calif*s and the two distinguished *Calif*s who succeeded them, 'Amr and Khalid, who have never hurt the honour of their neighbour or broken a promise. He writes:

جزى من تصاريف الزمان المعاند   جزى الله هاتيك الحضارة شر ما

حمى لضعيف أو صلاحا لفاسد   فلم تك يوما و الحوادث جمة

و أغلالها منا مكان القلائد   شقينا بها حتى لبتنا أذلة

رعى الله عهد الراشدين و تربة   سمت بالعصاميين عمرو وخالد

أئمة خير ما استباحوا كرامة   لجار و لا خانوا حقوق معاهد]

(Al-'Abbasi, 1948: 20).

Poets such as al-Banna and al-'Abbasi lived a period of their lives among the Bedouin people of the Butana, partly to express their rejection of the British occupation. Their nature poems stuck to one theme, creating a sense of organic unity within the poems. In their respective poems "Al-Butana" and "Nature in the Sudan" they describe the countryside scenery, the people and their qualities, activities and feelings. Al-Banna explains his reasons for moving to the Butana by describing it as the ideal mode of existence, as "the land of rest, peace, satisfaction". He writes:

و ريحان... و عشرتها سلام   رحلت إلي البطانة و هي روح

(Al-Banna, 1921: 17).

The reference is to the description of Paradise in the Qur'an: "Rest, Satisfaction and Delight" (Ali, 1989: 56). ريحان (basil)   is a sweet-smelling plant used here as a symbol of satisfaction and delight.

Sudanese new-classical poets made some attempts at modernisation. They found the colloquial poetry very popular so they derived elements from it to create new verse. Al-'Abbasi also lived among the Kababish tribe and shared their nomadic life. He took meanings from their colloquial poetry and expressed them in classical Arabic. In the following lines a Bedouin description (oral literature) of his beloved is influenced by the environment. She is like a gazelle; her colour is like gold, her speech like ripe dates. He writes:

يا أب لونا سمري أب حديثا تمري

الدوار أني يا الله تجمع شملي

 Al- 'Abbasi reproduces it in classical Arabic as:

اللون لون الذهب و القول حلو الرطب

لي أرب في ذا الرشا

يا رب فاقض أربي

(Al-'Abbasi, 1948: 95)

Another example is of a Bedouin woman seeking help from a fortune teller; she promises to give her a *Medjidie* [50] if she tells her the whereabouts of her beloved. She writes:

ختاتة ختي زيدي بكريك بي مجيدي

شوفي لي حبيبي في البلد البعيد

  Al-'A bbasi reproduces the meaning in classical Arabic as:

عرافة العرب زيدي ومن نداي استزيدي

شوفي لي وين حبيبي امسى بقفر بعيد

(Al-'Abbasi, 1948; 96)

---

[50] Turkish silver coin of 20 piaster coined under Sultan 'Abdul Medjid.

He expresses the meaning of the verse in classical language and substitutes some colloquial words such as تمر (dates) ختاتة (fortune teller) بكريك (will bribe you), for the classical words طرب and عرافة.

These graduates, mostly of a religious background and Azhar education, were unhappy about the new values. They formed reading circles where they held literary activities and read and discussed books which they had obtained from Egypt. The Graduates' club (1919) and the two magazines *Al-Ra'id* and *Ḥaḍarat al-Sudan* acted as outlets for them. They did not want to fall prey to the Western civilization, which they condemned as a source of misery and oppression. Poets used their fate, their adverse circumstances and the viciousness of the people as symbols of the enemy who ravished everything they possessed. Al-ʿAbbasi resists a worse fate by his own endurance; unlike others he will never give up. He, and others, complain of the lack of real friends to whom one can resort in such an adverse atmosphere of oppression and degradation. He writes:

زد عتوا أزدك من حسن صبري   و أدقني كأس العداب الأمر

لا تحاول مني مراما بعيدا   و ارض من شئت بالمذلة غيري

با سجالا ما بين كر و فر   إن بيني و بينه أبدا حر

(Al-ʿAbbasi, 1948: 37).

Tawfiq Aḥmad al-Bakri also shows his resentment. Fortune turns against him in favour of his enemies while he and his like cling to their pride and virtuousness. It is in vain to expect good from evil. He writes:

أخو غفلات يطلب الخير في العسر   كأني و الأيام أيام غيرنا

و لا تسليمني للمتاعب و الضر   فيا عفتي صوني علي كرامتي

(Saʿad, 1955: 105)

Muddathir al Bushi calls for an armed struggle and mourns the disgraceful stance of holy men with regard to the deterioration of religion. He writes:

فما خير سيف لم يؤيده صارم   أرانا هجرنا الدين و الدين معقل

(Najilah, 1964: 91)

ʿAbd al-Raḥman Shawqi calls for confrontation and death for the cause of the Homeland. He writes:

وليس الجود بذل دريهمات   لمسكين على قيد الحياة

<div dir="rtl">

بل الجود الممات على بلاد   ليحيا أهلها بعد الممات

</div>

(Sa' ad, 1955: 199)

After the failure of the White Flag Movement in 1924 and with the foreign occupation tightening its grip, people were overwhelmed by feelings of grief and disappointment. That feeling of suppression and emptiness had to have some kind of outlet. Tawfiq Salih Gibril was the first Sudanese poet to write about the 1924 movement. Commemorating four of the White Flag's heroes he writes:

<div dir="rtl">

يا ويحهم ألقوا صدور رماح   أودى بأربعة صدور في الوغى

نارا توقد في النهار الضاحي   في حفرة من بعد أن أصلوهم

رب "اللواء الأبيض" الوضاح   و مضوا "بسر الختم" بعد صفيّه

ما الذوّد عن أوطانهم بجناح   للسجن للتشريد , لا لجريرة

</div>

(Sa'ad, 1955: 151).

The poet Munir Salih 'Abdelqadir in his work complains about the terrible circumstances and encourages his countrymen to wake up and resist the foreign occupation. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

إن عقلي لم يكن متهما   لا تلمني فتكن متهمي

أخطأ الدهر و عمدا ظلما   و لم الدهر علي تقصيره

ما خلقتم لتعيشوا غنما   يا بن قومي أفيقوا إنكم

سادة كنتم فصرتم خدما   ليتني أعرف ما أحزنكم

</div>

(Gibril, 1972: 55)

The visit of Lord Allenby to the Sudan in 1922 was viewed with suspicion, as it occurred at a time when the Sudanese political movement was divided into two camps; one called for the withdrawal of the British and unity with Egypt, the other called for the continuity of British rule. A poem by Tawfiq Salih Gibrel reveals the British intentions behind the visit. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

يأنف الحر أن يعيش دليلا   أيها القوم لا تجروا الديولا

ض علينا حتى نوينا الرحيلا   سمتمونا العذاب ضيقتم الأر

قد تقضت و ما شفيتم غليلا   تلك عشرون حجة بعد خمس

ن والشعب ما يزال جهولا   فأدعيتم نشر الحضارة و العرفا

يوم وافى يجر سيفاا صقيل   ويح قلبي مدا يريد اللنبي

</div>

(Najilah, 1964: 68).

Sudanese traditional poetry was subjected to criticism for the first time by the two Sudanese poets and critics, al-Amin Ali Madani and Hamza al-Malik Tambal. As pioneers

141

they paved the way for the coming cultural revival of the thirties. They encountered fierce objections from the public, who considered poetry to be sacred. *Hadart al-Sudan*, the only newspaper at the time, attacked them and refused to publish their contributions. Al-Amin was influenced by the Mahjar poet Khalil Jubran but he died in 1926 at a very young age, and before completing his work. Hamza was influenced by ʿAbass Mahmūḍ al-ʿAqqad and was known for his didactic and theoretical criticism. His critical essays, written in 1926, which were published in his book الأدب السوداني وما يجب أن يكون عليه[*Sudanese Literature and How it Should Be*] and ديوان الطبيعة [The Diwan of Nature] expressed a genuine desire to create a new literature of identity. He was the first poet to attempt to realize the call for an original, deeply felt poetry which carried authentic Sudanese traits in his collection, 'The Diwan of Nature. He attacked traditional poetry as being weak, shallow and lacking in originality. He was the first to call for the Sudanism of Sudanese literature and the first to introduce such terms as الأدب السوداني (Sudanese literature) and الداتية السودانية (Sudanese identity) in his book (الأدب السوداني و ما يجب ان يكون عليه *Sudanese literature and How it Should Be*). He demonstrated his search for the common roots of a national culture and common heritage by writing, "Poetry written by Sudanese poets should reflect Sudanese sensibility and the Sudanese landscape" (Tambal, 1972: 66).

Henceforth poetry witnessed a considerable change by the neo-classicists. For the first time poets were inspired by nature. They realised the beauty of nature in the Sudan; its landscape, the Nile, the deserts. Al-Nasser Qareballah (1918-1962) describes the charm of nature in his poem *Umbadir* (named after a place in western Sudan). Using a more sophisticated style of writing and well chosen vocabulary, the poet portrays the image of an ideal place distinguished by the utmost beauty in everything, e.g.: "The gravels at *Umbadir* look like balls painted in bright colours and its hills stretch up very high scraping heavy clouds saturated with rain water." He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

أي حظ رزقته في الكمال   و أحتوى سره ضمير الرمال

فتناهى اليك كل جميل   قد تناهى اليه كل جمال

فكأن الحصباء فيه كرات   قد طلاها بناصع اللون طالي

وتعالت هضابك المشرئبات   الى مورد السحاب الثقال

</div>

(Qareballah, 1969: 45).

The poem goes on to describe the Sudanese environment; its vegetation, animals, the women's beauty and their activities. He alludes to a young lady who is picking the fruit of the سنط ([Nilotic acacia] as graceful and aloof like a gazelle,"Her feet are at the lowest part of

142

the branch and her hands are on the upper part of another revealing the form of her breasts and narrow waist." The poet longs to hear her resonant voice and the echo of bird song when she calls. He writes:

وفتاة لقيتها ثم تجني   ثمر السنط في انفراد الغزال

تمنح الغصن اسفلي قدميها   ويداها في صدر آخر عالي

فيظل النهدان في خفقان المو   ج و الكشح مفرطا في الهزال

شاقني صوتها المديد تنادي   و العصافير داهب الآمال

(Qareballah, 1969: 45).

Thus the neo-classicists succeeded in reviving the fading traditional form of poetry but they failed to contribute significantly to the evolution of the modern poem. Their attempt to break away was aborted by a new kind of romanticism that rejected the traditional poem.

II.A. 2 The Romantic School:

The first era of Arabic poetry written during the first half of the nineteenth century is marked by classical diction and forms. It lacks any trace of English influence; its major poets are the Egyptian Maḥmūd Sami al-Barudi (1838-1904) and the Syrian-Lebanese Naṣif al-Yaziji (1800-1871). The second era, written in the second half of the nineteenth century, is characterized by Western influence and the poets express their attitude and their wish to capture the spirit of the age. The Egyptian poet Hafiz Ibrahim (1870-1932): calls for the people to "throw off the handcuffs and lift the masks so as to be able to breathe the north wind i.e. the European influence." He writes:

آن يا شعر أن نفك قيودا   قيدتنا بها دعاة المحال

فارفعوا هذه الكمائم عنّا   ودعونا نشم ريح الشمال

(Ibrahim, 1948: 226).

Muḥammad al Mahdi al-Majdūb rejects and mocks traditional poetry. He writes:

ومللت من شعر الأعارب ما   به الا مهانة جائع يترقب

(Al-Majdūb, 1969: 66).

By the end of the nineteenth century a new type of poetry was being written, marked by a tension between a relatively neoclassical style and new romantic sentiments ('Abd al- Ḥai, 1982:2). The growth of the Romantic Movement was associated with the emergence of the

143

three romantic schools: the Diwan, the Mahjar and Apollo. The Mahjar poets in America and the Apollo poets in Egypt were unhappy about the stringent traditional forms and the lyrical quality of Arabic poetry due to the rhythms of the music. They paid more attention to English romantic poetry, namely that of Shelley, Wordsworth and Coleridge. They were the pioneers of romanticism in Arabic poetry through their call for flexibility in form and a broadening of the range of imagery. Although the growth of the three romantic schools was associated with an English education, the French-educated poets also made their contribution. ''Abbas Maḥmūd al-Aqqad and 'Abd al- Rahman Shukri became aquainted with some French poetry through English translation. Ibrahim Naji and Ali Maḥmūd

Ṭaha made translations from French poetry. Arabic translations of Victor Hugo and La Martin, plus the critical essays and foreign literature published in Apollo and *al-Fajr* magazines and in periodicals such as *al-Bayan, al Siyasah al –Usbu 'iyyah, Al-Risalah and al-Balagh*, were made available to Arab poets, especially those who knew no foreign language such as al-Shabbi and the Sudanese romantic poet al-Tijani Yusif Beshir (1912-1937).

The early 1930s witnessed the emergence of another romantic trend in Sudanese poetry. It had a considerable impact on the Sudanese people, who had woken up to the reality of experiencing two revolutions; the Mahdi in 1881 and the Wad Haboba in 1903. That era witnessed the spread of literary clubs such as *Dar Fawz* and the establishment of the first drama group (Najilah, 1964:149). As mentioned earlier, the establishment of the Gordon Memorial College and the Institute for Religious Studies played a major role in the Sudanese literary renaissance. The graduates of the first mastered the English language, and those of the second, Arabic. Being aware of the ills and short-comings of society, the graduates turned to reading and writing so as to raise the awareness of their people. Their strong desire for knowledge found satisfaction in Egyptian journals and publications. The Sudanese writer and poet, Mu'awia Muḥammad Nur (1909-1941) gained admiration and respect for the articles he wrote in the Egyptian press which showed a deep insight into art and a high appreciation for culture. He wrote about love in English literature, German literature, literary taste and Russian narrative and drama. In an article entitled الأدب الأمريكي خصائصه و مزاياه[*American Literature: Its Merits and Characteristics*], he argues that the "complexity at the roots" produced the complex and paradoxical nature of this literature. In his book, *Tradition and English and American Influence in Arabic Romantic poetry*, Muḥammad 'Abd al- Ḥai, the Sudanese poet and critic, discusses the Arabs' knowledge of English poetry since the beginning of the

144

nineteenth century. He provides a brilliant study of the Arabic translations of English and American poetry, showing the important role of Arabic verse and translations in the emergence and growth of the language of Arabic Romantic poetry. It is a comparative study in which he discusses the differences between Arabic and English Romantic poetry. He treats themes such as Love, Nature, Self, Night, Evil and the Supernatural in relation to both classical Arabic traditions and to European Romantic influence. He contends that the influence American poetry had on the emergence and growth of Arabic romantic poetry was insignificant and, if there was any influence, it was through the Mahjar Group, who were exposed to an American intellectual environment. That was due to the fact that the intellectual problems with which the American writers were preoccupied differed from those of the English writers. Educated Sudanese such as Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥjūb(1910-1976) and Yousif Muṣtafa al Tinay (1909-1969) also read and admired the literature of the Romantic trend which appeared in the Arab world and the West. That trend had a great influence on the thirties generation of Sudanese poets, including Tijani Yusif Bashir, Idris Gammʻa (1922-1980), al-Nasser Qariballah (1918-1962) and Muḥammad M Ali (1922-1970). But the emergence of romanticism was met by opposition from some critics and poets. Among these was the Sudanese poet Ḥussein ʻUthman Manṣour, who attacked the Apollo school. He wrote a poem opposing Aḥmad Shawqi's work, which welcomes Apollo and describes it as a reflection of ʻ*Ukaz*. Aḥmad Shawqi's poem starts as follows:

<div dir="rtl">

أبولوا مرحبا بك يا أبولو   فانك من عكاظ الشعر ظل

</div>

(Shawqi, 1995: 96).

However, Manṣour, who was considered a link between the romantic school and the realistic trend (Haddarah, 1972:213) opposed the idea by rejecting Apollo as being the reason behind the classical language paralysis. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

ألا لا مرحبا بك يا أبولو   فقد بدأت بك الفصحى تشل

</div>

(Haddarah, 1972: 309).

Manṣour also criticized the work of the Romantic poet Ibrahim Naji. He condemns it as being full of twisted expressions and feminine-like sighs followed by tears. He satirises Naji's poems as "stretched skeletons walking on wheels" and describes his book of verse as restricted "just like a clinic which is too narrow for the patients". He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

يزهدني في شعر ناجي وفنه   تعابير للدكتور ملتويات

</div>

<div dir="rtl">

تسيل و في آثارها العبرات	و آهاته الآني ملئن أنوثة
ممدة تمشي بها العجلات	قصائده في الحق عندي هياكل
تضيق عن المرضى بها الصفحات	به أصبح الديوان شر عيادة

</div>

<div align="center">(Haddarah, 1972: 309).</div>

Sudanese Society was in a stage of transition from the old to the new era and the poet, likewise, was in a state of tension and anxiety. Confronted by many contradictions, the old and the new, will and the fate, the reality and the ideal, he was torn, and this was reflected in the works of those romantic poets. This work focuses on the poetry of Al Tijani Yusuf Bashir, who was an outstanding name in Arabic romantic poetry. Although he died very young at the age of only 25, he was considered to have enriched Arabic poetry with his mystical experiences. He studied and absorbed old literature, philosophy and sufi books. The expression of both doubt and certainty which dominated his poetry was no mere reflection and influence of the global romantic movement. 'Abdin (1969: 269) notes that faith in God is fundamental for him and doubt is an exception; he relates him to the Unity of Existence. However, Muḥammad M Ali (1998: 71) passes judgement on him as a sceptic. The sad, poor and unstable life he led was reflected on his soul and in his poetry. His poetry also reflects his religious doubts and the conflict within him between his heart and mind. Because of his meditations on the mysteries of life, he could be calm in his poem "My Self", furious in "Revolution", reassured in "Allah" and sceptical in "Am in Pain from my Doubt"; in "The Tortured sufi" he is both sceptical and assured. He says that he has worshipped God and protected His sanctities, aspiring to be near Him. He has dedicated himself to Him and made every effort in praying to Him. However, despite his loyalty and sincerity, "his soul is darkened and he can no longer see what he has seen before": He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

ذائدا عن حرماتك	قد تعبدتك زلفى
بها في صلواتك	أفنيت نفسي و أفرغت
خلوصي و صفائي	ثم ماذا جدّ من بعد
ت أرى ما أنا راء	أظلمت روحي ...ما عد

</div>

<div align="center">(Beshir, 1972: 126)</div>

 His feelings and sensibility are due to his knowledge of Islamic philosophy; and he embraced the idea of the Unity of Existence in his poems "The Tortured Sufi" and "Allah", in which he describes being plunged into the heavenly light. It was the world of Islamic Sufism which shaped his visions. Like the English romantic poet, William Blake, he was aware of the

<div align="center">146</div>

sanctity of life. He expressed the holiness of the minutest creature, the ant, in الصوفي المعذّب,
"The Tortured Sufi." He writes:

كل ما في الكون يمشي في حناياه الإله

هذه النملة في رقتها رجع   صداه

هو يحي في حواشيها و تحيا في ثراه

و هي إن أسلمت الروح تلقتها يداه

لم تمت فيها حياة الله إن كنت تراه

(Beshir, 1972: 125)

Translation

Inside all that is in the universe the Lord moves.

This minute ant is an echo of Him

He dwells in its belly and in his soil

And when it gives up its soul God is there ready

To catch it in his hands.

It does not die, for in it God lives if only you could see him

(Badawi, 1972 : 50).

In his poem (قلب الفيلسوف)*The Heart of the Philosopher*, he states that "Here is the truth in my
bosom; here is a beam of light from Heavens in my heart here is God". He writes:

هنا الحقيقة في جنبي هنا قبس   من السموات في(قلبي) هنا الله

(Beshir, 1972: 17).

In his introduction to his book *Anthology of Sudanese Literature,* 'Ali al-Mak discusses the
Romantic poet's concentration on man's subjective experiences and his relationship with
nature (Al Makk, 1997: 13). The image of the poet as the gentle, sensitive and wise being who
is born to suffer, endure and carry burdens is the same for almost all romantic poets; Sudanese
poets are no exception. Both Iliyya Abu Maḍi and Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥjūḇ are alike in
their treatment of nature, using the same romantic diction. Iliyya's poet is an excellent
creature whose singing is reflected on the gaiety of flowers, the flow of streams and the dew
of dawn. He causes dull and weathered flowers to blossom and glitter like stars when he
breathes life into them by singing in his choral-like voice and playing his violin. He writes:

من جيد إلا صبا للأجود	لله درك شاعرا لا ينتهى
و طلاقة الغدران و الفجر الندي	مرح الأزاهر في غنائك و الشذى
و كأن صدرك فيه ألف مردد	و كأن زورك فيه ألف كمنجةٍ

147

كم زهرةٍ في السفح خادرة المنى   سكنت على بأس سكون الجلمد

غنيتها فاستيقظت و ترنحت   و تألقت كالكوكب المتألق

(Abu Maḍi, 1961: 255).

Mahjūb's poet is one who walks in the darkness of the world to guide the lost ones. Like a nightingale he excites the meadows and hills by his chanting. He writes:

شاعر فجر الرياض غناء   و الروابي أثارهن و ثار

سار في مهمة الحياة مجدا   في ظلام الوجود يهدي الحيارى

عندليب الرياض إما تغنى   و جفاه الصحاب أكدى و طارا

(Mahjūb, 1964: 27).

The poet of Idris Gamm'a awakens sorrows, suffers the loneliness of night and stimulates imagination. He walks in the night soliloquising and whispering to his shadows and ghosts. He is so weak that his emotions are provoked by a child's smile; so strong that he can fight generations. He is devoid of all beauty himself but can perceive beauty in everything. He is created from a piece of mud burnt by the fire of suffering and transformed into clay. By Divine Decree he became a poet who portrays things. Thus, Gamm'a is using romantic opposites; the poet is weak and strong at the same time, he is without beauty but takes a little beauty from everything he experiences. He writes:

ماله أيقظ الشجون و قاسى   وحشة الليل و استثار الخيالا

ماله في مواكب الليل يمشي   و يناجي أشباحه و الظلالا

هين تستخفه بسمة الطفل   قوى يصارع الأجيالا

حاسر الرأس عند كل جمال   مستشف من كل شيء جمالا

خلقت طينة الأسى و غشتها   نار وجد فأصبحت صلصالا

ثم صاح القضاء كوني فكانت   طينة البؤس شاعرا مثالا

(Gamma'a,1961:65)

Tijani's poet is weak, and while all the dreadful forces of nature collaborate against him, he has nothing but his art to protect him. However, with only his pen for a sword and his parchment for a shield, he challenges and threatens the Universe. Tijani writes:

من لهذا الأنام يحميه عني   قلمي صارمي و طرسي مجني

هو فني إذا اكتهلت و ما زا   ل على ريّق الحداثة فني

حشدت جندها الحياة و زجت   فيه من مفزع القوى كلّ فني

(Beshir, 1972 : 66).

Led by the Mahjar group, a whole generation of Arab romantic poets reached maturity in the period between the two World Wars. They exerted a liberating influence on modern Arabic poetry through the introduction new themes, images and forms. They conceived of the poet as a philosopher, or even a prophet, and no longer as a spokesman for his community. In the comparative study for his doctoral thesis, Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Ḥai explains how tradition and influence combine to shape the Arabic Romantic concepts. The expression of the Romantic concept was made available to those without knowledge of English, such as Abu al Qasim al Shabi and al-Tijani through Arabic translation. ʻAbd al-Ḥai discusses the image of the poet-prophet as presented by many English, American or Arab poets and writers. He states that some Arabs imitate or echo American or English poetry and all three echo each other to the extent of plagiarism. About poetry and the poet, Ralph W. Emerson writes:

> From poetry we take the cheerful hint of the immortality of our essence…The poets are thus liberating gods. (Emmerson,1901: 330).

The following line by al-ʻAqqad echoes these sentiments, not only of Emerson but also of Thomas Carlyle: both help to shape his literary ideas. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

و الشعر من نفس الرحمن مقنبس و الشاعر الفد بين الناس رحمن.

</div>

(Al-ʻAqqad, 1967: 75).

ʻAbd al-Ḥai views it as an "Emersonian-Carlylesque burst of enthusiasm". Some lines cannot be understood in terms of western influence only, as they are firmly based on traditions. Al-Shabbi's image of the poet as prophet is derived from al-Siba'i'translation of Carlyle's "The Hero as a Poet." Influence and tradition combine to create the image of the poet in his poem) النبي المجهول *The Unacknowledged Prophet*). He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

هكذا قال شاعر ناول النا س رحيق الحياة في خيركأس	
لفأشاحوا عنه ومروا غضابا و استخفوا به و قالوا بباس	
...قد أضاع الرشاد في ملعب الج ن فيا بؤسه أصيب بمس	
طالما حدث الشياطين في الوا دي و غنى مع الرياح بجرس	
انه ساحر تعلمه السحر الشيا طين كل مطلع شمس	
فابعدوا الكاهن الخبيث عن الهي كل ان الخبيث منبع رجس	
أطردوه و لا تصيخوا اليه فهو روح شريرة دات نحس	
هكذا قال شاعر فيلسوف عاش في شعبه الغبي بتعس	
جهل الناس ورحه و اغانيها فساموا شعوره سوم نحس	
فهو في مدهب السياة نبي وهو في شعبه مصاب بمس	

</div>

149

(Al-Shabbi, 1970 : 102-105).

'Abd al-Ḥai argues that the above poem cannot be understood in terms of foreign influence alone. ”The lines are firmly established in the indigenous soil” (1982: 69). “ The allusions give them cultural depth and link the poet's personal experience of his aesthetic prophetic vision to a corpus of association common to him and the reader who may be assumed to know the Qur'anic image.” So the image of the prophet comes from a mutual foreign and traditional influence. The source of the following Qur'anic verses is Surah 40: Ghafir, 52: Al-Tur and 26: Al-Shu'ar'a, The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an, 1989, 'Abdullah Yousuf Ali. It is obvious that the lines are derived from the Qur'anic image of the poet:

ولقد أرسلنا موسى بآيتنا فقالوا ساحر كذاب فذكرفما أنت بنعمة (24-40:23 ,Qur'an)

أم يقولون شاعرنتربص به ريب المنون:(30-52:29 ,Qur'an)

ألم تر أنهم في كل واد يهيمون و الشعراء يتبعهم الغاون(225-224 :26 ,Qur'an)

Of old we sent Moses with Our Signs and an Authority manifest.

To Pharaoh, Haman, Qur'an: but they called (Him) “a sorcerer telling lies!”

Therefore proclaim thou the praises (of thy Lord) For by the Grace of thy Lord,

thou art no (vulgar) soothsayer, nor art thou one possesd.

Say thou: “Await ye!- I too will wait along with you!

Or do they say-“A Poet! We await for him some calamity (Hatched by Time!”

And the Poets It is those straying in Evil who follow them.

Sees thou not that they wander distractedly in every valley?

Although the image of al-Shabbi's poet resembles al-Tijani's poet-prophet in his poem *The Philosopher's Heart*, nevertheless, it is more Qur'anic. He writes:

و دون مغناك من أبهاء شامخة   كوخ” النبي“ و في علواء مغناه

أطل من جبل الأحقاب محتملا   سفر الحياة على مكدود سيماه

يدنو و يقرب مندك الذرى ابدا   حتى رمى بعظيم في حناياه

منبأ من سماء الفكر ممسكة   على الرسالة يمناه و يسراه

يرمي سواهم أنظار منفضة   أقصى العوالم من عينيك عيناه

150

وقام بين الرعان البيض ملتفتنا   يصيح في الأرض من أعماق دنياه

في موضع السر من دنياي متسع   للحق أفتأ يرعاني و أرعاه

هنا الحقيقة في جنبي هنا قبس   من السماوات في) قلبي(هنا الله

(Beshir: 17)

'Abd al-Ḥai thinks that Tijani puts the word النبي[the prophet] in parenthesis as it refers to Jubran Khalil Jubran's *The Prophet*. The use of words such as قبس[a burning brand], يدنو [approaches], مندك[dust] and [secret] recalls a poem by the Egyptian poet, 'Umar Ibn al Farid (1181-1235) which is derived from the Qur'an. He writes:

آنست في الحي نارا   ليلا فبشرت أهلي

قلت امكثوا فلعلي   أجد هداي لعلي

دنوت منها فكانت   شمس المكلم قبلي

ناديت منها كفاحا   ردوا ليلي وصلي

حتى ادا ما تدانى   الميقات في جمع وصلي

صارت جبالي دكا من هيبة المتجلي

و لاح سر خفي يدريه من كان مثلي

و صرت موسى زماتي و صار بعضي كلي

(Ibn al-Farid, 1956: 109).

The source of both poems is سورة النمل (*The Ants*) from the Qur'an:

و من إذ قال موسى لأهله إني آنست نارا لعلي آتيكم منها بخبر أو آتيكم بشهاب قبس لعلكم تصطلون فلما جاءها نودي أن بورك من في النار (Qur'an, 27:7, 9)حولها و سبحان الله رب العالمين. يا موسى انه أنا الله العزيز الحكيم

Behold! Moses said to his family:"I perceive a fire: soon will I bring you from there some information or I will bring you a burning brand to light our fuel, that ye may warm yourselves.

But when he came to the (fire), a voice was heard:

"Blessed are those in the fire and those around: and glory to Allah, the Lord of the world." Oh Moses! Verily, the Exalted in Might, the Wise!

(Ali, 1989: 68)

'Abd al-Ḥai also discusses al-Mazini's concept of the poet as a prophet in al-Mazini's essay, الشعر غاياته و وسائطه*Poetry, its Objectives and Mediums*), which opens :

ثلاثة روضهم باكر   الصب و المجنون و الشاعر

151

He states that it is "painfully derivative and borders on plagiarism." He traces it to Theseus' speech in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: "The lunatic, the poet and the lover – Are of imagination all". However, the line itself is quoted second-hand from Hazlet's essay, *On Poetry in General*, which is the unacknowledged source of the first one and a half pages of al-Mazini's essay (**'Abd al-Ḥai 1982: 56**).

Iḥsan 'Abbas sees Tijani's mysticism as a Romantic trend which is also revealed in the Mahjar poetry ('Abbas, 1957: 45). Other critics see his mysticism as natural and not as a result of any romantic tendency. He says about himself that he was firm in his beliefs but his guiding light was extinguished when he was stripped of his faith. He writes:

فسلبت الهدى و عوجلت في النور و قد كنت صادقا في هدايا

(Beshir: 21)

Muḥammad al Nuwaihi (1957: 94) also maintains that Tijani's longing for beauty, love and his obsession with light and dew is a result of his deprivation and his longing to create an ideal world for himself. However 'Abdin (1967: 269) refutes this opinion seeing him as the main reason behind the depth and richness of al-Tijani's poetic personality or aesthetic sensibility not his deprivation, but rather his sufi education.

Among the religious influences in al-Tijani's poetry is a poem in praise of al-Imam Muḥammad Aḥmad al Mahdi which reflects the difference between the traditional and modernized praise poetry, the panegyric. 'Abdin thinks that the religious influence in modern poetry differs from that of the traditional poetry as "in the former it is a double, deep philosophy and far, wide imagination. Unlike in the traditional poetry, religion and art are considered as means to one end. The real modernisation in poetry is the modernisation of the poetic self before the forms and the titles". ('Abdin,1967: 269). In his poem الزاهد[*The Ascetic*] he is impressed neither by political or war heroism nor by generosity or other moral values. Rather, he is impressed by the awesome, majestic, mysterious, magical atmosphere. It is an atmosphere of worship, miracles and incantation, intermingled with the birth and life of the ascetic. He imagines the birth of the Mahdi on a very cold, dark night in a small hut, received by his poor father who pronounces incantations over him to protect against evil influence. There is a description of the actions of people moving quickly around the child's cradle reading Qur'anic verses over him, shouting upon hearing music performed by the

angels; some of the people are puzzled as they feel the ground shaking under their feet. The hut is in a state of turmoil on a very dark and silent night. He writes:

في دجى مطبق و يوم دجوجي   و ليل مقفقف مقرور

ولدت ثورة البلاد على أحضان كوخ وفي ذراعي فقير

عوذوا طفلخا وصونوا فتاها بجديد من الرقى أو أثير

و أقرأوا حوله المعوذة الكبرى وذروا عليه بعض الزرور

وى هلم انظرو سيجا من النور على مهده الوطي الوثير

وي هلم اسمعوا الملائك يعزفن بميلاده نشيد السرور

وي هلم المسوا تحسوا جناحا خضلا في الثرى وحول السرب

مالها زلزلت و ماجت بنا الأرض ألمتغتمض عيون القبور

و الدجى نائم يغط أما يصحو بشيء في جانبيه خطير

أوشكت حوله المنازل تنقض من فوقها سماء القصور

باركوا الطفل في القلوب و صلوا في الحاريب للعلي الكبير

(Beshir: 18).

This idea of mixing the philosophy of religion with the philosophy of beauty is considered by 'Abdin as one of the bases of تجديد "innovation" in modern Arabic poetry that produces a sufi literature that is, to a large extent, authentic. The sufi trend in Sudanese poetry consolidated the trend in innovation. Although Sudanese innovators derived from eastern and western sources, Sudanese literature remains national ('Abdin,1967: 247) Ḥamza al Malik Tambal is considered to be the pioneer of the innovative movement in contemporary Sudanese poetry (Tambal, 1972; 43). Ḥamza states that literature can be a good foundation for piety as it is another factor, besides worship, which guides the knowledge of the realities of the Universe and consequently leads to knowledge of the Great Creator. Al-Tijani describes his beloved beauty as a light from the Divine Beauty and borrows sufi terminologies and ideas for his love poetry. His poem " الامتزاج الروحي The Spiritual Intermixing," in his Diwan of Nature speaks about intoxication, not for drunkenness or by wine, but as a form of bewilderment and a spiritual, not sensual, kind of longing. He writes:

أراها فتشتبك المقلتان و تنتعش الروح بالنظرة

و تسكر لا سكرة الشاربين و لكنها سكرة الحيرة

تكاد لشدة أشواقنا تلابس   مهجتها   مهجتي

أحن اذا ابتعدت لحظة و ان غبت عن عينها حنت

حنين النفوس الى بعضها و ليس حنينا الى شهوة

فيا من سكرتم بخمر الدنان هنالك سكر بلا خمرة

153

The same idea is reflected in al-Tinay's poetry. He speaks of love for the sake of love, not as a means of pleasure. He is not concerned with the tangible attributes of the eyes, mouth, cheeks, breasts and neck, he is more concerned with their influence on his soul. He views the smile as a liberator of hearts from hatred and cruelty. He writes:

سحر لعينيك ما عهدت نظيره ابدا   بغير بريق هذه البسمة

كم طهرت قلبا سوى قلبي من الحقد الدفين و من بذور القسوة

(Al-Tinay, 1955: 60)

Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥai, in *Al-Adab Magazine* (1975: 91) compared Tijani to Wordsworth, saying that his poetry was to some extent a repetition of a Wordsworth experience. He is like the English poet in his union with nature and in perceiving a paradisiacal vision in the essence of human awareness. In an article, Tijani stated that although he "did know western languages…,"the literature he read through translation was enough for him to get a little Parisian inspiration, London revelation and Munich production." (Beshir, 1934: 248).The influence of Wordsworth is clear in some lines where he describes his childhood. He recalls visions of his early years "ornamented with its dreams and the morning light. The sunrise revived feelings of love and intimacy in the lilies, daisies and flowers of different kinds and colours, leading them to play." He writes:

من سوسن الربا و الأقاحي   زاهرات شتى منوعة الألوان

هوى يستقيدها للمراح   متعت شمسها فعاودها إلف

ة بأحلامه و ضؤ الصباح   صور للصبا الأغر موشا

(Beshir, 1972: 74).

These lines resemble, to a great extent, some of those from Wordsworth's poem "Intimations of Immortality". He writes:

Wisdom and Spirit of the universe!
Thou Soul that art the Eternity of thought
And gives to forms and images a breath
And everlasting motion, notion vain
By day or starlight, thus from my first dawn
Of childhood didst thou intertwine for me
(Wordsworth, 1975: 106).

154

In his poem "Al-Khalwa" (Qur'anic school), Tijani paints a picture of his own experiences from his memories in the Khalwa - the frustrated children who receive religious education based on rote-learning without developing understanding, and the domination of the Sheikh. Their appearance reflects their feeling of distress: with bored and exhausted spirits, overtaken by sleep, they are nodding off over their slates. He writes:

و رمى نظرة إلي شيخه الجبار   مستبطنا خفي المناحي

نظرة فسرت منازع عينيه   و نمّت عما به من جراح

خنقت نفسه و ضاقت به الحيلة   و اهتاجه بغيض الرواح

و نفوس سجى الكرى في حواشيها   و دب الفتور في الأرواح

فارجحنت مهومات و ما   تبرح مركوزة على (الألواح)

(Beshir: 75).

William Blake's poem, *The School Boy*, conveyed the same unhappy mood of the school child:

But to go to school in a summer morn-

Oh it drives all joy away!

Under a cruel eye outworn

The little ones spend the day,

In sighing and dismay.

Ah then at times I drooping sit;

And spend many an anxious hour;

Worn through with the dreary shower.

Nor in my book can I take delight,

Nor sit in a learning bower

(Blake, 1989, 63).

In light of the above one may conclude that the Arabic romantic image of poet and poetry is a product of a cross-cultural process which has enriched and adapted Arabic poetry. Elements such as images and concepts borrowed from English and American poetry helped to emphasize what was inherited within the tradition,. Al-Tijani was brought up and educated in his family's long tradition of Islamic Sufism, with no knowledge of English. However he extensively read Apollo, which was his main source for European poetry.

