

**Shakespeare and the Arab Spring:  
Al Bassam's The Arab Shakespeare Trilogy:**

*The Al-Hamlet Summit*

*Richard III, an Arab Tragedy*

*The Speaker's Progress*

**Fatima Abdulrahman Al-Abdulla**



**PhD Thesis**

**4 July 2022**



I, Fatima Al-Abdulla, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:

Date: 4<sup>th</sup> July 2022



## **Acknowledgements**

A sincere thanks and appreciation to Dr. Deana Rankin who has been helpful, patient, professional, enthusiastic through the whole journey of the PhD. Her understanding of all the ups and downs during COVID and my illnesses helped me to maintain strength as well as will to continue. This thesis would not have made it through without her.

I thank my father, Abdulrahman Hammam Al-Abdulla who was the first person to believe in me. He inspired me from an early age to dig into the books of literature and to search in knowledge. My father encouraged me to pursue a career in academia and get a PhD.

Special thanks to my sisters who have been encouraging and keep motivating me through the journey: Sara Abdulrahman Hammam and Mariam Abdulrahman Hammam, I have always drawn strength from them and they were there for me all during the years. Thank you for discussing chapters, themes, and plays with me and instigating me in my journey.

Last but not least, I thank my family and friends who were there for me, who believed in me and encouraged me throughout the research years. Thank you, Ayda Alhammadi, Baraa Alnisf, Hanouf Althani, Salma Alhammadi, Noura Al-Kaabi, Noura Al-Attiya, Aisha Almass, Mariam Althnai, Amna Yacoub Hammam, Maha AlKhater, Noura AlMannai, Muneera Mohammed Hammam, Sara AlKhater, Ghalia AlHarami, Amna AlMannai, Nayla AlKubaisi, Faten Jaghman, and Aisha AlNaama.





To  
My first teacher, the light of my path in life, my father

To  
The soul of my inspirational beloved mother

إلى  
مُعلمي الأول ومُرشدِي، ونبراس دربي في الحياة  
والدي عبدالرحمن بن همام العبدالله

إلى  
روح حبيبتِي ومُلهمتِي رُغم الرحيل  
والدتي أمينة بنت حسن الحمادي (رحمها الله)







## Shakespeare and the Arab World

### Al Bassam's Trilogy

This thesis evaluates the importance of Shakespeare's adaptation in the Arab World, particularly the GCC, in the decade preceding the Arab Spring (2010-12). It focuses on the three Shakespeare adaptations by the Kuwaiti-British dramatist Sulayman Al Bassam: *The Al-Hamlet Summit* (English version, 2002; expanded Arabic version, 2004), *Richard III: A Arab Tragedy* (2007), and *The Speaker's Progress* (2011). Some Anglo-American critics have done much critical work, for example, Holderness, Litvin, Carlson and Al Bassam himself, to situate these plays in their Western contexts as Shakespeare adaptation, as UK/US commissioned work, and as a legacy of French and English colonial theatre practices in the Arab World. This thesis aims to explore further the Arab World contexts of Al Bassam's work, drawing and expanding on his own PhD thesis, 'Adapting Shakespeare Drama for and in the Middle East' (University of Herts, 2017). It further aims to extend the parameters for reading Al-Bassam's Shakespeare adaptations in the following ways. Firstly, it shifts focus from Egypt's former colonial metropolitan cultural centre to the GCC. Secondly, it considers the colonial pre-histories of Shakespeare's plays in production and translation and the theatrical contexts of indigenous Arab World performance. Thirdly, the case-study chapters consider the particular relationship of each of the three plays to one in three crucial areas of intellectual and political debate in the Arab World: secularism, political thought, and feminism.

The thesis includes an introduction, a chapter on Shakespeare and the contexts and pre-histories of colonisation and the Arab Spring, three case-study chapters based on the three plays outlined above, and a conclusion. The introduction sets out the parameters for the study. The first chapter sketches the broad colonial background of the Arab World by focusing on Egypt as the centre for both Shakespearean colonial culture and the twenty-first-

century Arab Spring. It delineates the particular place and focus of the GCC as a specific region within the Arab World. It outlines some of the Arab World theatre practices relevant to this study, such as *Maqamat*, Shadow Plays, and Storytelling. Finally, it provides brief definitions and introductions to secularism, political thought, and feminism that will be further explored in the case-study chapters. The second chapter is the first case-study that draws on the work of Charles Taylor and Talal Asad on secularism to examine *The Al-Hamlet Summit*. The third chapter covers the second case-study that draws on Machiavelli and the Arab World writings of Louis Awadh on Machiavelli to consider *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* in the light of political thought. The fourth chapter covers the third and final case-study that examines *The Speaker's Progress*, an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* from a feminist perspective, drawing on the work of De Beauvoir and El Sa'dawi. Each of the three case studies will offer a brief pre-history of the play in the Arab World in performance and/or translation, followed by a close comparative reading of key select topics relevant in both Shakespeare's original and Al-Bassam's adaptation. The conclusion to each chapter will summarise the importance of those readings to make it easier for the reader to understand contemporary Arab World thought on secularism, Machiavellian political thought, and feminism, respectively.

The three case studies will further demonstrate that Al Bassam's use of and belief in the adaptation process changes radically across the decade. They show an early trust in the power of adaptation to shed new light on the Arab World in *The Al-Hamlet Summit* through a struggle with the demands of RSC commissioning in *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy*. They also indicate an on-stage demonstration of Shakespeare's issues of relevance and its failure to articulate contemporary political events in *The Speaker's Progress* adequately. Al Bassam's Shakespeare Trilogy enacts the movement of the Arab World away from colonial cultural legacies towards a new cultural and political voice.







# Table of Contents

## Part I

Introduction	1-18
Chapter 1 Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts	19-88
1. Key Aspects of Colonial Theatre in Egypt and the Arab World	19
2. Key Examples of Traditional Arabic World Theatre	31
3. Shakespeare: Some early Translations and Performances	45
4. Key Terminologies to be used in the thesis: Secularism; Machiavellian Political thought; Feminism.	57

## Part II

Chapter 2 Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's <i>Hamlet</i> and Al-Bassam's <i>The Al-Hamlet</i>	89-144
<i>Summit</i>	
Chapter 3 Machiavellian Political Thought: <i>Richard III, an Arab Tragedy</i> 2007	145-194
Chapter 4 Feminism in Shakespeare's <i>Twelfth Night</i> and Al-Bassam's <i>The Speaker's</i>	195-254
<i>Progress</i>	
Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance	255-274
English Bibliography	276-334
Arabic Bibliography	335- 370
Appendix i: Marun Al-Naqqash Speech	i-viii
Appendix ii: Technical Translation of parts of <i>Twelfth Night</i> by Bakathir	ix-x
Appendix iii: Technical Translation of parts of <i>Twelfth Night</i> by Annani	xi
Appendix iv: Glossary	xii-xiii

## **A Note on Footnotes, Referencing and Bibliography**

My main aim has been to make this thesis as accessible as possible to both English and Arabic scholars. Following advice from both English and Arabic colleagues, I have used MHRA style as a basis for both English and Arabic sources to maintain consistency. However, while I have followed MHRA guidance and abbreviated English sources after the first use; for the Arabic footnotes, I have 1) used romanized transliterations of titles where no English translation was available and b) kept the full citation throughout for ease of access through searching for the non-Arabic reader. Likewise, for ease of access, I have presented the Bibliography into two sections: an English bibliography that includes English and romanized Arabic sources in alphabetical order; an Arabic bibliography for Arabic sources only. Again, I have included the full Arabic sources for precision.<sup>1</sup>

## **A Note on Translation and Transliteration**

In my research, I aim make my Arabic sources as accessible as possible to English-speaking readers. Unless otherwise noted, all translations from Arabic are my own. It is my intention to convey how the Arabic text works, therefore my translations are often technical and literal rather than literary and polished. I trust that this conveys as far as possible the cultural intentions and primary interests of the original text. In both the footnotes and bibliography I have transliterated Arabic sources which are not available in English translation; I have also included a full bibliography of the Arabic sources. This is designed to ensure that non-Arabic speakers have the maximum possible information to track down the source.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Glossary for more information.







## Introduction

### Introduction

As Graham Holderness points out in his introduction to Sulayman Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, the Arab World, and specifically the Gulf Region, has had a long history of association with Shakespeare:

Shakespeare touched the Arab world astonishingly early in 1608, during the 3<sup>rd</sup> voyage of the East India Company, on the island of Socotra, at the entry of the Gulf of Aden, the crew of the Red Dragon staged a performance of *Hamlet*, a play then less a decade old, and published only 5 years previously.<sup>1</sup>

The report is taken from Captain William Keeling's diaries; evidence of the performance itself has proved difficult to substantiate.<sup>2</sup> But the possibility of a performance of *Hamlet* by English East India Company sailors on an island in the Gulf of Aden suggests an early opening to the colonial history of the Arab World, and to the place of Shakespeare's translations and adaptations in that history.

However, it was during and following the French and British colonial occupations of the late nineteenth century that the engagement with Shakespeare – alongside other European canonical dramatists -- escalated rapidly: theatre practitioners from across the Arab World through performance and translation; adaptation and appropriation, brought Shakespeare into the Arab World's creative imagination. Egypt quickly became the metropolitan centre for the engagement with Shakespeare, but dramatists from across the region – Lebanon, Syria,

---

<sup>1</sup>Sulayman Al-Bassam, *The Al-Hamlet Summit: Original Playscript in English and Arabic with an Introduction by Graham Holderness*. 1st ed., University of Hertfordshire Press, 2006, pp 9-19 (9).

<sup>2</sup>Z. Wilcox, "Fragment of Captain William Keeling's Journal: Hamlet and Richard II Possibly Performed at Sea." *Shakespeare Documented*, [shakespearedocumented.folger.edu/resource/document/fragment-captain-william-keelings-journal-hamlet-and-richard-ii-possibly-performed](http://shakespearedocumented.folger.edu/resource/document/fragment-captain-william-keelings-journal-hamlet-and-richard-ii-possibly-performed). Accessed 5 Oct. 2021.

## Introduction

Jordan and Palestine (The Levant) – came to work in Cairo and Alexandria, and then carried their new theatre knowledge back to their nations. Throughout the twentieth century, Arab National Theaters were founded across the previously colonized Arab World. At the same time and across and the various political movements towards post-colonial nationhood, Shakespeare continued to feature in dramatic programmes: sometimes encouraged, sometimes resisted. It is then unsurprising that in the decade preceding the events of the Arab Spring (2010-12), we find Shakespeare once again on the theatre agenda. This thesis will focus on the work of Sulayman Al Bassam, a Kuwaiti-British dramatist who composed a Trilogy of Shakespeare: *The Al-Hamlet Summit* (English version 2002; expanded Arabic version, 2004); *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* (2007); and *The Speaker's Progress*. (2011), in the decade preceding the Arab Spring. In addition, this thesis will aim to locate his adaptations in relation to the GCC [Gulf Corporation Council] in general and in particular to his home nation, Kuwait.

Before I introduce Al Bassam and his work, it is pertinent to define the geographical terms used in my thesis, in particular the Arab World/Arab Region, the Arab Spring countries and the GCC. The terms 'Arab World' and 'Arab Region' will be used interchangeably to refer to the 22 countries located in Asia and Africa, which are members of the Arab League, established in 1945. These countries share the Arabic language in a wide diversity of dialectics and the vast majority also share the religion of Islam. I chose not to use the term 'Middle East' because it is imprecise, relying on Eurocentric, colonial definitions of the geographical area. The Arab World, then, is the broad geographical background for the events, plays and performances explored in my thesis, which are mainly the GCC countries. I will also refer more specifically to the Arab Spring countries, by which I mean those countries that actively participated in the Arab Spring in the early months of 2010. The key

## Introduction

countries that deposed their leaders are Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. The Arab Spring was marked by a surge of public discontent and frustration with autocratic regimes, corruption, economic inequality, political repression and the absence of democratic governance.<sup>3</sup> Frequently, specific incidents of grievances in Tunisia sparked the protests (which I will discuss in Chapter Four), but the protests rapidly morphed into broader calls for political change. Riots occurred in some countries, including Syria and Yemen, and protests took place in several other countries: Bahrain, Algeria, Djibouti, Iraq, Palestine, Jordan, Morocco and Oman. Minor protests were held in Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Kuwait. The term ‘Arab Spring’ was circulated by the media to describe these widespread and largely peaceful demonstrations and movements for political reform.<sup>4</sup> It also had a positive hope for change to better societies after the ages of tyrannies.

The term GCC delineates both the very particular geographical focus of my thesis and the always recognisable, though always anonymised, backdrop of Al Bassam’s Shakespeare Trilogy. The GCC was founded in 1981 and consists of Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates. In brief, the GCC is a group of countries that are closely linked in terms of dialect, religion, customs and traditions: ‘Gulf states are also distinguished by equal social, cultural, civilizational and economic lineage, as their peoples have common customs, traditions and a common historical legacy’.<sup>5</sup> What also distinguishes the Arabian Gulf is its dependence on oil and the geographical area to which it belongs, as it mediates pivotal trade lines, which in turn adds a unique economic position to the Gulf itself:

---

<sup>3</sup> Fawaz A. Gerges, *The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World*. Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 1-34.

<sup>4</sup> al-Hawwārī Bālḥājj, "thawrāt al-Rabī‘ al-‘Arabī : asbābuhā wa-natā’ijuhā", v. 9, no. 2, Ş Ş. 470-493, <https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/downArticle/137/9/2/212362>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: Fabrāyir2022.

<sup>5</sup> Khālīd Alsymān, "Khalīj wāḥīd.. maṣīr wāḥīd". Mawqī‘ Īlāf, 6 Yanāyir 2021. mstrj‘ min: <https://elaph.com/Web/NewsPapers/2021/01/1315702.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Mārs 2022

## Introduction

‘It is the arm that connects the outskirts of the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean’.<sup>6</sup>

However, it is still part of the Arab World and the countries of the Arab Spring. There were a few protests in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Oman, but the rest of the countries did not stage protests. It is essential that in both Qatar and Saudi Arabia, the media played a huge role in disseminating news of the events across the Arab World: *Al Jazeera* (the state-owned news channel based in Doha) supported the popular resistance movements of the Arab Spring countries; *Al-Arabiya* (which has substantial Saudi government backing and is based in Dubai) favoured the side of the existing order and the monarchy. In particular, the 24-hour live broadcast coverage of events in the Arab Spring countries by *Al Jazeera* was credited as an important tool in both local success and the global impact of the protests.<sup>7</sup> The importance of these key GCC-based media outlets as political and cultural critics for the entire Arab World was thus established at a crucial moment of political change.

The focus of this thesis is the Arab Shakespeare Trilogy of Sulayman Al Bassam. Al Bassam is a Kuwaiti-British dramatist and director born in Kuwait in 1972. Al Bassam moved to the UK when he was eleven; he was educated there, graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1994, and lived there until the end of his twenties,<sup>8</sup> Al Bassam founded his first company, Zaoum Theatre, in London in 1996. From there, the need for an Arab World-based production company emerged and so in 2002, the SABAB Theatre was founded;

---

<sup>6</sup> Maḥmūd Ramzī, "al-Khalīj al-‘Arabī". *Mawqī‘ al-Mawsū‘ah al-‘Arabīyah*. mstrj‘ min: arab-ency. com. sy / ency / details / 4723/8. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 16 Māyū 2022.

<sup>7</sup> Muḥammad al-Najjār, "dirāsah: al-Jazīrah sāhamat bnjāḥ al-thawrāt". *Mawqī‘ al-Jazīrah*, 2011. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/2011/9/29/دراسة-الجزيرة-ساهمت-بنجاح-الثورات>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 31 Mar. 2022.

<sup>8</sup> "Sulayman Al Bassam." *Sharjah Art Foundation*, sharjahart.org/sharjah-art-foundation/people/al-bassam-sulayman. Accessed 8 Mar. 2022.

- "Collaborations and Affiliated Projects." *Global Shakespeares*, globalshakespeares.mit.edu/collaborations. Accessed 20 May 2022.

## Introduction

SABAB means ‘to provoke, to trigger, to aspire’ or, as a noun, ‘the reason, cause, motive’.<sup>9</sup>

Based in Kuwait, the SABAB Theatre is described as an ‘independent, international touring theatre’, co-founded by Georgina Van Welie and led by Al Bassam.<sup>10</sup> Both companies also function under the umbrella of Al Bassam Theatre.<sup>11</sup>

Although Al Bassam spent much of his formative early life and theatre career in the UK, he never lost his curiosity and nostalgia for his native country.<sup>12</sup> These feelings increased after the events of 9/11. At this point, he was convinced that his life and work now belonged in the Islamic Arab World, as it entered a new era of international relations with the West.<sup>13</sup> His ambition to contribute a cultural voice to this new era is central to the SABAB Theatre: ‘The aim of SABAB’s work is to establish new spaces of action and reflection inside the contemporary Arab World and beyond’.<sup>14</sup> For Al Bassam, theatre uses ‘spaces of action and reflection’ to explore social, economic, political and cultural life.<sup>15</sup> His work is profoundly international in that it is performed worldwide, but it is also deeply rooted in the Arab World.

Some highlights from his very impressive career will demonstrate this: Al Bassam has directed works in Arabic, English, French and German. He has worked with a number of

---

<sup>9</sup> “Sabab.” *SABAB THEATRE*, www.sabab.org. Accessed 20 May 2022. Van Welie is a UK-based producer.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> “Sulayman Al Bassam.” *Sharjah Art Foundation*, sharjahart.org/sharjah-art-foundation/people/al-bassam-sulayman. Accessed 8 Mar. 2022.

<sup>12</sup> Maktabat al-Jazīrah al-mar’īyah. "al-mashshā’-Sulaymān al-Bassām.. Hāmlit fī Jazīrat Faylakā al-Kuwaytīyah kw". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf’ bi-wāsiṭat: Aljazeera Media Library Maktabat al-Jazīrah al-mar’īyah, 5 Dīsimbir 2019.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1MyNV1\\_nis](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1MyNV1_nis). Tārīkh alāstrjā’: 21 Māyū 2022.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> “Sabab.” *SABAB THEATRE*, www.sabab.org. Accessed 20 May 2022.

<sup>15</sup> Sulaymān al-Bassām, "liqā’ Sulaymān al-Bassām fī Barnāmaj bālkwyty ‘an al-ikhrāj al-masraḥī". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf’ bi-wāsiṭat AlziadiQ8 Plus 3, 13 abryl2017 . mstrj’ min: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hMQUjrTQIgU>. Tārīkh alāstrjā’: 20 Māyū 2022.

## Introduction

leading international cultural institutions: *Kalila Wa Dimna* was commissioned by Barbican BITE and the Tokyo International Arts Festival (2006); as I will explore in chapter three, the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) commissioned him to adapt *Richard III* in 2007;<sup>16</sup> La Comédie-Française asked him to direct *Ritual for a Metamorphosis* by the Syrian dramatist Saadallah Wannous in 2013.<sup>17</sup> As well as appearing throughout the Arab World, especially at global festivals such as the Sharjah Theatre Festivals, Al Bassam's plays have also toured the world, from Europe to Australia, and from Japan to the USA.<sup>18</sup> Al Bassam has completed a doctorate, a critical-creative study of what he terms his 'Arab Shakespeare Trilogy': 'Adapting Shakespeare Drama for and in the Middle East' (University of Herts, 2017). He has also developed, alongside his theatre-making, a strong reputation as an intellectual commentator on Arab World theatre: for example he has spoken at the World Economic Forum (2012), at the Sundance director's retreat (2015) and he was part of NYU Gallatin's visiting faculty program in 2015-16.<sup>19</sup> My focus in this thesis is on his Shakespeare Trilogy, but as this brief outline of his career illustrates, Al Bassam specialises in engaging with the texts of globally-famous canonical authors and works, to address diverse political questions, conflicts in, and challenges for the changing Arab World.

Several Anglo-American scholars have written about Al Bassam's work from a predominantly Western perspective: in particular Graham Holderness, Margaret Litvin and Marvin Carlson. Holderness has been a crucial supporter and disseminator of Al Bassam's work: he edited the Shakespeare Trilogy, making accessible the play-texts at the heart of this

---

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> "Sulayman Al." *NYU Gallatin*, [gallatin.nyu.edu/people/faculty/sa4127.html](http://gallatin.nyu.edu/people/faculty/sa4127.html). Accessed 16 May 2022.

<sup>19</sup> "Sabab." *SABAB THEATRE*, [www.sabab.org](http://www.sabab.org). Accessed 20 May 2022.

## Introduction

thesis, and adding an informative and vital introduction.<sup>20</sup> Holderness provides a valuable ‘Timeline of Conflict in the Middle East’ to situate the three plays in their Western and Arab World contexts, a Timeline which has been vital to my research. In many ways, Holderness’s edition and subsequent articles put not just Al Bassam, but also contemporary Arab World Shakespeare, on the global map. His readings of the religious, political, and cultural background to the works, as well as his emphasis on the poetic and linguistic quality of the adaptations remain informative and insightful. Having brought this relatively young playwright to the attention of Shakespeare Studies, Holderness later supervised Al Bassam’s own PhD, mentioned above, which explores among other things the challenges of writing in English and Arabic, and the changes he made to the texts in response to post-9/11 political developments. This has allowed the theatre-maker himself to expand and deepen the international conversation about his work. If Al Bassam is first introduced through British academia to the world of Shakespeare adaptation studies, he sparks further interest in the USA. Margaret Litvin, Professor of Arabic and Comparative literature at Boston University has published a wide range of articles, reviews, commentary pieces and interviews on Al Bassam’s work in its Arab World contexts. She was, for example, influential in recognising the place of French translations in the history of Shakespeare in the Arab World; and makes interesting examinations of the restrictions which Islam may seek to impose in the wake of 9/11 on the performance of tragedy.<sup>21</sup> Litvin also edited, in 2007 and a decade later in 2017, two Special Editions on Arab Shakespeare of *Critical Survey*, with essays from leading

---

<sup>20</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam, *The Al-Hamlet Summit: Original Playscript in English and Arabic with an Introduction by Graham Holderness*. 1st ed, University of Hertfordshire Press, 2006, pp 9-19 (9).

<sup>21</sup> See for example Margaret Litvin, "The French source of the earliest surviving Arabic Hamlet." *Shakespeare Studies*, vol. 39, 2011, pp. 133+. *Gale Literature Resource Center*, <http://www.trincoll.edu/academics/centers/tiis/documents/litvin.pdf>. Accessed 13 Mar. 2019.



## Introduction

scholars in the new emerging field.<sup>22</sup> Litvin, along with Holderness, played a very active role in ensuring that Al Bassam's Trilogy is included, with excellent scholarly background materials and documentation, on the internationally influential Global Shakespeare MIT archive.<sup>23</sup> Not only did Holderness and Litvin introduce Al Bassam and contemporary Arab World Shakespeare to the West, they also sought to ensure that the voices of Arab World scholars and theatre-makers found a platform there.<sup>24</sup> It will be clear that my thesis owes a great debt to Litvin and Holderness in particular, both for making Al Bassam's performance archive available, and for enabling new scholarly voices to investigate the plays. My own critical perspective also offers important new angles on the work: first, as a young Muslim woman educated in the GCC, the Arab Region where the Kuwaiti-British Al Bassam was also partly educated, and also first developed, then firmly located his theatre practice; second as an Arab World scholar of Shakespeare, soon to be the first Qatari woman fully qualified to teach in Shakespeare to the all-female English literature students of the Qatar University. It will be clear, as the thesis develops, that my interests in secularism, political life, and – crucially – feminism both acknowledge and challenge the readings offered by Western scholars writing on Al Bassam.

For many, Marvin Carlson's recent study *Theatre & Islam*, published in 2019, serves as their introduction to theatre and its contexts in the Arab World; a world which, as the title underlines, Carlson defines in religious, not secular, terms as a group of Islamic countries.

---

<sup>22</sup> Margaret Litvin, "Critical Survey Volume 19 Issue 3: Arab Shakespeare. Guest Editor: Margaret Litvin (2007)." *Berghahn Journals*, 2007.

- Katherine Hennessey, and Margaret Litvin, editors. "Arab Shakespeares." *Critical Survey/Berghahn Journals*, vol. 28, 2016.

<sup>23</sup> Graham Holderness, and Margaret Litvin, "Search Results." *MIT Global Shakespeares*, [globalshakespeares.mit.edu/?s=al%2Bbassam](http://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/?s=al%2Bbassam). Accessed 1 July 2022.

<sup>24</sup> Margaret Litvin, "Critical Survey Volume 19 Issue 3: Arab Shakespeare. Guest Editor: Margaret Litvin (2007)." *Berghahn Journals*, 2007.

- Katherine Hennessey, and Margaret Litvin, editors. "Arab Shakespeares." *Critical Survey/Berghahn Journals*, vol. 28, 2016.

## Introduction

Carlson's position, as Professor of theatre, comparative literature, and Middle Eastern studies at the Graduate Centre at the City University of New York, locates him at the heart of Anglo-American scholarship. As such, his study at times seems to reiterate Western theories for reasons for the absence of theatre in Islamic countries. As the Arab World critic Mohammed Aziza points out, Carlson repeats the idea that Islamic cultural practice made it hard to establish theatrical performance.<sup>25</sup> But Carlson also acknowledges that this applies particularly to the early years of spreading and establishing the new Islamic faith as a doctrine; a moment when it was essential to distinguish and separate it from the cultural and theatrical legacy of Greek myth. He further acknowledges – as I shall further explore in chapter one – that puppet shows and storytelling existed in the Muslim world.<sup>26</sup> Carlson examines the example of Ibn Daniel (whom I will discuss more in the next chapter) whose puppet shows and storytelling functioned as religious tools to spread Islam throughout Indonesia. Carlson also outlines the rise of the Persian passion play and the development of Islamic drama.<sup>27</sup>

While I broadly agree with many aspects of Carlson's general argument, especially about European theatre in the Islamic world of Egypt and Lebanon, and its connection to colonial force, an argument which I develop further in my own thesis; I also differ from him in that, as a young female Arab World scholar, I seek also to stress the importance of indigenous theatre practices and the secular cultural life both of individual nations, and across the Arab World. Thus, I will stress that the existing traditional Arab theatrical practices went beyond the propagation of Islam to offer a secular, even military, form of resistance against the colonisers: the performances propagated ideas of national identity, liberation, and independence through subversive tales of Arab heroes. I further suggest that, in the first

---

<sup>25</sup> Marvin Carlson, *Theatre & Islam* (Macmillan Education, London, 2019) 4.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p.7

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17.

## Introduction

decade of the twentieth century, Al Bassam's adaptations of Shakespeare demonstrate strong affinities with some of the traditional techniques of dramatic storytelling in order to give voice to subversive political concerns in the lead-up to the Arab Spring.

Furthermore, Carlson focuses on Islamic theatre, mostly in non-Arab countries, such as Iran and Indonesia, providing mainly Shiite examples of religious theatrical performances such as his discussion of the passion play.<sup>28</sup> Again, in Carlson's account of Egypt, he also considers the legacy of Islamic heritage in the modern mid-twentieth century. My focus differs in three key ways: writing from an Arabic Sunni background, I focus more on non-Shiite popular and secular theatre; my geographical focus is centred in Qatar and the GCC, as it looks towards the Arab World; and finally, after the first chapter establishing historical and cultural contexts for my research -- my account of Egyptian theatre, for example, focuses on Shakespeare performance as a mode of cultural resistance -- my main focus is on the decade leading up to the Arab Spring, and on the work of a single theatre-maker, Al Bassam as he adapts Shakespeare to respond to contemporary events. If Carlson focuses on Islamic religious theatre, then I seek to demonstrate that secularism is shown to be a possible response to Arab World political struggle in Al Bassam's Trilogy. Even as his version of *Hamlet* explores extremist radical Islamic behaviour and the catastrophic impact it has on the domestic and international relations of the country, he offers an alternative mode of political resistance.

Carlson also discusses the challenges posed to theatre in the Muslim world in the twenty-first century, acknowledging that the modern Muslim world is extremely resistant to actors and drama.<sup>29</sup> Carlson suggests that while hopes were raised during the Arab Spring of

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p. 27-31.

## Introduction

‘new, more democratic and liberal governments appearing in the region’; these hopes were not ‘realized’.<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, the new governments proved still to be tyrannies and as a result radical reactions to theatre were re-established. He presents Al Bassam’s *The Speaker’s Progress* as just such an example. According to Carlson, Al Bassam’s play reflects a dark image of the Arab World and its future in terms both of cultural life and political regimes. Although liberal humanism and anti-fundamentalism themes are presented in Al Bassam’s work, Carlson argues, the Islamic struggle is too firmly embedded within the political and social sectors for real change to happen.<sup>31</sup> Carlson acknowledges that in this play ‘the rehearsing of Shakespeare serves a catalyst to awaken visions of social and gender equality’.<sup>32</sup> I agree, but building further on my feminist, secular reading of both *The Speaker’s Progress* and the earlier plays of Al Bassam’s Trilogy, I find more optimism in the outcome. My reading of *The Speaker’s Progress*, does expand on the Islamic struggle, social and tyrannical behaviour of the government, but it also concludes that the play offers a strong female-centred voice of hope for change in the Arab World.

In outlining my points of difference with Carlson’s book, it is apparent that my position and identity is crucial to my thesis. As a young Qatari Muslim woman, first a student and then a teacher in the all-female English Department of Qatar University, I witnessed myself how the Arab World’s response to the events of 9/11 set the seeds for the Arab Spring a decade or so later. Holderness’s Timeline of the Trilogy is in many ways my own Timeline and therefore critical to my thesis. The events of 9/11 profoundly affected the Arab World’s future, particularly its relations with the West, specifically the United States: The GCC countries, the Arab World and the Muslim countries which are Carlson’s focus were all affected. It was a moment, as tensions between the East and the West grew, when some GCC

---

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, pp. 65-66.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, pp. 65-67. (67).

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p. 67.

## Introduction

countries attempted to mediate and moderate the situation, taking on a new and crucial political role. For example, in response to the events of 9/11, Qatar founded the US–Islamic World Forum in Doha in 2004, and brought together more than 165 leaders from the US and 37 countries from the Islamic world for three days of discussion and debate. The two keynote speeches were made by former US President Bill Clinton and Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa, former Emir of Qatar. This annual forum still continues to meet in Qatar, addressing matters of the Arab World at the negotiation table.

It is worth noting that, in the immediate wake of the Arab Spring, after introducing the meeting in 2012, Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al Thani, former prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the State of Qatar, stated unequivocally:

The blockade of Gaza is painful, as the so-called Arab Spring has proven in its eruption. It has several causes. This is the main reason (blockade of Gaza). But the second reason is the lack of work and interest in key issues, and the keenness of the presidents to preserve power or inherit their powers. Thus came the Arab Spring, with which citizens sought justice, fairness, transparency and restoring Arab rights.<sup>33</sup>

He articulates the themes which haunt both the work of Al Bassam and of my thesis: the ongoing Israeli–Palestinian conflict and its resonance with the post-post-colonial conflicts of the Arab World are central. So too is the desire of ordinary citizens to participate in the secular political life both of their own nations, and of the Arab World as a whole. It is this

---

<sup>33</sup> "Muntadā Amrīkā wa-al-‘ālam al-Islāmī fī al-Dawḥah". Qiṭā‘ al-akhbār wa-al-barāmij al-siyāsīyah-wzārḥ al-I‘lām. mstrj‘ min : [www.news.gov.kw/News/MilafaatKhasa/Details/141459](http://www.news.gov.kw/News/MilafaatKhasa/Details/141459). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘ : 10 Abrīl 2022. - Hasan al-Zayn, *al-Rabī‘ al-‘Arabī: ākhir ‘amalīyāt al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ al-kabīr*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār al-Qalam al-jadīd, 2013. mstrj‘ min: <https://books4arab.me/-الربيع-كتاب-التحميل> /العربي-آخر-عمليات-ال . Tārīkh alāstrjā‘ : 23 Māyū 2022.

## Introduction

background which has shaped my secular feminist intellectual approach to Al Bassam's Shakespeare Trilogy.

Al Bassam has adapted and expressed Shakespeare's characters, themes and actions in line with the current events shaping his creative vision as a British Kuwaiti citizen and theatre-maker. In turn, Al Bassam's work has allowed me to revisit Shakespeare and rethink the Arab World and the GCC through the practice of adaptation. As both university tutor and researcher, I seek to follow the example of Shakespeare's presentist interpreters such as Holderness, Litvin, Carlson and Al Bassam to reconsider Shakespeare and connect him to the current situation of the Arab World.<sup>34</sup> The embedded, contemporary questions raised by each of Al Bassam's plays will be made apparent in the case-study chapters. I have chosen to use the themes of secularism, political thought, and feminism to analyse the Trilogy, as I consider them central to current political and intellectual debates in the Arab World. It will be clear to readers that my predominant interest is in contemporary Arab World feminism: common to all three case studies is an interest in Al Bassam's use of the female characters to investigate the possibilities of contemporary political, cultural, religious, psychological and anthropological life in their nations.

Developing the work of Holderness, Litvin and Carlson, I have sought to depend on two key scholars to define my terms in each case-study—one Western and one Arab. I draw on Western scholars to analyse Shakespeare's original plays, then on Arab scholars to analyse the Arab World adaptations. Thus – as I expand on, with full references, in the first chapter -- I rely on Charles Taylor and Talal Asad to analyse secularism, I choose Machiavelli's *The Prince* and its Arabic translation to analyse the theme of political thought, and in the chapter

---

<sup>34</sup> Ewan Fernie, "Shakespeare and the Prospect of Presentism." *Shakespeare Survey*, edited by Peter Holland, volume. 58, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 169–184.

## Introduction

on feminism, I rely on Simone De Beauvoir and her Arabic parallel, Nawal Sa'dawi.

Crucially in the case of Al Bassam's work throughout the thesis, I draw on both his English language playtexts and on the performances, presented in Arabic, with English subtitles.

Often there is no substantive difference between the spoken lines, the subtitles and the written text; *The Al-Hamlet Summit* and *The Speaker's Progress* are largely loyal to the published text. However, *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* has some compelling differences between Arabic and English. As a bi-lingual critic, I am able to investigate such moments of deviation in the case-study chapters.

In outlining the particular linguistic skills and Arab World intellectual perspectives that I bring to the thesis, and without making this a biographical account, it is also important to acknowledge the particular place of Shakespeare in my own GCC education and cultural upbringing. I have always thought of Shakespeare as a great English poet since I was a teenager, though at that age I was not really aware of his writing. My mother used to say 'like Shakespeare' to refer to anyone who was a genius in English, and so I connected the notion of greatness and Shakespeare. I encountered his drama and sonnets when I first studied and later worked at Qatar University. And yet alongside this notion of Shakespeare and greatness, I developed a critical awareness not just of the problematic colonial legacy of Shakespeare in the Arab World, but also of the problems of accessing and critiquing contemporary Shakespeare performances. In 2015, for example, the British Council in Qatar contacted the Department of English Literature and Linguistics at Qatar University, where I work to cooperate in planning the Shakespeare World Translation Conference in May 2016. I and others from the department met with Waseem Kotoub, who was the representative from the British Council and the head of Arts and Creativity at that time, to discuss the conference. He shared the suggested programme and content of translation with us through email. At the meetings, we were trying to find a sponsor for the programme, as we needed financial

## Introduction

support and sometimes ideas were changed. For example, one suggestion entailed inviting leading international scholars in the field, such as Sameh Hannah; however, in a later meeting, the suggestion was to invite scholars who were already in Qatar to save money. Meetings were held to further discuss the methods to encourage students to attend and participate in the translation workshops, where we suggested that they should be included in the credit hours. We also discussed the cooperation between the British Council and the Globe Theatre in a performance of Dominic Dromgoole's *Hamlet* touring the world as part of the 2016 quattro centenary celebrations. Waseem informed us in November 2015 that the Souq Waqif–Al Rayyan Theatre was booked for Shakespeare's *Hamlet* on 12 and 13 of January 2016. By that point I had already begun my PhD programme in the UK and so was no longer involved in the detail of the programme. However, in February 2016, I emailed Waseem to ask about the rehearsals of *Hamlet* in Doha and he replied, '*Hamlet* was performed in Doha on 13 January 2016. We are now working on a translation summit with Globe Education and in partnership with Qatar University. This will be from 5–9 May and we will call for applications soon. There will be couple of public talks and director of Globe Education and some Arabic translators specialised in Shakespeare will be there too'.<sup>35</sup> *Hamlet* was indeed performed as planned and it was advertised on the British Council website: '*Under the patronage of HE Dr. Hamad bin Abdulaziz Al Kuwari, Minister of Culture, Arts and Heritage, the British Council and Shakespeare's Globe Theatre are pleased to bring the world-renowned Shakespeare's Globe Theatre performed *Hamlet*'. Nonetheless, when I asked to see a video of the performance for the purposes of my research, I was told that: 'it was not allowed'. That opened for me the dilemma of Shakespeare and the archive in the Arab Region. Though I do not know if the rejection of the video was from the Globe or*

---

<sup>35</sup> Waseem Kotoub, 'Inquiry' (Received by Fatima Al-Abdulla), 28 Feb. 2016.



## Introduction

from Qatar, I have worked to discover other methods to reach information about Shakespeare and the Arab World.

This general introductory section established that Shakespeare has had a long association with the Arab World from the earliest days of the East India Company, when *Hamlet* was reportedly staged on an island in the Gulf of Aden just five years after its London premiere. It further recognised the geographical focus of the thesis and its terms. It introduced Al Bassam and the SABAB company and it portrayed the critics' works and how the thesis differs from them. Finally, I attempted to set the intention and parameters for my own personal analysis of Al Bassam's Arab Shakespeare Trilogy.

To summarise, then, this thesis is the first full-length examination of Al Bassam's Shakespeare Trilogy in the Arab World context. It considers *The Al-Hamlet Summit* (English version 2002; expanded Arabic version, 2004), *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* (2007), and *The Speaker's Progress*. (2011). It explores the importance of these Shakespeare adaptations in the Arab World, particularly the GCC, in the decade preceding the Arab Spring (2010–2012). Building on Al Bassam's own PhD study, as well as drawing on critics such as Litvin, Holderness and Carlson, my thesis will focus on Al Bassam's Trilogy from an Islamic Arab World perspective. My thesis aims to expand on some of the questions raised by Al Bassam, through Shakespeare, about religious and secular life in the Arab World, Arab identity, Arab culture, politics in the region, international relations and feminism. It will draw on Arabic sources: scholarly monographs, reviews, newspaper features and articles to expand the commentary available to English-language scholars on Al Bassam's work. Indeed, one of my first tasks will be to extend the 'Timeline' provided by Holderness in the Trilogy. He starts in 2001, and I extend that to the early 1950s, when a governmental Pan-Arab League translation project was launched to translate Shakespeare's Complete Works into Arabic. This decision

## **Introduction**

offers an additional framing device to consider the place of Shakespeare in the Arab cultural imagination in the generations before the Arab Spring.

My thesis aims to extend the parameters for reading Al Bassam's Shakespeare adaptations in the following ways. First, it shifts the focus from the former colonial metropolitan cultural centre of Egypt to the GCC. Second, it considers not only the colonial pre-histories of Shakespeare's plays in production and translation, but also the theatrical contexts of indigenous Arab World performance. Finally, the case-study chapters consider the particular relationship of each of the three plays to one of three crucial areas of intellectual and political debate in the Arab World, namely secularism, Machiavellian political thought and feminism. My original proposal had wider parameters and sought to include lesser-known authors and productions; it adopted a methodology of local archival research, as well as analyses of online resources such as newspaper articles, theatre reviews and interviews. I had hoped in this way to expand the archive in a field where archival materials are rare and uncatalogued, as digital humanities is unavailable in the Arab World. My original plans to visit various Egyptian and Damascus archives, as well as to visit SABAB Theatre in Kuwait, proved impossible, firstly because of global COVID-19 travel restrictions, but also crucially because of the Qatar Blockade (2017–2021) and the ongoing Gulf crisis, which made travelling and collaboration difficult. I was unable to travel to Egypt and managed only one early visit to the library of Beirut Arab University, which had a strong academic connection with Alexandria University in Egypt, where I was able to access valuable sources on the colonial era performances of Shakespeare. The thesis, therefore, incorporates a good deal of non-traditional archive evidence in Arabic, such as phone interviews, emails, book reviews and YouTube recordings, to add to the traditional literary sources of Shakespeare criticism to modify and extend ideas about the Arab World contexts for Al Bassam's adaptations.

## **Introduction**

Chapter One will expand on the parameters for the study; it sketches the broad colonial background of the Arab World, with a focus on Egypt as the centre for both Shakespearean colonial culture and the 21st century Arab Spring. It delineates the particular place and focus of the GCC as a specific region within the Arab World and outlines some of the Arab World indigenous theatre practices relevant to this study, such as storytelling, *Maqamat* and shadow plays. Finally, it offers brief definitions and introductions to the concepts of secularism, political thought and feminism, which will be further explored in the case-study chapters.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

### 1. Key Aspects of Colonial Theatre in Egypt and the Arab World

The history of colonial theatre in the Arab World is complex because of its French and English influences from the colonisation period. Some of Shakespeare's texts first reached the region through French translation.<sup>1</sup> This first section outlines some key moments in the colonial history of the Arab Region, with a strong focus on Egypt, especially Cairo, as the metropolitan centre for French and British colonial performance in the Arab World. It further traces Egypt's role, influence, and connections in the evolution of modern theatre in the GCC, especially Kuwait, home to Al Bassam and SABAB Theatre. The first section will demonstrate the short-lived French colonial theatre that helped establish a theatre culture in Egypt and Syria. The following section will explore how theatre and Shakespeare were further embedded during the British colonial period and how they also provoked local resistance.

Prior to considering the French colonial government-sanctioned secular theatre that arrived in Egypt in 1798, it is essential to note that another established colonial model of theatre already existed in the Arab World; namely missionary school theatre (most notably in Iraq). The missionary schools in Baghdad and Mosul in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the Carmelite School in 1721 and the Chaldean School in 1843. Both schools practised a wide variety of theatrical activities.<sup>2</sup> Plays were devised based on key scenes and

---

<sup>1</sup> See for example Margaret Litvin, "The French source of the earliest surviving Arabic Hamlet." *Shakespeare Studies*, vol. 39, 2011, pp. 133+. *Gale Literature Resource Center*, <http://www.trincoll.edu/academics/centers/tiis/documents/litvin.pdf>. Accessed 13 Mar. 2019.

<sup>2</sup> Rāfā'īl Ishāq, *Tārīkh Naṣārā al-'Irāq mundhu intishār al-Naṣrānīyah fī al-aqtār al-'Irāqīyah ilā ayyāminā*. Ṭ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Maṭba'at al-Manṣūr, 1948, Ṣ Ṣ. 120 – 144. mstrj' min: <https://www.noor-book.com/-العراق-منذ-انتشار-النصرانية-في-الأقطار-العراقية-.pdf>. *Tārīkh alāstrjā'*: 12 Yūliyū 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

stories from the Bible to spread religious and moral teachings to encourage locals to embrace Christianity. Al-Fil is an Egyptian scholar, dramatist, and critic whose scholarship is important to this thesis. He stresses a strong relationship between churches in the West and the East. Iraqi priests who travelled to Europe to study theology were also trained in theatrical performances for religious purposes, for example, the passion of Christ.<sup>3</sup> These practices were then imported to the Arab World.<sup>4</sup> Al-Fil cites the seminary school in Baghdad Iraq, where they presented a performance of *Nebuchadnezzar* in 1889 as a good example. He consulted school records confirming that performance and other religious scenes written at different times.<sup>5</sup> The 1966 book *The Republic*, published as part of cultural activity, was used for three plays performed in one of the churches: *The Comedy of Adam and Eve*, *The Good Joseph Comedy*, and *The Comedy of Tobias*.<sup>6</sup>

This practice followed a well-established model pursued across previous centuries in other colonial and pre-colonial regions, for example, Ireland, South America, India, and Japan.<sup>7</sup> This drama-based religious learning was further accompanied by elite educational and cultural intervention methods, notably learning European languages, such as French,

---

<sup>3</sup> Mohamed Al-Fil (1941- 2007) obtained a Bachelor of Arts in Cairo, Department of Philosophy in 1971, and a Higher Diploma in Aesthetics, Department of Philosophy in 1975. He participated in enriching the theatrical movement with many creative works in the field of playwriting, criticism, studies and research. He held the position of senior researcher at the General Authority for National Books and Documents, supervisor of the Al-Samer theatre group, and editor-in-chief of the theatre magazine. See, al-Sīnimā dūt Kūm, "Muḥammad al-Fīl". *Mawqī' al-sīnimā*. mstrj' min: <[https:// elcinema. com/ person/ 1109870/](https://elcinema.com/person/1109870/). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Aghuṣṭus 2021.

<sup>4</sup> Muḥammad al-Fīl, *ru'yah wa-bayān ḥālat al-masrah al-'Arabī (1) al-ta'sīs*. al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 2001, Ṣ. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, Ṣ. 40.

<sup>6</sup> This Iraqi newspaper was launched in 1958 and maintains political and cultural subjects. However, the newspaper was then stopped in 2003 by the American forces. See, 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Itābī, "al-Jumhūrīyah Ṣaḥīfat 'Irāqīyah ḥjbhā al-iḥtilāl w'hyā dhikrahā ṣḥāfywhā". *Mawqī' Īlāf*, 8 Dīsimbir 2013. mstrj' min:

<<https://elaph.com/Web/news/2013/12/854742.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 21 Māyū 2022.

<sup>7</sup> M al-Naṣṣār, "ḥawla Laṭīf wkhwhābā wa-dawr al-Suryān fī Nash'at al-masrahīyah al-'Irāqīyah". *Mawqī' al-Hay'ah al-'Arabīyah lil-Masrah*, 2016. mstrj' min: <https://atitheatre.ae/حول-لطيف-وخوشابا-ودور-السرطان-في-نشأة-ال-> Tārīkh alāstrjā': 25 Aghuṣṭus 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

Italian, English, and German. Promising students and converts were sent to Europe to advance their education with the expectation that they would then return to their native Arab nations as educators and ambassadors for Western Christian culture and education. They also crucially opened the door for people across the Arab World to observe and learn about theatre practice, which showed a world that seemed to disregard Islam.

### The French Colonial Period (1798–1801)

Theatre in the region under French colonisation can be divided into two waves. The first is the early elite colonial cultural networks of 1798 and the second is the ‘Republic Theatre’ from 1800. My account focuses on Egyptian theatre and draws on the excellent scholarship of Al-Jabarti.<sup>8</sup> Shortly after Bonaparte led the French colonisation of Egypt (1798), he established a colonial theatre. According to Al-Jabrti:

The place that [Napoleon] created in Azbakeya was already well-known as *Bab al-Hawa*, which means ‘Comédie’ in French. The term signifies a place for gatherings. It held plays every ten nights, where [the French] watch plays and comedies performed by a group of French people for entertainment and amusement for four hours in the

---

<sup>8</sup> Al-Jabrti witnessed the French campaign against Egypt and described that period in detail in his book “*Aja’ib al-athar fi’l-tarajim wa’l-akhbar (The Marvelous Compositions of Biographies and Events)*”. See, Farīq al-Hay’ah al-‘Āmmah lil-Isti‘lāmāt bi-Miṣr, “‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī”. *Mawqī‘ al-Hay’ah al-‘Āmmah lil-Isti‘lāmāt*, 23 Dīsimbir 2013. mstrj‘ min: <https://sis.gov.eg/Story/80845/عبدالرحمن-الجبرتي?lang=ar>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 7 Sibtambir 2021. See also, Mu’assasat Hindāwī, *kutub wa-mu’allafāt ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī*. Mu’assasat Hindāwī lil-ta’līm wa-al-Thaqāfah. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.hindawi.org/contributors/28182839/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 17 Sibtambir 2021. - For English translated book see, ‘Abd Al-Raḥmān Jabartī, and Jane Hathaway. *Al-Jabarti’s History of Egypt*. Markus Wiener Publishers, 2009.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

evening. The entertainment is all in French, and no one may enter except by presenting officially recognised documentation and following the formal dress code.<sup>9</sup> Significantly, Al-Jabrti calls the theatre a ‘place’ and not a ‘theatre’ because it was a general-purpose venue for leisure and social gatherings, including theatrical performances. The theatre was new to Egyptians, and these events were solely for French colonists. In fact, ‘Bab Al-Hawa’ does not translate as ‘Comédie / theatre’, it is rather the name of the place, the street and ‘Al-Hawa’ that refers to ‘love and passion’.<sup>10</sup> Thus, Bonaparte consciously knew the political power of culture and played an essential role in establishing the first theatre in Egypt. It was established in a central place that drew people passionate about social entertainment. Initially, the Egyptian public had limited access, but this state changed with time. Performances and plays happened in the heart of Cairo three times per month. The indigenous public could see people going inside, but they did not know what the attendees went to see, nor did they understand the language. Advertisements and publicity campaigns encouraged the French to attend. *Courier d’Egypte*, the first French Egyptian newspaper (1799 onwards), allocated space to the coverage of French drama.<sup>11</sup>

Given that the French who are now in Cairo, feel their need for a meeting place, in which they can find some leisure during the long winter nights, Citizen DARGEAVEL has been assigned to undertake the project of a private club, in which he offers them a wide variety of social pleasures, after obtaining the approval of the

---

<sup>9</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, *‘Ajāyib al-Āthār fī al-tarājim wa-al-akhbār*. 1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, J 4, Mu’assasat Hindāwī lil-ta’līm wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2013, §. 213. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/53519152/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘:17 Sibtambir 2021.

<sup>10</sup> Almaani Arabic dictionary is an online scholarly Arabic dictionary that I depend upon in this thesis. See, "hwy, N (1)". *Qāmūs al-ma‘ānī*, <https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/هو/>. Accessed 17 Oct. 2021.

<sup>11</sup> Fīlīb Sādjrwf, *al-masraḥ al-Miṣrī fī al-qarn al-tāsi‘ ‘ashar (1799 – 1882)*. tarjamat: Amīn al-‘Ayyūtī, taqdīm wa-ta’līq: Sayyid ‘Alī Ismā‘īl, al-Markaz al-Qawmī lil-Masraḥ wa-al-Funūn al-sha‘bīyah, 1996, § §. 61– 65. S. 62.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

Commander-in-Chief. He chose a house and a spacious garden in the Azbakeya neighbourhood in which the French could find some entertainment. Moreover, it may also be a way to attract the residents of the country and their women to join our societies, and indirectly teach them the customs and tastes of French fashion.<sup>12</sup>

Several points can be noted from this newspaper article since it regards the ideology of Bonaparte's French campaign in Egypt. First, the French cared about their citizen's leisure time and tried to create an environment for them to feel like they were in their home country. It was hoped that this would enhance the spirit of the troops and their families, enabling them to make social connections. What was done in Egypt mirrors the English colonial entertainment in India, which was designed to encourage the colonisers to stay in the new foreign land. Bonaparte further recognised that theatre could 'change the traditions of the people in the country' from the outset.<sup>13</sup> Performance advertisements began to be printed in approved local Arabic-language newspapers, and invitations were extended to local dignitaries (and their wives). The acculturation agenda was clear that Egyptians who attended French theatre events would be enlightened since they would learn to be more like the French. The early performances were amateur, but Bonaparte had clear ambitions. In his letters to his successor, Kleber, there is evidence that he had repeatedly requested that a professional French troupe visit Cairo. He emphasized that Kleber needed to follow that idea.<sup>14</sup> He also used the theatre to shape Cairo since the venue was chosen in an open, expansive area in the city centre and given official permission. This area, where Napoleon

---

<sup>12</sup> Sayyid Ismā'īl, *Tārīkh al-masrah fī al-'ālam al-'Arabī: al-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah, 1999. mstrj' min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/58285828/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Uktūbir 2021.

<sup>13</sup> Cited in: Fīlīb Sādjrūf, *al-masrah al-Miṣrī fī al-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar (1799 – 1882)*. tarjamat: Amīn al-'Ayyūtī, taqdīm wa-ta'liq: Sayyid 'Alī Ismā'īl, al-Markaz al-Qawmī lil-Masrah wa-al-Funūn al-sha'bīyah, 1996, Ṣ Ṣ. 61– 65. S. 62.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.



## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

and the French took up residence alongside other foreigners (mainly Greek and Italian) who had lived in Cairo before and during French colonisation, became Cairo's cultural hub, where all significant Egyptian theatres would be built over the next century.<sup>15</sup>

Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign had made a point of professing secular and cultural respect for Islam. He famously stated that 'all French are Muslims', aiming to win the hearts of indigenous Muslims.<sup>16</sup> Prior to the French troops arriving in Egypt, a booklet was sent to all Egyptians that made several propaganda points. France styled the conquest as firmly political due to the conflict between the French and the British. They aimed to block the British overland route to India and stop them from profiting from Egyptian agriculture and trade.<sup>17</sup> Bonaparte issued Arabic publications that started with Quranic verses, emphasising his respect for the Islamic religion, Muslims and Copts, and stating that he was an ally of the sultan, as Egypt was an Ottoman territory at the time.<sup>18</sup> He stated that the only reason for his colonisation campaign was to erase the authority of the Mamluks and to save indigenous people from tyranny and oppression. He used cultural soft power to back up his political logic from the outset. Bonaparte participated in Muslim celebrations and events in Egypt to show he is one of them. Most Egyptians did not believe him. The French were anxious to demonstrate that they posed no threat to indigenous religions and culture. They were

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Mu'assasat Hindāwī. *kutub wa-mu'allafāt 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī*. Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'līm wa-al-Thaqāfah. mstrj' min: <https://www.hindawi.org/contributors/28182839/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Sibtambr 2021.

<sup>16</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, *'Ajāyib al-Āthār fī al-tarājim wa-al-akhbār*. 1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, J 4, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'līm wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2013, §. 213. mstrj' min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/53519152/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Sibtambr 2021.

<sup>17</sup> Fīlīb Sādjrwf, *al-masraḥ al-Miṣrī fī al-qarn al-tāsi 'ashar (1799 – 1882)*. tarjamat: Amīn al-'Ayyūtī, taqdim wa-ta'līq: Sayyid 'Alī Ismā'īl, al-Markaz al-Qawmī lil-Masraḥ wa-al-Funūn al-sha'bīyah, 1996, § §. 61– 65. S. 61.

<sup>18</sup> Aḥmad Zāyid, "Miṣr Nābuliyūn wa-al-ḥamlah al-Faransīyah". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: Ahmed Zayed, 12 Uktūbir 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvL5HF161fA>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 16 Dīsimbir 2018.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

conscious of the long history of Christian-Islamic war in the region dating back to the medieval crusades.

The first theatre, *Bab al-Hawa*, was swiftly demolished during the first Egyptian revolution of 1799, rebuilt by General Mino during the second wave of French colonisation, and named 'Republic Theatre' (1800).<sup>19</sup> While the constant political unrest and instability meant that there was not a full detailed record, performances took place there regularly. Those mentioned include 'Al Tahanin' and 'Bonaparte in Egypt', as well as plays by Voltaire and Molière.<sup>20</sup> 'Al Tahanin' is noteworthy as it was the first short opera written for and in Egypt by Charles-Louis Balzac, a French architect involved in Bonaparte's campaign.<sup>21</sup> As part of the acculturation project, it is confirmed that there were two kinds of performances. One was written for local Egyptian consumption, and the other for importing canonical French literature as part of the colonial education process. By this time, it seemed that all the Egyptian population could attend the Republic Theatre since it was deemed a place where different classes and ethnicities were mixed. One commentator stated that 'the black Nubian(s) was/were very pleased to see the character of a servant in the performance'.<sup>22</sup> Bonaparte's plan to use French theatre to influence the indigenous colonised seemed to succeed. The Republic Theatre would remain at the heart of Egyptian cultural life for 100 years. It shifted and evolved to become a place where the concerns of the Arab citizen were addressed and Egyptian and Arab World singers and writers would perform their work.<sup>23</sup> It

---

<sup>19</sup> Sayyid Ismā'īl, *Tārīkh al-masrah fī al- 'ālam al- 'Arabī: al-qarn al-tāsi ' 'ashar*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta' līm wa-al-Thaqāfah, 1999. mstrj' min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/58285828/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Uktūbir 2021.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Fīlīb Sādjrwf, *al-masrah al-Miṣrī fī al-qarn al-tāsi ' 'ashar (1799 – 1882)*. tarjamat: Amīn al- 'Ayyūtī, taqdim wa-ta' līq: Sayyid 'Alī Ismā'īl, al-Markaz al-Qawmī lil-Masrah wa-al-Funūn al-sha' bīyah, 1996, Ṣ Ṣ. 61– 65. S.64.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p. 63.

<sup>23</sup> Mayy Ibrāhīm, "al-masrah al-Qawmī bi-al-Qāhirah ... kāna ṣrḥan min Funūn fhwá". *andbndnt 'Arabīyah*, 26 Dīsimbir 2020. mstrj' min:

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

would also continue to show international dramatic works such as Molière and Shakespeare, Chekhov, and Brecht. French colonisation was a failure from a military perspective.

Nonetheless, its short-lived colonial theatre was quickly appropriated into Egyptian public life and paved the way for further indigenous theatrical development.

### The British Colonial Period (1882–1956)

In 1882, after political upheaval, Egypt was declared a British Protectorate, effectively a colony. The 'Urabi Revolt of 1881 caused chaos and riots across the country. Egyptians in the military who had suffered injustice and discrimination from their allies and colleagues (the Turks and Cherkess) demanded change. However, they were ignored, which made them to lead a military revolt. Khedive Tawfik (KT), nominal ruler of Egypt and Sudan (1879 –1892) faced a national uprising led by his former ally Ahmed 'Urabi, which his backers (the French) were unable to put down.<sup>24</sup> KT requested the British to intervene to suppress the 'Urabi revolt, which they successfully did, effectively transferring colonial power from the French to the British.

These military beginnings made the British colonial rule more aggressive than the French. Immediately after the British occupation of Cairo in 1882, KT issued a decree to abolish the Egyptian army, which was the first step towards restructuring the military and holding the senior officers who participated in the 'Urabi revolt responsible.<sup>25</sup> A much

---

<https://www.independentarabia.com/node/179891/> فنون المسرح القومي - بالقاهرة - كان صرحا من فنون - فنون. *Tārīkh alāstrjā'*: 26 Mārs 2022.

<sup>24</sup> Aḥmad Zāyid, "Miṣr taḥta al-iḥtilāl al-Injilīzī". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: Ahmed Zayed, 14 Nūfimbir 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZiEg93H-TOA>. *Tārīkh alāstrjā'*: 20 Uktūbir 2021.

<sup>25</sup> Muḥammad Ayyūb, "al-Lūrd Krūmar .. al-mandūb al-sāmī alladhī akḥḍ ' Miṣr thqāfyan w'skryan". *Mawqī' al-Jazīrah*, 2019. mstrj' min:

<https://www.aljazeera.net/midan/intellect/history/2019/6/12/> اللورد كرومر - المندوب السامي - الذي - أخضع. *Tārīkh alāstrjā'*: 20 Sibtambir 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

smaller local army was created in its place, with British officers firmly in charge. British naval and trade interests were aware of the importance of Egypt's strategic location for control of the Suez Canal. Although many historians hold Ahmed 'Urabi's revolt responsible for the British occupation of Egypt, others believe that even if there was no 'Urabi, Britain would have found other excuses to occupy Egypt to protect the vital trade route via the Suez Canal to the English colonies in India. Thus, military and trade interests, and not colonial acculturation, were the prime motives behind their colonial strategy. The British presence in Egypt persisted for many years. British protection of Egypt was announced in 1914 and ended in 1922, but British presence only officially ended in 1956. Therefore, it is not surprising that the British presence in Egypt greatly impacted the local, cultural, and educational aspects of Egyptians.

Across its seventy years of occupation, the British cultural colonial model for Egypt relied on enforcing the use of the English language. This parallels the English colonisation of India and enforcing the English language as a medium for education in 1835.<sup>26</sup> Though there was no specific act of education in Egypt as was the case in India, the English language domination in education persisted even after 1922 when Britain, 'while retaining control of Egyptian foreign policy and responsibility for foreign interests in Egypt, devolved day-to-day control of other Egyptian affairs, including the conduct of government and the provision of education to Egyptians'.<sup>27</sup> The 'British-ing' of Egypt was swift, powerful, and systematic, leading to English replacing Arabic in many aspects of life, crucially in civil administration

---

<sup>26</sup> Akanksha Saxena, "Macaulay's Minutes: How A British Policy Treatise 'Westernised' Indian Education?" *The Logical Indian*. [thelogicalindian.com/history/macaulay-indian-education-33724](http://thelogicalindian.com/history/macaulay-indian-education-33724). Accessed 30 March 2023.

<sup>27</sup> Vickie Langohr, "Colonial Education Systems and the Spread of Local Religious Movements: The Cases of British Egypt and Punjab", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 47, no. 1, 2005, pp. 161–189, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417505000071>. Accessed 18 July 2018.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

and education.<sup>28</sup> The British colonial administration closed many government schools in Egypt and established English schools to target students who could graduate and work in governmental positions.<sup>29</sup> Although English language education spread slowly throughout Egypt and other Arab World countries, access was tightly controlled, ‘in some cases confined to the handful of schools created by the coloniser to produce the precise number of graduates needed for the colonial bureaucracy’.<sup>30</sup> Egypt slowly became dependent on the English language.<sup>31</sup> Building on the success of schools, new universities, advertised as an important resource for national economic development, were further designed and financed by the British to create a generation of well-educated people who could advance the coloniser’s ideologies and strategies. This action was so the British administration could depend on them when they took government jobs. Education in the occupation era was affiliated with the Ministry of the Interior, ensuring an adequate but carefully limited supply of graduate employees obedient to the administration.<sup>32</sup> Most Egyptian Universities were established during this period in key cities following the English architectural style and under the

---

<sup>28</sup> Some references use the term (Anglicizing) to refer to the impact of the British colonization on people and different aspects of life. Another example is (Murabnat) singular, which means people who wear ‘hat’ and refer to Europeans. Mohammed Al-Fil has used the term to refer to Egyptians who were Westernized. See, Shibl Badrān, *al-Tarbiyah al-madanīyah: al-Ta’līm wa-al-muwāṭānah wa-huqūq al-insān*. taqdim: Hāmid ‘Ammār, 1, Kitāb ilikrūnī, al-Dār al-Miṣrīyah al-Lubnānīyah, 2009, Ṣ Ṣ. 51 – 58. mstrj‘ min: [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/التربية\\_المدنية/UJqsDQAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0](https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/التربية_المدنية/UJqsDQAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 28 Mārs 2022.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Vickie Langohr, “Colonial Education Systems and the Spread of Local Religious Movements: The Cases of British Egypt and Punjab”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 47, no. 1, 2005, pp. 161–189. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417505000071>. Accessed 18 July 2018.

<sup>31</sup> Yumnā Midḥat, "Ḥīna waqa‘at Miṣr fī al-usar: mā warā’ al-taḥdīth al-baghīd". *Mawqi‘ Idā’āt*, 2017. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.ida2at.com/egypt-in-captivity-beyond-the-obnoxious-modernization/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Uktūbir 2021.

<sup>32</sup> Basmah Ramaḍān, "al-Ta’līm al-Miṣrī fī ‘ahd al-iḥtilāl al-Injilīzī .. min sy’ l’sw’". *Mawqi‘ shaffāf*, Shabakah al-jāmi‘āt al-Miṣrīyah, 19 Yūniyū 2015. mstrj‘ min: <http://www.shaffaf.com/article/5239>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Uktūbir 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

supervision of English engineers. The earliest established universities are King Fouad I University “Cairo” (now Cairo University) in 1908, King Farouk University “Alexandria” (now Alexandria University) in 1938, and Ibrahim Pasha University (now Ain Shams University) in 1950.<sup>33</sup> Though many protested and resisted, English, often spoken alongside French, quickly became the dominant language. The change made Arabic to be considered as a language of disadvantaged people. Egyptian cultural elites, already fluent in French and English, also sought fluency in other European languages to become part of a global intellectual elite.

The colonialists’ plans did not consider the resistance of the locals. According to Ahmed Al Burjul, in his book *Literary Salons in the Arab World* of 2016, elite intellectual and artistic activity was encouraged by the British administration as a sign of their enlightened, tolerant rule, but could often have unexpected results. A notable example is the salon of Princess Nazli Fadel, a cousin of KT, established in 1904 and considered the first literary salon in Egypt.<sup>34</sup> It was unprecedented for an Egyptian woman to have such a salon. She welcomed many sophisticated and controversial male intellectuals from Egypt and beyond offering a place for debate-style conversations. She also tested the boundaries of British tolerance by making some requests, for example, asking Mohammed Abdu, co-leader

---

<sup>33</sup> Jihād aldynāry, "5 Ashyā' iyjābyh trkhā al-iḥtilāl al-Barīṭānī li-Miṣr ahmhā Niqābat al-Ṣuḥufīyīn". *Mawqī' al-yawm al-sābi'*, 30 Mārs 2016. mstrj' min: <https://www.youm7.com/story/2016/3/30/5--أشياء-إيجابية-تركها-الاحتلال-البريطاني-لمصر-أهمها-نقابة-الصحفيين>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Uktūbir 2021.

<sup>34</sup> Aḥmad Āl brjl, *al-Ṣālūnāt al-adabīyah fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār al-Faḍīlah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 2016. mstrj' min: [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=oZIUDwAAQBAJ&newbks=1&newbks\\_redir=0&dq=صالون+نازلي+الثقافي&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=oZIUDwAAQBAJ&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&dq=صالون+نازلي+الثقافي&source=gbs_navlinks_s). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Uktūbir 2021.  
- Princess Nazli Fadel, her father is brother of Khedive Ismail (father of KT). She spoke four languages (Arabic, Turkish, English, and French since she lived in several European countries because her husband was a minister and an ambassador for the Ottoman Empire abroad. She maintained good relationships with thinkers and intellectuals from Egypt and abroad.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

with ‘Urabi or the ‘Urabi Revolt, to return to Egypt from exile. He was allowed to return to Egypt, albeit with legal restrictions on his political activity. Once Mohammed Abdu returned to Egypt, she attended her salon along with his former ally and, in many ways, his successor, the writer and political leader Saad Zaghloul. Zaghloul would first play an important role in the 1919 Revolution against colonial rule, and later campaign for and establish a secular Egyptian University that admitted both women and men.<sup>35</sup> Thus, Nazli’s Salon reach extended well beyond ‘colonially approved’ subjects. It can be credited to providing a crucial space for debates around decolonisation and independence, which led to the establishment of key nationalist political parties.<sup>36</sup>

As I shall explore in more detail in chapters Two to Four, many of those who first translated and later produced Shakespeare can be considered a part of this native colonial elite, trained at home in Egypt and abroad in Europe to value Shakespeare as a literary genius of global significance. Theatre, in general, and Shakespeare in particular, were embedded as an important part of the British colonisation process, but they were also found with increasingly resistant, alternative readings. Prior to exploring Al Bassam’s use of Shakespeare’s colonial past in his work, I will now briefly outline and consider what forms of Arabic theatre existed and persisted across the region during colonial period. The aim is to

---

<sup>35</sup> Mohammed Abdu (1849- 1905) was an Islamic scholar, and a writer. See, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Muḥsin. "Imām al-Tanwīr: al-Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abduh". *Mawqī‘ bawwābat al-Ahrām*, 2 Yūniyū 2017. mstrj‘ min: <https://gate.ahram.org.eg/daily/News/202283/1152/596976/-ضيف-العدد/إمام-التنوير-الشيخ-محمد-عبد-عبد>.asp. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 28 Mārs 2019.

-Saad Zaghloul (1858-1927) was politician and writer. See, Farīq al-Hay’ah al-‘Āmmah lil-Isti‘lāmāt bi-Miṣr. "nubdhah ‘an Sa‘d Zaghlūl za‘īm Thawrat 1919". *Mawqī‘ al-Hay’ah al-‘Āmmah lil-Isti‘lāmāt*. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.sis.gov.eg/Newvr/egyptionrevoution/saadfive.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 28 Mārs 2019.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

consider how Al Bassam seeks to adopt and infer both colonial and Arab World practices in his Shakespeare adaptations.

### 2. Key Examples of Traditional Arabic World Theatre

Egypt was considered a Muslim country in the colonial period. Many struggled with whether the arts in general, and theatre in particular, were *haram* based on the proscribed Islamic law.<sup>37</sup> According to Carlson's *Theatre and Islam*, both Arab and Western scholars have asserted that Islam prohibits *taswir*, the representation of human or divine beings.<sup>38</sup> However, Carlson also points out that, there is no mention of the subject in the Quran; rather, it is enforced by Prophet Mohammed. This loophole is significant, as becomes clear when I trace the issue back to the heart of metropolitan Cairo. As Al-Fil has demonstrated, finding the correct Arabic words for theatrical terms was even difficult. The medieval Arab Andalusian philosopher Ibn Rushd (1126-1198), when translating Aristotle's *Poetics*, rendered 'tragedy' and 'comedy' in terms related to Arabic poetry, namely, *Alhija* and *Almadih*, which are equivalent to 'satire' and 'panegyric' in English. He sought to speak to the Arab Islamic society in his translation.<sup>39</sup> Many Western observers and commentators as well as Arabs seem to assume Islam simply does not permit theatre and performance, but the truth is more complex. It is acceptable to have a performance for knowledge and awareness as long as it does not include matters prohibited in religion. Ruling on such questions in Egypt at this time was provided by the Al Azhar Public University, established in 972 AD.

---

<sup>37</sup> Jamīl Ḥamdāwī, "al-masraḥ al-Islāmī wafqa al-nasaq al-maqāsidī", *Mawqī' al-Furqān*, Mu'assasat al-Furqān lil-Turāth al-Islāmī. mstrj' min: <https://al-furqan.com/ar/-المسرح-الإسلامي-المنسوق-النسق-المقاصدي>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Fabrāyir 2021.

<sup>38</sup> Marvin Carlson, *Theatre & Islam* (Macmillan Education, London, 2019) 7.

<sup>39</sup> Aḥmad Balkhayrī, "al-muṣṭalaḥ al-masraḥī fī al-Thaqāfah al-'Arabī", *Mawqī' Majallat Dīwān al-'Arab*, 18 Aghuṣṭus 2006. mstrj' min: <https://www.diwanaalarab.com/-المصطلح-المسرحي-في>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Yanāyir 2021.



## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

This institution was named after Fatimah Al-zahara, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad and was affiliated with the Al Azhar Mosque. It remains one of the world's most respected centres of Sunni Muslim legal expertise.<sup>40</sup> The rules about Arab performance tested in colonial Egypt exerted influence across the Arab World.

If Al Azhar and its Islamic religious perspective on cultural life was dominant and highly respected in Egypt then, the rule of Mohammed Ali in Egypt (1805-1848) promised the population a more open society. Mohammed Ali was fascinated by Western culture and decided to send young Egyptian people to study in Europe so they could return with more open minds. He included religious leaders from Al Azhar in this experiment, especially those fascinated by the West.<sup>41</sup> For example, Ref'a Al-Tahtawi (1801-1873) from Al Azhar was sent to France with other students on the programme in 1826. Although he travelled as a religious guardian and guide, the West immensely impressed him. He wrote a book about their highly developed culture, encouraging Egyptians to follow the French.<sup>42</sup> Further, according to Sayyid Ali Ismail, An Egyptian writer specialising in theatrical literature and professor of Arabic language at Helwan University, Al-Tahtawi is considered a pioneer in the enlightenment of the modern age.<sup>43</sup> Al-Tahtawi was the first to translate the history of the Roman ancient theatre from French into Arabic. He can be considered a Francophile Islamic

---

<sup>40</sup> Jāmi'at al-Azhar, "nubdhah ta'rīfiyah bi-Jāmi'at al-Azhar". *Mawqi' al-Azhar*, 9 Māyū 2017. mstrj' min: <http://www.azhar.edu.eg/AboutUs/i>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 26 Māyū 2022.

<sup>41</sup> Aḥmad Tammām, "Rifā'ah al-Ṭaḥṭāwī bayna al-Azhar wa-Bārīs", *Mawqi' Islām Ūn lāyin*. mstrj' min: <https://islamonline.net/archive/الطهطاوي-بين-الأزهر-وباريس/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 23 Dīsimbir 2021.

<sup>42</sup> Jāk Tājir, *Ḥarakat al-tarjamah bi-Miṣr khilāl al-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2014, Ṣ Ṣ. 53 – 57. mstrj' min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/31613630/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 26 Māyū 2022.

- Al Tahtawi's book is about life in Paris: manners, conversation etc. See, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Rifā'ah. *talkhīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīs*. Ṭ1, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2010. mstrj' min: [https://www.hindawi.org/books/46205086/Tārīkh alāstrjā'](https://www.hindawi.org/books/46205086/Tārīkh%20alāstrjā%27): 31 Māyū 2021.

<sup>43</sup> Mu'assasat Hindāwī, *Kutub wa-mu'allafāt Sayyid 'Alī Ismā'īl*. Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah. mstrj' min: <https://www.hindawi.org/contributors/91509525/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Māyū 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

scholar of Al Azhar who introduced Western classical theatre to the Arab World.<sup>44</sup> I have come to realise, and will now examine, some key examples of indigenous Arab performances that are important to consider at this point.

As Al-Fil has demonstrated, indigenous Egyptian-Arab performers are divided into two camps, with the first including some singers, musicians, and dancers who chose to perform for the ruling classes of the Khedivate and colonial elite. Since the colonial administration funded such entertainment, they made a good living and had to make artistic compromises. The second camp performed for the general public, mainly in Arabic, and often addressing local interests. They did not have access to government funding and usually experienced financial difficulty.<sup>45</sup> I will now introduce three ancient types of local Arabic performance practices, approved by the Islamic authorities and closely allied with theatre: storytelling, *Maqamat*, and shadow plays. All three existed long before the French and British arrived, but were largely ignored, and certainly never officially recognised by the colonial administrations. The persistence of these performance practices marks a form of local resistance to imported colonial, text-based drama. It also offers insights into Al Bassam's early twenty-first century attempts to inflect Shakespeare's adaptation with the local political concerns of the Arab Spring.

### Storytelling [*Hakawati*]

---

<sup>44</sup> I have been unable to trace the French original. Āmāl Ḥusayn, "Awrāq mansīyah min ḥayāt Rifā'ah al-Ṭahtāwī. Rā'id al-Tanwīr fī al-'aṣr al-ḥadīth". *Mawqī' Māsbūrū*, 2019. mstrj' min: <https://www.maspero.eg/wps/portal/home/radio/stations/cultural-program/news/details/6f9e535f-3558-4ab5-af33-f0f6c65aef27>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 26 Māyū 2022.

<sup>45</sup> Muḥammad al-Fīl, *ru'yah wa-bayān ḥālat al-masraḥ al-'Arabī (1) al-ta'sīs*. al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 2001, Ṣ Ṣ. 65 – 83. S. 67.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

Folklore and storytelling have been a constant tradition in Arab World literature since the pre-Islamic period. The storytellers of the pre-Islamic era spread out through Arab markets. They would mimic and recite poems by famous poets about general topics such as war, wisdom, and life, or based on real observations of strange events or remarkable heroism. After the spread of Islam, the storytellers largely carried on their work, spreading ideas and news, similar to what the media does today.<sup>46</sup> Gradually, the focus came to develop not so much on the information told, but on the craft and skill of the narrator. The *hakawati*[storyteller] was born and the ritual of storytelling became more formalised. The *hakawati* would sit on a small wooden stage in front of café-goers and start reading from biographical tales in a theatrical way, performing and embodying what he read to be as lively and dramatic as possible. Their subject matter was famous poets and figures from Arab history, such as Antarah al-Absi and al-Zir Abi Laila al-Muhalhal. The storyteller's audience were the illiterate or semi-literate market-place café customers. The aim was to entertain the café customers, which is why the owner paid the *hakawati*. The café owners wanted talented *hakawati* to attract more people to his establishment, increasing their profits.<sup>47</sup> Audience engagement was very important to the *hakawati*'s success. They encouraged audience participation and even arguments about the strengths and weaknesses of their legendary Arab World heroes. The *hakawati*'s skill lay in the story's pacing, manipulating the audience through suspense and encouraging them to be wholly immersed in the tale. They also utilised cliff-hanger endings, often stopping the recitation right in the middle of a dramatic situation

---

<sup>46</sup> ʿĀdil Abū Shanab, "al-Ḥakawātī". *Mawqīʿ al-Mawsūʿah al-ʿArabīyah*. mstrjʿ min: <https://arab-ency.com.sy/ency/details/4823/8/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%83%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%8A>. Tārīkh alāstrjāʿ: 11 Yūniyū 2021.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

in the story, then announcing that if the audience wanted to know what happens next, they should come back the next day to find out.<sup>48</sup>

Though the *hakawati*'s performance was not directly connected to Islam or Islamic teaching as detailed above, storytelling already existed in the pre-Islamic era with performances often taking place in the evening, after Isha prayer and in Ramadan. Thus, the popularity of the tradition became associated with religious timing.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the stories celebrated legendary Arab poets and heroes. The practices became a way of keeping traditional culture alive and engaging in the market square before the local Mosque.

### Maqamat

Ahmed bin Al-Hussein Al-Hamadani (969–1007) is credited with inventing the *Maqamat* prosodic genre in Arabic literature. *Maqamah* (singular) is difficult to define. The Arabic dictionary suggests 'talk'; 'short story that has a sermon or a lesson'; or simply a 'gathering'; or 'assembly'.<sup>50</sup> It was formerly described as a short story that involved short poetic passages of dramatic dialogue between characters and monologues that depended on rhyme.<sup>51</sup> However, more recent commentators, such as the Arab author and critic Abdulhameed Younis, argue that they should be considered theatrical practice because they are not just stories but complex solo performances incorporating acting, dialogue and an active, engaged, and paying audience.<sup>52</sup> Ali Al-Ra'i, an Egyptian scholar and author, further

---

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Firās Zaynab, "al-Ḥakawātī .. shakḥṣīyah min al-māḍī tarwī al-butūlāt wa-al-ḥikāyāt", *Mawqī ' Ṣaḥīfat al-Bayān*, 14 Uktūbir 2005. mstrj' min: <https://www.albayan.ae/sports/2005-10-14-1.984241>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 21 Fabrāyir 2022.

<sup>50</sup> "hwy, N (1)". *Qāmūs al-ma'ānī*, <https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/هو/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Uktūbir2022.

<sup>51</sup> Shawqī Ḍayf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-'Arabī*. j5, Manshūrāt dhawī al-Qurbā 'an Ṭab'ah Dār al-Ma'ārif, Ṭ 1, 2021, ṭ2, 1427, Ṣ Ṣ. 666 – 673.

<sup>52</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Ibrāhīm, "Fann al-Maqāmah .. Hādhihi Asālīb al-Maqāmah allatī tǧ'1 minhā fnan msrḥyan". *Mawqī' 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ibrāhīm*, 20 Abrīl 2015. mstrj' min:

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

points out in his analysis of Al-Hamdani's 'Al-Maqama Al-Mudhairia' that it has a complex dramatic structure, in which an already multi-voiced solo performer further divides the story-dialogue between Abu Al-Fatah and Al-Tajer' characters.<sup>53</sup> Thus, the *Maqamat* is always a solo performance, but the actor in the story performs many different characters and moods. The location for the 'assembly' at the heart of the story is not always specified but it is certainly above all a performance event. As I shall show, it inscribes the performance conditions into its structure.

All *Maqamat* share three defining features of *Isnad*, *Matin*, and *Khatima*. *Isnad* refers to the attribution of the story. In all Al-Hamdani's *Maqamat*, Issa bin Hisham (an imaginary character) is the *Isnad* (source) and narrator of the story. Issa bin Hisham (Al-Hamdani) gathers people together in the marketplace and starts telling them his story. Another constant character in Al-Hamdani's *Maqamat* is Al-Iskandari Abu Alfatah, but he does not appear often at the beginning of the story but appears gradually in the rising actions. The second feature of the *Maqamat* is the *Matin*, the main body of the story that mainly revolves around begging and cajoling. Characters in the story harass and beg the audience in the story, trading sayings, snippets of information and promises of the 'real' story to come, if they pay up. The third and final part, the *Khatima*, is the ending, the result of all the begging of the *Matin*, a

---

<http://www.abderrahmane-benibraheem.com/index.php/2018-03-23-17-44-27/325-2018-04-07-15-11-47>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Nūfimbir 2021.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

- Ali Al-Ra'i (1920) studied English literature at Cairo University and PhD from the University of Birmingham on George Bernard Shaw. He worked in academia as well as governmental jobs. In 1973, he travelled to Kuwait to teach contemporary drama for nearly ten years. He wrote about 50 books regarding theatre and translated famous international writers such as Chekhov and Ibsen. See, Najāḥ Ṭal'a, "Alī al-Rā'ī". *Majallat al-qāfilah*. mstrj' min: <https://qafilah.com/ar/علي-الراعي/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 3 Nūfimbir 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

kind of moral resolution or sermon, usually highly poetic, not unlike Shakespeare's final resolution couplets in his sonnets.

If the storytelling *hakawati*'s connection to Islam is only a coincidental one of place and time, then the connection of the *Maqamat* to Islam is more robust. The *Isnad*, the story conventions and gatherings it describes and enacts, mirrors how the *hadith* or collected traditions of the Prophet Mohammed circulated in Islamic culture. This religious perspective seems important for the performer since he can use it to grasp people's attention by giving his story a sacred feature. The storyteller featured in the *Maqamat* may be a trickster, but the begging that funds him plays an important role in charitable giving in Islam (performers, need to be financed).

Furthermore, as I have shown, the *Maqamat* of Al-Hamadani includes improvisation and variation in response to the society he lived in: the performance features praise, sympathy, gratitude, apology, consolation, and, last but not least, satire.<sup>54</sup> The author uses his talent in prosodic creative storytelling to critique social issues. The begging author in the *Maqamat* poses the intellectual problem of the artist's survival in a society where the point of their existence is to critique its norms. Al-Hamadani's *Maqamat* tackled the day's political, economic, social, and religious problems. He was unafraid to target princes, ministers, senior staff, sheikhs, and of course other rival authors.<sup>55</sup> A similar grass-roots theatrical energy animates Al Bassam's Shakespearean adaptations as they offer commentary on twenty-first-century Arab World issues.

### Shadow Plays

---

<sup>54</sup> Shawqī Dayf, *Tārīkh al-adab al-‘Arabī*. j5, Manshūrāt dhawī al-Qurbá ‘an Ṭab‘ah Dār al-Ma‘ārif, Ṭ 1, 2021, ṭ2, 1427, Ş Ş. 666 – 673. S. 668.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

The third and final indigenous Arab theatre practice introduced here is the shadow play that Ali Al-Ra'i and other Arab critics agree has been known in the Arab World since the Abbasid era (750-1517). A poem of that era by Dubel can be cited as evidence that this is an engaged and politically lively form of theatre. When Al-Ma'mun (an Abbasid caliph) threatens to attack Dubel in his poetry, Dubel replies that if that happens, he will ridicule the caliph's mother in a shadow play.<sup>56</sup>

The *Maqamat* and the shadow play are in Arab literary history intrinsically connected, such as the dialogue in both depends on rhyme. One of the most famous influential makers of shadow plays, Ibn Daniel (1238–1310), developed the *Maqamat* and transformed it into the new medium of shadow play, shifting from words and narrative to visual and multi-media representation.<sup>57</sup> It could be argued that shadow play avoided the possibility Islamic performance prohibition simply by using two-dimensional puppet images back-lit on a white cloth screen rather than using human actors on stage, yet it was a more complex commitment to a commercial, secular theatrical world. Ibn Daniel himself was involved in all aspects of the production. He wrote the material, composed the music, developed the characters, and directed the shows. He also fully comprehended the importance of financial support since he asked those who attended to finance his shows as patrons and addressed them directly in the plays.<sup>58</sup> Shadow theatre required infrastructure and equipment, not simply a script and a

---

<sup>56</sup> Alī al-Rā'ī, *al-masraḥ fī al-waṭan al-‘Arabī*. ʔ2, Kitāb iliktrūnī, ‘Ālam al-Ma‘rifah, al-Majlis al-Waṭanī lil-Thaqāfah wa-al-Funūn wa-al-Ādāb bi-al-Kuwayt, 1999, ʔ ʔ. 29 – 47. mstrj' min: <https://ia802807.us.archive.org/21/items/ebw02/248.pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Māyū 2021.

<sup>57</sup> Shams Eddin Mohammed Ibn Daniel Almousili, an Arab doctor, poet and man of the theatre, author of the oldest shadow plays in Arabic. He is originally from Baghdad in 1258, but he settled in Cairo. See, Dakroub, Karim. "Ibn Daniel." Translated by Anne Nguyen, *World Encyclopedia of Puppetry Arts*, 2009, [wepa.unima.org/en/ibn-daniel](http://wepa.unima.org/en/ibn-daniel). Accessed 7 October 2021.

<sup>58</sup> Alī al-Rā'ī, *al-masraḥ fī al-waṭan al-‘Arabī*. ʔ2, Kitāb iliktrūnī, ‘Ālam al-Ma‘rifah, al-Majlis al-Waṭanī lil-Thaqāfah wa-al-Funūn wa-al-Ādāb bi-al-Kuwayt, 1999, ʔ ʔ. 29 – 47.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

highly skilled solo performer. Some performances involved a moveable theatre that toured around to birthday celebrations or amusement parks, but there were also fixed theatre venues where the audience attended to watch performances.<sup>59</sup> This shift from the begging cafe ‘assemblies’ of the *Maqamat* to a popular commercially based theatre was important since Arabic theatre practices became more secular.

The subject matter of these plays is also worthy of attention from this secular perspective. Three of Ibn Daniel’s texts survive as the oldest extant texts for the Arab shadow theatre, namely *Tayf el khayal* (The Shadow Spirit), *Ajib wa gharib* (Strange and Bizarre), and *El moutayyam* (The Lover).<sup>60</sup> A brief survey indicates their popular appeal and the potential for confrontation with Islamic authorities. In *Tayf el khayal*, Ibn Daniel created some very popular stock characters, including Umm Rashid, the matchmaker, the pimp, the Coptic writer, and the quack doctor who considers profit more important than the lives of his patients. In *Ajib wa gharib*, the author aimed to amuse the public with stereotypical characters from the market, including the preacher, the magician, the elephant trainer, the dancer, and the black slave. *El moutayyam* was designed to be shown over three days as a classic morality tale in which the Angel of Death confronts a lover at the height of his debauched enjoyment of life. The lover cries out loudly, awakening his sleeping partner, then

---

mstrj‘ min: <https://ia802807.us.archive.org/21/items/ebw02/248.pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 10 Māyū 2021.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Imād ‘Abd al-Rādī, "Khayyāl al-ẓill". *Mawqī‘ bawwābat al-Ahrām*, 28 Mārs 2015. mstrj‘ min: <https://gate.ahram.org.eg/daily/News/101494/119/373840/الظل-خيال-ابداع-شعبية-وايداع-الظل.aspx>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 11 Uktūbir 2021.

<sup>60</sup> The plays survived through 4 manuscripts; the oldest of which (1424) is at the Sulaymaniyah Library in Istanbul, in Madrid in El Escorial Museum (1441), a manuscript in Cairo but the date was not certain, and the last one of (1949) is in Egypt in Al-Azhar library. See, Sa‘d, Fārūq. *Khayyāl al-ẓill al-‘Arabī*. Sharikat al-Maṭbū‘āt lil-Tawzī‘ wa-al-Nashr, 1993, § §. 328 – 337.



## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

collapses, recovers, acknowledges his extravagant behaviour, and repents.<sup>61</sup> Such subjects may seem similar to the *Maqamat* since they touch the everyday lives of ordinary people and are close to the author's experiences. The subject matter is more open and bolder since it moves away from the lives of legendary heroes and focuses on significant religious and historical figures to less admirable, everyday rogues, to pimps and lovers. The Shadow play and its content present a challenge to Islamic Arabic society. For example, in 1171, it is reported that Saladin (the Ayyubid Sultan) asked his chief counsellor, Al-Qadi al-Fadil, to attend a shadow play to see if it was against Islam. The latter replied, 'I saw a great sermon. I saw countries go and countries come'.<sup>62</sup> This ethical and educational experience was judged to be for good, saving the practice from prohibition. On the other hand, in 1451, the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt Jaqmaq, ordered the burning of all Shadow plays due to the rumours that they were presenting unethical and unworthy subjects.<sup>63</sup> Shadow plays across the centuries and then worked a fine line between acceptable and unacceptable theatre.

These three practices are examples of an Arab World theatrical tradition, poised between the secular and Islamic worlds. They exist in a world separate from, yet parallel with, the European colonial theatre. Like generations of theatre-makers before him, Al Bassam is aware of such traditions, and as we shall see in later chapters, it often invokes their spirit and certainly trades on their interest in Islamic history, Arabic history, and heroism in Shakespeare's adaptations. Al Bassam mentioned some of these existed Arab World

---

<sup>61</sup> 'Alī al-Rā'ī, *al-masrah fī al-waṭan al-'Arabī*. t2, Kitāb iliktrūnī, 'Ālam al-Ma'rifah, al-Majlis al-Waṭanī lil-Thaqāfah wa-al-Funūn wa-al-Ādāb bi-al-Kuwayt, 1999, Ṣ Ṣ. 29 – 47. mstrj' min: <https://ia802807.us.archive.org/21/items/ebw02/248.pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Māyū 2021.

<sup>62</sup> Farīq sāsāt Būst "Khayyāl al-zill .. al-sīnimā fī al-'aṣr al-Mamlūkī!". *Mawqī' sāsāt Būst*, 2020. mstrj' min: <https://www.sasapost.com/cinema-in-the-era-of-the-mamluks/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 4 Yūliyū 2022.

<sup>63</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān Yāghī, *fī al-Juhūd al-'Arabīyah al-masrahīyah: min Mārūn al-Naqqāsh ilā Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm*. Dār al-Fārābī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 1999. Ṣ Ṣ. 7-19. Ṣ. 10.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

theatrical practices in his Trilogy. For example, Al Bassam's Hamlet asks the musicians to 'play an old, old *maqam*' (3.4.34).<sup>64</sup> To find the roots of this more modern practice of Arab theatre, one that co-exists with and draws on the strengths of both colonial and indigenous culture, I will consider one further moment in 1848. This occurs in Egypt, Beirut, and Lebanon, and marks what many critics, such as Sayyid Ali Ismail and Ali Al-Ra'i agree, Al-Naqqash to be the first articulation of a modern Arab World theatre.

### The First Play-Text in Arabic: Marun Al-Naqqash

Marun Al-Naqqash (1817-1855) is an exemplary representative of the Arab World French colonial elite in Lebanon. He studied in missionary schools in Beirut, where he gained a good education in arts, sciences, culture, business, and music as well as Italian, French, Turkish, and Arabic languages.<sup>65</sup> He worked in Beirut's customs and commerce departments and travelled for business to Egypt, where he learnt about theatre. In 1846, he moved to Italy where he spent a year attending various French and Italian performances, particularly the opera.<sup>66</sup> Upon his return to Beirut, Al-Naqqash created his own theatre troupe that consisted of his friends and family and trained them to perform in his Arabic translation of Molière's *L'Avare*, ('The Miser') published as *Al-bakhīl* (1847), it was the first Arabic play-text.

In 1848, Al-Naqqash staged a private performance at his house where he invited some of the country's consulates, high status individuals, and diplomats to the event. Al-Naqqash acknowledged that since this type of theatrical event was new to Lebanon, the audience

---

<sup>64</sup> Al Bassam's play does not have line numbers, instead, I insert (Act. Scene. Page number).

<sup>65</sup> Maḥmūd Sulaymān, "al-Kātib Mārūn al-Naqqāsh al-juz' 1". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsītāt: al-Duktūr Maḥmūd Sulaymān, 29 Mārs 2021.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yDW32xPAuOk>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 24 Nūfimbir 2021.

<sup>66</sup> Sayyid Ismā'īl, *Tārīkh al-masrah fī al-'ālam al-'Arabī: al-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'līm wa-al-Thaqāfah, 1999. mstrj' min:

<https://www.hindawi.org/books/58285828/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Uktūbir 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

needed an introduction, making him deliver a speech in Arabic before the performance. Those who expect to read a radical manifesto for a new Arab theatre will be disappointed since the speech trades on many colonial commonplaces, as I note below. It still marks a foundational moment when a classic work of French theatre is translated into Arabic, adapted to incorporate indigenous performance traditions. Despite all the invited dignitaries, it explicitly aimed at a local Lebanese audience. Al-Naqqash's speech parrots many common colonial criticisms of the Arab World, which he refers to in true Western Orientalist style as 'the East'. He focuses on how 'the East' should emulate and learn from the developed West throughout his play, offering four reasons why this has not yet happened. First, people in the East are selfish since they do not comprehend national public interest and instead put personal interests before their country and their people. Second, Arabs depend on others, which, coupled with their laziness, makes them late in terms of development. He points out that there are many educated people in the East with excellent knowledge of science, arts, and languages, yet everyone is satisfied with what they have already accomplished and rely on others to make big changes and initiatives that could move the country forward. Third, he noted a lack of patience where people always demanded immediate results. He acknowledges that people should work constantly and patiently because results might take entire generations. Finally, he criticised the shyness and pride among intellectuals since they were scared to create something new, such as translating a new book, as the public might not accept it. It is tempting to see this 1848 speech at a theatre 'assembly' as a kind of *Makamat* that make the colonial dignitaries acknowledge his wisdom in confirming their ideas about 'the East.' The Arab elites in the audience recognise it as a call to arms. For Al-Naqqash, the most immediate battle to be fought is for the foundation of a Lebanese theatre, which

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

provided opportunities for dramatists and performers at home and did not force them to travel to Egypt for work.<sup>67</sup>

Al-Naqqash acknowledges and even flatters colonial theatre as a model for inspiration in his speech but also looks to the Lebanese people as both performers and attendees. He desires to create a theatre that speaks to the lives and tastes of the society he lived in. He pushes intellectuals and artists alike to work hard to challenge their fears of oppression and reach for success. To the educational and moral value of the colonial theatre, he adds the Arab element of music and intoned performance similar to the traditional theatre practices explored above:

I have witnessed in [European theatres], mediations and benefits that would refine human nature, theatres in which they play extraordinary performances and tell peculiar stories. These tales can be seen from the outside as metaphors and jokes, but actually they speak to Truth and Righteousness.... And opera (musical theatre) was for me the most delightful and most beautiful and the most splendid.... and it is so too for my people. From here on in, I chose this musical theatre.<sup>68</sup>

There are two essential points I would like to reinforce from this highly influential speech.

First, Al-Naqqash wanted to use the theatre as a subtle tool to mirror and critique the failings

---

<sup>67</sup> Laṭīf Zaytūnat, "tarjamāt al-masrahīyah ilā al-‘Arabīyah fī ‘aṣr al-Nahḍah", *Majallat al-Fayṣal*, ‘A. 136, Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal lil-Buḥūth wa-al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmīyah, 1988, Ṣ Ṣ. 28 – 32. mstrj‘ min:

[https://www.google.com.qa/books/edition/مجلّة\\_الفيصل/mT1ZDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=ترجمة+المسرحية+إلى+العربية+في+عصر+النهضة+زيتونة&pg=PT3&printsec=frontcove](https://www.google.com.qa/books/edition/مجلّة_الفيصل/mT1ZDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=ترجمة+المسرحية+إلى+العربية+في+عصر+النهضة+زيتونة&pg=PT3&printsec=frontcove). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 30 Mārs 2022.

<sup>68</sup> Sayyid Ismā‘īl, *Tārīkh al-masrah fī al-‘ālam al-‘Arabī: al-qarn al-tāsi‘ ‘ashar*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu’assasat Hindāwī lil-ta‘līm wa-al-Thaqāfah, 1999. mstrj‘

<https://www.hindawi.org/books/58285828/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 17 Uktūbir 2021.

-See Appendix for full speech.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

of his society. Second, not only did he reveal his intention to his audience that night, but he also encouraged the Lebanese intellectuals in the audience to do the same.

Al-Naqqash's speech was so successful that he was permitted to build a theatre next to his house, now a Christian Church in the Gemmayza district of Beirut.<sup>69</sup> This dedicated theatre became home to his new vision, an Arab musical theatre, designed to appeal to Arabic cultural interests and to engage the people in social critique. Al-Naqqash's subsequent work moved away from translations of French classical theatre. His work turned to Arabic history and heroes and used it to criticise the tyranny practised by the Ottoman Empire that ruled Lebanon from 1519 to 1918. His theatre-making was part of a broad cultural campaign for freedom and democracy.<sup>70</sup> His critique was not only reserved for political rulers, but he also criticised Muslim Caliphs and ridiculed their laws. For example, in his 1850 play, *Abu Al Hasan al-Mughaffal aw Harun Al Rashid* (The fifth caliph of Abbasid Dynasty), the protagonist Abu Al Hasan dreams in the first act that he becomes the Caliph and takes revenge on the Imam of the mosque, who had stolen much from him. Using the Caliph, who should be a functioning part of the Islamic hierarchy, to kill a corrupt Imam, says much about Al-Naqqash's view of Islam at the time. The murder happens in a dream, but his criticism of both religious and secular hypocrisy is clear. As Ali Al-Ra'i demonstrates, Al-Naqqash's

---

<sup>69</sup> Maḥmūd Sulaymān, "Mārūn al-Naqqāsh al-juz' 2". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: al-Duktūr Maḥmūd Sulaymān, 29 Mārs 2021,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=29ZmPgd4q1o>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 24 Nūfimbir 2021.

- It was converted into a Christian church after his death upon his will. Sources specify it is today perhaps (Santa) Church see, Yāghī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān. *fī al-Juhūd al-'Arabīyah al-masraḥīyah: min Mārūn al-Naqqāsh ilá Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm*. Dār al-Fārābī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 1999. Ṣ Ṣ. 21-53. Ṣ. 29.

<sup>70</sup>Maḥmūd Sulaymān, "al-Kātib Mārūn al-Naqqāsh al-juz' 1". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: al-Duktūr Maḥmūd Sulaymān, 29 Mārs 2021.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yDW32xPAuOk>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 24 Nūfimbir 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

critique of Islamic authorities across his subsequent career got him into trouble with Islamic authorities and other more conservative Arab dramatists and with local Lebanese audiences.<sup>71</sup>

Though Al-Naqqash's life ended early, the musical theatre form he pioneered remained popular in Lebanon and Egypt and across the Arab World throughout colonial rule, and beyond. Al-Naqqash's decision to translate Molière into Arabic makes the case for colonial, elitist, canonical, and secular high culture entertainment, appealing to the liberal intellectual elites. As I shall explore next, it will inspire Arabic translators and theatre makers to experiment with other canonical European playwrights such as Shakespeare. Al-Naqqash's translation further opens the door to an Arabic theatre building, Arabic playtexts, and a new Arab musical theatre. His subsequent career, though short, is evidence that he showed social, political, and national independence in his performances, reflecting the situation of both his country Lebanon and the entire Arab World.<sup>72</sup> The new Arab theatre he formed continued after his death.<sup>73</sup>

### 3. Shakespeare: Some Early Translations and Performances

Returning from Beirut to Cairo, the metropolitan centre of the Arab World colonial life, we remind ourselves that both the French and the British recognised the power of colonial cultural partnership in educating a European-facing Egyptian ruling class through theatrical performances. The French focused on presenting Corneille, Racine, and Molière, whereas the British insisted on Shakespeare.<sup>74</sup> All these plays were performed in the Khedive

---

<sup>71</sup> 'Alī al-Rā'ī, "Takrīs al-huwīyah aw al-intihār". *Ṣaḥīfat al-yawm*, 2004. mstrj' min: <https://www.alyaum.com/articles/149111/د-علي-الراعي-تاريخ-الاسترجاع>: 30 Mārs 2022.