According to 'Abd al-Ḥai (1982:55) there is similarity between his poem في الموحي(Where Inspiration Is) and Isma'il Sirri al-Dahshan's translation of Alfred de Musset's poem ليالي الفرد دي موسيت (The Nights of Alfred de Musset) where the night is no longer Sufi or romantic; it is rather a realm of creativity, vision and beauty. Al-Tijani's poem manifests a subtler poetic mind than the De Musset translation. The many mystic dictions such as ساكر, وجد and صحوان نشوى , and فيض . هيمان and ذاكر used by Tijani lose their strictly religious associations in Islamic mysticism and gain a new experience relative to the aesthetic experience described.

As has been noted earlier, the beginning of the nineteen thirties witnessed the graduation of a large group of Sudanese from Gordon College, The American University of Beirut, and Cairo University. They were influenced by Arab literary movements, particularly the Romantic school of Apollo. That period witnessed the formation of many literary activities and reading circles such as al-Hashmab al-Mawrada and the Wad Madani group.('Abd al-Raḥim, year: page) The al-Hashmab group in cooperation with 'Arafat Muḥamad 'Abdalla succeeded in publishing *al-Fajr* magazine in 1934, after which the group was later named. In Omdurman Club two schools emerged. Popular books from Egypt and England were read and discussed. The intellectuals were also influenced by the cultural movement in Egypt. New poets and critics such as 'Abd al-Rahman Shawki, Amin Ali Madani, Ḥussein 'Uthman Manṣour and al-Tijani Yousif Bashir emerged as popular names. A theatre group led by Siddiq Faried was formed and plays based on Sudanese life and history such as *Tajuj* and *The Ruin of Soba* were written and performed. During the first two years of publication, *al-Fajr* emphassied social questions and called for the formation of youth organisations, the revival of traditional poetry and study of the history of the Sudan. Later, in 1936, it became more involved in direct politics.

'Abdallah al-Ṭayyib and Muḥammad al-Mahdi al-Majdūb were considered as a bridge between the Romantic and Realistic schools. However, a single poet was capable of expressing classical, romantic and realistic modes. For example, reading the Sudanese poet 'Abdullah al-Ṭayyib's poem الكأس التي تحطمت(*The Broken Cup*) and his poem الطريق إلى سمرقند (*The Way to Samarqand*) one may classify the former as modern although the latter is more than twenty years its junior. The first poem, *The Broken Cup*, which is translated by Salma al-Jayyushi, starts :

أترى تذكر اذ دخلنا الفندق الشامخ

156

(Al Makk, 1997: 129)

And the poem continues:

ثم لا أنسى اذ الكأس رذوم

و اذا الجو حديث و رنين

(Al Makk, 1997: 130)

In the second (The Way to Samarqand) he writes:

حبذا أنت و الجبين الأغر   ةو الوريد الذي عليه يدر

(Al Makk, 1997: 132).

Both Al- Ṭayyib and Al-Majdūb were known for their command of Arabic and mastery of poetic forms. Theirs was a genuinely original Sudanese poetry free of any imitation or outside influence. 'Abdallah al- Ṭayyib wrote in metres derived from Sudanese folk poetry. The rhythm and movement of his poem سدرة التل(the Sidr-Tree on the Hill) is written in جابودي, a contracted metre of Sudanese folk-poetry. However Al- Ṭayyib had always being criticized for his tendency to imitate the model of the classical poem and the use of strange, archaic diction. He lives in the twentieth century but in the poetic context of the pre-Islamic age (Haddarah, 1972: 146). Imitation and artificiality were obvious in the form and content of his poetry. Like pre-Islamic poets he still mourned over the ruins:

قف بالديار لها بالنيل آثار   هل عندها من حدبث القوم أسرار

(Haddarah, 1972: 146)

And in a prelude to another poem he writes:

يا دار مية ذات المربع الشاتي   بين الربا والرياض السندسيات

(Haddarah, 1972: 146)

Some of his poetry is characterized by the deliberate use of rare and archaic words. In his poem الطريق إلى سمرقند (The Way to Samarqand) he uses archaic words such as هركولة (slender) and هيدكر.(strutting). He writes:

و التي أشبهتك جيداء فرعاء   رداح هركولة هيدكر

(Al-Ṭayyib, 1970, 56).

But, like some other Sudanese poets, he uses colloquial words as well. He describes a clay jar as "dusty coloured like a Bedouin's dress." He writes:

157

<div dir="rtl">
و'' قلة'' فيها'' <u>غباش</u>'' مثل ''<u>هدم</u>'' <u>العربى</u>
</div>

(Al- Ṭayyib 1970, 56).

The above underlined words respectively mean in Sudanese colloqual dusty colour, dress and an Arab man.

In an example of his use of Sudanese proverbs he describes his lady as the sandalwood. "People, out of ignorance, suspected that she is his mistress"

He writes:

<div dir="rtl">
يا صندل الشقيقة

تهموني بيك رفيقة

الناس عجم ما بيدروا بالحقيقة
</div>

(Al- Ṭayyib, 1970, 56).

The influence of the colloquial is clear in the omission of the first vowel sound ا in:

<div dir="rtl">
اتهموني instead of تهموني

اعرابي instead of عربي

بك instead of بيك
</div>

Muḥammad al-Mahdi al-Majdūb was probably the only one poet amongst his contemporaries whose work fully expressed his belonging. He was probably the first Sudanese poet to attempt the possibility of writing poetry in the Arabic language with the consciousness of a real belonging to a Negro tradition. In his poem [الفجر الكاذب *The False Dawn*], he declares his roots: "In the Negroes I am firmly rooted though the Arabs may boastfully claim my origin". He writes:

<div dir="rtl">
عندي من الزنج أعراق معاندة   و ان تشدق في انشادي العرب
</div>

(Al- Majdūb, 1969: 222).

At its best his poetry reflects the unity at the deep sources of the tradition. "My tradition is beads, feathers and a palm-tree which I embrace, and the forest is singing around us." He wished that he had lived in the forests of the South, free from the restrictions which his Arab affiliation imposed on him. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

فليتي في الزنوج و لي رباب   تميل به خطاي و تستقيم

و في حقوي من خرز حزام   و في صدقي من خرز نظيم

و أجترع المريسة في الحواني   و أهذر لا الام و لا ألوم

طليق لا تقيدني قريش   بأحساب الكرام ولا تميم

</div>

(Al- Majdūb, 1969, 222).

His poetry reflects both his romantic and realistic tendencies. He creates a third language, i.e. a refined vernacular of the Sudanese Arabic language. His choice of subject matter reflects a cultural consciousness. His poem السيزة[*the wedding procession*] is a ritual or a cultural wedding in which the fusion of Pagan and Islamic elements is taking place. His poetry also reflects a sincere interaction with his society. This is obvious in his poems, *The Peanut Seller*, *The Shoemaker* and *The Pickpoket*. In his poem المولداوبريت[*The Birth Operetta*], the form and content collaborate to convey a vivid and real picture of the Birth celebration with all its activities, colours and music.

II.A. 3. Realistic School:

Romanticism gradually declined in the Sudan with the emergence of Realism. The revival of feelings of nationalism following the end of the war, together with the emergence of the socialist camp, posed a challenge to the traditional world and led to the appearance of the school of social realism. That school appealed to the nationalists and writers in their struggle against colonialism. A generation of Sudanese poets, named by the Sudanese literary historians and critics as poets of realism, appeared in the late forties and the early fifties. Among the first group of realist pioneers in the Sudan were Jaili 'Abd al-Raḥman, Taj al-Sir al-Ḥasan, Muḥy al-Din Faris and Muḥammad Miftaḥ al -Faituri, all of whom were living in Cairo for work or study. Among the second group were alaḥ Aḥmad Ibrahim, Muḥammad al-Makki Ibrahim, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥai, al-Nur 'Uthman Abbakar, Ali 'Abd al-Qayyum and Ḥussein Sherif. They were only the second group who to succeeded fully in realizing the Africanism anticipated by the poetry of their predecessors in their poetry. With regard to the first group, Africanism as cultural belonging and poetic image was only a result of their personal experience. Each of these poets had been exposed to realism in one way or another

(Al Nuwayh, 1957: 142-147). Almost all of them went to Egypt, Britain or the Soviet Union for study. They read and assimilated modern poetry and benefited from the experience of the Arab and Western poets, however, their poetry retained its Sudanese character and flavour. Their poetry found a wide appeal, as it called for rebellion against foreign domination, exploitation of workers and farmers. Moreover, there was a unified feeling of struggle against western imperialism in Africa. Following the well-known socialist Turkish poet, Nazim Ḥikmat, their poetry was filled with anti-American and anti-Western slogans. In the introduction to the anthologies of Jaily and Taj al-Sir entitled قصائد من السودان (*Poems from the Sudan*), the Egyptian poet Kamal ʿAbd al-Ḥalim wrote that the new socialist movement was a turning point in the history of poetry in the Sudan and that work produced by these poets was a new victory for Sudanese nationalism. Through this, their poetry gained a greater chance of publication in Egypt and other Arab centres. These writers were the first to adopt a new form of poetry known as the 'School of Free Poetry'. They discarded the traditional metre and rhyme and instead they followed the organic unity of the poem (Ṭambal, 1972: 68). This new form was the subject of controversy among many Arab critics. Traditional writers such as Ṭaha Ḥussein attacked it as lacking originality and art. However, many Sudanese literary critics, such as Ḥamza al-Malik, Muḥammad M Ali and others called for التجديد (modernism) and condemned Sudanese traditional poets who had adhered to the old form and themes of the poem. Various cultural currents dominated the Sudanese literary scene, i.e. the issue of identity, the Africanism at the expense of Arabism, Arabism at the expense of Africanism, and the school of the "Forest and the Desert" or the "Palm and the Ebony." Those themes are dealt with by the second part in the examination of the second wave of the Sudanese realist poets under the section on the "Forest and the Desert".

Jaily, Taj al-Sir and Muḥy al-Din felt estranged in Cairo for their dark complexion, but for Fayturi the problem of colour took on a racial dimension. The poverty they suffered in the slums of Cairo was another factor in the estrangement which led them to join the leftist movement. Their poetry was considered to be a turning point in Sudanese poetry. It was dominated by a spirit of nationalism, especially in the works of Taj al-Sir and Jaily. They declared that the function of their poetry was as social and political struggle for freedom from foreign domination, and the struggle of the farmers and workers against capitalism and exploitation. Muḥy al-Din's poetry is characterized by the description of aspects of poverty, backwardness and humiliation in society. He speaks about some negative aspects of both Arab and African society. He rejects the classic poetic diction and instead utilizes simple

language to express the struggle and suffering of down-trodden workers and farmers, of the simple ordinary people. So, one characteristic of the poems is a direct approach and plain, clear language. This is also obvious in the poems of Taj al-Sir, his titles and subject matter. His poem *al-Kahin* was about exploitation in the name of religion, the *Story of the Refugee* about the Jewish atrocity, and *'Atbra* was the town known for the political struggle of workers.

Filled with the spirit of the Bolshevik revolution, almost all the Sudanese realists dealt with the struggle of African nations against colonialism. This trend is rarely mentioned by poets from other African countries such as Egypt. Muḥammad Miftah al-Faituri, ṣalah Aḥmed Ibrahim and Taj al-Sir al-Ḥassan, have played a major role in portraying the African liberation movements in Sudanese poetry. They very much admired the characters of the African vanguards, Patrice Lumumba of Belgium Congo, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and K.Nkroma of Ghana. They read African writers such as Sheikho Ḥamedo, Fodepo Keita and Frances Phantom. Frantz Fanon is considered a model and reference to everything concerning the African revolution. *Roots*, Alex Hele's famous book is based on his theories. The discrepancies style and personal formations have a great impact on the poetry of those poets. Al-Faituri for instance, is connected to Africa, its land, atmosphere and problems. This is obvious from the titles of his volumes: عاشق من أفريقيا *A Lover* (*Songs of Africa*) أغاني افريقيا *from Africa*) *and* أذكريني يا أفريقيا *Remember me Africa*). He is, no doubt, the pioneer of African poetry among the Sudanese poets. In his poem *Africa* he writes urging Africa to rise and overthrow the colonizer. He also expresses his deep feeling of anger and bitterness. It begins:

إفريقيا..

إفريقيا استيقظي

استيقظي من حلمك الأسود

قد طالما نمت ... ألم تسأمي؟

ألم تملّي قدم السيّد؟

قد طالما استلقيت تحت الدجى

مجهدة في كوخك المجهد

(Al Faituri, 1972: 121)

Translation:

Africa awake, wake up from your black dream,

You have slept so long, are you not weary—

Are you not tired of the master's heel.

You have lain so long under the darkness of night

Exhausted in your decrepit hut

(Al-Shūsh, 1972: 17)

As the poem continues the poet tries attempts to kindle the spirit of revolution in every individual and every corpse. He is asking the people to stand up and challenge the world and defy death. He writes:

Hidden till now from the eyes of light,

The time has come for him to challenge the world,

The time has come for him to defy death

(Al-Shūsh, 1972: 109).

He expresses his solidarity with the revolution everywhere in Africa, including places such as Congo, Algeria etc. He supports the rise of Algeria as "a rise for all the peoples of the continent". He writes:

يا بن بلا

ما أجمل أن يصحو انسان

فاذا التاريخ بلا قضبان

و اذا الثورة في كل مكان

تركز أعلام الحرية

في أرضي في أفريقيا

(Al Faituri, 1972: 77).

That thematic isolation has almost taken him out of the context of the Arab poet and into the African. To him, Africa is the love and the beloved. His intimacy with Africa is carried so far

162

that it becomes intermixed with his love of women, to the extent that so he can no longer differentiate between truth and illusion. "Neither my love to you nor yours to me has been an illusion. What your soul loved is dispersed on my steps". He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

لم يكن وهما هواك

ولم يكن وهما هواي

إن الذي حبته روحك

قد تعثر في خطاي

</div>

(Al Faituri, 1972: 81).

In his poem *Under the Rain* he denounces colonialism for its exploitation of black citizens. He requests the driver to have mercy and to cease hitting the horses, for the iron of the saddle has cut into their necks making them bleed, and the road is dubious to their eyes. Through the character of the driver he allegorically refers to the colonization which hits Africa with its wailing whip. Ironically enough, the driver himself with his thin, sick emaciated face needs mercy. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

أيّها السائق رفقا بالخيول المتعبه

فان الدرب في نظرة الخيل اشتبه . قف.

هكذا كان يغني الموت حول الرقبة

وهي تهوي تحت أمطار الدجى مضطربة

***

غير أن السائق الأسود ذا الوجه النحيل

جذب المعطف في يأس على الوجه العليل...

و رمى الدرب بما يشبه أنوار الأفول

على ظهر الخيول.. ثمّ غنّى سوطه الباكي

فتلوت و تهاوت ثمّ سارت في ذهول

</div>

(Al Faituri, 1972: 193).

Faituri devoted a very large part of his volume *Songs of Africa* to history. He wrote poems about the origins of the evil which has afflicted Africa and resulted in the future misfortunes

163

that Africans suffer. That evil is the history of the slave trade, which led to foreign occupation and to the attachment of enslavement to any black colour. In his poem عاشق من افريقيا (*A Lover from Africa*) he recalls the sad days whose bitterness still weighs heavily on the spirits of his grandfathers. "The days when his homeland stood, sad, gazing at her fate like a woman weaving shrouds of silence while seeing some ships departing and others arriving, loaded with weapons, the sons and the history of his country." It begins:

ذات يوم لم يزل يثقل بالنغمة أرواح جدود

ذات يوم لم يزل يزحم أيّام وجودي

وقفت أرضي ترنو للمقادير حزينة

وقفت كامرأة تنسج أكفان السكينة

...و رأت في نظرة واحدة

سفنا تغدو و أخرى رائحة

سفنا   مكتظة بالأسلحة

و بأبناء بلادي

و بخيرات   بلادي

و بتأريخ   بلادي

(Al Faituri, 1972: 60)

He elaborates by depicting scenes of humiliation and degradation which the African citizens endure. The second part of the poem depicts images of the marks of bloody whips, uncovered heads, crying faces and roads like graves where masses of Blacks are mixed up with herds.

 He writes:

و رأت ملء شقوق الأرض آثار سياط دامية

و رؤوسا   عارية

و وجوها   باكية

و دروبا كالقبور اختلطت كتل السود بها و الماشية

(Al Faituri, 1972: 14).

164

About the economic exploitation of the Blacks by the Whites he talks about the boats laden with musk, ivory and saffron sent from Africa to the Whites. He writes:

و سفن معبأة بالجواري الحسان

وبالمسك و العتج و الزعفران

هدايا بلا مهرجان

(Al Faituri, 1972: 21).

And boats, full of women slaves,

Musk, ivory and saffron, presents without a festival

Driven by the winds at all times,

To the white of this age, The Master of all ages

(Al-Shūsh, 1972: 18).

In his poem مات غدا (*He died tomorrow*) he describes the death of a black political victim. The contradictory use of the past tense 'died' with 'tomorrow' is ironic. His "filthy corpse" and "neglected shroud" are an indication that he died yesterday. He writes:

مات غدا !

فلم تحزن عليه قطرة من المطر

و لا تجهمت أوجه حفنة من البشر

و لا أطل ذات ليل فوق قبره القمر

و لا تلوت دودة كسلى و لا انشق حجر..

مات غدا متّسخ الجثة منسي الكفن...

(Al Faituri, 1972: 101)

Translation:

He died…Not a drop of rain grieved for him,

not even a face or two frowned for him,

not one night did the moon appear in his grave.

165

Not a lazy worm stirred, not a stone spit.

He died tomorrow a filthy corpse.

('Asfour, 1988: 104)

This brings to mind some lines by the poet Aḥmad 'Abd al M'uty Ḥijazi and others by Fadwa Tuqan. Ḥijazi is lamenting the death of a boy. His lines depict the anonymity of individual human beings in big cities. They are no more than numbers. He writes:

قالوا : ابن منْ

و لم يجب أحد

فالناس في المدائن الكبرى عددْ

جاء ولد

!مات ولد

الصَدر كان قد همدْ

(Ḥigazi, 1993: 51).

Translation:

Who was soon gone.

Eyes met, but no one replied.

In the big city people are mere numbers:

One boy came

One boy died

His heart has grown still;

(Badawi, 1993: 50).

Western influence is obvious in the works of Arab and Sudanese realist poets. In his poem, Anthem for a Doomed Youth, the English war poet Wilfred Owen depicts the futility of war and the anonymity of the soldiers who die on the battlefield. He writes:

166

What passing bells for those who die as cattle?

Only the monstrous anger of the guns.

Only the stuttering riffles; rapid rattle

Can patter out their hasty orisons.

(Owen, 1972: 44).

In her poem *The Rock,* Fadwa Tuqan also describes the whips whizzing and falling over the naked backs and the crushed necks of the hordes. However unlike Faituri, she allows a beam of light to shine after the grim experience with the prisoners and the exile. She writes:

كم جست في أرض الشقاء أشتفّ اكسير العزاء

من شقوة السجناء أمثالي و من أسرى القدر

فولجت ما ما بين الجموع حيث المآسي و الدموع

حيث السياط تؤزّ . تهوي فوق قطعان البشر

فوق الظهور العارية   فوق الرقاب العانية

(Tawqan, 1978: 247).

Translation:

Smell the Elixir of consolation in the misery

of prisoners like me, prisoners of fate.

I came among the people where tragedies, and tears,

where the whips sizzle and fall over the hordes

over the naked backs and the crushed necks…. (125)

('Asfour, 1988: 208).

Ṣalaḥ Aḥmad Ibrahim wrote very sad poetry commiserating bemoaning to the world the juxtaposition of civilised thought and sophisticated behaviour, and the tendency towards violence and brutality in the twentieth century. In a very moving, romantic manner, he portrays the tragic execution of Patrice Lumamba in his jail. He describes how slowly his

167

executioners applied their blunt knife in his flesh and incised the veins in the same manner as done to Qurban's sheep. He writes:

يشهرون المدية الباردة البيضاء في السجن البعيد

و عليهم آمر أبيض من بعد أشار

فرموه و على الأرض انكفأ

و لووا رأس لوممبا رأسه الصخر العنيد

و ببطء أعملوا مديتهم في اللحم و أحتزوا الوريد

و كما تذبح خرفان الضحيّة

ذبحوه و حديد القيد ما زال على رسغ الشهيد

مطبقا يحفر أخدود دماء و صديد

(Ibrahim, 1988:48).

Salaḥ's realism is manifested in his direct and blunt portrayal of the ugliness of human action. The poem is based on the novel of Oscar Wilde *The Picture of Dorian Gray, w*hich presents the contradiction between the inward and outward aspects in portraying the vanity and contradictions within the human being. Dorian's beauty is made the subject of a painting. The character believes that the only goals worth pursuing in life are beauty and fulfilment of the senses. Realizing that one day his beauty will fade, Dorian expresses his desire to sell his soul to ensure that the portrait would age rather than himself. Dorian's wish is fulfilled, plunging him into a plethora of sinful acts. Finally, he commits suicide when he discovers how ugly his portrait has become. alaḥ portrays, or he rather paints, the paint which has turned ugly by virtue of the acts of its owner. The poem is a symbol of the human being as such. He writes:

جحظت عيناك و نز الدم و تهرأ لحمك حول الفم

و تدلى الفك فكأنك جمجمة تضحك

مزق ملق آثار سياط حفرت أخدود

يتوالد في جنبيه الدود مزق مزق

لهب وحريق الجرح عميق

168

في وجهك كان عذاب , كان شقاء , كان صراخ

ما أبشع وجهك قم حطمه يا دوريان

قم حطمه قم حطمه لا ليس الآن

(Ibrahim, 1988:18)

Besides the Arab and African revolution and the struggle for liberation, Ṣalaḥ tackled the problems of his own country. He depicts the suffering of Sudanese farmers. His poem عشرون دستة (*Twenty Dozens*) deals with the subject of 200 farmers from the Gazira who were locked up by the authorities in a cramped unventilated place because they had asked for the real prices of cotton for the Gazira Project, in which they were shareholders, to be checked. This reveals another form of exploitation. Bitterly sarcastic, the poet portrays the dehumanisation of the people, who were left to die of suffocation. The poet reasons that through being viewed en masse, as a mob, they are reduced to a status inferior to that of watercress and chickens. "If they were a bunch of watercress prepared for sale to the servants of the Whites in the big cities, they would not have been left to wither in the noon sun: they would have been carefully put in the shade on a mat and sprinkled with water. If they were chickens, they would have been put in a ventilated cage and offered seeds and water." He writes:

لو أنهم...

حزمة جرجير يعد كي يباع

لخدم الإفرنج في المدينة الكبيرة

ما سلخت بشرتهم أشعة الظهيرة

و بان فيها الاصفرار الذبول

بل وضعوا بحذر في الظل في حصيرة

و بللت شفاههم رشاشة صغيرة

و قبلت خدودهم رطوبة الانداء

و البهجة النضيرة

لو أنهم كانوا فراخ

تصنع من أوراكها الحساء

لنزلاء الفندق الكبير

169

<div dir="rtl">

لوضعوا في قفص لا يمنع الهواء

و قدم الحب لهم و الماء

لكنهم رعاع (لو أنهم...)

</div>

(Ibrahim, 1988:22)

Salaḥ shares and expresses the feelings of millions of downtrodden people. He portrays poverty in the countryside all over the Sudan. His poem *Fuzzy Wuzzy* [51] is a mini drama in which the characters are examples of simple poor Sudanese people. He paints a vivid picture of human suffering in the light of famine and illness in Eastern Sudan. He skillfully draws the characters of Oshiek and his family, describing how they dress, talk and stand. He uses typical *Hadandawah* names, such as Oshiek, Onur, and Ohaj. He uses words from the *Hadandawah* dialect, such as *dabaywa* [52], *akodnay* and *badmi* [53]. The poem is a series of pictures and scenes. The first is a caricature of the character of Oshiek with his thick greasy hair in his Eastern Sudanese costume, the

waist coat, the *thoub* [54], the long pants, the sword, the *shawtal*[55] and the *khulal*.[56] He is standing on one leg like a crane, leaning on his stick. He watches the sky from dawn to dusk pleading for a drop of rain as his cattle have perished. Salaḥ writes,

<div dir="rtl">

اوشيك من قبيلة الهدندوة

اوشيك دون أن يكل يرصد الآفاق

من دقش الصبح إلى انحباس الضوء في المساء

مفتشا عن غيمة فيها سلام الماء

يرفع ساقا و يحط ساق

</div>

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[51] This is the term which English poet Joseph Rudyard Kipling applied to the *Hadandawah* tribe in a poem which he wrote praising them as strong fighters.

[52] A form of greeting in *Beja* of Eastern Sudan dialect.

[53] A song in *Beja* dialect.

[54] A special wrap fro men. It is thrown over the shoulders.

[55] The dagger used by the *Hadandawah* men

[56] The special wooden comb used by the *Hadandawah* men.

كوقفة الكركي في المياه

مرتكز الظهر على عصاه

و لم يعد أوشيك غير هذه النعال

صداره و الثوب و السروال

و السيف و الشوتالو شعره المغوف الوديك و الخلال

(Ibrahim, 1988:14).

Another example by Ṣalaḥ of the misery of the individual in Eastern Sudan is Oshiek's wife, who is consumed by her illness, in her red wrap up, wearing a big *zumzm*.[57] She is carrying her dying son, 'Ohaj, who is like "a small blind cat extending his shell like hands to his mother's breast." He writes:

زوجته ذات الزمام الضخم و الملاءة الحمراء

قضى عليها الداء فزفرت أحشاءها دماء

و فوق صدرها أوهاج مثل هرة صغيرة عمياء

يمد في غرغرة الدماء

يدين كالمحارتين للأثداء

(Ibrahim, S1988:15).

Pushed by poverty, Oshiek's daughter *Shariefa* commits adultery and escapes to the fearful, cruel city offering beer, cigarettes and apples to whichever men come along. Ṣalaḥ skillfully describes her slender posture, her fragrance, her soft velvet-like touch and her pleasant lisp as she sings (يا سمسم القدارف *Oh Qadarif Sesame.* [58] When she is exhausted from sexual enjoyment, she douses her light and thinks of 'Oshiek and his greasy hair, and the voice of 'Onur, and the greenness of the camp after the rain, while singing *akodnay cdnay badmim.* He writes

وابنته شريفة

---

[57] A silver or gold ring which a *Hadandawi* woman wears in her nose.

[58] A Sudanese folk song. A-Qadarif is a big city in Eastern Sudan known for the cultivation of sesame. In the *Beja* dialect the ض d is diluted to d, e.g., the ض in قضارف *Qadarif* is pronounced as د.

<div dir="rtl">

جاءت إلى المدينة القاسية المخيفة

تقدم التفاح للرجال

-رائعة... رائعة- يقول لي صديق

يا خصرها , يا عودها الفارع , يا لثغتها الظريفة

يا نهدها استقل كاد أن يطل من ثيابها الرهيفة

و هي تضوع بالشذا تموع كالقطيفة

تموء بالحروف مثل قطة أليفة

((يا سمسم القدارف))

تقدم البيرة و اللفائف

حتى إذا أهلكها الإمتاع

"و مرّ على خيالها "أوشيك

"و شعره "الوديك

و صوت "أونور" واخضرار مضرب الخيام بعد السيل..

((أكودناي كودناي بادميما)) و هو يمد صوته الجميل

</div>

(Ibrahim, 1988:21)

Thus, the tragic picture of the family invokes the reader's sympathy. However at the same time the reader is forced to admire the poet's description of Sheriefa. Consider the repetition of يا خصره,, ,رائعة(wonderful!), the accumulation of phrases describing her appearance in يا عودها نهدهايا , لثغثها(what a waist!, what a posture!, what a breast!, what a lisp); the repetition of verbs with the same sounds: تضوع(to emanate), تمو, (to flow), ثموء(to mew); the economy in using يا(what a..!) instead of يا له من; the simile : like velvet and like a domestic cat; and the use of colloquial Sudanese words such as رهيفة and ظريفة(pleasant) and (transparent); and mimicking the *Hadandawa* tribe dialect by pronouncing ض(dh) as د(d).

Al-Faituri is obsessed by the question of colour and racial discrimination. He uses colour as his weapon to both sing for Africa and to fight for it, and as an outlet for his feelings of hate and frustration and a chance to relate his personal tragedy. A large number of Sudanese poets have dealt with colour in their poetry, but for Al-Faituri, colour takes a racial dimension. He interprets every theme and every idea in his poetry in terms of the colour black. His sensitivity

to his black colour stops him from participating in the society and life of the big city: however the real cause behind his misery and frustration lies in himself and his sensitivity.

The first poem he wrote in 1948 was الى وجه أبيض (*To a White Face*). The poem is a series of questions in which he also expresses his feeling of exploitation by the Whites. The poet asks why the Whites drink the fruit of his own vine, wear the cloth that he has woven while he languishes in sighs, why they live in the Garden of Eden built with stones he has carved, and enjoy the meat of his own sheep which he has fattened. The poem starts and ends with the question: Is it because my face is black and yours is white that I am a slave and you are master? He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

ألأن وجهي أسود

و لأن وجهك أبيض

سميتني عبدا

</div>

(Al Faituri, 1972: 108).

Other Sudanese realist poets such as Salah Aḥmed, Muḥy el-Din Faris and Taj al-Sir al- Ḥ Ḥassan approach the same subject matter differently. Unlike Fayturi, Muḥy el-Din takes the issue of colour as a general case not a personal tragedy.   His poem, *Lucy*, is about the story of a Negro girl in the Southern USA who was deprived of her right to enter high school. In his poem, Muḥy el-Din tells us that the tragedy is not of Lucy or even the coloured alone; it is the tragedy of all human beings. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

سمعت الروايـــــــه

سمعت تفاصيلـــــها للنهايـــــه

وجئت حزينـا أرش علـــــي كـــــل درب أســــايا

لا لأنك مثلي سوداء .. مثلـي

ولونك لوني و جرحك جرحي

وحزنك حزني تنم عليه مقاطع لحني

ولكن لأنك انسانة

معذبة شاردة

</div>

173

تدقين باب الحياة الكبيرفتوصد أبوابها الجاحده

(Faris, 1956: 51)

Translation:

I have heard the story.

I listened to the details till the end

And spilled my miseries on every path.

No, not because you are black like me

And your colour is my colour

And your wound is my wound.

And your sadness is my sadness

Expressed in my songs,

But because you are a human being

Tortured and lost in the darkness

Knocking on the wide door of life

And the forbidden door is closed in your face.

(Al-Shūsh, 1972: 21).

The poem ends on an optimistic note:

ان تكن دنياك تمشي كالسلحفاة بطيئة

فضمي يديك معي كي نسوق خطى القافلة

لنحي بذور الحياة اليبيسة في كل سنبلة مائلة

ونكتب تاريخنا من جديد

(Faris, 1956: 84).

Translation:

If your world walks slowly like a tortoise

174

Put your hand in mine and let us follow the pro

To give life to the dry seeds in every dying ear of corn

And write our history anew.

(Al-Shūsh, 1972: 21).

Muḥy el-Din follows a humanistic approach towards racial discrimination. He writes:

لم أكره الأبيض لكنني

كرهت منه الصفحة المعتمة

فلونه كلون قلبي و في كفيه كفي غنوة ناعمة

لكنني ابغض من حرم النور على عيوننا المظلمة

ومن اقام الليل في ارضنامعصبا بكفه انجمه

(Faris, 1956: 80).

Translation:

I did not hate the white but I hated the darkness of his deeds.

I loved all the universe, all humanity all the inspiring ideals

But I hate him who denied the light to our dark eyes

And who erected everlasting night in our land

Shutting out the light of the stars with his hands

(Al-Shūsh, 1972: 21).

Salah Aḥmed Ibrahim, though less bitter than Faituri and always proud of his Arabism, expresses the same issue of colour but in the context of children's play. He writes:

هل يوما ذقت هوان اللون

و رايت الناس يشيرون اليك ينادون

عبد أسود   عبد أسود
مــاأبدع عفــرتــة الصــبيـــان
رأوك فهــبوا خلفــك بالزفــة
عبد أسود عبد أسود

175

Translation:

Have you ever tasted the humiliation of being coloured

And seen the people pointing at you, shouting:

"Hey, you, the black nigger."

Have you gone one day to watch the children playing

With all your tenderness and yearning

And when you just forgot yourself and were about to cry

With a heart full of compassion,

"How marvelous are children when they play :"

They noticed you and rushed after you in a long procession,

"A black nigger, a black nigger, a black nigger."

(Al-Shūsh, 1972: 22)

Having been insulted and harshly treated by a white lady, Al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad Saʿid al-ʿAbbasi tells the lady that he has no hand in his colour and "every heart beats with love". He writes:

يا فتاتي ما للهوى بلد   كل قلب بالحب يبتدر

ألان السواد يغمرني   ليس لي فيه يا فتاة يد

(Haddarah, 1972: 546)

Faris tackles another tragic event in history, i.e. the slave trade, which was the reason behind Lucy's tragedy. He depicts various aspects of society, and Africans who are reduced to mere possessions of the colonizer, who confiscates their wealth. He writes:

صوبتان

وأنت كما يزعمون ، متاع قديم .. قديم

تشهاك يوما أله عظيم

فجئت من المسك والزعفران

176

وريش النعام وكل التوابل

في معصميات تنام السلاسل

وخامات افريقيا الطيبة

وأسرار غاباتها المخصبة

وسرب جوار حسان

وعيناك في الليل مع

(Haddarah, 1972: 406)

Faris is conscious of his message and issues a challenge not to shun the armed struggle. He is moved by political and racial injustices and he reacts to them. He calls for the struggle for liberation; he likewise calls for African solidarity to support the armed struggle. He takes the heroes of African struggle as symbols to achieve that objective. The cause of North Africa is the cause of the whole continent. Unlike Faituri, his poetry is dominated by the spirit of optimism and defiance. ''Africa will return to them, they will raise the flags, the women will trill and the children dance''. He writes:

أنا لن أحيد

أنا لست رعديدا يكبل خطوه ثقل الحديد

و غدا نعود

للقرية الغناء للكوخ الموشح بالكروم

و نسير فوق جماجم الأحياء مرفوعي البنود

و تزغرد الجارات و الأطفال ترقص و الصغار

لا لن أحيد عن الكفاح

(Haddarah, 1972: 409)

Towards the end of the poem he compares the state of poverty and degradation which the Africans suffer to the free luxurious life of the Whites. He writes:

تمشي الملايين الحفاة الجائعون مشردون

في السفح في دنيا المزابل و الخرائب ينبشون

و الهانئون المترفون يقهقهون ويضحكون

و يمزقون الليل في الحانات في دنيا الفتون

و الجاز ملتهب يهز حياله نهد و جيد

لا لن يكون لا لن نحيد

(Haddarah, 1972: 409)

The same idea is expressed by Taj al-Sir al-Ḥassan. When the ships are filled with herds of human beings the relatives lament the loss of their youths, while the slave traders from the Whites are smoking, laughing and drinking to the health of Lisbon. He writes:

والبيضُ فوق السَّفينْ

في المقصفِ الخمرُ وسحبُ الدُّخانْ

والضَّحِكُ الدَّاعرُ يعلُو المكانْ

((غنيمةٌ جديرةٌ بالشرابْ))

((غنيمةٌ من أجل أنْ نحْيا))

((جبينُنا ينطحُ وجه السَّحابْ))

((مِنْ أجل لشبونة يا سادتي))

(فلنرفع الأنخابْ))

(al-Ḥassan, 1991: 48)

Like Faris he does not give up. Rather he challenges the oppressor. He tells them that, "Exactly like you we are masters of the seas, we are well acquainted with the sea, its shores, bays, islands, rocks and sharks" He writes:

يا هَذا الطوفان الضاري

لنْ تطْفِيءَ مِصْباحَ النَّار

لنْ تغرق فجر الأحرار

فهنالك ربانٌ شرقيٌّ يدري ما بعد الشُّطآن

حيتانُ الأبحُر تعرفُهُ وجميع صخور الخلجان

والجزر النائية الخرساءُ وحتَّى أعواد السُّكان

178

لنْ تعصف بالفلك الحمراء ولا الربان الحاني

(al- Ḥassan, 1991: 30).

Taj al-Sir and al-Jaily 'Abd al–Raḥman have their own methodology; theirs is a social realism. Unlike the traditionalists who focus on their past, they speak about the future, 'we will.' Their poetry is free from preaching, oratory or applause. Unlike the romantics, they prefer the direct approach. Both of them deal with the struggle of the liberation movements in Black and North Africa. The song of Taj al-Sir (آسيا و أفريقي *Asia and Africa*) is an Afro-Arab epic which glorifies the two continents, their peoples, leaders, armies, cities, deserts and forest. In Taj al-Sir's poems his themes are manifested clearly. His poem *The Story of the Refugee is* about Zionist aggression. *The Kahin* is about the exploitation carried out in the name of religion. His poem *The Revolution* is a manifesto for his atheistic faith: in it he declares his objectives. He views his art as a light to defeat darkness, a weapon by which he is able to defend his people, and a revolutionary anthem to wake them up and mobilize them for emancipation. He writes:

أنا ما زلت قوة تدفع النور و تطوي الظلام تطوي اختناقه

ساعداي المصفدان بروح الظلم تواقتان للانطلاقة

فلماذا و الفن فجر بقلبي و نشبد مجنح و انعتافة

و سلاح يذود عن حق شعبي فلماذا أظل دون امتشاقه

(Al Nuwayh,1957:118)

His poem عطبرة('*Atbra*) is one of the poems in which he succeeds in his objectives. He derives them from his environment, inspired by the problems of the masses. His images are derived from the real life with which he is familiar. 'Atbra is a city of the working class, and the most powerful trade union in the Sudan. It is nicknamed 'the town of iron and fire', being the capital of the Sudan Railways. Besides being highly skilled workers the residents are pioneers in trade unionism. They are aware of their political as well as labourers' rights. The poem is about their struggle to reach peace and a decent life. The names mentioned in the poem such as Sha'fi (a leading figure in the Sudanese communist party) implies the kind of rule these workers aspire to. He writes:

مدينة الحديد و اللهب

179

<div dir="rtl">

مدينة الشغيلة الأحرار و النضـال

تعيش تخلق الحياة و السلام

و عندما تنام

تحلم دائما بالمشهد العجيب

سلام و الشفيع

و موكب الشغيلة الأحرار و النضـال

</div>

(Al Nuwayh, 1957: 131).