<sup>72</sup> Al-Naqqash presented three plays and then died in an age of 38. Niqula Al-Naqaash, his brother collected his Marun's works in a book named *Arzat Lebnan*. See, al-Naqqāsh, Mārūn. *Arzat Lubnān*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Maṭba'ah al-'Umūmīyah, 1869. mstrj' min: <https://www.noor-book.com/كتاب-أرزة-لبنان-pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 1 Aghuṣṭus 2021.

-See appendix i for the full speech.

<sup>74</sup> Muḥammad al-Fīl, *ru'yah wa-bayān ḥālat al-masraḥ al-'Arabī (1) al-ta'sīs*. al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 2001, Ṣ Ṣ. 65 – 85.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

Opera House (KOH) that was built in 1872 under the commission of Khedive Ismail, ruler of Egypt 1863-1879. The KOH was considered a royal theatre, which only high-status individuals were invited to attend. The administration of the KOH, including budget allocation and censorship, ultimately rested with the French and British authorities. Under the colonisers' administration, plays were mainly presented in French, catering for students. For two decades, the KOH programme was restricted to the presentation of plays approved by the colonial administrations. It was a focus for social gatherings for the colonial governors and local elites.<sup>75</sup> The Khedive and people in authority decided who could put a translated play into performance. Those who did not conform to the conservative programming restrictions were rejected. New versions of classic European plays were favoured and dramatists came from across the Arab World, including Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan (Levant) to Egypt to pursue career opportunities in theatre. Thus, Cairo's importance as a metropolitan cultural centre for the entire Arab World was constantly enforced.

People who went to Europe for scholarships and who studied in missionary schools developed these ideas and contacted the Egyptian society to reach independence, such as Iskandar Farah (1851–1916), which I see as a precedent to Al Bassam since he shifted from the elite colonial audiences to an engaged popular political theatre.<sup>76</sup> Farah's theatre

---

<sup>75</sup> There were some Arabic plays, ballets, and comedies. Performances stopped at the KOH for some time due to the dismissal of KI and financial issues. It was reopened in 1881. Performances then started for charitable financial aid to, for example, the orphans, the poor Armenian, French, and Italian schools, among others. Other performances were to aid the Turkish military, for example, in 1897, the Italian troupe performed Othello. See, Ismā'īl, Sayyid. *Tārīkh al-masrah fī al-‘ālam al-‘Arabī: al-qarn al-tāsi‘ ‘ashar*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah, 1999. mstrj' min:

<https://www.hindawi.org/books/58285828/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Uktūbir 2021.

<sup>76</sup> Iskandar Farah is a Lebanese dramatist who worked for Medhat Pasha, an Ottoman Wally of Damascus appointed by the United Kingdom. After the latter's dismissal, Farah moved to Egypt and took part on Al Qabani's troupe and then established his own. See, al-Sayyid, 'Alā'. "Iskandar Faraḥ min kibār rijāl al-Māsūnīyah fī Sūriyā nihāyat al-qarn al-tāsi‘ ‘ashar". *Mawqi' Dār al-wathā'iq al-raqmīyah al-tārīkhīyah al-Sūrīyah*, 24 Abrīl 2020. mstrj' min: <https://www.dig->

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

dominated and performed *Romeo and Juliet* in 1892 in Alexandria due to audience demand.<sup>77</sup> Further, one reason for his success is his support of Islamic groups, exemplified by showing performances for them, such as Saladin. Christian groups enjoyed most of the performers by the troupe, including Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet*.<sup>78</sup> Though Farah resisted the spread of colonial theatre and tried to insist on the Arabic, he withdrew at the end, suggesting his dissatisfaction with the government as the Arab theatre is sophisticated and mirrors Europe in every step. Nonetheless, the government subsidised the Franco Arab performances instead of the Arab ones.<sup>79</sup> He suggests that theatres were to please the movement rather than to teach the public.

In tracing Shakespeare's performances in the Arab World, his plays started as a musical theatre in Egypt and other Arab countries. It is important to note that there was always resistance from other dramatists against musicals. Shakespeare's plays were translated into Arabic and first performed in Egypt at the beginning of 1903. According to Abdul Malik Ibrahim, a journalist in Al-Ahram newspaper:

This evening, Jamieat Alma'ref Almarkazya Almasrya (troupe's name), performed *Macbeth* in the theatre of Al Azbakeya park, written by Shakespeare and translated by Tanius Abdu ... I would like to refer to the Lebanese poet Tanius Abdu of Egyptian nationality. Plays such as *Hamlet* was performed by Sheikh Salameh Hijazi, the protagonist. After *Hamlet's* success in this musical and the audience's response to

---

[https://www.hindawi.org/doc/index.php?page=YXJ0aWNsZQ==&op=ZGlzcGxheV9hcnRpY2xlX2RldGFpbHNfdQ==&article\\_id=NzM=&lan=YXI](https://www.hindawi.org/doc/index.php?page=YXJ0aWNsZQ==&op=ZGlzcGxheV9hcnRpY2xlX2RldGFpbHNfdQ==&article_id=NzM=&lan=YXI). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 15 Uktūbir 2021.

<sup>77</sup> Sayyid Ismā'īl, *Tārīkh al-masrah fī al-'ālam al-'Arabī: al-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah, 1999. mstrj' min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/58285828/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Uktūbir 2021.

<sup>78</sup> Sayyid Ismā'īl, *masīrat al-masrah fī Miṣr 1900 – 1935: firaq al-masrah al-ghinā'ī*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2018, Ṣ Ṣ. 11-63. mstrj' min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/80285963/0.3/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 30 Mārs 2022.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.



## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

him, Tanius Abdu presented *Romeo and Juliet* where Hijazi played Romeo. The trend did not continue because of a revolution against the musical form launched by some serious classical theatrical groups. George Abyd<sup>80</sup> band announced that they would present *King Lear*, and Fatima Rushdie<sup>81</sup> announced she would play in *Hamlet* as a classical text and not musical. Yousuf Wahbi<sup>82</sup> announced his rejection of Shakespeare's musical theatre.<sup>83</sup>

The post-colonial dramatists and actors preferred Shakespeare's original texts to musical ones. Two key groups of troupes performed Shakespeare in Egypt. The first was led by Salameh Hijazi (musical theatre) and the second by Iskandar Farah.<sup>84</sup> On the one hand, Hijazi presented the popular musical theatre through Shakespeare whereas Farah was politically motivated for resistance through Shakespeare. Farah was the first to present translated

---

<sup>80</sup> George Abyd (1880-1959) a Lebanese dramatist who moved to Egypt for theatrical opportunities as others did. The Khedive Abbas of Egypt attended his political play, translated from French *Tour du Nil* in 1904 and sent him to study in Paris. He came back to Egypt in 1910 with his new French troupe. He was given (Beck) title by King Farouq I due to his contributions to theatre. See, 'Ādil, Samāḥ. "Jūrj Abyaḍ .. min Rūwād al-masraḥ al-Trājīdī". *Mawqi' al-Hay'ah al-'Arabīyah lil-Masraḥ*, 2019. mstrj' min: <https://atitheatre.ae/جورج-أبيض-من-رواد-المسرح-التراجيدي/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 12 Abrīl 2022.

<sup>81</sup> Fatima Rushdie (1908- 1996) an Egyptian actress who played Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra* and other plays. She created her own troupe in 1927.

<sup>82</sup> Yousif Wahbi (1898-1982) an Egyptian actor and director who traveled to Italy to study acting and came back to Egypt in 1921. Fatima Rushdie was working in his troupe. He got (Beck) title from King Farouq I (1920-1965).

<sup>83</sup> Amīn Bakīr, "Wilyam Shiksbīr: masraḥih kull al-Dunyā". *Majallat al-Fayṣal*, 'A. 204, Nūfimbir/ Dīsimbir 1993, § §. 112 – 115. mstrj' min: [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=doNcDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_g\\_e\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=doNcDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_g_e_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 29 Sibtambr 2021.

<sup>84</sup> Salama Hijazi was born in Ras El-Tin district in Alexandria in 1852. He memorized the Qur'an and learned the arts of singing while he was still eleven years old. He worked as a singer, actor, and composer. He was also appointed as head of Sufi singers. He continued to perform concerts on weddings and with the beginning of rise of theatre in Egypt, Hijazi held an important place in musical theatre. See, 'Ādil, Samāḥ. "Salāmah Ḥijāzī: Rā'id al-masraḥ al-ghinā'ī alladhī ghnnā fi al-Ūbirā". *Mawqi' Kitābāt*, 3 Yūniyū 2019. mstrj' min: <https://kitab.com/cultural/الذي-الغنائي-المسرح-الغنائي-الذي>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 29 Sibtambr 2021. Also see (a song presented in *Romeo and Juliet*), Khālid, Shū. "Salāmah Ḥijāzī-yā ghzālan ṣād qalbī jfnh". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: Shoug Khaled, 7 Aghuṣṭus 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f6IuzKAX9MM>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 29 Sibtambr 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

performances that were not musicals and worked to liberate the audiences from the British.

Farah had a vision regarding the theatre and his audiences. At first, he wanted to be successful, grab the audiences' attention, and reach a political goal, aiming towards freedom and independence. Thus, it was a new era of adapting Shakespeare to resist colonial dominance. In a newspaper article published in 1905, Farah articulated:

Arab theatre and performances originated in this country a quarter of a century ago or more when people were ignorant of its advantages and benefits. So, it was not very popular. Eighteen years ago, circumstances happened to establish the Arab Egyptian Troupe, where the primary goal was to take the path that the public yearned to attend acting, following the same path that Westerners before us took. This is the first of the three steps I have in mind, and that is why I have decided to present plays in which superstitions, immorality, and conditions of the popular taste are presented.

And when I achieved the first goal and trusted the determination of the public, I took the second step, which is presenting simple plays that people do not get tired of and obtain insightful lessons from them. Above them is what was written and translated by the late writer Sheikh Najeeb Al-Haddad and others from among the distinguished geniuses.

As for the objection of some to the fact that the plays are all romantic and melody, some are improper and lack the required interest, which is unimportant because most of them are translated by Westerners. Most of them are still performed until now, in addition to the fact that their term entails deep wisdom and insight. They are the plays by which the Westerners paved the way for the people to reach the third goal towards modern moral domestic plays.

Based on the foregoing, the readers learned that I have achieved what I aimed in the first and second goals. Therefore, I did not find any way after that to go beyond the

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

third goal, so I proceeded. Moreover, I started to prepare modern social-moral plays of the new style in the new era. As the public learned from a broadcast, I published in the newspapers a few days ago. I will start performing them soon, knowing that I will encounter some difficulties and troubles. Rather, what I have become accustomed to of patience and steadfastness in overcoming every obstacle guarantees us, God willing, to reach our point, guiding the people to the straightest path and the path of success and rightfulness.<sup>85</sup>

Farah introduced a manifesto of theatre and audience reception through his journey. He addressed and targeted the population when he discussed his work in the theatre. He acknowledged the audience's role and strength in making the change in their societies and surroundings just as Al Bassam. Initially, those audiences were ignorant of the theatre and its importance in shifting the ideologies, as they only took theatre as entertainment. At that stage, it was important to keep the audience attending performances so that they could love and cling to theatre because that was the only way Farah could start new agendas (social and political) to shape the thoughts of those local audiences. Ironically, Farah's political aims for theatre directly resulted from his missionary school education and his continuous elite engagement with cultural colonisation. He differs from Al-Naqqash because he did not show a slavish fascination with the West. Instead, he asserted that Arabs did the same thing Westerners did and were both on the same journey.

It is not surprising that Arab performers became more confident in their productions and skills after a long history of performance. The theatre began to draw those performers who had previously rejected it for religious reasons; for example, Salameh Hijazi who was a

---

<sup>85</sup>Muhammad al-Fil, *ru'yah wa-bayān ḥālat al-masrah al-'Arabī (1) al-ta'sīs*. al-Hay'ah al-Misriyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 2001, Ş Ş. 159 – 160.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

muezzin, Quran reader, and religious singer, was celebrated for his excellent voice.<sup>86</sup> He had always refused to sing and act in theatre since he considered those acts a deadly sin. Al-Qirdahi convinced Hijazi to join Farah's troupe, and the presence of this religious performance celebrity made a significant difference to the troupe's widespread success in 1875.<sup>87</sup> Hijazi brought to the role of Hamlet in Tanius Abdu's translation all the entertainment of the famous musical theatre. The latter's talent led to the transformation of Shakespeare's translated text to something close to the taste and heritage of the audience, a musical theatre.

### Translation history

There were many Shakespeare translations throughout the twentieth century but these were largely individual projects commissioned for particular performances. It is hardly surprising that the most translated Shakespeare plays in Egypt in the first three decades of the twentieth century were *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*.<sup>88</sup> One of the early 'translators', Ismail Abd Al-Muniem, did not produce full translations but summaries of the

---

<sup>86</sup> Fīlīb Sādjrwf, *al-masraḥ al-Miṣrī fī al-qarn al-tāsi* ' *ashar* (1799 – 1882). tarjamat: Amīn al-‘Ayyūtī, taqdīm wa-ta‘līq: Sayyid ‘Alī Ismā‘īl, al-Markaz al-Qawmī lil-Masraḥ wa-al-Funūn al-sha‘bīyah, 1996, Ṣ Ṣ. 187 – 230.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

-Sulayman Al-Qirdahi is a Syrian actor, director, and theatre troupe director, one of the pioneers of Arab theatre in Egypt in the late nineteenth century, and the founder of Arab theatre in Tunisia at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the 1870s, he moved to Egypt, looking forward to the atmosphere of social and artistic openness that accompanied the preparation for the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. See, Nabīl al-Ḥaffār, "qrdāhy Sulaymān". *Mawqi‘ al-Mawsū‘ah al-‘Arabīyah*. mstrj‘ min: <http://arab-ency.com.sy/ency/details/9006/15>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 29 Māyū 2022.

<sup>88</sup> We will return to Tanius Abdu's *Hamlet* in Chapter Two. There were other translations before his, but none were published. *Othello* was also translated under the commission of Al-Qirdahi and became one of the first and most performed plays in Egypt, see also Mohamed Effet's translation of *Macbeth* (1911) in a poetic style. See, ‘Awaḍ, Ramsīs. *Shiksbīr fī Miṣr*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Hay‘ah al-‘Āmmah al-Miṣrīyah lil-Kitāb, 1986. mstrj‘ min: [https://www.dopdfwn.com/cacnretra/scgdfnyya/shksber-fy-msr-awd-ar\\_PTIFP.pdf](https://www.dopdfwn.com/cacnretra/scgdfnyya/shksber-fy-msr-awd-ar_PTIFP.pdf). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 7 Mārs 2020.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

original text focused on key scenes, plot points, and speeches designed for performers to adopt. He offers an enlightening account of his highly popular approach to ‘translating’ Shakespeare:

And we chose from his plays that type known as tragedy because he excelled in it, as if he went into the deepest points of the heart and trod on people’s morals to reveal what conscience conceals and what is hidden. He wrote them from the breath of lovers and the lessons of the wretched and showed us conflicting forms of nature custom in them. With his tragedies, he rectified souls, straightened morals, removed unjust leaders, and undermined the pillars of tyranny.<sup>89</sup>

Once again, Shakespearean drama's moral and secular lessons are crucial. It appeals to audiences because it speaks to their daily world.

As Sanders argues, ‘Shakespearean appropriation serves as a cultural barometer of changing tastes, issues, and values stands.’<sup>90</sup> This cultural barometer also applies to Shakespeare translators, particularly those who translate Shakespeare for performance in the hope of attracting widespread acclaim. Ramses Awadh argues that Arab translators differ hugely in their approaches to translating Shakespeare. On the one hand, some pursue fidelity to the language of Shakespeare, aiming to reproduce accurately and faithfully his images, figures of speech and traditional dramatic structures, even if they are strange and uncomfortable for Arabic speakers. On the other hand, some, such as Abd Al-Muniem seek to adapt their translations to inflect and reflect Arabic culture and taste, reproducing a version of Shakespeare that is intrinsically meaningful to Arabic audiences.<sup>91</sup> The two different approaches; literal translation, classical conservation, adaptation and innovation are essential

---

<sup>89</sup> Muḥammad al-Fīl, *ru’yah wa-bayān ḥālat al-masraḥ al-‘Arabī (I) al-ta’sīs*. al-Hay’ah al-Miṣrīyah al-‘Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 2001, Ṣ. 29.

<sup>90</sup> Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation*, 2nd ed. (Routledge, 2016) 64.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

in tracing the evolution of Al Bassam's Trilogy. Until this point, Shakespeare's translations were undertaken by individuals and theatre companies when needed. However, as the Arab nations moved to become independent post-colonial modern nations, a new plan to take new Arab World ownership of Shakespeare and many other globally recognised authors by translating his Complete Works into Arabic emerged.

### The Pan-Arab League Translation Project

The Egyptian government announced a ground-breaking project for translating classical world literature into Arabic between 1955-1965. The Cultural Committee of the Arab League launched the project under the direction of Taha Hussein (1889-1973), a world-renowned Egyptian author and critic, frequently nominated for the Nobel Prize for literature.<sup>92</sup> The project aimed to break the colonial linguistic yoke of English and French by producing definitive Arabic translations of texts recognised as global importance. The project developed across many years until, at the establishment of the Egyptian Centre for Translation in 1995, it aimed to translate books from more than 35 original languages to make them fully accessible, including complete translation of Shakespeare's works into Arabic.<sup>93</sup> The first steps towards decolonisation and progress of the Arab World at the end of

---

<sup>92</sup> Ghālī Shukrī, *Mudhakkirāt Thaḳāfat tahtadīr*. Ṭ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār al-Ṭalī'ah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 1970. mstrj' min: [https://ia801905.us.archive.org/21/items/modhakerat\\_thaqafa\\_tahtadher/modhakerat\\_thaqafa\\_tahtadher.pdf](https://ia801905.us.archive.org/21/items/modhakerat_thaqafa_tahtadher/modhakerat_thaqafa_tahtadher.pdf). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 4 Yūniyū 2022.

-Taha Hussein was one of the most influential intellectuals in Egypt. He graduated from Al-Azhar University yet fought against its conventional curriculum and teaching methods. He was considered the 'Dean of Arab Literature' and was noninitiated for Noble Prize for literature 14 times. See, al-Jazīrah al-wathā'iqīyah, "al-'Amīd-1 al-mutamarrid". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: Al Jazeera Documentary al-Jazīrah al-wathā'iqīyah, 15 Nūfimbir 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=esdVvn8iucE&t=599s>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 4 Yūniyū 2022.

<sup>93</sup> Muṣṭafā 'Ābidīn, "al-tarjamah wālhūyh al-Thaḳāfiyah al'rbyt-1". *Mawqi' Jarīdat al-Sharq*, 29 Māyū 2014. mstrj' min: <https://al-sharq.com/opinion/29/05/2014/-الترجمة-والهوية-الثقافية-1-العربية>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 1 Sibtambr 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

the century played an increasingly important role in global culture and politics, which was an important marker. In political and cultural terms, it is part of a third-generation post-colonial project of cultural ownership. It sets the stage for Al Bassam's Shakespeare Trilogy and the Arab Spring.

The Complete Shakespeare was fraught with difficulties. Taha Hussein appointed university professors, senior translators, and critics who had graduated from English universities and/or worked in English literature for translation works. Nonetheless, there were some deficiencies in the translations provided. Some provided summaries rather than full texts of the plays, for example, Ibrahim Zaki (1909–1987), a member of the translation and review committee of Shakespeare's plays in the League.<sup>94</sup> Zaki translated summaries of the Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, *Midsummer's Night Dream*, *Winter's Tale*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *As You Like It*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Merchant of Venice*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Measures of Measures*, *Twelfth Night*, *Othello*, and *Pericles* in 120 pages.<sup>95</sup> This number of translators and intellectuals made people think there would be no mistakes or absence of Shakespearian meanings, but that was not always the case. Interestingly, Mu'nis Taha Hussein, also a league member, translated *Romeo and Juliet*, which is full of poetic

---

- Ghālī Shukrī, *Mudhakkirāt Thaqaḥat taḥtadīr*. Ṭ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār al-Ṭalī'ah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 1970. mstrj' min:

[https://ia801905.us.archive.org/21/items/modhakerat\\_thaqafa\\_tahtadher/modhakerat\\_thaqafa\\_tahtadher.pdf](https://ia801905.us.archive.org/21/items/modhakerat_thaqafa_tahtadher/modhakerat_thaqafa_tahtadher.pdf). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 4 Yūniyū 2022.

- Ḥifnāwī Ba' lī, *al-tarjamah al-adabīyah: ālkhṭāb al-Muhājir wmkhāṭbh al-ākhar*. tarjamat: 'Abd al-Qādir al-Qiṭṭ, Dār al-Yāzūrī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 2018.

<sup>94</sup> He was one of the first alumni of the University of Cairo, History in 1931 and worked several jobs, including Director of the Translation Department in the Ministry of Education. See, al-Jawādī, Muḥammad. "Ibrāhīm Zakī Khūrshīd: mutarjim al-Mawsū'ah wa-ṣāḥib fikrat Maktabat al-usrah". *Mawqī' al-Jazīrah Mubāshir*, 20 Nūfimbir 2019. mstrj' min: <https://mubasher.aljazeera.net/opinions/2019/11/20/عبر-الموسوعة-مترجم-ابراهيم-زكي-خورشيد>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Uktūbir 2021.

<sup>95</sup> Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ramādī, *fuṣūl muqāranah bayna adabī al-Sharq wa-al-Gharb*. Ṭ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Dār al-Qawmīyah lil-Ṭibā'ah wa-al-Nashr, and, Ṣ Ṣ. 28 – 33. mstrj' min: <https://www.noor-book.com/كتاب-فصول-مقارنه-بين-ادبي-الشرق-و-الغرب.pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Mārs 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

language, but the translation was simply lifeless. It is believed that the translator depended on the French translation rather than the English one because he specialised in French. Thus, the old colonial legacies and the claims of new elite politics at home still seep through. Mu'nis was perhaps chosen to translate, not for his skills as a Shakespearean, but because he was the son of the league chief.<sup>96</sup> Though a rule of the league's project was to translate from only the original, violations occurred, which badly affected the outcome.<sup>97</sup> Additionally, according to Baali, it would have been more beneficial for the translation if names and specialisation assigned it. For example, the great tragedies should have been translated by professors of English literature instead of employees from the Ministry of Education. Besides, professors would have attended to the poetry and included critical studies and current debates on the works.<sup>98</sup> He did not mention what the others should translate but implied that non-academics should translate the comedies.

These Shakespeare's translations become adaptations as they play with cultural intertextuality. Arab dramatists and authors often worked with Shakespeare's original text and made it suitable to the taste of Arab audiences and readers. Their reasons for doing so might vary. They sought literary and academic fame or profit themselves or wanted to clarify Shakespeare's ideas for Arab World audiences. Sometimes, they tried to make a political

---

<sup>96</sup> Ḥifnāwī Ba' lī, *al-tarjamah al-adabīyah: ālkhṭāb al-Muhājir wmkhāṭbh al-ākhar*. tarjamat: 'Abd al-Qādir al-Qiṭṭ, Dār al-Yāzūrī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 2018.

<sup>97</sup> 'Azzah Ibrāhīm, "al-'ashwā'iyah taḥkumu 'amal al-Markaz al-Qawmī lil-Tarjamah", <https://www.alkhaleej.ae/ملحق/العشوائية-تحكم-عمل-المركز-القومي-للترجمة>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 1 Māyū 2021.

<sup>98</sup> Hafnaoui Baali is an Algerian author, journalist and academic. He is a professor of higher education in Arts and Sciences at Annaba University. He holds a PhD in Arts, Humanities, and Comparative and Cultural Studies. He was awarded the City and Creativity Critic in 2002 and the International First Prize in Critical and Dramatic Studies. He is the Secretary General of the Algerian Comparative Literature Association. He has many published works in literature, criticism, and poetry.

- Ḥifnāwī Ba' lī, *al-tarjamah al-adabīyah: ālkhṭāb al-Muhājir wmkhāṭbh al-ākhar*. tarjamat: 'Abd al-Qādir al-Qiṭṭ, Dār al-Yāzūrī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 2018.



## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

point or promote reform in their respective countries. At this point, the translation work of theatre produces a practical public sphere where the director communicates, for example, ideologies of democracy and freedom to enlighten the audiences and inspire them to make changes. The Arab World has created and witnessed this kind of theatre since the Egypt Revolution of 1919, where theatres transformed into a national powerhouse, promoting the political and post-colonial ambitions of activist authors and actors such as Salameh Hijazi, Najib al Raihani, Muneera Al Mahdia and many others.<sup>99</sup> This 1919 revolutionary moment foreshadows the Arab Spring a century later. We do not have full records of the plays performed at that time. However, while the focus was on new indigenous writing, Shakespeare's plays remained a tool to call for justice from 1919 to the present day. Writing in 2017 about the legacy of Shakespeare, the Syrian director Ausama Jalal stated:

He wrote a superior critique of all demarcations of power, whether patriarchal or political, and he did so in a manner that was open to the absolute. This allowed the Arab director, who comes after him, to take advantage of his theatrical space; to play the role of enlightening democratic theatre, even if it is hidden behind Shakespeare's stories and symbols.<sup>100</sup>

Not only does the Pan-Arab League translation project equip theatre-makers with a new Shakespearean arsenal for political-cultural intervention, but it also provides a platform for Arab directors, performers, and theatre-makers to empower the audiences to move towards an Arab Spring of political action. Jalal acknowledged not only the role of theatre to liberate people, but also the power and strength of Shakespeare's language to transcend to different

---

<sup>99</sup> Ḥasan Mukhtār, "al-masraḥ wa-thawrat 1919 .. Rūwād wirāyah wmtālbāt bi-al-ḥurrīyah". *Mawqi' al-bawwābah nywz*, 16 Mārs 2019. mstrj' min: <https://www.albawabhnews.com/3523324> .Tārīkh alāstrjā': 7 Sibtambr 2021.

<sup>100</sup> Muḥammadū li-Ḥabīb, "Shiksbīr al- 'Arabī .. Hal kāna yaktubu 'an wāqi' inā?". *Mawqi' Ṣaḥīfat al-Khalīj*, 1 Nūfimbir 2017. mstrj' min: <https://www.alkhaleej.ae/ملحق/شكسبير-العربي> Tārīkh alāstrjā': 4 Sibtambr 2021.

## **Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts**

cultures and suit their demands for reform. Shakespeare's 'theatrical space' became crucial to awaken populations living under injustices and informing them of their right to act. Many will argue that theatre does not directly cause social and political reforms, but as I will explore in the rest of this thesis, theatre works to liberate the audience's minds, since only those enlightened, thinking minds can act for reform.

### **4. Key Terminologies to be used in the thesis: Secularism; Machiavellian Political thought; Feminism.**

I will argue that secularism, Machiavellian political thought, and feminism themes are vital to this consideration of the development of the Arab Spring, as it is invoked in Al Bassam's Shakespeare Trilogy. Each case-study chapter will focus on one of these three themes, but they sometimes overlap. To arrive at a working definition of each term and as I mentioned in the introduction, I focus on one key Western scholar and one key Arab scholar to explore the intellectual and cultural differences useful to this attempt to situate Al Bassam's work as a dramatic product of a shared inheritance of Arab and colonial contexts. I draw on the work of Charles Taylor and Talal Asad to frame the secular/religious discussion in his version of *Hamlet*, on Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* and its Arabic translation and commentators to offer contexts for his RSC commission of *Richard III*, and on Simone De Beauvoir and Nawal Sa'dawi to consider the feminism which fuels his multi-layered version of *Twelfth Night*.

#### **Secularism**

In his seminal book, *A Secular Age*, the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor opens his account with a vital and far-reaching question; 'what does it mean to live in a secular

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

age?’<sup>101</sup> Published in 2007, developing and consolidating a series of lectures on the subject delivered in 1999 in Edinburgh, *A Secular Age* offers a comprehensive historical account of secularism and the role of religion in what Taylor defines as the modern period. It explores how the conditions and circumstances in Western societies from 1500 until they reached modernity in 2000 led to, and produced the conditions for, secularism. Taylor gives three possible conditions to define life in a secular age. First, the individual lives in a country where both religious views and the concept of God are removed from the public space. Prior to the ‘secular age’, Christian faith had authority in all aspects of life, including the political, economic, social, and cultural. Now social institutions are independent from religion and faith-based legislation is not acceptable. The pre-secular age societies consisted of groups of worshippers rather than citizens since everything was connected to God and/or religion, including faith. In the secular age, social institutions are separated from the authority of the Church and people can practise their daily lives without encountering God. Faith may still exist as an outdated private practice, considering its former dominance of the public sphere has disappeared. Secondly, religious belief and practice have also faded from the life of the individual living in the secular age. Taylor suggests that people are now separated from religious meeting places and have turned away from God. Moreover, religion no longer dominates the individual's political, economic, and socio-cultural decisions. However, it is important to note that the individual remains free to practice religion privately. Thirdly, Taylor argues that the secular age is defined by the ‘conditions of the belief’ where religious faith is just one option among many others.<sup>102</sup> In this case, people live a secular life wholly grounded in the new conditions for belief adapted to modernity. Religion in this sense is just

---

<sup>101</sup> Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*. 1st ed. (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007) 1.

- “Charles Taylor,” *Philosophy*, [www.mcgill.ca/philosophy/people/emeritus-faculty/taylor](http://www.mcgill.ca/philosophy/people/emeritus-faculty/taylor).

<sup>102</sup> Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*. 1st ed. (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007) 3.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

one available mode of experiencing modern life. Taylor's account focuses on the third definition of the 'secular age' as it combines and develops the first and the second definitions. He traces the change that transformed belief in Western societies from obligatory to optional and from a social compulsion to an individual choice.

Taylor discusses belief and unbelief not as opposites, but as 'ways that people account for existence or morality, whether by God or by something in nature, or whatever'. They are choices in the range of many kinds of lived, rather than theoretical, experiences.<sup>103</sup>

Premodern people represent their existence and morality through belief and unbelief, through their connection to and experience of God, religion, or nature, the most important thing is the fulfilment that the individual attains through these experiences. In Taylor's pre-modern period, people reached spiritual fulfilment through the social experience of religious practice, which is confirmed by clear religious authority. The 'secular age' modern unbelievers may also reach spiritual fulfilment from within in an individual space where 'morality is autonomous and not heteronomous'.<sup>104</sup> Thus, religion in modernity is no longer 'beyond' human life since it is connected to God and the metaphysical world. Religion is now 'within' human life and practised through the lived experiences of the individual.<sup>105</sup> In the pre-modern period, it was impossible to not believe in God because the natural world in which people lived offered, within a closed system, repeated consistent proof of the divine. God was present in every aspect of life in a society where people lived in an 'enchanted' world that admitted spirits, demons, and natural moral forces. In contrast, modernity marks a move towards what Taylor terms 'disenchantment; where people refuse the supernatural and search for alternative methods of reaching fulfilment instead'.<sup>106</sup> Scientific discoveries have played

---

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. p. 4.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, p. 15.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, pp. 25-26.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

an important role in ‘disenchanted’ the universe and transforming people to secular beings. This age of ‘disenchantment’ must produce a new, modern sense of self.

Taylor feels it necessary to differentiate between the pre-modern, vulnerable, porous self and the modern, buffered self. These terms will feature in my later readings of Al Bassam’s *Hamlet* and deserve attention here. In the pre-modern period, the vulnerable, porous self lay fully open to the world. Defined by social norms and interactions, it was also open to external forces, spirits, and the supernatural. As Taylor puts it, this porous self was equally open to ‘a spell from my enemy, or the protection afforded by a candle, which has been blessed in the parish church.’<sup>107</sup> The porous self is affected by and functions within the surrounding social environment. In contrast, the new buffered self draws its meaning from within since it works autonomously to develop individual morality. It can draw clear boundaries between the internal and external worlds and is critically aware of the distinction. Taylor again states that ‘to be a buffered subject [is] to have closed the porous boundary between the inside (thought) and outside (nature, the physical) that is partly a matter of living in a disenchanted world’.<sup>108</sup> This ‘buffered self’ is a product of, and a producer of, the ‘secular age.’

Much is compelling in Taylor’s account of the move from belief to unbelief, from the religious to the secular. Taylor does not defend secularism but tries to unwrap the layers of circumstance that make nations embrace secularism. He is clear that the journey to secularism is never smooth since it involves a series of political, economic, cultural, and educational upheavals spanning many centuries. However, it is also apparent that Taylor’s account of the secular age is fundamentally Western in its concerns. This is unsurprising since he is an eminent Professor highly trained in Western Philosophy. Nonetheless, as Taylor carefully

---

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, p. 42.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, p. 300.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

notes, his account of the ‘secular age’ is confined to ‘the West or perhaps Northwest, or otherwise put, the North Atlantic World’.<sup>109</sup> Thus, it excludes Islamic countries and the Arab World, as he says ‘the judgment of secularity seems hard to resist when we compare these [Western] societies with anything else in human history. That is, with almost all other contemporary societies (e.g., Islamic countries, India, Africa)’.<sup>110</sup> This is a significant omission, among others, that I have noted. While Taylor may be entitled to assert that the Arab World did not go through the exact historical experience of the West that led to Taylor’s version of modernity, it experienced Western modernity through the close, long-standing engagement between both civilisations. This engagement involved the twinned interactions of colonisation and globalisation, which affected all aspects of life in the Islamic nations of the Arab World.<sup>111</sup> Indeed, some Arab World scholars, such as Azmi Bashara, have argued that from 1300-1922, the Ottoman Empire practised full separation between religion and politics without defining the terms and concepts of ‘secular’ life. Bashara further argues that the Western colonisation introduced the notion of ‘secularism’ and rejects the word as a colonial imposition on the Arab World.<sup>112</sup> In preparation for my later readings of Al Bassam’s adaptations of Shakespeare, I wish to focus on the work of the renowned Arab anthropologist Talal Asad, as he takes up the challenge of forming an Arab World response to Taylor’s work on ‘secular ‘age’. He starts from a position of agreement in his conversation with Taylor, while Asad begins from a place of scholarly respect for Taylor’s work and seeks to rise to the challenge of extending the enquiry about modernity and secularity to the Arab World.

---

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, p. 1.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> “Conversations with History - Talal Asad,” *UC Berkeley Events*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kfAGnxKfwOg>. Accessed 2 October 2018.

<sup>112</sup> ‘Azmi Bishārah, "al-siyāqāt al-tārīkhīyah li-nushū’ al-‘Almānīyah". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf’ bi-wāsiyat: al-Markaz al-‘Arabī ArabCenter, 23 Māyū 2012. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t0SWUJwNjwY>. Tārīkh alāstrjā’: 1 Nūfimbir 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

Talal Asad, a Professor of Anthropology at City University New York, has a distinguished reputation for his work on religiosity, the Arab World, and post-colonialism.<sup>113</sup> He is particularly interested in the anthropological aspects as opposed to Taylor's philosophical study of secularism. Asad's diverse background and biography contributed to his interests in anthropology and secularism. Asad's father was a Jew who converted to Islam and married a Saudi Muslim woman. Asad was born in Saudi Arabia in 1932 and remains a citizen until today. During his early years, he moved first to 'British India', then to Pakistan, where he attended a Christian-run boarding school before heading to the UK aged 18 to study architecture in Edinburgh. He discovered anthropology in the UK and moved on to complete his doctorate at Oxford. He taught at Khartoum University in Sudan and Hull University in England, and then moved to the USA in 1989, where he has been based ever since.<sup>114</sup> As mentioned above, Asad, like Taylor, has long been interested in secularism, but from an anthropologist's viewpoint rather than a Western philosopher's. In his book *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (2003), Asad articulates the possibility of, as well as the necessary conditions for a secular anthropological study. He begins by clarifying that Anthropology relies not only on fieldwork and observation but also on broader comparative analysis of concepts and representations across different societies as they affect the lives of people in those societies.<sup>115</sup> His chosen methodology for the comprehension of any particular present moment is to explore the 'genealogy' of the instant. What interests me in Asad's genealogical approach to determining the conditions for the appearance of secularism as both

---

<sup>113</sup> For Key works see, Tala Asad, *Formations of the Secular*. 1st ed. (Stanford University Press, 2010). Also see, Talal Asad, "The Idea of the Anthropology of Islam." *The Center for Contemporary Arab Studies*, 1986, <http://mapage.noos.fr/masdar/Talal%20Asad-Anthropology%20of%20Islam.pdf>. Accessed 14 December 2016.

<sup>114</sup> "Conversations with History - Talal Asad," *UC Berkeley Events*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kfAGnxKfwOg>. Accessed 2 October 2018.

<sup>115</sup> Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular*. 1st ed. (Stanford University Press, 2010) 1.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

a doctrine and a practice is that he tries to pinpoint and then find terminologies for the concepts emerging in a secular world that conflict with his philosophy. Asad argues that the ‘Secular’ must redefine and refine myth, agency, and pain, concepts concerning embodiment to practise secularism.

While Taylor chooses the modern concept of ‘disenchantment’ in his discussion, Asad focuses on ‘myth’ and the associated binaries of ‘*belief* and *knowledge*, *reason* and *imagination*, *history* and *fiction*, *symbol* and *allegory*, *natural* and *supernatural*, and *sacred* and *profane*’.<sup>116</sup> Myth does not appear singly since it connects deeply with the latter concepts. Taken together, all these lead to the formation of the secular. First, the secular deals with ‘myth’ through poetry, with the poets referring to poetry as ‘mythos’, a ‘supernatural’ powerful speech they share because of living in a shared, interconnected, and natural world. However, Christianity distinguishes God and this natural world.<sup>117</sup> In Asad’s anthropological account, nature becomes accessible as a single changeable but homogenous body, operating under a series of mechanical rules. That which lies beyond nature is metaphysical, an extension to the natural world that consists of irrational events and creatures, which is why it is referred to as the ‘supernatural’. The concept of the sacred is applicable here. For Asad, the sacred conflicts with the secular. In the pre-modern period, the sacred referred to certain places and moments of supernatural significance, which were forbidden to violate. These often demanded simple superstitious acceptance. In the nineteenth century, the sacred became intertwined with formal religion while the religious in modernity became an adjective rather than a noun. In other words, across this period, the sacred shifted from a concrete practice to a descriptive concept that now exists primarily in conjunction with literature and art. While examining the changes accompanying this shift, Asad explores the notion of Divine

---

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, p. 23.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid, p. 27.



## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

revelation, which has also changed. In the past, sacred texts had a huge and direct impact on the receptor's senses and emotions. Divine revelation has shifted from a primal human force exerted on the senses to critical practice. It relies on a scholarly establishment's contextual and linguist analysis, a 'priest' class. Secondly, Asad's version of the secular considers 'Agency', a particular combination of *action* and *passion* as it relates to pain.

Pain and its related condition (suffering) are essential because, as Asad puts it, 'it is thought of a human condition that secular agency must eliminate universally'.<sup>118</sup>

Consequently, agency is the combination of action and free will that offers a crucial opportunity for the individual to act to increase their own empowerment and reduce their pain. Whereas Taylor differentiates between two selves, a pre-secular and a secular, Asad asserts that his version of the secular has a 'conscious agent-subject since it has both the capacity and desire to move in a singular historical direction, that of increasing self-empowerment and decreasing pain'.<sup>119</sup> Thirdly and lastly, Asad considers pain as a feature of the secular. Pain here refers not only to the one passively inflicted on the victim, but is also 'agentive'. For example, it could be a feeling that a person experiences and then communicates through language and expression. Therefore, this version of pain combines the individual with the communal. Asad argues that pain is a distinctly public concern far from being a private experience since 'as a social relationship pain is part of what creates the conditions of action and experience'.<sup>120</sup> This pain may be inflicted for torture and punishment, yet the conscience and mind of the secular individual enable him to refuse to accept it as punishment. In this sense, the experience of pain is an essential part of a choice to determine, define, and claim as a root cause for action. Myth, agency, and pain all expose different concepts and sensibilities, knowledge, and experiences, about the conflict zones

---

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, p. 79.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, p. 85.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

between the religious and secular, which in turn work to create a vision for the secular world. Thus, Asad's Anthropological approach examines people's everyday responses to complex political and collective issues to determine how lived experience contributes to the secular creation. According to Taylor, secularism is not historical, progressive, or philosophical. On the other hand, Asad believes that it is an ongoing process of negotiating the boundaries between the sacred and the world.

To summarise, Taylor examines secularism from a historical and philosophical perspective in the Western World only, while Asad's anthropological approach to secularism constructs the concept as a universal system applicable in all societies through examples from both Western and Islamic countries. Taylor delineates the subject of his study as 'the West, or perhaps Northwest, or otherwise put, the North Atlantic World'.<sup>121</sup> He gives a detailed socio-historical analysis of secularism in Europe, ensuring that the term addresses politics, the state, and all other cultural aspects. On the other hand, Asad thinks of Taylor's Western definition of secularism as a firmly political and colonial project and instead concentrates on defining a universal secularism without geographic boundaries; 'the secular, I argue, is neither continuous with the religious that supposedly preceded it (that is, it is not the latest phase of a sacred origin) nor a simple break from it (that is, it is not the opposite, an essence that excludes the sacred). I consider the secular concept a concept that brings together certain behaviours, knowledge, and sensibilities in modern life'.<sup>122</sup> If we think about the self with Asad, it is most likely a self that remains firmly connected to its social and natural surroundings and relies little on the individual interior world. If Asad's version of the self is brought to define itself in terms of the body's experience of, for example, torture, feelings, and pain, then it risks becoming a subject or a colonised self. While this may invite

---

<sup>121</sup> Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*. 1st ed. (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007) 1.

<sup>122</sup> Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular*. 1st ed. (Stanford University Press, 2010) 21.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

comparison with Taylor's 'porous self', it is very different since the latter still imagines a privileged position and functions freely and independently within a social network. Asad's version of the self is always at risk of being subject to the coercive rule of others.

From among the many scholars who discuss secularism I chose to focus on Taylor and Asad because their works *A Secular Age*, (2007) and *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (2003) were published across the same period as Al Bassam's Shakespeare Trilogy and during the main period of focus for this thesis (from the events of 9/11 to the Arab Spring). Their attempts to redefine the further secular interacts with another interest in this thesis, the shifting narratives that seek to define religious and secular identity in the aftermath of 9/11. Drawing on both Taylor and Asad, I would like to explore a global notion of secularism concerning my readings of Al Bassam since it is useful in articulating the continual struggles between religious and broader political life, usually conceived of as the activities and strategies associated with the structures of government or authority.<sup>123</sup> In the anonymous Arab World nations that are the settings for and subjects of Al Bassam's work, the individuals depicted are governed by the politics of self-hood, which are the assumptions, behaviours, and principles they believe. Hence, according to Al Bassam, political life is not necessarily defined by government activities since it also extends to the activities of the individual self. The individual's relation to worldly and secular ambition might be termed private secularism. As Asad delineates, individuals are made up of 'feelings, knowledge, and sensibilities' that embrace the features of the secular. As such, the individual in Al Bassam's adaptations of Shakespeare constantly battles to balance and monitor the place of socialised religious faith in private, secular self-hood.<sup>124</sup>

---

<sup>123</sup> "Politics, N (1)". *Oxford English Dictionary*, [www.oed.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/Entry/237575?redirectedFrom=politics#eid](http://www.oed.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/Entry/237575?redirectedFrom=politics#eid). Accessed 10 August 2017.

<sup>124</sup> Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular*. 1st ed. (Stanford University Press, 2010) 21.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

Al Bassam's characters, as I shall explore further in my reading of *The Al-Hamlet Summit* in Chapter Two of this thesis, exhibit Asad's 'feelings, knowledges, and sensibilities', qualities which inform their public actions. Some of these actions show them to be secular beings, while other actions show them to be still entangled in connections that render them indecisive since their secular potential is not fully realised. This limitation is because secularism is not the last stage of social development or the beginning of a new stage as Taylor might argue. In Asad's perspective, it is about the individual's whole experience. Taylor's concerns with faith, experienced by the 'buffered' and 'porous self, are replaced with Asad's concerns with individual and collective negotiation of myth, agency, and pain. When we see Hamlet and other characters struggle through these plays, we are constantly reminded that individual faith and secularism are not opposites but interlinked binaries. Both Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit* explore the challenges of active, conscious secularism. In *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, Hamlet seems to serve as a good example of Taylor's porous self as he is subject to social norms and supernatural power by verses of Quran and religious presence. However, Hamlet is also functioning in a world with all the confusion that Asad refers to as 'feelings, knowledge, and sensibilities', which turns Hamlet into a jihadist. Hamlet is more than oneself since he first tries to behave as Taylor's buffered self, but he also recognises the power of Asad's anthropology of political Islam. Hamlet struggles in a country that seems to be secular but at the same time is religious, encouraging him to attempt to deal with both and is lost.<sup>125</sup>

---

<sup>125</sup> Given that this thesis focuses on Al Bassam's adaptation of Shakespeare for the Arab World, it is worth noting, in passing, that both Taylor and Asad in their studies of the secular are distinctly puzzled by the situation of the UK, a place to which they both have significant attachment. The Queen is, after all, the Supreme Governor of the Church of England. Politically, it is a democracy, and yet the Church is still firmly connected to the state. Officially then it is religious; nonetheless, the society is secular.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

### Machiavellian Political Thought

If both Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit* are formed at the point of conflict between the sacred, the religious, and the secular, then Shakespeare's *Richard III* and Al Bassam's *Richard III: An Arab Tragedy* are forged in conversation with the secular political thought of Machiavelli. The early modern political philosopher and author is well-known for his version of Realpolitik as outlined in his most famous book, *The Prince*, written in 1513 and first published in 1532. Based on the humanist model of the handbook of advice for princes, Machiavelli's *The Prince* draws on his experiences and observations of political life in Florence to attempt to win an advisory position in the government as well as his extensive study of classical and contemporary European history, to outline what is necessary for the prince to maintain power. He argues that the ends always justify the means to maintain the stability of political rule regardless of whether they are controversial or devious. His ideas, principles, political examples, and techniques throughout *The Prince* were simple, straightforward, but devious and bold. *The Prince* is still considered an essential part of a thorough political education, not least because it was considered highly influential by Enlightenment philosophy and twentieth-century fascist leaders, such as Mussolini and Hitler.<sup>126</sup>

There is a fundamental separation between politics and ethics in Machiavellian political thought. His politics aim to maintain the strength of the state. The good ruler will constantly work to increase and maintain his power, drawing on the rules and methods of *The Prince*. First, Machiavelli outlines in chapters 1-11 the types of principalities and how they can be acquired. Second, he surveys the types of armies available to the state and how the

---

<sup>126</sup> Hishām 'Ābid, "qirā'ah fī Kitāb al-Amīr-nyqwlw mykāfyllī". *Mawqī' wa-ṣahīfat al-Ḥiwār al-Mutamaddīn*, 'A. 3552, 20 Nūfimbir 2011. mstrj' min: <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=284116>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 30 Yūliyū 2017.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

prince can choose and maintain the best one in chapters 12-14. Third, he lays out the fundamental qualities for a powerful prince in chapters 15-19. Fourth, he presents the political advice addressed to the prince in chapters 20-24, before finally philosophising on how good citizens can maintain or even improve a good state in chapters 24-26. Machiavelli focuses on practical political action throughout. As such, *The Prince* stands in contrast to Plato's *The Republic*, which imagines an impossible ideal city-state. The notion of the cyclical is central to Machiavelli's rationale of power, based on his experience and observations of both past and contemporary examples. The life-story of both the individual and the state is not of linear progression towards enlightenment since 'the cyclical motions of the perfect and incorruptible set the corruptible terrestrial matter in motion'.<sup>127</sup> This vision of life-cycle and of rise and fall is matched in the natural world of the cosmos; 'You see the stars and the sky, you see the moon, the other planets go wandering, now high, now low, without any rest; you see the sky cloudy, sometimes shining and clear and likewise nothing remains in the same condition'.<sup>128</sup> For Machiavelli, history combines both cosmic force and human causation since the human world is intertwined with not only a 'function of celestial bodies' but is also in part 'the product of human causation'.<sup>129</sup> Human causation is not independent but relies on the cosmic natural order for its 'motion order and power'.<sup>130</sup> To consider the events of the Arab Spring for a moment, one might use Machiavelli to argue that in the great cyclical movements of history, time and conditions were right for action for those operating

---

<sup>127</sup> Sammy Basu, "In a Crazy Time come out well: Machiraelli and the Cosmology of his Day." *History of Political Thought*, 2019, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26213857>. Accessed 26 May 2021.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> A. J. Parel, "The Question of Machiavelli's Modernity", *The Review of Politics*, vol. 53, no. 2, 1991, pp. 320–339, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1407757>. Accessed 11 July 2017.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

in the secular, human-time based world, the subjects that Al Bassam shows in his drama and must decide to act.

Machiavelli's precepts are the starting point that every dictatorial politician works to justify tyranny and moral corruption. Machiavelli argues the necessity for using violence, force, and evil. He justifies this because it generates fear, which is essential for controlling the people.<sup>131</sup> He further argues that being 'not good' as a prince is essential for maintaining the stability of the individual ruler and the state; 'a man who wishes to profess goodness at all times will come to ruin among many who are not good. Therefore, it is necessary for a prince who wishes to maintain himself to learn how not to be good, and to use this knowledge or not to use it according to necessity.'<sup>132</sup> The Machiavellian concept of 'virtu' emerges as a sense of force with both good and bad connotations. For example, Machiavelli uses it to condemn the prince who acquires a state by wickedness; 'it cannot be called 'virtu' to kill one's fellow citizens, to betray allies, to be without faith, without pity, without religion'.<sup>133</sup> Yet later, Machiavelli warns the same prince of the dangers of pure virtue, indicating that he should 'not depart from good [virtu], when possible, but know how to enter onto evil, when forced by necessity'.<sup>134</sup> As the American modernist political philosopher, Harvey Mansfield argues in his study on Machiavelli's term 'virtu'. This double sense of the term challenges modern translators since they often leave it as 'virtu' to voice a particular combination of individual morality in leadership and Realpolitik. If stability is seen as the end and necessity as the

---

<sup>131</sup> Ṣalāḥ Sha' bān, " al-nazarīyah almykāfylyh: al-Ghāyah tbr al-wasīlah", mstrj' min: <https://www.aljazeera.net/blogs/2017/1/4/النظرية-الميكافيلية-الغاية-تبرر>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 2 Yanāyir 2022.