Al-Jaily 'Abd al-Raḥman appeals to the reader through his personal experience and the memories of his childhood in the slums of Cairo. He relates his alienation and frustration in the big city and his longing for his home. His poem الهجرة من صاي(*Migration from Ṣay*) is overlain with an atmosphere of sadness. It starts with the scene of his departure with his mother from his village, Say, to Egypt to join his father. The women gather to see his mother off. His uncle moistens his head with his tears and brushes his face with his moustache. He asks him to tell his father to remember him, "remember your brother. Remember him always in his loneliness". The poet talks of his feelings of amazement as a child. He relates how his mother singing to him fills his heart with hopes for a better life in Cairo. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

وقفن علي الشط كالذكرياتِ   بقلب العذب و الشاعر

وقبّلنَ أمي في وحهها ولوّحْنَ للمركبِ الزاخر

وعمي يبلبلُ رأسي الصغير بريق الفم اللاهثِ الغائر

اولحيُه شوّكت وجنتي وداعبَ شاربُّه ناظري!

وقال وفي مقلتيه دموعٌ نزلْنَ غزاراً علي خده

وفي قلبه أمنيات حَيَارى يناجي بها الليلَ في سهده!

بُنيَّ إذا ما وصلت بخير وأ؟عطاكم اللهُ من عندهِ

فقل لابيك تذكر أخاك تذكرهُ دوماً .. علي بعدهِ !

</div>

('Abd al-Raḥman, 19: 90)

Translation:

<div style="text-align:center">They crowed the shore like distant memories</div>

With the anguished heart of a poet

They kiss my mother on her face

And wave to the crowded boat

And my uncle moistens my head with his tears,

His beard rasps my cheeks

And his moustache brushes my eyelids

He said with the tears in his eyes

Falling heavily down his cheeks,

And in his heart hesitant hopes

Which he whispers to the night in his sleeplessness

"My son, my son, safely

And discover what God has seen fit to give you

Say to your father, 'remember your brother,

Remember him always in his loneliness.'"

(Al-Shūsh, 1972: 15)

The poem ends sadly: the persona's uncle dies, like many others in the village, without fulfilling his aspirations. He dies and they 'hold his funeral in their hearts and they engrave letters that will light the way to the wandering spirits in bones torn by weariness'. It ends in disappointment, as they are unable to support him, themselves being in need. He writes:

وعمي . لقد مات عمي هناك لقد مات فوق حطامٍ جديب

ونحن أقمنا له مأتماً هنا في الصدور . هنا في القلوب

حفرنا عليها حروفا تنير شعاب الطريق لروح غريب نمزقها في الأسي والشحوب ونحن حفرنا علي أعظمٍ

('Abd al-Raḥman, 1956: 90)

Translation:

And my uncle died there.

He died in a deserted heap of rubble,

181

And we held his funeral here in our hearts

And we have engraved on bones

Torn by weariness and sadness:

We engraved on them letters that

Will light the way to a wandering spirit.

(Al-Shūsh, 1972: 16)

They are driven from their village by poverty to face the same deprivation in the poor and filthy alleys of ʿAbdin Quarter in Cairo. He writes:

/حارتنا مخبوءة في حي عابدين

تطاولت بيوتها كأنها قلاع

و سدت الأضواء عن أبنائها الجياع

للنور و الزهور و الحياه

فاغرورقت في شجوها و شوقها الحنين

نوافذ , كأنها ضلوع ميتين

و بابها, عجوز

و في البكور يخرج الرجال

اقدامهم منهوكة و صمتهم سعال

يدعون للاله في ابتهال

يا اله

(Al Nuwayh, 1957: 135)

The above is an attempt to present the Sudanese realist poets. There are other poets such as Gaʿafar Ḥamid al Bashir, Muḥammad Saliḥ Kagaray, Ismaʿil Ḥassan , ʿAbdallah Shabo and Seed Aḥmed al-Ḥardallo who, cannot be discussed here for limitation of space . This section has addressed various themes, such as: Black Africa; the Arab and African Liberation movements; the denunciation of the exploitation of blacks by whites; the city as a centre of

corruption, exploitation and political conspiracies; nostalgia and home problems. The poetry considered tackles these themes in a dense style and using vivid imagery.

The second phase of the African trend is represented by younger poets, such as Ṣalaḥ Aḥmad, Muṣtafa Sanad, Muḥammad al-Makki Ibrahim, Muḥammad 'Abd al- Ḥai and al-Nur 'Uthman Abbaker. These poets realized the dreams of the previous generation of poets, who had dreamt of an Afro-Arabic poetry, and who focused on fostering sympathy with the black person everywhere, as individuals with a common cause and objective. They put into practice the aspirations of the Al-Fajr Group. I here quote what has been said earlier.

> The Fajr Group was the beginning of a ceremony of belonging, and a rediscovery of the communal roots of identity and creativity which gradually found expression in the poetry written by some younger poets in the 1940s. ('Abd al- Ḥai, 1972: 26).

The new poetry kept pace with the contemporary intellectual and literary movement in the rest of the world. It also played a significant role in the struggle for independence and the subsequent period. Instead of filling their poems with nostalgia, the poets write about home–coming, as Africa is now attainable and everything has already been reconciled.

Sudanese contemporary poetry of the fifties played a significant role in both the struggle for independence and in the period subsequent to attaining it. Sudanese poetry in the post-war period interacted and kept pace with the country's events. This was naturally reflected in contemporary Sudanese poetry. The new poets learned lessons from their predecessors and avoided their shortcomings. They were no longer preoccupied by a passion and yearning for reconciliation, as this had all ready occurred and a harmonious situation achieved. They wrote about home-coming as a reality, with this goal now within their grasp. They lived and created their Afro-Arabic culture, becoming the founders of the Sudanese literary school of the 'Forest and the Desert'. This school has been extensively discussed in Part One, under the heading, 'Sudanism of Sudanese Literature'.

II .A .4 . The October Group:

The October Poets Association was a group founded after the October uprising. After Independence in 1956, the successive governments, whether military or parliamentary, failed to solve the political and economic problems or to achieve peace and stability. The South was rived by civil wars and rebellion. A confrontation led to the police opening fire at a students' meeting at Khartoum University on 21 October 1964 which was held to discuss the Southern

problem, causing the death of a student and injuring nine others. The shocking event, which stirred the whole nation and enraged it, led to the mass protest and public disobedience movement called the October Uprising. All professions joined forces and walked out declaring civil disobedience. The University staff made a collective resignation. The poetry of that period was characterised by protest and struggle. Hashim Siddiq summarised the event and the public mood in the lines:

تعال نعلن عصيانا المدني

وكانت وحدة صف يا وطني

وايد في ايد حلفنا نقاوم نقاوم

وما بنتراجع و ما بنساوم

للشمس النايرة قطعنا بحور

حلفنا نموت او نلقى النور

October poetry was always criticised as being one repeated voice and as being less artistic than the previous poetry. However, 'Abd al-Hadi al-Siddiq holds that poets, as participants or eye-witnesses in the uprising, succeeded in analysing and recording the events and producing a realistic poetry free from any symbolism. It is poetry which issues forth from the desert and the forest, and represents the experience of the people. He quotes al-Makki Ibrahim' أناشيد لأكتوبر Anthems to October) comparing النشيد الأول للطلبة (The First Anthem: To Students):

اسمك الظافر ينمو في ضمير الشعب

إيمانا و بشرى

و على الغابة و الصحراء يمتد وشاحا

وبأيدينا توهجت ضياءا و سلاحا

وتسلحنا بأكتوبر لن نرجع شبر

(Al-Makki,2000: 138)

and النشيد الخامس: للانتصار (The Fifth Anthem: To the Victory] where the poet has a clear stance and a positive role. He participates in making poetry so as to create new life:

من غيرنا يعطي لهدا الشعب معنى أن يعيش و ينتصر

من غيرنا ليقرر التاريخ و القيم الجديدة و السير

من غيرنا لصياغة الدنيا وتركيب الحياة القادمة

جيل العطاء المستجيش ضراوة و مصادمة

المستميت على المبادئ مؤمنا

جيلي أنا

184

Mahjūb Sharief in a direct everyday life language condemns the authoritative, oppressive rule and hails democracy. He also commends the armless people who has surprised the world by confronting the military rule, liberated himself and achieving democracy. He writes:

بلا و انجلى

حمدله (حمدا لله)الف علي السلامة

انهد كتف المقصلة

و السجن ترباسو انخلع تحت انفجار الزلزلة

و الشعب بي اسرو اندلع حرر مساجينو و طلع

قرر ختام المهزلة

يا شارعا سوا البدع أذهلت أسماع الملا

كالبحر داوي الجلجلة

فتحت شبابيكا المدن

للشمس و اتشابا الخلا

تبا لعهد السنسره و النهب ثم السمسرة

سدا منيعا يا وطن

صه يا طنين البلبلة

ابدا لحكم الفرد

لا

(Sharief, 2002:5)

11. A. 5. The Aba-Damak Group:

Aba-Damak or the Young Poets Movement is a trend formed at the end of the 1960s. It is named after Aba-Damak of the ancient Kingdom of Meroe. The movement symbolised a return to the spiritual and material beliefs demonstrated by their forefathers. After the forefathers migrated inside they freed themselves from the Pharaoh civilization by discarding the use of hieroglyphics and inventing the Meroetic language, and took Aba Damak as a God instead of Amon, the God of the Egyptians. The 1960s movement is an imitation of this migration using poetry and, in doing so, demonstrates the first traces of Sudanese intellectual and cultural reformation. The movement was also an attempt to return to their linguistic origins by endeavouring to use the Ammiyyah poem, and use all the potentials of the popular

poetry in the Fuṣḥah poem. They derive from origins which go back to the anthem of the God, Aba Damak himself, which according to 'Abd al-Hadi, "can hardly be called poetry." (Al-Siddiq 1972:12)

It reads:

<div dir="rtl">

يا شديد البطش و القوة

يا من يفتك بأعدائه

ويعاقب على جرم الخروج عليه

يا من يعطي الكرسي لمن يمنحه الولاء

ويا مانح النصر

لكل طائع له

اله الحياة

أبا دماك

فيا أيها الحكام هلموا إليه

ولك التحايا أبا دماك

الإله العظيم

اله الحياة

</div>

(Kush X, 1952:182)

Many factors helped the poets succeed in changing the entire outlook of the traditional Arabic literary forms to modern Western ones. Among these factors are: the increase of literacy through the growth of modern education; the development of printing presses; the boom in translations from Western literature and the spread of global journalism. There is a change in themes as a result of the spread of Western political ideas, and the growth of the spirit of nationalism. Sudanese literature is not in isolation from Arabic literature, so this shift in form and theme is also reflected in Sudanese literature in the use of modern simple language and free verse poems. The poetry returns to the use of symbolism which characterised the poem half a century ago namely السياسي قصيدة الغزل1[the political love poem] such as the poetry of resistance during the foreign domination in the first half of the twentieth century. The military regime of Jaf'ar Numayri 1969-1983 provided the same environment of foreign domination with the imposition of the policy of suppression and enacted the famous fundamentalist September Regulations. In order to express the feelings of disappointment and discontent, contemporary Sudanese poets find the solution in the use of symbolism, repeating the same

experience during the foreign occupation when poets used anonymous poem and folk song. They follow the example of Khalil Farah, the pioneer of the political love story, who uses an intermediate form between the literary and the colloquial for the satisfaction of both the educated and the layman. Poets from the late seventies, eighties and onward write in *'Ammiyah* or what is called لهجة أمدرمان[Omdurman dialect] and the *taf'ilah*. They are a prolific group, among whom are Maḥjūb Sharief, 'Omar al-Ṭayyib al-Doush, al-Tijani Ḥaj Sa'id and m 'Abbas. has a fluent and spontaneous style; some of his poems are sung by two of the most prominent Sudanese singers. The structure of his poetic expression is very easy. His poem الساقية[The Waterwheel] which bears the name of one of his collections, is full of allusion. The words chosen are precise and to the point; the waterwheel indicates the monotony of the continuity of the same state or the recurrence of the same situation. Aḥmed is a reference to the ordinary down-trodden Sudanese citizen who is tired of thinking about his children and how to provide them with their many requirements. The poet skilfully draws a parallel between the moaning of the waterwheel and the sobbing of the miserable children. In a blend of colloquial and standard Arabic he writes:

<div dir="rtl">

و الساقية لسة مدوره

واحمد ورا التيران يخب

اسيان يفكر منغلب

في اللي ماشين المدارس

في المصاريف و الكتب

ما بين بكى الساقية الأنين

و بين طفولة بتنتحب

</div>

(Al-Doush, 1999:35)

In another love poem he uses imagery which each reader can understand in their own way. According to many critics, the poem is a call for democracy. This is depicted in the references to history, forefathers and the sorrow in the people's eyes. The expression الضل الوقف ما زاد (the frozen shadow) is a reference to the regime assuming power with no chance of change. The language is simple and the use of colloquial Sudanese like الضل(the shadow) and اللسع (still) and the use of the deviant grammatical form of the plural in جنحات(wings) for جناحات makes it more appealing to the layman. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

بناديها.

و لما تغيب عن الميعاد

</div>

بفتش ليها في التاريخ

و أسأل عنها الأجداد

بسألَ عنها المستقبل

اللسع سنينه بعاد

بفتش ليها في اللوحات محل الخاطر الما عاد

و في الأعياد

و في أحزان عيون الناس

و في الضل الوقف ما زاد

بناديها

اوالاقيها!!

بناديها و بعزم كل زول يرناح

على ضحكة عيون فيها

وبحلم إني في أكوان

بترحل من مراسيها

عصافير نبتت جنحات

و طارت للغيوم بيها

13(Al-Doush,27)

II.A.6. Other Poetic Genres: Folk Literature:

It has been clear from the poems quoted above, the language used in this poetry is a mixture of الفصحى(standard Arabic) and العامية (colloquial), or what is known as اللغة الوسيطة(the intermediary language). It is far reaching and has the ability to communicate meaning. Fusha is better understood than the colloquial for example in North African. Colloquial poetry such as Moroccan is very difficult to understand for most of the Arab world. There is a fear that the fus'ha is deteriorating via the spread of popular literature, the emergence of the taf'ila and the disappearance of the ammudy poem. To eliminate this fear and to rescue the fusha, it should be looked upon as a national asset and a part of its heritage. The popular literature expresses a genuine identity. European peoples are always proud of their popular literature, such as their folktales it is recorded as a syllabus which is studied by other peoples including the Arabs. It does not pose any threat to the fusha. Many of the *fusḥa* poets write popular poetry.

188

Historians assert that the Arab migration to the Sudan is old. Al- Ḥardallo and many of the Sudanese 'Ammiya poetry claims that the Arabic language was found in the Sudan long ago, before the advent of Islam. Their poetry is similar to the pre-Islamic poetry in its vocabulary, images and the feeling it expresses. In his introduction to Ibrahim al-Qurashi's book: *Between the two Emirs Poets Imru' al-Qais and al-Ḥardallo,* Al-Ṭayyib Saliḥ

confirmed the resemblance between the two poets and that al-Qurashi has cancelled the distance between the Arab Peninsula and the Butana Land in Eastern Sudan; the past and present and the barrier which some scholars create between the 'Ammiyya and Fuṣḥa. Ṣaliḥ added that Al-Ḥardallo can be resembled by Thi al-Rumma in his the description of nature, his fondness with gazelles and his artistic mixing them with women. He said that Thi al-Rumma describes a woman as if she is a gazelle and the gazelle as if it is a woman. Although he had not met Thi al-Rumma, Ḥardallo is almost identical to him in describing the relationship of man with the environment such as trees, mountains and streams. In an interview with him on Sudanese television, Ṣaliḥ talked about the Ammiyya and its connection with the environment. He expressed his admiration with a poem by Ḥardallo follows a herd of gazelles which fled into the forest while the sun is setting. The birds start to make noise as it is always the case when an animal enters the forest. When the sun goes down, its yellow light reflects on the skin of the gazelles which are basically yellow; so they start to shine. The scene, as Saliḥ put it, is of a whole world falling apart, and it resembles an artist's painting from the age of the Renaissance about the death of a whole world. The vocabulary: قفيهن (their backs)   صنفيهن (standing to listen) جفلن (they fled) لصفيهن (their glitter) are fuṣḥa available in لسان العرب Lisan al Arab . He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

الليلة المعيز ما أظن انا ملاقيهن

قاصدات البطين خلن قليلة قفبهن

سمعن طنة الشادي و كتر صنفيهن

و عند الاصفرار جفلن بشوف لصفيهن

</div>

(Saliḥ, 2009:61).

The Badia poetry is still the master of the geographical place. Emari al Manṣour is a good poet but unfortunately is work is oral. The title of his poem talks about himself as being still strong and he can love and follow the herd of gazelles which fled from him. He mentioned places in the 'Atmour desert such as Absor (a vally which flows into the Nile) , Alrazazin are two famous mountains as land mark which he knows very well where the herd disappeared.

The word انفرطن (departed) and ضربن (headed towards). Even the sounds are connected with the place, يصرج is the sound of the of the teeth and يزيم is the noise heard through the chest. He says:

التلب في حاله القديم

مرا يصرج و مرا يزيم

و انفرطن منه اللات سليم

ضربن ابسور و الرزازين

Other forms of Sudanese folk poetry are المديح (panegyric or eulogy in honour of the Prophet Muḥammad), الحقيبة (The Ḥqiba) and الدوبيت (The Dubeit,). They are very important stages of the Sudanese folk poetry however, they are mainly oral literature. Folktale is a uniquely Sudanese literary genre. It carries the features and characteristic of Sudanese literature. It exists in three types, ('Abdin, 1967:292) the tale, the proverb and the song. The most famous is al-Ahaji. Folk poetry is used in many purposes. The Aḥaji stories depend in describing its events and characters on the اسطورة myth or the خرافة (fable). The myth tackles the phenomena which are considered as mystery such as the secret of life, death the change in nature of the creatures and the secret behind rain, thunder and lightening. The fable tackles the creatures its formation and transformation. The creatures have inside them good or evil spirit which give them superpower. These spirit can manifest themselves into the forms of jinn, devils, ghouls or ogress. There are two types, long ones, the tales and short ones the riddles. A lot of the short stories present a riddle which the tale gradually solves it.

It is a Sudanese culturally bound genre which reflects the distinctiveness and diversity of Sudanese culture. They are tales told by grandmothers to their small children to lull them to sleep. They are invented stories whose characters are humans, beasts, and birds. The recurring stage is a wilderness, a desert, forests, fields, or mountains. The language used is a mix between standard and colloquial Sudanese Arabic. Words like monster and ghoul are of common occurrence. Repetition of horse galloping, dogs barking and cat mewing is a feature of the folktale.

'Aradaib, Saso and Nimrah by 'Abdallah al- Tayyib is the story of (Muḥammad the daring one) and his sister Fatimah ,who lived in the wilderness far away from the people. It is a typical Sudanese folk tale. The informants found this folktale very interesting more so is the

190

prelude حجيتكم ما بجيتكم and the conclusion و انحترت و انترت . They note the repetition, the words like ghoul, use of onomatopaeic words mimicking human, animals and birds is also common e.g. horses。 Even those with Sudanese Arabic background are asking about the words such as ghoul. The ghoul mimics Muḥammad's voice: Fotna oh Fotna for Fatma oh Fatma.

A- The Dubeit

Dubeit is a form of Arabic poetry used by the camel herders of the Sudan. It is composed in the Arab *rajaz* metre, a rhythmic beat which is used to urge camel caravan forward. Acording to Abdin Sudanese dubeit reflects the ideas and content of the early pre-Islamic Arabic poetry and he believes the *rejez* metre is borrowed from the early Arab who emigrated to Eastern Sudan ('Abdin, 1959: 66). It is filled by sayings and pure Badia lexis

The most famous Dubeit poets the Butana riegon are the two Shukri poets Hardallo and and wad Shawrani and the Kahli poet al-Sadiq wad Amna.

Al- Mashawir and Al-Masadir or المجادعة is a competition between two poets. Each has to improvise lines in which he is commited to the rhyme of his colleague. The Shukriyya pronounce the ع sound if followed by the ه sound as ح . The following is a competition between Al-Sadiq wad-Amna and wad-Shawrani:

Al-Sadiq wad Amna says :

العين فاقلت بالحيل و قاسي نفعها

ربيع القامة لي سهر الليالي دفعها

رب القدرة في سابع السوامي رفعها

روق زينتا و في القامة ما صفحها

The underlined words نفعها , نفعها and رفعها in wad Amna's lines are pronounced as دفحّا and رفحّا. So in his response to him, wad Shawrany's lines rhyme as ح in شحا and القحا:

وا أسفاي علي صبري الضعف لي شحا

سببو العارضه في شتم النحاس القحا

Folklore has potentialities for social mobilization and for social protest. It can be used by both the ruled and the ruler. The oral historical tradition of Shukriyya goes back to the second half of the sixteen century. ('Abdin, 1970: 8) When the Turks conquered the Sudan they gain the support of the Shukriyya tribe, in return they were granted many privileges. They were the

lords of the nomad tribes of the Blue Nile, the Gezira and Atbara. They were dominating up to the second half of the 19th century. Their supremacy was threatened by two incidents the first was the rule of the Khalifa 'Abdullahi (1885-1998) and the resettlement of the Nubians of the Ḥalfa region in the Butana (the traditional home of the Shukriyya) in 1964. A considerable use of oral poetry in political and social protest took place when they rebelled against al Khalifa. Ḥardallo wrote ridiculling the Khalifa and seeking refuge from the English, is quoted in (Ḥurreiz&Salam, 1989:124):

<div dir="rtl">

ناسا قباح من الغرب يوم جونا

جابو التصفية ومن البيوت مرقونا

اولاد ناس عزاز مثل الكلاب سوونا

يايابا النقس يالانجليز الفونا

</div>

Translation:

> They are a notorious people who came to us one day from the west.
>
> They brought destruction and drove us from our homes.
>
> We are of noble descent, but they treated us likes dogs.
>
> O Father Negus, O English men hurry up to our rescue!

The Dubait genre is still prevailing and appealing to contemporary audience including young people. The Sudan TV presented a typical Dubait poem by Al-Wasila Muhammad Nur. The poet describes his trip to visit his beloved but the focus is on his camel. The environment and the atmosphere are no less than the beloved. They are part and parcel of the trip. Three lines of each *murab'a* (stanza) are allocated to the description of the camel and the surroundings and the forth line is for the beloved. His description of the beloved is always associated with the description of his camel. Suffering from the midday heat, the camel is shouting. Because of the camel's speed and his ability to abridge the distance the poet feels that the halter contracts in his hand and the desert moves near. The reason behind the speed is to catch up with the beloved whom he describes as generous, beautiful and dark eyed. He says:

<div dir="rtl">

جبادو انمحقّْ و الكور رحل من تَرُّو

قَطَّع ديلوكُوَرك وناغا گَّتر وُّرو

علي الكاحلْ السخَّي ونادي و بيسعد

دوماتك شكنْ لفح السَّميم و ُحرو

</div>

He addresses his camel appealing to him يلاك (let us go) to hurry up to take him to his the beautiful, quiet and impressive beloved. His camel is so accustomed to the travel in the and desolate regions hot weather that his toes are eroded and his head is always sweating He says:

شديد الكور و قليب الهجير في القايلة

حَفاهن مناسَمك و خلى دومَّتك سايلة

للغفر البعيد دايما جرايدك طايلة

يلاك نلحق الزينة و رزينة وخايلة

He urges the camel, which is accustomed to cross the plains and the sand dunes, to cover the distance as quick as the scared fleeing gazelles so as to arrive the soft cheeked Miss Beauty. He says:

يشوهفْ دوماتكْ آلعفريت دقايق نَزَّنْ

آ قطاعُ عرى الصْيب هشيم و قَوْزنْ

علي الحاكمة الجمال ست الخدود النزن

اطوي الفي و سوي جري الارايل الفزن

The camel is always in a fix and difficult situation in that severe hot weather and that tough but he always succeeds in covering the distance and his fore arms are always in a motion to take him to his destination i.e. his slim-postured, long necked and narrow-waisted beloved to enjoy her pleasant speech. He says:

قماقمك نُزوا من كتر الشديد و الزنقة

يا دناي عرى الوادي اب وطاطن فنقة

كافتهن جرايدك لاب لهيجا منقة

لابْ جيدن مسولب لاب ضميرا خُنّقة

Having his halters eased, the camel started to run slowly and the poet is supplicating to Prophet Noah to protect him from the evil eye as he is desperately looking forward to meet with his beautiful beloved, who looks like the mere in her trot and long hair. He says:

رخيتلواِحسالو سوى خبيبو

آ النبي نوح زراريق الحسود لا تصيبو

الخلى فؤادي دايما يستزيد في لهيبو
مهر السنجك التاتا و نسف لسبيب

The Dubeit is keeping pace with the information technology. A love affair is related in terms of the internet vocabulary. The two Sudanese Dubait poets, Taha al-Darir and al-Tayyib

wad Dahawiyya were on their way to Abudlaiq. Browsing in his wireless labtop hoping to to meet his beloved at the chat, Taha received a very short email which upset him. Taha starts out the journey not by saddling his camel but by surfing on the (صايت) the various sites of the pantium. He is missing his beloved whose hair is original with no wigs, extension or any cosmetic device. He says:

شديت ال Pentium واصبح يبرطع جايط

وال Internet دقش قلبتو <u>صايت صايت</u>

على ام شعراً حلال ما طولنو وسائط

وعطشان الغرام ما برونو 2 K.Bite

In his reply Al-Tayyib diagnoses his problem and offers him a solution using the internet vocabulary. His is a viral infection, there is no hope of recovery and he has no options but to endure it. Al-Tayyib borrows the PC lexis such as virus, McKafi and options

الفيك يا طه Virus والله الكريم الشافي

وما بفيدك طبيب حتى ان بقيت Mc Kafi

غير لخلوخة الهرفة أم قليباً جافي

وأركز للتجيك يا طه Options ماف

Taha has his mind occupied by the beloved in the same way as the the RAM and ROM i.e. the PC memory. There is nothing to do but to implore the blessed religious men for help. He does not visit their tombs for invocation, he rather uses the latest means of communication i.e the email. He emails them using their email address : Seedy al-Hassan .com.. He recites:

<u>ايميلك</u> وصل زود علي الهم

والفكر انشغل ال Ram عليك وال ROM

يالصلاح جميع أنا والحبيب نتلم

ويا ساكن الضريح سيدى الحسنDot Com

الليلة ام شلوخ لاقيتا عند ال Chat

وال Virus ضرب قلبي ومحى الفايلات

يوم شافني الفقير البكتب البخرات

قال Defrag ما بفيد أحسن To Reformat

بعد ما كت فقير بخراتي Word و Excel

دقشتني أم رشوم خلت درايفي إختل

القلب الكان زمان Intel Mother Board

بقى Chipset رخيص كل ما ربطتو أنحل

الخبر الأكيد اليلة جابو ال Yahoo

وقال ست البنات إيميلنا مي طارياهو

ست القوام Hardware نظامو براهو

غرامك Virus الهجمة البقرض الجاهو

The poem goes on using both the dubait and the internet vocabulary however it observes the dubait format and expressions such as:

شديت ال Pentium واصبح يبرطع جايط

الخبر الأكيد اليلة جابو ال Yahoo

غرامك Virus الهجمة البقرض الجاهو

He uses the different kind of the intrnet vocabulary such as PC Soft ware (programes) like Excel and Word and the hard ware like the Drive and the Mother Board, social sites of communication such as the chat. His beloved's posture is a Hardware of a special system (نظامو براهو), her love is a fatal Virus which striken his Drive (heart). As a result , his heart is broken and he has to Reformat which necessitates deleating all the data before reorganising it.

B- The Ḥaqiba:

Al- ḥaqiba was a stage in the Sudanese song which followed the ṭambara (a tune made by

195

using the throat). It has a history of more than seventy years and it is still appealing to the new generation. It has a pleasant melody, its tunes are characterised by repetition and high delectation. It laid the foundation of what is known as Omdurman song. After the *ṭambara* stage, ḥaqiba poets and singers such as Muḥammad Aḥmed Sarour , the first Sudanese singer, 'Abdal Karim Karoma, al-Amin Burhan and Omer al Banna who composed the melody.

Sayyed 'Abd al 'Aziz's song فريع البانا was the first song to be done in the ` style instead of the ṭambara. The musical instruments used were the drum (represented the bass), the tambourine and the triangle. In the 1970s the Mandolin is added. Then a complete orchestra was as the taste of the generation and the period required.

The ḥaqiba is now modernised by adding the choral and using modern musical instruments. It is used to test the voice competence for new singers. To pass the voice test they were made to perform one of the ḥaqiba songs. It was and still is the yard stick for passing the test.

The first generation such as Muḥammad 'Uthman and Yousif Hasaballah who is nicknamed as سلطان العاشقين (Master of the Lovers) took the picture and the lexical items from the Badia specifically the Butana. Wad al-Radi started by composing muraba' (four lines) of Dubait. 'Obaid 'Abd al-Raḥman and Sayyed 'Abd al-'Aziz were influenced by him, their art often imitating his. They used the Sufi poetry and the tumtum rhythm, inherited the tambara but made use of all this and introduced a new thing, a simple poetry in the rajaz metre. Among the singers were Zingar who was famous for his beautiful voice and التومات (the twins) who came to Omdurman from Kosti town with good melody but bad words. Sayed 'Abd al-'Aziz took Zingar because of his beautiful voice.

The ḥaqiba poem is a love poem it is a وصف (description) poem and it is very much sensual being influenced by the classic expression and model of beauty. It also depends on imagination as they rarely saw women. The wedding party which was a social event was the only place where young men could see a young lady although the young man could not talk to her as she was segregated and completely veiled with the exception of her eyes. It was the only chance where the young man could select a lady to court. He could then make the offer to the family not to the lady herself. The Sudanese dance رقصة الرقبة and the way its performed manifests the beauty of the women and the charming qualities of her physique. Poets use the classic measurement of beauty i.e. big bottomed, lazy maiden who is spoilt by comfort. A ḥaqiba poet describes his beloved walking very slowly as if she is walking in mud because of her big bottom. He says:

196

<div dir="rtl">تيه في تيه رتل من نقل المرجرج الخايض الوحل</div>

It is same idea of the pre-Islamic poet, Al-Aʿasha ibn Qays who says:

<div dir="rtl">غراء فرعاء مصقول عوارضها   تمشي الهوينة كما يمشي الوجي الوحل</div>

<div dir="rtl">كأن مشيتها من بيت جارتها   مر السحابة لا ريث و لا عجل</div>

<div style="text-align:center">(al-Aʿasha,1960:144)</div>

The language of the ḥaqiba poetry is simple but stronge and lyrical. Ḥaqiba poets studied in the Qurʾanic schools, so the poem is inclined towards the standard fusha and it is filled with Islamic rules and the Prophet's traditions at the same time it is mixed with the colloquial. Poets also derive from the wisdom and common sayings. This thesis derives examples of ḥaqiba poems quoted in روائع حقبة أمدرمان (The Magnificence of Ḥaqibat Omdurman) by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Giqir; Other examples are unpublished songs. The Quraʾnic influence is clear in a song by Abu Ṣalaḥ.   He writes:

<div dir="rtl" style="text-align:center">لو الشجر أقلام جميع و النيل مداد   لو كتب أشواقي ليك ما عددا</div>

This summarises the meaning of the following verse from Chapter 31 of the Qurʾan :

<div dir="rtl">و لو أنما في الأرض من شجر أقلام و البحر يمده من بعده سبعة أبحر ما نفدت كلمات الله ان الله عزيز حكيم</div>

(Qurʾan 27:31)

And this verse also from Chapter18 of the Holy Qurʾan:

<div dir="rtl" style="text-align:center">قل لو كان البحر مدادا لكلمات ربي لنفد البحر قبل أن تنفد كلمت ربي ولو جئنا بمثله مددا</div>

(Qurʾan,18:109)

Poets wrote in both fusha and Sudanese عامية (colloquial) poetry Ibrahim al-ʿAbbadi, wad al-Radi and Sayyed ʿAbd al-ʿAziz. Sayyid writes:

<div dir="rtl" style="text-align:center">سيدة و جمالا فريد</div>

<div dir="rtl" style="text-align:center">خلقوها زي ما تريد</div>

<div dir="rtl" style="text-align:center">في خدودا وضعوا الريد</div>

Another song by the same poet in which he mixes the fusha and the 'A*mmiyya* he writes:

<div dir="rtl">

صباح النور   عليك يا بدور

صباحك يوم   يقاس بي دهور

نظرتك جالس بين زهور   بدر حداك انكسفوا بدور

تفوق نيشان ممتاز في صدور   العظما المثلوا أعظم دور

</div>

A song in fus'ha by Abu Ṣalaḥ shows his mastery of standard Arbic. The reader needs to think before he understands the images he draws to describe his lady's looks and her cheeks. He refers to her killing looks as البيض الرقاق (the Indian swords) and the purity and glamour of her complexion on which he can see the reflection of his eye pupil. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

أعلم لولا ما طرفك للبيض الرقاق شاهر

انسان عيني كاد يغرق في ما خدك الزاهر

نورك يتوقد لعيون الخلوق جاهر

كل شي ظاهر و اشراق الفجر يشهد

على طرفي العليل ساهر

</div>

(Al-Giqir,2005:102)

B-The Madiḥ:

While classical poetry gives a special care for the style and the accuracy of the fuṣha language the Sufi cares only for the recitation and intonation side even if this leads to the use of any nonsensical lexical item for the sake of keeping the rhyme. The role of Sufis is to consolidate the concepts of Islam which they took from the Prophet in a practical manner which is better than the theoretical one of dos and don'ts. They convey Islam by a practical applied method, actions then words. One of these concepts is تزكية النفس (purification of the soul). In the Madiḥ, the Prophet's biography came in a rhythmic manner which attracts the person and affects his soul. Therefore Madiḥ is one of the effective means which the person uses to purify his soul to attain the love of the Creator then the Prophet. It is the Prophet's biography, his merits credits specifications attributes etc. Singing is attractive, it elates the soul, affects the heart and awakens love in the hearer's heart then he follows.

Generally speaking, المدح (eulogy) is one of the origins and purposes of poetry and المديح refers to eulogy or praise of Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH). Madiḥ has its methods. Madh of the Prophet goes back to the Jahiliyyah period when, al-A'asha, the famous Arab poet,

commended Prophet Muḥammad and Quraish denied him as a drunkard. He defied them and wrote his famous poem which known in all books of Prophet Biography. That poem considered the oldest madih poem together with a poem by Abu Ṭalib, the Prophet's grandfather and another famous poem by Ka'ab ibn Zuhair banit Suad is a long poem. It is explained by 'Abdullah Ibn Hisham al-Anṣari. In one part of it he describes the Prophit. He writes:

ان الرسول لنور يستضاء به   مهند من سيوف الله مسلول(Al Anṣari, 1900:9)

Sufism has a strong background in the Sudan. People from Tumbukto, Nigeria etc in their way to Macca to perform pilgrimage through the Sudan, stayed in the Sudan, mixed and left their imprints, language and traditions on the Sudanese people. The birth celebration i.e. المولد is known in a number of Arab countries e.g. Maghrib, Egypt etc but the celebration in the Sudan has special flavour. On the official level, this great event is arranged by the government. It lasts for fifteen days, however the most spectacular is the زفة in the mawlid's eve. It is an official procession which tours round the three towns, Khartoum, Omdurman and Khartoum North official.

Muḥammad al-Mahdi- al-Majdūb's poem أوبريت المولد (The Prophet's Birthday Operetta) depicts an aspect of Sudanese life. It is a very long poem in which the poet draws a comprehensive picture about the mawlid celebration. The poem moves from inside to outside the tents, from the noba[59] circle to the dhikr[60] circle, and from the mauled [61] sweetshops to the food kiosks market, which are known as سوق الزلعه [62].He describes people from every walk of life and their costumes, especially these of the sheikhs and دراويش Dervishes[63].

Al-Majdub paints the scene of the celebration with the colour, sound, lights and motion: the legs motion as if birds' trap, the colourful jibas and turbans, red, yellow and blue etc. the sweets, food, the dust raised by the legs action. The motion in the dhikr circle slows down

---

[59] A big drum.

[60] A rhythmic repetition of words of praise of God accompanied by music and dancing

[61] The Prophet's birth day celebration

[62] A side of the square where food is sold. It is known as zal'a (greed) market.

[63] Devoted Sufis who wear coloured patched clothes and often dance in the religious ceremonies

when the *mugaddam* (the leader) slows down. The line of the tar people moves back and forth, the youth is dancing with his stick in hand. The dancers are at the noba circle bowing circling, moving back and forth, up and down like waves. The Sufi influence is clear in the language and pictures he uses. Consider this image of the *dhikr* circle:

<div dir="rtl">

نقزت ملأ الليالي خلف رايات طوال

كسفين ذي سواري في عباب كالجبال
</div>

(Al-Majdūb,1969:89)

Thus the circle in the tent under the lights and the long banners is like a drunken ship. Although the lexis are derived from the Qur'anic fusha the colloquial word نقزت (it jumped) is in harmony with them.

The aesthetical vision for the folk celebration in its traditional form indicates Sudanese deep love of the prophet through colour, light, letter and tune. On the philosophical level, it is a celebration which has spiritual significance. It is not only a momentum of the drums, the lights and the Mawlid sweets, it is a night of سر الليالي و الجمال secrets, beauty and creativity. It is a moment of هيام Sufi passion and spiritual ecstasy. One sheikh went into a trance. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

و عيون الشيخ اغمضن على كون به حلم كبير

لحظة يزهل فيها الجسم و الروح تنير
</div>

There should be a stand to think and meditate for the poor uneducated man who shook the world with the doctrines of his orthodox religion deriving preachment and lessons. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

ربي أرسلت يتيما قام بالحق رحيما

قد ذكرناه وهل نذكر من أمسى عديما
</div>

The Prophet is the best among mankind who made the night Journey to the seven Heavens and by whose ligh mankind read life's wisdom and the secrets of permanence. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

صلّ يا رب على خير البشر

الذي أسرج في ليل حراء

قمرا أزهر من بدر السماء

يقرأ الناس على أضوائه

حكمة الخلق و أسرار البقاء
</div>

(Al-Majdūb,1969:89)

Al-Majdūb describes people from every walk of life. As a social realist poet, he does not forget poor children. Some children came back with sweet others with dust. He writes:

لهفة كم عصف البؤس باطفال صغار

وردوا المولد بالشوق و عادوا بالغبار

ويح أم حسبوها لو أرادا النجم عادت بالدراري

ويحها تحمل سهد الليل في صحو النهار

(Al-Majdūb,1969:89)

Ṣalaḥ ibn al Baddiya, a contemporary Sudanese singer commends the birth of Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) on the 12th of RabʻI al-awal as a welfare for the whole mankind. As it is always the case with the Madih's poets, the tend to implicate the meaning rather than explicitly mentioning their intention. They also tend to use symbols and numbers. Ṣalaḥ refers to the Prophet's date of birth, the 12th, as two fifths of *Rab'i* (خُمسين). He writes:

ولد الرسول ود آمنه   خُمسين ربيع يا أمنا

و عمّ البريّة و طمّنا   ميلاده بالخير عمّنا

Among the Sudanese poets of Madiḥ are Ḥaj al-Maḥi, Abu Kasawi, Sheikh Ḥayati, al-Ṣabonabi. Al-Sharief Yousif al-Ḥindi and Sheikh al-Buraʻi. Abu kasawʻs family is specialised in Prophet's praise, they inherited the Prophet's love through generations. His school of Madih is a unique school with its special methodology, patterns and regulations e.g. texts, performance and instruments. They enlighten people about God then the prophet's birth, his attributes and miracles.

Al-Maḥi's *khalawis* (Qur'anic schools) and his yearly visits to the ḥajj (pilgrimage) provided him with fiqh, geography and Islamic culture he assimilated and produced as a very pleasant and composed madih which appeal to the mind and feeling. The Tar rhythm is the banner of Ḥaj al-Maḥi which each generation hands over to the other. His simple but deep word is issued from the nature of the region, the Kasinger to the North of the Sudan.

The madiḥ poem tells about the heavens, the stars, the natural cycle, and the seasons. The madih poets know the directions through stars, therefore Sudanese Madiḥ is a kind of popular astral and geographical dictionary. They make use of folklore in the madih. They use the Islamic rules and include the Ḥadith (the Prophet's tradition). They express themselves or

what they feel by symbols. Saud may mean the prayer, or the shahadah i.e. Lailah ila allah, or love of Muḥammad. They are signs lead to what he wants to say and could not say explicitly. The Madiḥ's melody is called *makhabout, khafif, ḥarbi, murab'a, mu'ashsher* etc. It is accompanied by the tar and the clapping. Most of the Madiḥ poems, though memorised and sung by people, are not recorded.

Sharief Ḥussien al-Hindi includes two of the Prophet's traditions or Ḥadith e.g.التقوى روح الدين and الحياء شعبة من الايمان He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

بسم الله كونوا أيها الجالسين

للفظ الحديث من الرسول سامعين

قال خير الأنام" التقوى روح الدين"

لله و الحياء "شعياً من الشعبين"

</div>

Al-Sheikh Ḥayati's style indicates his maturity. In one of his poems he refers to the skies by the seven and to the veils of light which the Prophet went through during his Isr'a journey by the number seventy. In the extract below the Sufi poet means to say that Allah has praised the Prophet (PBUH) in three chapters of the Qur'an; in الاسراء (The Night Journey), نون (The Pen) and براءة (Bara'a or the Repentence). He skilfully uses pun on three meanings of the colloquial word برا : to create, to sharpen and guiltless By نون و البرا he refers to the Qur'anic chapter نون و القلم 'The Pen' For the rhyme purpose he could not say نون و القلم instead he said نون و البرا (the thing that one sharpens). So the three words are written in the same form برا but the first refers to برأ (created), the second to برى (to sharpen) and the last one to براءة (aquital). He writes:

<div dir="rtl">

في مدحه قال من برا

سبحان و نون و البرا

والشاهد الاكبرا

في النجم و آخر برا

</div>

It demonstrates his knowledge of the Prophet's biography.

In what is known in the Arabic language as مجاراة (analogy) the Madih poets take the ḥaqiba's melodies and fill them with the Prophet's biography. A Madiḥ poem by Ḥaj al-Maḥi which reads:

يا حبيبي و أحمد طبيبي يا حسن الخلق الجميل

It follows the following the melody of the ḥaqiba poem:

أكرموني لا تحرموني سنة الاسلام السلام

And this Sufi poem:

يا روضة الخضرا ام نخيل جاني طيفك

ثلث اليل الاخير زاد شوقي

نوم عيني اصبح قليل

The poet follows the following song by Omer al-Banna:

يا زهرة الروض الظليل جاني طيبك

مغ النسيم العليل زاد وجدي

نوم عيني اصبح قليل

The Sufi poet, Al-Amin al Qurashi says:

يا جميل المحيا من ضيا نورك الشمس مستحية

صلى ربي عليك

The above lines by al-Qurashi imitate the melody of the *haqibah* song:

يا جميل يا مدلل قلي ليه   بس   حكم الغرام قد حل

عذابى يطول

In the above three lines he gathered a number of Muhammad's miracles and the poem went on to enumerate more miracles saved in the poet's memory about the Prophet's biograph. He says:

كم حييت مدروس و كم خصبت لمحلة

بي مسيس كفك العجوف و السخلة

203

بي سخاء فضن باللبن بي مهلة

Abu Kasawi's famous poem قطع الحجيج قالوا (The Pilgrims have Set Out) is about his journey to ḥajj which contains a detailed, extensive description of every part of the camel's physique. He uses the sound which leads to the meaning and help to highlight the picture such as هز , رز, عز and بز. After the camel description, the poet relates some of the Prophet biography. He says:

<div align="center">

دقوا النحاس و رز

ركب المضرغم هز

ود عمو الليث برز

نصر ابعلامه و عز

خلّ الرمام

</div>

The underlined words, respectively, mean: A big drum of the tribe, رز the sound of the big drum, the brave one like the lion, waved هزّ, the nickname of Ali ibn Abi Talib, the prophet's cousin and the fourth one of the Four Guided Califs who is known as الليث the lion برز stood out for combating or fighting, a nickname of the Prophet Muḥammad, عز is a grammatically deviated form of عزّ (supported) and رمم (carcasses). رمام is the Sudanese colloquial plural of رمة .

The Sufi poem مصر المؤمنة (The Secured Egypt) by Sheikh al Bura'i is a very long poem about his visit to Egypt for medical treatment. In this poem he enumerates all the Holy Men, Sufi Leaders, Prophet's family members and the tombs available all over Egypt.   What is remarkable about this poem is how the poet employs numbers by multiplying and propagating them to convey the meaning. He writes:

<div align="center">

يا صاح همنا لزيارة أمنا مصر المؤمنة بأهل الله

ندعوك بالأربعة والكتب الأربعة   [64]

و السور المائة و العشرة و أربعة [65]

بالملائكة الستة و الكرما الاربعة [66]

</div>

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[64] اللوح (The Slate) , القلم (The Pen), العرش (The Throne) and الكرسي (The Throne); The four Holy Books: The Qur'an, The Bible, The Old Testament and The Psalms.

[65] 100+10+4 = 114. The 114 verses of the Qur'an

بنبينا محمد و الخلفا الأربعة [67]

و الفقها السبعة و أقطابنا الأربعة[68]

أوتاد الأرض في القبل الأربعة[69]

الأبدال و النقبا العشرة في أربعة[70]

أحفظ جوارحي الثلاثة و أربعة[71]

و تجافي الضجع جنوبنا الأربعة[72]

زيل مرض الجسم في طبايعه الأربعة[73]

باركاسبوعنا لين الاربعا

أيام السنة تسعين في أربعة[74]

و بحورنا السبعة و أنهارنا الأربعة [75]

نسلم من أربعة و نحشر مع أربعة[76]

---

[66] The six angels which every Moslem should know according to the teachings of Islam; The honourable ones are Gabriel, Mikhail, Israfil and 'Israel.

[67] The Four Guided Caliphs Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali.

[68] The rest of the Prophet's Companions such as Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf, Talha Zubair Saad…etc   The Four Moslem Imams Abu Hanifa al Nu'man, Malik, Ibn Anas, Ahmed Ibn Hamble and Muḥammad AlShaf'i.

[69] Sheikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Gailani, Sheikh Aḥmad al Badawi, Sheikh, Ibrahim al-Disouqi and Sheikh Aḥmed al-Rifa'i. The Four geographical directions North, South, East and West.

[70] According to the author,   Sheikh al-Bura'i, they are the forty men from Levantine. It was related that when one of them died God replaced him by another.

[71] The abdomen, the vagina, the tongue, the eyes, the ears, hands and the feet.

[72] The back, the front and the two sides

[73] Perhaps, the poet means the four matters upon which man is created: water, dust, air and fire or he means the kind of disease i.e. mental, psychological, bodily and skin disease.

[74] The days of the year 90X4= 360 days.

[75] Pehaps the reference is to the Oceans, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Rivers such as the Nile, Tigris, Euphrates and Jordon or Jaihon.

In this section the thesis traces some themes in contemporary Sudanese poetry such as الوطنية و المكان (patriotism and the place) and الرسالة (the letter). The language used in this poetry is a mixture of الفصحى (standard Arabic) and العامية (colloquial), or what is known as اللغة الوسيطة (the intermediary language). It is far reaching and has the ability to communicate meaning. *fusha* is better understood than the colloquial for example in North African. Colloquial poetry such as Moroccan is very difficult to understand for most of the Arab world.

The letter الرسالة is an important theme in Sudanese song through its different stages; al ḥaqiba, after al-ḥaqiba and the orchestral song. The poet expresses his feeling towards either a letter which he has received, or another which he is expecting or has not received in colloquial or fusha, written or read. Nowadays, there are many questions to raise about letter writing. Has the era of the letter finished, does the SMS, the email, the mobile or PC camera become a substitute for a letter which is written by a true friend, the parents or with the fine fingers of the beloved, and last forever? It may be an individual experience or a concept in poetry; an influence from the environment or a basis inherited from the history of Arabic literature. Arabic poetry was full of messages sent via birds, waves, breeze, stars etc. Long ago, before the postal service, letters were sent by حمام الزاجل (carrier pigeon). Letters were tied to the bird's wing or leg. Letter writing was known in all poetic ages up to the mahjar. A poem by Elias Faraḥat was set to music by the Sudanese musician, Isma'il 'Abdal Mu'en and sung by the famous singer, Zingar. He writes:

يا عروس الروض با ذات الجناح با حمامة

سافري مصحوبة عند الصباح بالسلامة

و اذكري شوق فؤاد ذي جواح وهياما

(Faraḥat, 1962:30).

Sudanese poetry is no exception, with poets using some of the above mentioned media to send greetings or any other message. Many poets wrote letters in the form of songs which are not included in their poetic volumes but are currently sung by known singers through the audiovisual media. Any song is a message which expresses happiness, sadness,

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[76] The poet pleads to be protected from four: النفس, الدنيا, الشيطان و الهواء (the self, the worldly life , Satan, and arrogance). And to be resurrected with الصالحين الأنبياء, الصديقين, الشهداء the prophets, the believers, the martyrs and the pious.

206

rapprochement or love. Unlike the carrier pigeons, the wind, the breeze and the waves do not have a letter to deliver literally; they have poetic expression, a breeze, a gust or fragrance. Some of the songs and poems quoted here are unpublished like some of the hagiba and madih poems mentioned earlier.

The female singer, Mona al-Khair, is telling the carrier pigeon that she has letters to send for the beloved. She says:

<div dir="rtl">
اه يا حمام الزاجل   أنا عندي ليهو رسائل
</div>

Sudanese poets abroad are only geographically remote as their homeland is carried inside them. 'Abdal Karim al Kably's longing takes him to المقرن (The confluence of The River Nile), the place where the White Nile meets the Blue Nile to form the River Nile at Khartoum. He says:

<div dir="rtl">
وصبح الناس يجيك مرسال

يشيلك شوق وسط عينين

يوديك مقرن النيلين

يخضر فيك عقيد ياسمين

و تقوم شتلة محنة مثال

أريجا دعاش و حزمة نال
</div>

In a song performed by the Sudanese singer, Aḥmed al Gabri, the poet Saif al Disouqi is blaming his beloved for denying him even one letter to sooth him and help him to endure the sorrow of parting. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">
مافي حتى رسالة واحدة بيها اصّبّر شوية

و الوعد بيناتنا انك كل يوم تكتب الي

و ما بيصح و الغربة حارة بالخطاب تبخل علي
</div>

Ṣalaḥ Aḥmed Ibrahim in his exile pleads to the migrant bird which migrates during autumn to spare no time, to fly non-stop in the rain and the wind, to land at his home land. There at ضل الدليب, the shade of the sycamore tree he finds the most comfortable abode. He writes:

<div dir="rtl">
بالله يا الطير المهاجر للوطن زمن الخريف

تطير بسراع تطير و ما تضيع زمن
</div>

أوعك تقيف

و تواصل الليل بالنهار وسط المطر وسط الرياح

و كان تعب منك جناح في السرعة زيد

في بلادنا ترتاح ضل الدليب

أريح سكن

(Ṣalaḥ,1977:15)

There the migrant bird will find his beloved embroidering a silk handkerchief for an absent sweetheart. He asks the migrant bird to stand before her, kiss her hands and convey his love and true loyalty. He writes:

تلقى الحبيبة بتشتغل منديل حرير

لحبيب بعيد

تقيف لديها و تبوس يديها

وتنقل اليها وفاي ليها

(Ṣalaḥ, 1977:15)   وحبي الأكيد

Hashim Ṣiḍḍiq in his exile writes a long letter to his mother using his blood for ink embracing and greeting her. He says:

برسل ليك رسالة طويلة يا أمي

برسل ليك رسالة طويلة بي دمي

اسالمك فيها يا أمي

و اضمك ساعة في حضني

He writes no address, uses no postal service, neither does he give it to anyone to deliver by hand. Instead he asks the wind to cover the distance, transforming all deserts into flowers plaited by his country's palm leaves, perfumed by his feeling for her. He says:

وحاتك ما بخت عنوان

وما برمي الجواب في بريد

و ما بديه لي زولا كمان في الايد

بخلي الريح تترتر في المسافة عروس

تحيل كل الصحارى قطوف

مضفرة بي سعف بلدي

مضمخة بي مشاعري اليك

يا أمي

208

The ḥaqiba h poetry is also filled with letters. In order to win a look to his beloved's phantom Abu Ṣalaḥ has no alternative but to use (the breeze post). He says:

لي طيفك ما لقيت وسائل

غير بُسَتْ النَّسَمات رسائل

Muḥammad Bashir 'Atiqi uses the breeze to convey a complaint to the beloved. Although the language he uses is a blend between the fusha and the *'ammyyia*, it is very pleasant and spontaneous. The last line and other words such as تباريح and تأويل are fusha but words like ده, يرجع, محله are colloquial. He ends the letter expressing his love and greetings. He writes:

يا نسيم بالله أشكيلو تباريح شوقي و هيامي

يا نسيم عن شخصي اروي له حديث الحب و تأويله

و بالغ شرحي تطويله

لعله يسيب ده كله او اقله

يرجع قلبي في محه

يكون في عطفه اكرامي و افوز بي حبي و غرامي

ختام يا روحي اهديك تحيات حبي و سلامي

جواهر شعري و كلامي

Omer al-Banna focuses on the breeze in his poetry to such an extent that he is nicknamed شاعر النسيم(the breeze poet) On the death of al-Banna , the late Sudanese poet Khalifa al-Ṣaḍiq wrote an elegy entitled كان النسيم رسوله (The Breeze was his Messenger). He mentioned three of al-banna's songs. It starts:

يا مبدعا كان النسيم رسوله   الى الحبيب لينعش روحه الخبر

نسيم أرجوك تستجدي زيارته نسيم الروض تحيته لمن هجروا

النسيم لفائح ما أن يمر بكم   يكاد شوقك بالوجدان يستعر

(al-Ṣaḍḍiq, 2001, 35)

By the first two underlined phrasess the poet refers to some lines of verse by al-Banna:

يا نسيم الروض زورني في الماسيه   و جيب لي الطيب من جناين آسيا

أنعش روحس و زيل ألم البين

209

The third underlined phrase refers to a song by 'Abd al Raḥman al-Rayeḥ, sung by the famous singer al-Taj Muṣtafa:

يا نسيم أرجوك روح لها و حييها   بالغرام البي و الشجون أحكيها

The fourth phrase refers to:

النسيم الفائح طيبه من رياك   مر بي و ضاعف شوقي لي رؤياك

Poetry cannot in any way avoid mention of the place. It is mentioned one way or another, as the theme of the poem or around it. It is either explicit or implicit. It goes back to the pre-Islamic era when the poets cry on the ruminants and the empty lodge of the beloved. Imru' al-Qays: (Imru' al-Qays, 2002:80)

قفا نبك من ذكرى حبيب و منزل   بسقط اللواء بين الدخول فحومل

Abdallah al-Ṭayyib mentioned many poets who were known as symbols of longing in the fusha Arabic poetry. Abu al Ṭayyib al-Mutanabi: (Al-Mutanabi, 1867:70)

لك يا منازل في القلوب منازل   أقفرت أنت وهن منك أواهل

In the Sudanese fusha poetry is connected by the nature of the poet, the place and its inhabitants. A group of Sudanese poets such as Al- 'Abbasi, al-Tijani, Gama'a, Khalil Faraḥ and 'Abdallah al-Ṭayyib focus on the place for certain circumstances such as the presence of a beloved, a friend or an attractive nature. They express their attachment to the place and longing for it. Sometimes the place is a part of the reality which the poet lives or the experience he has and he is attached to it negatively or positively. Al-'Abbasi wrote about a big number of cities such as Khartoum, al-'Obied and Cairo. The place is a memory. Cities such as Sinnar for 'Abd al-Ḥai is a record of the period and a lesson for the coming generations. The city for al-Makki is transformed into a place which touches the feeling of any Sudanese. Some poets and singers feel affliated to their cities: Tawfiq Gibril to kasala and 'Abd al-Karim al-Kabli to Merawi. Some are named after their cities or tribes such as Ḥaider Port Sudan, Ḥussien Shendi, Nada al –Qal'a and al-Rubatabi etc Altough undergoing a process of transformation towards a nation, the Sudanese people still long for the village and the tribe.

Khalil Farah's patriotic song 'Aza is full of symbols and signs that indicate the depth of both place and time without giving dates. If it is categorised as patriotic, championship or chivalry it becomes a symbol of the homeland. It is a mobilisation song but he chose to write it in the form of a love poem to sway the colonizer. Unlike the present patriotic poem, it is true, deep and spontaneous as it represents the feeling of the people. Currently the patriotic poem is temporal; it is associated with a certain political period or speaks about a certain regime. It consolidates a certain concept in a certain time not a belief or a principle. The best anthems with the best melodies were written during the May period but they ended by the end of May rule. For the writing to last it should be educational so as to consolidate in the children the love of the homeland as something fixed. The poet reacts to the relevant situation good or bad. The patriotic poetry became an irresistible armour against the Turkish and the British.

In his poem يا بلادي (Oh My Country), Mubarak al Maghrabi calls the youth to come together and collaborate in building the country and preserve its supremacy. He writes:

جنوبنا و في شمالنا   بسواعدنا و نضالنا في

يبني ويعمر بدنا   غيرنا مبن يحرث ارضنا

غيرتا مين يكوي الأعادي

He describes his beloved beauty in terms of the beauty of nature of the various parts of his country. It is a mosaic which comprises a scene from Port Sudan in the East, and Rehad al-Birdy stream in the West, a yield of dates from al-Bawqa in the North and a fragrance from the beautiful Meridy in the South. He writes:

ومن جمال النيل بهاه   شلت من النيل صباه

ومن رهيد البردي صفحة   من مناظر الثغرلوحة

و من مريدي السمحة نفحة   ومن نخيل الباوقة طرحة

خلدت بصماتا فيهو   الطبيعة حنت عليو

ليك غرد كل شادي

While in hospital in Egypt, Al- Khalil wrote his poem ماهو عارف قدمه المفارق (He knows not that he is Parting) as if elegising himself. He prays for Omdurman:

فارق أمدرمان باكي شافق ويح قلبي الما انفك خافق

يا ام قبايل ما فيك منافق سقى أرضك صوب الغمام

The poem went on to describe Omdurman, its quarters and roads; wishing he would swagger barefooted in its roads. He never failed to mention the patriotic symbol of the dome emanating fragrance (The Mahdi's tomb) and the memory of confronting the invaders over their horses. He writes:

في يمين النيل حيث سابق كنا فوق أعراف السوابق

الضريح الفاح طيبه عابق السلام ياالمهدي الامام

Omer Al-Banna, from Egypt also, is longing to go back to Omdur to enjoy the bliss of life. He writes:

أشواق كتير الدموع شهودا   و في المنام العيون زهودا

امتى أرجع لامدر واعودا   أشوف نعيم دنيتي و سعودا

'Abdullah Muḥammad Zein wrote a very long poem about Omdurman and its religious and patriotic role. It tells about the birth of Omdurman as a result of the victory of the Islamic revolution and the native armour over the invaders' modern war machines. It refers to the fortress overlooking the Nile and the Mahdi's tomb, the symbol of guidance and safety. He writes:

أنا أم درمان سليلة السيل قسمت الليل و بنت صباح

أنا الولدوني بالتهليل و هلت فوقي غابة رماح

أنا الطابية المقابلة النيل أنا العافية البشد الحيل

أنا القبة البتضوي الليل هدت للناس سلام و أمان

(Giqir, 2005: 334)

Situated on the western bank, it derives its glory from the Nile and it honours him by uniting its people. It is the melting pot for ethnicities from all over the Sudan. The Fall of General Gordon is the dowry of her war. He writes:

أنا أمدرمان سقاني النيل رحيق العزة من كاسو

أنا اللي مجدو كنت دليل و رآية وحده لي ناسو

أنا الفي الشاطئ الغربي سقوط غردون مهر حربي

أن النيل الطلب قربي ومزج من كافة الالوان

(Giqir,2005:335)

In this poem by 'Abd al –Qadir al Kitayyabi Omdurman is boasting having been created in the rich soil on the West bank of the great River Nile. It grows in an atmosphere of Qur'an

212

and poetry and inherited the Islam's might and the ability to resist and ruin the oppressor by the sword and the word. The poet is proud of belonging to the Ja'aliyyin tribe and as a Ja'ali he calls for a combat behind Karrai Mountain, the very place that witnessed Omdurman's battle in which Sudanese fighters had combated the invading British and Egyptian troops and proved to be courageous and patriotic. He writes:

لانني(طموت) في دميرة تعامدت الى زحل

لأنني بالشاطيء الغربي

منذ شق برعمي

برعت في رواية (الدوري)

و البحور و النكات و الحقيبة و الغزل

لان طبع أم درمان هكذا

فقد ورثت شفرة اللسان

و السيوف و استهجت

فأس ابراهيم في جماجم (اليغوث و المناة و الهبل)

و فوق (درمانيتي) جعلت من جعل

و من أراد ثكل أمه فاليلقني وراء ذلك الجبل

(Kitayyabi, 2006: 206)

In a section of his very long poem, Peace Operetta, Al-Sherif Zein al-'Abdin al-Hindi celebrates Omdurman City as a historical city. He celebrates its patriotic symbols, aI-imam al-Mahadi and his successor, Khalifa 'Abdullah. He mentions all the heroes who have participated in the battles of liberation. He hails the Independence flag and commends and hails Sayyid Isma'il al Azhari who lowered the two flags of the Condominium Rule and raised the Independence flag. He writes:

حبابك عشرة يا بت مقرن النيلين

حبابك يا   المحكرة في الفؤاد و العين

حبابك يا المغسّلة بي طهور مويتين

حباب المهدي فيك كبر حراره و دين

حباب أسد العرين عبدالله ود تورشين

حباب   ود النجومي القبرو في توشكين

حباب عثمان سواكن دقنة في الدارين

حباب الحرروك بالانتماء و الدين

حباب السودنوك خلوك سماره و زين

213

حباب الأزهري النّكس زرى العلمين

حباب الراية هبهابة و تكيل العين

و قولوا معاي تبارك نقول دقر يا عين

Like almost all Sudanese poets, he never fails to mention its location on the bank of the Nile. He calls her بت مقرن النيلين (the daughter of the confluence) being situated in the place where the two Niles meet; and being washed by the their pure waters. In a poem full of love and longing while in Britain Mubarak al Maghrabi states that the North Sea is nothing compared to the Nile. He writes:

ايه بحر الشمال و انت النيل حداك

صافي يفيض زلال عنده جلس ملاك

في حسنه الهلال في سحره الهلاك

شوقي اليك طال قلي متين اراك

In his elegy to his friend and colleague 'Ali al-Makk who died abroad and had his coffin flown back and buried in Omdurman, Ṣalaḥ Aḥmed Ibrahim quotes texts by Ali which demonstrates his love for Omdurman and how he honours and celebrates her, her people, her banks and tombs. He uses the technique of intertextuality to refer to Ali Al-Makk's poetry on Omdurman. By مدينة من تراب (A City of Dust) he refers to Al-Makk's poem مدينته من تراب and فتيح, الجبل the city which he had loved to which he returned a lifeless corpse and she paid him farewell and heaped dust on his grave. He portrays Omdurman as a lady wrapping and tying her *thoub* around her waist, biting her henna dyed fingers, dancing with the sword in her hand, saying: ويب لي! (woe to me!) mourning her sun Ali. It is a typical Sudanese picture with the deviant pronunciation of the word ويب for ويل. The use of this strictly feminine expression is touching and appealing, more so when the poet himself borrows it at the end of the poem to mourn his friend.

حبيبته من تراب

مبجلة عنده : بشرا, و ضفافا, وبوابة و قباب

من "فتيح" الى "الجبل"

و ها آب نعشا بغير حراك , تشيعه و تهيل التراب

تعض بنانا عليه خضاب

و ترقص بالسيف حازمة وسطها:

ويب لي! ويب ليّ ! ويب لي !

و هذا شريك ضناي "علي"

يدلى لحفرته من عل

و يهال عليه التراب

ويب لي ويب لي ويب لي

(Ibrahim, S. 1999:56)

Aghani Al-Banat (Girls' Songs):

At the beginning of the second half of last century poets expressed women's feelings by proxy, the poetry they produced was not true. Till recently the only chance for women to introduce themselves and to read their poetry were the school literary societies. Now they start to appear in the society at large and in symposiums and the mass media. They now have their own literary associations and clubs. Most of their poetry is about the man but unlike earlier women poets, modern Sudanese poets present themselves as equal to men.

Sudan is rich in poetry written by women and the reference here is not to the well known Sudanese female poets mentioned earlier in this work. There is a huge corpus of oral or unpublished poetry composed or written by women in the Sudan. The woman is the first poet since the time of lullaby, but there are many other purposes which she expresses in colloquial or standard language. She writes poetry to her child on different occasions such as lulling him to sleep, weaning at his circumcision, marriage etc. The lullaby has a positive role in the upbringing of the child and the formation of his or her character. The words are simple in meaning and the melody is monotonous but charged with the mother's emotion. It is performed in a quiet and gentle voice which touches the feeling of the child so he feels reassured and goes to sleep. The lullaby reads:

النوم تعال سكت الجهال

النوم النوم بكريك بالدوم

(Mubarak, 1998:33)

Lullabys are full of virtuous values which the mother aspires to. She likes to consolidate generosity, manly and chivalry attributes in her son. She says:

حبيب بكبر يجيب بركب أم سبيب

جلاتو البلال بيتو في الجوار

و زادوا بجينا حار

(Mubarak, 33)

215

Other forms of women poetry are السيرة and العديلة which are also addressed by male poets such as Al-Majdūb. The سيرة (procession) songs are performed during the journey from the groom's house to the bride's and through out the marriage occaision which continued for a week or more.   The other song العديلة is a prayer to God to bless the marriage and to the Angels to protect the groom. It is believed to be a good omen that brings happiness to the married couple. It reads as:

<div dir="rtl">
يا عديلة يا بيضا يا ملايكة سيري معا
</div>

Or

<div dir="rtl">
العديل و الزين و الليلة العديلة تقدمو و تبرا
</div>

Another version of العديلة in the North is called البنينة . The song enumerates the good attributes of tribe, the father and the paternal and maternal uncle. The mother always wishes that her son will become like them. It reads:

<div dir="rtl">
يا بنينة هي

دايراك متل أبوي السمحة بيسويها

دايراك متل أبوي الحجة بيطافيها
</div>

Sudanese women wrote the حماسة (poetry designed to instil a martial or patriotic fervour) throughout history. In the West of Sudan the حكامات play a vital role in the society. Their poetry is very influencial in mobilising the society towards war and peace. Maimona al-Mrghomabiyya stresses the values of chivalry. She wants her son to participate in war and not to stay at home and content himself with reading his slate and eating alms at the khalwa. She hates to see him smooth-skinned with no marks of fighting on his body. She says:

<div dir="rtl">
يا حسين انا ما أمك و انت ماك ولدي

قاعد للزكاة و لقط المحلق

لا حسين كتل لا حسين مفلق
</div>

She would prefer to sing elegies to them like the dead, to see her husband (Wad Daglash) falling off his stirrup and her dear son عجب عيني (the apple of my eye) dead and eaten by dogs to hearing that her tribe, al-marghomab, has fled. She says:

<div dir="rtl">

نوح من دا الخراب وتاني نوح من دا الخراب

ود دقلش طيح من الركاب

و عجب عبني بياكلن فيه الكلاب

أخير لي من قولة جفلوا المرغوماب

</div>

Banona Bit al-Makk would rather see her brother dead, covered with his blood after a violent confrontation than to die a sound easy death. She says:

<div dir="rtl">

ما دايرالك الميتة ام رمادا شح

دايراك يوم لقا و بدميك تتوشح

</div>

During World II, Sudanese famous singers offered moral support to the Sudanese soldiers in the war front. Among the singers is the famous female singer. 'Aisha al- Flatia. In a simple colloquial but very expressive words, she says:

<div dir="rtl">

الله لي الليمون سلامه بريّة   يا حاج انا

الله لي يا هتلر الالماني

موسوليني يا الطلياني

كان تضرب السوداني

تطلع شلن براني

ما بسير هنا

يوم الخميس الفات   استلموا قلابات

أيضا كرن

الله لي بريطانيه دولة عظيمة

المانيا راجعة هزيمة

</div>

In another song for the Sudanese soldiers which is still being broadcasted from Radio Omdurman, she says:

<div dir="rtl">

يجوا عايدين الفرقة المهندسين

يجوا عايدين ضباط مركز تعليم

يجوا عايدين الفتحوا كرن باينين

</div>

217

The woman in the Sudan writes in all poetic purposes, but she remains restricted by the society's norms. She is allowed a limited degree of disclosure, which depends on what region of the Sudan she comes from. Till the second half of the last century women could not publish their work. Pioneers of the Sudanese Women Movement in the early fifties signed their political articles under false names or put their initials only, let alone love poems. Women of central Sudan are still dominated by social restrictions and decorums while women in the other regions are freer. For instance women of western Sudan are in many instances economically and socially independent. They cultivate land, raise animal stock, interact with life and express it. Earlier Sudanese women poetry were restricted to the writing of elegies and *ḥamasa*, the latter intended to raise the tribal or communal morale, as was the case in the pre-Islamic age Jahiliyya. Love poetry was taboo even at times for men. However, the female poet Samarqandia from Western Sudan writes:

وشمة خدك القمر السطع و البدر

لمست جوفي خلت قلبي منها مهري

الناس قالوا T و انا قلت تاء التبر

دا الجنني مما قمت لي عن كبري

البارح ختر من الابيض غادي

سرج للصهب سورج لهيبا فؤادي

زولا سمحة فوقه الجبة و العراقي

دا الخلاني زوبعت و نسيت اولادي

Some poetry is about complaints or some injustice which the women experiences in a patriarchal society. It presents marriage as social issue, the freedom of choice, marriage of relatives, exaggerations and preparations. The mother recommends her maternal cousin, her sister recommends her paternal cousin but she refuses relatives and chooses the one she wants and she refers to him as 'milk'. Her refusal has social dimensions and the reference to her future husband as 'milk' itself has many implications. She wants no arrangements or preparations, she wont wait till her father come back. She prefers to perform a quick and simple marriage under a tree. She says:

اللبن ابو لي به

أختي قالت لي اخدي ودالخال

قلت ليها لا اريته بالخلخال

امي قالت لي اخدي ود العم

218

قلت ليها لا اريته بالدم دم

العيشته كلها هم

امي قالت لي دققي وختي

فلت ليها لا

لا لا يا ماما

ابوي ما برجا اعقدو لي حسة

في قعر شجرة بلبن بقرة

Aghani al-Banat do not last like the ḥaqiba but they are realistic and expressive of their time. They have light rhythm and easy to memorise. Girls refuse some restrictions and express what specifications they like in their future husbands. They always prefer husbands who live abroad, preferably in Europe. They say:

يا ماشي لي باريس جيب لي معاك عريس من هيئة التدريس

or those who have cars. They say:

العربة كورتينا و الريحة كارينا

or even the Prime Minster himself. They say:

أتحجب و البس طويل عشان أعرس عمر البشير

After the emergence of the oil-rich countries in the Gulf girls aspire for husbands working in the Gulf area, with special preference for Saudi Arabia. They say:

أنا بخش السفارة طالبة عمرة و زيارة

Yemen and the Sultanate of Oman proved to be a mere waste of time. They say:

مسقط و اليمن مضيعة زمن

II. B. Fiction:

Sudanese fiction was produced against the same background and in the same environment as the Sudanese poetry discussed above. In comparison to poetry however, fiction production was slight. The work followed the same tendencies as poetry in the history of Sudanese literature. Colloquial prose such as folktales, proverbs and letters was followed by various kinds of the classical prose, i.e. Sufi, traditional and modern. As has been discussed earlier (in the Introduction), the Sudan's vastness and isolation served to preserve its patterns of life and different cultures for many centuries. It also contributed to the uniqueness of its literature.

The written form is a relatively recent phenomenon in Sudanese culture. Writing only flourished after the Sudan started having more contact with the outside world at the beginning of the twentieth century. Thus, The Sudan is extremely rich in oral cultures and traditions. Each ethnic and linguistic group has developed its own distinct form of folktale, proverb, etc. which has been transmitted through generations through the spoken rather than the written medium. The use of السجع (rhymed prose) enabled those various genres to be easily preserved and learned by heart. According to 'Abdin (1967: 300) al *aḥajiy* are the earliest Sudanese literary forms and they are equivalent to fictional narrative.

Although the Funji Kingdom witnessed a boom in Arabic literature, it was mostly religious, and little artistic prose was written. *Tabaqat Wad Ḍeifallah* is a principle record containing the biography of all Sudanese notable scholars and religious men from the sixteenth century to the time of the author. During the Mahdi period many manuscripts were written. Most leaders used colloquial Sudanese Arabic as the language which the people could understand. Khalifa 'Abdullahi, the Mahdi's successor, occasionally used colloquial language to write his letters. (examples from Hillilson have been quoted in p17 of this thesis).

During the thirties and forties folktales became popular as a result of the rise of national feeling under the Condominium rule. The prose tale is known as *ḥikaya*. The narrator of the *hikaya* usually performs them with facial expressions, gestures and mimicry of human and animal voices.

The thirties marked a new era in the development of Sudanese literature. According to Ali al-Makk (1997: 9), the reason behind this literary renaissance was the beginning of education and in particular the establishment of Gordon Memorial College and Omdurman Religious Institute. The former granted its students a chance to study the English language and to become acquainted with Western culture and civilization, while the latter taught its students Arabic language and literature, Islamic law and philosophy. Young writers started to publish articles in new magazines such as *al-Nuhda*, edited by ''Abbas Abul Resh 1931 and *al-Fajr,* edited by 'Arafat Muḥammad 'Abdallah. The influence of the West was obvious in their literary works. This either occurred through their reading and knowledge of English writers, or through reading translations of great works by the *Mahjqr* writers or Egyptians. Extracts from the articles by these young writers are discussed by Ali al Makk (1997: 11). In his article, الترف الكاذب (*The false Luxury,*) Aḥmad Yousif Hashim stirs aspirations and ambitions, and stimulates the spirit of nationalism in young people, drawing their attention to the value

of their homeland, its wealth and resources. He calls for the formation of a society of the educated young to fight false luxury as it, not colonialism is the basic factor in the nation's backwardness. Muḥammad 'Ashri al-Siddiq also calls the people to be grateful to the sacred homeland, as they "enjoy living on its land and under its sky, drink the water of its ancient Nile, feed from its land and feel its misery"(Al-Makk:33), and to support and pull it up. The three essays criticize the society and call for social reforms. 'Abdallah al-Ṭayyib maintains that Maḥjub's style is distinguished by artistic originality manifested in his combination of Arabic rhetoric and English fluency; and in the originality of thought manifested in his call for a society characterized by high ideals (Al- Ṭayyib, 1959: 36). Besides his taut style, Muḥammad 'Ashri's work is driven by his convictions.