<sup>132</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 53.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid, p.31.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid, p.61.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

means of maintaining it, then ‘virtu’ becomes a very human ‘strength’ and ‘skill’.<sup>135</sup> Far from being a gift of God or a moral goodness instilled by state religion, the quality of ‘virtu’ is located firmly within secular human nature.<sup>136</sup> In such a world, the prince’s immoral self-interest may lead to stable peace, whereas applying strict religious or moral principles may lead to the chaos of war.<sup>137</sup>

Machiavelli wrote to impress the Medici who ruled in Florence, who were active and influential in both Catholic Church hierarchy and secular politics; his idea of ‘virtu’ therefore supersedes distinctions between secular and religious frameworks. Stability is crucial, regardless of its religious or secular basis. He focuses on the laws of God and the tools of the secular humanist world, including politics, plotting, advice and advisors, and historical example. As Mansfield argues, ‘Machiavelli was, to say the least, present at the origin of revolution in morality, which can be defined loosely in our terms as a change from virtue protected by religion to self-interest justified by secularism’.<sup>138</sup> This is not to say that Machiavelli despised or rejected religion. It is simply taken as a given ‘necessity’ and part of what Charles Taylor would term a pre-secular world. The secular interest is the paramount feature that Machiavelli focuses on, yet he did not omit religion of state. Instead, there was a separation between religion and authority features in the new state. Furthermore, like Taylor, Machiavelli recognises the secular and the religious power of ‘Ecclesiastical principalities which are so powerful and such a quality that keep their princes in power no matter how they

---

<sup>135</sup> Sammy Basu, Sammy Basu, “In a Crazy Time come out well: Machiraelli and the Cosmology of his Day.” *History of Political Thought*, 2019, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26213857>. Accessed 26 May 2021.

<sup>136</sup> “Harvey C. Mansfield.” *Scholars at Harvard*, scholar.harvard.edu/harveymansfield/home. Accessed 7 March 2022.

- Harvey C Mansfield, *Machiavelli’s Virtue* (University of Chicago Press, 1998) 6.

<sup>137</sup> Robert Kāblān, " Faḍīlat mykyāfily wa-al-ḥadāthah". *Mawqī ‘ Qanāt al- ‘Arabīyah*, 26 Mārs 2013. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.alarabiya.net/2013/03/26/موقف-تقدير-مكيافيلي-فضيلة-مكيافيلي>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 7 Yanāyir 2022.

<sup>138</sup> Harvey C Mansfield, *Machiavelli’s Virtue* (University of Chicago Press, 1998) 7.



## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

act and live their lives'.<sup>139</sup> The relevant Holy scripture becomes one of the secular political tools at the disposal of the prince. Combining sacred text and military force creates a powerful framework for authority.

Turning to Al Bassam's version of the Arab Spring, particularly in the GCC, we might read this alliance of sacred text and military force in the context of the Wahhabis origins of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia established in 1932. Wahhabism, a fundamentalist, reformist version of Sunni Islam dating from the Eighteenth century, grew from the alliance of the political pact between the Islamic scholar Muhammad bin Abdulwahhab and Mohammed bin Saud, governor of Darieha, a city that became the centre of the first Saudi State established in 1727.<sup>140</sup> The Kingdom was founded on the belief that true Islam should rely strictly on keeping the Quran's rules and the Prophet Muhammed's hadith. Wahhabism was strictly enforced in the area with full political and military backing. People who refused to follow Wahhabism could either confront the authorities or exile. As a result, there were many battles and some tribes migrated to Iraq and Syria. The strength of this fusion of fundamentalist religion and political power made long-lasting success in the GCC area, particularly in Saudi Arabia to the present day. As Arab Spring events spread across the Arab World in 2010-12, Wahhabis, Muslim Brothers, and extremist religious opinions argued against revolution, insisting that the population should stop protesting and obey the King for political and economic stability to be maintained in the GCC region.<sup>141</sup> Al Bassam's

---

<sup>139</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* (Oxford University Press, 2005) 40.

<sup>140</sup> Muḥammad Maṣṣūr, " al-Wahhābīyah: qiṣṣat al-ṣu'ūd al-dīnī wa-al-siyāsī". *Mawqī' awrynt nywz*, 30 Nūfimbir 2014. mstrj' min: [http://www.orient-news.net/ar/news\\_show/83054](http://www.orient-news.net/ar/news_show/83054). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 12 Yūliyū 2017.

<sup>141</sup> Muḥammad al-Anwar, " al-Salafīyah al-Wahhābīyah wa-al-rabī' al-'Arabī". *Jarīdat al-Sūdānī*, 5 Yanāyir 2013. mstrj' min: <https://www.sudaress.com/alsudani/12389>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 16 Māyū 2022.

-other opinions think that Wahhabism has a relation with Jihad and creation of ISIS, which is the reason why Saudi authority changed their views recently and fought against Wahhabism. See, Hubbard, Ben. *MBS: The Rise to Power of Mohammed Bin Salman*. William Collins,

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

Shakespeare Trilogy, and his *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* in particular (as I shall show in Chapter Three), casts the Machiavellian alliance of extreme religious thought and state power as the enemy. Though his nations and locations remain largely anonymous, the GCC, where large areas still function under the principles of Wahhabism, is his inferred backdrop.

The twentieth-century Egyptian scholar and writer Louis Awadh argued that it is essential to consider Machiavellian political thought in the context of the Arab World.<sup>142</sup> He compares the time of Machiavelli when Italy was moving from the feudal system of the Middle Ages to the Renaissance to that of the Mamulk Sultanate that ruled much of the Arab World. Egypt was one of the nations ruled from the thirteenth century until the Mamulk Empire overthrew the Ottoman Sultanate in 1517, five years after Machiavelli's *The Prince* was published. The emirates paid military and religious allegiance to the Sultanate throughout that period, but also enjoyed independence in a model equivalent to the Italian city states, such as Machiavelli's Florence. These emirates transformed into modern states evolving man-made systems of science, literature, art, politics, and laws that shifted from religion to the secular over time.<sup>143</sup> Awadh argues that Machiavelli offers useful contexts to understand the establishment of the modern Arab state. This is especially to understand the struggle for sovereignty between religion and state and the struggle to liberate the emerging nation from colonial rule and expansion and set it on the path to political and economic democracy, establishing human rights.<sup>144</sup> Awadh points out that the Ottoman governor

---

2021. Also see, Choksy, Carol E. B., and Jamsheed K. Choksy, "THE SAUDI CONNECTION: Wahhabism and Global Jihad." *World Affairs*, vol. 178, no. 1, 2015, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43555279>. Accessed 20 Apr. 2021.

<sup>142</sup> Luwīs 'Awaḍ, *Thawrat al-Fikr fī 'aṣr al-Nahḍah al-Ūrūbbīyah*. Ṭ1, 1987, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Markaz al-Ahrām lil-Tarjamah wa-al-Nashr, Ṣ Ṣ. 73 – 105. mstrj' min: <https://foulabook.com/ar/book/الثورة-الفكر-في-عصر-النهضة-الأوروبية-pdf> . Tārīkh alāstrjā': 14 Māyū 2022.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid, Ṣ Ṣ. 77-78.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

Mohammed Ali of Egypt and Sudan (1805-1848), considered the founder of modern Egypt, often fell into conflict with religious leaders who disagreed with him.<sup>145</sup> As Awadh points out, Mohammed Ali commissioned the first translation of Machiavelli's *The Prince* into Arabic in defiance of the Egyptian British Consulate's advice that it should be translated into Ottoman Turkish.<sup>146</sup> The Arabic translation, produced in 1825 by Raphael Zakhor, never made it to print. When Mohammed Ali read it, he reportedly said it was 'completely useless' as he knew everything in it already. Nonetheless, it remained in his private library potentially as a reminder of his defiance to those who would prefer to oppose Machiavelli being available in Arabic for the Arab World.<sup>147</sup>

Mohammed Ali's frustration also reminds us that the Arab World had its own long-standing tradition of what the West terms Machiavellian political thought. In the fourteenth century, the Arab historian Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) published *The Muqaddimah* or Prolegomena (1377), a philosophical history that sought to establish a scientific method for analysing and evaluating past events.<sup>148</sup> Ibn Khaldun emphasised the cyclical nature of history, resisting any notion that history tells a story of linear progression and improvement.<sup>149</sup> As an Islamic scholar and jurist, Ibn Khaldun was more disposed than the sixteenth-century Machiavelli to give primacy to the religious due to his belief that

---

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Mamdūh 'Azzām, "al-wṣf al-mkyāfylyh". *Mawqī' al-'Arabī al-jadīd*, 2015. mstrj' min: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/الوصفة-المكيافيلية>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 14 Māyū 2022.

<sup>147</sup> Rev. Raphael Anton Zakhwa (1758- 1831), a Syrian Roman Catholic was born in Cairo. He studied theology in Rome and served as a translator in the French campaign in Egypt. He was the only Arab World member of the scientific community Institut d'Egypte created by Napoleon in Cairo. See, Arap El Ma'ani, "The First Arabic Translation of Machiavelli's The Prince." Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands, vol. 133, 2010, pp. 279–304, [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789042029637\\_011](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789042029637_011). Accessed 17 May 2022. Also see, Mawsū'at al-tarājim wa-al-a'lām. "al-Qiss rāfāyyl". *Mawqī' tarājim*. mstrj' min: <https://www.taraajem.com/persons/1880/القس-رافاييل>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 16 Māyū 2022.

<sup>148</sup> "IBN KHALDUN - His Life and Work." *Muslim Philosophy*, [www.muslimphilosophy.com/ik/klf.htm](http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ik/klf.htm). Accessed 10 March 2022.

<sup>149</sup> Aḥmad Zāyid, "muqaddimāt fī Falsafat al-tārīkh", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W8hQLMkoB3U>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Nūfimbir 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

everything starts and ends with the divine. However, his philosophical history of political life, both of the individual and the community, also advocates for secular systems of justice and government within an Islamic framework.

In the context of this thesis though, the most compelling Arab World precursor of Machiavellian political advice literature dates from the eighth century: Ibn Al-Muqaffa's (721-756) *Kalila Wa Dimna* (a collection of animal fables), translated and adapted into Arabic from the Indian Sanskrit *Panchatantra*. It is generally regarded as one of the most globally influential political philosophy and advice works. The book presents two jackals, Kalila and Dimna of the title, as they offer political advice for rulers through beautifully illustrated allegorical tales.<sup>150</sup> In 2003, the year after he founded his Kuwaiti theatre company, and the year of the fall of Baghdad, Al Bassam wrote *The Mirror for Princes: Kalila Wa Dimna*. It was published and performed at the London Barbican Centre in 2006, before his *Richard III* (commissioned by the RSC) opened in Stratford.<sup>151</sup> As Al Bassam began to think of his adaptation of Shakespeare's most Machiavellian villain, he explicitly linked his version of *Kalila Wa Dimna* to the 'Mirror for Princes' genre to the early modern humanist advice handbooks, which is the most notorious example in Machiavelli's *The Prince*. The play explores the work in the context of the life of Al-Muqaffa (724- 754) as he first translates, then supplements and adapts his translation to suit the political turbulence of the times. He serves as a government secretary in eighth-century Iraq, surviving the fall of the

---

<sup>150</sup> Anwar Jāsīm, al-tawāṣul bayna al-thaqāfāt wmd Jusūr al-Ḥiwār al-muḥarrak al-asāsī fī mshāry' y". *Mawqi' al-waṭan*, 2006, <https://alwatan.com/graphics/2006/08aug/1.8/dailyhtml/culture.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Mārs 2022.

<sup>151</sup> "Sulayman Al." *NYU Gallatin*, [gallatin.nyu.edu/people/faculty/sa4127.html](http://gallatin.nyu.edu/people/faculty/sa4127.html). Accessed 16 May 2022.

-Playtext: Al-Bassam, Sulayman. *Kalila Wa Dimna, or, the Mirror for Princes* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2006).

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

Umayyad dynasty to serve and actively participate in the new Abbasid caliphate. Following the establishment of Baghdad in 762, the Abbasid era heralded the Golden Age of Islam, a period of extraordinary intellectual and scientific achievement. As I shall explore further in Chapter Three, it is a resonant moment to return to in the year Saddam Hussain was put on trial and executed. Al Bassam seems to suggest that the newly emerging Arab World needs a new library of advice to rulers. He also implies that it is a very dangerous age for the writer.

### Feminism

The history and contemporary reality of women's identity is shaped in the East and the West by philosophical and religious background factors. Although these civilisations differ, they share a history of female subordination, suppression, oppression, and inferiority. To establish some terms for examining the vital place of feminism in Al Bassam's Shakespeare Trilogy, especially *The Speaker's Progress* (his version of *Twelfth Night*), I will draw on two foundational and highly influential twentieth-century feminist texts namely Simone de Beauvoir's (1908- 1986) *The Second Sex* (first published in Paris in 1949) and Nawal Sa'dawi's *Women and Sex* (published in Cairo in 1969). I will also refer to Sa'dawi's more recent work *Memories between Revolution and Creativity* (2016), which includes her reflections on the place of Arab women in the events of the Arab Spring.

It is generally agreed in Western history that religious, scientific, and social practices sanction women's subordinate place. In Christianity, the Old Testament narrative of The Fall condemns all women through Eve's transgression as sinful, shameful, and weak. She is also blamed for the expulsion of Adam from Eden and the introduction of original sin to the world. Accordingly, women must pay by being submissive to their husbands and the wider patriarchal community. They are also second-class citizens in the Christian Church and God's

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

eyes. They have been excluded from being priests or bishops and remained marginalised even when devotedly working in the church until recently. The great Western philosophers reinforced this negative view of women.<sup>152</sup> Only in the mid-twentieth century after the social and political upheaval of two world wars did the French existentialist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir publish a studied history and potential manifesto for female emancipation in the West: *The Second Sex* (Paris, 1949). De Beauvoir attempts to examine the complexities of the oppression of women through history to suggest ways in which meaningful change may be brought about. She attempts to address the vexed questions of both nature and nurture in female formation to clearly delineate the circumstances that limited the freedom of women and to outline the possible ways of transcending the place of subordinate, of being the ‘second’ sex. She considers the nature of biology in first determining sex and then examines how nurture and child development encourages men to be independent concerning their bodies. Moreover, women’s bodies are quickly and socially encoded and disciplined with various restrictions. She argues that it is the social coding and not the biological determinism of male and female genitalia that condemns women to be the ‘second sex’. Her treatise deals with the difficult and mysterious question of the origin of men’s power over women in depth.<sup>153</sup>

---

<sup>152</sup> In Classical Greece, Aristotle, for example, described women as not equipped with mental readiness and inferior by nature. Therefore, women’s nature renders them as slaves to men, subordinate to the patriarchy. Even eighteenth-century Enlightenment philosophers, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, omitted women from discussing the nature of human beings and the human self. Godelek, for example, explores how Rousseau differentiated between the sexes in his influential theories of education: men should be educated with rigour, logic, and theoretical knowledge; women, even well-educated women, should be left in a position of obedience and dependence on the superior training of men. See, al-Rāsikhī, Furūzān. *al-mar’ah fī al-‘Irfān al-Islāmī wa-al-Masīhī ḥattā al-qarn al-thāmin al-Hijrī*. Dār al-Hādī lil-Ṭibā‘ah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘, 2004, Ṣ Ṣ. 16-95. Also see, Godelek, Kamuran. “Rousseau As a Philosopher of Enlightenment and The Equality of Sophie and Émile Regarding Education.” *The European Journal of Social & Behavioural Sciences*, vol. 3, no. 3, 2012, pp. 435–450, [http://www.futureacademy.org.uk/files/menu\\_items/other/ejsbs28.pdf](http://www.futureacademy.org.uk/files/menu_items/other/ejsbs28.pdf). Accessed 20 July 2017.

<sup>153</sup> Simone De Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (Jonathan Cape, 1956), 33.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

Drawing on all aspects of her exceptional French elite university training, De Beauvoir itemises the historical circumstances that produced and consolidated male domination. She traces the history of male hegemony from an early social system that ensured that individual property belonged to men and where married women were put under male custody. An exploration of the Industrial Revolution, which appeared to liberate women through work and wages, shows why men retained crucial power over both women's time and money. Finally, the early twentieth-century support shown by certain male politicians for feminist movements showed that feminism was always essentially reliant on male tolerance and never completely independent. De Beauvoir continues to demonstrate that women's history is the creation of men, an indication that Western women have always been men's matter. Besides, men describe, define, and delimit her sense of Being.<sup>154</sup>

De Beauvoir pays particular attention to the conflict around the self-determination and ownership of the female body. She explores the woman's internal self-conflict about her femininity and the desire to be independent in opposition to her status as 'wife' or property of the male. While a man asserts his place as an independent entity, he also finds comfort in the woman's body, and then seeks to abolish her independence to render her the absolute property of the man. Thus, women are encouraged to remain passive in their sexual relationship with a man and are 'always frustrated as an active individual'.<sup>155</sup> Throughout many historical centuries, women simply accepted their constricted place in the patriarchal world even as they denied the existence of a governing patriarchy. In this sense, their subordination has always been accompanied and complicated by denial.<sup>156</sup> The search for liberation is problematic since the strength of the patriarchy offers only the possibility of noisy resistance and ultimately an impotent revolution. Revolution is certainly a solution of

---

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, p. 175.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, p. 394.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid, pp. 576- 595, p. 576.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

the powerless, but it should be collective. The isolation of the female, separated by resilient patriarchal structures, forces them to resort to violence and the last option of isolated resistance, suicide.<sup>157</sup>

De Beauvoir examines three ways that women try to liberate themselves from such imprisonment: being a Narcissist, being in love, or being a Mystic. In my examination of Al Bassam's Shakespeare Trilogy, and *The Speaker's Progress* in particular, I will concentrate on the acts of being in love and being a Mystic, both of which consider female domestic and religious life. De Beauvoir is very concerned with the differences between male and female love. The male love is one concern among many since the patriarchy has trained women to think of love as their only life. Love means full subordination of body and soul to the interest of a master for the 'second sex'.<sup>158</sup> Such women dream further to unite and merge with a Higher Being, an absolute and essential, a beneficent God rather than a tyrant. In this sense, love for subjugated women becomes a form of liberation, similar to a religion, but De Beauvoir considers this abnormal. She maintains that women should only love when they are strong. It may seem that love for them is just one value amongst many others, just as it is for independent men. True female love will occur 'on the day when it will be possible for a woman to love not in her weakness but her strength, not to escape herself but to find herself, not to abase herself but to assert herself -- on that day love will become for her, as for man, a source of life and not of mortal danger'.<sup>159</sup>

De Beauvoir offers another kind of female love; the Mystic. Not all women find love since circumstances can prevent them from finding romantic or domestic love, giving rise to Mystic sentiments. The love of the female Mystic differs from that of a man in that it is

---

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, p. 578.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, p. 608.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.



## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

emotional and intellectual.<sup>160</sup> Furthermore, this kind of love is complex since the beloved is absent and communication is through worshipping an absent Ideal. This Mystical experience makes women seek divine love rather than human, male love.<sup>161</sup> Once again, De Beauvoir states this is not an acceptable mode of female love. Like the first form of subjugated love, Mystical love is an individual method subject to failure because it is not based on an emancipated female and remains unrealistic.

De Beauvoir's work is essential in my analysis of Al Bassam since it is built on the foundation on which Arab feminists depended to discuss their concerns about women. Despite the widespread and ongoing French colonial presence in the Arab World at the time of writing, De Beauvoir does not mention Arab women specifically in *The Second Sex*. Some comments may be inferred to the Arab World but are uncharacteristically vague. For example, she asserts that 'Latin countries like Oriental countries, keep women in subjection less by the rigour of the laws than by the severity of custom'.<sup>162</sup> However, there is no doubt that her work on feminism influenced Arab World feminists such as Nawal Sa'dawi, often described as 'the Simone de Beauvoir' of the Arab World, specifically her book *Women and Sex* published twenty years after *The Second Sex* in 1969.

If De Beauvoir, like Charles Taylor, was highly trained in Western philosophy, the Egyptian feminist Nawal Sa'dawi (1931—2021) shared with Asad a more scientific or time specific medical training. She graduated from Cairo University in 1955, specialised in medicine, and worked as a doctor of excellence in Al-Qasr Al-Aini. It was through her work in the clinic that she first noticed the discrimination against rural women, which inspired her to write *Women and Sex* that was first published in 1969. The book was banned for several

---

<sup>160</sup> Ibid, p. 633.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid, p. 637.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, p. 164.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

years in Egypt, printed in Lebanon, and read and taught in Tunisia.<sup>163</sup> The book ban made Sa'dawi to be cut off from cultural life in Egypt. Moreover, the government banned a health magazine that Sa'dawi was the editor and was later put in jail in 1981 because of her writings.<sup>164</sup> Sa'dawi's feminism is firmly rooted in concrete observations of male hegemony over the female sexual body. Her introduction to *Women and Sex* cites a formative and decisive example, which made her to write the book and to actively campaign against domestic violence. She reports a couple who visited her because the husband wanted Sa'dawi to check his wife's virginity, which was confirmed by Sa'dawi (the doctor). The 18-year-old girl later returned to Sa'dawi to tell her that she had been divorced and feared revenge by her father and brother. Accordingly, Sa'dawi visited the victim's family and carefully explained the medical facts to them to stop their violent reaction.<sup>165</sup>

It is essential to distinguish between two essential periods that shaped the place of women in the twentieth-century Arab World: the pre-Islamic period and the time of Islam. This is to give background to the specifics of Sa'dawi's account of the male government of the female body. As Berkey and Zayyat have demonstrated, during the pre-Islamic Period (referred to as Al-Jahilia [ignorance]), the Arabian Peninsula (roughly equivalent to the GCC) held differing religions and beliefs, including polytheism, Christianity, Buddhism, and Judaism.<sup>166</sup> The population mostly comprised nomadic Bedouins from many different tribes. Their main characteristic was that they moved from one place to another according to water

---

<sup>163</sup> Ilhām Zaydān, "min hiya Nawāl al-Sa'dāwī?". *Mawqī' al-waṭan nywz*, <https://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/5387255>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 19 Māyū 2021.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> Nawāl al-Sa'dāwī, *al-mar'ah wa-al-jins*. ʔ4, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār wa-Maṭābi' al-mustaqbal, 1990, ʔ ʔ. 7 – 11. mstrj' min: <https://foulabook.com/ar/book/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B1%D8%AC%D9%84-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%86%D8%B3-pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 19 Mārs 2021.

<sup>166</sup> Jonathan Berkey, *The Formation of Islam* (Cambridge University Press, 2012)1.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

and food availability. While women of the Al-Jahilia age were generally deemed inferior to men since they had to be accompanied by males, they were also ambitious to be associated with the prized male qualities, such as generosity, bravery, and honour. Women participated in various battles with men to encourage them to defeat the enemy.<sup>167</sup> In spite of such aspiration to equality, regressive practices such as female infanticide persisted. This activity was undertaken because of poverty, shame, or mythology. First, poverty female infanticide occurred because families feared a lack of living resources. Both male and female infanticides occurred, but females were eliminated at a higher rate because it was believed that men were better and more effective at supporting the whole family. Second, shame female infanticides occurred because men feared that an older daughter might humiliate the family by breaking the taboo of love and forming ill-advised relationships with men, which might ruin the reputation of the immediate family and the broader tribe. Just like in present-day conflicts, shame was also related to war situations in which the victors took the defeated women hostage. The potential of shame of the captured women who might become refugees, or slaves, or forced 'war wives' prompted the pre-emptive action of female infanticide. Third, mythological female infanticides occurred because men believed women to be like the Western Eve who was an impure source of sin. Women were disposed of or offered to the Gods as sacrifices to enable the stronger and purer male to have longer, better lives.<sup>168</sup>

If the first pre-Islamic Al-Jahilia period encouraged customary, often violent, practices of female subjugation and even elimination, then the second period, the reign of Islam which followed, changed the position of women dramatically. Moreover, women are

---

<sup>167</sup> ḥbyṭ al-Zayyāt, *al-mar'ah fī al-Jāhiliyah*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2012, Ṣ Ṣ. 1 – 38.

<sup>168</sup> 'Abd al-Nūr Idrīs, "Ḥaqīqat al-unthá bayna al-Jāhiliyah wa-al-Islām". *Majallat Dīwān al-'Arab*, <http://www.diwanal-arab.com/spip.php?article28637>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Aghuṣṭus 2017.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

no longer regarded as the primary source of sin in Islam. In the Quran, both Adam and Eve are responsible for original sin and punished accordingly; ‘Then did Satan make them slip from the (garden) and get them out of the state (of felicity) in which they had been’.<sup>169</sup> Furthermore, the speeches and historical accounts of the Prophet Mohammed, carefully document how women participated in all aspects of civic life, including battles, charities, religious consultations, and domestic domains.<sup>170</sup> Female infanticide and other forms of female suppression were forbidden and classified as a sin in Islam. Islam, the Quran, and the Prophet's writings firmly established women's rights.

As Sa’dawi herself observed in her day-to-day clinical practice, social views and practices from Al-Jahilia still persisted across the Arab World. The practical bodily government and oppression of women had been absorbed into Islam to preserve patriarchal power in most places. In *Women and Sex*, Sa’dawi examines and delineates the biological differences between men and women, and the economic, social, political, and historical structures that enforced sexual differences. Her views often parallel De Beauvoir's in *The Second Sex*, but her writing style differs radically from De Beauvoir’s stylised philosophical argument. As one commentator suggests, this might be because ‘De Beauvoir found herself in a more tolerant intellectual climate while Nawal Sa’dawi found herself in an environment that repels difference’.<sup>171</sup> De Beauvoir seems to write to convince fellow philosophers, while Sa’dawi writes with the urgency of the witness and the passion of a polemicist since she aims to effect social change. It is clear from the bitter fury of some of her writing that Sa’dawi has first-hand experience with many harsher, patriarchy-sanctioned practices that she documents

---

<sup>169</sup>“Holy Qur’an: Arabic with Parallel English Translation.” *One Ummah*, [www.oneummah.net/quran/book/2.html](http://www.oneummah.net/quran/book/2.html). Accessed 17 June 2017.

<sup>170</sup> Shaymā’ Nu‘mān, "al-Ḥarakah al-niswīyah al-Ūrūbbīyah wa-ishkālīyah al-ḥurrīyah", *Mawqī‘ al-Muslim*, <http://www.almoslim.net/node/166478>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 17 Māyū 2017.

<sup>171</sup> ‘Alī Ḥusayn, "Li-mādhā yajibu an naqra’u Nawāl al-Sa‘dāwī", *Mawqī‘ al’ntwḥwīyā*, <https://alantologia.com/blogs/42090/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 19 Māyū 2021.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

and deplores, especially in her writing on female genital mutilation.<sup>172</sup> As I will show in Chapter Four, she voiced a quality of resistance that resonates strongly with many of Al Bassam's female characters.

Even as she cried out against the inequities facing the female body, Sa'dawi, like De Beauvoir before her, sought to explore the possibility of and necessary conditions for romantic love in a profoundly patriarchal society. Sa'dawi reaches a similar conclusion to De Beauvoir, that to achieve true love, there should be absolute equality between men and women since this act assures true sharing, which is the essence of true love. If one party has a full body, soul, and mind, then the other should have the same, in which case true, self-determined, and equal love is possible. Sa'dawi argues that society has given the privilege to men and taken souls and minds away from women.<sup>173</sup> Women's bodies are often considered essential for sexual intercourse to preserve the species. Sa'dawi despises love based solely on sexual desire and attraction to the body since that type of love leaves out the core of the female mind and soul. True love builds and enriches individual human beings and community life, while its opposite only impoverishes both.<sup>174</sup> She argues that all the common metaphors and models for love only serve to underline the fact that love is all too often based on a system that discriminates against women; 'love is not a disease, not a temporary breakdown, and not a state of emotional tyranny, not madness and love is not blind'.<sup>175</sup> Thus, men and women cannot share love because they are not equal in their bodies, minds, and souls, where the absence creates exaggeration in the physical relationship between them.<sup>176</sup> In a reading of

---

<sup>172</sup> Nawāl al-Sa'dawī, *al-mar'ah wa-al-jins*, <https://foulabook.com/ar/book/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B1%D8%AC%D9%84-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%86%D8%B3-pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 19 Mārs 2021.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid, Ş. 153.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, Ş. 155.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

sexual inequality that parallels that of Freud, Sa'dawi implies that in an unequal society, men and women are masochists and victims of division.<sup>177</sup> Her observed experience of everyday practices mediated through her medical knowledge of the female body made her angry, but perhaps also hopeful for the possibility of social change, which is contrary to De Beauvoir, who was not.

Forty years later, towards the end of her long life, Sa'dawi reflected on the position of women, particularly the essential freedom she demanded the female mind and soul in the newly imagined Arab World of the Arab Spring. *Memories between Revolution and Creativity* 2016, published almost 40 years after *Women and Sex*, contains several articles she wrote during and after the 2011 Egyptian Revolution since she was present in al-Tahrir Square. She remains particularly concerned with Egyptian women and their place and status within the revolution and the broader political landscape since she sees that representation as thoroughly and consistently poor. In the article 'Revolution and Building Egypt's Creative Mind', Sa'dawi shows that women worked alongside men in the revolution and argues that the new constitution offers the ideal opportunity to embrace complete equality between genders in public and private life. However, after the establishment of the new constitution, only two women were seen in the pictures in newspapers. Sa'dawi demonstrates the unfairness of seeing only two women represent the 45 million women who are active in Egyptian society. She insists that women should participate fully in building the new Egypt directly according to their numerical and intellectual strength.<sup>178</sup> Sa'dawi insists too on the vital, continuing importance of education in spreading awareness to enlighten women. In the

---

<sup>177</sup> Hājar Khnfy, "al-ḥubb fī fikr Nawāl al-Sa'dāwī: Thaghrah ttwss' fī Bunyān al-mujtama' al-'Arabī", *Mawqī' Klūd Abū Shaqrā (thqāfyāt)*, <https://claudeabouchacra.com/?p=14398>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 19 Aghuṣṭus 2021.

<sup>178</sup> Nawāl Sa'dāwī, *Dhikrayāt Bayna Al-Thawrah Wa-al-Ibdā'*. Sharikat Al-Maṭbū'āt Lil-Tawzī' Wa-al-Nashr, 2016, § §.32-35, §.32.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

article ‘Ministry of Women’, she again outlines how women had hoped to be fully active in the political sphere after participating in the revolution. However, the creation of the new government only included three women, ‘barely seen in the last row’.<sup>179</sup> In an apparent throwback to the norms of Al-Jahilia, the possibility of having a female Minister is shameful. Sa’dawi recounts that the woman chosen to be the Minister of Culture was informed she will not be while she was heading the cabinet.<sup>180</sup> Sa’dawi indicates that this nameless woman seems to stand for all women in the Egypt and the Arab World. Sa’dawi’s long and active life revealing the shortcomings of Islamic political life in its admission of women demonstrates that Arab World patriarchies repeatedly act out of a fear of the awareness, knowledge, and enlightenment of Arab women, which they perceive as a threat to their superiority and domination. De Beauvoir admitted that religion could be important for women as it works as supreme compensation and fills a profound need for the woman. Religion authorises self-indulgence and gives her the guide, father, lover, and titular divinity she nostalgically needs, feeding her reveries and filling her empty hours’.<sup>181</sup> On the other hand, Sa’dawi is profoundly anti-religion since she sees it only as a force for the repression of women.<sup>182</sup> According to Sa’dawi, one of *Memories Between Revolution and Creativity* the most persistent reasons for the ongoing social oppression of women is the prevalence of religious Muslim parties such as Muslim Brotherhood and Salafists in Egypt. She submits that those groups create laws and rules that serve the patriarchal society continuity under the name of Islam. She asserts, ‘The Ministry of Culture, Education and information in the view of the Salafists is more important than the ministries of economy, finance, and foreign affairs because it is related to the mind’.<sup>183</sup> The possibility of a female Minister of Culture is perceived as a direct threat to

---

<sup>179</sup> Ibid, § 57-58.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid, §. 57.

<sup>181</sup> Simone De Beauvoir et al. *The Second Sex*. Vintage, 2011. pp.653-680, p.677.

<sup>182</sup> Simone De Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (Jonathan Cape, 1956). 33.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid, p. 58.

## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

male power. Sa'dawi is pessimistic about women's full and meaningful participation in the newly emergent political sphere. She suggests that the continued political and religious suppression of women's bodies, souls, and minds in Arab societies makes female equality impossible, an indication that political revolution has failed; 'Revolutions of Cairo are no longer the way to liberate women, the poor and unemployed but rather become a drain on their [women's] blood and their ascents to positions of power'.<sup>184</sup>

De Beauvoir and Sa'dawi wrote, from opposite sides of a complex colonial history in the Arab World, to document and account for the universal oppression of women. They also hoped their work would enable a collective movement for political and social change to establish full and meaningful equality between the sexes. Both argued that this was a prerequisite for authentic and meaningful love between the sexes. The Feminist readings of De Beauvoir and Sa'dawi are essential for our understanding of *Twelfth Night* and *The Speaker's Progress*. Through Sa'dawi's angry commentary on women's lack of status in practical political and cultural life, we better appreciate Al Bassam's decision to focus on the female place in the work of aesthetics and theatre. *The Speaker's Progress* shows the power of the female actress as an agent of culture, who can work within but also to circumvent the Islamic-political government to voice something new and break free from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* to realise a new dream of female agency.

Secularism, Machiavellian political thought, and feminism are all questions in Shakespeare's original plays in the early modern period. Al Bassam's Trilogy strengthens and emphasises these themes as he seeks to raise critical cultural agendas in a new crucial period for the success of the Arab countries that fully or partially participated in the Arab Spring. Secularism is no longer an option for Al Bassam's Hamlet, but a necessity if he is to live a good life surrounded by religious extremist groups' demands. His Richard is not a

---

<sup>184</sup> Ibid, p. 155.



## Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts

Machiavellian villain as Shakespeare describes him, but he does what he can in difficult circumstances since the population is the primary source of misery. Finally, in *The Speaker's Progress*, women revolt and change the ending of Shakespeare's original order to create a new future and liberate themselves. The urgency of contemporary global events, from 9/11 to the unrest which builds to the Arab Spring, drives Al Bassam to engage with and find dramatic expression for contemporary debates on secularism, Machiavellian political thought, and feminism to empower his company to appropriate and adapt Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, and *Twelfth Night* in a new Arab World context.

This chapter has established the contexts for my investigation for Al Bassam's Shakespeare. Section one established key historical moments of colonial theatre under the French and British occupations, considering the metropolitan centre of Egypt as well as the wider Arab World and specifically the GCC. Section two introduced some of the traditional indigenous Arab World theatre practices that predated the colonial theatre and suggested that Islam has permitted, even used, theatre in certain circumstances. Section three outlined the broad pre-history of Shakespeare's plays in production and Arabic translation in the region. It argued that there is a long tradition of Arab appropriation of Shakespeare for politically innovative theatre, culminating in the Pan-Arab League translation project, centred since 1995 in Egypt, to translate his Complete Works into Arabic. Finally, section four established the key terminologies that will inform the case studies and make up the rest of this thesis: Secularism, Machiavellian political thought, and feminism.

Part Two of this thesis will now investigate three case-study based chapters, the three plays that make up Al Bassam's Shakespeare Trilogy: *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, *Richard III: an Arab Tragedy*, and *The Speaker's Progress*. Each chapter will explore the pre-history of that play in the Arab World, investigate the questions that adaptation of Shakespeare's original produces, and explore how the three plays investigate secularism, Machiavellian political

## **Chapter 1: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Some Useful Contexts**

thought, and feminism, respectively. I will demonstrate that Al Bassam's use of and belief in the adaptation process changes radically across the decade and that his Trilogy enacts the movement of the Arab World away from colonial cultural legacies towards a new cultural and political voice.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

Shakespeare's *Hamlet* shone brightly in the Arab World in Egypt through translation, but the earliest examples were translated from French by Tanius 'Abdoh in 1901.<sup>1</sup> Critics, such as Ramses Awadh, suggests that 'Abdoh's translation was not the first Arabic *Hamlet*, but it is the first extant Arabic *Hamlet*.<sup>2</sup> English-Arabic translations came later, produced by, for example, Sami Jardini, a Lebanese lawyer. Jardini produced the first *Hamlet* from an English original (1922). Another translation was produced by Khalil Mutran, a Lebanese author who lived most of his life in Egypt and translated *Hamlet* in 1949.<sup>3</sup> It seems that the first pioneers of *Hamlet* translation worked independently, without being aware of each other's work. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, *Hamlet* was apparently translated more than six times by six different authors, including Tanius 'Abdoh whose translation of *Hamlet* (1901) was the first to publish. Other translations existed but some are now lost. Some of these translations were actually summaries of the original text as those by George Mirza (Syria), Najeeb Haddad (Lebanon), and Ameen Haddad (Lebanon). Some of these translations seem to have made it to the stage.<sup>4</sup> Information about their existence comes from newspapers that published news of the performances and some

---

<sup>1</sup> Aḥmad al-Khamīsī, "al-Ta'rib .. Khuṭwatān lil-Imām". *swdānyz Ūn lāyin* <http://sudaneseonline.com/board/7/msg/التعريب-..خطوتان-للأمم-ب-قلم-د-أحمد-الخميسي-1453388562.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Mārs 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Sāmīḥ Ḥannā, "Tarjamāt ma'āsī Shiksbīr al-Kubrā fī Miṣr", *Ṣaḥīfat al-mustaqbal*, <http://almustaqbal.com/article/69484/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Yanāyir 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Amīn Sīdū, *al-Zawāhir albyblywjrāfyh wa-ishkālīyātuhā fī tarjamat al-Masrahīyāt al-ajrabīyah* (*Majallat al-Fayṣal*, 2021).

<sup>4</sup> Abdu-Allāh Abū Hayf, *al-masrah al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣir Qaḍāyā wa-ru'ā wa-tajārib*. Ittiḥād al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah, 2002, Ṣ Ṣ. 400 – 425.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

articles, but actual translations have not been found.<sup>5</sup> While the reasons for these early translations of *Hamlet* are unclear, I contend that Egypt's cultural elite simply wanted to perform a *Hamlet* that would truly entertain Arab audiences. For example, Fatima Rushdy, an Egyptian actress whose troupe played *Hamlet*, asked Ahmed Rami, an Egyptian author, to produce a new translation as she thought Jardini's 1922 translation was flat and without depth.<sup>6</sup> The date of Rushdy's *Hamlet* is not available but probably coincides with the launch of her troupe in 1926.<sup>7</sup>

Sameh Hannah says translation is a linguistic, cultural, and social process. The results reflect other social circumstances based on the political and ideological interest of the individual translator.<sup>8</sup> Each of these authors adopted different translating approaches and sometimes adapted *Hamlet* for performance. Some concentrated on the poetic aspects of Shakespeare's original language, while others focused on political interpretations and humanitarian themes depending on their ideological interest. Litvin mentioned in her book *Hamlet's Arab Journey: Shakespeare's Prince and Nasser's Ghost* (2011) similar thoughts to Hannah, particularly in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, leading to a clear chronological pattern:

---

<sup>5</sup> Sāmiḥ Ḥannā, "al-tārīkh al-ijtimā'ī lil-Tarjamah fī Miṣr-al-qism al-Awwal min qismayn", *Majallat Dīwān al-'Arab*, <http://www.diwanalarab.com/spip.php?article3788>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 1 Yūniyū 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Munā Mar'ī, "Isti'ādat alhāmlyh al-'Arabīyah min al-Nāṣirīyah ilā zaman al-azamāt al-rāhinah", *Mawqi' al-Hay'ah al-'Arabīyah lil-Masrah*, <https://atitheatre.ae/ast'ādāt-ālhāmlyt-āl'rbyt-mn-ālnāşry/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 8 Yūniyū 2021.

<sup>7</sup> Farīq Dār al-Hilāl, "fī Dhikrī Mīlād Fāṭimah Rushdī .. ta'rifu ilā sabab anṣālhā 'an 'Azīz 'Īd", *Mawqi' bawwābat Dār al-Hilāl*, <https://www.darelhilal.com/News/717112.aspx>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Yūniyū 2022.

<sup>8</sup> Sāmiḥ Ḥannā, "fikrat al-khiyānah wa-al-amānah fī al-tarjamah aṣbaḥtu fī dhimmat al-tārīkh", ḥiwār: Āzād Aḥmad wḥmyd al-Yazīdī Mūllar, <http://elaph.com/Web/Culture/2009/8/468514.htm>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 5 Mārs 2018.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

*Hamlet's* translations varied according to the stages and issues that Arab society faced. International standards 1952 - 1964, psychological depth 1964 - 1967, here the tragic hero is employed to provide a model for the fighter for justice. The author refers to the two plays "Suleiman Al-Halabi" by Alfred Farag and "The Tragedy of Al-Hallaj" by Salah Abdel-Sabour. Then political agitation 1970-1975, and finally dramatic satire 1976 – 2002.<sup>9</sup>

Each translation is framed by the engagement of and the conditions surrounding the translator. Both Hannah and Litvin emphasise that the social, cultural, and political circumstances present at the time of the translation cannot be ignored. I would extend this argument to the circumstances of later Shakespeare adaptations, such as Al Bassam's.

Al Bassam's first stage production of his Arabic adaptation of *Hamlet* was performed in Kuwait in 2001 during the Fifth National Theatre Festival under the title of *Hamlet in Kuwait*.<sup>10</sup> The following year, when it was staged in English for the first time at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival in 2002, the dramatist changed the title of the play to *The Al-Hamlet Summit*.<sup>11</sup> It is a telling change of title moving away from the geographically specific 'Kuwait' through he chose to depict the contours of a larger Arab World through the global inclusive qualities of the pan-Arabic council. It is a title change designed to appeal to global audiences. This 'Arab World', unspecified and unidentifiable, yet legible to many in the region as an emblematic nation, will now become one of the trademarks of Al Bassam's

---

<sup>9</sup> Mārjryt Ltn, "Riḥlat Hāmlit al- 'Arabīyah: Amīr Shiksbīr wshbh Abdelnasser", tarjamat: Suhā al-Sibā'ī, Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Markaz al-Qawmī lil-Tarjamah bi-al-Qāhirah, <https://www.dopdfwn.com/cacnretra/scgdfnya/pdf-books-org-5N9N6.pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 8 Yūniyū 2021.

<sup>10</sup> Ashraf Abū al-Yazīd. "Sulaymān al-Bassām 'alā masrah al-kawn : Qimmat Āl Hāmlit wa-akhawātuhā," Āsiyā Inna, <http://ar.theasian.asia/archives/24717>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 16 Māyū 2016.

<sup>11</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam and Graham Holderness. *The Arab Shakespeare Trilogy*, 1st ed. Bloomsbury, London, 2014) ix.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

Shakespeare adaptations. *Hamlet in Kuwait* was staged in the Arab World, for example, in Tunisia (2001) home to one of the most important regional theatre festivals.<sup>12</sup> After the title was changed to *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, it was performed in Egypt, which amassed huge critical acclaim, winning Best Director and Best Performance awards (at the 14<sup>th</sup> Cairo International Festival of Experimental Theatre 2002).<sup>13</sup> Most recently, *The Al-Hamlet Summit* was performed in Dubai with some other international plays in November 2017.<sup>14</sup> Al Bassam's play was well received in the Arab Region, and unlike the *Hamlet* translations discussed in the next section of this chapter, it became a global success with tour to Tokyo (2004), Singapore (2005), and Denmark (2005).<sup>15</sup>

Al Bassam's play has only eight characters –Claudius, Gertrude, Hamlet, Polonius, Laertes, Ophelia, the Arms Dealer and Fortinbras: much less than the number of characters in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The play consists of five acts, each named after a daily prayer in Islam: Al-Fajr – Dawn, Al-Zuhr – Noon, Al-Asr – Mid-afternoon, Al-Maghrib – Sunset, and Al Isha'a – Supper. While this might suggest that the play follows classical tragedy and takes place in the course of one day, in fact the action spreads over approximately five years. It is worth mentioning that the performance available in *Sabab Theatre* website is generally faithful to the text of *The Al-Hamlet Summit* though some changes exist. In the performance,

---

<sup>12</sup> Mydl iyst awnlāyn, "Sulaymān al-Bassām yd' a' mālihi al-masrahīyah 'alā khāriṭat al-qārrāt al-arba'ah", *Mawqi' mydl ayst Ūn lāyin*, <http://www.middle-east-online.com/?id=235445>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Nūfimbir 2016.

<sup>13</sup> Nihād Ibrāhīm, w Nāšir kāml, "(Mu'tamar Hāmlit) taḥṣudu Jā'izat afḍal masrahīyah fī Mihrajān al-Qāhirah", *Ṣaḥīfat al-Sharq al-Awsat*, <http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?article=124079&issueno=8689#.WQJtsbGZorc>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Uktūbir 2016.

<sup>14</sup> al-Jarīdah dūt Kūm, "Sulaymān al-Bassām yu'raḍu « Mu'tamar Āl Hāmlit » fī Dubayy", *Mawqi' al-Jarīdah*, <https://www.aljarida.com/articles/1509382469280154900/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 18 Fabrāyir 2022.

<sup>15</sup> "The Al-Hamlet Summit". *Sabab Theatre*, <http://www.sabab.org/the-al-hamlet-summit/>. Accessed 10 May 2016.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

at the beginning of the play, we see Hamlet centre-stage and next to the grave of his father. We also see a bunch of flowers on the grave and a rose. The lights focus on Hamlet and the grave; the rest is in darkness. Silently, Hamlet takes the rose, and it cuts his finger, he stands up holding this rose, licks off the blood from his finger and leaves. From the text, we know that the rose is from Claudius, the murderer as he 'throws a flower on the grave and exits' (1.1.5). The rose as performance prop takes on a focus and significance beyond its brief appearance in the text. The rose is symbolic as it reflects the crime of the former Ruler. Later in the performance, the audience sees the rose on Ophelia's desk and she holds it with happiness more than one time yet it is not mentioned in the text. The setting also plays an intriguing role in the performance and the text: *The Al-Hamlet Summit* opens in an anonymous conference room somewhere in the Arab World where the previous ruler has just passed away, and his brother, Claudius, has come to the throne. From this starting point, Al Bassam's play sets out to explore two major dilemmas facing many contemporary Arab World regimes. First, the tension between secular and religious rule. Second, the tension between national and international interests.

The first dilemma is centred on the character of Hamlet as he goes through a spiritual journey where he struggles between secularism and religion. For Hamlet, his father's death is not a national, but a personal catastrophe. He knows the truth about his father's death, which renders him mentally unstable. Due to this mental disturbance, fired by religious zeal to cure domestic national problems and political unrest and pursue his quest for revenge, Hamlet turns Jihadist and is eventually killed. The second dilemma, the conflict between national foreign policy and international relations, is played out in the Arms Dealer and Fortinbras characters. The West, represented by both these characters (Arms Dealer and Fortinbras), prefers to maintain the political status quo in this anonymous Arab country. They suppress religious opposition, simply because it threatens to take away the benefits they reap from oil

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

### *Summit*

production. Some domestic religious organisations are unsatisfied with the political regime and distribute leaflets demanding reform. Claudius and Polonius turn to the West for assistance regarding these religiously organised demands for reform (domestic riot, sabotage, and acts of terrorism). To quell resistance at home, they buy arms from abroad. It is worth noting that Al Bassam chose to adapt Shakespeare's main female characters, Gertrude and Ophelia, as figures of a powerful reaction to each of these dilemmas. While Hamlet becomes increasingly embroiled in domestic religious resistance to the corruption of the secular state, Gertrude remains uncertain, torn between her position as Hamlet's mother and as Queen. At the same time, as popular domestic resistance to foreign intervention gets stronger, Ophelia, like Hamlet, becomes increasingly affected by the religious uprising. She decides to take political action by killing herself, but she also acted out of despair after her father's death. The inner conflicts of this anonymous Arab country affect individuals in masses. Therefore, Al Bassam seeks to create a complex vision of the Arab World with politics and people at precisely the moment the West attempts to simplify and demonise it as a global threat.

In this chapter's second and third sections, I will argue that Al Bassam's first Shakespeare adaptation establishes essential themes that engage with the first key question examined in this thesis (secularism). The first section includes brief investigations of three Arabic versions of *Hamlet* from the late nineteenth to the late twentieth century by Tanius 'Abdoh (1901), Mamdouh 'Udwan (1987), and Riyadh 'Ismat (1973).<sup>16</sup> The second section of the chapter uses these investigations to analyse Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit* (2002).

---

<sup>16</sup> The first section is indebted to Holderness, Al-Shetawi and Litvin for its account of *Hamlet's* assimilation into Arab world culture. Unless otherwise stated, all examples from these plays are my own translations.



## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

Lastly, I will investigate aspects of the history of secularism in the region to locate further contemporary productions of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in an emerging secular Arab World.

### A Pre-History for *The Al-Hamlet Summit*: Three Arab World *Hamlets*

#### 1. Tanius 'Abdoh: *Hamlet* 1901, Cairo

Tanius 'Abdoh (1869–1926) was a Lebanese writer, novelist, journalist, and translator. He was educated in an orthodox school in Beirut, where he learned English and French. Like many late nineteenth and early twentieth-century intellectuals who wanted to develop their critical thinking and talent, 'Abdoh moved from Lebanon to Egypt. Egypt was the only Arab World country that people embraced enlightenment thoughts, perhaps due to the colonial history outlined previously in the second chapter and the role of theatre there. He played a key role in the emerging modern Egyptian theatre. 'Abdoh published several literary magazines such as *Al-Rawi* (1907), which focused on stories and novels. He published newspapers such as *Fasl Al-Khitab* and translated several French and Arabic literary works, including Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.<sup>17</sup> Thus, *Hamlet's* first published translation entered the Arab World from a French translation, not from Shakespeare's original English.<sup>18</sup>

The first performance of *Hamlet* by 'Abdoh's translation was staged in Egypt around 1901.<sup>19</sup> A review showed that 'Abdoh's translation was performed by Iskandar Farah's company, who owned the relatively new Egyptian Theatre established in 1899.<sup>20</sup> 'Abdo's

---

<sup>17</sup> Mu'assasat Hindāwī, "Ṭānyūs 'Abduh", *Mawqī ' Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'līm wa-al-Thaqāfah*, <https://www.hindawi.org/contributors/69739264/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 1 Abrīl 2018.

<sup>18</sup> Sāmiḥ Ḥannā, "Tarjamāt ma'āsī Shiksbīr al-Kubrā fī Miṣr", *Ṣaḥīfat al-mustaqbal*, <http://almustaqbal.com/article/69484/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Yanāyir 2018.

<sup>19</sup> Mahmoud F Al-Shetawi, "Hamlet in Arabic", *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1999, p 44.

<sup>20</sup> See for example Margaret Litvin, "The French source of the earliest surviving Arabic Hamlet." *Shakespeare Studies*, vol. 39, 2011, pp. 133+. *Gale Literature Resource*

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

*Hamlet* is based on the French *Hamlet* by Alexandre Dumas Senior (1802-70), which was available for 'Abdoh in a library in Egypt. 'Abdoh's *Hamlet* mimics Dumas' with just a few changes. The major difference was 'Abdo's addition of songs to the play, and they were crucial for both the continuity and the success of the play<sup>21</sup> 'Abdoh's *Hamlet* is ultimately more adaptation than translation since it is a tragicomedy heavily influenced by elite conventions imported from French operatic theatre and popular Victorian theatre. After the first performance of his straightforward translation, the audience reacted badly to Shakespeare's original tragic ending.<sup>22</sup> To satisfy the newly emerging Egyptian theatre audiences, 'Abdoh simply changed it and Hamlet becomes King of Denmark, justice and victory spread through the country, and falsehood is vanquished. As Holderness notes, 'Abdoh's adaptation has uncanny echoes with the Nahum Tate 1681 version of *King Lear*, where Lear takes the throne, and Cordelia remains alive, a tragicomic ending better suited to London Restoration theatregoers. Both adaptations also bring the stories closer to their historical sources.<sup>23</sup> If the ending is altered from Shakespeare's original, so too is the dramatic focus since 'Abdoh's production was, in the end, a musical and the actors were primarily singers.<sup>24</sup> This was in part due to the influence of the French opera and theatre produced by the new Egyptian theatre, but I would argue that it is also crucially due to the

---

Center, <http://www.trincoll.edu/academics/centers/tiis/documents/litvin.pdf>. Accessed 13 Mar. 2019.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ahmad al-Khamīsī, "al-Ta'rib .. Khuṭwatān lil-Imām", *swdānyz Ūn lāyin*, <http://sudaneseonline.com/board/7/msg/التعريب..خطوتان-للإمام---بقلم-د.-أحمد-الخميسي-1453388562.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Mārs 2018.

<sup>23</sup> Rebecca Yanxia Huang, "Nahum Tate's adaptation of Shakespeare's King Lear: Political, social, and aesthetic considerations." 1997, [https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10092/12324/Huang\\_thesis.pdf?sequence=1](https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10092/12324/Huang_thesis.pdf?sequence=1). Accessed 18 Oct. 2021.

<sup>24</sup> Sāmiḥ Ḥannā, "fikrat al-khiyānah wa-al-amānah fī al-tarjamah aṣḥaḥtu fī dhimmat al-tārīkh", ḥiwār: Āzād Ahmad whmyd al-Yazīdī Mūllar. *Mawqi' Īlāf*, <http://elaph.com/Web/Culture/2009/8/468514.htm>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 5 Mārs 2018.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

### *Summit*

increasing popularity of the Arab World storytelling performance from *Maqamat*.<sup>25</sup> ‘Abdoh was one of many other dramatists at that time who combined imported colonial French theatre practices with the popular indigenous *Maqamat* tradition. Both found their place in his 1901 *Hamlet* and the audiences responded enthusiastically. As proof, ‘Abdoh’s *Hamlet* continued in the performance repertoire for more than ten years.

‘Abdoh’s production had to contend with a challenge posed to all Arabic productions of *Hamlet*, which I will discuss in the chapter on the Ghost and vocabulary of spirits that maps Christian demons and angels onto the Muslim spiritual Arab World. From one perspective, there are no Ghosts in Islam since it indicated in the Quran that once a person is dead, then ‘before them is a Partition till the Day they are raised up’.<sup>26</sup> The fact that the Ghost of Old Hamlet comes back from the dead profoundly disturbs Abdoh’s Arab culture and his audience. However, as Shakespeare intended, the Ghost is also disturbing for early modern Christians, so Hamlet wonders ‘Be thou a spirit of health, or goblin damned/Bring with thee airs from heaven or blasts from hell’ (1.4.40-1).<sup>27</sup> On the contrary, ghosts do persist in the fringes of Christian (particularly Catholic) popular culture through celebrations such as All Saints/ Hallowe’en. They are present in a way that they are not present in Islam. I will discuss the challenges of representing the Ghost in Al Bassam’s secular *The Al-Hamlet Summit* later in the chapter. For now, I wish to focus on the disturbance caused by the Ghost in ‘Abdoh’s Arabic Hamlet both to the audience and the translator. ‘Abdoh amplifies the possibility for

---

<sup>25</sup> Hānī ‘Alī, "Fann al-Maqāmāt .. min Funūn al-adab al-‘Arabī al-mansīyah", *Mawqī‘ arājiyk* <https://www.arageek.com/art/2015/06/24/maqama-forgotten-arabic-art.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā’: 10 Mārs 2018.

<sup>26</sup> “The Quranic Arabic Corpus - Translation”, *Quran*, [corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=23&verse=100](https://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=23&verse=100). Accessed 12 June 2022.

<sup>27</sup> Vivian Blicher, “What does the Bible say about ghosts?”, *Christianity.Com*, [www.christianity.com/wiki/holidays/what-does-the-bible-say-about-ghosts.html](http://www.christianity.com/wiki/holidays/what-does-the-bible-say-about-ghosts.html). Accessed 6 Oct. 2021.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

uncertainty about the Ghost, referring to it by many names throughout the play 'Father's apparition,' 'The Apparition,' 'The Ghost,' 'The Spirit,' and 'Miracle'.<sup>28</sup> In part, he indicates Shakespeare's many names for the Ghost, but a sense of 'Abdoh's additional cultural and religious uncertainty is present. 'Abdoh's various terms help encourage the audience to accept the Ghost's character. In his translation, the first encounter with the Ghost is under the name of 'Hamlet the Apparition'; the Ghost refers to himself as 'I'm your father's spirit'; which parallels Shakespeare's 'I am thy father's spirit' (1.5.9). The Ghost in 'Abdoh's *Hamlet* is similar to Shakespeare's in that all are uncertain about the nature of the Ghost. This uncertainty of the nature of the Ghost in 'Abdoh's translation is the reason for his various Arab lexicons throughout the play.

Feminism too has its share in 'Abdoh's *Hamlet* through Ophelia. 'Abdoh's Ophelia is similar to Shakespeare's Ophelia as it translates easily from Shakespeare to the contemporary Arab World. Although Abdoh's Polonius has the same views of marriage as in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, the emphasis that 'Abdoh places on social decorum transposes the English renaissance hierarchies perfectly to suit the mentality of the Arab World at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Parity in status between couples was essential for a successful marriage. It also finds fresh resonance in the present-day socially conservative Arab World, where a successful marriage relies on shared views on Islam as well as matching social, cultural, financial, and intellectual backgrounds.<sup>29</sup> According to Abdulla Sarhan, a professor in Al Azhar University, equality will assure the success of marriage while inequality will result in the woman

---

<sup>28</sup> Wilyam Shiksbūr, *Hāmlit*. tarjamat: Ṭānyūs 'Abduh, al-Majlis al-A'lá lil-Thaqāfah bi-al-Qāhiraḥ, 2005, Ṣ Ṣ. 8- 21, Ṣ. 8.

<sup>29</sup> Samīḥah Gharīb, "alkāf' bayna al-zawjayn min ahamm Usus al-Sa'ādah al-zawjīyah", ḥiwār: Tasnīm al-Rīdī. *Mawqi' tarīq al-Islām*, <https://ar.islamway.net/article/26463/>-التكافؤ بين الزوجين-من أهم أسس السعادة الزوجية. *Tārīkh alāstrjā'*: 12 Yūniyū 2022.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

disobeying her husband.<sup>30</sup> 'Abdoh's Polonius stands as a recognisable reinforcement of the importance of social and patriarchal order in negotiating a secure marriage. In 'Abdoh's Arab setting, where patriarchal suppression and oppression are fiercer than in Shakespeare's original text, Ophelia does nothing without Polonius's express permission. Even though Ophelia loves Hamlet, she rejects his love letters because Polonius orders her to do so. Her fate is negotiated between the patriarchs when Polonius declares to the King 'I prevented my daughter from accepting these letters for my knowledge of what separated them from the difference in status' ('Abdoh.32).

The position of women in 'Abdoh's *Hamlet* strikes a chord with Shakespeare's world but the political perspective does not. The threat of external conflict with Fortinbras is notably absent since the audience does not witness conflict with another country. Instead, political threat seems to come wholly from within with the rebellion threatened at Laertes' return in Shakespeare's original relocated and amplified. The King (Claudius in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*) mentions 'the population' and their role more than once in the play. After Polonius's death, the King says, while he overhears sounds from the crowd, 'people are in rage and about to revolt' ('Abdoh.78). The King fears the population since he needs their support to stay on the throne. The King uses the threat of popular support to persuade Laertes that Hamlet is the murderer. However, Hamlet cannot be punished because 'the population are tending to Hamlet, and he has many supporters' ('Abdoh.83). Throughout 'Abdoh's play, the translator constantly reminds the audience of their own political power by emphasising that they are the true, strong resistance against tyranny and injustice. This message speaks to

---

<sup>30</sup> Suhayr Ṭāhir, "'ulamā' bi-al-Azhar: al-kāf' fī al-zawāj .. yqlṣ alānhyārāt al-usarīyah", *Mawqi' bawwābat al-Ahrām*, <https://gate.ahram.org.eg/daily/News/203851/41/820127/> - فكر ديني/علماء-بالأزهر-التكافؤ-في-الزواج-يقلص-الانهيارات-ال

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

this particular time in Egyptian colonial history. Egypt was still under British colonial rule and under the rule of Khedive Tewfik, a staunch ally of the British authorities (1879-1892). During Tewfik's rule, Egypt suppressed nationalism by preventing and paralysing freedom of thought and speech. As the Egyptian historian Abdulrahman Al Rafe'i argued, there was no justice, no law, and no judiciary that would be sympathetic to the oppressed and give everybody their rights, making Egyptian people suffer during this period.<sup>31</sup> The British interfered to suppress unrest with Tewfik's approval. British colonial power, working through him, was aggressive in its pursuit of resistance. Opposition activists and nationalists were exiled, imprisoned, or prohibited from taking up government positions. Severe censorship was imposed on anyone who criticised the British in newspapers while those in opposition who organised mass gatherings and protests were similarly punished.<sup>32</sup> In 1892, just a decade before 'Abdoh's *Hamlet*, Khedive Abbas, a keen supporter of Egyptian nationalism, inherited the throne from KT. 'Abdoh, it seems, remained very aware of the risk in presenting scenes involving Fortinbras and the Norwegian colonial threat in Shakespeare's original *Hamlet*. Instead, he focused on the power of internal political dissent. 'Abdoh's production was located at a crucial moment of political transition. He remained cautious about representing explicit political voices in his *Hamlet*, yet murmurs of dissent and resistance were present.

'Abdoh's *Hamlet* was a popular success and continued to play until 1917.<sup>33</sup> While critics may attack his sometimes-unreliable translation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and deplore the focus given to the many songs the translator added to the tragedy, they must also

---

<sup>31</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi'ī, *al-Za'īm al-thā'ir Aḥmad 'Urābī*. Ṭ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2020, p. 135.

- 'Alā' 'Abd al-Rāziq, "al-Khidīwī Tawfīq .. al-Ḥākim alladhī athmh shuyūkh al-Azhar bkhyānh Miṣr", *Mawqī' al-Jazīrah*, <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/politics/2022/1/7/-الخدوي-الذي-اتهمه-شيوخ-توفيق-الحاكم>: 8 Yanāyir 2022.

<sup>32</sup> Ismā'īl Yāghī, *Tārīkh al-'ālam al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣir*. Maktabat al-'Ubaykān, 2011, Ṣ. 253.

<sup>33</sup> Wilyam Shiksbūr, *Hāmlit*. tarjamat: Ṭānyūs 'Abduh, al-Majlis al-A'lá lil-Thaqāfah bi-al-Qāhirah, 2005, Ṣ. V.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

acknowledge that 'Abdoh worked to achieve success amongst newly emerging modest, educated theatre-audience in Cairo. He produced a *Hamlet* suited perfectly to the times; 'Abdoh transposed his written translation of *Hamlet* to performance, sometimes reducing, sometimes supplementing the original to suit popular taste. He considered theatre and *Hamlet* crucial to raise questions about social and political change. He acknowledged the importance of translation and adaptation to create cultural awareness among fresh theatre goers, perhaps indicating the cultural reach and popularity of his *Hamlet*. 'Abdoh's version was printed a year later in 1902<sup>34</sup> after the establishment of Al-Rawi magazine, on which he started publishing his own translated works.<sup>35</sup> 'Abdoh, through *Hamlet*, sowed the seeds of secularist, feminist and political thought in his version of *Hamlet* and then took root to become stronger and more explicit seventy years later in Riyad 'Ismat 1973, translation and adaptation of *Hamlet*.

### **Riyad 'Ismat: *Hamlet* 1973, Damascus**

Riyad 'Ismat (1947-2020), was a Syrian author, critic, theatre director, and diplomat. He first encountered Shakespeare while participating in a university performance of *Much Ado About Nothing* in 1967 in Syria. The highly influential Rafiq Al-Saban directed the play. Al-Saban had played a leading role in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> Century establishment of the Syrian National Theatre (1959). Al-Saban's early career was rooted in the world of the colonial elite. He gained his Ph.D. in Law in France and returned to Syria believing that the theatre there should concentrate on Shakespeare and Molière.<sup>36</sup> However, his aim was not to present their

---

<sup>34</sup> Mahmoud F Al-Shetawi, "Hamlet in Arabic", *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1999, pp. 43-62, p. 44.

<sup>35</sup> Hānī 'Alī, "Fann al-Maqāmāt .. min Funūn al-adab al-'Arabī al-mansīyah". *Mawqī' arājiyk*, <https://www.arageek.com/art/2015/06/24/maqama-forgotten-arabic-art.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Mārs 2018.

<sup>36</sup> Riyād 'Işmat, *ḥadāthat wa-aşālat*. Dār al-Fikr, 2013, Ş .64.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

plays traditionally for the colonial elite but to reinvent and reimagine the colonial canon for a new political era. The year that 'Ismat performed in Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing* was 1967, the same year the The Six-Day War between Israel and the combined Arab forces of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan took place. The war ended with the Israeli occupation of the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Old Jerusalem, and the Syrian Golan Heights.

These territories later became and continue to be a major point of contention in the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict.<sup>37</sup> Undoubtedly, 'Ismat's vision for the potential of theatre was affected by the political unrest locally in Syria and across the bordering Arab World. In the aftermath of the war, 'Ismat first directed Sophocles' *Antigone* (1972), and then *Hamlet* (1973) both in the theatre of the Laique High School in Damascus,<sup>38</sup> which was founded in 1929 as gesture of Syrian-French cooperation. There was an active focus on French history and French culture throughout the curriculum.<sup>39</sup> The school evolved from Mission laïque Française, founded in 1902, a non-profit association to promote French language and culture through schools and universities outside of France.<sup>40</sup> The school's cultural colonial influence is extensive. For example, Bashar Al-Asad (President of Syria) graduated from Laique School in Damascus. 'Ismat's decision to direct *Hamlet* at the heart of this French colonial education wave was not an accident. If 'Abdoh's 1901 *Hamlet* is an essentially colonial-era production,

---

<sup>37</sup> Walīd Badrān, "Ḥarb 1967: Kayfa ghayyarat Sittah Ayyām al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ ll'bd?", *Mawqī ' Bī Bī Sī 'Arabī*, <https://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast-57360161>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Māyū 2021.

<sup>38</sup> Jūd rydz. "Riyāḍ 'Iṣmat". *Mawqī ' Jūd rydz. mstrj' min*: <https://www.goodreads.com/author/show/5817505>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 7 Yanāyir 2018.

<sup>39</sup> ḥsānh Sqbāny, "allāyyk .. dhākīrat atharīyah tarbuṭu al-mādī bālḥāḍr". *Mawqī ' Mudawwanat waṭan al-Sūrī*, 4 Nūfimbir 2014. mstrj' min: <http://www.esyria.sy/edamascus/index.php?p=stories&filename=201411040050193>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 15 Māyū 2018.

<sup>40</sup> "Mission Laique Francaise (MLF)," *Devex*, [www.devex.com/organizations/mission-laique-francaise-mlf-145750](http://www.devex.com/organizations/mission-laique-francaise-mlf-145750). Accessed 9 February 2022.



## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

'Ismat's *Hamlet* is an entreaty to engage in post-colonial nationalism since it enacts conflict and the struggle with authority.

'Ismat is an interesting figure in my account of Arab adaptations of *Hamlet* for two reasons. First, he pursues an education abroad after his *Hamlet* production, not in France but in the United Kingdom. Second, the education he pursued was not in English Literature, but in Theatre and Performance Studies. After establishing the Syrian Higher Institute of Dramatic Arts in 1977, he taught 'Theatrical Literature'.<sup>41</sup> 'Ismat then moved to London and studied acting at the Drama Centre London. He then earned a Higher Diploma in Theatre Direction from the University of Cardiff, Wales in 1982 and took part in a BBC London Training course in direction and production.<sup>42</sup> His 1973 brush with *Hamlet* inspired a journey into English-medium theatre training in the UK, which eventually sends 'Ismat back home to Syria with a renewed enthusiasm for producing and adapting Shakespeare.<sup>43</sup> 'Ismat composed *Taj min Shawk* (*Crown of Throne*), a popular Syrian TV series first presented in 1997, with a book published in 2014. *Taj min Shawk* is inspired by Shakespeare's works (titles of the plays are not mentioned) and dramatises the struggle of power between two families involved in endless wars, injustice, and tyranny.<sup>44</sup> Tellingly, *Taj min Shawk* was repeated on Syrian TV in September 2002, the year of Al Bassam's *Hamlet*. This repeat suggests that 'Ismat's saga

---

<sup>41</sup> Farīq mwsaw'ty, "Riyād 'Işmat". *Mawqi' mwsaw'ty*, 2022. mstrj' min: [https://mawsoati.com/plus/R/Y/A/Riyād\\_şmhtml/Tārīkh/alāstrjā](https://mawsoati.com/plus/R/Y/A/Riyād_şmhtml/Tārīkh/alāstrjā): Accessed 9 Fabrāyir 2022.

<sup>42</sup> ḥsānh Sqbāny, "allāyyk .. dhākirat atharīyah tarbuṭu al-mādī bālḥāḍr", *Mawqi' Mudawwanat waṭan al-Sūrī*, <http://www.esyria.sy/edamascus/index.php?p=stories&filename=201411040050193>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 15 Māyū 2018.

<sup>43</sup> Farīq Wizārat al-Thaqāfah al-Sūrī, "Wizārat al-Sūrīyah". *Mawqi' Wizārat al-Thaqāfah al-Sūrīyah*, <http://www.moc.gov.sy/index.php?d=48&id=322>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 5 Abrīl 2018.

<sup>44</sup> Mudīrīyat al-Masāriḥ wa-al-mūsīqā bi-Sūrīyā, "D. Riyād 'Işmat Kātīb wmkhrj", *Mawqi' Mudīrīyat al-Masāriḥ wa-al-mūsīqā bi-Sūrīyā*, [http://theaters.gov.sy/?page=show\\_det&category\\_id=35&id=142&lang=ar](http://theaters.gov.sy/?page=show_det&category_id=35&id=142&lang=ar). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Fabrāyir 2022.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

was highly attuned to the contemporary political situation since the series seems to foreshadow the Arab Spring and the Syrian revolution of 2011. 'Ismat also produced *Midsummer's Night Dream* in Sharjah Institute of Dramatic Arts in 2002.<sup>45</sup> He held a series of highly influential positions in Syria, spanning educational, cultural, and indeed political institutions. He was Dean of Higher Institute of Drama, General Manager of Radio and Television, Syrian Ambassador to Pakistan (2005) (where he gained a PhD in Shakespeare in 2007 though the university's name is not mentioned), Syrian Ambassador to Qatar (2010), and Minister of Culture from 2010-2012.<sup>46</sup> His intellectual engagement as an English-trained cultural figure in a society that prized French colonial cultural training was highly influential. A new generation of Syrian theatre directors, such as 'Irwa Al-Arabi born in 1986, became interested in 'Ismat's *Hamlet* and redirected it in Al Hamra Theatre (Damascus in 2012) where he 'revived *Hamlet* based on a text prepared by Riyad 'Ismat'.<sup>47</sup> As I am not in possession of 'Ismat's 1973 version of *Hamlet*, I base the following discussion on a video of Al-Arabi's 2012 performance available online.<sup>48</sup> I wish to focus on the representation of the Ghost and Ophelia.

First, to address the secular question of the Ghost, 'Ismat's *Hamlet* parallels

Shakespeare's regarding the Ghost, which is visible and audible to Hamlet, and only visible

---

<sup>45</sup> Ḥ S, "Ḥulm laylah ṣayf .. 'alá Khashabah Ma'had al-Shāriqah lil-Funūn al-masrahīyah, Riyāḍ 'Iṣmat yu'aṣrin rā'i'ah Shiksbīr alkwmīdyh", *Mawqī' al-Bayān*, <https://www.albayan.ae/five-senses/arts/2002-09-28-1.1348991>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Fabrāyir 2022.

<sup>46</sup> Farīq al-tārīkh al-Sūrī al-mu'āṣir, "Riyāḍ 'Iṣmat", al-maṣdar: Mawqī' Wizārat al-Thaqāfah al-Sūrīyah, <https://syrmh.com/2020/05/14/رياض-عصمت/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Fabrāyir 2022.

<sup>47</sup> Sāmīr Ismā'īl, "'Urwah al-'Arabī yu'īdu Iḥyā' Hāmlit aldānmārky 'alá Khashabah al-Ḥamrā'", <https://www.bostah.com/عروة-العربي-يعيد-إحياء-هاملت-الدانمركي-على-خشبة-الحمراء.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Fabrāyir 2022.

<sup>48</sup> For Al-Arabi's *Hamlet* see, Nūr sā. "Hāmlit 1 al-Sūrī \_ HAMLET". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: noor sa, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKyDAQdwfME>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 7 Abrīl 2018. Also see, Nūr sā. "Hāmlit 2 al-Sūrī \_ HAMLET". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: noor sa, 4 Dīsīmbir 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=brAIT5-tbrg>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 7 Abrīl 2018.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

to Horatio and the Guards though no one can hear it except for Hamlet.<sup>49</sup> The Ghost comes to Hamlet and tells him about the truth of his father's murder. Hamlet replies with 'oh my soul, which prophesied'; paralleling Shakespeare's 'Oh my prophetic soul' (1.5.40).<sup>50</sup> In the former, Hamlet's words shift and strengthen the meaning in religious terms within an Arab Muslim context. In voicing his ability to foretell the future, Hamlet is portrayed as a messenger from God. Rather than root power in the uncanny, in Shakespeare's Ghost, to shape the nation's future, Ismat's translation stresses the importance of the secular individual. Hamlet, even as a designated messenger from God still has pragmatic human agency since his own ideas and reason shape his own actions in the real world, for good or evil. Sometimes, others remind him forcibly of this fact. In one scene with Horatio, Hamlet appears to see someone or something; the background music increases in volume, but whatever he sees or thinks he sees, is not visible to either Horatio or the audience. Horatio intervenes and he has no doubt that this is a false Ghost, a figment of Hamlet's crazed imagination. Horatio simply shouts at Hamlet, 'enough fabrication'.<sup>51</sup>

Ismat's version stresses the importance of the real and the secular in the modern world but leads to the question of what makes Ophelia's place in the play. 'Abdoh's Ophelia epitomised the 19<sup>th</sup> Century patriarchal and colonial oppression in the Arab World, while Ismat's version takes this further. In 'Ismat's version, as directed by Al-Alarabi, Hamlet rapes his beloved Ophelia. Hamlet goes to Ophelia and behaves in a strange, mad way. He kisses her and touches her without answering her repeated question: 'Hamlet, please, what's wrong?'.<sup>52</sup> Aggressively, Hamlet pushes Ophelia to the floor and looks at her but she does

---

<sup>49</sup> U Zrzār, "Hāmlit m'āṣrnā .. al-ḥuzn yalīqu bi-Sūriyā", *Ṣaḥīfat al-akhbār*, [https://www.al-akhtar.com/Literature\\_Arts/69254](https://www.al-akhtar.com/Literature_Arts/69254). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 30 Mārs 2018.

<sup>50</sup> Nūr sā, "Hāmlit 1 al-Sūrī \_ HAMLET", *ywtymb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāṣītat: noor sa, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKyDAQdwfME>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 7 Abrīl 2018.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

not say anything, which changes to screams when he rapes her. She cannot resist his attack and although she screams, there is no response. This violent act makes her powerless, characterised by a moment that encapsulates her fear of Hamlet, her father, her family, and the patriarchal political and social system they represent. Hamlet's brutality towards Ophelia speaks directly to the contemporary oppression of women by Arab men. It further suggests that such horrific domestic abuse is due to political frustration since men vent on women the injustice and tyranny that their country subjects them. The irony is that 'Ismat's Hamlet seeks justice, but when it comes to Ophelia, his political rage yields an unforgivable practice of injustice.

'Ismat's own career as a theatre maker, a cultural leader, and an international ambassador offers a response to his early portrayal of *Hamlet*. 'Ismat's Hamlet is fully conscious of the 'rotten' state of Denmark/Damascus and dedicates his life to changing the political regime. In the wake of the Six Day War, theatre in the Arab World entered a new political phase. There were Arab dramatists' participants in the ongoing dialogue about the state of their own nation, but they were also giving a voice to a newly emerging, regionally-focused Arab World. Drama was used to explore the relationship between the citizen and authority and between homeland and freedom.<sup>53</sup> 'Ismat, surrounded by political changes and conflicts, chose not to develop new writings to express his views. Instead, he returned, with a Presentist approach, to the resonances of Shakespeare and to *Hamlet*, a play that had already emerged at a moment of political crisis to give shape to cultural concerns in the Arab World. 'Ismat blames the country's 'rotten' political regime that transforms potentially good citizens like Hamlet into psychiatric cases and, more broadly produces broken communities. Ismat's early political voice is rendered even clearer in the second iteration by Irwa Al-Arabi. In

---

<sup>53</sup> F Kulhūm, al-masraḥ al-siyāsī fī Sūrīyah (mnṣṣh maftūḥah 'alá al-azamāt)", <http://tishreen.news.sy/?p=92397>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 23 Mārs 2018.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

2012, his *Hamlet* production in Damascus opens with a prologue that brings Hamlet emphatically into the present moment, situating Shakespeare's prince at the heart of the contemporary Arab Spring movement, 'Now, all of us live in conflicts, mistrust and psychological uncertainties, like Hamlet, in a country where death and murder are turned into a daily meal'.<sup>54</sup> 'Ismat's *Hamlet*, first conceived as a post-colonial statement in 1973, is revived again as a post-nationalist assertion of shared Arab World secular interests. However, my final example, 'Udwan's 1977 sequel to *Hamlet*, (*Hamlet Wakes up Late*) is somewhere between the two as it seeks to engage a post-post-colonial audience in a call to action.

### **Mamdouh 'Udwan *Hamlet Wakes Up Late* 1977, Damascus**

Mamdouh 'Udwan (1941–2004) was a Syrian poet, writer, journalist, translator, and critic. He was interested in Opposition politics and suffered from political censorship in his country, so he was imprisoned for a long time.<sup>55</sup> 'Udwan composed poetry, novels, plays, scenarios for TV series, articles, and translated many other English works to Arabic (Derek Walcott's *The Odyssey* and Homer's *The Iliad*). Like Ismat, 'Udwan was deeply concerned with social and political challenges in the Arab World, particularly in the wake of June 1967.<sup>56</sup> After the Six Day War, 'Udwan composed a series of poems that considered questions of identity and inner conflict in which I see many similarities with Hamlet's soliloquies in Shakespeare. 'Udwan considered Shakespeare the epitome of the dramatic poet based on his statement, 'The only one who has written a successful poetic theatre is

---

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> aljy Ḥusayn, "Mamdūḥ 'Adwān: yd' aṣb'h fi 'uyūnihim". *Mawqi' al-Khalīj*, <https://khaleejjesque.com/2011/12/ar/عيونهم-في-إصبعه-في-مدوح-عدوان-يضع-إصبعه-في-عيونهم/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 2 Abrīl 2018.

<sup>56</sup> Farīq qāsywn, "Mamdūḥ 'Adwān: (Naḥnu lā nt'wwd illā idhā māta Shay' finā)", *Mawqi' qāsywn*, <https://kassioun.org/more-categories/art-and-culture/item/38330-11871>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 8 Yūniyū 2021.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

Shakespeare'.<sup>57</sup> While 'Udwan used poetic language in his own plays, he also believed that he should alter this to respond adequately to the changing political and social norms in the contemporary Arab World. 'Udwan understood that others felt enabled to translate or adapt Shakespeare's dramatic poetry, so he decided to compose a sequel to the original *Hamlet*, entitled *Hamlet Wakes up Late*.<sup>58</sup> Like many other Syrian dramatists of this time, writing precisely a decade after the Six Day War, 'Udwan focuses on the themes of authority and repression, concentrating on Palestine, political corruption, and social unrest in the region. He shows particular interest in how the governing authority represses its population for its own benefit, curtailing the rights of those who were once full citizens.<sup>59</sup> *Hamlet Wakes Up Late* depicts the Arab-Israeli conflict in particular and generally explores corruption of political thought in the Arab World. Thus, 'Udwan starts his version of *Hamlet* right where Shakespeare ended his.

Compared to 'Abdoh and Ismat, 'Udwan's feminist perspective on Ophelia seems modern, even emancipatory. 'Abdoh's Ophelia is shaped by late Victorian patriarchal expectations while 'Udwan's Ophelia is adapted and developed to suit the tastes of late twentieth-century audiences. She engages in sexual relations with Hamlet and actively seeks to marry him by getting pregnant; crucially, she does not commit suicide. Instead, Ophelia pursues her relationship with Hamlet without fearing her family's disapproval, but Hamlet constantly dismisses her. In the couple's first encounter, Hamlet has forgotten to visit Ophelia

---

<sup>57</sup> Abū Ḥasan, "al-shi'r wa-al-ma'sāh fī masraḥ Mamdūḥ 'Adwān .. al-kitābah 'an al-muhammashīn fī al-ḥayāh", *Majallat ṣuḥufī*, <http://www.sahafi.jo/arc/art1.php?id=f4041461fb43b10a052f57ed9ec4f1daa179baba>. Tārīkh alāstrjā' : 3 Abrīl 2018.

<sup>58</sup> Mamdūḥ 'Adwān, *Hāmlit yastayqīza muta'akhkhiran* (Ṭ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Zāwīyah lil-Ṭībā'ah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 1980) Ṣ. 5.

<sup>59</sup> mhrnāz Mwysāt, "al-masrahīyah al-Sūrīyah ; zuhūrihā, rwāfdhā, wa-mawḍū'ātuhā", <http://www.diwanalarab.com/spip.php?article37618>. Tārīkh alāstrjā' : 17 Abrīl 2018.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

the previous night. She takes the lead saying, '(in a coquettish way) it seems that you are no longer comfortable with me (*seducing him*), but you should have told me because I was waiting for you wearing the delicate sleeping gown you knew' (1.8). It is a message from Ophelia that she owns her body and has the freedom to do whatever she likes. She further reassures him that she knows all about contraception 'Are you afraid that I'll get pregnant? But I am sure the method we follow is fool proof. I also use this medication I stole from my brother Laertes's bag' (1.9). This Arab Ophelia breaks through the religious and social boundaries placed upon her by the society. Ophelia is a woman who experiences desire and acts accordingly. She takes the initiative and is not afraid to state her desires regardless of how lewd she may appear on stage. This forthright Ophelia challenges how contemporary men might treat women who underestimate their place and agency. Nonetheless, even this Ophelia is not treated well by society since the last time we see Ophelia on stage is when she comments on the play Hamlet wants to put on stage where She asks, 'we would like to see an example' (2.21) of the performance. This scene is in the middle of the play, after which Ophelia disappears from the stage and the audience does not know what happens with her. 'Udwan further frames Ophelia as a representative of the Arab female by cutting 'The Mousetrap', the play-within-a-play in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. He replaces it with a play about the legendary Shahriar, the King in *One Thousand and One Nights*.<sup>60</sup> Betrayed by his wife, Shahriar has lost trust in all women and takes a new wife every day, then has them killed the next morning. Hamlet's fantasy play is constantly promised and the audience witnesses his

---

<sup>60</sup> Referred to also as *Arabian Nights*, celebrated Arabic literature thought to be written during the Islamic Golden Age in the 14<sup>th</sup> C. The tales and stories are from Muslim folklore and various countries. See, Nāfi'ah Ḥasan and wbwzwrk klyfwrt, *Turāth al-Islām*. tarjamat: Ḥusayn Mu'nis w'ḥsān Ṣidqī, murāja'at: Fu'ād Zakarīyā. J 2, 'Ālam al-Ma'rifah bi-al-Kuwayt, 1978.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

endless preparations, but it never happens.<sup>61</sup> The inclusion of the myth of Shahriar is telling since Hamlet chooses him because he is a just King who turns mad and becomes brutal against women when betrayed by his wife. It places Ophelia, his former beloved, centre stage, but figures her as just another woman who will eventually betray her husband and deserves to die. Though we never find out what happens to Ophelia in 'Udwan's *Hamlet*, the presence of Shahriar signals that a brutal ending awaits any woman who disrupts the patriarchal order. She simply disappears, unworthy of a final scene, indicating that her earlier actions are to be frowned upon, and that the patriarchy condemns her actions and issues a warning to all other women who would do the same.

Abdoh's *Hamlet* only implicitly references contemporary political resistance to colonial rule, cutting all references to Fortinbras while 'Udwan's adaptation of Shakespeare's original is more politically direct. 'Udwan locates *Hamlet* in a political atmosphere where corruption, injustice, and betrayal are evident to all, on and off stage. 'Udwan's opening's focus is not on the assassination of the previous king or the marriage of Hamlet's mother to the villainous uncle but on the war between Norway and Denmark. Norway, under Fortinbras, expropriates a part of Denmark's territory. Hamlet is fully aware of the danger of the situation but takes no action, only taking wine and making a few speeches to annoy Fortinbras. The implicit comment on the contemporary passive intellectuals in elite Arab society who contribute nothing to their 'rotten' states is crystal clear. Hamlet, as told by the dispassionate Horatio in 'Udwan's version, achieves nothing and loses his life.<sup>62</sup> The presence of an unnamed character in *Hamlet Wakes Up Late*, referred to only as 'The Actor',

---

<sup>61</sup> Aḥmad Muḥabbak, "altnāṣṣ fi al-masraḥ al-‘Arabī", [http://theatermaga.blogspot.com/2016/06/blog-post\\_91.html#.ZF-WPC8Rrq0](http://theatermaga.blogspot.com/2016/06/blog-post_91.html#.ZF-WPC8Rrq0). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 16 Mārs 2018.

<sup>62</sup> Mahmoud F Al-Shetawi, "Hamlet in Arabic", *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1999, p. 51.



## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

is essential to the politics of 'Udwan's play. The Actor resonates with Shakespeare's 'First Player' who gives voice to the disenfranchised Denmark but 'Udwan's Actor gives voice to the disenfranchised, impoverished artist. The Actor is poor and would take whatever role given to him because he is the main provider for his family. 'Udwan reminds us that the poor are talented, and that we must listen to their deeply critical thoughts about authority and their own role in the state. The Actor has crucial information about the 'rotten' political system and tells Hamlet that 'they say in the poor neighbourhoods that everyone in the palace is engaged in securing deals in smuggling money' (1.13). He argues that the poor would support Hamlet in his case as they 'do not plot against their country and do not sell themselves for money. They are buying their future with their blood. They are trying not to starve to death' (2.25). The Actor also tells Hamlet that 'corruption is in everything and has reached to the extent that we are about to reconcile with Fortinbras' (1.13). The Actor's accusation resonates with the timepoint of 'Udwan's production. For many critics of the corruption of the political classes and systems of the Arab World, the failure first to avert, then to address and finally to solve the conflict with Israel was unforgivable. This despair echoes in The Actor's vicious comments on behalf of the common people who condemn 'rotten' political regimes that are ferocious against their own people and weak when deciding on foreign policies.<sup>63</sup>

'Udwan's Actor seems to resonate across Al Bassam's Trilogy in many ways, especially his condemnation of the self-seeking deals of the elite that reminds us of the work of the Arms Dealer in *The Al-Hamlet Summit* (to be explored later in this chapter). The Actor's insistence in speaking truth to power paves the way for the increasingly outspoken

---

<sup>63</sup> Muḥammad Aḥmad, "i'ādat intāj alkāsykyāt ḍarūrah masraḥīyah", *Ṣaḥīfat al-Khalīj*, <http://www.alkhaleej.ae/supplements/page/7153d85a-1ab7-4f91-8b27-e4d130bc85ef>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 4 Fabrāyir 2018.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

### *Summit*

and politically active Actress in *The Speaker's Progress*, which I will explore in Chapter Five. 'Udwan's' *Hamlet Wakes up Late* directly inspired other dramatists writing in the shadow of the Arab-Israeli conflict to revisit Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Almost a decade later, Zaid Khalil Mustafa put *Hamlet After a While* into performance in Amman in February 2018.<sup>64</sup> Mustafa's version of *Hamlet* seeks to stress the idea that the various Arab national movements in different countries serve as a distraction from what should be their main political focus, the regional and global effects of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. 'Udwan sets the pattern for using *Hamlet* to engage with the vexed questions of domestic and foreign policy. *Hamlet* becomes a method of critiquing those who allow what is 'rotten in the state' to corrupt politics at home and divert them from the on-going Israeli-Palestinian conflict abroad.

'Abdoh's, 'Isamat's and 'Udwan's adaptations of *Hamlet* all address the questions at the heart of this thesis, importantly, secular, feminist, and political thought in the Arab World. They span a century before Al Bassam's *Al-Hamlet Summit*, when *Hamlet* moved through the Arab World from Egypt to Syria and Jordan. These prehistories of *Hamlet* delineate a period of evolution as the Arab nations moved from colonial to post-colonial to post-post-colonial states. The writers in question use Shakespeare's *Hamlet* to reflect on and negotiate political transition and crisis moments. In section two of this chapter, I now explore Al Bassam's first venture into Shakespeare adaptation: *The Al Hamlet Summit*. I will address the key theme I have identified as central to earlier Arab adaptations of *Hamlet*: the question of secularism. I will demonstrate that this theme also animates and informs Al Bassam's encounters with Shakespeare.

---

<sup>64</sup> Maḥmūd Munīr, "Hāmlit ba'da Ḥīna: širā' dākḥil al-Khashabah wa-'alayhā". *Mawqī' al-'Arabī al-jadīd*, <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/culture/2018/2/15/هاملت-بعد-حين-صراع-داخل-الخشبة-> وعليها. *Tārīkh alāstrjā'*: 26 Mārs 2018.

***Summit***

**2. Sulayman Al Bassam: *The Al-Hamlet Summit 2002/ 2004***

Up to this point, the authors discussed were from Egypt and Syria. However, Al Bassam is from Kuwait, part of the Arabian Gulf Countries (GCC).<sup>65</sup> The location shifts the geographical focus of adaptation from the post-colonial states and former French and English colonies to Kuwait and the GCC as the focus of Al Bassam's Arab World. The *Al-Hamlet Summit* also puts Al Bassam firmly on the international stage as he examined the immediate aftermath of the tragic attacks of 2001, stretching forward to 2005. Though some particularly Western critics might find the discussion of terrorism in the play of primary interest, what interests me is how Al Bassam uses Shakespeare's *Hamlet* to explore the question of Arab World secularisms and what that implies. The play explores how secularism might deal with terrorism and religious conviction, trying to devise solutions. As such, the adaptation becomes a compelling document of the movement towards the Arab Spring.

As stated in the Terminologies section of the second chapter, my analysis of *The Al-Hamlet Summit* will focus on understanding secularism in the play, drawing on Charles Taylor's *A Secular Age* and Talal Asad's *The Formation of the Secular*. The analysis will draw upon Taylor's concepts of the 'buffered self' and 'porous self' as models for Hamlet's situation. The world in which Hamlet lives in is full of confusion because it is 'enchanted' and leads to Hamlet's profound distress. As Asad delineates, individuals are made up of 'feelings, knowledges, sensibilities.' The individual here, (Hamlet), constantly battles to balance and monitor the place of religious faith in (private secular) self-hood, somewhere between the 'porous and buffered' selves.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> See Introduction on GCC.

<sup>66</sup> Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular*. 1st ed. (Stanford University Press, 2010), 21.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

### *Summit*

#### Secularism in *Hamlet* and *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

I will now focus on three areas where the place of the secular, both privately and publicly determined, deserves closer attention in *Hamlet* and *The Al-Hamlet Summit*: the Ghost, meta-theatre, and the ideology of romantic love between Hamlet and Ophelia. I have touched on these questions in the three earlier Arab *Hamlets* outlined in the first section of this chapter. First, I will look at the Ghost in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, which figures the struggle inside Hamlet's mind when he questions the notion of religion in his quest for revenge. I will then explore the secular mindset of Hamlet in *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, focusing on the studied absence of the Ghost. Some modern adaptations of *Hamlet* have cut or even removed the stage presence of the Ghost for the sake of authenticity to modern audiences, a psychological depiction of the Ghost is simply more credible. For example, Sami Abdulhameed, an Iraqi director and actor, has produced *Hamlet Arabyan* in 1967 where he omitted the Ghost character.<sup>67</sup> Critics such as Fadil Khalil<sup>68</sup>, have commented on the Ghost's

---

<sup>67</sup> Sami Abdulhameed (1928-2019) was born Samawah in Iraq. He was a professor of theatrical sciences at the University of Baghdad's College of Fine Arts. He had a Bachelor of Laws from the University of London, a diploma from the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts in London, and a Master of Arts in theatrical sciences from the University of Oregon in the United States. Sami Abdulhameed had contributions in theatrical studies and productions in Iraq. See, Walīd al-Muṣliḥ, ""'imlāq al-masraḥ al-'Irāqī Sāmī 'Abd al-Ḥamīd .. intahat Riḥlat al-'atā'" *Mawqī' : al-Jazīrah dūt Nit*, 30 Sept 2019. mstrj' min, [www.aljazeera.net/arts/2019/9/30/%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A-%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%84%D8%A9-%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%AE%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B7%D8%A7%D8%A1](http://www.aljazeera.net/arts/2019/9/30/%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A-%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%84%D8%A9-%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%AE%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B7%D8%A7%D8%A1). Tārīkh alāstrjā' : 3 Sibtambr 2023. Also see, Abdullāh ḥubbu, "Hāmlit ... baṭal wa-mufakkir li-kull al-'uṣūr". *Mawqī' Mu'assasat al-Nūr lil-Thaqāfah wa-al-I'lām*, 2014. mstrj' min, <http://www.alnoor.se/article.asp?id=241874>. Tārīkh alāstrjā' : 3 Sibtambr 2023.

<sup>68</sup> Fadel Khalil was born in 1946 in Iraq. He received a doctorate in directing and theatrical sciences from the Higher Institute of Dramatic Arts in Bulgaria in 1985. He served as dean of the College of Fine Arts at the University of Baghdad from 1993 to 2001, then as general director of the Iraqi Cinema and Theatre Department, and finally as general director of the Ministry of Culture's office. He participated in numerous Iraqi, Arab, and international

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

omission of Abdulhameed's version and asserts that 'Hamlet's rationality does not allow him to imagine the unseen'.<sup>69</sup> Another example would be from Jonathan Pryce at the Royal Court production of *Hamlet* in 1980. Pryce revealed in an interview with *The Guardian* in 2016 that he and the director, Richard Eyre, were uncertain about including the Ghost for the modern audience. Pryce stated, 'we talked a lot about how to make the ghost of Hamlet's father realistic'.<sup>70</sup> Though there might be psychological reasons for the confusion with the Ghost character in modern adaptations; however, the decision of omitting or keeping the Ghost in the productions of *Hamlet* is a topic that dramatists, directors and actors have thought about carefully in the modern period.

Second, I shall consider Hamlet's much-debated 'delay' on using secular meta-theatre to reach the truth, a crucial factor in considering *The Al-Hamlet Summit*. This factor has long meant that Hamlet is considered lost between secular and religious discussion. The question of hesitation, the apparently endless delay and deferral of the required and desired action of revenge, places Hamlet's secular political and civic decision firmly 'porous' self as he cannot differentiate both worlds. Nonetheless, Hamlet uses secular meta-theatre for another proof in which he moves towards a 'buffered' self. Hamlet's over-careful, sometimes fearful

---

cultural and literary festivals and directed over twenty plays. See, al-Jazīrah Nit. "'Raḥīl al-fannān Fāḍil Khalīl aḥad rumūz al-masraḥ al-‘Irāqī. ’". *Mawqī‘ al-Jazīrah*, 8 Oct 2017. mstrj‘ min: [www.aljazeera.net/culture/2017/10/8/%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D9%84-%D8%AE%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B2-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%AD](http://www.aljazeera.net/culture/2017/10/8/%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D9%84-%D8%AE%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B2-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%AD). Tārīkh alāstrjā : 4 Sibtambir 2023.

<sup>69</sup> Fāḍil Khalīl, "tṭwl ‘amal al-Mukhrij fī al-masraḥ al-‘Arabī al-mu‘āṣir". *Mawqī‘ al-Ḥiwār al-Mutamaddin*, 18 Aug. 2022. mstrj‘ min, [www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=767453](http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=767453). Tārīkh alāstrjā : 4 Sibtambir 2023.

<sup>70</sup> Andrew Dickenson, "Voodoo Child: Jonathan Pryce on Channelling His Father's Death for Hamlet." *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 18 Apr. 2016, [www.theguardian.com/stage/2016/apr/18/jonathan-pryce-hamlet-royal-court-1980](http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2016/apr/18/jonathan-pryce-hamlet-royal-court-1980). Accessed 27 Aug 2023.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

deliberation shapes both Shakespeare's original and its long history of critical response. I will now examine how *The Al-Hamlet Summit* approaches this legacy, rewriting it for the contemporary Arab World.

Finally, I will address the third factor, secular love, the romantic yet deviant love between Hamlet and Ophelia, which animates both Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*. Other forms of love also spur the action: parental love, lust and desire, sibling affection, and friendship are all explored from many different angles in both plays. However, I will focus here on the possibility of religiously sanctioned secular love, in both. While tracking the place of love, I will draw on the distinction made by the Greeks between two forms of love; sexual, which is referred to as *Eros*, and the brotherly, referred to as *Agape*. *Agape* is particularly relevant to my argument here as it goes beyond erotic desire, to include the crucial element of commitment and sacrifice. It also lasts forever.<sup>71</sup> As such *agape* is related to a third category, *philos*, an amicable and friendly companionship, which can extend to include one's country.<sup>72</sup> But although both *philos* and *agape* entail love and affection, *agape* has a broader capacity for selfless love. *Agape* is thus capable of reaching the supreme heights of selfless love connected to spirituality and religion. Whichever name it goes by, love is firmly embedded in religious texts, for instance, the Old Testament states that 'God is love' and similar beliefs are found in the principles of Wisdom in Islam.<sup>73</sup> For example, following Prophet Mohammed, erotic love can indicate that Allah loves the person

---

<sup>71</sup> Robert Fleischmann, "Understanding the distinction between 'Agape' and 'Philo' Love", *Christian Life Resources*, christianliferesources.com/2018/05/03/understanding-the-distinction-between-agape-and-philo-love/. Accessed 20 Feb. 2023.

<sup>72</sup> Bennett W Helm. "Love, Friendship, and the Self: Intimacy, Identification, and the Social Nature of Persons, (Oxford University Press, 2010), Introduction.

<sup>73</sup> "Bible Gateway Passage: 1 John 4:8 - New International Version", *Bible Gateway*, www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=1+John+4%3A8&version=NIV. Accessed 14 March 2018.

- Jack Goody, *The Theft of History* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 215.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

'Say, "If you love Allah, then follow me, and Allah will love you, and will forgive you your sins." Allah is Forgiving and Merciful.<sup>74</sup> Brotherly love in Islam can be exemplified by visiting a sick Muslim, giving charity to a poor Muslim, or giving advice, all of which can be considered proof of love for Allah.<sup>75</sup> As I will discuss in the thesis, these forms of love are firmly located in the secular world.

### **The Ghost**

The presence of the Ghost in Shakespeare's play asserts the place of and the very bitter conflicts about religion and reformation at the time of Shakespeare. Old Hamlet's Ghost appears from a thoroughly Catholic Purgatory to demand that his son pursue the Old Testament action: Revenge. Hamlet is secular and sceptical towards his father's Catholic notions because he just returned from Wittenberg. Hamlet has been trained in the New Protestant Reformation theology in the very city where Martin Luther pinned his famous 'Ninety-Five Theses' on the door of the University church. Hamlet hesitates because his intellectual training means he cannot believe in the Ghost. Hamlet's reaction to the Ghost confirms his internal struggle between the religious and the secular. He confronts Taylor's 'porous self', open to the supernatural but unable to decide, that cannot distinguish the boundaries between the internal and the external.

The identity of the Ghost, and Taylor's pre-modern force of the supernatural, is contested from the play's first line when a nervous Barnardo asks, 'Who is there?' (1.1.1). Who is the Ghost? Is he a supernatural power or a figment of Hamlet's imagination?? The

---

<sup>74</sup> Talal Itani, "Quran Verse by Verse in Arabic and English" *Core Quran*, v.corequran.com/3/31. Accessed 12 February 2022.