II. B. 1. The Short Story:

The Sudanese short story first appeared in the nineteen twenties. Although it was a new genre it developed and gained popularity faster than the novel or the drama: yet it was far less popular than poetry. Sudanese short stories stood a little chance of study from Arab writers and critics. Mukhtar 'Ajuba, a Sudanese critic and short story writer, tackled the topic of the Sudanese short story in two books: *The Modern story in the Sudan* (1972) and *Examples of the Sudanese Short Story* (1972). In the introduction to the former book he reviews the historical development of the Sudanese short story, its pioneers and its themes, and its artistic characteristics. In the introduction to the latter he divides the short story into three types: Romantic, Realistic and Existentialist. 'Uthman Ali Nur was the first to publish a group of Sudanese short stories فتاة القرية (*Young Lady of the Village*) followed by two more collections, البيت المسكون (*The Haunted House*) and الحب الكبير (*The Great love*). Then he issued the *Story Magazine*, which contributed much by introducing many short story writers. Because of its size, the short story was easy to read and easy to publish, and it appealed to the reader in the same way as a poem. Because of the lack of a particular school, or exposure to direct translations, Sudanese writers followed the form of the Arabic short story along Egyptian lines. Thus, rather than depending on translations, they adopted the form and content of the Egyptian story. In its early period, the Sudanese short story was dominated by the Romantic trend. The story writers followed in the footsteps of leaders of the Sudanese Romantic movement such as al-Tijani Yousif Beshir, 'Arafat Muḥammad 'Abdulla, Ḥamza al-Malik Ṭambal and Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥjūb. Some of those names were closely connected with

Sudanese literary renaissance during the thirties and forties. They were concerned with the problems of the society and the new socialist attitudes. They dealt with themes such as living conditions, arranged marriage, women's emancipation Maḥjūb's, and interpersonal relations between the younger and the older generations. Some of them condemned city life and celebrated village life and the beauty of nature, in particular the Nile. The theme of the stories was romantic love. 'Arafat Muḥammad 'Abdallah and Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥjūb called for an authentic and distinctively Sudaneseliterature. In 1934 al-Fajr announced a short story competition, stipulating that the themes and the characters should be Sudanese. Writers started to write about family issues, travel and adventure. In the mid forties the short story writing stopped as a result of the Second World War, the censorship and the general conditions in the country. After the end of the war, the African and Asian liberation movements called for socialism in the struggle for political and ideological freedom. The intellectuals believed in socialism as the solution to the problems in their society. Although the post-war period in the Sudan witnessed some movement toward democracy, Mahjūb Muḥammad Ṣaliḥ maintains:

It was a period of tremendous upheaval. While literary censorship had been lifted some journalists faced trial for sedition. Others went to jail. Those who were not jailed faced fines. (Ṣaliḥ,1965:7)

Between the years 1930-45 the Sudanese short story writers turned to Realism. They had access to the Russian fiction translated into Arabic or English. They also read books by Howard Fast and Richard Wright, and the Arabic translation of John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* and *Mice and Men*. They also read the Arabic translation of Maxim Gorki's novel *The Mother,* and his biography. Under the pressure of cultural, social and political attitudes, the story writers tend to depict social attitudes and describe Sudanese social reality the kind of relationships dominating it and the changes occurring within it. Mukktar 'Ajuba (1972: 95) distinguishes between two kinds of realism. The social realist always preaches good while the realist presents the experience with complete impartiality. Mu'awiya Muḥammad Nur was a talented critic and fiction writer. He studied English at the American University in Beirut. His essays in literary criticism covered, Arabic, English, German and Russian literature. He went to Egypt and published his articles in its papers. His writing showed a deep vision and a wide knowledge of European thought and culture. He was very much concerned with the literature of his country, the Sudan. His story المكان(*The Place*) is an analytical story with an introduction to aid the reader in understanding it. In the introduction he notes that fiction

"should express the psychic and social crises and analyze the life of the individual and the society". He adds, "that kind of story telling art is not concerned with society's portrayal or social criticism; it tackles the most subtle and ambiguous scientific and psychological issues and mixes that with a kind of poetic talent and emotional obscurity" (Al-Makk, 1997: 189). This kind of art spread in Europe among English writers such as Virginia Wolf and Katherine Mansfield and the French writer Marcek Proust.

During the fifties Sudanese writers became aware of socialist realism through translation. They followed the examples of the Egyptians writers Najib Maḥfouz, Yousif Idris, 'Abdal Raḥman al-Sharqawi and others. Sudanese short story writers such as El Zubar Ali, Khujali Shukr Allah, and Muḥammad Sa'id M'aruf focused on the poor oppressed individual and the deplorable conditions he lived in. They depicted the suffering and the exploitation the villagers faced in the city. The heroes of these stories are crushed by colonial power ('Ajuba, 1972: 100). *The Case* by Ali al-Mak and *Walking Without Arriving* by Aḥmad al-Fadul Aḥmad condemn bureaucracy and illustrate its evils, revealing how it reflects upon the individual. In his short story *The Dome with the Crescent*, Muḥammad al-Mahdi Bushra depicts a form of Islam unique to Sudanese people, who believe in holy men and attribute miracles to them even after their death. It reveals the impact of this mystical belief on them. Yousif al-Atta, in his short story *The Question,* relates his childhood memories, depicting the customs and traditions of his village. *The Night Visitor* by Ibn Khaldoun portrays the theme of social change and its consequences.

Eissa al-Ḥilu and Muṣṭafa Mubarak Muṣṭafa are prominent figures among Sudanese existentialists. Indeed, Muṣṭafa M. Muṣṭafa is the major existentialist Sudanese writer. His collection *Why Does the City Laugh* (1967), describes the individual's everyday interaction with his natural and social environments. He utilizes أحاجي (tales), أساطير (myths or legends), خرافة(fairy tales or fables) in addition to the proverbs and morals of village people.   Ḥalim Barakat Eissa al-Ḥilo was a critic and existentialist short story writer. His short story *The Dolls* is translated into English by al-Sir Khider. His story نذير المطر (*The Rain's Harbinger*) is translated into English by 'Abdullahi Hashim.

The South is a reservoir of folklore and diversity of cultures and religions ('Ajuba, 1972: 145-146). Unfortunately, this takes the form of an oral tradition which is passed from one generation to the other, with very little being published. The British educational policy and 'closed area system' led to the uneven development of the country. With no education, no

223

papers or magazines and no exposure to the outside world, the South remained backward. By the signing of the Addis Abbaba Agreement in 1973 and government policy intended to create a sense of unified cultural identity, Southerners such as Lo Liyong Taban, Jacob Jel Akol, Francis Phillip, Agnes Poni-Lako, Estela Gaitano and Atem Yaak started to write.. They wrote in English and the establishment of *Sudanow* English magazine drew attention to their work. Their writing draws from their experience of long war, as well as from their cultural background. The Southerners depend on the myth and superstition which constitutes the backbone of Southern society. They deal with the universal phenomena in terms of myth. Their cultural, ethnic diversity and heritage have not yet been written of in a creative manner. The short stories *The Return of the Storm* by Jacob Jel, *For the Love of Apai* by Francis Philip, *The Son-in-Law* by Agnes Poni-Lako and *Two lives* by Atem Yaak, all end in death as a punishment for the individual for not adhering to the rules and traditions of the community. This harsh but fair and logical punishment makes the stories realistic. *The Price of Love* by Jacob Jel Akol deals with the impact of modern values on the traditions of the Dinka tribe. *The Great Fish Trial* by Jonathan Mayen Nguen is a folktale which reflects a rich folklore and mythology. It is through the short story that Sudanese writers protest and express their political and social views. They also deal with values, traditions and customs brought by foreigners.

II. B. 2. The Sudanese Novel:

The novel is the most recent and least productive branch of Sudanese fiction writing. It is both unknown to the Arabic reader and remote from the Western reader, as Sudanese literature is still in isolation. Novel writing can be divided into two periods: the pre-Independence period and the post-Independence period: however, the actual beginning of this form dates back to the period which followed Sudanese Independence ('Ajuba, 1972: 110). The pre-Independence novel dealt with the search for identity, while the post-Independence novel granted a historical identity, with its negative and positive aspects.

 The date of the first Sudanese Arabic novel   is unknown, perhaps because the authors did not continue writing. Generally, the writer tends to produce only one or two novels and then disappear, perhaps for lack of a means of publication. There are however novels which are considered to be landmarks in the history of the development of   the Sudanese novel. Although there were several early works by Malkat al-Dar Muḥammad and Khalil 'Abdullah al-Ḥaj, it was Abu Bakr Khalid who wrote the first Sudanese novel but it was published after

Independence. The story of تاجوج (*Tajuj*) by Osman Muḥammad Hashim during the thirties was based on romance and heroism ('Abdin, 1967:346). The story of موت دنيا (*Death of a World*), a personal biography by Muḥammad Aḥmad Maḥjūb and 'Abd al-Ḥalim Muḥammad about their shared experience during their university study, is classified by some as a novel. Malkat al-Dar's novel الفراغ العريض (*Vast Emptiness*) relates aspects of the psychology of a Sudanese working woman and her disappointment in love. The novel has social and artistic merit. It is the first novel written by a woman and it is rated by critics as the first true novel from a technical point of view (175). Although published in 1970, it was written in the early fifties and it was discussed by الندوة الأدبية(*The Literary Club*) Her first creative work was حكيم القريه(*The Village Physician*) , a short story which won the Sudan Radio prize during the forties. That event encouraged others, who wrote under false names, to appear. Abu Bakr Khalid is considered the first major Sudanese novelistt. He gained recognition for his commitment to the novel genre and for his success as a novelist. His stay in Cairo, where he studied, helped in developing his writing skills. He was very much influenced by Najib Mahfouz, He participated in the literary life of Cairo and worked in ركن السودان (*Sudan Corner*) on Radio Cairo. He was given the opportunity to publish his books and to write in the Cairo's papers and magazines. His novels address political conflict and social issues such as youths' problems and the role of women in society. He was criticized for his focus on his ideology (leftist) at the expense of his writing technique and characterization.

The pre-Independence novel is represented by such works as انهم بشر (*They Are Men*) by Khalil 'Abdullah al-Ḥaj in 1961; غربة الروح (*The Banishment of the Spirit*) by Ibrahim al-Ḥardallo in 1973 and بداية الربيع (*The Beginning of the Spring*) by Abu Bakr Khalid in 1958. *The Beginning of the Spring* deals with the history of the beginning of fiction writing in the Sudan, and it discusses the life and works of Sudanese men of letters such as Muḥammad Aḥmad Mahjūb, Muḥammad 'Ashri al-Ṣiddiq, Ḥamza al-Malik Tamble, al-Tijani Yousif Bashir and Mu'awia Nur, who have influenced both the form and content of the Sudanese novel. It is a valuable novel, "written with a full and genuine awareness on the part of the author, of the dimensions of the political battle in which his society was engaged" (Shukry, 1972: 49-52). He went on to say that it was the first Sudanese fictional narrative to capture the true nature of the Sudanese land and its people. However the novel deals in generalizations and lacks in-depth analysis of the human condition. Abu Bakr Khalid's النبع المر (*The Bitter Spring*), also by Abu Bakr Khalid, focuses on the crisis of freedom during the military regime of General Aboud.

Al Nur Osman Abbakr believes that Ibrahim Ishaq's novels حدث في القرية (*An Event in the Village*), 1969 and أمل الليل و القرية (*Chores of The Night and The Town*), 1969, together with Ṭayyib Ṣaliḥ 's novels عرس الزين وبندرشاه (*The Wedding of Zein* and *Bandar Shah*), attempt to project both the negative and positive aspects of the Sudanese historical identity. He also believes that Ṭayyib Ṣaliḥ 's موسم الهجره الى الشمال (*Season of Migration to the North*) is the only Sudanese novel which is concerned with all of humankind. The last two decades have seen the creative experience of a huge number of writers and poets. Some of the short story collection are تحولات في عالم الاحلام(*Transformations in the World of Dreams)*, by Yahia Fadlallah (in Canada), زهور ذابلة (*Withered Flowers*) by Estella Qaitano and أحزان أم , الناس(*Sorrows of the People's Mother)* by Mubarak al Sadiq. Yhia Fadlallah depicts a pure Kordofanian reality. He has the ability to move the reader from one scene to another. Southern creative writing makes a significant contribution to Sudanese literature, as it is different form literature in the North. Southerners tend to be more Western oriented as they are brought up as Christians. Their writing reflects their roots and their rich cultural background, which is different from the Arab Muslim one. They tend to identify more with African than Arab culture and are influenced by African writers. Francis Deng for example is a highly intellectual writer. Lo liyong Taban left the Sudan as an infant. He studied and worked in African and American universities, returned to Sudan after the peace agreement of 2005. He wrote *Franz Fanon's Uneven Ribs* (1971), *Another Nigger Dead* (1972), and *Ballads of Underdevelopment* (1976). He was influenced by Chenua Asbe, James Njuji and Frantz Fanon. In collaboration with Henry Owuor-Anyumba and renowned Kenyan academic and writer Ngugi Wa Thiang'o, he wrote *On the Abolition of the English Department.* Despite his various contributions to poetry and fiction, Liyong considers his essays of most significance, calling them "essays with a practical nature". His eclectic and unconventional approaches to literature and literary theory criticized neocolonialism, the new method by which former colonial nations maintained their dominance over the newly-independent states. Acknowledging the formidable influence of European literature over African writing, Liyong and his colleagues called for the educational system to emphasize oral tradition (as a key traditional African form of learning), Swahili literature, as well as prose and poetry from African-American and Caribbean writers. He is currently the Acting Vice Chancellor of Juba University in South Sudan.

There is positive development in the narrative in the Sudan. The generation of the eighties and nineties in particular have tackled many issues such as issues related to myth and religion,

Islam and Christianity. However the question of identity, though central **in** Sudanese literature in general, is the basic element for Southerners, who have been most affected as a result of the long conflicts and wars. Francis Deng's novels, are considered a model for addressing identity, and *The Seed of Redemption* is his most important novel. Almost all the Southern writers produce their work in English, with the exception of Estella Qaitano who writes in Arabic. Her wonderful contemporary and most recent collection can be taken as a genuine model of social realism. From the realities of oppression, poverty and marginalisation, she has chosen the stage for her short story collection, زهور ذابلة *Withered Flowers* to be from the environment of the deprived and the marginalised people of the Sudan, the dwellers of the slums, the remote borders, the refugee camps and the tin or cardboard houses. She has plunged inside that world and painted a portrait of the human misery those people live in their dreary life and bitter struggle for survival. The reader can smell the rottenness of the characters and the places. She draws in the colour of dejection, homelessness, degradation, hunger and deprivation. Under titles such as (زهور ذابلة *Withered Flower*), نحو الموت و السجون (*Towards Death and Prisons*), نحو الموت و عوالم مجهولة *Toward Madness and Maps of Unknown Worlds*) she depicts human misery. The collection combines two parallel lines, or an exchange of roles between the tragic death or the tragic life of the characters. Her short story (وليمة ما بعد المطر *The After-rain Banquet*) is about the rain ritual and the method of handling it through myth. It is about the naïve belief that the rain comes from an unknown, obscure place as a result of the *Kujur's* effort. In *Towards Madness* the mother is imprisoned by the authorities after being accused of possessing and selling home-made wine which is the family's only source of income. She spends this money on sustaining the children and for the treatment of the ill father. She is released after serving her sentence to find no husband, no children and no house. The husband has died of tuberculosis, the house has been demolished by the government under the excuse of planning and the children have become homeless. As a result she goes mad. The way she draws her characters: the narrator in بحيرة بحجم ثمرة الباباي (*A Lake of the Size of the Babaya Fruit*) describes her grandma as very ugly like a gorilla: her lips are thick, her head is big good for sitting on without any difficulties, her lower lip is decorated with a hole which she closes with a piece of timber she had specially carved for that purpose. When she takes off this piece of timber her saliva comes through the hole. There is another hole in her snub nose. Her eyes are red with blown up eyelids. Her breast is as big as a *babaya* fruit which has become flabby with the action of age and extended to the navel. Despite her ugliness and smelly body the narrator still loves her. She brought her up after her mother died while giving birth to her. She breast fed her till she was ten. She

never felt disgusted by her salty sweat while she was being fed from her breast. Her mother dies as she is giving birth to her, her father is killed by an ox on a hunting journey and her grandpa is sentenced to death by the British after killing a British man. The story is related to the *Totem* and the myth. The narrator says she can see the horizon through the hole of her grandmother's ear papilla while she follows her to get water. They are on their way when she sees a crocodile: she tells her that it is her grandfather. In her story   كل شيء هنا يغلي

(Everything Here Boils), Estella depicts the inhuman situation in a refugee camp, in direct language. The story is about illness, poverty and ignorance. Every word contributes to portraying the tragic condition of human degradation. The chaos and confusion transcends the characters' surroundings to their minds. They are so confused that they applaud raids the way they do aid although the aid is no less devastating than the raids. The juxtaposition between "aid… aid… aid" and "raid.. raid… raid", is telling. Here are some extracts:

مقدمة

كل شيء هنا يغلي

المكـان: حي شعبي او بالادق عشوائي
المـوقع: بعيد عن العاصمة بعد الصالحين عن الجحيم
الزمـن: زمن النزوح..زمن الحرب..الحرب الذى ضدك أو ضدك
السكان : غبش
الرائحة : رائحة البراز والخمر

(Qaitano, 2000: 1).

Translation

 Everything here boils:

The Place: A public (folk) quarter or precisely a random accommodation

The location: As removed from the capital as the good people from Hell

The time: the time of displacement… the time of war…. The war against you or against you

The inhabitants: downtrodden.

The smell: the smell of excrement and wine.

ترى النسوة فى نشاطهن اليومى ينقلن الخمور من مكان لآخر متنافسات على الخامة الجيدة ونظافة مجلس الزبائن .فالشعار المرفوع هنا "بيتك للكل،

لان الكل فى بيتك ،لأن بيتك فى الشارع والشارع من تراب.

Women are seen performing their daily activities, moving wines from one place to another; they are competing on good quality and the cleanliness of the place to please the customers. The motto raised here is "home to all, because everyone is in your house, because your house is on the street and the street is from the dust"

Before ending this part abrief account of Sudanese drama should be given. Although I have not allocated a section for drama in this thesis, I have looked at the dramatic elements in poetry and fiction. Sudanese society is full of drama. Different kinds of ritual dance are performed in the *Zar* ceremony, at bereavements where women dance in the *nuggara* holding swords, the *Kampala* harvest dance, the fire spitting tradition and the *dhikr* and *tar* groups at the *Maulid* celebration. The inauguration of the *Reth* of the *Shuluk* tribe is a big drama which involves the whole ethnic group. Till 1902 the drama was only amateur activities and personal attempts. After the establishment of Gordon Memorial College in 1902 Shakespeare was taught and his plays were presented. Drama written by Egyptian and Lebenese writers was Sudanized and acted. The first Sudanese play was *Tajuj* by Khalid Aburrous in 1930. The famous play, *Al Mak Nimir, 1937,* by Ibrahim al Abbadi was a kind of public mobilisation, a call for national identity and shunning tribal prejudices. The year 1959 witnessed the establishment of the Sudanese National Theatre.

PART THREE

Sudanese Literature in English Translation: A Semantic and Syntactic Analysis:

This chapter approaches the question of the translation of Sudanese literary works through a close analysis of examples with a view to illustrating and addressing specific problems that can emerge from translation. The samples are drawn from various literary genres. Translation theory is used to demonstrate the role of translation in introducing Sudanese literature, as well as its shortcomings in conveying some crucial Sudanese idioms and cultural references. Theories of meaning, equivalence and limits of translatability are applied to discuss both linguistic and cultural untranslatability in this context.

Many studies have been made of the nature and meaning of meaning, with considerable debate, linguistic, social and philosophical, generated about the three theories. This work does not aim to discuss these theories or evaluate the literary samples. What is relevant and more germane here is the application of the three theories of translation rather than their abstract notions. The analysis will benefit from the contributions of ten native speaker informants who read the translations of the Sudanese literary works selected for analysis. The feedback from them constitutes a very important part of the analysis.

Five of the informants were of Sudanese nationality. All were born and received primary, secondary and university education in Sudan but are presently residents in or citizens of the United Kingdom. Three informants were female and two were male. Three studied Arabic language and literature at Sudanese universities, two were graduates of Khartoum University, and the remaining one did not go to university but was highly literate. The other five informants were all English-speaking citizens with no knowledge of Arabic. Three were male and two female. All were university graduates of Social Sciences and Arts departments. The age of the ten informants ranged between thirty and sixty five years.

All the informants appreciated the excerpts as pieces of literature. Almost all of them found the themes and the style relevant and attractive. Informants with the Arabic background were naturally more useful in answering the questions about poetic features unique to Arabic prosody, such as rhythm, rhyme and metre, as those with no Arabic background had no knowledge of the original. Regarding difficulties encountered, both groups found various

cases of ambiguity. Most difficulties were in the field of the cultural references and lexical items.

English and Arabic are remote linguistically and culturally. However, both cultures are influenced by Greek thought, and furthermore, being based on the somewhat related religions of Islam and Christianity, they have many points in common. Islam has always considered itself as a continuation of the same message delivered by Judaism and Christianity. Nevertheless, differences in the two cultures pose a challenge for the translators of both languages.

111.1. Theory of Meaning:

Studies in meaning and translation were carried out by Classical Arabic linguists like 'Amr ibn Baḥr Al-Jaḥiẓ and his successors from the 9th century onwards. More recent contributions were made by European linguists like J. R. Firth, E. A. Nida and his successors, and contemporary linguists like Susan Bassnett, Basil Hatim and Mona Baker. British linguists like Firth have conducted extensive research on various aspects of meaning. This work avoids complex discussion of these aspects, however as noted above, it applies the theory to discuss some problems of translation from Arabic to English. Firth argues that the study of language is the study of meaning and that meaning is the property of language. In other words, translation is mainly a process of testing the potentialities of meaning in both the source language and the target language, i.e. the role of language in social life. The basic proof of the meaning of a sentence is its understanding by its speaker. Seuren notes, "The safest method for a descriptive linguist is to ask a language-user whether he understands two given sentences as the same or not, not what a given sentence means" (Seuren, 1985:51).

Firth proposed the splitting of meaning or function into a series of component functions. He states:

> Each function will be defined as the use of some language form or element in relation to some context. Meaning, that is to say, is to be regarded as a complex of contextual relations, and phonetics, grammar, lexicography, and semantics each handles its own components of the complex in its appropriate context (Firth, 1951:19).

Firth views had great influence on other linguists like G. Leech, B. Malinowski and J. Lyons. Leech assumes that the study of meaning-in-context is logically subsequent to the study of

semantic competence but it is difficult to study meaning outside context. Like Firth he divides meaning into a series of component functions. He divides meaning into seven ingredients: "Conceptual, connotative, stylistic, affective, reflected, collocative and thematic." (Leech, 1974:11)

He emphasises that meaning can best be studied as a linguistic phenomenon in its own right, not as something outside language. In other words to know a language on the semantic level is to know what is involved in recognising relation of meaning between sentences and in recognising which sentences are meaningful and which are not. Peter Newmark who was concerned with the problems of translation criticised dictionaries for not accounting for associative meaning. Like Firth he stresses the collocation aspect. He states:

> Some critics believe that the cognitive function of the text is more important than its persuasive function or (expressive) function; that whilst in translation the cognitive (i.e. extra-linguistic) can and must always be achieved, the other factor, the connotative, stylistic or 'pragmatic' defies accuracy, and is therefore secondary. (Newmark, 1973:13).

The same idea of meaning promoted by Firth and his successors was advocated by al Jaḥiẓ (775-868). He had great interest in and wrote about the communication processes, communication gaps and communication media, including non-linguistic signs. The dualism of form and content was a major topic of early Arabic literary theory. An extensive discussion regarding the function of language in this period distinguished between *Maʻna*, connoting meaning or idea, on one hand, and *lafẓ* connoting speech and wording on the other, seen as poles which split meaning or function into a series of component functions. Al- Jaḥiẓ held that the acts of *fahm* (understanding) and *ifham (*making understood) cannot be conceived independently from each other. He always took *alsami'* (the recipient) into consideration. *(*Al-Jaḥiẓ I, 2002:43).

According to Jaḥiẓ for the best communication the speaker needs to know both the value of meaning and that of the audience and should strike a balance between them. The utterance should not be colloquial or vulgar; neither should it be strange or wild unless the speaker is an Arab Bedouin. The speaker should not try to correct utterances. Wild utterance suits wild or rough speakers and audiences; this realisation is to be the basis on which the writer builds his characters and dialogues:

ينبغي للمتكلم ان يعرف اقدار المعاني و يوازن بينها و بين اقدار المستمعين بين اقدار الحالات فيجعل لكل طبقة
من   ذلك كلاما و لكل حالة مقاما حتى يقسم اقدار الكلام على اقدار المعاني و يقسم اقدار المعاني على
اقدارالمقامات و اقدار المستمعين على اقدار تلك الحالات وكما لا ينبغي ان يكون اللفظ عاميا ساقطا سوقيا

There is a very close link between meaning and translation. Translation, basically, examines the potentialities of meaning in both the SL and the TL.

Meaning will be discussed under three main headings: (a) Collocation; (b) Context of situation; and (c) Grammar and Meaning.

III.1.A. Collocation:

The idea of 'meaning by collocation' was suggested by Firth and other scholars at London University. He notes:

> Meaning by collocation is an abstraction on the syntagmatic level and is not directly concerned with the conceptual idea approach to the meaning of words. One of the meanings of the night is its collocability with the dark and of dark, of course, collocation with night. This kind of mutuality may be paralleled in most languages and has resulted in similarities of poetic diction in literatures sharing common classical sources (Firth, 1943-51:196).

Thus, collocation is a formal relation which explains how languages vary in the way lexical items collocate or co-occur with other items in the text. The idea of 'mutuality' echoes Jaḥiẓ's idea of form and content. The more distant the relation, the more different is the lexical stock. This is very important in translation, both theoretically and practically. Translation of texts from unrelated cultures is bound to bring about unusual collocations of words and phrases in the target text. By collocation the habitual association of a word in a language with other particular words in sentences is meant, as *"speakers become accustomed to the collocation of words and the mutual expectancies that hold between them in utterances irrespective of their grammatical relations"* (Robins, 1980: 67-78). The lexicon of people does reflect their focal interests and mentality, but the collocation of words can reveal a deeper level of perceptual and conceptual complexities.

According to Mona Baker, every word in a language can be said to have a range of items or a set of collocates with which it is compatible to a greater or a lesser degree. However, meaning cannot always account for collocational patterning. Words which are considered to be synonyms or near-synonyms will often have quite different sets of collocates. The verb 'pay' typically collocates with visit; it is less likely to collocate with 'make' and unlikely to collocate with 'perform'. English speakers typically 'break rules', but they do not 'break regulations'. Thus, patterns of collocation are independent of meaning both within and across

233

languages. For this reason, words like 'watch' and 'lamp' may be considered by the non-native speaker as equivalent to 'clock', 'bulb' and therefore as interchangeable (Baker, 1992:47).

Arabic formulae (Piamenta, 1979:1) are also vehicles of effective communication of feeling and emotion. They enhance contemporary Arabic writing in socio-cultural and socio-emotional context stimulated by situation, attitudes and emotions in response. The invocations formulae, such as congratulations, condolences, greetings and wishes are inspired by religion and in most instances include the name of Allah. Though common in Arabic, spoken by all creeds, they have not lost their Islamic essence. Some religious expressions have their words collocate with each other. Their parts are united into one concept because of continuous recurrence in the Qur'an. According to Piamenta whenever you hear the first word you expect the second to follow. The word 'الله Allah' will follow on hearing or reading the words سبحان , الحمدor لا اله:

Glory be to Allah	سبحان الله
Praise be to Allah	الحمد لله
No God but Allah	لا اله الا الله

In the following expressions, whenever the first word is uttered, there is high probability that the second will follow:

The First and the Last	الأول والآخر
Mankind and jinn	الأنس و الجن
World and religion	الدين والدنيا
Life of the world and hereafter	الحياة الدنيا والآخرة
Wealth and children	المال والبنون

The third one is mentioned in Chapter 87 of the *Qur'an*:

بل تؤثرون الحياة الدنيا و الآخرة خير وأبقى

The Qur'anic verse stresses the contrast between the spiritual life in Heaven and the material life of the world. It is rendered by A. Y. Ali (The Meaning of The Holy Qur'an, 87: 16) as,

Nay (behold), ye prefer the life of this world; but the Hereafter is better and more enduring.

and by M. Pickthall (The Meaning of The Glorious Koran, 87 :16) as,

But ye prefer '<u>the life of the world</u>' although <u>the Hereafter</u> is better and more lasting.

Both translations literally rendered the second part of the verse as 'Hereafter' but paraphrased the first part as 'the life of the world'. Although the translation is not as precise as the original, it nevertheless, successfully conveyed the two opposing concepts, avoiding the English association.

The same applies to the Arabic idiom الدين و الدنيا. Rendering it as 'the religion and the world' would be as unfamiliar collocation in English. The phrase المال و البنون is also a familiar Arabic collocation, while its English counterpart 'wealth and children' is an odd collocation.

The translators, furthermore, may, under the influence of the collocations of the items in the SL, disregard the normal usage of the receptor language and resort to word-for-word translation of the English item. Consider the following colloquial Sudanese idiom, ربنا يجعله بيت مال و عيال ' May the Lord make it a home of good fortune and many children' (Ṣaliḥ, Zein, 2004:271).

Thus, lexical items in the source language and TL have different collocation ranges. In Arabic there are such lexical combinations as 'A house of wealth and children', which should be considered as a unit. They are examples of how the vocabulary of a language falls into patterns that are different from grammatical patterns. More often a translator produces sentences which conform to the grammatical patterns of the language, but are unacceptable. The word 'home' in the above quotation is used figuratively, and the reference is to marriage. Collocates of 'house' or 'home' in Arabic includes references to poetry, hirsute, knowledge, God, etc.

بيت شعر A hirsute home	Tent made of camel/goat hair
بيت شِعر Verse	A line in a traditional poem
بيت العلم Knowledge home	Centre or cradle of knowledge
بيت الله Allah's House	The Kaʿ ba, The Holy Mosque in Mecca

With the exception of number two, all the items above refer to locations. A possible TL equivalent will be "may God bless this union!"

It is obvious that the great impact created by a familiar collocation in a very short Arabic expression of four words is lost in a long paraphrase of eight words and an odd collocation in the English. Moreover, the word home is a literal translation of بيتalthough the reference

235

here is to marriage. So 'happy marriage, 'blessed marriage' or blessed union would be more suitable.

Consider the following English fixed expressions and their literal translation:-

Bread and butter	خبز وزبد
Mix and mach	أخلط و وائم
Cash and carry	ادفع وأحمل
Pay as you talk	ادفع كلما تتكلم
Watch Dogs	كلاب الرقابه

These are simple collocations, however they reflect a lot about the English way of life. Literally translated into Arabic, they sound unnatural and produce a strange or even humorous effect. Hence Baker notes, "Some collocations are in fact a direct reflection of the material, social or moral reflection of the environment in which they occur" (Baker, 1994:49). The literal translation of the English expression "Watch Dogs" as كلاب الحراسة is funny. It can be rendered as الرقابة or المراقبة. The English expression 'bread and butter' means the same in Arabic yet within their separate cultural contexts they do not signifies the same object. In Arabic the word bread does not collocate with butter. It naturally collocates with جبن i.e. خبز وجبن. The possible Arabic equivalent in colloquial Sudanese is عيش وملح Both the expressions 'bread and butter' and عيش و ملح convey the same social and cultural overtones. The idiomatic use signifies the basic essentials and means of livelihood. The word bread refers to the staple food i.e. the cheap popular meal in general, or to one's livelihood. So the English expression can be functionally equivalent to both the Arabic expression خبز و جبن and the colloquial Sudanese expression العيش والملح although the word عيش in Sudanese colloquial Arabic refers to the sorghum rather than a loaf of bread made of wheat flour, and furthermore in some Gulf states e.g. Oman, it refers to rice. Depending on the context, the expression in the Sudan refers to the strong bond which unites people and it is sometimes expressed as الملح و الملاح. In Egypt when it collocates with *tahiniyya* طحينية it refers to the meal offered to prisoners, i.e. عيش و حلاوة. So the problem of equivalence here invoves the utilization and the perception of the object in a given contxt. To avoid awkward expressions the translator should resort to paraphrasing or providing a local equivalent.

Collocation also includes idiomatic usage. Fixed expressions and idioms are made up of words which collocate with each other. In some idioms and fixed expressions, when one hears

the first word, the second will certainly follow: in others there is a high probability that the second word will follow. Some Arabic idioms have English counterparts which are functionally and lexically equivalent to them, e.g.

روحا ونصا   :   spirit and text or spirit and letter

شكلا ومضمونا او قلبا و قالبا :   form and content

جزء لا يتجزأ   :   Part and Parcel

111. 1.B. Context of Situation:

According to Robins, when the native speaker uses his/her language he/she relies not on what is said or written at a specific time but also on the previous knowledge acquired from similar and varied situations. Robins argues that meaning should be studied in context: "study of meaning-in-context is logically subsequent to the study of semantic competence" (Robins, 1984: 35). In the same vein, Beaugrande and Dressler write that "A text does not make sense by itself, but by interaction of text presented knowledge with the people's stored knowledge of the world" (Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981: 66).

The greatest problem when translating a text from a period remote in time is not only that the writer and his/her contemporaries are dead, but that the relevance of the text in its context is dead too. Maria Corti writes:

Every era produces its own type of signed-ness, which is made to manifest in social and literary models. As soon as these models are consumed and reality seems to vanish, new signs become needed to recapture reality and this allows us to recapture (Corti, 1978:145).

Translators of texts from remote times encounter problems relating to the choice of either archaic or modern language in the target text. In literary translation there is added the problem of the aesthetic effect. The word *petty* in a text taken from Macbeth Act V Scene V quoted by Hatim (Hatim, 1990:42) poses a problem:

> Tomorrow and Tomorrow and tomorrow,
>
> Creeps in this *petty* pace from day to day,
>
> To the last syllable of recorded time.

Petty is intended in the sense of 'slow' and not 'trivial' as in current temporal dialect. Arab translator selected بطيء which is restricted to Modern Standard and therefore sacrifices the aesthetic effect achieved by the rest of text. Hatim suggests that وئيد (unhurried, slow) would

237

successfully preserve both the referential and aesthetic values of Classical Arabic. In the above example, the translator focuses on the impact of translation and its effective communication with the target readership rather than concentrating on form and semantic equivalent.

Through careful planning and preparation, the translator makes guesses as to the degree of formality, generality or specificity and emotional appeal to apply in producing the target text. In assessing the text to be translated, the translator may be guided by the tenor of the ST to identify the tone of address and the level of formality and informality seen, as required and utilised by the originator. The translator's emphasis will depend on a number of assumed factors concerning the target readership, including composition, cognitive capability and knowledge of the world. Gutt stresses the potential impact of the target readership dimension on the framing of transition strategy and choice:

> Whatever decision the translator reaches is based on his intuitions or beliefs about what is relevant to his audience. The translator does not have direct access to the cognitive environment of his audiences; he does not actually know what it is like - all he can have is some assumptions or beliefs about it (Gutt, 1991:112).

Interestingly, Al-Jaḥiẓ has long noted that every notion has its tongue which expresses it: the mad speaks with the tongue of the mad, and so on.

Pioneer Sudanese dramatist Aḥmed al Ṭayyib translated and staged William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *The Tempest*. He was able to produce them for certain actors, to a certain audience and in a certain time and place. The actors were his students, and the audience, besides the teaching staff and students, were the villagers of a small village called *Bakhat al Ridha* on the White Nile. Schools at that time were a focal cultural and social point for entertainment for the both the Institute and the villagers as there was no cinema in the village that time. Discussion of extracts of his translations may illustrate some relevant points. Extracts from his translation of various plays by William Shakespeare will be discussed.

The following is a dialogue between Hamlet and the Gravedigger:

Hamlet:

Hamlet: How long will a man lie i'th earth ere he rot?

Gravedigger: Faith, if he be not rotten before he die- as we have many pocky corses nowadays that will scarce hold the laying in- he will last you some eight year or nine year. A tanner will last you nine year.

Hamlet: Why he more than another?

Gravedigger: Why, sir, his hide is tanned with his trade that a will keep out water a great while, and your water is a sore decayer of your whoreson dead body. (Shakespeare, 2005: 2.2, 711)

<div dir="rtl">

هاملت : كم من الزمن يظل الشخص في باطن الأرض قبل أن يتعفن؟

حفار القبور : اسبوعين دا لو ما جا معفن من بيته الا الدباغين

هاملت : و لماذا يبقون أكثر من غيرهم؟

حفار القبور: القرض يقرضن قريضة

</div>

('Abd al Raḥman, F. 2002:43)

In this way Zein al-'Abdin gives each of the social classes represented by the prince and the gravedigger the appropriate language, and each profession its own vocabulary. He also considers the geographical environment. The text is Sudanised in such a manner that it entertains and appeals to the Sudanese audience. The word قرض is savannah vegetation which grows in equatorial climates. Al-Tayyib plays on the double meaning of the word قرض as the local substance used in tanning hides and its other meaning, which is to cause to perish.