<sup>75</sup> Yūsuf al-Badrī, "al-ḥubb fī Allāh 'lāmāth wa-faḍlihi wa-shurūṭuh". al-maṣdar: majmū'ah mawāqī' Midād. *Mawqī' ṭarīq al-Islām*, <https://ar.islamway.net/article/45477/-الحب-في-الله-علاماته-وفضله-وشروطه>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 12 Fabrāyir 2022.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

existence of the Ghost with some seeing him but not hearing him speak, creates uncertainty. Hamlet and those around him, are rendered uncertain and become 'porous selves' open to supernatural influence. Horatio connects the Ghost's presence to religion and the spiritual; 'whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,/ Th' extravagant and erring spirit hies,/ to the confine; and of the truth herein,/ This present object made probation (1.1.135-38). The imagery of the elements and 'The extravagant and erring spirit', coupled with a vocabulary of 'truth' 'confine' and 'probation', show the tensions between the supernatural and the scientific, which test the 'porous self'. Horatio attempts to rationalise the irrational to account for the presence of the Ghost. Marcellus makes a more direct connection between the presence of the Ghost and religion since it disappears during the 'Saviour's birth if celebrated' (1.1.141). For Christians, the Christmas season marking Jesus's birth is sacred and Ghosts do not appear then. However, 'if celebrated' is telling, not all people celebrate; not all Ghosts follow the rules.<sup>76</sup> Here, Barnardo stands for persistent pre-modern superstitious belief in the supernatural, Horatio stands for educated, Wittenberg-trained scepticism, and Hamlet falls somewhere in between. Hamlet both sees and hears the Ghost. In their first, rather one-sided conversation, the Ghost himself asserts that he is a 'spirit' in Purgatory 'Doomed for a certain term to walk the night, / And for the day confin'd to fast in fires, / Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature, / Are burnt and purg'd away' (1.4.10-13). The Ghost confirms what Horatio offered earlier as a possible rationale, but his vocabulary is distinctly Biblical since it is steeped in a language of revenge. The Ghost is particularly furious at Claudius's cold-hearted decision to murder his brother without allowing him due religious preparations. Thus, old Hamlet dies with 'imperfections' (1.5.79) that condemn him to the sufferings of Purgatory. The Ghost casts doubt on his origins in the pre-modern detail and vocabulary of

---

<sup>76</sup> "Isaiah 45 KJV", *Bible Hub*, [www.biblehub.com/kjv/isaiah/45.htm](http://www.biblehub.com/kjv/isaiah/45.htm). Accessed 9 Sept. 2021.



## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

his speech. The modern Hamlet is left to exercise his university-learned, secular skills of logic and rational thought to make up his mind about the true identity and function of the Ghost. These uncertainties resonate with Asad's various 'behaviours, knowledges, sensibilities' that leave Hamlet caught between the 'porous' and the 'buffered' selves.

Shakespeare makes a calculated decision to include a Ghost in this play, located in a seemingly pagan age but invoking a turning point between Catholic traditions and emergent Protestant scepticism. The various appearances of the Ghost are expressly designed as highly dramatic tests to Hamlet. Their first conversation presents him with the harrowing vision of Purgatory much later in the scene where Hamlet visits his mother. The Ghost appears for the final time to Hamlet only to mediate his imminent violence towards Gertrude. When she despairs; 'What have I done that thou dar'st wag thy tongue/ In noise so rude against me' (3.4.40-41), the Ghost seems to appear to enforce the Christian commandment to 'Honor your father and your mother, as the Lord your God commanded you'.<sup>77</sup> The Ghost redirects Hamlet's threatened violent action into conciliatory speech, refocusing his attention on the needs of his mother; 'O, step between her and her fighting soul!/ Conceit in weakness bodies strongest works./ Speak to her, Hamlet' (3.4.105- 7). The Ghost reminds Hamlet of the real target of vengeance, whoc is Claudius.

It is striking that in *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, the Ghost is absent. Al Bassam makes the radical decision to excise Shakespeare's powerful invention from his adaptation. This has the immediate effect of stressing the thoroughly secular nature of Hamlet's predicament. Al Bassam makes the world around Hamlet thoroughly secular with the omission of the Ghost. However, by cutting the Ghost, Al Bassam introduces a new character absent in Shakespeare,

---

<sup>77</sup> "Bible Gateway Passage: Deuteronomy 5:16 – New International Version", *Bible Gateway*, <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Deuteronomy%205%3A16&version=ESV;NIV>. Accessed 9 September 2021.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

the Arms Dealer. He amplifies the off-stage presence of the West in his production by creating the Arms Dealer. There is perhaps a sort of substitution at work here since his father's Ghost is not available in this secular, political vision of the Arab World to give a motive for Hamlet to pursue family revenge. Instead, Hamlet and the Arms Dealer strike an independent politically subversive deal.

The absence of Shakespeare's Ghost further haunts Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*. While the supernatural makes Shakespeare's Hamlet find his conscience, Al Bassam's Hamlet is the Quran. The parallel closet scene in *The Al-Hamlet Summit* stages more extreme physical violence against Gertrude since Hamlet threatens her with a gun. Al Bassam creates no Ghost to step in and offer protection, but it is telling that Hamlet's violent action is prevented by the sudden memory of a verse from the Quran; 'Your Lord has ordered you to worship none except Him, and to be good to your parents. If either or both attain old age with you, do not say: "Fie on you", nor rebuke them, but speak to them with words of respect.'<sup>78</sup> In the performance, the sound of the Quranic verse is loud, indicating that it is the inner voice of Hamlet's conscience. In this sense, one might consider Hamlet's self as 'porous' open to religious perspectives of Islam. However, Hamlet immediately recognises that it is an internalised boundary not a disembodied warning. It is an indication of Taylor's modern 'buffered' self that can distinguish between mind and reality (internal and external perception). Hamlet immediately regrets his actions; 'Oh God, I have trespassed! Beware a mother's vengeance. Mother forgive me, Mother, Mother, Mother' (4.1) where the repetition of 'mother' resonates with the saying by Prophet Mohammed signifying the value of mothers and how they should be respected. Al Bassam's adaptation of the scene removes the Ghost

---

<sup>78</sup> "Text of Quran, Sura 17: AL-ISRA (ISAR'), Verse 23- Verse 32", *ParsQuran*, [www.parsquran.com/data/show.php?sura=17&ayat=23&user=eng&lang=eng](http://www.parsquran.com/data/show.php?sura=17&ayat=23&user=eng&lang=eng). Accessed 9 October 2021.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

### *Summit*

and the father, stressing the importance of mothers even within the patriarchy.

Since the Ghost is not present in *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, some questions arise, for instance, who motivates Hamlet and how? What is the place of religion in the play and can Hamlet be said to have a spiritual journey? The truth is that Claudius murdered the previous King and is never a secret since most of the population already knew from the start of the action. Those groups opposing Claudius distribute leaflets to inform his supporters of the killing, as he himself puts it, 'enemy leaflets circulate like rats in our midst' (1.1.6). This open public knowledge is essential to Al Bassam's plot. It is an assertion by the dramatist that the post-post-colonial, modern population is educated and fully aware of the corruption of the monarch in the anonymous state. If the general population was well-informed, Hamlet himself is one of the last to know. He finds the truth only from the Arms Dealer when the latter '*hands him a green leaflet*' (1.5.13). Hamlet reads it through and discovers that the murder of his father was 'under the leadership of his brother and assassin Claudius' (1.5.13). Shakespeare enfolded spiritual anguish and religious doubt into Hamlet's task of revenge in making Old Hamlet's Ghost the messenger. On the other hand, Al Bassam makes the foreign Arms Dealer and the revolutionaries among the people his messengers, shifting both the nature and the momentum of Hamlet's revenge. He is prey, not to 'a spirit of health or goblin damned' (1.4.19), but rather to the secular, political, revolutionary aims and self-interests of those around him. The Arms Dealer does not demand that Hamlet seek revenge or apply justice, nor does he reappear several times in the play to remind Hamlet of his mission and chide him for his delay. Contrary to the role of the Ghost in Shakespeare, the role of the Arms Dealer in Al Bassam's adaptation is to deceive and conspire with everyone, not just Hamlet. After he informs Hamlet that the murderer is Claudius, he goes straight to Claudius and flatters him, telling him 'power suits you' (2.2.16). The Arms Dealer's character suggests that if we are to give him supernatural agency at all, we should categorise him as a 'goblin

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

### *Summit*

damned'. One that comes from hell to corrupt rather than from Purgatory to demand justice.<sup>79</sup>

Al Bassam creates a secular environment of *Hamlet* but suggests the deceptive nature of both political and social relations between the Arab World and the West. He uses the arms dealer to specify that the West actively collude with indigenous national movements to spread moral and political corruption in the unnamed Arab country. This case leads to the question whether Shakespeare's legitimate father is a Ghost figure who seeks justice and revenge and has a place in Al Bassam's adaptation. I would argue that the Ghost is absorbed into the character of Hamlet himself to some extent. The quest for vengeance, which Shakespeare's original depicts as an external obligation, is internalised and made personal. In this sense, Hamlet maintains a secular 'buffered' self that can distinguish boundaries between the internal and supernatural yet Assad's 'behaviours, knowledges, sensibilities' also haunt Hamlet. He often stands confused between the secular and religious worlds.

The fact that Al Bassam's Hamlet lives in this vaguely determined Arab country where the contradictions between the ideology of secularism as an intellectual concept and as a political practice are acute and serve to intensify Hamlet's dilemma only. The Arab Hamlet is not insane but is confused between the 'porous' and the 'buffered' selves. Like Shakespeare's Hamlet, Al Bassam's Hamlet is trapped between the individual spiritual experience and social, theological history exemplified by the 'porous' and 'buffered' selves. Hamlet tries to reach through the knowledge created in his mind by the Arms Dealer and the population. Nonetheless, Hamlet becomes conflicted due to his modern understanding of secularism. Hence, Al Bassam's Hamlet is trapped and cannot decide how to act. In *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, Hamlet not only wants to kill Claudius in personal, familial revenge, but his

---

<sup>79</sup> David Bevington, "The Play's the Thing: Ideological Contexts of Hamlet in 1599–1601." *Murder Most Foul: Hamlet Through the Ages* (Oxford University Press Scholarship Online, Oxford, 2011) 15.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

revenge is accepted and encouraged by the whole rebellious population, considering they seek collective justice for a crime against the state. The murder and the vengeance against Claudius become a public act not a private one, which contrasts Shakespeare's secretive original. The public also offer the motive for Hamlet's action for their wellness. The personal dilemma and struggle are stronger for Al Bassam's Hamlet because of the excessive 'behaviours, knowledges, sensibilities' he carries inside himself, as evidenced in various play scenes. First, Hamlet starts acting strangely as he enters and leaves without saying anything while Polonius reads through the poem for Ophelia (2.3.18), stating that we observe him hiding under desks; he leaves the stage when someone calls him (2.1.15). We see him as he 'enters, goes to Claudius's desk, takes out files, sources through papers, and written memos' (2.1.15). The papers and memos are official state documents, not Shakespeare's love letters to Ophelia. The state will use them against Hamlet since the adaptation foregrounds the importance of the law, state surveillance, and legal documentation in the modern Arab World. Shakespeare's protagonist seeks evidence to corroborate his father's murder by staging a play while Al Bassam's Hamlet supplements this with a search for hard documented evidence at Claudius's office. However, when Polonius enters, Hamlet hides and 'runs away' (2.1.15).

Al Bassam's Hamlet is overwhelmed by his father's murder. Severely affected by his loss, he figures it as an immersive collective experience rather than an individual one; 'all spirit of men in me aged between 14 and 60 has been taken down to the waterfront and settled headfirst in the shallows' (2.4.20). His words resonate with the deep spiritual experience that underlies Shakespeare's original. Grief makes Hamlet even more uncertain and confused between 'porous' and 'buffered' selves and between the internal and external worlds. Hamlet is immediately swamped by the collective and the individual tortured grief of Shakespeare's Hamlet is in this adaptation immediately swamped in the language of collective responsibility. The speech embodies a national, popular cohesion that the purgatorial spirit of

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

his father is transformed into a powerful, all-encompassing 'spirit of men'. Furthermore, the ages of these spiritual companions, 14-60, span the generations from youth to retirement, in which all possible fighting men seek justice from the state. Hamlet becomes more than a son and the representative for the living in his country who seek justice on behalf of those who are dead. Hamlet is the device or the servant of God in this predominately secular environment that stands to reason that one voice is not enough and there must be a collective scream, a revolution of multiple voices to enforce the reform of a corrupt surrounding society. Al Bassam emphasises the importance of the collective voice in this anonymous Arab country through the implication of all others across the region, resonating with the voice of the people, of those who participate in political reform. The age range invoked (14-60) is important, considering fourteen-year-olds are on the cusp of adulthood as they begin to comprehend their rights and responsibilities as human beings and participate in public life. Sixty-year-olds are approaching the end of an age where people can give, participate, and engage in work, the public sphere, and the reformation of politics and society and generally move towards retirement. Hamlet invokes all these men at the height of their political powers in his image of enforced silence since they 'have been taken down to the waterfront and settled headfirst in the shallows' (2.4.20). The huge collective potential for social and political reform requires a leader. Hamlet's potential function as a figurehead for such resistance is clear since he confesses 'I'm the ghost bell that swings on churches' (2.4.20). Shakespeare's original Ghost and the resonances of Christian ritual are fused with the Athan, the public call to prayer from the mosque.<sup>80</sup> Hamlet, the wronged son and avenger, figures himself as a substitute for religion and the sacred. He is a secular symbolic figure around which the masses can gather in response to a simultaneously sacred and secular demand.

---

<sup>80</sup> The Islamic call to worship, delivered by the muezzin five times a day. The 5 prayer calls also structure the action of the play.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

Hamlet's private right to revenge has a double force since it is a sanctified conduit for whole-hearted, public, sacred support that calls on all citizens of this Arab country to cooperate and end the corruption of the state.

### **Hesitation and Meta-Theatre**

Like Shakespeare's Hamlet, Al Bassam's avenger cannot decide to act. This brings us to our second area of consideration, namely the hesitation that leads to the use of secular meta-theatre as it is figured in both plays. Many have argued that Shakespeare's *Hamlet* procrastinates 'Haste, haste me to know it, that I with wings as swift, / As meditation, or the thoughts of love, / May sweep to my revenge.' (1.5.29-31). Despite the many opportunities presented to kill Claudius throughout the play, he delays the act until the chaotic final scene. As Hazlitt famously put it, 'his ruling passion is to think and not to act'.<sup>81</sup> Caught between older Catholic-identified calls for revenge and a Protestant –inspired scepticism that calls for a different form of justice, Shakespeare's Hamlet freezes and confusion between the 'porous' and 'buffered' selves disables Hamlet from the action.

One of the elements that make the secular, according to Asad is the 'ability to act' to end the pain that the self is confronted with.<sup>82</sup> Hamlet is in pain because he is confused between the internal (thought) and the external (supernatural) since he cannot distinguish between the two worlds. According to Greenblatt, Hamlet's problem in fulfilling his revenge quest is that the Ghost's 'design is vengeance that seems to come from a place that was for Protestants a supreme emblem of the corruption of the Catholic Church'.<sup>83</sup> Ironically, Claudius persuades Hamlet to stay in Denmark rather than return to his Wittenberg training in

---

<sup>81</sup> William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*. 1st ed. (Dodo Press, 1817) 67.

<sup>82</sup> Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular* 1st ed. (Stanford University Press, 2010) 25.

<sup>83</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton University Press, 2001) 244.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

emergent Protestant logic; 'for your intent/ In going back to school in Wittenberg,/ It is most retrograde to our desire' (1.2.112-114). Gertrude reinforces this by stating, 'I prithee stay with us, go not to Wittenberg' (1.2.119). Nonetheless, staying in Denmark leaves Hamlet open to the continued demands of the Ghost for action. Deep inside, Hamlet cannot accept the task of revenge because it is another sinful deed to be charged against his soul. It is true that he seeks justice, which is why he spends a long time thinking. Nevertheless, he does not want to be just another sinner since his self is a 'porous' one. Accordingly, Hamlet wants more proof about the Ghost's identity to pursue revenge and chooses secular meta-theatre as a proof of the murder. Hamlet decides to perform *The Murder of Gonzaga* before Claudius and the rest. Hamlet further wants another trusted eye to reach the truth about the honesty of the Ghost, which is why he asks Horatio 'Give him a heedful note./ For I mine eyes will rivet to his face/ And after we will both our judgments join/ In censure of his seeming' (3.2.80-82). Hamlet aims to find concrete evidence to try to bypass the Ghost and obtain independent proof as he tries to separate the supernatural world from the real.

Hamlet's soliloquies are another element of his secular thinking and delaying the revenge. The audience examines, inspects, and evaluates Hamlet as an individual human being, as a 'buffered self'. As he meditates and weighs the balance of evidence, he refuses to commit another murder without concrete proof.<sup>84</sup> Hamlet's soliloquies allow the audience to glimpse the layers of psychological dilemma and the amount of religious struggle he is experiencing. His search for truth is connected to objective moral codes and his obligation to the Ghost.<sup>85</sup> Hamlet cannot trust himself to distinguish the Good and Just since he thinks he is

---

<sup>84</sup> Tom Regnier, "The law in Hamlet: Death, property, and the pursuit of justice", *Brief Chronicles*, vol. 3, 2011, pp. 125–127.

<sup>85</sup> Alexandre Macmillan, "Michel Foucault's techniques of the self and the Christian politics of obedience", *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 28, no. 4, 2011, pp. 3–25,



## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

'promoted to my revenge by heaven and hell' (2.2. 573). Hamlet is trapped between the 'porous' and 'buffered' selves. As a 'buffered self' Hamlet's urge towards taking his own life is compelling and reveals to the audience the secular thinking of our protagonist.

Shakespeare's Hamlet thinks of himself not as a servant of either God or the Ghost, but as a human individual with a distinctive will. Famously, Hamlet asks, 'To be or not to be, that is the question' (3.1.1), which re-emerges and revolves throughout the play. A secular question determines Hamlet's decision to be in and of the world.

We find that Hamlet's hesitation is very differently configured in Al Bassam's play. However, in formal terms it remains embodied in Hamlet's soliloquies as in Shakespeare's original. These experiences give the audience insights beyond the public religious compulsion and resolution since they glimpse his deeper secular doubt and deliberation. At the end of the first act, after some jets drop a large number of flyers from above the stage, Hamlet steels himself to pursue the act of revenge and end hesitation in a speech worthy of a politically inspiring preacher (Imam); 'raise, your might and God's Holy wrath against the horned Satan that soils our earth and the Greater Satan that enslaves our people and the world. We will not rest until God's labours are done' (1.5.14). Hamlet styles and identifies himself as the servant of God. His imperative 'raise' suggests a public call to arms, an incitement to secular revolution, even as he aims to do 'God's labours'. In contrast to Shakespeare's original where Hamlet wishes that God could sanction him to take his life, Hamlet has both the strength and power, and even the resolution to make the change in Al Bassam's version. The audience is convinced by Hamlet's own persuasive secular war cry.

---

<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.901.2596&rep=rep1&type=pdf>. Accessed 5 April 2018.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

With the absence of the Ghost, this Arab Hamlet rallies himself, in a rhetorically clear-cut war against Satan as there is little room for hesitation in this, the earliest articulation of his quest. This raises the questions on the nature of both this 'horned Satan' and the 'Greater Satan' of his speech, their roles in this emblematic yet anonymous Arab country, and how secularism acts. Both Satan and Greater Satan are familiar from the Islamic scriptures and as descriptors in regional politics. Satan appears as the enemy of both Allah's messengers and humankind throughout the Quran. Prophet Mohammed Hadith, the Quran and the Islamic literature show Satan as a metaphor for humans who have his characteristics, particularly in the area of public corruption. In the Quran, religious and secular devils are intertwined and Allah warns against the dangers of meddling with both; 'And thus we have made for every prophet an enemy - devils from mankind and jinn, inspiring to one another decorative speech in delusion. But if your Lord had willed, they would not have done it, so leave them and that which they invent'.<sup>86</sup> Allah further addresses Prophet Mohammed and assures him that all messengers before him had also faced devils.<sup>87</sup> Thus, Hamlet acknowledges that there is danger from Satan in a strong Islamic tradition and there is a need for a radical action to sustain the good demanded by Allah. Hamlet's first resolution to step up and take revenge is firmly embedded in religious faith and the scriptures. It should further be noted that if his 'horned Satan' speaks to the religious world, then Hamlet's 'Great Satan' gestures towards another realm, that of Arab World politics and the public sphere. Khomeini first coined the term during the Islamist Persian revolution against the USA in 1979. He referred consistently to the USA as the 'Great Satan', giving the essentially political revolution a clear religious

---

<sup>86</sup> "Surah Al-An'am - 1-165." *Quran*, quran.com/6. Accessed 14 March 2018.

<sup>87</sup> Ibn Kathīr, "tafsīr al-āyah 112, Sūrat al-An'ām, tafsīr Ibn Kathīr". *Mawqī' Mashrū' al-Muṣḥaf al-iliktrūnī bi-Jāmi'at al-Malik Sa'ūd*, <https://sites.google.com/site/alqranalkrym/swrte-alanam/1-13/1-2>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 14 Mārs 2018.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

### *Summit*

edge. This demonic characterisation of Western power certainly helped win more people to his side.<sup>88</sup> Hamlet's carefully chosen excessive term refers to the West and the modern neo-liberal coloniser. In the context of *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, the Arms Dealer is clearly identified by Hamlet as the 'Great Satan' (1.5.14) since he represents the political danger of being an ally and a trading partner with the West. The precise identity of the Arms Dealer is continually under interrogation in the play. At the beginning, Hamlet suspiciously asks him 'are you American?' (1.5.13). When Ophelia later asks him 'are you the devil' (3.3.34), he avoids a reply with another diverting question; 'are you attracted to me, young lady?' (3.3.34). The Arms Dealer is fully implicated in the moral corruption of Ophelia. His first evasive response quickly shifts and escalates towards verbal sexual harassment, implying that he wants to kiss her. He manipulates Ophelia to instigate the act, to speak it as her desire; 'a kiss, say it again' (3.3.34). The Arms Dealer works as an expert neo-liberal coloniser who persuades Hamlet and Ophelia to ill-fated action by seducing them further into their own curiosity and desire. 'Great Satan' further corrupts Ophelia and finally drags her ultimate fate where she '*appears, veiled, in a pre-recorded video message on the conference projection screen*' (4.5.48) and blows herself up with a suicide bomb for the sake of Islam. Khomeini's term 'Great Satan' finds contemporary resonance fusing both religious and political imagery in invoking the corruptive dangers of foreign policy.

Al Bassam's Hamlet relies on documented evidence to reach the truth about his father's murder but still uses meta-theatre to confront Claudius and the rest with what he knows. This time, it is not wandering actors, but Hamlet himself who performs, considering he is the only actor in the performance. In a strange embodiment of Shakespeare's 'For O, for

---

<sup>88</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān Yāsīn wa-ākharūn, *al-taḥawwul al- 'āṣif-Siyāsāt Īrān al-khārijīyah bayna 'ahdayn* (Maktabat Madbūlī, 2006) Ṣ. 183.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

### *Summit*

O, the hobby horse is forgot' (3.2.126), Al Bassam's Hamlet enters 'with a hobby horse, dressed as an Abbasid general' (3.5.37) to recall the golden age of the Arabs and remind the people of their long and glorious history. Shakespeare's 'hobby horse', first mentioned in 1602, the meaning already lost, is given new life by Al Bassam. Like the Arab World storytellers and the *Maqamat*, it resurrects past glory to inspire future action. Hamlet mentions the 'Sodium Nitrate' (3.5.38) used by Claudius to kill his brother. This is proof that he knows the truth is not enough to spur the people to act and Hamlet goes further with a mocking doggerel call to action; 'Our blood is the price – oh cowards you are lice- but Glory gory Glory to the Nation!' To war! I think you all. To war! To war!' (3.5.38).<sup>89</sup> Hamlet's 'buffered self' seems to judge the hard, secular evidence and decided to fight for hard, secular revenge.

Right from the start, Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit* is set firmly in the secular world. The five acts may be named after the prayer times of Islam, but the people's behaviour is secular. In contrast to Shakespeare's original in which the 'enchanted' world of spirits and vengeful ghosts is removed, Al Bassam's Hamlet is quickly associated with prostitution and other very worldly pleasures. This secular behaviour is also ascribed to his father's generation; 'There are many more whores than in my father's time' (1.1.5). Hamlet assures the audience that secularism has a long history, considering his father too rejected the Shakespeare's pre-modern world of ghosts. Additionally, Hamlet has Asad's 'behaviours, knowledges and sensibilities' and is trapped between Taylor's 'porous' and 'buffered' selves. Claudius notably asserts in the first act a new beginning that 'the dawn has risen upon the people of our nation: the New Democracy begins today!' (1.1.6). This 'New Democracy' has

---

<sup>89</sup> Shādī wālkhrāz, Sanā' al-Khalīj, "kullamā zādt al-miḥan", *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsītat: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BcUqr\\_dphSM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BcUqr_dphSM). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 14 Fabrāyir 2022.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

a double sense. Firstly, it invokes Mao Zedong's New Democracy, the system that Communist China adapted to replace its old feudal system.<sup>90</sup> The Chinese concept of New Democracy cuts the nation free from old European colonial democracy and is open for adaptation by the developing world as colonised, semi-colonised, and post-colonial country. Thus, Claudius asserts that his new regime of 'New Democracy' will radically change both domestic and international relations. This anonymous Arab country will no longer be controlled by the coloniser, the West. The 'New Democracy will involve a shift in cultural education to focus on the collective rather than the individual and embrace Asad's secular 'behaviours, knowledges, sensibilities'. Secondly, Claudius's 'New Democracy' still invokes that ancient principle of democracy, a governmental system shaped and adapted by the West. Democracy in OED is defined as 'Government by the people' and in later use often more widely, it is a form of society in which all citizens have equal rights, ignoring hereditary distinctions of class or rank, and the views of all are tolerated and respected as guided by the principle of fair and equal treatment of everyone in a state, institution, and organisation.<sup>91</sup> What is essential here is the equality of all people in making decisions for and about the state they live in, regardless of social and religious differences. Accordingly, Claudius adopts Asad's secular political project, a governmental system in which all people are equal before the law. Hamlet is not quite ready for this 'New Democracy'. As the new parliament is formed, Hamlet goes to the graveyard and delivers the 'all spirit of man' soliloquy discussed above, showing that he rejects the secular 'New Democracy', preferring to be with the memory of his father, among the dead. He retreats to the nostalgia of Taylor's 'porous' and

---

<sup>90</sup> This concept is based on Mao Zedong's Bloc of Four Social Classes theory in post-revolutionist China. See, Muḥammad Almāwy, "mā ma'nā al-dīmūqrāṭīyah al-Jadīdah?", *Mawqī' wa-ṣaḥīfat al-Ḥiwār al-Mutamaddin*, <http://www.m.ahewar.org/s.asp?aid=256924&r=0>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 19 Mārs 2017.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

### *Summit*

'buffered' self, to the graveyard, the place most reminiscent of Shakespeare's Ghost. Hamlet chooses to retreat from the new citizens to be alone.

### **Hamlet and Ophelia**

Hamlet's choice to be alone turns us to considering the place of love in the two plays, particularly that of Ophelia. Secular love is the emotional bonds and desires existing between lovers. This love exists in clear tension with religiously sanctioned love and duty in both *Hamlet* and *The Al-Hamlet Summit*. From a religious point of view, love means absolute devotion to God, and no other love can be placed on a par with the religious. However, secular love does exist in these plays as it involves all sorts of individual human choices. There are two key secular love relationships in the play with the first, between Hamlet and Ophelia, in a form of young courtship and the second between Claudius and Gertrude in a marriage, but one based on murder and corruption. Both cases show that secular love ultimately involves a clash with a religious duty that produces sacrifice, with women being the casualties of love in which they are not innocent but also not wholly guilty. Asad's 'behaviours, knowledges, sensibilities' once again place the emerging secular self in conflict with the pre-modern religious rules, this time, the rules of love. In this case, Ophelia is the sacrifice.

In Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Polonius uses the love between Ophelia and Hamlet to orchestrate a plan to test his madness. Ophelia is objectified as a useful actress by her father; 'Read on this book,/ That show of such an exercise may color,/ Your loneliness. —We are oft to blame in this/ ('Tis too much proved), that with devotion's visage/And pious action we do sugar o'er/ The devil himself/ (3.1.46-51). His pious religious remark to Ophelia is crucial, considering her careful performance of virtue. Polonius believes he will bring Hamlet to the confession of both his love and his madness. Polonius does not seem to worry about putting

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

his daughter's virtue in danger, as he is more concerned that she is seen playing her holy virginal part.

Shakespeare strongly suggests that Hamlet once loved Ophelia. Polonius shows no shame in reading Hamlet's poem for Ophelia '*Doubt thou the stars are fire,/ Doubt that the sun doth move,/ Doubt truth to be a liar,/ But never doubt I love ... But that I love thee best,/ O most best, believe it*' (2.2.114-121). This poem resonates with doubt over belief and is analysed by some critics as a disappointment. For example, Habib implies that Hamlet misleads other characters as there is an inversion in the usage of 'doubt' and due to this paradox, the audience are not sure if the poem is an assertion or denial of love by Hamlet.<sup>92</sup> When live on stage, Shakespeare's Hamlet brutally denies his love for Ophelia. We are left with only glimpses of their former love through Ophelia's distress at the changes in Hamlet. When Hamlet admits, 'I did love you once' (3.1.115-16), it is implied that Hamlet has no time for secular love since the presence of the Ghost. Much later, Hamlet uses the past tense and excess to mourn the dead Ophelia as he contests his love with her brother Laertes over her grave, which seems both angry and full of regret, 'I loved Ophelia; forty thousand brothers/ Could not, with all their quantity of love/ Make up my sum' (5.1.259- 61). Without the mature marriage bond with Ophelia, Hamlet remains trapped in the web of his family duty and bonds. Hamlet pays the price of pausing Ophelia in a phase of secular, courtly love.

Foghel argues that Hamlet is concerned only with:

Achieving agape, the only redeeming form of love. Agape, the Greek term for pure, spiritual love, is meant to designate the supreme feeling, fiery and serene

---

<sup>92</sup> Imtiaz Habib, "'Never Doubt I Love': Misreading 'Hamlet'", *Jstor*, vol. 21, no. 2, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/stable/pdf/25112101.pdf>. Accessed 13 July 2018.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

simultaneously, but always authentic. It represents pure Eros, the ascension of the soul towards the supreme union<sup>93</sup>

Marriage and family form the traditional cores for building communities in Christianity and Islam. However, Hamlet sees the religious structure of marriage in the wake of his mother's remarriage to Claudius, which is a severely faulted institution. For Shakespeare's Claudius and Gertrude, secular love does lead to marriage, but it is a marriage based on breaking Biblical law and fratricide. The Christian Old Testament already forbids the marriage; 'If a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing...they shall be childless' (Leviticus, 20:21). Claudius's crime makes the marriage doubly wicked. We hear little about Gertrude's thoughts on Claudius, but in the closet scene with Hamlet, Shakespeare assures us of her innocence of the murder and she emerges as, at least partially, a victim of the patriarchy. Small wonder that Hamlet seeks to avoid marriage, brutally rejecting Ophelia. As a consequence, he is left alone. The son's duties leave him at as a poor poet-lover, mourning his lost Ophelia, then dying by her brother's avenging sword.

Ophelia too, dies ambiguously in the play. Ophelia's death scene is unclear as whether she died by accident 'Your sister's drowned' (4.7.139) or by choice 'drowned herself' (5.1.6). The audience knows the information about her death by suicide indirectly by the clowns and the priest due to the religious atmosphere of the play. There is uncertainty in how Ophelia should be buried because of the rumours that she killed herself. Hesitation is clearly stating the way Ophelia dies shows the importance of religion at the time of Shakespeare and it is quivering the 'conditions of faith' of the time. The priest and

---

<sup>93</sup> Bianca Foghel, "Patterns and representations of Shakespearean Love: Hubris, Infatuation, Agape in Hamlet." *Gender Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2012, pp. 38–50, <https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/j/genst.2012.11.issue-1/v10320-012-0027-4/v10320-012-0027-4.pdf>. Accessed 15 July 2017.



## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

### *Summit*

gravedigger ask the 'belief' in Ophelia and how her morality is connected to religion; thus, she does not have a right to take her own life, for it is a mortal sin. It seems that 'belief' and 'unbelief' might be an option in the secular age, but the person should be of a high rank and privileged to have the option. If Ophelia is not in a high-status social rank, she would not have been buried in a Christian way, and that was the dilemma after her death 'if she had not been a gentlewoman, she should have been buried out of a Christian burial' (5.1.22-24). Even though Ophelia's death might parallel Kathrine Hamlet's death in 1580, Shakespeare wanted to open the subject to the public through his play.<sup>94</sup> There is some reluctance in Ophelia's suicide in Shakespeare compared to Al Bassam's Hamlet, whom death scene was shown on the projector, as I will show in later chapters. This silence works well for Elizabethan religious audiences and simultaneously opens the question of secularism and their struggle regarding death.

In Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, Gertrude and Polonius see the love between Hamlet and Ophelia as a secular tool functioning in a secular world. It is worth noting that the secular love between Claudius and Gertrude in Al Bassam resonates very differently from Shakespeare's original since marrying the brother's widow is traditionally legal in Islam. Shakespeare also has Claudius portray the marriage almost as a family duty; 'my wife from my brother's ashen hand has leapt ...' (1.1.6). And though Claudius's love for his Queen is evident, he also stresses the political necessity of the match, insisting that she 'partner me in the crowing enterprise' (1.1.6). In Al Bassam, their marriage seems to have a state sanction.

Gertrude introduces the idea of marriage as a solution for Hamlet from the beginning of the play 'I have a proposal. It concerns Ophelia' (1.3.9). She justifies her proposal by

---

<sup>94</sup> Marion Wynne-Davies, "Ophelia's Ghost", *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses*, no. 25, 2012, p. 151, [https://rua.ua.es/dspace/bitstream/10045/27453/1/RAEI\\_25\\_12.pdf](https://rua.ua.es/dspace/bitstream/10045/27453/1/RAEI_25_12.pdf). Accessed 16 October 2021.



## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

The clash between religious and secular love is shown through poetry, where Al Bassam takes things implicit in Shakespeare's original and makes them explicit in the context of the Arabic country. Al Bassam reveals the truth of Hamlet's past attraction and devotion to Ophelia through written word and poetry. It is voiced not by Hamlet and not by Ophelia. As she reads it, we notice how Hamlet adopts the religious language that persuades her, expressing his love through words used by Allah and Prophet Mohammed; 'when hell fires consume the light, and paradise is brought nearer this earth: on that day, know that I'm looking for you' and that 'I love you' (2.3.18). Hamlet's love poetry draws on a scriptural vocabulary of religious apocalypse and the horrors of Doomsday. Allah says 'when the sky is cleft asunder' to express the world's end.<sup>96</sup> Allah will split the sky in a scene of huge change in the universe, but we do not know the shape of the split.<sup>97</sup> Hence, as Hamlet writes, 'paradise' will be 'nearer' to the earth due to this split. Furthermore, this is not a hypothesis but a certainty since the use of 'when' in the verse of the Quran makes Allah's actions inevitable.<sup>98</sup> Hamlet's 'when' seeks to connect with Ophelia's sense of pre-determined religious fate since he understands Ophelia's faith and his poetry intertwines powerful religious imagery with promises of love. Hamlet's secular suspicion of the durability of love persists. It is amplified by the modern secular society of Al Bassam's Arab nation. In conversation, Hamlet denies 'loving' Ophelia and focuses on 'looking for you' (2.3.18), a term that has very different connotations of need and loss. At the peak of his moral dilemma, he grows nostalgic for a love that, in truth, he has already lost and he goes 'looking for' her in the most difficult days. This nostalgic desire for the past makes sense, even though he has

---

<sup>96</sup> "Surah Al-Infitar - Quran Search," *Search the Quran*, search-the-quran.com/search/Surah+AL-Infitar/8. Accessed 10 Mar. 2018.

<sup>97</sup> Muḥammad Rātīb al-Nābulusī, "tafsīr Sūrat alānftār", *ywtymb*. tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat Tareq Amro, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=02t1J4PThMw>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 1 Māyū 2018.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

earlier stated firmly and directly that he does not 'love' Ophelia and mocks her, wondering aloud; 'it was a different world then' (1.2.8). Though his understanding of the secular imperative to revenge is still confused, Hamlet understands his compulsion to understand his 'being' and his 'self'.

The place of death is essential to this discussion of secular love because Shakespeare's Hamlet and Ophelia die. The notion of death is between accident and individual decision as clearly shown in Al Bassam but is more obscure in Shakespeare's. As the clash between religious duty and secular love continues without resolution, Ophelia eventually kills herself in different ways in both plays. Polonius and Gertrude continue using Ophelia as a tool to discover what Hamlet thinks are the reasons for his change and his plans, but she gets distracted by true love whenever she is with him. When Hamlet casts off Ophelia and goes through despair, Gertrude puts the full blame on Ophelia and decides to get rid of her, 'let her seek refuge outside the city for few days,/ Marriage will not be spoken of again./ It puts our son in ill-humour' (3.2.32). Ophelia is simply a tool, a prop for Hamlet's drama since they ignore her pain, love, and madness. Al Bassam's Ophelia refuses to accept such treatment. Her final powerful speech before her suicide bombing combines resistance with despair:

the one who has turned me into a refugee has made a bomb of me

I have tried to speak the language of women,

I have tried to forgive, on many nights I served my tongue

but my silence bleeds from my mouth.

here I am the animal that the world forgets,

I have tried to speak the language of man

but laying no good no change can make of it

justice of life.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

I want people outside to know this  
that I will express with my body what is not  
able for to express politics and mighty nations  
so I go to my God pure in my soul in my dignity I am pure. (4.5.48-49)

The unthinking action of people around her has made Ophelia decide to end her life. Despite all her attempts to speak and behave in ways that the people would approve, she has become a 'refugee' in her own country. Her female voice, even her powerful silences, cannot explain her pain to others. The injustices she suffered when treated as a secular tool by those around her have led her to express the ultimate resistance with (her) body. She argues that Ophelia's violent death expresses 'politics and mighty nations' and she embodies the injustices that the country suffers under Claudius's secular political project. She says that killing herself will purify her and restore her 'dignity' instead of the humiliation she was exposed to as a refugee. Ophelia might want everyone to believe that she acts for religious reasons, but I suggest that her death is secular for two reasons. First, considering the terminologies outlined in the second chapter, Asad suggests that what makes a person a secular being is an ability to end their own social and not private pain. Ophelia ends her pain, but since she chooses to die, she loses any chance for true self-empowerment. Second, in Islam, the soul belongs to Allah, and no one has the right to end his life; 'And do not kill yourselves, for Allah is Merciful towards you'.<sup>99</sup> Therefore, Ophelia is lost amidst her country's secular and religious discourse. Moreover, her experience of Asad's 'behaviours, knowledges, sensibilities' result in despair and self-destruction.

Hamlet too lives in the uncertainty and clashes between religious and secular and too decides to end his life. As the play progresses, Gertrude accuses Hamlet 'you are a threat to

---

<sup>99</sup> Talal Itani, "Quran Verse by Verse in Arabic and English", *Core Quran*, v.corequran.com/3/31. Accessed 12 February 2022.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

### *Summit*

state security' (4.1.43). Hamlet is indeed a threat to Claudius's secular project because he is religious but becomes an extremist. On the other hand, Hamlet sees his mother, who supports the state's 'New Democracy', as 'a threat to state morality' (4.1.43). This is crucial in the discussion of secularism because the fear now is not from 'Satan' and the supernatural as it was before, but from human tyranny and evil that threaten social order.<sup>100</sup> Hamlet is against this political regime and is a true danger for his own country. After the death of Ophelia, Hamlet 'enters in a short white thowb, with a long beard' (5.1.51), indicating that he has turned to an extremist or 'radical Islamic leader' (5.1.51). Though Gertrude tries to speak with Hamlet to guide him, he asserts words are not useful and 'now we must mouth meaning with our flesh' (5.1.55). Hamlet opposes the new secular political system and uses religion to voice his thoughts and deviation. He creates an army to liberate his country from Claudius where the clash occurred between them. In this anonymous Arab country, Hamlet is stronger than Shakespeare's original. Taking on some of the power of Shakespeare's Laertes or even Fortinbras, he establishes an army and defeats Claudius. However, he achieves this because sadness and despair turn him into a Jihadist. His personal doubts are subsumed and killing himself becomes a kind of religious sacrifice for the good of the nation 'I will cleanse this land, I will make it pure' (1.2.56).<sup>101</sup> This utterance occurs only in the Arabic script of the play and embodies the Jihadist mentality. Hamlet knows at the end, just before he dies, that this so-called sacrifice and purification is just a falsehood:

In the name of God I have invented a curse

That writes the history of other nations in my own people's blood.

Perhaps the hardest thing to find the courage to wake in the

---

<sup>100</sup> Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*. 1st ed. (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007) 88.

<sup>101</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam, *The Al-Hamlet Summit: Original Playscript in English and Arabic with an Introduction by Graham Holderness*, (University of Hertfordshire Press, 2006), p. 56.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

Morning and face the landscape of ruins that are our lands.

This perception of truth too late,

Is hell. (5.1.55)

Hamlet's last utterance is important as it shows regret for what he has done to his own country and people. He has found religious reasons and acted accordingly but sees the truth behind this 'hell' in the end. He cannot undo his terrorist action. As Taylor argues, 'a modern society can be deeply shaken when it learns that some of its young people have taken up terrorism, just because this undercuts the very bulwark of what they understand as order, which is the security of the person'.<sup>102</sup> For Al Bassam Hamlet's and Ophelia's actions are a warning to all young Arab World citizens. In tyrannical regimes where the religious and the secular are placed in conflict, secular love can be a great source of personal and political power, but it can also be a source of destruction. The choice to die for love or political change must always be closely examined.

### **Conclusion**

In the Arab World as in the West, both secularism and religion are thoroughly embedded in the souls and minds of the people. The sacred is so fully integrated into social culture and tradition that people forget the specificity of the term. This is particularly true for the younger generation and for the most adaptable citizens of the modern world since this fact results in a generational struggle for the terms of religious and secular thinking.

Shakespeare's *Hamlet* projects these struggles as a conflict between ancient religious (Catholic) tradition, exemplified by the Ghost and modern (Protestant) secular thought as pursued by Hamlet the scholar. Hamlet's secular struggle is further shown through the delay

---

<sup>102</sup> Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*. (The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 89.

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*

### *Summit*

of revenge since he spends a long time searching for the truth and uses secular meta-theatre as a second proof method. Whether the Ghost is of his father in purgatory or a disguised devil from hell makes Hamlet hesitate. This struggle and obsession with the spiritual makes him reject Ophelia's erotic love and chooses Agape and 'supreme unity'. For Hamlet and Ophelia, secular love ends in death through some accident in Shakespeare and by careful, but misguided choice in Al Bassam. 'To be or not to be' is still crucial in both plays. Al Bassam's Hamlet shares Shakespeare's Hamlet's struggle with the twinned demands of religion and the secular, but in *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, the political world is louder and the public stakes of action are more intense. Hamlet struggles between 'porous' and 'buffered' selves regardless of the overall atmosphere in both plays, leading to the question on the 'conditions of faith'.

The movement towards secularism in society does not only apply to the West as Charles Taylor argued since it also reached and affected the Arab World as evidenced in these adaptations of *Hamlet*. The three earlier adaptations by 'Abdoh, 'Udwan, and 'Isamat discussed above project Hamlet's religious and moral dilemma into an Arab World setting. They do not neglect the secular questions Shakespeare's *Hamlet* also raises, those of hesitation, feminism, and secular politics.

Even though Shakespeare's Ghost is omitted in Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, it haunts and persists in the 'ancient thoughts of theology', which perplex Hamlet as he tries to decide to act. Its hell-fire language echoes in Hamlet's soliloquies and in his poetry for Ophelia since they represent the lingering doubts of a new generation still uncertain about the place of religion. Shakespeare's Hamlet is uncertain about the Ghost while Al Bassam's Hamlet is uncertain about his life mission and cultural and social identity.

Al Bassam's Hamlet hesitates to take an act of revenge and uses soliloquies to express his struggle between secular and religious thoughts. Though Al Bassam's atmosphere is 'disenchanted' by removing the supernatural, Hamlet maintains the struggle as it comes from



## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

within. With the coming of the 'New Democracy', Hamlet's 'porous' and 'buffered' selves battle grows harder. One certain thing for Hamlet is the mission of his religion asking him to get rid of 'Satan' and 'Greater Satan' to end the moral and political corruption of his country. His personal doubts and clash of religious, secular thoughts are subsumed when he turns jihadist. Killing himself is a kind of religious sacrifice for the good of the nation.

The secular struggle of Hamlet makes him refuse secular love and reject Ophelia since both die in the play. Ophelia decides to take her own life before the whole nation as she wants to scream her anger, frustration, and rejection of the patriarchal system to the entire world. In contrast to Shakespeare's Ophelia's off-stage suicide, reported by the sad slightly suspicious messenger, Gertrude, Al Bassam's Ophelia's public on-stage deliberate act of suicide is designed to shake the state. Ophelia here foreshadows the women of *The Speaker's Progress* explored in Chapter Five as Al Bassam turns to Shakespeare's comedy *Twelfth Night* to examine whether women in the Arab World can use their voices and power towards not tragedy, but new hope.

Hamlet too chooses the end of the Jihadist, only to realise when it is too late that his act simply brings 'hell'. Ironically, both Hamlet and Ophelia acquire the information and tools that lead to their demise from the Arms Dealer, a Western intervention. It is a warning from Al Bassam to the young not to follow blindly the emerging neo-liberal cultural changes in their country embodied Claudius's 'New Democracy' and its links to neo-colonisation. Once again, the contemporary legacy of 9/11 haunts the adaptation, voicing Al Bassam's dread and despair about the manipulation of extremism and its potential catastrophic effect on the Arab World in general and the GCC in particular. Shakespeare's *Hamlet* both animates and captures the very current dilemmas faced by the Arab World. I turn now to the next play in the Trilogy, *Richard III: an Arab Tragedy*, which deepens this exploration of neo-

## Chapter 2: Testing Secularism: Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Al Bassam's *The Al-Hamlet*

### *Summit*

colonialism in Al Bassam's version of Shakespeare's best-known Machiavellian tyrant, the Emir Gloucester.

**Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007**

This chapter, the second case-study of this thesis, shifts its focus from *Hamlet*, the most popular play in Arab World translations and adaptations, to *Richard III*, a history play from the very heart of England's troubled past. Dramatists of the Arab World had largely refrained from staging adaptations of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, a historical play culturally specific to English audiences. It is noteworthy that elite English cultural institutions often choose Shakespeare's history plays to celebrate or commemorate important dates. For example, the RSC's Millennium celebrations (2000), the RSC 'Complete Works' festival (2005-2008), and the 2012 London Cultural Olympiad.<sup>1</sup> The RSC commissioned al Bassam's *Richard III* (2007) as part of their 'Complete Works' project and as a response to the RSC's director Michael Boyd's own production of *Richard III* in the same year.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, it was the first time that the RSC had staged a play in Arabic. On the one hand, this could be seen as a landmark for Arabic Shakespeare. On the other hand, it might be argued that Al Bassam's *Richard III* is a neo-colonial artifact, a commissioned adaptation where the director is given no real free choice in his work. The truth lies somewhere between these alternatives with *Richard III* becoming a site of struggle for the directorial freedom to adapt.

The RSC originally commissioned al Bassam to write an adaptation of *Richard III* under the title *The Baghdad Richard*.<sup>3</sup> The RSC's cultural expectations for the commission

---

<sup>1</sup> "London 2012: All of Shakespeare's Plays to Be Performed in 37 Different Languages to Mark Olympics," *Mirror*, [www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/london-2012-all-of-shakespeares-plays-to-be-performed-273517](http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/london-2012-all-of-shakespeares-plays-to-be-performed-273517). Accessed 12 December 2021.

<sup>2</sup> Graham Holderness, "From Summit to Tragedy: Sulayman Al-Bassam's *Richard III* and Political Theatre", *MIT Global Shakespeares*, 2013, <https://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/extra/from-summit-to-tragedy>. Accessed 20 May 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam and Graham Holderness. *The Arab Shakespeare Trilogy*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury, London, 2014) 61.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

were clear. After the international success of *The Al-Hamlet Summit*, they identified Al Bassam as worthy of a commissioned play about Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi President, between 1979 and 2003. In the aftermath of the Twin Towers attacks 2001, a coalition of forces led by the US invaded Iraq to rid the country of its rumoured ‘weapons of mass destruction’ and depose Hussein. He was overthrown in 2003, and Iraqi citizens' toppling his statue in Baghdad became an icon in the Western narrative of liberation for the Arab World. It was a complicated moment for the commission of *The Baghdad Richard*, described by Margaret Litvin as a ‘commissioned imagination’.<sup>4</sup> Her term suggests strongly that the dramatist’s imagination was not entirely ‘free’ but aligned with the RSC’s declared contemporary and Shakespearean interests, a fact she acknowledges, enabling the adaptation to be ‘much closer to the original’ Shakespeare’s own firmly Tudor version of the villain Plantagenet Richard.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, an orientalist analysis of the cultural economics of this adaptation might criticise the weighted framework in which an established international yet fundamentally colonial cultural body commissions a British-Kuwaiti national to adapt Shakespeare’s controversial play. The play is about a Machiavellian king who aimed to explore a contemporary figure who had been considered in the UK-US imagination as a powerful figure of anti-global Arab World tyranny in the context of the Iraq invasion of 2003.<sup>6</sup> A consensus is assumed in the commissioning voice of the British company both the dramatist and the RSC will concur in their view of ‘Baghdad Richard’ as a troubled but evil Machiavel who is ‘determined to prove a villain’ (1.1.30).

---

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Litvin, “Richard III: An Arab Tragedy (Review)”, *Shakespeare Bulletin*, 2007, p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam and Graham Holderness. *The Arab Shakespeare Trilogy*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury, London, 2014) 75.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

Tickets for *The Baghdad Richard* went on sale during development and the play began by drawing strong parallels between Richard and Saddam, setting this in the foreground of the action. Yet, Al Bassam became increasingly unsatisfied with the parameters of the project.<sup>7</sup> He shared some of his thoughts on the subject with his Iraqi director friend Awni Karoumi (1945–2006). Al Bassam's emails to Awni reveal that he was initially apprehensive when he accepted the commission and that Saddam Hussein was still hiding from the American forces.<sup>8</sup> The former ruler was found hiding, just when Al Bassam was about to start work. Thus, the whole play was written against the background of the capture, trial, and subsequent execution of Saddam Hussein.

Contrary to the dominant US-UK view of Saddam Hussein as a sole, emblematic, conquered, villain, Al Bassam had the view that Saddam Hussein was just one of many Richards in the Arab World. He expressed further that several other tyrannies existed in the Arab World and beyond, not all of them of Arab origin; 'Baghdad is already at one remove from Baghdad and Richard at two removes from Richard. Baghdad is Riyadh, Damascus, Tehran, Cairo, Tel Aviv, and elsewhere. Richard is Saddam, Abdulla, Bashar, Dick Cheney, and others'.<sup>9</sup> The dramatist's list of tyrannies extends worldwide and exemplifies various methods of civil and religious repression. Thus, for Al Bassam, tyranny, is neither location-specific, nor culturally specific but rather a global problem. He realised that the direct binary parallels drawn between Iraq/ England, Richard/Saddam were inadequate. Al Bassam

---

<sup>7</sup> Graham Holderness, "From Summit to Tragedy: Sulayman Al-Bassam's *Richard III* and Political Theatre", *MIT Global Shakespeares*, 2013, <https://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/extra/from-summit-to-tragedy>. Accessed 20 May 2018.

<sup>8</sup> Awni Karoumi was an Iraqi dramaturge and professor whose works contributed significantly to the contemporary theatrical output. See: M'km dūt Kūm. "'Awnī krwmy .. wasīl al-thaqāfāt". *Mawqī' m'km*, 8 Aghuṣṭus 2011. mstrj' min <https://maakom.com/article/wny-krwmy-wsyt-lthqft>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 23 Aghuṣṭus 2021.

<sup>9</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam and Graham Holderness. *The Arab Shakespeare Trilogy*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury, London, 2014) 61.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

believed that Shakespeare's *Richard III* demanded the broader Arab World as its stage. The play eventually appeared under a new name, one that underlines the universal setting of the play, *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy*. It was performed in the Swan Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, February 8-17, 2007.<sup>10</sup> It was a shift of focus that stresses the play's Shakespearean origins and the cultural capital of *Richard III* then adopts a Presentist approach to claim it for the contemporary Arab World. For Al Bassam sets *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* in the unfolding present and near future somewhere between 2006 and 2008. This is a period of intense and widespread political unrest in the Arab World. Key events include the on-going sectarian civil war in Iraq (2006-2008), the Israeli/ Lebanon war of (2006), and the formation of the Allegiance Council in Saudi Arabia by King Abdulla in 2007.<sup>11</sup> These three events can be considered as emblematic examples of the background of tyranny and resistance which Al Bassam draws on to frame his 'Arab Tragedy'.

The civil war between Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims in Iraq continues even now to be a brutal sectarian conflict.<sup>12</sup> The 'Iraq War' conflict between the Iraqi resistance and the American allies was followed by the bombing of the shrines of Imams Ali al-Hadi and Hassan al-Askari, which are holy sites to the Shi'ites, in the Sunni city of Samarra. The bitter conflict stands as a key example of the internecine, inter-Muslim struggles that continue to plague the Arab World.<sup>13</sup> The second key event is the Israeli-Lebanese war of 2006, an example of how the Jewish-Arab conflict still dominates the relationships between nation-

---

<sup>10</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam, *Richard III: An Arab Tragedy*. MIT Global Shakespeares, 2007, <https://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/richard-3-al-bassam-sulayman-2007/#video=richard-3-al-bassam-sulayman-2007>. Accessed 12 May 2022.

<sup>11</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam and Graham Holderness. *The Arab Shakespeare Trilogy*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury, London, 2014). Timeline of Conflict in the Middle East.

<sup>12</sup> Glossary.

<sup>13</sup> al-Jazīrah Nit, "'ām 2006 .. Wuṣūl al-'Irāq ilá Ḥāffāt al-ḥarb al-Ahlīyah". *Mawqī' al-Jazīrah*, <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/reportsandinterviews/2006/12/29/-وصول-2006-الى-حافات-الحرب>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 7 Sibtambr 2021.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

states in the region. The war escalated after Hizballah kidnapped two Israeli soldiers, and Israel attacked Lebanon, rather than enter into the expected negotiations for prisoner release as both countries had previously done in such cases.<sup>14</sup> Thus, a relatively small-scale incident, usually solved by low-key methods, escalated into an international war. It was suspected that Israel took advantage of the event to pursue the larger-scale political agenda of disarming Hizballah and installing a larger military force on the Lebanese border in the interests of national security. The third and final key event in Al Bassam's temporal frame stands for the persistence of dynasty and patriarchal inheritance in the Arab World, which is the formation of the Allegiance Council in Saudi Arabia. This committee chooses the King and the Crown Prince since it consists of the sons and grandsons of the founder, King Abdul Aziz Al Saud. The Council's mission is 'Preserving the entity of the state, the unity and cooperation of the royal family, and their non-dispersal, national unity and the interests of the people'.<sup>15</sup> These three events stand for the three key threats to regional progress and unity, which resonate in both Shakespeare's *Richard III* and in the early twenty-first century Arab World, which are a civil war, international security, and succession. They are far from the neo-colonial allegorical reading implicit in the original conditions of the RSC commission. Rather they offer a complex network of meaningful reasons for engaging with *Richard III* to turn it into an Arab tragedy. If *Hamlet* offered a model of tragedy for one nation and one prince, then *Richard III* became the model of a regional tragedy, involving multiple competing national and political agendas.

---

<sup>14</sup> Amīn Ḥuṭayṭ, "Ḥarb 2006 'alā Lubnān .. khalfiyat wa-adā'an wa-natā'ij", <https://www.aljazeera.net/opinions/2006/8/15/2-وتنتائج-خلفية-وأداء-ولبنان-على>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 7 Sibtambir 2021.

- Nazir Hussain, "The Israel-Lebanon War and its implications for regional security", *Policy Perspectives*, 2007, pp. 17–32, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/42909160.pdf>. Accessed 19 Oct 2020.

<sup>15</sup> al-Jazīrah Nit, "mā lā ta'rifuh 'an Hay'at al-Bay'ah fī al-Sa'ūdīyah", *Mawqī' al-Jazīrah*, 22 Yūniyū 2017. mstrj' min: <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2017/9/10-السعودية-تعتقل-الداعية-سلمان-العودة>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Sibtambir 2017.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

The remainder of this chapter considers how Al Bassam takes Shakespeare's tricky Machiavellian original and turns it into an essentially Arab World play. Once again, we find ourselves in an anonymous Arab country, specifically, a desert country rich in oil, with a history of conflict between religious and secular authorities. Of particular interest in the context of the RSC commission, as we shall return to later in the chapter, is how Al Bassam depicts foreign interference. Al Bassam's 'Arab Tragedy' essentially originates as a family conflict, then escalates into national political chaos, and culminates in the bloodshed of an innocent population. Throughout this, his 'Emir Gloucester' employs Machiavellian political thought to ensure self-preservation as he acts to acquire the throne. If the plot transfers well to the contemporary Arab World context, so too does the specific aesthetic choices regarding the staging of the story. As with *The Al Hamlet Summit*, there are some telling innovations between the playtext and the performance. In this case, music and musicians play an essential role – both visual and auditory -- in animating the move from page to stage. The musicians, located just next to the stage and audience, become a focus for the camera. At the beginning of the play, a lone drummer – nowhere referred to in the text -- builds a background mood of ominous suspense. Al Bassam wanted to create 'a live effect by using rhythms and folk music that used sea drums, oud, and bass 'guitar' to merge with other instruments'.<sup>16</sup> This fusion of additional songs and new composition throughout the performance trades on nostalgia for the Arab audience. It creates an atmosphere at once familiar and strange, suitable for this unnamed Arab country. This is particularly heightened when for example, drums and suspenseful music underpin the murder of the princes' scenes; their death then transforming the music to a traditional lament. Working with the legacy of the traditional Arab music and

---

<sup>16</sup> Kūnā dūt Nīt, "Rītshārd al-thālith Ma'sāt wa-shakhṣīyāt Shikisbīrīyah bi-lisān wa-wāqī' 'rbyyn", *Mawqī' Kūnā*, [www.kuna.net.kw/ArticleDetails.aspx?language=ar&id=1877081](http://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticleDetails.aspx?language=ar&id=1877081). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Yūniyū 2022.



### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

story-telling practices discussed in Chapter One, Al Bassam reminds us, like the *Maqamat* does, that the preoccupations of the contemporary Arab World -- succession to the throne, state religion, national and international political interference – have a long history. They are inescapable, woven through the Arab World’s cultural heritage.

First, as in the previous chapter on *Hamlet*, I will consider this play's pre-history in performance and translation in the Arab World. Second, I will examine Queen Margaret as a figure who watches and learns from cyclical, secular, history to stage resistance against Richard. Third, I will explore the tensions caused by religion in what purports to be a secular world. In particular, I shall examine how Richard exploits religion to gain the throne by manipulating Clarence and Buckingham. I shall then consider some audience and critic responses to Al Bassam’s performance of *Richard III* from both UK and USA audiences, particularly as they focus on Western political interference in the play. Finally, I will examine political thought in two later dramatic responses to Al Bassam’s adaptations: the Tunisian adaptation of *Richard III, Court-Circuit* by Mahfooz Ghazal (2014) and *Ma Baa’d Al-ensan* (2018) by Mohannad Kareem that was performed in the UAE. I will conclude that Al Bassam transforms a hitherto largely unknown Shakespeare play into a true ‘Arab Tragedy,’ which in turn sparks new reimagining and responses in the next generation.

It is also worth mentioning that right before Al Bassam’s performance of *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy*, he produced *The Mirror for Princes: Kalila Wa Dimna*, a play whose title explicitly links the European Renaissance humanist advice manual for rulers to the allegorical animal fables, which are one of the most prized works of Arabic and World literature. The fables were based on the Sanskrit *Pancatantra* that originated in India, probably Kashmir. Al Bassam’s play is centred on the moment at which they are first

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

translated into Arabic by the central character. The court scribe Ibn Al-Muqaffa, a radical writer and reformer who witnessed, experienced and shaped the birth of the Abbasid Empire in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> As mentioned in Chapter Two of the thesis, the Abbasid Empire, also known as the Islamic Golden Age, saw the capital of the Empire move from Damascus to Baghdad. Unsurprisingly, the SABAB website describes *Kalila Wa Dimna* as ‘a parable of the American Invasion of Iraq. The intrigues and political dilemmas of the Abbasid court resonate with the violence and tyranny of contemporary events.

For SABAB theatre, the play marked an exciting new moment of international collaboration and GCC recognition. It was co-produced by the Tokyo International Arts Festival, Barbican BITE and Dar al Athar al Islamiyyah, Kuwait.<sup>18</sup> *The Mirror for Princes: Kalila Wa Dimna* was first performed on 27 February 2006 at the Abdulla Al-Salem School Theatre in the Hawalli Educational District during the Kuwait Cultural Season and was attended by high-ranking officials. The British and Japanese Ambassadors attended the press conference at the Al Maidan Theatre a few days earlier for the Kuwaiti newspaper *Alqabas*. Al Bassam announced the impressive international tour of ‘Tokyo, Japan, on March 10th, and Sharjah, on March 29th. Five shows were to be presented in London for a week from the

---

<sup>17</sup> Abdulla Ibn Al-Muqaffa’s Arabic translation was based on the Persian translation, following the Arab conquest of Persia which gave rise to the Abbasid Empire. See, “Kalila Wa-Dimna.” Edited by Paul Lunde, *Muslim Heritage*, muslimheritage.com/kalila-wa-dimna/. Accessed 8 March 2022.

<sup>18</sup> Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiya (House of Islamic Antiquities) is Kuwaiti cultural institution founded in 1983 and it includes a private Kuwaiti art collection, owned by Sheikh Nasser Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah and his wife Sheikha Hessa Sabah Al-Salem Al-Sabah. In Kuwait, Al-Dar offers a wide cultural season, from lectures on Islamic arts and civilization, to audio-visual presentations, training courses for Islamic arts and musical evenings. See, Farīq Muntadā al-Kuwayt 32. "Dār al'āthār al'slāmyh fī al-Kuwayt". *Mawqī' Muntadā al-Kuwayt* 32, 22 Fabrāyir 2015. mstrj' min: <https://kwt32.com/dār-āl'āthār-āl'slāmyt-fy-ālkw>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Yūniyū 2022.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

tenth of May.<sup>19</sup> He then explained his intention in presenting the play; ‘to shed light on our culture and to increase communication between our peoples. It should be the responsibility of the Arabs more than the Western countries’.<sup>20</sup> His point is subtle but clear: the old ‘one-way’ colonial cultural education is no longer valid. Just as the play title puts two world classics of statecraft side by side on an equal footing, Al Bassam, the Kuwaiti-British artist, will challenge those who try to put Western views first. As I will examine later in this chapter, it was an essential part of his preparation for the RSC commission of *Richard III*.

#### 1. Shakespeare’s *Richard III* in the Arab World: A Prehistory

As shown in the previous chapter, *Hamlet* had a long history of translation in the Arab World, alongside the other key tragedies such as *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *King Lear*, but Shakespeare’s *Richard III* did not.<sup>21</sup> Khalil Mutran was the first to undertake a systematic translation of *Richard III* (date not known), but his translation depended on French sources and concentrated on the poetic aspect of the play rather than the dramatic.<sup>22</sup> He later chose scholars and translators from different universities discussed in Chapter Two as part of Taha Hussein Pan-Arab League translation project to translate Shakespeare’s plays from English between 1955 and 1965.<sup>23</sup> Abdulkader AlQit, a professor at University of King Fuad the First

---

<sup>19</sup> Kūnā dūt Nit, "Wazīr Shu’ūn al-Dīwān al-Amīrī yr’á ‘arḍ masraḥīyah (Kalīlah wa-Dimnah Mir’āt al-mulūk)", : <https://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticleDetails.aspx?id=1598677&language=ar> Tārīkh alāstrjā’: 22 Yūniyū 2022.

<sup>20</sup> Mufraḥ Ḥijāb, "Kalīlah wa-Dimnah ‘alá al-masraḥ al-Ithnayn al-Muqbil, al-Bassām: aḥāwl khalq anṭbā‘ mughāyir ‘an al-insān al-‘Arabī ‘ālmīyan", *Mawqī‘ Jarīdat al-Qabas*, <https://alqabas.com/article/60584-المق-الإثنين-المق-60584>. Tārīkh alāstrjā’: 22 Yūniyū 2022.

<sup>21</sup> Ḥifnāwī Ba‘lī, *al-tarjamah al-adabīyah: ālkhāb al-Muhājir wmkhātbh al-ākhar*. tarjamat: ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Qiṭṭ, Dār al-Yāzūrī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī’, 2018, p.200.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p. 204.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

in Cairo, was appointed to translate both *Richard III* and *Hamlet*.<sup>24</sup> Abdulkader AlQit's translation into Arabic was published in 1990 and was the first to bring the play to attention in the Arab World.<sup>25</sup> *Richard III* was previously regarded as an English history play focused on national history. It was deemed a play that 'appeals to those who are interested in the political events of late medieval England'.<sup>26</sup> However, in the twenty-first century, *Richard III* offers some Arab World dramatists a conduit to discuss such dilemmas as political unrest and domestic chaos, including the struggle of good and evil, secularism versus religion, and the position of women in public life. This chapter focuses on Sulayman Al Bassam's *Richard III: An Arab Tragedy* (2007), but will also consider the Tunisian adaptation of *Richard III, Court-Circuit* by Mahfooz Ghazal (2014), and *Ma Baa'd Al-ensan* (2018) by Mohannad Kareem. The latter two depend on Shakespeare's *Richard III* and consider Al Bassam's adaptation, with some scenes both parallel and others challenge his play.

#### 2. Richard the Machiavel in Shakespeare and Al Bassam

As outlined in Chapter Two, Machiavelli's *The Prince* sought to advise on the qualities a ruler should acquire and exercise to maintain his throne and his power. The essential quality of 'virtu' can be exercised for good and evil when the goal is the stability of the state and its population. First and foremost, this quality of preservation of self-interest can

---

<sup>24</sup> He is an Egyptian comparative literature professor who studied in England and was taught by Taha Hussein as well as Ahmed Ameen. He witnessed the political changes and cultural development that took place in Egypt, such as the Revolution of 1952.

- 'Abd al-Nāṣir al-Ḍawwī, "abbnh Ittiḥād al-Kitāb al-Miṣrīyīn .. rumūz ibdā'īyah Miṣrīyah: D. 'Abd-al-Qādir al-Qiṭṭ: Fāris min al-zaman al-nabīl", *Jarīdat al-Dustūr al-Urdunīyah*, <https://www.addustour.com/articles/472424-'bbnh-āthād-ālktāb-ālmṣryyn-rmwzā-bdā'yt-mṣryt-d-'bdālqādr-ālqt-fārs-mn-ālzmn-ālnbyl!!&desktop=1>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Sibtambr 2018.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

- Wilyam Shiksbīr, *Rītshārd al-thālith: masraḥīyah fī khamsat fuṣūl*. tarjamāt ('Abd al-Qādir al-Qiṭṭ, Kitāb iliktrūnī, 1990).

<sup>26</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of King Richard III: The Oxford Shakespeare* (Oxford University Press, 2000) 21.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

be found explicitly in Shakespeare's Richard. Al Bassam's Richard is perhaps more complex since he is both sympathetic and empathetic at heart, striving to become a Machiavel.

Shakespeare's Renaissance Richard suits the particular contexts and exploits of the full dramatic potential of Machiavelli's Florence since he operates in a secular tyranny. The atmospheric palaces of Shakespeare's *Richard III* share the bishops and the prophecies, myths, and illusions that prevailed in the age of Machiavelli. Shakespeare's Richard shares Machiavelli's philosophy of history. He craves stability but shows us his belief in the cyclical nature of history simultaneously. He believes in self-determination whilst being aware that history and nature are implacable important forces. This tension between Richard's tyrannical Machiavellian will to self-hood and his awareness of both the social and natural forces that shape him is exposed to the audience from the beginning of the play through his opening soliloquy. His soliloquies might be considered the only source of truth, where Richard freely expresses his thoughts. McDonald argues that his language is often ambiguous, 'emphasising rhetorical instruments that embody forcible shifts of meaning'.<sup>27</sup> His double-meanings and verbal techniques of punning frequently enable Richard to manipulate others and fully exploit the power of political discourse. Richard's opening soliloquy reveals his anger and resentment at the secular world, which has taken away his dignity and respect as a soldier. His opening vision of the present, 'Now is the winter of our discontent/Made glorious summer by this sun of York' (1.1.1-2), suggests a new era of peace and prosperity in England at the end of the Wars of the Roses. We quickly learn that Richard deplors this historical moment of stability because it has no place for him. As McDonald argues, Richard is all for the Machiavellian cyclical view of history at this point; 'War and peace are in Richard's perception, actually much more closely, even dialectically interrelated, the one definable only

---

<sup>27</sup> Russ McDonald, "'Richard III' and the Tropes of Treachery", *Scholarly Journal*, 1989.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

in terms of the others' momentary absence.'<sup>28</sup> While everyone else in the country enjoys 'merry meeting' (1.1.7), Richard stands alone and talks to himself, implicating us the audience. He first looks into himself and considers what kind of history will allow him to rule.

Famously, Richard first considers his own body since it has let him down so that he is subject not even to public, but to animal disdain:

I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,  
Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,  
Deformed, unfinished, sent before my time  
Into this breathing world scarce half made up,  
And that so lamely and unfashionable  
That dogs bark at me as I halt by them. (1.1.18-23)

Richard's anger is evident in his description; he is 'curtailed' and 'cheated'; 'deformed' and 'unfinished'. His body is negative and falls short compared to others such as Edward and Clarence. He is noticed by the dogs in the street and by those who should recognise his normal human, let alone his regal, princely qualities. As McDonald puts it, he is 'inhibited by the luckless combination of heredity and environment that has stranded a deformed and violent soldier in an oppressive time of tranquil normality'.<sup>29</sup> Thus far, Richard's speech might be said to invoke pity, but from another perspective, Richard here embodies the very secular instinct towards wrath and its associated act of revenge. When wrath is mentioned in the Bible, it is the territory of God only "Beloved, never avenge yourselves, but leave it to the wrath of God, for it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord'".<sup>30</sup> The

---

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> "What Are the Seven Deadly Sins?" *Bibleinfo*, 2019, [www.bibleinfo.com/en/questions/what-are-seven-deadly-sins](http://www.bibleinfo.com/en/questions/what-are-seven-deadly-sins).

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

statement makes the audience senses Richard's earthly, secular wrath and the consequences that will unfold from it. Even the dogs are alert to what the OED terms 'the manifestation of anger'.<sup>31</sup> Dogs are considered unhygienic creatures in Christianity and other religions such as Islam and Buddhism. In the New Testament, calling someone a 'dog' could refer to their evil behaviour.<sup>32</sup> Richard's 'unfinished' and 'unfashionable' body render him a devil.<sup>33</sup> We have not seen him with other humans, but animals hate him, so we know the truth. When he vows 'I am determined to prove a villain' (1.1.30) we sense the tension in the 'determined'. His body has made him what he is, but his mind seems trained in Machiavellian political thought and is actively involved in self-determination. He will embody tyranny and he will invoke a different kind of historical cyclical Machiavellian rhetoric to provoke change. Richard brings the language of the natural world, prophecies and plots back into circulation as he casts shadows on the 'glorious summer' (1.1.2) of York. Having done the work to 'spy my shadow in the sun' (1.1.26), Richard becomes both the agent and the observer, working in the wings to sow suspicion and set new histories in motion:

This day should Clarence closely be mewed up  
About a prophecy which says that 'G'  
Of Edward's heirs the murderer shall be. (1.1.38-40)

In the scenes that follow we see Richard's first encounter with other people that only serves to confirm Richard's self-assessment in the opening soliloquy. Richard's performed empathy and trauma at the fragile rift between the brothers makes us, the audience, complicit in his double-entendres and plots; 'Alack, my lord, that fault is none of yours' (1.1.47). He

---

<sup>31</sup> "Wrath, *N* (1)". *Oxford English Dictionary*, [www.oed-com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/Entry/230555?rskey=jrf7ZH&result=1#eid](http://www.oed-com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/Entry/230555?rskey=jrf7ZH&result=1#eid). Accessed 3 Jan. 2019.

<sup>32</sup> Ellen White, "No, No, Bad Dog: Dogs in the Bible - Biblical Archaeology Society", *Biblical Archaeology Society*, [www.biblicalarchaeology.org/daily/ancient-cultures/daily-life-and-practice/dogs-in-the-bible](http://www.biblicalarchaeology.org/daily/ancient-cultures/daily-life-and-practice/dogs-in-the-bible). Accessed 2 February 2019.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

acknowledges, 'Meantime this deep disgrace in brotherhood/ Touches me deeper than you can imagine' (1.1.111-112). In fact, he becomes a kind of narrator or story-teller, constantly pointing out to us his agency in the narrative. It is only when things become morally uncomfortable, when Richard prepares to court Lady Anne over the dead body of the husband he has murdered, that we are reminded that Richard is clever and evil at the same time. When her servants show fear of Richard, Lady Anne immediately recognises their almost animal instinct and they behave like the dogs of the opening soliloquy who bark at him in the street:

What, do you tremble? are you all afraid?

Alas, I blame you not; for you are mortal,

And mortal eyes cannot endure the devil.

Avaunt thou dreadful minister of hell! (1.2.41-44)

Even though she sees him for what he really is at this point, 'a minister of hell'; even though she recognises him as the 'villain' he was determined to be, beyond both religious and secular authority, and beyond humanity; 'Villain, thou knowest not law of God nor man/ No beast so fierce but knows some touch of pity' (1.2.68-9). By the end of the scene, Lady Anne will be enmeshed in Richard's plotting of cyclical history as he promises to protect her and her legacy, if only she will marry him. As Richard translates his first resolution into action, it is clear that he will fulfil his Machiavellian political agenda for self-preservation across the play without mercy or pity. Some might argue that Richard does not fulfil the role of Machiavelli's ideal prince because he is detested by the people and recognised as evil by many around him, particularly the women.<sup>34</sup> However, Shakespeare's Richard is constructed around transparency, makes his evil evident, and even offers constant commentary on his performance and deception. He uses religion as a tool to help his secular progress:

---

<sup>34</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* (Oxford University Press, 2005) 65.



### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

I clothe my naked villainy  
With odd old ends stol'n forth of holy writ  
And seem a saint when most I play the devil. (1.3.336-338)

Like his Machiavellian political agenda, Richard's art of tyranny is at once disguised and fully on display.

Al Bassam's Richard echoes Shakespeare's in many ways, but there are also important differences. Emir Gloucester plots and commits evil acts against other characters throughout *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy*. The evil inherent in the murders and political oppression caused by Richard is overwhelming to the extent that one might wonder whether the curse on his anonymous country will ever be lifted. Richard is stripped off all humanity, morality, and crucially, religion. He is shown to be thoroughly secular in his being and operations. In his soliloquies and actions, as well as through the opinions of others, Al Bassam's Richard is consistently shown to embrace Machiavellian political thought since he harms everything for the sake of his throne. He thoroughly rejects God and religion, becoming in effect, an enemy of God and the godly in the course of the play.

The first soliloquy of Al Bassam's Richard starts with a potent image of contemporary political Islam. He speaks against the background noise of a party, commenting on the winners who have now left the battlefield and are enjoying a very luxurious version of that 'glorious summer' of Shakespeare's victory:

Grizzly brother Akhwans who waged the valiant fight  
Are cleaned-whiskered now, soft skinned,  
Loose-jawed on Armani beds,  
Oiling whisper lusts with Snafi screams. (1.1.78)

Richard's speech is open to multiple interpretations. First, 'brother Akwans' refers to the Muslim Brotherhood, the most important Islamic movement in the modern era. It is

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

widespread in the Arab World and among the Muslim communities in the West.<sup>35</sup>

Historically, the movement started in Egypt and was supported by the Egyptian government to educate people about the realities of British colonisation. If colonisation had worked to blur and obliterate Arab-Islamic identity and establish a secularised identity in its place, then the Muslim Brotherhood sought to encourage both debate and resistance. They actively addressed the issue of Palestine and Jewish anti-Arab violence to bring it to local and international public attention.<sup>36</sup> While within the Arab World, the Muslim Brotherhood movement is known for its focus on Islamic and political reform, in the rest of the world, particularly the West, the movement has often been broadly branded as propaganda and criminal, their supporters are hated, and it is sometimes used as a synonym for radical Islam and terrorism.

Al Bassam's reference in this context is even more specific. His 'brother Akhwans' refers to the military force establishing Saudi Arabia and actively spreading Wahhabism in the Gulf Region. Holderness describes this as 'an Islamic religious militia that formed the main military force of Ibn Saud'.<sup>37</sup> This group has won but Richard is hostile to their success. He does not belong to this movement seeking political, social, and economic reform from a comprehensive Islamic perspective. Richard prefers to maintain a separation between politics and religion since he considers religion one of many tools to fulfil his political agenda. Furthermore, Richard's agenda is clear; his main concern is not his soul but his succession.

---

<sup>35</sup> The movement started in Egypt in 1928, four years after Ottoman Empire, by Sheikh Hassan Albanna. It was opposed to the political system in Egypt. see: al-Jazīrah Nīt, "al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn", *Mawqī' al-Jazīrah*, [https:// www. aljazeera. net/ encyclopedia/ movementsandparties/ 2014/11/11/ al'khwān-ālmuslimwn-mṣr](https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/movementsandparties/2014/11/11/al'khwān-ālmuslimwn-mṣr). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Fabrāyir 2019.

<sup>36</sup> Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib, wa-ḥanīn Rushdī, w Maḥmūd mnsy,. *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn aḥdāth ṣana 'at al-tārīkh*. Ṭ1, Dār al-Da'wah lil-Nashr wa-al-Ṭab' wa-al-Tawzī', 1994, Ṣ Ṣ. 75 – 97.

<sup>37</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam and Graham Holderness. *The Arab Shakespeare Trilogy*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury, London, 2014) 133.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

As Al Bassam asserts, drafting his adaptation at the time that the West pursued, captured, and eventually executed Saddam Hussein:

I discovered that in *Richard III*, it is not about absolute evil, but about the state's governance crisis. What happened was the result of the King's death and many uncles aspire to reach the throne or bring their children as heirs: this is the fulcrum on which I start processing the text.<sup>38</sup>

Including the 'brother Akwans' is part of a nuanced response to the RSC's original commission of *The Baghdad Richard*. Their presence and victory signal that the old debates about colonial influence are over, leading to a new era of Arab World politics dominated by the Muslim Brotherhood, their domestic allies (Clarence) and opponents (Richard), as well as global economic and military powers. At this threshold of a new era, Richard finds himself alone. As the audience notice, he stands apart from the majority who welcome peace and their new Muslim Brotherhood rulers. He is not ready to accept the new Arab World order: in Shakespeare's words 'no lover I; but plots I have laid' (1.1.78). In Al Bassam's version of Richard, the disabled body, which Shakespeare figures as a huge factor in his villainy, is barely mentioned or seen in the performance. If Shakespeare's Richard states he is 'so beaten, buckled and battered' (1.1.78); Al Bassam's playtext is not so much concerned with a deformed, almost non-human body, but with the corrupt body politic. Once again, however, there are some telling differences between the playtext and performance which reinsert Richard's animal qualities. Al Bassam's Richard does not mention 'dogs' in the text; however, in performance, the Emir Gloucester invokes Shakespeare's original and says 'even

---

<sup>38</sup> Lu'ayy 'Abd al-Ilāh, "masraḥīyah Rītshārd al-thālith wa-mu'ālajat al-wāqī' al-'Arabī: awal 'amal yuqaddimu bi-al-'Arabīyah fawqa Khashabah masraḥ Shiksbīr al-Malakīyah yukharriju Kuwaytī", *Mawqi' Ṣaḥīfat al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ*, <http://acrhive.aawsat.com/details.asp?issueno=10261&article=405905#.WooQaa2carc> Tārīkh alāstrjā': 18 Fabrāyir 2018.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

dogs bark at me'. He then continues sarcastically with 'haw, haw, haw', a sound equivalent to 'wuf wuf wuf' in Arabic and the audience laughs.<sup>39</sup> In both text and performance, Richard's villainy remains consistent: he blames the Muslim Brotherhood for the mess and chaos now facing his country, then quietly and with some difficulty -- plots his best line of resistance. Richard has enough historical insight to see that the 'brother Akwans' and the West have produced a hypocritical version of radical Islamic thought and governance which threatens the future of his country. Like a true Machiavellian Prince, he exploits this knowledge to pursue his desire to rule.

He shows the population that they have a 'common enemy' and distracts them from his own political agenda by pursuing a form of secular resistance. He points out that the 'brother Akwans' secretly live a luxurious, Westernised life as they laze around, beardless, in 'Armani beds' and do not practice what they preach. Richard builds and consolidates this picture of the enemy as a corrupt Islamic authority who manipulates and deceives the people. The 'fight' he constructs is an internal Arab World struggle between Islamic and secular Arab rule. Richard styles himself as a secular leader, drawing heavily on Machiavellian secular political thought. However, Richard is a compromised political leader. The audience is aware of the long history of colonisation and the renewed presence of the West on stage and understand that Richard does not have completely free will to act. While he publicly protests against the ongoing interference of the West, he is paralysed, realising that he probably reached the throne through the support of the West. His dilemma resonates with events in the contemporary US presidential elections where, for example, questions about the global significance of 'the situation between Israeli-Palestine, Gulf states and assurance of security

---

<sup>39</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam, *Richard III: An Arab Tragedy* (MIT Global Shakespeares, 2007).

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

preservation' were posed to all candidates.<sup>40</sup> More specifically, one of the questions regularly posed during the US elections was about US backing for the war between Saudi Arabia and Yemen. In his campaign rhetoric, Biden had the idea of ending 'support for Saudi Arabia's war against Yemeni rebels and restoring the relevancy of human rights to the White House's agenda in the Middle East'.<sup>41</sup> Richard's Western-backed condemnation of the Muslim Brotherhood compromises his position; it also gestures once again towards the complexities of allegiance and finance in the post-9/11 Arab World which so concerns Al Bassam. Here, Richard stands against the corrupt Islamic government but at the cost of ventriloquising Western stereotypes about Islam and the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>42</sup> His refreshingly secular vision and agenda win him support among the Arab population, but it also furthers the Western interventionist, neo-liberal agenda. Richard is, then, in a wholly compromised position that inspires both sympathy and empathy in his audience. If we want to find a clearer voice of resistance, we must look to Margaret and, less obviously, to the voices of the West, particularly to Buckingham and the US embassy.

#### Voices of Resistance

The importance of Margaret is signalled right from the start of Al Bassam's playtext: 'Margaret enters, the portrait collapses and Margaret reacts as she retrieves it from the floor'.<sup>43</sup> In performance, this highly symbolic moment is pushed still further: a portrait of the former ruler dominates the stage, the audience gets the impression that something has fallen

---

<sup>40</sup> Bī Bī Sī nywz 'Arabī, "al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ fī ('ahd) Jū Bāyḍin wāltqryr al-Barīṭānī bi-sha'n Rūsiyā fī al-ṣuḥuf al-Barīṭānīyah", *Mawqī' Bī Bī Sī 'Arabī*, <https://www.bbc.com/arabic/inthepress-53495871>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Dīsimbir 2021.

<sup>41</sup> Giorgio Cafiero, "Biden as President: Winners and Losers in the GCC", *The New Arab*, [www.newarab.com/analysis/biden-president-winners-and-losers-gcc](http://www.newarab.com/analysis/biden-president-winners-and-losers-gcc). Accessed 22 June 2022.

<sup>42</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam and Graham Holderness. *The Arab Shakespeare Trilogy*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury, London, 2014) 15.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, p. 77.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

on the floor; but it is not the portrait but the former ruler's clothes that have fallen. Margaret picks them up suggesting that she has found a new costume, perhaps something like the 'borrowed robes' of Macbeth (1.3.108-9). But these robes fit Al Bassam's strong Arab Margaret. It is not Emir Gloucester who has the first soliloquy of Al Bassam's adaptation, instead, it opens with a monologue-prologue by 'Margaret':

I am Margaret. You needn't be concerned about me we lost; it is your right to ignore me. I don't want your loans, your gifts, your reconstruction grants; I don't want your pity – we lost. All I ask from you is not to question my thirst for revenge. It's not because I'm Arab; I read history and see. In all events, my name is not Margaret', but our history is so awful, even the victors have changed their names.<sup>44</sup>

It is a powerful dramatic move since the Arab version of Richard's story needs not one but two voices. Richard speaks for the unfolding contemporary history, while Margaret -- insisting that it is not her real name -- reminds us of the fate of all those who lost previous conflicts and the tragic historical past that haunts present events. Al Bassam voices his tragedy through a female who speaks with strength and vengeful anger about forms of colonial and feminist resistance. In this post-modern world, Al Bassam shows that Arab women are educated and that their status has changed. Though Margaret is often a voiceless observer throughout the performance, she claims the first and last words. She delivers an important, overall, critical, framing perspective on the domestic and international political situation of her anonymous Arab country. Margaret takes on the role of a prophet figure and speaks out regardless of whether the audience fully understands her. She defies Western and domestic assumptions about passive, a-political, Arab women. She speaks for highly educated and well-versed in their countries' history, politics and sociology. While Shakespeare's Richard paints a poetic, if ironic, picture of the Wars of the Roses history:

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

‘made glorious summer by this sun of York’ (1.1.2), Al Bassam’s Margaret is much more abrupt: ‘we lost’. Richard stands apart to observe ‘this sun of York’, and Margaret’s plural ‘we’ includes us all in her defeat. Margaret is helpless in defeat, powerless as to her family’s future. Al Bassam personalises the Arab World through Margaret; he makes it speak out its pain, but also its resistance. Her rejection of ‘your loans, your gifts, your reconstruction grants’, speak to the West that first invades and destroys, then offers neo-colonial dependence in return. Margaret’s words resonate in the aftermath of the Iraq War (2003) that damaged so many aspects of Iraqi life, including heritage, economic, humanitarian, political, military and others.<sup>45</sup> Margaret knows that this is not the first time it happened. She invokes the long years of external colonial intervention in the Arab World in what Holderness terms ‘a history as a cyclical recurrence, in which the past rises to meet the present, the dead awake, ghosts haunt the living, curses are efficacious and the passion of revenge never sleeps’.<sup>46</sup> In many ways, Margaret can voice resistance with clarity from the uncompromised position of ‘loser’ while Richard reliance on Western interference is not.

Richard and Margaret emerge as voices that look forward to a self-determining Arab World future. Al Bassam is also careful to voice the complicated, long-standing relationships with the West in the characters of Buckingham, the US embassy, and Richmond. We are constantly reminded of the legacies of colonial and neo-colonial dependence so that our empathy for Richard and his impossible quest for independence is increased. Each of these characters represents how the West works to destroy Arab World countries domestically, through controlling their governments and establishing political agendas that primarily serve

---

<sup>45</sup> “Consequences of the War and Occupation of Iraq”, *GlobalPolicy*, 2019, <https://archive.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/iraq/attack/conseqindex.htm>. Accessed 28 September 2019.

<sup>46</sup> Graham Holderness, *From Summit to Tragedy: Sulayman Al-Bassam’s Richard III and Political Theatre* (MIT Global Shakespeares, 2013).

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

Western or global interests. First, Al Bassam presents Buckingham as both an advisor and a spy in the palace, 'a double agent, secretly liaising with the Americans as he ostensibly supports Richard's bid for the throne'.<sup>47</sup> Buckingham, like the country he operates in, remains largely anonymous. We do not know exactly his citizenship or the country he comes from, but we can infer his allegiances from clues. In the performance, Buckingham wears a formal suit like the US Embassy diplomat and Richmond but all other characters wear Arab World traditional dress. Buckingham plays a crucial role as a consultant to the palace at the time of King Edward, he then smooths Richard's path to the throne. After Edward's death, Buckingham sets the succession wheels in motion; 'I suggest we send a discreet escort to bring the Crown Prince here presently' (2.2.95). Buckingham seems to have the trust of all parties, which gives him huge freedom to act as he wishes. His decisiveness when everyone else is paralysed with national mourning for the King suggests to the audience that Buckingham acts not as a member of the Royal family, but as a servant to external, foreign forces. Richard is aware of this as he calls him 'my other self, my counsel, my oracle, my prophet! I call you 'cousin', I'm led by you as a child is led by its mother' (2.2.95). Even as he addresses Buckingham as this combination of family member, political ally and almost supernatural force, Richard is also aware that Buckingham's real power is as old-style colonial protector. He needs Buckingham's support as a double agent and a broker, to ensure his succession to the throne. Richard flatters Buckingham, but the image of the West as mother and child as the Arab World persists, and independence remains illusory.

Buckingham has all the tricks of national and global media at his fingertips. After the murder of Hastings, Buckingham encourages Richard to participate in a TV show that every citizen in the country will watch 'we'll go to their homes, to their beds and breakfast tables.

---

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.



### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

Bring the television studio here!’ (3.8.111). Buckingham is a twenty-first century Machiavellian advisor using the media as a channel for exercising ‘virtu’. Richard eventually loses self-reliance and needs the fixer Buckingham with his tricks and tools to maintain his throne ‘Buckingham, tell me by God, how do we sink terror into their souls, prune as many heads as we need to, lock up the rest and make it all legit’ (3.8.109). Buckingham’s response is fiercely and comically confident ‘You kidding? I can redraw the map of the globe with my finger ... and keep it all clean and transparent as a Security Council resolution’ (3.8.109). His invocation of the recent spurious legislation underpinning the ‘War on Terror’ (3.8.109) is a chilling echo of such politicians as the British prime-minister Tony Blair. From national broadcast to manipulating international law, Buckingham demonstrates how the Western allies steer Richard from being a well-meaning secular leader to becoming a full-blown Arab tyrant. Al Bassam’s Richard earns the audience's sympathy more than Shakespeare’s does since he becomes a tool and a slave of international interests.

If the older generation become enslaved, it is the younger generation who voice anger with Buckingham’s post-colonial geo-politics. Prince Edward voices hatred and resistance to repeating history, and dissatisfaction with the current situation:

They know how to play history, those British  
They showered these lands with seeds  
Strewn from the whitest gloves,  
Seeds that to this day, bear man-eating fruits.  
The robes of Empire grown thin,  
They settle today for the tidy plunder  
Of gun running and pesticides. (3.1.99)

The prince is not convinced of the myths of colonial protection, such as imported agriculture is toxic and ceremonial robes and white gloves are worn-out props. Colonial history repeats

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

itself with every new wave of industry, profit, and the land itself suffers, rejecting the empty words of cultivation and civilisation that cover up exploitation. Prince Edward resorts to the language of The Crusades to crystallise his hatred for the foreigners in his land declaring that he will ‘win back (their) holy lands or die a soldier in the battlefield’ (3.1.100). In this instance, the ‘holy lands’ also refer to a more recent history of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 that established British support for making Palestine a ‘national home for the Jewish people’.<sup>48</sup> It is eventually suggested that Buckingham is taking orders from Mossad, considering the old British-Israeli allegiances are deemed to still run deep.

The US embassy is also an important player in this dramatic regime change. Elizabeth chooses the US over Buckingham as she seeks asylum for her sons with King Edward. She quickly finds that the US ‘optics’ of the situation are more important than their actual security as Mr. Richmond declares; ‘This is good, solid PR for all of you, your highness – there’s my Head of Security there- shows how the constitution is holding firm’ (2.2.101). However, they have been complicit in supporting Richard’s succession. They arrange a call of international support during his interview; ‘That was the Secretary General of the UN!’ Richard angrily and earnestly replies, ‘The UN has no business interfering with our internal affairs’ (3.8.113). Richard’s response is cleverly staged to present himself as a superior monarch, resistant foreign interference, especially from the US. As Khalil Suwaileh commented on US intervention in his article for the Lebanese newspaper *Alakhbar* ‘there is an indication of the domination of the American Ambassador over the country’s resources for his country’s interest’.<sup>49</sup> We continue to sympathise with Richard’s very real resistance to US interference,

---

<sup>48</sup> “*The Avalon Project: Balfour Declaration November 2, 1917*”, [avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/balfour.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/balfour.asp). Accessed 22 June 2022.

<sup>49</sup> Khalil Şuwayliḥ, "al-Kuwaytī Sulaymān al-Bassām qār'an Shiksbīr: Rīṭshārd al-thālith bālkwfyh wāl'qāl", *Mawqī' al-akhbār*, [https://al-akhbar.com/Culture\\_People/166518](https://al-akhbar.com/Culture_People/166518). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 18 Fabrāyir 2018.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

and his clearly compromised position. Indeed, this is even more pronounced when Al Bassam turned the performance to film, produced and shown in the US at the Kennedy Centre in 2010. The film is a kind of documentary of the rehearsal and performance process. It is 70 minutes long and captures shots from rehearsals in both the ‘Arab country’ and the US.<sup>50</sup> It includes a scene filmed in front of the White House in Washington in which Richard improvises his role where he appears to be in a peaceful protest and gets very close to the wall of the presidential garden.<sup>51</sup> The Arab World Richard brings his protests right to the US home territory.

Ironically, at the end of Al Bassam’s play as the regime change descends into innocent bloodshed and civil violence, there is a new promise of rescue coming from the West. It is Mr Richmond, the US version of Shakespeare’s Richmond, father of Henry Tudor and the Tudor dynasty, steps in to attempt to save the country from Richard’s Machiavellian agenda. At the end of *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy*, the battle between Richard and Richmond, as in Shakespeare, ends with good succeeding over evil and the country is saved. But the ending is also ambivalent: one corruptible hero replaces another. In the performance, this idea is pushed further when the off-stage dead Richard of the text remains on-stage, dead but still on his much sought-after horse. In a final reconciliatory gesture of closure, Richmond comes towards him and puts his scarf on Richard’s face while he delivers his final speech. It is as if Al Bassam wants the audience to believe that Richmond is ending tyranny. And yet, even though Richmond stands in contrast to the tyrant Richard as a good leader of strong

---

<sup>50</sup> “Film Richard III: An Arab VIP (2010) - 70 Minutes Long”, *The Mandy Network*, [www.mandy.com/uk/films/richard-iii-an-arab-vip](http://www.mandy.com/uk/films/richard-iii-an-arab-vip). Accessed 13 March 2022.

<sup>51</sup> Usāmah ‘Asal, "Rīṭshārd al-thālith shakhṣīyah ‘Arabīyah fī Mihrajān al-Khalīj", *Mawqī ‘Ṣaḥīfat al-Bayān*, <https://www.albayan.ae/five-senses/cinema/2011-04-19-1.1423318>. Tārīkh alāstrjā’: 1 Yūliyū 2019.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

religious character, his victory also plunges the nameless Arab country back into a colonial model of dependency. The terms in which Richmond condemns Richard are compelling: he condemns him as a secular monster and enemy of Allah:

A bloody tyrant and a homicide;  
One that hath ever been God's enemy:  
Then, if you fight against God's enemy,  
God will in justice ward you as his soldiers. (5.1.128-129)

The accusations of bloodshed and tyranny are of course true. After what has Richard done to his innocent subjects to fulfil his secular political goals, he deserves to be deposed. However, there is irony in the fact that Richmond seems to speak from a US Christian position: though we are not sure of his nationality or his religion, we know he is not an Arab Muslim. This fundamentally changes the nature of his plea that the Arab citizens fight Richard as 'God's enemy'. It reminds us of Napoleon who travelled to colonise Egypt for the French, printing his pamphlets that declared that 'all French are Muslims', as explored in Chapter Two of this thesis.<sup>52</sup> Richmond's intervention is successful since the 'terrorist' Richard is killed and a list of the dead triggers resolution in this Arab country, indicating that a victim of civil war should now strive for peace. In a speech that echoes the rhetoric of the toll of inter-Muslim civil war in Iraq, any mention of foreign intervention is swiftly silenced:

This land hath long been mad, and scarre'd herself;  
The brother blindly shed the brother's blood,  
The father rashly slaughter'd his own son  
The son, compell'd, been butcher to the sire:

---

<sup>52</sup> Mu'assasat Hindāwī, "*kutub wa-mu'allafāt 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī*", Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah, <https://www.hindawi.org/contributors/28182839/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Sibtambr 2021.

<sup>52</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī, '*Ajāyib al-Āthār fī al-tarājim wa-al-akhbār* (Ṭ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, J 4, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2013) Ṣ. 213.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

Alright now: into Elizabeth's hands,  
I place the reins of interim governance,  
As mild precursor of free elections (5.5.131)

Richmond places himself as the agent of rescue then places this nameless nation's future in the hands of a woman, with the promise of democracy. This action invites another new beginning. While Richmond speaks the language of progressive Western enlightenment, he also speaks the language of colonialism. This is very clear to the population who see this move as the next wheel of a recurring cycle of historical intervention. Richmond's action produces resistance, creates a new opposition and consequently, with the almost farcical speed of a new regime change, the play ends with a figure, with a masked face, holding a rocket, who says 'Alluh-U-Akhbar!' (5.5.132).

Reviewers of Al Bassam's *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy*, both from the UK and the US, were varied in their reception of the play. All, however, comment on two points pertinent to my argument: first, on Al Bassam's striking plotting of the interference of the West in Arabic domestic relations; second, on the aesthetics of staging such political interference, especially through the insistent 'visual noise' of media reporting increasingly manipulated by 'York TV', the outlet backed by Buckingham and the US embassy.

Sarah Lyall of *The New York Times*, in her review of the RSC production in the UK, rejects, as Al Bassam himself insists, the idea that Shakespeare's Richard III could be a straightforward representation of Saddam Hussein. A key factor in this is the agency of the representatives of the West in the narrative who act and interfere under the guise of democracy; Shakespeare's plot gives Richard all the Machiavellian agency, and responsibility, for his own downfall. Instead, Lyall focuses on, and praises, the presentist political resonances of the adaptation: 'Al Bassam's unnamed oil-rich Arab state is easily

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

understood in Shakespearian terms, every bit as steeped in blood, riven by tribalism and replete with corruption as the world of 15<sup>th</sup> century England'.<sup>53</sup> Lyall acknowledges that 'Shakespeare's bloody themes are timeless'.<sup>54</sup> One of these 'bloody themes' is the Machiavellian manipulation of the public through what we now call 'fake news'.

Commenting on the cross-references of Al Bassam's adaptation with Michael Boyd's companion main-house production of *Richard III*, Lyall notes: 'Most powerful cultures manipulate and try to control communication, which was also the case in Shakespeare's time, in Richard III's time, and now. There is use of fear as a political weapon, fear as a means of censorship, a means of mobilization, and a means of justifying arrest'.<sup>55</sup> In Al Bassam's version, the Emir Gloucester learns this not from Machiavelli, but from the Western former colonial powers now promoting 'free' elections and democracy, backed by powerful 'free' media.