Elsewhere, inAl-Tayyib's translation of the Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, (Shakespeare, 2.2 :520) the chorus realizes that an era has gone and a new era started, so they cry. Falstaff asks the chorus to sing. The songs selected draw on contemporary Sudanese songs and the chorus are directed to imitate Ethiopian singers chanting with a defective Sudanese pronunciation as highlighted in the text. The alphabet letters are produced as follows:

<div dir="rtl">

ح   as   ه in الحبايب

ط   as   ت in المطر

ص   as   س in تصب

</div>

<div dir="rtl">

ع   as   **أ**   **in**   علينا

فلسطاف للجوقة: كفوا عن البكاء لا تقلبوا ملهاتنا ماساة غنوا معي.

يغنوا كما تغني حسناوات الحبشان :

يا الهبايب كيف شافروا تسيبونا

كان مشيتوا لي دياركم اذكرونا

مينا أر أر في مصوع كاتبونا

تجدونا كما كنا و المتر تسب ألينا

</div>

('Aba al-Raḥman, F. : 43)

239

For Ophelia in *Hamlet*, (Shakespeare, 4.5:708) Ahmed Al-Tayyib chooses a line of poetry in standard Arabic to express her misfortunes:

<div dir="rtl" align="center">ان حظي كدقيق فوق شوك نثروه   ثم قالوا لحفاة يوم ريح أجمعوه</div>

(Gamaʻa, 1983:43).

In *The Tempest*, for the dialogue between Prospero, the right Duke of Milan and Caliban Al-Tayyib chooses standard Arabic for Prospero and Egyptian dialect for Caliban. Caliban imitates Egyptian pronunciation of the Arabic consonant letter ق by producing the verb قال as آل and mixing between colloquial and standard with a hint of Qurʼanic Arabic in the same sentence (كليبينات صغيرات ظريفات ثيبات و أبكارا).

The dialogue between Prospero and Caliban is as follows:

Prospero: Thou most lying slave, I have used thee, filth as thou are, with human care, lodged thee in my own cell, till thou didst seek violate the honour of my child.

Caliban: O ho, O ho! Would't had been done! Thou didst prevent me; I had people else this isle with Calibans. (Shakespeare, I.2:1227)

Zein al-ʻAbdin writes:

<div dir="rtl" align="center">برسبرو لكلبان:</div>

<div dir="rtl">**بروسبرو :** لقد علمتك اللغة و الكلمات بعد ان كنت تجمجم كالوحوش و أدنيتك مني حتى كدت ان تعتدى على عفاف ابنتي</div>

<div dir="rtl">كلبان (بلهجة المصريين) : آل عفا ف آل هو في عفاف اللامات دول ليتني فعلت ولو اني فعلت لامتلأت الجزيرة بكليبانات صغيرات ظريفات ثيبات و ابكا را</div>

<div dir="rtl" align="center">('Abd al-Raḥman, F : 44).</div>

III.1.C. Grammar and Meaning:

Meaning is often thought of only in terms of words and idioms, while grammar is taken to mean mere arbitrary rules of arrangement. In fact, grammar does carry meaning. Even in a nonsensical utterance one can identify grammatical classes of the nonsensical word as noun, adjective verb or article. A nonsensical sentence like *the boy rones tintly* is accepted by an English native speaker as something meaningful akin to *the cat moves slowly*. At least, it is understood that somebody 'does something' in a 'certain way.' From past experience of language, the listener in this case can identify *rones* as the present form of the verb in the singular, like moves, runs, etc. and *tintly* as an adverb similar in form to slowly, quickly etc. The meaningfulness of grammar is also illustrated by contrasting pairs like: *Naturally he did it* and *He did it naturally,* in which *naturally* has two quite different meanings because it is used in two different grammatical constructions. Even the combinations *Did you go* and *You*

240

did go can be uttered with the same intonation pattern, but the grammatical differences of order provide quite different meanings (Nida, 1974:35).

Language then is a patterned activity. We must know the grammar of English in order to interpret speech correctly. Knowing the vocabularies of the language enables use of them in various patterns and the ability to identify those patterns. Consulting a grammar book is as important for translation as consulting a dictionary. According to Nida and his colleagues, many mistakes could have been avoided in the translation of the *Qur'an* had the translators had better command of the syntax of the SL and TL. He recommended that the translator should be fully acquainted with the meaning of syntactic structure. This is the area in particular where the translator shows weakness. English and Arabic, though genetically and culturally unrelated, can both be said to consist of five units. At the top of the scale there is the sentence, which may consist of one or more clauses, the clause of one group or more, the group of one word or more, the word of one morpheme or more. The morpheme is the minimal unit, which does not constitute meaning by itself. It comes at the bottom of the rank scale. To describe the two languages, it is convenient to operate within their units. But formal correspondence between Arabic and English is not always clean or neat. In fact the structure differs between the units in both languages. It is so diverse that the nature of their formal relation cannot be expressed at any rank lower than the clause or the sentence. The following example may be provided:

"The lawyer prepared the letter, the translator translated it."

This may have translation equivalent as (a) or (b) depending on the interpretation of the word 'translator'. Out of context, we may not be able to determine the gender of the item typist. In Arabic, the choice of masculine versus feminine is extremely important since it determines choices in other grammatical systems. Compare:
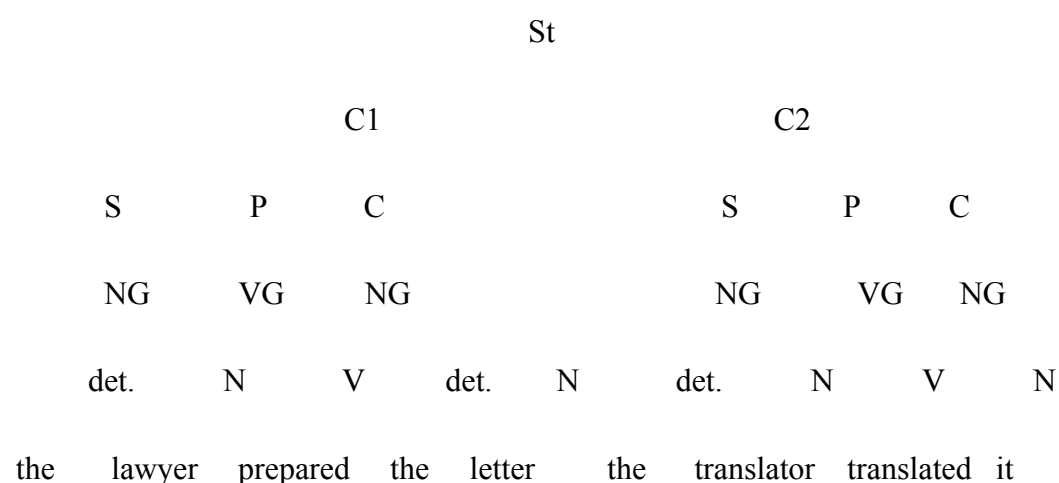
(a) أعد المحامي الخطاب فترجمه المترجم

(Prepared-he / the lawyer nom. / the letter acc. then / translated-he, the translator masc. sing. Nom)

(a) أعد المحامي الخطاب فترجمته المترجمة

(b) (Prepared-he/ the lawyer nom. /the letter acc./ then, / translated it/ the translator fem., sing. nom.)

241

It is obvious from the literal translation that correspondence at the rank of morpheme cannot be established because the process of word formation is different in both languages. This lack of correspondence at the lower rank may also have its bearing on the nature of correspondence at the higher rank. The above example in English is a contrast of three groups: NG1 + VG + NG2 the 2 NG. Each NG consists of 2 words; the VG of only one word. The Arabic equivalent also consists of three groups, but is distributed in a different order: VG + NG1 + NG2. The realisation of each group in terms of its constituent elements is also difficult. The Arabic verb form is a complex form. It inflects for gender, number, person, aspect and mood. The word أعدَ (prepared-he) is third person singular affirmative form. Each of the two nominal groups also contains one word but the word is again a complex form inflecting for gender, number, case and definiteness and indefiniteness. Definiteness and indefiniteness in English is expressed by a word; in Arabic either by a suffix, prefix.

The Arabic example and its translation equivalent may be represented by the following diagram:-

			St					
	C1				C2			
S	P	C		S	P	C		
NG	VG	NG		NG	VG	NG		
det.	N	V	det.	N	det.	N	V	N
the	lawyer	prepared	the	letter	the	translator	translated	it

It is obvious that there is a formal similarity between the two languages. Both languages can be described in terms of subject, object or predicate, although the order of elements is different: English: S, P, C is translated in Arabic into P, S, C. In both languages co-ordination is a device of sentence formation; however they are different in that Arabic does not favour omitting the co-ordinator, while in English both constructions are quite common. A feature of Arabic and perhaps all the Semitic languages is the extensive use of the connector و (and) even to begin a paragraph. The more distant genetically the relationship between the two languages, the greater is the formal divergence; and the more related they are the greater the similarity. Arabic, however is a highly inflective language.

From the example presented above, it has been illustrated that case endings are syntactic elements which can be manipulated in various ways to mark syntactic relations or to emphasise almost any constituent of the clause situation. For this reason, Arabic does not rely wholly on word order. Subject and object may change places. Inversion of word order would not change the relation of subject verb and object, but it may cause a shift of emphasis. In other words, word order in English has a major syntactic role: in Arabic its function is mostly to add weight to the constituent parts of a clause or a sentence. This can be illustrated by a quotation from the *Qur'an*:

و القمر قدرناه منازل

(Qur'an, 36:39)

And the moon we have measured for it mansions (The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an, 36:39).

In English the word 'moon' should be nominative, being in the subject slot; however it is accusative in the Arabic text following the context. The object and verb have changed places for emphasis. It can be illustrated by the following diagram:

C

P   S   C

NG   VG   NG
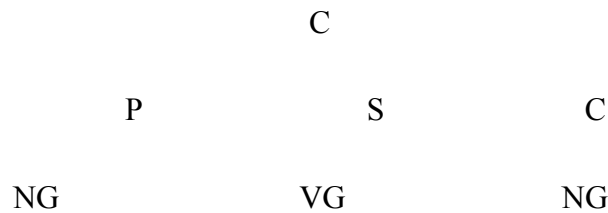
Co-ordinator and/ he moon/ acc   have measured /we   for it mansions

Unlike English it is a rule of Arabic that in genitive constructions nothing can intervene between the governed and the governing elements In English more than one headword is allowed in the genitive construction. Consider the following constructions:

(1) The splendour and beauty of the place..   روعة و جمال المكان

(2) The splendour of the place and its beauty.   روعة المكان و جماله

According to the traditional grammarians, such constructions as in (2) are incorrect. However, in modern Arabic they have become accepted, particularly in journalese and radio commentary .

Traditional Arabic grammarians have done little in the study of syntax compared to their work in morphology. Some grammatical books are criticised by a number of modern linguists as inconsistent and confusing. A given construction which is permissible by one grammarian is not permissible by another. Sometimes one finds such expression as "both constructions are acceptable." Abbas Ḥassan gives examples:

ما أعظم الثمار التي نجنيها من الكتب والصحف و المؤلفين البارعين الصادقات النافعة (a)

Lit: How great the fruits which gather-we from the books and newspapers and authors, the brilliant, the honest, the useful.

ما أعظم الثمار التي نجنيها من الكتب النافعة و الصحف الصادقات و المؤلفين البارعين (b)

(a) How great the fruit which gather we from the useful the books, the honest the newspapers, and the brilliant the authors.

(b)   How great the fruits we gather from useful books, honest newspapers and brilliant authors.

(Ḥassan, 1960:76)

As a general rule adjectives in Arabic are post-posted. Nothing can be intervened between the head and its modifier unless it is related to or a part of the NP structure. Example (b), Ḥassan argues, is the normal grammatical structure permitted by Arabic and it can be substantiated in real usage. However, example (a) is not the normal: three noun heads co-ordinated by the conjunction (و and); each head is modified by an adjective.

Arabic, unlike English, inflects for number and gender. The dual grammatical form of Arabic which is not available in English poses a problem in translation. As it is noted earlier formal correspondence at best is only approximation. A TL plural may on occasion be the translation equivalent of a SL dual. For instance, In English *pens* as equivalent of Arabic قلمين (two pens). This can best be demonstrated by Surah 55 Al-Rahman. In the translation of Surah 55 Al-Rahman the Arabic dual form which is not existing in English is reproduced all through as plural. Arabic nouns such as   الثقلان   , المشرقين , المغربين are rendered as both worlds, the two Easts and two Wests. Adjectives in the dual form such as مدهامتان , نضاختان are reproduced as dark green in colour and two springs pouring forth water. Verbs in the dual

form such as تكذبان , تجربان and تسجدان are translated as will ye deny, flowing and both bow.

The poetic feature of the Surah and the theme are achieved by the following refrain:

فبأي آلاء ربكما تكذبان (Qur'an 55:13)

Then which of the favours of your Lord will ye deny? (The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an 55:13)

If back translated out of context, the above refrain loses the grammatical dual form which is basic to the argument and the phonic feature of the surah:

Ye will deny can be translated as تكذبون (in the plural) or تكذب (in the singular).

The translation incurs substantial loss as the grammatical duality is basic to both the theme and rhyme of this Surah. The main argument of the Surah implies that although God created things in pairs there is underlying unity in the favours which the Creator bestows. Generally speaking the phonic feature of the Qur'an is psychologically appealing to humans. The rhyme ending and the repetition, in this Surah in particular, creates an immediate impact on the listener; the repetition 31 times of the poetic refrain:

فبأي آلاء ربكما تكذبان

Cohesion refers to the lexical, grammatical and other relations which provide formal links between various parts of the text. Coherence is the network of semantic relations which organise and create a text by establishing continuity of sense. Both concern the way stretches of language are connected to each other. In the case of cohesion, the connection is lexical and grammatical, while in the case of coherence, it is conceptual. Hoey explains:

> We assume that cohesion is the property of the text and that coherence is a facet of the reader's evaluation of a text. In other words, cohesion is objective, capable in principle of automatic recognition while coherence is subjective and judgement concerning it may vary from reader to reader (Hoey, 1988:49).

and lexical deviations which violate the cohesion and coherence of the text. We may now consider the following examples from Sudanese literary works translated in English. An extract from Ṣaliḥ's *Season of Migration to the North* may be relevant:

'They said you gained a high certificate- what do you call it? A doctorate? <u>What do you call it</u>? <u>he says to me</u>.   يقول لي ماذا تسمونها (D.J,1969:8)

The Arabic text is a comment by the narrator on the speaker's speech, disapproving of it. Opting for literal translation, the translator sticks to the tense in the TT, and thus mistranslating the underlined clause. It is rendered as a repetition with the verb 'says' as a reporting verb. Assuming that 'says' is the reporting verb, it should be in the past like the tense in the narration. But the meaning is determined by the context of the whole page. It could be rendered in two different ways: as analysis: (why does he say so?) Or as a rhetorical question: (why should he say so?)

To achieve a coherent text the translator should apply a discourse-based approach to translation rather than a sentence-based approach. Halliday and Hasan identify five main cohesive devices in English: reference, substitution, conjunction, ellipsis and lexical cohesion. Despite the problems discussed, the TTs remain coherent and very smooth to read. Consider the use of conjunctions in following passage lines:

اذا عبأ أبو الهيجاء للهيجاء فرسانا

وسارت راية الموت أمام الشبخ اعلانا

وشبت حربها و أشتعلت تلهب نيرانا

جعلنا القوس أيدينا و نبل القوس سوسانا

فعادت حربنا انسا و عدنا نحن خلانا

(Salih,2004:156)

Translation:

When the man of war his knights of war deploys,

<u>And</u> death's banner calls alike to grey-beards and to boys

When fires of destruction rage and battle starts

We, using our hands as bows, with lilies as our darts

Turn war to revelry and still the best of friends we stay.

(D.J, .Season, 1998:145)

Despite the disparities between Arabic and English, the above passages illustrate how conjunctions which are typically used in Arabic discourse can be retained or omitted in the

translation to make it read smoother. The first conjunction و is retained , the second conjunction and the stylistic device ف are omitted.

Consider the following sentence:

<div dir="rtl">دخل محجوب دكان سعيد ووضع قطعة نقد على الطاولة فأخذها سعيد</div>

(Ṣaliḥ, 2004:257).

Translation:

 Mahjūb placed <u>a coin</u> on the table.   Sa'id picked <u>it</u> up.

(D.J, .Zein, 1998: 95).

The above example comes from a long stretch which contains thirteen different stylistic devices. All of them, except the ف in the above example, are rendered by the translator into a TT equivalent. The ف is omitted from the sentence deviding it into two sentences:

 Mahjūb placed <u>a coin</u> on the table.   Sa'id picked <u>it</u> up.

The 'it' in the second sentence refers back to the coin in the first. The reader has to go back to the previous stretch of discourse to establish what 'it' refers to. So reference is a device which enables the reader to trace back items in the text. The resulting cohesion lies in the continuity of reference, whereby the same thing enters into the discourse a second time. It conforms rather to Arabic than to English norms of cohesion; thus it strikes a balance between accuracy and naturalness. Baker notes, ''Cohesion is the network of surface relations which link words and expressions to other words and expressions in a text and coherence is the network of conceptual relations which underlie the surface text"(Baker,1992:45). Cohesion is illustrated by conjunctions and collocation. Halliday and Hassan observe, In general any two lexical items having similar patterns of collocation- that is, tending to appear in similar contexts- will generate a cohesive force if they occur in adjacent sentences (Halliday M A K & Hassan, 1976:45). However, it has been argued that "coherence is not something which is created by the text, but rather an assumption made by the language users, that in accordance with the cooperative principle, texts are intended to be coherent." (Hatim B & Mason I, 1994:37).

Prepositions in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) are used to join lexical items and to form abstract or concrete relationships. Prepositions used for rhetorical brevity result in ambiguity when translated into English. For example the Qur'anic verse:

(Qur'an:35:28)   انما يخشى الله من عباده العلماء

247

Those who truly fear Allah among his Servants are those who have knowledge. (Qur'an 35:28)

According to the most frequent word order pattern of Arabic: VSO, the word "Allah" should be in the nominative, being in the slot of the subject. However it is in the accusative and treating it as a subject leads to mistranslation of the verse. Also interpreting the Arabic word من as "from" and treating the verb as a prepositional verb "fear from" will result in the construction: Allah fears from His servants. However the verse means that only Allah's servants who have the inner knowledge which comes through their acquaintance with the spiritual world fear Allah. This verse would be ambiguous but for the case endings. If "Allah" is in the nominative an علماء in the accusative, we would have completely the opposite meaning.

Some texts are coherent by virtue of their narrative structure. *Season of Migration to the North*, in particular, is considered by critics as poetical in style. It is by virtue of his narrative structure that Ṭayyeb Ṣaliḥ is acclaimed as 'the genius of the Arab novel' Therefore, the TT should be coherent, bearing in mind that the translator is closely adhering to the ST. The structure of the novel is fragmented with no chronological sequence of events or a regular course of time or place: nevertheless the story is spontaneous and coherent. The events are revealed through confessions, letter or diary reading, soliloquies, historical allusions and flashback.

To create suspense and provoke the reader's curiosity the story is told from the end. Muṣtafa Saʿid, in *Season of Migration to the North,* is introduced at the beginning but his story stops and he remains unidentified until the end of the story. His secret remains locked in his locked room till after his death. In *The Wedding of Zein* the story opens with the news of the wedding, which takes place only at the end of the story. The news of the marriage of Nʿima the best and most beautiful girl in the village to Zein the fool arouses expectations and bewilderment of the village people. The writer uses the news as a background against which characters and events are revealed. The scene shifts through different locations conveying the reaction to the news. The news is exploited by Ṭuriefi, the pupil, to distract the headmaster and escape punishment. The milk-seller uses the news' impact on Amna to give her short measure and Sheikh Ali, the tobacco dealer, uses it to avert ʿAbdul Ṣamad's attention from his debt. Then in a flashback Amna recalls her son's proposal to Ni'ma and being rejected by her

family. Robert Browning's narrative poem *Pippa Passes* (Robert Brown), had pioneered a somewhat similar technique.

However, coherence in *Wedding of Zein* and *Season of Migration to the North* is achieved by the narrative structure which is the most prominent characteristic in both works. Apart from the linguistic coherence and cohesion, there is a unity felt by the reader. This unity is achieved by the narrative techniques the author employs: the cinematic technique, suspense, repetition and flashback. Ṣalih may have drawn upon his previous experience as a producer and the head of the drama section in the BBC. The central themes are indicated by grouping and juxtaposing images and by the recurrence of the same incidents e.g. the parallelism presented by the murder of Jane Morris by Muṣtafa Saʻid in London: "White open thighs "(D.J Season: 163) and of Wad Rayyis by Ḥosna in Wad Ḥamed "White open thighs" (Ṣaliḥ, 2004:171). The repetition of the expression: "And the train carried me to Victoria Station and the world of Jean Morris " is like a refrain in a poem. The switching between the different periods of time is very effective in showing how the tension and the memory of the past are constantly haunting the present and the future:

I had loafed around.......The Arrow will shoot forth towards other unknown horizons'

And the train carried me to Dover and the world of Jean Morris. (D.J season: 33).

Similarly in *The Wedding of Zein*, Zein is the pivot around which all the events are woven. His wedding brings together all contradictions. The whole village, the three camps, the moderate, the pious and the worldly all gather to celebrate the wedding.

Despite the coherence achieved by the narrative techniques, some semantic and syntactic deviances are noted and which result in mistranslation:

sThe middle camp, Maḥjūb's group, was not greatly affected for they regarded the 'Oasis' in exactly the same way as the Imam did - as an inevitable evil. (D.J Zein: 94)

According to the TT both Maḥjūb's group and the Imam regarded the Oasis as an inevitable evil. However, the ST meant Maḥjūb's group regarded both the Oasis and the Imam as an inevitable evil. The noun 'evil' is used as an adjective describing the Imam and the oasis. The translation should read as follows:

They regarded the Oasis in exactly the same way they regarded the Imam.

Syntactically the ST reads:

{Maḥjūb'sgroup}	{regarded}	{the Oasis}	and	{the Imam}	{an inevitable evil}
s1	v	ind. ob1		ind ob.2	direct ob.

The TT reads:

{Mahūb's	group}and{the	Imam}	{regarded}	{the	Oasis}{an	inevitable	evil}
s1	s2		v		ob1	ob2	

Another example of grammatical deviance is: "'He <u>says</u> to her that he <u>caught</u> her grandmother forty years ago and <u>had</u> also <u>caught</u> a number of her aunts" (D.J. BanderShah, 1996:95). The first verb in the ST is past tense قال (said) so are all the other verbs. Nonetheless, it is rendered by the translator in the present tense as (says) although all other verbs in the sentence are in the past tense.

Linguistically this social activity is realised via some elements which are sequenced together into one unified whole linked with cohesion and coherence relations and some thematic patterns. Hatim and Mason note:

> Context of situation could now include participant in speech events, the action
> taking pace, l relevant features of the situation and the effects of the verbal action.
> These variables are amenable to linguistic analysis and are therefore useful in
> statements about meaning (Hatim B & Mason I, 1994:37).

These relations and patterns that create the text texture are further determined by certain contextual factors that dictate the semiotic, pragmatic and textual dimension of the entire text and that ultimately decide the text structure, type and register.

111.2. Theory of Equivalence:

The concept of equivalence has been rejected by most if not all the translation theories. A translator is always divided by the question of whether to focus attention on the ST itself or on the effect it has to produce on the TT's reader, i.e. literal versus free translation. Collins notes:

> The concepts of one language may differ radically from those of another.
> Each language articulates or organises the world differently. Languages do
> not simply name existing categories, they articulate their own (Collins,
> 2001).

In his article *Linguistic Aspects of Translation* Jacobson distinguishes three types of translation: Intra-lingual translation or rewording, Inter-lingual translation or translation

proper, Inter-semiotic translation or transmutation. He also points out the problem with all types; i.e. there is no full equivalence through translation and even synonymy is not equivalence. He shows how intra-lingual translation often has to refer to a combination of code units in order to fully interpret the meaning of a single unit. A dictionary of synonyms may give perfect as a synonym for ideal but it is not a complete equivalence since each unit contains within itself a set of non-transferable associations and connotations. Because complete equivalence (sameness) cannot take place in any of his categories, he declares that all poetic art is therefore untranslatable (Jacobson, 1968:355),.

Popovich distinguishes four types of equivalence: linguistic equivalence, i.e. word for word translation where there is linguistic homogeneity of both the SL and the TL; paradigmatic equivalence, where there is equivalence in elements like grammar; stylistic equivalence, where there is functional equivalence of elements of both the translation and origin; and textual equivalence i.e. equivalence in form and shape.

By contrast, Nida distinguishes two types of equivalence: formal equivalence, which focuses on the message itself in both form and content - poetry to poetry, sentence to sentence and concept to concept; and dynamic equivalence, which is based on the principle of the equivalent effect - the relationship between the receiver and the message and that this should aim at being the same as that between the original receiver and the SL message. According to him the criteria are; the type of discourse, and the reader response. Adherence to the style of the source text may be unnecessary or even counterproductive. (Nida, 1981:33).

According to Catford the distinction is between literal and free translation (Catford, 1965) while Dagut defines it as translation and reproduction (Bassnett, 1988:24). Neither scholar takes into account the view of translation as semiotic transformation.

Mukarovisky argues that the literary text has both an autonomous and a communicative character. This view is adopted by Lotman (Bassnet, 1994:29), who argues that a text is explicit (expressed in a definite sign), limited (it begins and ends at a given point) and that it gains a structure as a result of internal organisation. Many literary artists take delight in the flowery elegance of their language while most English writers prefer bold realism, precision and movement. The translation of style involves how, when and to what extent the translator is justified in departing from the style or manner of the original.

As noted before, it is not the aim of this thesis to discuss these theories or compare and contrast them. The theories of Basil Hatim and Mona Baker are more relevant to this work as they focus on the Arabic language. Hatim states that formal equivalence is appropriate in certain circumstances such as diplomatic negotiations, where interpreters may need to interpret what is said exactly rather than assume responsibility for interpreting the sense and formulating it in such a way as to achieve what they judge to be an equivalent effect (Hatim, 1997:235). Formal equivalence is a means of providing some degree of insight into the lexical, grammatical or structural form. Baker distinguishes two types: equivalence at word level and equivalence above word level. The word is not the basic element in a language. For instance the word 'mistrust' contains two elements of meaning, 'mis′ and 'trust′, and can be paraphrased as 'not to trust'. Elements of meaning which are represented by several words in one language may be represented by one word in another. The Arabic phrase 'عازف البيانو' is rendered as one word in English; 'pianist.' The important difference between words and morphemes is that a morpheme cannot contain more than one element of meaning and cannot be further analysed. The word 'unachievable' contains three morphemes: 'un' meaning 'not', 'achieve' meaning 'realise' or 'accomplish', and ′able' meaning 'able to be'. A suitable paraphrase for unachievable would be ' cannot be achieved' Some morphemes have grammatical functions such as expressing plurality, 'book**s**', gender (host**ess)** and tense (lik**ed**). Others change the class of the word from verb to adjective, (admire, admir**able**) or add a special element of meaning such as negation to it (**un**lucky). The plural morpheme in 'books' can be identified as books(s), but the same cannot be done for 'men', where the two morphemes 'man and 'plural' are fused together (Baker, 1992: 11,46). This distinction between word and morpheme accounts for the surface meaning. However, it is the lexical meaning which is the most outstanding property of the word, and the value it has in certain linguistic systems. There are four main types of meaning in words and utterances: propositional, expressive, presupposed and evoked meaning. According to propositional meaning, we can judge the utterance as true or false. For instance: a glove is an item of clothing worn on the hand. To refer to it as worn on the foot would be inaccurate. Expressive meaning refers to the feeling or attitude of the speaker and it cannot be judged as true or false. For example the difference between the word 'famous' in Arabic and English does not lie in their propositional meaning; both items mean 'well-known'. It lies in their expressive meanings. 'Famous' is neutral in English: it has no evaluative or connotative meaning. In Arabic it can be used in some contexts to mean ill-reputed e.g. a famous woman. Presupposed meaning arises from co-occurrence of semantic restrictions, that is, collocation restrictions e.g. in English: laws are

broken but in Arabic they are contradicted or violated. Evoked meaning arises from dialect and register variations (Baker;12-17). Different groups within each culture have different expectations about what kind of language is appropriate to particular situations. A translator must ensure that the translation matches the register expectations of its respective receivers, unless the purpose of the translation is to give a flavour of the source culture. Baker mentions some strategies used by professional translators in dealing with various types of non-equivalence these being: translation by using a more general word; cultural substitution; using a loan word; paraphrasing; omission; and illustration (Baker: 26).

Idioms and fixed expressions are frozen patterns of language which allow little or no variation in form, and in the case of idioms often carry meanings which cannot be deduced from their individual components. The translator cannot add, omit or replace a word or change the grammatical structure or word order when dealing with an idiom, unless he is joking or making puns. Idioms and fixed expressions are difficult to translate because they may have no equivalent in the target language. Also expressions like 'Yours Sincerely' and 'Yours Faithfully' have no equivalent in Arabic formal correspondence. Instead, an expression such as مع فائق احترامي (literally: accept our highest respect) is often used but it bears no direct relationship to 'Yours Faithfully' or 'Sincerely.' An idiom or fixed expression may have a similar counterpart in the target language, but its context of use might be different. The two expressions may have different connotations or may not be pragmatically transferable. An idiom may be used in the source text in both its literal and idiomatic senses at the same time. Superficially similar idioms which have different meanings in the SL and TL can constitute a pitfall for the unwary translator. The idiom cannot be successfully reproduced unless the TL idiom corresponds to the SL idiom both in form and meaning. The Arabic expression 'upside down' which means رأسا على عقب is similar in form only to another English idiom 'head over heels' meaning very much in love, and therefore not a suitable replacement. Another idiom, which comes from *Arab Political Humour* by Kishtainy (1985), is quoted by Baker:

'Why are you doing this?'

'Lest I should forget them'

'But why tattooed? What will you do if we get them back?

'If we get them back I'll cut off my right arm.' (Baker, 1992:70)

That joke emerged after the defeat of the Arab armies in 1967. Egypt's Commander in Chief goes to see President Nasser, who is ordering a tattoo artist to inscribe on his right arm the names of all the territories seized by Israel. It is difficult for a non-Arab speaker to appreciate the humour of the above passage. It relies totally on the manipulation of literal and idiomatic meanings. To cut off one's right arm أقطع ذراعي اليمين is an Arabic idiom used in a number of Arab countries and means that something is impossible or unlikely to happen. It is similar in meaning to: 'pigs might fly' in English. Neither this English expression nor any other English idiom with a similar meaning can be used to replace *'I'll cut off my right arm'* because the literal meaning of the Arabic expression is as important as its idiomatic meaning in this context.

So humour is difficult to reproduce, in some cases impossible. The inadequate translation of humour is due to cultural reasons or because of a linguistic factors. Pun is a linguistic phenomenon which is almost impossible to translate as it is based on word play. An Area which is impossible to transfer is the humour which is based on Arabic orthography. It is a praise poem by Sheikh Nasif al-Yzigy which intentially transformed into a satire through التصحيف i.e. the misplacement of the diacritical marks

Consider the following two texts:

من رام ان يلقى تباريح الكرب من نفسه فليأت أحلاف العرب

يرى الجمال و الجلال والحسب و الشعر و الاوتار كيفما انقلب

أشرف أهل الارض عن أم و أب و أسمح الناس و أجرى من يهب

من رام ان يلقى تباريح الكرب من نفسه فليأت أجلاف العرب

يرى الجمال و الجلال والخشب و الشعر و الاوبار كيفما انقلب

أسرق أهل الارض عن أم و أب و أسمج الناس و أخزى من نهب

The difference in meaning between the two text s depends on playing on the dots and the diacritic marks. Simply by adding a dot the word أحلاف (allies) becomes أجلاف (vulgar) and the word فرشأ (the most generous) becomes أسمج (the most unpleasant). The change of the vowel mark *kasrah* into *fatha* renders شِعر (poetry) as شَعر (hair). The change of the letter ي to ن renders the word يهب (to give) as نهب (to loot) and the word أوتار (strings) into أوبار (hairsute)..etc

254

This work examines some extracts of Sudanese literature to demonstrate problems of equivalence and how they are handled by the translator. Strategies used by translators are translation through paraphrasing, omission, using an idiom similar in meaning and form or an idiom similar in meaning only.

Consider the following extract from Meryoud:

'Ahmed will be a governor'.

'A governor of what?'

'A governor of anything.'

1.'<u>Bravo !</u> And Mohammed?   ما شاء الله

'Mohammed will be a lawyer.'

2-'<u>Excellent</u>, but wouldn't be better for him to be a judge?' عجايب

'A lawyer, so he can defend those who have been wrongly accused. They say judges go to hell.'

3-'<u>Fine</u>. And Mahmoud?'   زين و محمود

'Mahmoud-Mahmoud-Mahmoud will be a doctor'

4-'<u>You don't say</u>! And Hamid?'   سجم   و حامد؟

'Hamid will also be a doctor.'

5-'<u>My! My!</u> You've become mother of doctors. And the fifth - What's his name? What will he be? '   هاالله هاالله

'Hamad will be an engineer,'

6- 'An engineer? <u>God is great</u>. And the sixth'   الله أكبر

'Hamdan will be a master.'

'A station master?'

'A headmaster'

'Like that of Wad Hamid's school?'

7-'<u>Let's hope Wad Hamid will sink into the ground</u> ود حامد انشاء الله تغطس

(D.J Maryoud, 1995:115)

Annotations and commentary:

1- The phrase ماشاء الله denotes resignation to the divine will; however the speaker in the scene invokes God's will to bless the person for whom admiration as well as blessing is being expressed and sought. The expression is also used to ward off the evil eye. "Bravo" is too formal for the situation; "Oh wonderful!" or "touch wood" is a better equivalent.

 2- The speaker is surprised and incredulous; "Excellent" does not express surprise or disbelief and is too formal; "I don't believe it!" would be a more suitable equivalent.

3- The word زين rendered as "Fine" is appropriate; the speaker means "Ok, go on."

4- The speaker is being sarcastic, dismissive and even rude. The word جسم is usually accompanied by a gesture with the hand, sticking out the tongue or making a sound with the lips to express sarcasm. The word "rubbish!" would be closer to the meaning. Young people nowadays would say "wicked."

5- The expression هاله هاله is pronounced هلا هلا with the stress on the sound لا and omitting the final ه to express surprise and disbelief. The phrase "I don't believe it" would convey the intended meaning.

6- The phrase الله أكبر, أكبر is the comperative form of the adjective كبير so it should be greater, literally translated as "God is Great", takes the flow of the conversation out of context and may lead the target reader to draw unintended inferences from the text.

7- The last one is an expression of swearing or cursing which can be rendered to advantage as "Damn wad Ḥamid".

The Challenge of Onomatopoeia:

Onomatopoeic expressions pose a problem of equivalence in translation. Some onomatopoeic words and expressions are rendered by onomatopoeic TL equivalents while others are not. One may consider the following expressions from Bandarshah Meryoud (D.J Maryoud : 92:96):

شل شلis paraphrased as 'my tears fell in buckets'. The English informants have suggested 'in bucketfuls'

رب ربis explained as : drumming the ground with its feet (Maryoud : 92)

عريان جلis rendered as stark naked (*Meryoud* p 96)

سكتّ ساكتa colloquial expression rendered as 'utterly silent' (*Meryoud* p96*)*

دخل جبis translated as 'dived down with a plop into the water'

ظيطه و ظمبليطهan Arabic idiom replaced by a TL equivalent : hullabaloo

لا بم لا بغمis rendered as 'without uttering a single word' . A long paraphrase.

صمُ بكمis rendered into the standard English expression 'deaf and dumb.'

خارمْ بارمْis translated as 'nonsense' (Meryoud p 96)

يَبَفْبِقْis rendered as 'dripped' which is not as strong as the ST expression (66)

Dialogue in any language is difficult to render, as it contains intonations, gestures, silences and ellipsis. In order to make it more meaningful the translator has to expand, add extra-textual material and use footnotes. Translation should convey implicit meaning of irony, double meaning and metaphor. If written in MSA, the dialogue becomes dissimilar to real life. Ṭayyib Ṣaliḥ often relies on dialogue to convey his message, and in drawing and developing his characters. Exclamatory forms of expression lose their precise meaning and function if literally rendered. Speech acts, that is the action intended in the utterance of sentence, can be direct or indirect. Traugott and Pratt (1980) have classified speech acts as, representative, expressive, directive, commissive, verdictive and declaration (Traugot & Pratt, 1980 :)

111.3. Limits of Translatability:

257

There are two opposing views regarding the limits of translatability. The Structuralist school advocates the view that every statement is a part of an autonomous linguistic system and is true and fully meaningful only when interpreted within that system. Linguistic symbols and meaning do not stand alone or apart; they have a context and are comprehensible only as members of a set of other symbols. For instance, if a sentence from one language is transposed into another language, it acquires different values, imposed on it by the new system of that other language. The conclusion here is that translation is impossible and it is only ever an approximation. The opposing view is that held by the Generative Grammarians, who maintain that translation is certainly possible because all languages derive from a universal repository of formal and semantic features and there is a deep structure common to all languages. On this basis it is possible to use the encoding of a message in TL in such a way as to produce the nearest possible equivalent to the content of the original code. The theory of linguistic relativity which was proposed originally by W. Von Humboldit and E. Sapir and greatly elaborated by B. L. Wharf, is similar to the Structuralist approach. Their argument is that one's vision of the world is determined by the situation of one's native language. Since thoughts belong to language and there is no way of knowing how another individual thinks, no text can be correctly interpreted or translated into another language. In the light of modern linguistic thinking, we may have a different view of the limitations of translation. These limitations may be either linguistic or cultural. This work deals with some linguistic intranslatability. According to R. Jacobson:

> All cognitive and its classification are conveyable in any language. Whenever there is deficiency, terminology may be qualified and amplified by loan-words or loan-translation, neologism or semantic shifts and finally by circumlocution. (Jacobson, 1966:234)

Literary translation is considered by many as a category in its own right because of its form and substance. The extent or limitations of translatability is an old question which suggested itself when the need arose to translate religious texts. These have always been thought of as sacred and any attempt to translate them in a different language has often been regarded an act of blasphemy. The Jewish faith for example teaches that the translation of the *Megillath Tannith* (*Roll of fasting*) into Greek brought into the world three days of darkness. The translation of the *Qura'n* is even more difficult as the Arabic original is in rhymed prose. According to strict orthodox opinion, it is blasphemous to imitate or translate the *Qur'an,* with the text itself claiming:

Say: if the whole of mankind and jinn were

to gather together to produce the like of this

Qura'n, they could not produce the like thereof,

even if they backed each other with help and support. (The Qur'an)

The *Qur'an* is described by M. Pickthal as, 'the inimitable symphony, the very sounds of which move men to tears and ecstasy' (Pickthal, 1992: xxiii). However, it is the duty of every Muslim to learn it, hence the plethora of exegeses (Tafasir) and commentaries across the ages.

The view that translation is impossible is refuted by the existence of a very large number of satisfactory translations into many languages: translations of holy books, the world's literary masterpieces like those of Homer and Shakespeare, the pre-Islamic Arabic poetry and the *Qur'an*.

Difficulties inherent in the poetic, copious, and metaphoric nature of the language which lends itself to innumerable interpretations pose colossal challenges, both to Arabic and non-Arabic speakers. However, the *Qur'an* prides itself on the fact that it has been revealed in Arabic.

(Qur'an, 12:2)   انا أزلناه قآنا عربيا لعلكم تعقلون

We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur'an, in order that you may learn wisd*om*. (The meaning of the Qur'an, 1889:12:2)

Scriptures and to a large extent poetry occupy the upper limits of untranslatable texts, i.e. texts most difficult to translate, particularly rendering a poem into a poem or the content and form of a holy book.

Anything that can be said in one language can be said in another, one may still argue. Jacobson's view can be elaborated upon to include cases where untranslatability is due to the literary merits of the text(s). A basic argument of translation regards function and context. For Newmark, literal translation is correct and must not be avoided if it secures pragmatic and referential equivalence to the original. He prefers the terms semantic and communicative. Among the crucial issues which demonstrate cross-cultural similarities and dissimilarities are names, honorific titles, terms of address, the language of greeting and the language of letter-writing. Proper names of characters are essential to interpretation of modern narrative. The norms governing letter-writing vary from language to language and from period to period in Europe. Barthes holds that "what is important to narrative is not action but the character as Proper Name" (Barthes, 1970: 70). Other linguists including R. Miller argue that narratives

do not need proper names in the strict sense – a name can be replaced by another name, a personal pronoun or even x, y or z. Taking Ṭayyib Ṣaliḥ's characterisation in his two novels and the short stories, one finds a strong link between the characters and their names. As in Dickens, the naming of characters serves as an introduction and a starting point in dealing with characterisation in Tayyib Ṣaliḥ. Nouns are very often symbolic. In *The Wedding of Zein*, people with abnormalities are given nicknames like Ashmana the Deaf and Mousa the Lame. Others are named by their occupation, omitting their first names, e.g. the Imam, the Muezzin, the Merchant, and the Headmaster. The characters are known by these titles, which replace their proper names. The title is preceded by the definite article, the, as there is only one muezzin, one imam and one headmaster and they are known to all the villagers. At the time the story depicts, there is probably only one headmaster in the village to run the only primary school for boys there. Names have significance. Each one of the characters has a name which fits them. There is some direct linguistic relationship between the signifier and the signified. Hence in the short story *Bandearshah* we have Dau Al-Beit (Light of the House), 'Asha Albaytat al Gawa (Supper Provider for Hungry women), Bekheit Abul-Banat *(*Father of Girls), Allah Leena Wad Jabr ad-Dar (Allah on our Side, Son of the Family Leader), 'Abdul Mowla Wad Miftaḥ al-Khazna (Son of Key to the treasury) , Al-Kashif Wad Raḥmatallah (The Revealer Son of Allah's Mercy) and Sulieman Akal an-Nabag (Sulieman the Nabag Eater). There are also honorific titles like Omda, Mamour, Sheikh and Sayyid

The non-Arabic-speaking informants wondered as to what *bint, wad* and *abu* mean, and what the titles signify. They reported finding these long names highly mystifying.

Each culture has its own distinctive system of address. Arabic and English differ greatly in this regard. Arabic terms of address to a person whose name is not known to the speaker can vary within a wide range. For instance in English, Mister and to some extent Sir have neutral honorific value while Arabic terms tend to express praise and courtesy.

In many Arab countries a married man or woman with children is not called by their first name. Rather, they are referred to as ام and ابوi.e. 'the father of……..' and 'the mother of ……..' after their eldest child's name. In the Sudan it is not appropriate for a wife to call her husband by his first name; she, rather, calls him the father of so and so, our father or the father of my children.

There are two possibilities in translating a proper name or a place name: keeping it as it appears in the ST or adapting it to the phonic or graphic characteristics of the TL. However, Newmark argues that people's first names and surnames (except the name of the Pope and some royal figures) must not be translated provided their names have no connotations in the text.

Proper names in the *Qur'an* including titles of *Surahs* like الكهف , البقرة , يونس , يوسف, مريمare kept transliterated by A.Y. Ali in The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an. Other translators like Pickthall, in <u>The Koran</u> translate them as Joseph, Mary, Jonah, The Cow and The Cave.

Denys Johnson Davies opts to leave all names, nicknames and titles as they are in both Ţayyib Şaliḥ's novels under discussion. However, the long names in the short story, *Bandarshah* quoted above, pose a real problem. If retained transliterated there will be a loss of meaning, while translating them as Ḥassan Crocodile, Son of Cupboard-Key, The Uncoverer, Son of God's Mercy, etc. would be absurd. The translator resorts to transliteration while providing a literal translation in a glossary. The names are translated as their meaning is significant for the development of the story and the narrator himself says "Every one of them has a name that fits him as a scabbard fits a sword" (D.J, Dau Al-beit, 1995:20). In fact the translator uses different strategies in different contexts. For 'Ashmana the Deaf and Mousa the Lame, the first name is left as it is and the adjective is translated. For Sa'id 'Asha 'l-Baytat al-gawa, the translator omits the last part (al-Gawa) and retains the first part, transliterated, with literal translation provided in the glossary. The literal meaning of the nickname is someone who provides supper for women who otherwise spend the night hungry i.e. a very generous man. The omission of al-Gawa (hunger) here incurs loss of meaning.

Honorific expressions are of frequent use in Arabic, unlike in English. In English a president or a prime minister can be addressed by his first name or surname e.g. Blair, Bush, Brown. In the Arabic press only in headlines are presidents referred to by their surnames. In *Discourse and the Translator,* Hatim illustrates the use of honorifics by text samples from published translations from Arabic (Hatim: 66):

Text 1:

S.ayyid Faisal bin Ali, the Minister for National Heritage and Culture, left Muscat yesterday for New York.

Text 2:

HH the Amir Sheikh Isa Al Khalifa received Shaikh Mohammad Al khalifa, the Foreign Minster,…. And Ghazi Al Gosiabi, Bahrain's ambassador to the United States.

Text 3

And when he had accomplished that, there was such a shouting and singing and hustle and bustle that was only restrained when the Sheikh, their father, got up...

Variations in the use of 'Sayyid" and 'Sheikh' can be said to be a problem of the level of formality at the communicative level. However, in context there are other problems which require more than lexical knowledge to deal with. The translator has a certain strategy in handling them: In text 1 the title is retained, as the person involved is a descendent of the prophet Muḥammad. It may also be used in Arabic in other contexts where it can be replaced in English by 'Mr'. It can be omitted when the Western connotations of 'Mr' would be culturally too obtrusive, as in text 2. In texts 3 and 4 Sheikh is retained transliterated for various reasons, explained in a footnote to the translation, as a title of respect for the narrator's father as the head of the family. However, it has many other uses. Literally it means an elderly man. It is used among Bedouins for the chief of a tribe and among urban Arabs for the head of an order or a sect. According to Hatim, translators are aware of the potential values of these items within the language system. But these potential values are not always applicable.

In the language of greeting, Arabic *"sabah al-kheir"*, English "good morning" and French "bonjour" are formally different; yet each is an adequate translation equivalent to the other since they have the same function in the three languages respectively. Unlike Arabs, English people are typically reserved in expressing their feelings. When they meet they only wave for a"hello" or they may shake hands or commenton the weather.. Arabs in a similar situation express warmth and friendliness when they exchange conventional greetings. Greeting includes embracing, talking, kissing (on the head, forehead, cheeks or mouth) and touching with the nose (in the Gulf region). The greeting includes praise to God, and prayers. For instance when Sudanese friends meet, they embrace, have a long chat and inquire about each other's health, wife and children. Arabs' forms of greeting are elaborate because they are naturally emotional. Moreover their culture and particularly their religion dictates good greeting:

و اذا حييتم بتحية فحيوا بأحسن منها أو ردوها (Qur'an 4:86)

There are some rules to observe: the younger greets the older, the riding or standing one greets the sitting, the small group greets the bigger one.

English people have three sets of greeting terms. For meeting: "good morning", "good afternoon", "good day", "how are you", "how do you do", "hello", "cheers"; for parting: "good night", "good bye", "see you", "cheers" and for both: "cheers", "good morning", "good afternoon", "good day", "good evening". The terms are time and context-bound. Apart from 'how are you' the response to all terms is by repeating the same words. Goodbye is an abbreviation of "God be with you." It can be a translation equivalent of "في أمان الله".

The Arabic terms of greeting are based on religion or social patterns. Muslim forms of greeting are:

1)   السلام عليكمPeace be with you.

2)   السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته

3)   May peace and Allah's mercy and blessings be with you.

The two forms are said on meeting and parting, at any time of the day. They can be used in singular or plural and male or female forms. These are the only appropriate forms according to Islam. They have no translation equivalent in English and there is no situation where they apply.

This is not important in non-literary texts where the focus is on conveying information. However in a literary text, cultural and religious references are difficult to render.

The Wedding of Zein was the wedding of the whole village, a festival in which all the villagers are celebrating, receiving guests in their own houses and waiting on them. It is a uniquely Sudanese piece of folklore. Consider the following extracts (D.J, Zein, 109-111), concerning the various delegates of guests:

"People came from up river and people came from down river"." The Bedouin, the gipsies, the leading men, the employees and the merchants came from the fringe villages on horses and donkeys and in lorries and across the Nile in boats. All were received and put in one of the village houses."(D.J, Zein, 111).

Traditional forms of hospitality were enacted: "Camels and oxen were slaughtered. Herds of sheep were placed on their sides and their throats slit. Everyone who came ate and drank till he had had his fill." (D.J.:111)

Communal participation in the celebration was articulated through the sounds and verbalisations associated with Sudanese weddings: "the Omda fired off five shots from his rifle." Zein's mother burst out in ululation and the voices of her neighbours and friends, her family and kinsfolk and all those who wished her well joined in with her: "Ayyouy. Ayyouy. Ayyouy. 'Ashmana the Dumb "Awoo-awoo-awoo, Salama who pronounced her 'y's' as 'j', "Ajooj ajooj ajooja." (D.J: 111)

Descriptions of clothes, particularly, the outfits worn by the bridegroom, also invest in local traditions: "Zein like a cock - indeed, as resplendent as a peacock. They had dressed him up in a kaftan of white silk which they encircled with a green sash and over it all he wore an aba'a of blue velvet. In his hand he carried a long crocodile leather whip and on his finger he wore a gold ring in the shape of a snake." (D. J.:112)

Traditional and chanting were similarly depicted: The beating of the drums soon slowed down and became a muffled humming: they were beating out the Jabudi rhythm: the whinnying noises that came from the men's throats. The drumbeats changed to that of the Arda: two swift beats followed by a single one. The voices of the dancers and the beating of the drums blended with the sounds of the tambourines and the religious chanting. Zein would move from the chanters' circle to the dance floor, making a migration from religious rapture to clamour. His hand outstretched above the dancer's head, he shouted out at the top of his voice "make known the good news! Make known the good news!" (D.J:120)

Thus, the general atmosphere is strange to a non-Arab reader. Added to this are the characters' actions, speech and verbal behaviour. The analysis of the Arabic text reveals its many connotations and cultural allusions. Almost all scenes are culturally bound to the extreme. Only a Sudanese or an Arab who is aware of the Sudanese culture or who shared similar traditions can fully appreciate them. The English informants found it difficult to understand the above underlined terms, which the translator has opted to keep transliterated. The great impact created by the very short Arabic expression of only two words أبشر! أبشر! is lost in the very long paraphrase "make known the good news! make known the good news!" (D.J, 1996: 120) (four words) in English. The Arabic expression is typically and uniquely

264

Sudanese. It is not a mere expression of congratulation. It is charged with many such associations as delight, optimism and participation. It is perhaps closer in meaning to the English Christian term "Hallelujah" There are several terms which are deliberately left untranslated by the translator e.g. items of clothes like *kaftan* and *'aba'a;* plants like *talḥ, ṣunuṭ, zan* and *sayal*. These are sub-Saharan plants with colloquial Sudanese names, which however may have different names in other regions. The translator may have found them too abstruse or, more probably, may have left them to preserve the text's local flavour. Ṭayyib Saliḥ , the author himself, is keenly aware of socio-historical cultural traditions. As an artist loyal to his roots he feels obliged to preserve his heritage and assert its authenticity. In a recent interview on the Sudanese Satellite Channel he said his intention was to present the non-Sudanese reader with the norms and patterns of life of that obscure village of Wad Ḥamed up the River Nile in Northern Sudan.

The translator has opted to leave titles like *Omd*a (mayor), *effendi* (Mr) and *mamour* (Police Commissioner) as they are. The English word 'mayor' may not give the same connotation. To a western reader, a mayor is a high ranking citizen and a government official like the Mayor of London or Paris while '*Omda*' is a tribal title granted by native administration to the chief of a village. Although the *Omda* is, likewise, the highest-ranking and most important person in the village, the cultural connotations of his title are quite different from those of the English equivalent.

"*Afreet*", "*andulisia'*", and "*harem*" are anglicised words that have been assimilated into the English language and they are included in any English/English or English/Arabic dictionary. Yet "*ḥarem*" is a culturally bound term which means women in a Muslim household, their separate quarter in the house, or a group of female animals sharing a male. It is derived originally from the Arabic '*ḥaram*' i.e. prohibited place. "*Ḥarem"* or *"hurma"* used to have a negative tone in some rural Sudanese localities. The terms were slightly derogatory and class-marking charged with social attitudes and prejudices. "*Diwan"*, on the other hand, is a word which describes the part of the house allocated for male guests only and is prohibited to women. The "*diwan*"is usually located in a yard with a small door separating it from the women's quarter. In rural areas it is still in use, but in towns it has been replaced by a salon, and there is a hall or a living room for the use of the whole family, men and women.

In Arabic, the word *diwan* collocates with:

men's diwan ديوان الرجال	men's reception room (divan)
Faitury's Diwan ديوان الفيتوري	a collected edition of poems
Sudan Gallery ديوان السودان	forum
Attorney General Chamber ديوان النائب العام	government office
The Register of the treasury ديوان المحاسبة	government office

The English word divan could provide an equivalent to the Arabic *diwan*.

Other cultural and religious references are discussed below;

In *The Wedding of Zein*,

بنيتا سميحة مدخنة و مكبرتة و ملبسنها فركة القرمصيص

Denies Johnson Davies translates the expression as, "I found the bride -a sweet <u>little chit of a girl all beautiful-smelling from the</u> <u>smoke bath</u> and <u>finely dressed</u>" (D.J Zain: 37).

The word مكبرتة and the item of clothes فركة القرمصيص are omitted from the translation. It is a translation of meaning indicating that the bride is finely dressed and smelling nice without explaining how; and omitting some very important information. The nice smell is of the sandalwood incense not of the smoke bath. And the smoke bath can mean a steam bath or sauna for a Western or non-Arab reader. So the back translation of the sentence does not present the true image of a Sudanese bride. The ST portrays a typical Sudanese bride dressed and wrapped in silk and covered with a special fine colourful throw-over, one of a bright colour, mainly red. Being totally wrapped up with her hands covering her face, she is guided by a special maid and her friends towards a special colourful mat where the groom waits to uncover her and take her hands off her face. She starts dancing amid drumming, singing and trilling. This very cover is used on the seventh and last day of the wedding to wrap and tie the lower part of the bride so as to make it difficult for the groom to have her. Thus it is an image of a deeply rooted part of the local and national culture. The diminutive form in the Arabic words: (بنيتا and سميحة) is successfully explained by the two English words, little chit but the vowel marks in بنيتا is lost.

May I <u>divorce</u> if the very smell of it didn't intoxicate me" (D.J, Zein: 36)

"When Maḥjūb <u>swore</u> he would <u>divorce</u> if Muṣṭafa did not sit." (D.J Season: 13)

266

"He divorced his wife irrevocably on the spot" (D.J Season: 77) the concept of divorce in the way it is used here for swearing is an expression likely to be unknown to the English reader. He or she needs to know that for Muslims an irrevocable divorce happens when the husband says to his wife 'you are divorced' and repeats it three times. When the first generations of Muslims uttered this phrase they were more aware of its serious implications than present-day Muslims. The social phenomena of the idle chatter or 'phatic communication' as first suggested by Malinowiski are stereotyped social phrases which should not under any circumstances be translated. Jacobson considers it to be one of the functions of language. "It may be displayed," he observes," by a profuse exchange of ritualised formulas, by entire dialogues with the mere purport of prolonging communication" (Malunwiski). In other words, phatic language is communication without sending or receiving information, and it can be very important to special interaction.

The informants encountered a particular difficulty in understanding expressions and metaphors rich in religious references. Linguists' views about the translatability of metaphor range from those who claim that they should be rendered word for word to those who claim that they cannot be translated word-for-word but can be rendered as another TL metaphor, a simile or a paraphrase. The following are some idioms and various strategies used by the translator to render them:

1) The idiom; الفحل غير عوَّاف "A stallion isn't finicky" (D.J Season:79). The Arabic idiom is literally translated into an English non-idiom closely adhering to the source text, and it sounds proverbial. The use of the word "stallion" here is slang but it carries the precise meaning of the Arabic word: un-castrated adult male horse, especially one kept for breeding: thus according to Hatim "preserving surface aspects of the message both semantically and syntactically, adhering closely to the source text mode of expression" (Hatim: 64).

2) The phrase خموا و صروا- "you can take your fill of it yourself now" (D.J Bander: 36). The English proverb "You have made your bed - now you have to lie on it." may provide a suitable equivalent to this Arabic idiom.

3) The phrase ما خلاص ارقد قفا "sit back on your bottom". (Dau Al-Beit: 50) The Arabic word ارقد literally means lie or sleep and قفا means the back of the head. Although at the lexical level, the Arabic words are approximately the opposite of the English, sit replacing lie and

back for bottom, nevertheless, the equivalent English idiom is appropriate to the Arabic one. Both the Arabic and English idioms mean "relax!" or "don't worry!"

4) The phrase ‏في بلاد الهنك و الرنك‏ ‏"in the land of hanky-panky"‏ (D.J Season:80). The expression means the land of loose living. This is an instance where the TL idiom corresponds to the SL idiom both in form and meaning. It is a case of equivalence at the word level and above it. The two idioms are congruent in the structure, number of words, word order and even the sound of the last two words. The possibility exists that the Sudanese idiom was derived from the English one.

5) The sentence ‏يشعر الرجل كانه ابوزيد الهلالي‏ ‏"a man feels like he's <u>Abu Zeid El-Hilali</u>"‏ (D.J Season: 80). Abu Zeid el-Hilali is a legendary hero of the tribe of Banu Hilal and the chief protagonist of a popular saga carrying his name. The exploits of the Banu Hilal and their epic migration from Yemen to Muslim Spain are entwined with Arab history and legend, even with the Arab psyche none of this is to be found in the translation.

6) The expression ‏نبي الله الخضر او المهدي المنتظر‏ "Tomorrow **you'll be** coming along and telling us that you're <u>God's Prophet the Khidr</u> or the <u>Awaited Mahdi</u>" (Dau Al-Beit: 43). A numbers of folk tales have gathered over the centuries round the mystical figure of al- Khidr. This name is supplied by tradition but the *Qur'an* refers to him as "One of Our servants." The speaker in Ṣaliḥ 's story wants to say that Asha al-Baytat is comparing himself to al-Khidr in the sense that he possesses knowledge of the paradoxes and mysteries of life which ordinary people do not understand. In the Qur'anic parable, al-Khidr agrees to teach the Prophet Moses on the condition that the latter asks no questions about anything until the teacher himself has mentioned it first. However, Moses, baffled by events the meaning of which he cannot understand, keeps asking al-Khidr questions which are finally replied to. The idea being emphasised is the dissimilarity between two types of knowledge- that of the hidden world on one hand and of reality as perceived by most people on the other. All the actions of al-Khidr witnessed by Moses seem inexplicable but they are events decreed by the highest wisdom and fit into a universal plan. The same belief has a near parable in the biblical story of Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, who later gives him advice (95).

The expression The <u>Awaited Mahdi,</u> "the rightly guided one" is the name of the restorer of religion and justice who, according to a widely held Muslim belief, will rule before the end of the world. Although the term "Mahdi" is not mentioned in the *Qur'an*, the name is derived

from the Arabic root h-d-y, commonly used to suggest divine guidance and is alluded to in several traditions or *hadith* attributed to the Prophet Muhammad.

Finding no suitable equivalent for the three underlined texts above, the translator opts for cultural borrowing, though without using a footnote to explain the borrowed word. This strategy is defined as the process of taking over a SL expression verbatim from the ST into the TT. However, the problem here is not the translation but rather the loss of the cultural allusion. Ṭayyib Ṣaliḥ's use of the three names, Abu Zeid al-Hilali, the Khidr and the Mahdi in this context is consciously ironic, even comical as the character in question is being chided for his pretensions.

سادة من غير شلوخ ''She was smooth-cheeked without cuts'' (D.J Season:60). The translation elaborates on the sentence by adding 'without cuts'. Nonetheless the English reader needs to know about cheek cutting practice as a beautifying custom performed on girls as a kind of primitive and gruesome plastic surgery, intended for beautifying but, in reality sheer mutilation.

سافر الي مصر <u>سنة ستة</u>

Ahmed travelled to Egypt in <u>the year six</u> (D.J Season: 81)

The text is translated literally with an explanatory footnote, the only footnote used by the translator in the whole text. The target reader is expected to be familiar with the Muslim calendar (*Higra*), in this instance the year being 1306 A.D. Thus the translator, Jonson Davies uses three different strategies in rendering cultural and religious references; omission, cultural borrowing and TL equivalent.

Swear words are another culturally bound area which is difficult to render in the TL. We may consider the following cases:

عشا السجم   The translation is rendered as "Asha Good-for-nothing" (D.J Maryoud:93).

آمرمد آمسجم rendered as "you rogue", "you good for nothing "or "scoundrel."

The two Sudanese Arabic terms are commonly used by all strata of Sudanese society, particularly by women, as swear words. They are adjectives which literally mean covered with ash, or covered with soot. Sometimes nouns are used instead (آ سجم آ رماد "you soot";

269

"you ash"). Somewhat akin to these are the expressions هباب, نيله used in colloquial Egyptian. The TL equivalents ("you rogue", "you scoundrel", "you good for nothing") are fine, however; "the God forsaken work" is too formal as an equivalent for السجم. The آ in مسجم is a rural variant reflecting the local pronunciation. It is the way the locals pronounce (يا you). The translator could have hinted at this by using a rustic equivalent or adding a note.. As for the expression, عشا السجم a more appropriate TT swear word equivalent could be "bloody Asha albaytat"

Although Sudanese Arabic as discussed in the Introduction has consistently preserved the grammatical and phonetic features of Arabic against the influence of foreign languages and phonetic decay, it has acquired a number of phenomena. The translator has chosen to omit the following sentence although it is available in the published Arabic text:

(Ṣaliḥ , Maryoud:437) (أشهد ألا اله الا الله ,اشهد ان مهمدا رسول الاه ,هي ألي السلاه , هي ألي الفلاه)

This extract presents a number of interesting features of distorted pronunciation in some Sudanese dialects:

- the consonant letter (h) becomes (h ها) in the words (الفلاه) ,(هي), (مهمد)

- the letter (s ص) becomes (s س) in the word السلاة

- the (*Hamza*) is transformed into (ألى > على ع)

Another type of distorted pronunciation is in:

The interchanging of the consonant letter ج for ض in ينجض for ينضج (to ripen)

A word like مدلدل for متدلي is rendered as "lolling".

The expression امانه ما is made of up two items اما انّه which is transformed in Ṭayyib Ṣaliḥ 's text into one word أمانه and the Arabic expression means how like in "how nice" or "what a nice."

Though rich, highly rhetorical, inflected and with a high oratory tone, classical Arabic is easier to translate. Many problems arise from translating colloquial Arabic being not registered or analysed. It differs from one Arab country to another and varies according to situation, context and gender. This is expressed by Mona Baker as the use and the user:

> Language varies in different contexts and situations of use, depending on the interaction of the language users (located in time and, space and society) and language use (tenor, mode domain or field) (Baker, 1994: 47).

The translator has to take into consideration particular social and cultural settings, the selection of the level of language, whether classical Arabic (*fusha*), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) or dialect. Producing Arabic dialogue in the narrative poses a problem as there is a wide gap between speech and writing, a gap in which Hole notes: "the latter i.e. writing has traditionally been considered a medium for literature which is worthy of the name" (Holes,1995:303).

Translation of film scripts is difficult, being mostly colloquial and elliptical. The written text also lacks intonation, which is an integral part of the meaning. A sentence repeated five times with different intonations will have five different meanings. This constitutes difficulty for a translator who has no idea about the intonation required and translates the dialogue as written not as spoken. Reading the subtitles in a drama series recently presented by the Egyptian satellite channel The Nile TV, "I am jealous" is given as a translation to أنا باغير. Neither the scene nor the context has to do with jealousy. In the scene a gentleman is sprinkling water on a lady. The translation should be:"I am ticklish" but the translator has not seen the series nor the effect of the gentleman's action on the lady and her reaction. Even in the script the meaning differs according to the Arabic orthography, which is often lacking in a colloquial text. The word بأغير would mean "jealous" if it were written with أ. Without أ it can mean to "change clothes".

Conversation serves to create social relationships and communication between individuals of the same social groups and between one social group and the other in society. The community of Wad Ḥamid, for instance, is divided into three camps. Verbal communication and interaction between them contribute to maintaining the village as an integrated system and reflect its socio-cultural and linguistic fabric. Positive and negative, implicit or explicit, response through conversational collaboration helps to maintain the community's social norms. Conversation and dialogue also reflects the type of language, standard or colloquial, formal or informal, polite or phatic, and the terms of address.

According to Allen and Guy, conversation is a kind of social collaboration and interaction which leads to the development of society; through the way its participants present themselves and expect response. They note:

271

> Verbal communication in the interpersonal level is essential to the maintenance of society and culture. It provides the basis for inter-stimulation, reciprocal and establishment of common meaningful conceptualisation (Allen & Guy, 1974:27).

Wardaugh comments:

> Through conversation we establish relationships with others, (achieve a measure of cooperation with others or fail to do so), keep channels open for further relationship and so on. The utterances we use in the conversation enable us to do these kinds of things because conversation has certain properties which are well worth examining. (Wardaugh, 1998:280)

To ascertain this, illustrations of dialogue from Sudanese literature will be discussed. Dialogue, as stated above, reflects many things at the same time. It expresses culture, religion and society, and depicts what kind of environment is meant by the writer. It reflects the purpose and setting of the interaction, the relationship between the participants in the interaction and the medium.

The use of gestures, signs and actions in drama or verbal speech is substituted by co-text in written dialogue. Co-text serves to indicate the manner or mood intended by the utterance. Conversation elements include modes of address, politeness, phatic exchanges and implicatures. The dialogue, in particular, reflects many things at the same time. It expresses culture, religion and society and depicts what kind of environment is meant by the writer. It reflects the purpose and setting of the interaction, as well as the relationship between the participant and the medium as noted above.

In this context, representative extracts of Arabic dialogue and stretches of text from Sudanese literature will be analysed together with the different strategies used by the translator in handling them, taking into consideration the socio-cultural setting and the varieties of the source language used; classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, colloquial, dialect or slang. This forces the translator to work in different registers and at various levels of language ranging from the formal dialogue at the court during the trial of Muṣṭafa Saʻid, Saʻid and the narrator, and the colloquial dialogue between Bint Majzub and the group, and Zein and the others. This is what is expressed by Baker as the use and the user of the language. Three texts from *Season of Migration to the North* and *The Wedding of Zein* will be examined.

The Court:

The court scene in Ṭayyib Ṣaliḥ's *Season of Migration to the North* takes place in the wake of Muṣtafa Sa'id's murder of his English wife, Jean Morris, The murder was committed in bizarre and vague circumstances.

The dialogue at the Old Bailey is a highly intellectual one as the participants are the Public Prosecutor, Sir Arthur Higgins, who had taught Muṣtafa Sa'id Criminal Law at Oxford, Professor Maxwell Foster, his former teacher, the jury, the witnesses and himself. Maxwell begins his defence with the words: 'Muṣtafa Sa'id, gentlemen of the jury, is a noble person whose mind was able to absorb Western civilisation, but it broke his heart' (D.J, Season: 33). Ann Hammond father tells the jury that his daughter's suicide may be 'due to some spiritual crisis' (D.J, Season: 68). Sheila Greenwood's husband attributes her death to her incurable disease. Mustafa Sa'id on the other hand sits 'lifeless as a heap of ashes.' He confesses that he caused two ladies to commit suicide, wrecked the life of a married woman and killed his wife. He wishes he could have shouted, 'I am not Othello' 'This Muṣtafa Sa'id is an illusion, a lie. I ask you to rule that this lie be killed' (D.J, Season: 32). He hears 'the rattles of the swords in Carthage and the clatter of the hooves of Allenby's horses desecrating the grounds of Jerusalem'. He recalls the treaty of Versailles and the Crusades. He thinks of the colonisers' ships which first sailed on the Nile carrying guns not bread. The schools which the colonisers established were not to educate them but to teach them to say yes. His violence which leads to killing is in the first place the violence which the colonisers had injected into the blood of people they had colonised thousand generations ago.

The above quotes serve to illustrate how the author handles the themes, namely the clash of cultures or the East/West encounter. The text reveals influences of or affinities with a postcolonial perspective represented by the likes of Edward Sa'id, Frantz and Ashcroft. Sa'id is exchanging roles with coloniser, mimicking the process of colonisation. He recalls and enacts a precedent in history when Kitchener interrogated Maḥmūd wad Aḥmed, a leader of the nationalist movement of the day.: 'why have you come to my country to lay waste and plunder?' (Ṣaliḥ, 2004:94). It was the intruder who said this to the owner of the land. Now he is the intruder, the invader, superior to the members of the court. He is the case, and the ritual is held primarily because of him. All are trying to defend him; the court by providing a fair trial and the witnesses by taking his side. Ironically he comments in his memoir: 'This is the justice, the rules of the game, like the laws of neutrality and combat in war. This is cruelty

that wears the mask of mercy.'   Here the writer is referring to Frantz Fanon's"false humanistic values of the Europeans" (Fanon: 251).

The translator has skilfully rendered the proceedings of the court being conveyed in the original in modern standard Arabic MSA. However the language used in the conversation of Bint Majzūb and her friends and the dialogue between the narrator and Muṣṭafa Saʻid sharply contrasts with the above. Ḥosna, Muṣṭafa Saʻid's wido w, refuses to marry Wad Rayyis; she offers to marry the narrator to save her from Wad Rayyis and to avert suitors' offers. Eventually when they force her to marry Wad Rayyis she kills him and herself. The members of the community react differently to this event. Basnet and Lefever divide the interactions into three:

> Culture can be divided into paraculture (i.e. the norms, rules and conventions valid for an entire society), diaculture (i.e. the norms, rules and conventions for a particular group within the society such as a club, a firm or a regional entity and even edioculture (the culture of an individual person as opposed to other individuals). (Basnet & Lefevre, 1998:93)

Another extract is a conversation between Ḥaj Aḥmed and his group. It prepares the reader for the impending betrothal, marriage and eventually murder of Wad Rayyis. The group are chatting about marriage in general. Each relates his own experience, comparing and contrasting their sexual experiences with women from different nationalities. Wad Rayyis criticises his friends for satisfying themselves with one wife and spending all day praying or making money. They do not make use for the privilege granted by the *Qur'an*:

1

ود الريس :وقال الله في كتابه العزيز:" النسوان والبنون زينة الحياة الدنيا"

(Ṣaliḥ: Season: 88)

 "Women and children are the adornment of life on this earth, "God said in his noble Book. (D.J, Season: 78)

2

(Ṣalih.) الراوي : القرآن لم يقل النسوان والبنون ولكنه قال" المال والبنون"

The Koran did not say 'Women and Children 'but ʿWealth and Children'. (D.J, Season:78)

3

(Ṣalih: 94) بنت مجذوب: "استغفر الله العظيم و أتوب اليه والله ضحكتونا ياجماعة   اللهم اجمعنا ثانية في ساعة خير

274

Bint Majzūb:'I ask forgiveness of Almighty God. By God what a laugh we've had. May God bring us together again on some auspicious occasion.' (D.J, Season: 84)

The Narrator with Ḥosna:

4

الراوي: ود الريس يريد جوازك وأبوك و اهلك لا يمانعون. (Şaliḥ , Season: 105)

The narrator:' Wad Rayyes wants to marry you, your father and family do not object.' (D.J, Season:96)

5

حسنه: *أجابت فورا بحزم الأمر الذي أدهشني* : بعد مصطفى سعيد لا أدخل على رجل. و اذا أجبروني على الجواز فانني سأقتله و أقتل نفسي (Şaliḥ , Season:105)

Ḥosna: 'After Mustafa Sa'eed,' she *answered immediately, with a decisiveness that astonished me,* 'I shall go to no man.' She added: if they force me to marry, I will kill him and kill myself. (D.J, Season:96)

6

الراوي: هل أحببت مصطفى سعيد؟ (Şaliḥ , Season:105)

The narrator: Did you love Mustafa Sa'eed? (D.J, Season:97)

7

حسنه: كان ابا لاولادي. كان زوجا كريما و كان أبا كريما. (Şaliḥ : 107)

Ḥosna: He is the father of my children *if I am right in my belief, the voice was not sad, in fact it contained a caressing tenderness.* He was a generous husband and a generous father.(D.J, Season:98)

The Narrator and Wad Rayyis

8

ود الريس :"لن أتزوج غيرها .ستقبلني وانفها صاغر". أ بوها قبل وأخواتها قبلوا ,الكلام الفارغ الذي تتعلمونه في المدارس لا يسير عندنا .هذا البلد فيه الرجال قوامون على النساء" (Şaliḥ :106)

Wad Rayyis**:** I shall marry no one but her,' he said. She'll accept me whether she like it or not. Her father's agreed and so have her brothers. This nonsense you learn at school won't wash with us here. In this village the men are guardians of the women (D.J, Season: 97)

9

Ṣaliḥ ,) أنت تعلم أنها رفضت رجالاً غيرك بعضهم أصغر منك سناً. إذا أرادت ان تتفرغ لتربية ولديها فلماذا لا تتركونها وشانها"
Season:108)

The Narrator: You know she's refused many men besides you, some of them are younger. If she wants to devote herself to bringing up her children, why not let her do as she pleases?   (D.J, Season:99)

The Narrator's Mother with the Narrator

10

(Ṣaliḥ , Season:130) **أم الراوي:** جاءت لابيك وقالت له بلسانها قولوا له يتزوجني, يا للجرأه و فراغة العين ((نساء آخر زمن))

The Narrator's Mother: Ḥosna came to your father and said: <u>Tell him to marry me!</u> <u>What an impudent hussy!</u> <u>That's modern women for you!</u> (D.J, Season: 123)

The Narrator's Father to the Narrator:

11

(Ṣaliḥ , Season:131) **حاج أحمد** : <u>لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله</u> . أول مرة يحصل شئ مثل ذلك في هذا البلد منذ خلقه الله . محن آخر الزمن"

Ḥaj Aḥmed: '<u>There is no power and no strength save in God</u> - It's the first time that thing like this happened in the village since God created it. What a time of affliction we live in! (D.J, Season: 124)

 Bint Majzūb to the Narrator:

12

(Salih :134) **بنت مجذوب**: شربت ومسحت العرق من وجهها وقالت: '' : <u>استغفر الله العظيم و أتوب اليه</u>

Bint Majzūb: *She wiped the sweat from her face;* I ask Pardon and repentance from Almighty God.

(D.J, Season: 127)

13

(Ṣaliḥ , Season:131) **بنت مجذوب**: بلعت ريقها بصعوبة وارتعش حلقومها ثم قالت: <u>اللهم لا إعتراض علي حكمك</u>

Bint Majzūb: She swallowed with difficulty and her throat quivered nervously. "Oh Lord, there is no opposition to Thy will" (D.J, Season:128)

14

(Ṣaliḥ :131) **و قالت بت مجذوب** : <u>استغفر الله</u>. طول حياتنا تحت ستر الله. لآخر الزمن يحصل علينا مثل هذا. <u>أستغفر واتوب إليك يارب</u>

Bint Majzūb: All our lives we have enjoy <u>God's protection</u> and now finally something like this happened to us! <u>I asked forgiveness and repentance of Thee, O Lord.</u>' (D.J, Season: 128)

Mabrouka:

15

(131 :Ṣaliḥ) مبروكة: في ستين داهية . ود الريس حفر قبره بيده. وبنت محمود بارك الله فيها, خلصت منه القديم والجديد

Mabrouka: 'Good riddance!' Wad Rayyis dug his grave with his own hands, and Bint Mahmoud, God's blessings be upon her, paid him out in full. (D.J, Season:128)

The Narrator and Mahjūb:

16

(108 :Ṣaliḥ) الراوي: و لكن اذا كانت لا تريد الزواج؟

The Narrator: 'but if she doesn't want to marry ? I said to him. (D.J, Season:99)

17

(108 :Ṣaliḥ) محجوب: أنت تعرف نظام الحياة هنا. المرأة للرجل و الرجل رجل حتي لو بلغ ارزل العمر,

Mahjūb: 'You know how life is run here,' he interrupted me 'Women belong to men, a man's a man even if he's decrepit.'   (D.J, Season:99)

18

The Narrator: 'But the world's changed. There are things that no longer fit in our life in this age.' (D.J. Season:99)

19

(108 :Ṣaliḥ) الراوي: الدنيا لم تتغير بالقدر الذي تظنه

Mahjūb: 'The world's not changed as much as you think.. (D.J, Season:99)

Annotations and commentary:

1 and 2- The highlighted clause in numbers 1 and 2 is adequately rendered in the TL. Perhaps Wad Rayyis misquotes the verse of the *Qur'an* intentionally to justify his intention to marry Hosna or oof sheer ignorance. However this reveals some aspects of his character, namely his ignorance of his religion and his attitude towards women. He is known to have changed women as he changed donkeys justifying the practice by the Qur'anic verse, "God sanctioned marriage and he sanctioned divorce."

3- After a long chat and much laughter each one of the group intones the stock phrase, "I ask forgiveness and repentance of Thee Lord." The religious formula استغفار i.e. asking forgiveness, is recurrent all through the text in various forms. It is intoned by Bint Majzub in

12 and 14 above. It is recited when remembering or mentioning wicked actions or arrogance. One mentions God Almighty to suppress one's anger and calm down. Muslim society is dominated by superstition. People fear too much laughter or joy lest it ends in misfortune. So they ask forgiveness after crying and laughing. The formulaic is literally rendered in the TL.11, 12,13 and 14 - Three more formulaic phrases: "There is no strength no power save in God", "O Lord, there is no opposition to Thy will" and "God protection". The first expression is said to express helplessness: we can do nothing without Allah. The second expresses resignation to God will and accepting it. The third is seeking ستر, "Divine cover" or protection against change of fortune, slander and gossip. These three formulae and the three mentioned in 9 above serve to reveal the theme, the characters and how the village community is influenced by the event and reacts to it. They express their shock and denunciation of the crime which disturbs the calm of the village, i.e. the double killing committed by Ḥosna Bint Maḥmūd. Omitting the phrases will incur loss of information; so replacing them by a suitable TL equivalent such as "Good God!" or "Goodness sake!" will be acceptable to the TL reader. However the translator opts for literal translation, which is confusing to the TR.

In the introduction to his book (Piamenta:3) M. Piamenta notes that religious formulae are habits established and performed as a result of learning and training in socio-emotional situations. They are largely inspired by religion and in most cases include the name of Allah implicitly or explicitly. The *du'a* (invocation) took their normal course in everyday spoken becoming idiomatic and stereotyped and losing their extemporized *ad ho* nature. When the words in context are untranslatable in one-to-one relationship the translator should refer to the functional meaning of the sentence or phrase.

Sentences 4, 5, 6 and 7 comprise the narrator's dialogue with Hosna relating to Wad Rayyis' proposal to marry her. The dialogue is in MSA which is adequately rendered by the translator in the TL. It reveals Ḥosna decision, which prepares the reader for the anticipated climax in the novel. Both her utterance and the co-text reveal Ḥosna's strong character. As an ordinary simple village woman she adheres to the community norms, but she can kill. Her husband was mysterious and unfathomable, nevertheless she has loyalty and a sense of duty towards him.

Sentences 8, 9 and 10 contain Wad Rayyis's colloquial lexical items such as لا يسير and الكلام الفارغwhich are replaced with suitable English ones, "nonsense" and "'wash with". The narrator as an enlightened person tries to defend Ḥosna and her right to decide and choose. Wad Rayyis, on the other hand, is self-centred and obsessed by marriage as power over others

and prestige.   Out of ignorance or lack of awareness he quotes and misinterprets the *Qur'an*,"men are guardians of women". She is going to marry him would she or not. For him it is his desire and her father's and brothers' acceptance that count, rather than her wishes.

15 – The colloquial Sudanese idiom في ستين داهيه is successfully replaced by a TL idiom which properly expresses the hostile interjection by Mabrouka, his elder wife. By this sincere, realistic and down-to-earth remark she speaks for herself and the other four wives whom Wad Rayyis has wronged.

16, 17, 18 and 19 dramatise the narrator's and Maḥjūb's disagreement over the issue of the marriage. Like the grandfather, Bint Majzūb and the others, Maḥjūb is supportive of the marriage as it is "the way life is run here", and "the women belong to men and man's a man even if he's a decrepit". The sentence: ''But the world's changed. There are things that no longer fit in our life in this age" is not included in the ST. Perhaps the translator has drawn on the general context or inferred the meaning implied in the narrator's comment: في هذا العصر (In this age!).

Textual analysis demonstrates the role played by dialogue in reflecting the underlying themes, the characters and events. Women's positive aspects are presented through man's writing. Women in the North of Sudan have a strong character and often express ideals men deviate from.   و دفناها عند المغيب كأننا نغرس نخله او نستودع باطن Mariam in Meryoud, الارض سرا عزيزا) Ṣaliḥ : 456) "We buried her   like a date tree" (Maryoud:114). She has the right of self determination, Ḥawa in *The Dome Tree of* Wad   amid can choose, and N'ima remains determined. Ḥosna is positive until death and is not the submissive kind. When with her husband she was most loyal and true, but when forced to marry another man she kills him. Mabrouka accepts her situation, yields to the community conventions but later she voices her resentment   في ستين داهية"Good riddance" (D.J, Season:128). She is no less than Ann Hammond, who leaves the message, "God damn you Muṣafa Sa'id!" (149) Wad Rayyis' character is paralleled by that of Muṣtafa Sa'id; both are self-centred. Wad Rayyis frequently married, frequently divorced, takes no heed of any women except that she is a woman. His practice runs counter to the teachings of Islam. However, Muṣafa S'aid has the same obsession with women. He takes no heed of any woman except what fills his bedroom. He has large mirrors in his bedroom so that when he beds a woman he feels as if he is bedding a 'whole harem.'

Conversation between the Headmaster, 'Abdul Ṣamad and Sheikh Ali:

1.

شيخ علي , حاج عبد الصمد <u>السنة دي سنة العجايب</u> دا كلام ايه دا!؟ (Zein:247)

"Sheihk Ali, 'Abdul Ṣamad- <u>this year is a year of miracles</u>. What a thing to happen!" (D.J, Zein:79)

الخبر دا صحيح   (Ṣaliḥ ,Zein:242)

Is the news true?

2

و ضحك عبد الصمد و قال للناظر: كدى أشرب الف قهوة قبل تبرد , الكلام صحيح   (Zein:243 , Ṣaliḥ).

'Drink up your coffee before it gets cold**.'** 'Abdul Ṣamad said with a laugh to the Headmaster. 'What they say is quite true' (D.J, Zein:80)

3

وقال الشيخ علي وهو يحرك الممضوغ من الجانب الايمن الى الجانب الأيسر في فمه: حكاية عرس الزين مو كدى؟ صحيح و أبوه.   , Ṣaliḥ
صحيح كمان   (Zein:242)

Shifting the quid of tobacco from the right side of the mouth to the left. Shiekh Ali said, 'The story of Zein's marriage? It is a hundred percent true all right.' (D.J, Zein:80)

4

يا رجل دي سنة غريبة جدا و لا أنا غلطان؟ لم يكن الناظر يستعمل عبارة (زول) , أي (شخص

كبقية أهل البلد , بل كان يقول (رجل) في بداية جملة.   (Zein:242 , Ṣaliḥ)

'My dear fellow; this the most strange year- or am I wrong?' (D.J, Zein:80)

5

و قال عبد الصمد: (كلامك صحيح جناب الناظر. سنة عجيبة فعلا النسوان القنعن من الولادة ولدن . البقر و الغنم جابت الاتنين, و التلاتة و الثلج
نزل   (Zein:243 , Ṣaliḥ)

'What you say is quite right, Headmaster', said Abdul Samad. 'A really extraordinary year. Women who had given up hope of being pregnant suddenly have children; cows and sheep give birth to two and three. Also it snowed. (D.J, Zein: 80)

6

الثلج في ذلك **دا كلام ! الثلج ينزل من السما في في بلد صحراء زي دي ؟**) وهز الناظر رأسه و همهم عبد الصمد كلمات في حلقه , فقد كان نزول
العام شيئا حيرهم جميعا . و لم يستطع الناظر مع طول باعه في الجغرافيا ان يجد له تعليلا .(Zein:243 , Ṣaliḥ)

280

Can you imagine such thing ? Snow falling from the sky on a desert town like this? (DJ, Zein:80)

7

و قال الناظر : (**لكين المعجزه الكبرى موضوع زواج الزين**) هذه كانت عادته , يزج الكلمات الفصحى في حديثه. (243 :Ṣaliḥ)

'But the biggest miracle of all', said the Headmaster, ' is the business of Zein's betrothal.' (D.J, Zein:80)

8

"**االواحد ما يكاد يصدق**" كان الناظر يعديه هو وعبد الصمد بكلماته الفصحى , فيحاولان مجاراته   (243 :Ṣaliḥ)

'**One is loath to believe it',** said Sheikh Ali- who was like 'Abdul Samad

infected by the Headmaster's classical words; and they would both try to vie with him. (D.J, Zein:81)

9

عبد الصمد:كلام الحنين ما وقع البحر قال له باكر تعرس احسن بت في البلد.   (243: Ṣaliḥ)

'Ḥaneen's words were not idle ones,' said 'Abdul Ṣamad. 'He said to him **"Tomorrow you will be marrying the best girl in the village".'**   (D.J, Zein:81**)**

10

الناظر: أي نعم. أحسن بت في البلد اطلاقا. أي جمال! أي أدب! أي حشم (243 : Ṣaliḥ)

'**Yes, by God, that's so.' 'The best girl in the whole village. What beauty! What manners! What modesty!'** **(**D.J, Zein:81**)**

11

و قال عبد الصمد مستفزا :" **أي فلوس! أن عارفك كت خات عينك عليها عشان مال أبوها"** (243 :Ṣaliḥ)

'**What money!'** said 'Abdul Samad provocatively. '**I know you had your eyes on her because of her father's wealth.'** **(**D.J, Zein:81**)**

12

و احتد الناظر و هو يود التهمة من نفسه : **"أنا؟ خاف الله يا رجل , هذه في عمر بناتي."** (Ṣaliḥ:244)

'**I ? Have some shame, my dear fellow,'** said the Headmaster, furiously warding off the accusation, ' She is no older than my daughters.' (D.J, Zein:81)

281

13

<div dir="rtl">

وقال شيخ علي وهو يسري عنه " **عمر بناتك ايه يا شيخ ؟ الراجل راجل حتى في أرزل العمر . البنت من سن أربعتاشر**

قابلة للزواج من أي راجل و لو كان زي جنابك في الستين ." (Ṣaliḥ 244:)

</div>

'**What have your daughters' ages got to do with it, old chap?**' said Sheikh Ali seeking to placate him. ' **A man's a man whatever his age, and a girl of fourteen's ready for marriage to any man, even if he is in his sixties like your honour.**' (D.J, Zein:81)

14

<div dir="rtl">

خاف الله يا رجل انا في الخمسين أصغر منك و من عبد الصمد قطع شك" " (Ṣaliḥ 244:)

</div>

'**Have some shame, dear fellow- I'm in my fifties. I'm certainly younger than both you and 'Abdul Samaad** ' (D.J, Zein:81)

15

<div dir="rtl">

) و قهقه عبد الصمد قهقهته المشهورة من جوف صدره و قال : " **طيب بلاش موضوع العمر, ايه رأيك في حكاية عرس الزين؟**" Ṣaliḥ 244:)

</div>

'Well, let's forget about the question of age,' he said, 'what do you think about the story of Zein's marriage?' (D.J, Zein:81)

16

<div dir="rtl">

وقال الناظر : "يا رجل دا موضوع مدهش, ازاي حاج ابراهيم يقبل؟ الزين رجل درويش مله و مال الزواج؟" (Ṣaliḥ 244:)

</div>

'That's a fantastic business,' said the Headmaster. 'How is it Hajj Ibrahim accepts it. Zein's a dervish of a man who shouldn't be marrying at all.' (D.J, Zein:81)

17

<div dir="rtl">

عبد الصمد باقتناع عميق: حاسب جنابك من ذكر الزين . دا راجل بركه صديق الراجل الصالح الحنين الله يرحمه؟ (Ṣaliḥ 244:)

</div>

'You should sir be careful when talking of Zein,' said 'Abdul Ṣamad with profound conviction. 'He's a man blessed of God and was a friend of that devout man Al-Ḥaneen , God rest his soul.' (D.J:82)

18

<div dir="rtl">

شيخ علي: رحمة الله عليه جاب لينا الخير في البلد. (Ṣaliḥ 244:)

</div>

'May God rest his soul,' Sheikh Ali added. 'He brought prosperity to our village.' (D.J, Zein:82)

19

عبد الصمد: و كله عشان خاطر الزين (Ṣaliḥ :244)

'And it was all because of Zein,' said 'Abdul Ṣamad.(D.J, Zein:82)

20

الناظر: يا رجل مادخلنا في موضوع الكرامات؟ لكن برضه... (Ṣaliḥ :244)

'My dear fellow, we are not talking about miracles. Even so, though....' (D.J, Zein:82)

21

شيخ علي: مهما يكون الراجل راجل و المره مره . (Ṣaliḥ :244)

'When everything's said and done,' Sheikh Ali interrupted, 'A man's a man and a woman's a woman.'   (D.J, Zein:82)

22

عبد الصمد: و البت بت عمه على كل حال . (Ṣaliḥ :244)

'And in any case the girl's his cousin,' added 'Abdul Ṣamad. (D.J, Zein: 82)

Annotations and Commentary:

1   Both the original text and the translation reflect the Headmaster's concern about the news. The co-text reveals his inner feeling: 'he starts his speech ten yards outside the shop'.

2 and 3- 'Abdul Ṣamad soothes the Headmaster, offers him coffee and confirms the news. Sheikh Ali uses an emphatic colloquial SL idiom to confirm the news صحيح و أبوه صحيحWhich is replaced by an equally emphatic colloquial idiom 'It's a hundred per cent true all right.'

4- He uses يا رجلinstead of يا زول. The rendition of   يا رجل as 'my dear fellow', is a case of over translation; 'man' or 'fellow' is more accurate, though, D.J's rendering also succeeds in conveying the colloquial and familiar tone of the exchange.

 The translator opts to vary translations of جناب الناظر It is rendered as 'Headmaster', 'Your Honour' and 'Sir' as the conversation progresses.

 In number 13 Sheikh Ali addresses the Headmaster by two terms in one sentence: The first is يا شيخand it is rendered as 'old chap'; and the other is ' جنابك'rendered as 'your honour.'

283

In 5 and 6 both 'Abdul Samad and Sheikh Ali agree with the Headmaster that the year is most strange. They both enumerate the miracles that have occurred. Sheikh Ali focuses on the falling of snow in their desert town. 'Abdul Samad grumbles when the Headmaster with all his knowledge in geography offers no explanation to it.

7- The Headmaster insists on bringing back the marriage issue, describing it as the biggest miracle. Although the language of the dialogue is colloquial, sometimes the Headmaster tends to speak in classical Arabic.

8- Sheikh Ali imitates the Headmaster using classical words الواحد ما يكاد يصدق accurately conveyed as "One is loath to believe it."

9- The Sudanese colloquial expression ' ما وقع البحر ' is successfully translated as 'his words were not idle.' Haneen's prophesy to Zein turns out to be true; he is to marry the best girl in the village. The dialogue reveals the villagers' belief in the mystical Haneen.

10-The Headmaster seizes the chance to praise Ni'ma; his enthusiasm reveals his admiration for her, which he is trying to conceal throughout.

11- 'Abdul Ṣamad has the courage to provoke the Headmaster by adding one more interjection 'what money!' little knowing that the headmaster in fact has unsuccessfully asked her hand in marriage.

12- The headmaster furiously defends himself against 'Abdul Ṣamad's accusation. The formulaic 'Fear God' is used to blame someone for committing an offence and urging him to fear God. He means to say 'be fair to me.' The translator wisely opts to replace it by a TL expression which incurs a loss in the tone of the source text (furiously)..

13- Sheikh Ali tries to calm the Headmaster down by using intimate terms of address and by supporting him with the argument, 'a man is a man' but has not succeeded as he gets his age wrong. Then to rescue his image he addresses him as "Your honour."

14 - To defend himself and to justify his rejection by Ni'ma, the Headmaster is attacking his two friends, stating that he is younger than both of them.

15- 'Abdul Ṣamad, in an effort to ease the tension and the Headmaster's anger he redirects the conversation to the main subject, namely the news of Zein's wedding.

16- The word ‏مدهش‎ is literally translated into *'fantastic'* which contradicts the context and the mood of the speaker. Strange or surprising is more appropriate. The phrase ‏رجل درويش‎ is translated as *a dervish of a man* to avoid the many associations the word dervish has in England. A footnote explaining the word *"dervish"* would be appropriate.

17-Again in emphatic language, 'Abdul Ṣamad addresses the Headmaster, this time warning him against criticising Zein. He also shows his deep conviction in the blessed Zein and the devout man Haneen. The phrase ‏يرحمه االله‎ is literally and successfully translated into 'God rest his soul*'*.

18-Sheikh Ali repeats the formula in the traditional Islamic way ‏يرحمه االله‎ 'May God rest his soul'. He confirms 'Abdul Samad's opinion of Haneen by adding, *'He brought prosperity to our country',* in turn confirming the people's belief in the power of such men.

19-By his utterance, 'Abdul Ṣamad confirms his support for Zein and his conviction in Haneen. It is an effective comment which is effectively retrieved in the translation.

20- The last unfinished portion of the Headmaster's speech reflects that the he is unable to continue the dialogue.

21 and 22 – Both Sheikh Ali's and 'Abdul Ṣamad's utterances summarize the topic from their respective points of view. *'A* man's a man and a woman's a woman' is an old Sudanese saying, while the assertion, 'the girl's his cousin' is, according to the co-text, "an irrefutable argument according to the convention of the village folk.''(D.J, Zein:82)

The co-text has a role to play. It indicates the tenor. For example in 11,12 and 15 the words *"guffawing provocatively, furiously"* determine the manner, mood or spirit in which the utterance is intended to be delivered which otherwise may not be apparent from the text, unlike the audible and visible signals that mark naturally occurring conversation.

Participants in the above conversation are the Headmaster and his friends Sheikh Ali the tobacco dealer and 'Abdul Ṣamad. The dialogue, as has been noted before, serves to set the scene and contribute to the development of the narrative while highlighting the underlying themes. Dialogue elements such as speech acts, co-text, turn taking, terms of address and interjections have been analysed. The dialogue throws light on Zein's impending wedding and the reason behind the Headmaster's keen interest in the matter. On hearing the news of the wedding from his pupil, the Headmaster has left the school and rushed to his friends to verify

it. The dialogue reflects the mood of the Headmaster, his struggle to conceal his failed marriage proposal to N'ima and his fear of being found out by his friends. 'Abdul Ṣamad and Sheikh Ali notice and comment on his admiration for Ni'ma although they are unaware of his proposal.

The writer redefines religious values and the concept of holiness. Haneen is given mystical attributes because of his clairvoyance and his ability to see through people, not strictly because of his religious observance. The Imam is a practising Muslim yet cannot be called holy. He represents conventional religion. Zein has never prayed or entered the mosque in his life yet he is blessed by the power of love he posseses. His famous cry, اررووك يا ناس الحلة أنا مكتول في حوش العمده (197)) "O kinsfolk, I am slain by love in the Omda courtyard draws suitors' attention to the village girls whom they have no chance of seeing or communicating with in their conservative community. This transcends their village to intermarriage from other neighbouring villages. Zein's wedding unifies the whole village.

Madiḥ is another problematic area of literary translation. Following is translation by Idris 'Abdullah Al-Banna of ابلي المشرفات (My She Camels), a Sufi poem by Shiekh 'Abd al-Raḥim al Bura'i:

<div dir="rtl">

ابلي المشرفات

إبلي المشرفات ووسمهن فاخر

ينفعنــي درهــن في اليـوم الآخر(1)

</div>

My graceful she- camels

Earmarked, honoured and rife

Do offer me their best of milk

In the Day of after life

<div dir="rtl">

ماهن مساخر حـازن مفاخر

شحنن بواخر في البحر الزاخر(2)

</div>

Never been trifles

But gained all the prizes

Shipped in boats to travel

On high sea been full to marvel

هي إبلاً زينـة

في المـحفل زينـة

شايـلات خزينـة

للفائزينـا(3)

Of character and ornate

In festivity for Kaa'ba to decorate

Carrying the treasure of high rate

For the tops whose luck would meet

ماهـن مـن سوق تمبـول

ولا مـن عيـال شمبـول

راعيهـن يـوت مسئـول

ستر الله علـى المسبـول(4)

Bought not from the mart of Tamboool

Nor bought from any Bany Shambool

Their shepherded is busy and for all

The Lord keeps their utmost whole

وإبلنا يـا معشـر

مائـة واربعتاشـر

تجئ حاملة للمحشـر

لراعتـها تستبشـر(**5**)

Our camels, dear folks have been

One hundred and fourteen

Do seek on the resurrection

Their shepherd's very good omen

براقن لاح من جاي

مسوح قبلتي ورجاي

راح فكري تاه جاي جاي

لأمتين أزور ملجـاي(6)

Their lightning flashed this way

To where my wished could be

My wits have gone astray

When, where visit I to stay

صلواتـا نافيـة العـد

لـي ود قصـي ومعـد

برعي النظم يسـعد

لـي الدرج الفوق يصعـد(7)

Uncounted prayers are offered

For Qossay's son and to Ma'ad

Wrote Boraie been happy said

For the highest top to ascend

Annotations and commentary

(1) This Sufi poem is about the Qur'an and the benefit of recitation. The lexical item, she-camels, is used symbolically by the writer to refer to the 114 verses of the Qur'an which he mentions only in the fifth stanza. The translation of the word درهن as milk successfully conveys the flow of God's reward that the poet accrues from his involvement with the Qur'anic verses. The translator commits himself with the symbolic style of the original text.

(2) The word ماهن here and in the third stanza is the colloquial form of لسن. It is noted all through the poem the use the short vowel, *sukun* (vowellessness) to end each line and with reference to the plural feminine e.g. وسمهن شحنن , حازن , راعيهن , براقن instead of the standard Arabic *forms* with the *shaddah* (double consonant) in شحن , وسمهن, راعيهن, and *fathah* (a flat sound) in حزن.

288

(3)   Both this and the previous stanza are describing the Qur'anic verses. The word زينة is used in two different pronunciations: the first *one* means noble mannered and the second one with the short vowel *kasra* (the consonant sound brought down) on the first letter means ornamented. The translator reproduces the word محفل (the Day of Judgment or Congregation) as محمل (The camel procession used to carry richly decorated cover sent by Muslim rulers to the Holy Ka'ba in Mecca).

(4)   The verses, symbolically the she-camels, are of good quality. They are not bought from Tambool's camel market nor are they originated from Shanbool tribe. Their shepherd is always alert. The word يوت is the Sudanese colloquial for always.

(5)   Here the poet makes clear what is meant by the she-camels, however the meaning is impliedly mentioned as a hundred and fourteen on which the reciters rejoice in the Resurrection. The poet is known for employing numbers by propagating and reproducing them leaving it to the listener or reader to work out the meaning e.g.

ورة 114 = السور المية و العشرة و أربعة

(1)   أيام السنة التسعين في اربعة 90x4 = 360 days

Another use of the number, four, is in the following:

الكتب الأربعة , القبل الأربعة , الأئمة الأربعة , نسلم من أربعة , نحشر مع أربعة

The number five is employed in other poems:

أسرى و صلى بالعشرين الخمسة , = the twenty five prophets

He ascended and lead the twenty and five (the 25 prophets) in the prayer. The reference here is to the *Isr'a and M'iraj*, the spiritual night journey of Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) through the seven skies to the Sublime Throne.

ناجى و خفف الخمسين الى خمسة = the fifty prayers

He intimately and cofidentially coversed with Allah and reduced the 50 (the stated prayers) to only five

عرجت و جيتنا بالخمسة = the five prayers.

You came back with the five (the stated five prayers).

وبنيت الدين على خمسة

You based religion on five (the five pillars of Islam)

(6) The word جاي in colloquial Sudanese means this way as reproduced by the translator and the expression جاي جاي means this way and that way. رجاي and ملجاي are the colloquial for رجائي and ملجئى . Perhaps this form is deliberately used by the poet for the purpose of the rhyme,

(7) The poet ends the poem with praying to Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) as it is always the case with most Sufi poem and invoking God to grant him high position in the Hereafter. Professor Ibrahim al Qurashy (1) notes that the invocation: الدرج الفوق يصعد (For the highest top to ascend)

is related to the Prophet's Tradition (يقال لصاحب القرآن يوم القيامة اقرأ و اصعد)

This Sufi poem is the most controversial for my informants, perhaps for its religious and cultural characteristics. It also contains some words of Sudanese dialect. Informants with no Arabic background are highly impressed by it as a poem on its own right regardless of the Arabic text, however they inquire about the Arabic and Sudanese words such as Ka'ba, Shanbool and Tambool. Others with Arabic knowledge think that the translator sometimes tends to over-translate some words like his translation of محفل in the third stanza. The word 'rife' in the first stanza and the phrase, to marvel, in the second stanza constitute a problem for the informants. I think the word rifle is added by the translator as a third adjective describing the she-camels to rhyme with life in the fourth line. By adding words like rifle and Ka'ba perhaps the poet meant to enrich the meaning. The phrase to marvel is perhaps a misprint of marvels which may suit the context well and rhyme with trifles in the first line. Poetry translation is the most problematic among literary translation. The availability of the Qur'an, Bible and the world masterpieces... etc in translation, falsifies the theory of literary untranslatability. Given that absolute sameness is impossible, the question of loss and gain can be discussed. *Rhymed Translation* is one of Lefevere's seven strategies of poetry translation which he condemns as restricting to the translator (Lefevere, 1975: 88). In the text in question, although, the choice of the rhymed structure is restricting, there is considerable degree of accuracy and commitment to the source text noted. As a poet who belongs to a family known for its poetic achievements in the Arab world, the translator chooses to reproduce poetry as poetry. Reproducing poetry as prose may have served the meaning well given the translator's mastery of both source and target language. All religious and cultural references, Sudanese terms and colloquial lexis need to be explained in footnotes. Adding vowel marks to the poem would have ensured correct and smooth reading and enhance understanding the meaning.

Conclusion

This study has endeavoured to place Sudanese literature within a historical, cultural, and linguistic matrix with a view to determining its defining features and its adaptability to translation. Part One has explored in depth the ethnic, linguistic and religious dimensions of the Sudanese literary experience. It highlighted the impact these factors have had on the formation of Sudanese identity, which this study has argued was shaped in part by the evolving literature even as that literature was shaped in turn by its national and other constituents. One interesting insight revealed here is the composite or compound picture of a national identity composed of tribal and ethnic as well linguistic and religious identities, reflecting the diversity of Sudan's peoples and cultures with levels of cultural and historical experiences. It is remarkable, one may add in view of recent events, that this rich admixture managed to survive for a number of decades after independence, with literature acting as a glue to and an affirmation of national unity.

In this context, the postcolonial approach was used and proved to be an illuminating and useful framework and methodology. It revealed that in their search for or assertion of their national identity, the Sudanese writers during the struggle for the independence of their country shared with other African and colonised nations a common struggle and a number of traits. Interestingly, that struggle did not end up portraying the Western coloniser as the enemy to overcome and negate. Rather, it saw him as a contender who was eventually incorporated into the Sudanese people's literary expression and identity. This phenomenon, one may extrapolate, may help to show that "soft power" (through literature and the arts) can be more effective and enduring than the "hard power" of brutal occupation. In this connection, the study also showed that this "struggle" which had its roots in the colonial era established a tradition which celebrated or at least condoned artistic experimentation and the cultural and ideological interaction with the "other". The tendency by Sudanese writers to invest in their knowledge of Western literary models and genres through translation and later in direct contact with the original sources as their knowledge of foreign languages, primarily English, increased was also present in other African and "third-world" countries. Such cross-fertilisation, it needs to be said, rarely abandoned or looked down on native models and priorities, rendering such complexities and paradoxes worthy of critical study.

The Sudanese writers shared with other African and Arab writers of the colonial and early post-colonial periods a mix of pride in their native culture and national identity together with a growing ability and readiness to criticise aspects of that identity and culture. Certainly social and political satire, to take one example, had never been absent from traditional Arab poetry and belles-lettres. However, the lessons learned from Western models in literature and literary criticism as well as from Western ideologies like liberal democracy and socialism, gave an up-to-date and poignant edge along with an assortment of tools to such expressions. It is revealing that such social and political critiques in the contemporary Arab world always reached unprecedented heights precisely in the wake of Arab political misfortunes and military defeats. Also interesting is the fact that the trend witnessed in colonial and early post-colonial times for Sudanese writers to relate to larger regional and universal identities (e.g. pan-Africanism, pan-Arabism, proletarianism, humanism) has also been reasserting itself more recently under the pervasive influence of globalisation. The role of Islam, which in the past played a unifying role in nation-building and maintaining unity in diversity, has also undergone a sea change, being perceived by some as having caused too much strain on national unity by a radical application or interpretation of some of its political and penal postulates. The recent reversion to what may be seen as parochial ethnicity and tribalism, though often claiming to preserve a fairer or more authentic Sudan, is a phenomenon that can be observed though its implications are yet to fully crystallise. However, here also, literature has boldly addressed and probed the emerging dilemmas and offered visions of the future. As noted, Deng's *Seeds of Redemption*, among other literary expressions, has continued to address this search for identity and need for re-evaluation. Like the oral poetry of the Mahdist uprising and that of the subsequent liberation struggle which was spearheaded or accompanied by writers and literary groups, Deng's work exhibits boldness in self-expression as well as considerable versatility in language use with a readiness to experiment and innovate.

Here also as in Ngugi's and Liyong's impassioned debates about which language is best as a literary medium for African writers, the link between literature and identity is made manifest. The story of the Graduate Congress of the 1930s has illustrated such tensions quite poignantly for its era; but there was then a firm belief (articulated by the likes of Shaikh A. 'Abd al-Rahman, in the resilience and ability of the national language (in Sudan's case Arabic) to express and solidify national coherence and survival. Later, the "enigma of arrival", and the doubts and upheavals which accompany that deceptively placid and happy phase, was

inevitable. Hence, the post-independence period witnessed the reassertion of an introspective and satirical mode not un-similar to that experienced by the Irish writers after the independence of their own country.

Be that as it may, political issues, like the disastrous failures on the part of the ruling elites which plunged the Sudan into one crisis after another, are destined to continue to engage the concerns and priorities of writers, especially since these writers, as Frantz Fanon asserts, see themselves as working to nurture the "social consciousness" so vital for the wider or parallel "national consciousness". The examination of works by Jamal Mahjub, writing in English, and Tayyib̤, so widely translated, offers dramatic and narrative studies in cultural alienation and reconciliation. The central character in̤ 's *Season of Migration to the North*, reveals and reasserts the ability of great literature to embody and reflect, but also transcend, the contradictions and tensions of the environment which has helped create it. The case of Leila Aboul'ela's English narratives not only contributes so masterfully to this debate in the tensions these narrative depict so vividly and poignantly between, say Khartoum and Aberdeen; the narratives also articulate and perhaps culminate a long journey by Sudanese women to express their visions and priorities in a largely patriarchal society and through a language long conditioned to serve men. The section on Women Writers in Sudanese Literature has, however, shown that the feminine, even feminist, voice was not completely absent from the Sudanese cultural, social, and religious discourse. Be it from within the Sufi fraternities, the folk celebrations, and increasingly the spread of free education, women too, it has been argued, have helped shape the history and politics, and increasingly literature and identity, of the Sudan and continue to do so. Buthayna Khidr's use of female colloquial expressions in her fiction has shown that Sudanese women are "no longer silent, passive and submissive"; along with female contributions, such innovative language us has also contributed to the emergence of a credible, authentic, bold, and inspiring Sudanese literary language, one that is corrective of the wider national discourse and identity.

The many-sidedness and uniqueness of Sudanese literature is a major postulate of this study. Like Egypt and the Maghreb countries, Sudan is a member of both the Arab League and the African Union. The pull from Pan-Africanism and Negritude during its formative period as a nation-state was as strong as the pull of Nasserism and Pan-Arabism. The fusion of these two strands was for many years perceived as complete and irrefutable, leading to the Sudan being described as a "lively Afro-Arab" cultural entity (Beshir, 1976: 17). This fusion was seen to be unravelling in the years that followed independence. However, this study has gone to some

lengths to probe and highlight the factors which have contributed to making Sudanese literature so distinctive. Not only has this been shown in a range of literary genres and subgenres, both formal and colloquial, serious and satirical, and in the very bold and evocative symbols and images used by the likes of al-Majdub, 'Abd al-Hai, and Ibrahim, but also in some of the assertions of writers and academics participating in such activities like those of the Sudan Research Unit, once again reflecting the high priority the Sudanese have given to the quest for identity. As has been shown, this striving for distinctiveness has not entailed a separatist or isolationist tendency; rather, a generally confident and mature engagement with wider Arabic, African, and Western literary models and influences was the norm. And while the study, using specific examples and translations, has chronicled the various phases through which modern Sudanese literature, mainly poetry, progressed, it has also paid attention to native roots as those of the Sufis and the often-neglected literary traditions of the *'ulama* and the Bedouins, and some little-studied subgenres like the *madih*, the ḥaqibah, and *aghani al banat*.

A major achievement or endeavour of this study, however, has been its close critical, semantic and syntactical, analysis in Part Three of representative texts from the very extensive corpus of Sudanese literature, excluding drama, nascent as this genre is, with a view to illustrating and addressing specific problems and challenges associated with translation. The samples were drawn from literary genres and subgenres reflective of the themes and issues highlighted by the study. The method of text analysis in this Part has showcased the problems which arise from literary translation and pinpointed the different strategies used by the translators to solve them. These strategies have been in the main Paraphrasing, Omission and Substitution. Paraphrasing has been the most common strategy, imperfect as it often is. Hence, for example, the translation of أبشر which is a specifically Sudanese (and in some cases largely Arabic) term into 'Make known the good news' does not convey the full meaning or the attendant associations of the expression. Substitution often works when there is a TL equivalent as in the case of the expression 'in the hanky panky land' fo في بلاد الهنك و الرنك . Opting for Omission, on the other hand, sometime incurs loss of meaning, as was the case in omitting a text from *Maryoud* illustrating in a lively, dramatic, and comic fashion features of distorted pronunciation in some Sudanese dialects. Literal translation, however, has the potential to produce some absurd results, particularly in the case of swear words, interjections and religious formulaic.

It has been illustrated that rendering dialogue is the most difficult for the translator as he or she has to work in different registers and at various levels of language, ranging from classical Arabic (*fuṣḥa*), Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) to *'amiyyah* or the colloquial. A translator also has to take into consideration particular social and cultural settings. For example, the dialogue at the Old Bailey in 's *Season of Migration to the North* is a highly sophisticated and intellectual one as the participants consist of the Public Prosecutor and members of the legal profession using specialised legal and court discourse. However, the translator has skilfully rendered into English the proceedings of the court conveyed in the original modern standard Arabic. Elsewhere, the language used in the conversation of Bint Majzūb and the village group was very difficult to render as it is conveyed in a very specific local dialect. Inevitably in translating dialogue, the translator has to add co-text in an effort to further elucidate the manner, mood and spirit of the utterance.

In view of the above assortment of difficulties in translating very specific Sudanese images and expressions, particularly those in the Sudanese Arabic vernacular and those entrenched in local customs, into English, the old adage *tradurre e tradire* may yet prove relevant, prompting towards a verdict of untranslatability. While such a verdict is still possible in some cases, one felicitous outcome of the study has been the ability to show examples of the versatility, deftness, and creativity of translators who employed various methods to be better translators than traitors. In all events, the study has endeavoured to show the relentless and dynamic connection between language, through its supreme manifestation *literature,* and national and social identity. It is remarkable, one may add, that Arabic, which in the Sudan was traditionally a unifying factor in a vast country with numerous ethnicities and beliefs, has managed to retain respect and an official status by various parties despite the cavalcades of political and military conflicts and a plethora of separatist movements. Be that as it may, insights and lessons from the Sudan and other parts of the world suggest that no country or language, and for that matter no literature, can survive and contribute to humanity without interaction, diversity, and respect for the laws of change.

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296

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