Andy Propst, reviewing Al Bassam's adaptation for *Backstage* also focuses on the representation of Western interference. He gets to the heart of the matter when he writes: 'One of Al-Bassam's chief and most successful revisions is to imagine that Richard's words and actions are being reported to the American government'.<sup>56</sup> There is also the implication that this is not just one-way: Richard's actions, and his political agenda, are never entirely his, but rather they are supported, even suggested, by the West. Propst's point about outside interference is echoed by Joseph Campana in his review the Brooklyn Academy performance in New York. It is telling that while the UK reviewer

---

<sup>53</sup> Sarah Lyall, "A Winter's Discontent, in Arabic", *The New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/20/theater/20rich.html>. Accessed January 2023.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Andy Propst, "Richard III: An Arab Tragedy", *Backstage*, <https://www.backstage.com/magazine/article/richard-iii-arab-tragedy-58003/>. Accessed 7 January 2023.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

Propst focuses on the Americans, the US-based Campana recognises the influence of a much longer history of colonial exploitation of the Arab World: ‘in this Arabic language adaptation, Richard’s Machiavellian manipulations took up the world of oil-rich Persian Gulf monarchies whose ties to Western powers such as American, French, British, and Italian linger sinisterly’.<sup>57</sup> For Al Bassam, as for Campana, the all-powerful York TV is just the latest technology of outside intervention in Arab World domestic affairs. As Buckingham suggests, the latest moment of ‘The War on Terror’ can be used to legitimise all kinds of foreign intervention, from media to military. The very name ‘York TV’ suggests how multiple those foreign interests are: it echoes Shakespeare’s House of York, but also pre-figures ‘Trump.tv’; it evokes England’s city of York, but also the US centre of financial and media power, New York; for some, it might even suggest the most recent Duke of York, Prince Andrew and his ‘trade delegations’ to the Arab World. In the early twenty-first century, at a moment when the GCC is becoming home to the two leading Arab World media channels, Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya, the ostensibly national and independent ‘York TV’ is a reminder that non-Arab news channels often mean outside intervention, censorship and manipulation of the facts.

For many, watching Arab World actors perform their uncensored version of Shakespeare in Arabic in the UK and the US at a time of intense political tension was in itself a deeply unsettling cultural experience. A *ReviewsGate* writer sums this up in their title: ‘Not comfortable but Important’.<sup>58</sup> They expand further on the ‘liveness’ of the

---

<sup>57</sup> Joseph Campana, *Review of Richard III, an Arab Tragedy (directed by Sulayman Al-Bassam for the Sabah/Sulayman Al-Bassam Theatre) at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Tandfonline*, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/17450910903370491?needAccess=true&role=button>. Accessed 10 January 2023.

<sup>58</sup> “Not Comfortable but Important”, *ReviewsGate*, [reviewsgate.com/richard-iii-an-arab-tragedy-till-february-17/](https://www.reviewsgate.com/richard-iii-an-arab-tragedy-till-february-17/). Accessed 10 January 2023.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

politics, cultural and other, of the event: ‘Actors in the theatre are live flesh and blood, and you can’t help feeling these people are speaking face-to-face to you, about their view of our present conflict. Not comfortable watching, but important watching’.<sup>59</sup> Part of this is discomfort is how the action of the play itself is constantly ‘watched’ and interrupted by the media: the TV interview with Richard is ‘interrupted by his assistant ‘I’ve got the Secretary General of the UN on the phone for you . . .’ While the review, in the end, focuses on the political discomfort rather than critiquing the artistic decisions of the play, the reviewer leaves us in no doubt as to the power, and powerful historical roots, of the plot: ‘Apparently many states wish to support this tyrant into power. Now where have I heard that one before?’.<sup>60</sup> The sarcastic, knowing, but disempowered tone here both recognises the power of the West in the Arab World, and the powerlessness of those in the Western audience who might want to change the situation. Brian Logan’s review in *The Guardian* again focuses on the politics of the play and the puppet-tyrant regime created by Buckingham and the American Ambassador: ‘Richard is relegated to a bit player in a global political intrigue, in which Buckingham is forced to confess to taking orders from Mossad’. Logan would probably join with the *Reviewsgate* critic in his political despair at the ending of the play, a finale which evokes the catastrophic failure of the US invasion of Iraq: ‘Americans assume their victory will be welcomed with hosannas rather than a belligerent Allahu akbar’.<sup>61</sup> The final Arab voice on stage is, of course, in the context of the first decade of the twentieth century, globally understood. But for me, it is also a powerful reminder of how globally misunderstood the fusion of religion and secular life in political thought can be as Western audiences ‘watch’ the Arab World.

---

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Brian Logan, “Richard III - An Arab Tragedy,” *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2007/feb/16/theatre1>. Accessed 20 January 2023.



### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

To summarise, Shakespeare presents Richard as a tragic Machiavel convinced by his own political rhetoric, knowledge of historical precedent, and performance skills that he fails to see that even a tyrant has weak points. Richard styles himself as the ‘villain’ who schemes and plots against all who stand between him and the throne. Absolute monarchy is his goal; ‘virtū’, both as ‘strength’ and ‘skill’ is his tool to achieve his priorities. The drama is built on civil conflict since the people who help him to usurp the throne are from his own country, family, and religion, and when he betrays his allies, it is a matter of treason. On the other hand, Al Bassam’s ‘Emir Gloucester’ tries to be a Machiavel using the same methods as Shakespeare’s Richard, but he cannot because he lacks the tragic hero's autonomy.<sup>62</sup> The enemy for the Arab Richard is neither his brothers nor his family, making it the first the version of national Islamic politics upheld though corrupted by the Muslim Brotherhood, and beyond that, it is the continuing presence of an external old colonial and neo-colonial West. That parallels the Guardian review mentioned above; ‘Here, Richard is relegated to a bit player in a global political intrigue’.<sup>63</sup> Machiavellian political thought can only get the Arab Richard so far, in which case the West remain the puppet masters for all their promises of democracy and female emancipation.

Al Bassam’s play is a thoughtful and angry response to the RSC’s invitation to create *The Baghdad Richard* and to the *Realpolitik* of the unfolding present as the Allied Western forces deal with the aftermath of the Iraq War. His shady Western characters make it clear to the premiere’s Stratford audiences that Western interference in the Arab World is cyclical and on-going; ‘we are faced’ he asserts, ‘with a history that resolves around itself in both

---

<sup>62</sup> Brian Logan, “Richard III - An Arab Tragedy”, *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2007/feb/16/theatre1>. Accessed 20 January 2023.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

performance and reality'.<sup>64</sup> Al Bassam positions himself as a spectator of both political and literary history. The choice of *Richard III* was the RSC's and not his, yet in some ways, this coercion replicates the position of Shakespeare. As McDonald asserts, 'the composition of *Richard III* made Shakespeare particularly conscious of the problem of historical distortion, that Richard was a creation of Tudor propaganda'.<sup>65</sup> Though Al Bassam might try to correct the English Elizabethan Machiavellian plotter of Tudor propaganda in his adaptation, he considers *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* to be a faithful version of Shakespeare, as his note to the text states; 'unlike the two texts of the Trilogy that were free adaptations of and improvisations on the original, composed in English, these versions of *Richard III* was reworked directly in Arabic and is much closer to the original'.<sup>66</sup> In this sense, Al Bassam places Shakespeare's version of a historical Richard directly into the contemporary Arab World. Rather than the tragedy of an individual, Al Bassam produces the tragedy of an Arab people subject to tyranny at home and interference from abroad. In his appropriation of *Richard III*, Al Bassam concentrates on matching Arab World Realpolitik with the instincts of a leader who starts out believing he can use secular models to improve things for his people.<sup>67</sup> However, the revolutionary will be held back by the cyclical nature of history that always produces new resistance.

#### Response and Resistance: Two further Arab *Richard III*'s

---

<sup>64</sup> Khalīl Ṣuwaylīḥ, "al-Kuwaytī Sulaymān al-Bassām qār'an Shiksbīr: Rītshārd al-thālith bālkwfyh wāl'qāl", *Mawqī' al-akhbār*, [https://al-akhbar.com/Culture\\_People/166518](https://al-akhbar.com/Culture_People/166518). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 18 Fabrāyir 2018.

<sup>65</sup> Russ McDonald, "'Richard III' and the Tropes of Treachery", *Scholarly Journal*, 1989.

<sup>66</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam and Graham Holderness. *The Arab Shakespeare Trilogy*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury, London, 2014) 75.

<sup>67</sup> Khalīl Ṣuwaylīḥ, "al-Kuwaytī Sulaymān al-Bassām qār'an Shiksbīr: Rītshārd al-thālith bālkwfyh wāl'qāl", *Mawqī' al-akhbār*, [https://al-akhbar.com/Culture\\_People/166518](https://al-akhbar.com/Culture_People/166518). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 18 Fabrāyir 2018.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

We began this chapter by considering that there had been very little interest in *Richard III* in the Arab World before the first 1990s translation. It is remarkable that in the decade or so after Al Bassam's *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy*, and in the wake of the Arab Spring, two further Arab adaptations of *Richard III* appeared: Mahfooz Ghazal's *Tunis Richard III, Court-Circuit* (2014) and Ahmed Almajid's *Ma Baa'd Al-ensan* (2018). These authors too choose to depend on presentism and adaptation of Shakespeare to address their current issues. All three dramatists presented their productions in Sharjah in different times.<sup>68</sup> Sharjah is the key cultural centre Emirate in the United Arab Emirates. It hosts theatrical festivals, including performances, debates, and theatre studies panels from across the Arab World. Sharjah Theatre Days was launched in 1984 as a cultural and aesthetic platform in which Emirati and Arab theatre troupes compete to present the best performance.<sup>69</sup> Al Bassam's play was presented first as part of Sharjah Theatre Days and in the ninth Sharjah Biennial, in Sharjah in March 2009.<sup>70</sup> Ghazal and Almajid's adaptations were also first

---

<sup>68</sup> Production of Al Bassam's *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* in Sharjah is not available online; however, Sharjah Art Foundation website have published pictures of *Richard's III, an Arab Tragedy* performed in October 2010. See, Rīṭshārd al-thālīth Ma'sāt 'Arabīyah". *Mawqī'*: *Mu'assasat al-Shāriqah lil-Funūn*. mstrj' min, sharjahart.org/ar/sharjah-art-foundation/projects/richard-iii-an-arab-tragedy. Tārīkh alāstrjā : 3 Sibṭambir 2023.

-For Mahfooz Ghazal's *Tunis Richard III, Court-Circuit* (2014) in Sharjah see, Rādyw al-masrah, "Rīṭshārd 3". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: RADIO THEATRE, 1 Dīsimbir 2013. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i\\_LrH4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i_LrH4). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 24 Sibṭambir 2018.

-For Ahmed Almajid's *Ma Baa'd Al-ensan* (2018) advertisement of the production in Sharjah see, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JL4G\\_ZXJK1k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JL4G_ZXJK1k). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Sibṭambir 2018.

<sup>69</sup> al-'Arab dūt Kūm, "liqā' al-tajārib al-mashriqīyah wa-al-Maghribīyah fi Ayyām al-Shāriqah al-masrahīyah", *Mawqī'* *Ṣahīfat al-'Arab*, <https://alarab.co.uk/التجارب-المشرقية-المسرحية-والمغربية-في-أيام-الشارقة>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 22 Yūniyū 2022.

<sup>70</sup> Sharjah Theatre Days is an annual cultural theatrical event under the patronage of His Highness Sheikh Dr. Sultan bin Muhammad Al Qasimi, Supreme Council Member and Ruler of Sharjah, in which theatre groups from the emirates of the state participate. It is supervised by a specialized committee. See, Farīq Dā'irat al-Thaqāfah bi-al-Shāriqah. "Ayyām al-Shāriqah al-masrahīyah". *Mawqī'* *Dā'irat al-Thaqāfah bi-al-Shāriqah*. mstrj' min: <https://sdc.gov.ae/ar/Content/33/3>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 22 Yūniyū 2022.

Sharjah Biennial is also under the patronage of Dr. Al Qasimi. It seeks to create effective links between artists, institutions and organizations as well as encourage dialogue and artistic

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

presented in Sharjah during Arab Theatre Festival (2014) and Sharjah Theatre Days (2018). Evolving from the Sharjah Theatre Days, the festival became a leading Arab World and International Cultural Event until 2015, when it was established as the Sharjah GCC Theatre Festival. It offers competitions for GCC dramatists and drama schools, attracting audiences and critics from across the Arab World and beyond.<sup>71</sup> It is of course of interest that the story and example of *Richard III* should attract the attention of so many playwrights and educators in an area dominated still by questions of dynastic succession and civil strife. The later adaptations acknowledge their debt to Shakespeare's original but not to Al Bassam's adaptation. I wish to argue that his influence is clear, if implicit, as I will show in the following analysis of the adaptations. In particular, Al Bassam's success enables a younger post-Arab Spring generation to address the questions of secularism, Machiavellian political thought and feminism which are at the core of Al Bassam's Arab World Shakespeare.

#### A Tunisian *Richard III, Court-Circuit* (2014)

In the wake of the Tunisian Revolution of 2011, students of the High Institute of Theatre in Tunisia, working with the Tunisian dramatist Mahfooz Ghazal, chose

---

exchange. The Biennale is considered one of the most prominent artistic forums and events in the Arab World. See, Sulayman Al Bassam, *Sharjah Art Foundation*, [sharjahart.org/sharjah-art-foundation/people/al-bassam-sulayman](http://sharjahart.org/sharjah-art-foundation/people/al-bassam-sulayman). Accessed 8 March 2022.

<sup>71</sup> al-Hay'ah al-'Arabīyah lil-Masrah, "i'lān masrahīyah Rītshārd al-thālith – Tūnis". *ywywb*, *tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: AtiTheatre Chanel*, 2 Yanāyir, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JL4G\\_ZXJK1k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JL4G_ZXJK1k). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Sibtambr 2018. Sharjah GCC Theatre Festival is a seven-day event in February which takes place every two years. GCC theatre groups compete for prizes in the fields of directing, acting and other performance arts. It aims to programme the most distinguished and beautiful theatre in the region. See, Farīq Dā'irat al-Thaqāfah bi-al-Shāriqah, "Mihrajān al-Shāriqah lil-Masrah al-Khalījī", *Mawqi' Dā'irat al-Thaqāfah bi-al-Shāriqah*, <https://sdc.gov.ae/ar/Content/35/3>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 22 Yūniyū 2022.



### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

injustice and do not resist for change. The people become victims as they simply surrender to tyranny, which becomes the norm of living.<sup>76</sup> Ghazal's play compares Richard III's rule and the life of a Tunisian family whose dictatorial father has just passed away. The father controlled everything in the household and made all the decisions. After the father's death, the eldest son of the family (Khalid) tries to step into his father's role. However, his siblings oppose him as they do not want another person to dominate them. The structure is relatively simple since it is based on the story of Shakespeare's *Richard III* and the story of the Tunisian family in a conflict between the past and present. This throws light on family and national government, indicating that the conflicts about status and the damage are due to tyranny and complicity. The family dilemma is a microcosmic picture of the macrocosm Tunisia.<sup>77</sup> Though the events of Shakespeare's *Richard III* happened five centuries ago and the play was written four centuries ago, tyranny persists and remains the same. On Al-Qasimi's stage, the narration of Shakespeare's version of Richard's story recalls the traditional Arabic dramatic story-telling forms discussed in Chapter Two. It further reminds the audience that history repeats itself and that the cyclical nature of history might enable new generations to learn from the suffering and bad choices of other societies.

Ghazal's *Richard III, Court-Circuit* starts with the funeral of the Tunisian father figure, during which a woman sings a traditional song, a few characters hold the corpse, as the woman sings in the background. The play starts at the point where Shakespeare ends, at the time of Richard's death. When all others have left the stage, the eldest son (Khalid) and the daughter (Nabila) remain. Khalid mourns his father's death and tells his sister; 'May

---

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Mydl iyst awnlāyn, "Rītshārd al-thālith y'tly 'arsh al-masrah al-'Arabī bi-al-Shāriqah". *Mawqi' mydl ayst Ūn lāyin*, 2014. mstrj' min: <https://middle-east-online.com/>-الثالث-ريتشارد-الشارقة. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Sibtambr 2018.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

Allah have mercy on him'.<sup>78</sup> However, Nabila rejects her brother's grief and wonders why he asks Allah to forgive such a father, 'a controller, bossy, arrogant, and a killer' who dominated the entire family.<sup>79</sup> At this point, a masked character puts his hand over Nabila's mouth to stop her from talking so that the audience can only hear her brother. Her brother dismisses the silencer with a wave and Nabila continues to deliver her opinion. For Nabila, her father had usurped the basic rights of his family; 'he closed our eyes; he closed our mouths'.<sup>80</sup> Nabila's role is crucial here since she shows vulnerability in that her father was able to deprive her of her natural right as a human to use her five senses. He also robbed her and the family of the right to observe and to speak out, basic rights in any normal family or democratic country. Indeed, the imprisonment they are subjected to is worse than that of Shakespeare's Clarence, as he can both see and speak before his death. As she points out their father's tyranny, Nabila also shows the strength of the female voice for resistance in her absolute rejection of his behaviour. Khalid remains sceptical about how successful and realistic her resistance can be in practice. Accusing her of confusing fact and fiction he demands that she 'differentiate between what you read and what you live'.<sup>81</sup> The strong female voice in Ghazal's version resonates with that of Al Bassam's, which indicate the importance of female education in the post-modern period in Tunisia. This new generation of women are sophisticated characters who resist injustice and patriarchal historical precedent and instead seek political change.

After the coronation of Shakespeare's Richard, Ghazal uses another strong female voice, the narrator of Richard's story who speaks out to the audience; 'Richard is now born

---

<sup>78</sup>Rādyw al-masrah, "Rītshārd 3". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: RADIO THEATRE, 1 Dīsimbir 2013. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i\\_LrH4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i_LrH4). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 24 Sibṭambir 2018.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> al-Hay'ah al-'Arabīyah lil-Masrah, "i'lān masrahīyah Rītshārd al-thālith – Tūnis". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: AtiTheatre Chanel, 2 Yanāyir 2014. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JL4G\\_ZXJK1k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JL4G_ZXJK1k). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Sibṭambir 2018.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

and will suppress everyone in this country. Due to your division, Richard practises injustice amongst you and soon all will be afflicted by him'.<sup>82</sup> The Richard referred to is Shakespeare's Richard. The narrator is an old woman lying on the floor at a distance, recalling perhaps Al Bassam's Margaret or prophetic figures such as the classical Cassandra. As Al Bassam's Margaret gave historical context for the long history of colonial-inflicted suffering in the Arab World, in this postmodern version by Ghazal, women have the visionary power to describe to the audience the gaps through which the ruler has attained and now exercises his power. Subsequently, the narrator provides the population with the solution to avoid the repetition of Richard's story and to reject historical causation; 'stop him by the spirit of your brotherhood, for by your separation you made him evil'.<sup>83</sup> She asks the population to unite against tyranny, for strength is always with the group and can act together so they can prevent the rise of a new Machiavellian tyrant. The language and diction used here resonate with certain verses of the Quran; for instance, 'And hold firmly to the rope of Allah all together and do not become divided' or 'do not dispute and [thus] lose courage and [then] your strength would depart; and be patient'.<sup>84</sup> The essence of these verses is that people should function as one solid unit, they should be strong and avoid discrimination as strength always lies with the collective. The narrator's use of scripture to frame her call to resistance further implies that she aims to produce good in the country through religion. The female voice's narration ends with the following warning; 'Richard will punish you because

---

<sup>82</sup> Rādyw al-masrah, "Rīṭshārd 3". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāṣīṭat: RADIO THEATRE, 1 Dīsimbir 2013. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i\\_LrH4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i_LrH4). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 24 Sibtambir 2018.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> "Quran Surah Ali 'Imran 103 (QS 3: 103) in Arabic and English Translation", *Alquran English*, [www.alquranenglish.com/quran-surah-ali-imran-103-qs-3-103-in-arabic-and-english-translation](http://www.alquranenglish.com/quran-surah-ali-imran-103-qs-3-103-in-arabic-and-english-translation). Accessed 24 September 2018.



### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

you have created and worshipped him'.<sup>85</sup> She seems prepared to use religion as a tool to get what is necessary for the good of the state as Machiavelli's Prince should be.

Ghazal's Richard is very similar to Shakespeare's: he is a tyrannical, monstrous, manipulative hypocrite with an enormous sense of self as he says: 'you should be a Satan in a human being's shape; learn how to defeat time. I am Richard the great'.<sup>86</sup> He certainly mimics Machiavelli's ideal Prince since he embraces good for evil. But in Ghazal's version, it is the fault of the people that Richard has the dictator's power and position. Shakespeare's Richard tries to blame his bodily deformity for his decision to be a 'villain'. He also demonstrates to the audience that he succeeds in his secular political agenda only because he can persuade people to do what he wants in spite of all their revulsion. In Ghazal's version, the people around Richard are responsible for his evil actions considering they dominate the country, wearing black with white scarves 'to show their hypocrisy while they reveal the good'.<sup>87</sup> They, not Richard, are governed by Machiavellian 'virtu' and the people simply accept this. The Tunisian population is then fully complicit in Richard's tyranny, but the people also step down from the stage to speak to the audience telling them about the real situation in the country and not just the version staged in the play. This deletes the gap between actors and audience, between political truth and staged politics. The theatre becomes a public sphere where notions of contemporary freedom of expression and protest are modelled and rehearsed. Ghazal even uses real names for the characters to make the performance closer to contemporary Tunisian society. This Tunisian population is clearly

---

<sup>85</sup> Rādyw al-masrah, "Rītshārd 3". *ywtymb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: RADIO THEATRE, 1 Dīsimbir 2013. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i\\_LrH4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i_LrH4). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 24 Sibtambir 2018.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibrāhīm al-Āmirī, "Rītshārd al-thālith lltwnsy Ja'far al-Qāsimī .. al-ṭughāh Ḥīna ṭsn'hm sh'wbhm". *Mawqi' al-Jasrah al-Thaqāfi*, Nādī al-Jasrah al-Thaqāfi. mstrj' min: <https://aljasrah.net/aljasra119/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Mārs 2019.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

complicit in Richard's coronation and kingship because their society is divided and they have become passive in the face of authority and domination.

As the play progresses further, the corruption gets worse. In a scene that parallels Shakespeare's original plotting to kill Clarence, the narrator marks the death of all individual conscience; 'if you want to be a paid murderer in palaces, you have to kill your conscience first'.<sup>88</sup> Like Richard and his followers, the other characters in the story must annihilate their consciences in the end since they too are brought to the point where they care only about their own interests and not those of the country. At the end of the play, the voice of Richard as narrator declares, 'whoever says no in this city will be imprisoned or killed. I am not the first to be cursed by the shedding of innocent blood. They all died treacherously and slanderously. If the blood of the innocents were to tell history, man would only gain thorns. Humiliation and misery would descend upon him. History no longer permits new follies. Uh, if only the wheel of time turned back. O time, stop your rotation, for you have crushed us like grain. Uh, the mortal life in pools of blood'.<sup>89</sup> Richard seems to long for older, bloodier times, which shows that there is not much regret for the acts he has committed, just for the consequences. Later, the narrator (Richard) blames the people and claims that they are the reason he had killed everyone; 'did not you bless what he has done': their silence must mean they agreed with his deeds.<sup>90</sup> Then, Richard's dies as Shakespeare is in a battle with Richmond. However, a final moment of insight comes through the narrator, which means that Ghazal's *Richard III, Court-Circuit* can end a vision of hope for the new era; 'from the sun's rays of morning light, dawn has cleared tears and healed wounds; age writes a will for dreamers so as not to

---

<sup>88</sup> Rādyw al-masrah, "Rītshārd 3". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: RADIO THEATRE, 1 Dīsimbir 2013. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i\\_LrH4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i_LrH4) .Tārīkh alāstrjā': 24 Sibtabir 2018.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

generate a new Richard'.<sup>91</sup> The message given to the people implores them to learn from history to strengthen their political role in their countries to lead a respectful, collective life.

Ghazal's play made a hugely positive impact and received many very good reviews. It was acclaimed in a magazine as 'excellent and exceptional.'<sup>92</sup> It was stated that the play works as a 'theatrical shift after the revolution'.<sup>93</sup> The implicit connections between the recent Arab Spring revolution in Tunisia (I will discuss this more in the next chapter) and how this play addresses domestic political concerns are applauded. The play speaks directly to the concerns of those who had lived through the Arab Spring and its aftermath. The connections to the revolution are clear and resonant: *Richard III* has become an Arab History play. In a forum to discuss the play, also held at the Sharjah festival, Ghazal spoke about his decision to write part of the play in poetry to respond to the power of Shakespeare's poetic language. This reminds us of Mutran's original translation, discussed at the start of this chapter, and his decision to focus on the poetic aspects of *Richard III*.<sup>94</sup> Ghazal manages to use the poetry, Arab traditional song, and the traditions of story-telling about the past to tell a compelling story that is fully contemporary, giving voice to women and an active new generation in a country adapting to life after the Arab Spring and revolution.

#### From Iraq to the UAE: *Ma Baa'd Al-ensan* [Beyond Man] (2018)

---

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Farīq Majallat al-ummah al-‘Arabīyah, "masrahīyah Rītshārd al-thālith min Tūnis ḥattā lā ywld Rītshārd min jadīd". *Mawqi' Majallat al-ummah al-‘Arabīyah*, 2014. mstrj' min: <https://مجلةالامةالعربية.com/CulturalNews/مسرحية-ريتشارد-الثالث-من-تونس-حتى>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 3 Nūfimbir 2019.

<sup>93</sup> Akram Ma'tūq, "Rītshārd al-thālith: almn' rj al-masrahī wa-thawrat al-lughah al-‘Arabīyah", *Mawqi' alḥşry al-Tūnisī* <https://ar.espacemanager.com/ريتشارد-الثالث-المنعرج->. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 24 Sibtambr 2018.

<sup>94</sup> Şahīfat al-Khalīj, "Maḥfūz Ghazāl: u' iddat kitābat " Rītshārd al-thālith " min jadīd". *Mawqi' Şahīfat al-Khalīj*, 15 Yanāyir 2014. mstrj' min: <http://www.alkhaleej.ae/alkhaleej/page/33ba6e96-99ba-40af-87d2-8a3b4418d4fe>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Uktūbir 2019.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

Five years after Ghazal's *Richard III* took the prize at Sharjah Theatre Festival, a third Arab World version of *Richard III* was presented at the Sharjah Theatre Days, 13-22 March 2018. *Ma Baa'd Al-ensan* [Beyond Man] was written by Ahmed Almajid, an Iraqi dramatist who now lives in the UAE.<sup>95</sup> Almajid is very active in the GCC theatre world. He is secretary-editor of *Kawalis*, a magazine concerned with Arab World Theatre Studies, as well as an executive secretary of the Association of Dramatists in the UAE.<sup>96</sup> The play was directed by Mohannad Kareem, who had previous experience of directing adapted Shakespeare. He had directed *Shakespeare Avenging* on the Cultural Centre in Kalba stage as part of the Sharjah Short Play Festival, 11-15 October 2015.<sup>97</sup> The performance combined three Shakespeare plays *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello* using the characters of Claudius, Macbeth, Lady Macbeth and Iago to explore Machiavellian political plotting, the thirst for power, and the pursuit of self-interest.<sup>98</sup> Kareem had also directed *71 Degree* based on Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* for the Sharjah Theatre Festival of 2017, a production that

---

<sup>95</sup> Ḥamīd 'Uqbī, "al-Kātib al-'Irāqī Aḥmad al-Mājid: al-masrah lā yashghalu bāl mjt m'ātnā al-'Arabīyah kthyrān". *Mawqī' ra'y al-yawm*, 2015. mstrj' min: <https://www.raialyoum.com/index.php/العراقى-أحمد-الماجد-المسرح-لا-ي-ال-كاتب-العراقى/> Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Yanāyir 2019.

<sup>96</sup> Bākathīr dūt Kūm, "Aḥmad al-Mājid". *Mawqī' Bākathīr*. mstrj' min: [http://www.bakatheer.com/temp/plays/ahmed\\_al-majed.htm](http://www.bakatheer.com/temp/plays/ahmed_al-majed.htm) Tārīkh alāstrjā': 5 Yūliyū 2019.

<sup>97</sup> Rashā 'Abd al-Mun'im, "Shiksbīr mntqman yaḥsudu al-Jā'izah al-Kubrā". *Mawqī' Ṣaḥīfat al-Bayān*, 17 Uktūbir 2015. mstrj' min: <https://www.albayan.ae/five-senses/mirrors/2015-10-17-1.2482779>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 14 Fabrāyir 2022.

-Mohannad Kareem is a young director who was a member of Sharjah National Theatre. He directed several plays, participated in Sharjah Theatre Festivals, and held workshops in composing dramatic texts. see, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Maqṣūd, "mā ba'da al-insān .. makhraj yuḥākm al-basharīyah 'alā al-Khashabah". *Mawqī' al-Imārāt al-yawm*, 22 Mārs 2018. mstrj' min: <https://www.emaratalyoum.com/life/culture/2018-03-22-1.1082494> Tārīkh alāstrjā': 15 Mārs 2019. Also see, al-'Arabī dūt Kūm, "Raḥala al-Nahār .. yaḥsudu Mu'azzam Jawā'iz Ayyām al-Shāriqah al-masrahīyah". *Mawqī' wa-ṣaḥīfat al-'Arabī al-jadīd*, 2022. mstrj' min: [https://www.alaraby.co.uk/entertainment\\_media/%22-أيام-جوائز-معظم-حل-النهار-22-يحصدهم-جوائز-أيام-22-الشارقة-المسرحية](https://www.alaraby.co.uk/entertainment_media/%22-أيام-جوائز-معظم-حل-النهار-22-يحصدهم-جوائز-أيام-22-الشارقة-المسرحية). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 23 Yūniyū 2022.

<sup>98</sup> M. t. wa-M. Kh (farīq bitrā), "msrhytā Shiksbīr mntqman wa-ayyām allw lw twḥy btrwḥāt al-riwā'ī fwknr". *Mawqī' Wakālat al-Anbā' al-Urdunīyah (Bitrā)*, 23 Mārs 2016. mstrj' min: [https://petra.gov.jo/Include/InnerPage.jsp?ID=2160945&lang=ar&name=archived\\_news](https://petra.gov.jo/Include/InnerPage.jsp?ID=2160945&lang=ar&name=archived_news). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 14 Fabrāyir 2022.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

explored the cruelty of men to their kins-women and relationships with authority using Shakespeare's original.<sup>99</sup> This experience of directing Shakespeare-based post-modern theatre, which fused a number of texts and approaches, equipped Kareem well for directing Almajid's play. It had previously been performed several times under the title of *Matar Tasa'udy* [Cumulative Rain] but the title was changed to *Ma Baa'd Al-ensan* [Beyond Man] at the request of Kareem, who was directing the play for the first time.<sup>100</sup>

*Ma Baa'd Al-ensan* draws on and fuses several dramatic and artistic works, including Shakespeare's *Richard III*, Almajid's *Matar Tasa'udy* (Cumulative Rain), Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* in his idea of the 'Übermensch' (Superhuman), and Ahmed Jareed's painting entitled *Baa'd Al-ensan: Al Athar* (Beyond Man: The Effect), which explores the influence of fine art.<sup>101</sup> Combining two Western 'classics' of drama and philosophy with two contemporary Arabic works of art can address the question of what is beyond human speak to the borders of secular and religious being. The play opens, not with a soliloquy by Richard, but with a fifteen-minute physical exercise piece (all men). Two characters play football, others sit on the stage, there is the sound of horses, and a narrator saying: 'I am coming to

---

<sup>99</sup> 'Iṣām Abū alqām, "drāmā al-rahṅ fi Marāyā alklāsykyāt". *Majallat al-Fayṣal*, al-‘adad: 493-494, Nūfimbir / dysmbr2017. mstrj‘ min: [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/المجلة\\_الفصل/O0s8DwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=مجله+الفصل+مسرحية+مهند+كريم+ما+بعد+الانسان+مسرحية+مهند+كريم&pg=PT182&printsec=frontcover](https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/المجلة_الفصل/O0s8DwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=مجله+الفصل+مسرحية+مهند+كريم+ما+بعد+الانسان+مسرحية+مهند+كريم&pg=PT182&printsec=frontcover) Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 14 Fabrāyir 2022.

<sup>100</sup> Sayyid Ismā‘īl, "‘arḍ masraḥīyah mā ba‘da al-insān .. Ayyām al-Shāriqah al-masraḥīyah". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf‘ abwāsth: Sayed Esmail, 21 Mārs 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=GuLOgWkoQjU>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 17 Yanāyir 2019.

<sup>101</sup> Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Maqṣūd, "mā ba‘da al-insān .. makhraj yuḥākm al-basharīyah ‘alā al-Khashabah". *Mawqi‘ al-Imārāt al-yawm*, 22 Mārs 2018. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.emaratalyoum.com/life/culture/2018-03-22-1.1082494> Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 15 Mārs 2019.

- The painting, consisting of a written piece, was presented in the Sharjah Art Museum during the Islamic Art Festival held in the UAE 2016 under the theme of 'Effect'. See: Laylá Bāri‘, "‘alā hāmish dawratihī al-‘ishrīn .. Aḥmad jāryd yumaththilu al-Maghrib fi Mihrajān al-Funūn al-Islāmīyah bi-al-Shāriqah". *Mawqi‘ mgħrs*, 27 Dīsimbir 2017. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.maghress.com/alittihad/2036799>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 21 Uktūbir 2019.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

you with news beyond man, for man is nothing but an experience that must be overcome. Man is nothing but a submissive slave. He is nothing but a rope stretched above the earth. This is Richard's story'.<sup>102</sup> Later, the exercise stops, the narrator stops, and only silence remains with the central character sitting on the stage. This beginning of the performance is designed to take the audience far away from classical performance and modes of thinking to modern ones. It is part of Kareem's aim to focus on the human body and its actions, good and evil, through what he terms 'absolute theatre'.<sup>103</sup> Alongside the use of dance and painting, another key feature of Kareem's 'absolute theatre' approach is the use of lighting changes: colours shift from blue, white, red, and yellow in the performance to highlight emotions, loud voices, shifts of the characters' gender, and disturbances in the psyches of the characters, including Richard himself. The drama of the internal struggles, both of the individuals and of the people, are underlined with this design.

After the long opening sequence, the *Ma Baa'd Al-ensan* audience meets with five nameless characters on stage who present themselves as 'the largest explorer of the human follow-up unit, 1, 2, 3 and 4'.<sup>104</sup> The 'explorers' have the role of 'following up' on Richard; they will later investigate Richard for his evil behaviour. The dramatic action then starts where Shakespeare ends: it is the night before the battle against Richmond, Richard is asleep, he has a dream about all the people he has killed throughout his journey to be King. The

---

<sup>102</sup> For a video version of the play see, al-Hay'ah al-'Arabīyah lil-Masrah, "masrahīyah mā ba'da al-insān-masrah khwrfkān". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: AtiTheatre Chanel, 27 Mārs 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CNMsbp-08W0&t=282s>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 24 Yūniyū 2022. Also see, Sayyid Ismā'īl, "'arḍ masrahīyah mā ba'da al-insān .. Ayyām al-Shāriqah al-masrahīyah". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' abwāsth: Sayed Esmail, 21 Mārs 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=GuLOgWkoQjU>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Yanāyir 2019.

<sup>103</sup> Muḥammadū li-Ḥabīb, "ikhrāj al-nuṣūṣ al-Maḥallīyah yṭṭlb Kasr al-asālīb al-taqlīdīyah". *Mawqi' Ṣaḥīfat al-Khalīj*, 7 Yūliyū 2018. mstrj' min: <http://www.alkhaleej.ae/alkhaleej/page/73352c19-5764-4139-81f6-c1f42993d122>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 13 Abrīl 2019.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

explorers disturb his dream and start to interrogate him; 'we know you are not as sociable as you should be but you have to talk to us so we understand what you are up to'.<sup>105</sup> It seems their purpose is to help Richard understand his own motives and agendas. Shortly afterwards, an explorer asks Richard about his dream in which Richard replies: 'I dreamt that I was on a balcony that enables me to see everyone, including Richard'.<sup>106</sup> It is a vision of control over both self and other people, which parallels Shakespeare's opening soliloquy where Richard controls his narrative of being determined, through his body, to be a 'villain'. But in this case the vision of self-knowledge that Richard desires in a dream, and these dreams, like those of Shakespeare's Richard in Act 5, are open to disruption. In *Ma Baa'd Al-ensan*, as in Shakespeare, Clarence's ghost enters the scene and discloses how Richard killed him, other characters appear too. In Shakespeare's original, Richard can dismiss these visits as nightmares when he wakes, 'soft, I did but dream' (5.4. 158): Almajid's Richard is much less confident, stating; 'you are ghosts and you seek my fall'.<sup>107</sup> The Explorers questions about the crimes he committed intensify Richard's agitation. It is an interrogation of Richard's humanity and human nature in general since he is among the people who actively or passively support tyrannies and evil actions. Once again the story of Richard is being used to teach lessons from history and to find out the causes and effects of tyrannies, to examine the relationships between tyrants and subjects, and to learn how to avoid them in the future.

The play then moves to Almajid's other earlier investigation of Richard *Matar Tasa'udy* [Cumulative Rain], a play that places Richard in a university campus drama. Two students, a freshman and a senior, live in a university dorm. One rainy night, a conflict starts

---

<sup>105</sup> Sayyid Ismā'īl, "'arḍ masraḥīyah mā ba'da al-insān .. Ayyām al-Shāriqah al-masraḥīyah". *ywtwbb*, tamma al-Raf' abwāsth: Sayed Esmail, 21 Mārs 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=GuLOgWkoQjU>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Yanāyir 2019.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

between them when each wants to take control and command of the dorm. The play examines these isolated, frightened, antisocial characters who are scared to be part of the community and prefer not to deal with people. Instead, they want to exercise tyranny and dominate those in the dorm.<sup>108</sup> What on a national or international stage becomes grand and tragic, in a university dorm becomes small, even comic. It offers an interesting investigation of Richard's pathological isolation, as the explorers have already remarked in the first scenes, 'my lord, we know you are not as sociable as you should be'.<sup>109</sup> This amplifies Richard in Shakespeare's original who does not want to participate in the post Wars of the Roses 'merry meetings' (1.1.7) and will not 'entertain these fair well-spoken days' (1.1.29). This Richard is anti-social, lives in his arrogant bubble, and sees himself far superior to others. At the beginning of the play, Richard answers the explorers' questions stating: 'my design is different than yours; you are slaves; I am a king'.<sup>110</sup> This superiority, arrogance, and lack of social care and conscience is a pathological disturbance in character that enables monstrous crimes against close relatives and associates. Richard cares for no-one but Richard.

This self-sufficiency, combined with the complete conviction of greatness, makes Almajid's versions of Richard like Nietzsche's Übermensch (Superman), where human nature becomes all about 'power-power'.<sup>111</sup> Nietzsche's 'Superman' is a person who reaches his goals through absolute power because he is emancipated from any religion, morals, and

---

<sup>108</sup> Muḥammad 'Abd al-Samī', "Maṭar tṣā'dy y'qbh al-ẓama'". *Mawqī' Ṣaḥīfat al-Ittiḥād*, 2016. mstrj' min: <https://www.alittihad.ae/article/54111/2016/مطر-تصاعدي-يعقبه-الظمأ>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 14 Yanāyir 2019.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Sayyid Ismā'īl, "'arḍ masraḥīyah mā ba'da al-insān .. Ayyām al-Shāriqah al-masraḥīyah". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' abwāsth: Sayed Esmail, 21 Mārs 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=GuLOgWkoQjU>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Yanāyir 2019.

<sup>111</sup> William M Salter, "Nietzsche's Superman", *Journal of Philosophy, Inc.*, vol. 12, no. 16, pp. 421–438, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2013575.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A520c882ffd9fd43aba19e78d346905b5>. Accessed 5 January 2019.



### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

humanitarian ideologies. The concept, famously applied to the rise of Hitler, can also be applicable to powerful leaders and politicians worldwide who adopt and adapt Machiavellian political thought.<sup>112</sup> Their will to absolute power renders them free from irrational altruism and compassion for other human beings.<sup>113</sup> Drawing on Shakespeare's original Richard, the post-modern Richards of *Ma Baa'd Al-ensan* move beyond both secular and religious morality. In Shakespeare's original, there is a chorus of queens who recognise Richard as evil and join in the quest to punish him, but the twenty-first century Arab Richards face little local opposition. Throughout the plays, we are reminded of the weakness of the collective population, which allows Richard, even empowers him, to become a tyrant. The inclusion of the text-based painting, *Baa'd Al-ensan: Al Athar*, encourages a possibility of hope for the future. That future hope is founded on understanding history and the vital role of an active memory. As the artist Ahmed Jareed writes, 'physical time is always a fugitive present'.<sup>114</sup> For him, making art is essential to remaking and reworking the past. This idea is evidenced in *Ma Baa'd Al-ensan* as the dramatist reworks Shakespeare's *Richard III* from many different perspectives. The hope is that art will remind the audience that history repeats itself and what happened in the past should offer lessons for the next generation to generate 'new methods'.<sup>115</sup> The explorers interrogate Richard hoping to avoid future tyranny. The painting widens the skies of imagination for people to think about their future, the good of humanity, and what can be done to apply history lessons for a better outcome. For all this will towards future hope, the dramatist ends the play with a vision of chaos. At the end of Shakespeare's

---

<sup>112</sup> Nādir Abāzyd, "idhn mā huwa al-insān al-A'lá?". *Mawqī' Ma 'ābir*. mstrj' min: [http://www.maaber.org/issue\\_november03/lookout2.htm](http://www.maaber.org/issue_november03/lookout2.htm). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Fabrāyir 2019.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Aḥmad Jāryd, "al-athar ba'da al-insān". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: Banan Alyousef, 22 Yanāyir 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zJK0Qs-EVTM>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Yūniyū 2019.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

play, Richard says ‘a horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse’ (5.6.7); here the explorer asserts ‘he was besieged, he was a king, he was rich all he wanted was a horse. To save his life? Maybe! To fight? Maybe! Will he give his kingdom to someone who gives him a horse? Or is his entire kingdom worth nothing but a horse in his eyes!’.<sup>116</sup> The theatre scenery collapses at this moment and all, including the good people, are dead. During the chaos, audience hear exclamations of regret: ‘I could have avoided this’, ‘so sorry for the kingdom’, ‘he will return, he will return’ and ‘you thug, wretched kingdom’.<sup>117</sup> Though pessimistic, this extreme vision of the end of humanity might inspire the audience to act for change and fight for a better future.

Aljamid’s play under Kareem’s direction echoes with Ghazal’s earlier *Richard III, Court-Circuit* in that it explores the themes of secular life and Machiavellian political thought that we have traced in this thesis so far. I will now end the chapter by exploring one important difference between the adaptations: the place of women. Ghazal’s adaptation highlights the power of the female voice and actors through the narrator and Nabila while in *Ma Baa’d Al-ensan* all female actors are absent from the performance (though female characters are present). Instead, in echoing the original conditions of Shakespearean performance, men play the female roles. For example, in the scene discussed above, Clarence shifts from male to female and becomes Lady Anne when they both appear to Richard as ghosts.<sup>118</sup> The elimination of female performers from *Ma Baa’d Al-ensan* reminds us of several points related to the patriarchal structures of Arab-Muslim society. First, if we

---

<sup>116</sup> al-Hay’ah al-‘Arabīyah lil-Masrah, "masrahīyah mā ba‘da al-insān-masrah khwrkān". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf’ bi-wāsiṭat: AtiTheatre Chanel, 27 Mārs 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CNMsbp-08W0&t=282s>. Tārīkh alāstrjā’: 24 Yūniyū 2022.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Sayyid Ismā‘īl, "‘arḍ masrahīyah mā ba‘da al-insān .. Ayyām al-Shāriqah al-masrahīyah". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf’ abwāsth: Sayed Esmail, 21 Mārs 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=GuLOgWkoQjU>. Tārīkh alāstrjā’: 17 Yanāyir 2019.

### Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007

consider that under Kareem's direction the performance is a kind of trial, where the Chief explorer acts as Judge and the others are lawyers, interrogators, and jury, then there is no place for women. In traditional Islamic culture, it is preferable for women not to work in juridical institutions and positions of authority. The saying by Prophet Mohammed 'A people who make a woman their ruler will never be successful' has more than one interpretation depending on the time, place, and circumstance; but Kareem here adopts the extremist position.<sup>119</sup> It is true that in the Arab World, the GCC are perhaps the most male-dominated societies. Women cannot and will not be rulers in the GCC and it is impossible to have a female question a king on stage. At this point, the production raises interesting questions. One can argue that Kareem oppresses women with his decision to eliminate Shakespeare's female characters from this version, but their absence from well-known Shakespearean text also raises questions about the exclusion of women in the Arab World, where men govern nearly all institutions. It brings to mind the courting scene in Shakespeare's original where Richard makes very clear that Lady Anne must do as he wishes if she is to survive in his world. He is particularly cruel as he mocks her anger at the impossibility of her situation, accusing her of unladylike behaviour: 'Lady, you know no rules of charity,/ Which renders good for bad, blessings for curses' (1.2.66-67). The question of women and their role in a patriarchal culture where they are dependent on male kinship remains unsolved in Arab-Muslim societies, even in the postmodern period.

To conclude this chapter on Al Bassam's *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy*, considering also the two subsequent Arabic versions across the next decade, I note that Shakespeare's *Richard III* once considered a play about English medieval history, distant from Arab World culture and concerns, has become a focus point for Arab World thinking about tyranny, the will to power, and the lessons of history. Shakespeare's play starts with one King's death and

---

<sup>119</sup> "Judgements," *Sunnah*, [sunnah.com/bulugh/14/13](http://sunnah.com/bulugh/14/13). Accessed 31 Sept. 2019.

### **Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007**

ends with another's death. It represents, both within the play itself and in its position in the series of history plays, the cyclical nature of history and the endless search for a narrative of causation. Shakespeare's history repeats itself as he encourages the audience to learn lessons from this by showing how villains pursue villainy in detail. Shakespeare's histories show civil war and internal conflicts within a nation while the Arab Richards deal with a more complex situation. Islamic factions may fight with those who support a secular life, but the national is also affected by events across the Arab World. Furthermore, the West also pursues its own interests by supporting or deposing tyrants. The Arab Richards often seem to be puppets, not puppet masters. Al Bassam is careful to frame Richard's story with the experienced voice of Margaret who has seen it all happen before, as she rejects all offers from the West, while Richard accepts the help of Buckingham, the US Embassy, and is finally defeated by Richmond. Al Bassam, writing for the RSC stage as the aftermath of the Iraq War played out with the capture, trial and execution of Saddam Hussein, sought to explore how the unfolding present might learn from colonial history to avoid the tensions which produce extremism, terrorism, and tyranny. His Richard seeks a secular alternative to the corruption of the Muslim Brotherhood, but his pursuit of Machiavellian principles leads him to be a tyrant. In the background, Al Bassam shows the people too ready to follow any leader who offers hope for change while still maintaining a strong faith in Islam and having a meaningful place in the collective and national future.

It is in Margaret's voice of resistance that opens Al Bassam's play that hopes for an independent future based on her knowledge of the past. In adapting Shakespeare's play, Al Bassam recognised the marginalised female's power as keepers of history and guardians of the future as they sought to protect their children. Ghazal's 2014 adaptation in the wake of the Tunisian Revolution amplifies that Arab World female voices implore resistance and change, shown by giving women the role of narrating Richard's past and reimagining the

### **Chapter 3: Machiavellian Political Thought: *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* 2007**

family present. However, the Kareem/ Almajid UAE version of 2018 returns to a male-dominated world where only women from Shakespeare's original appear, but are voiced by male actors. The place of women in the new Arab World is still unsolved in the decade after the Arab Spring. In the final chapter, I will consider Al Bassam's adaptation of *Twelfth Night*. *The Speaker's Progress* (2011), the final play in Al Bassam's Arab Shakespeare Trilogy, written as the events of the Arab Spring unfold, literally places the Arab female voice at centre-stage.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress*

### Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress*

This thesis's third and final case-study is Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress* (2011), an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. This shift from adapting tragedy to adapting comedy allows Al Bassam to focus more on the place of women in society and performance and to develop a strong focus on the theme of feminism. *The Speaker's Progress* was first performed in February 2011 at the Al-Maidan Cultural Centre in Kuwait, during the 14<sup>th</sup> week of Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiya.<sup>1</sup> This was the play in its initial form; as the Arab Spring unfolded, the play went on tour across the Arab World and beyond. The tour included, for example, Lebanon, Tunisia, Egypt, as well as US venues such as the Brooklyn Academy of Music New York at and the Arts Emerson Paramount Theatre Boston. As it toured, the play was altered and revised in response to local political events, then eventually returned to Kuwait in its new form in May 2012.<sup>2</sup>

Al Bassam chooses a timeline of 2010-12 for the events of *The Speaker's Progress*, with the stage action unfolding against a background of real-life events. As such the unfolding events of the Arab Spring shape, rather than haunt, the play. It is 'live' to the news streaming in from across the Arab World and broadcast by the key Arab World media outlets situated in the GCC. The start of the Arab Spring is marked when the Tunisian street vendor

---

<sup>1</sup> Kūnā dūt Nit, "masrahīyah (wa-Dār al-falak) tabda' 'rwḏhā lil-Jumhūr al-Thulāthā' al-Muqbil 'alā masrah al-Shāmīyah". *Mawqī' Kūnā*, 6 Māyū 2012. mstrj' min: <https://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticleDetails.aspx?id=2238630&Language=ar>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 22 Aghuṣṭus 2021.

<sup>2</sup> The play toured from 16 to 20 October. See, Nélida Nassar, "Sulayman Al-Bassam's the Speaker's Progress." *ART & CULTURE TODAY*, 2011, [www.artandculturetoday.wordpress.com/theatre/us-theatre/sulayman-al-bassams-the-speakers-progress](http://www.artandculturetoday.wordpress.com/theatre/us-theatre/sulayman-al-bassams-the-speakers-progress). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Māyū 2017.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

Mohammed Bouazizi sets himself on fire on 17 December 2010. As the political protests pick up, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak steps down in January 2011, followed by the President of Tunisia, Ben Ali, who fled to Saudi Arabia on 11 February 2011, and the Syrian Revolution began on 15 March 2011. Protests continued across many countries throughout the Arab World and on 20 October 2011, the deposed leader of Libya, President Muammar Gaddafi was captured and murdered.<sup>3</sup> A few days after this, on the 23 October, Aliaa Elmahdy, the Egyptian internet campaigner and women's rights activist, posted a nude self-portrait on her blog.<sup>4</sup> Elmahdy was part of the new generation of young Egyptians who took part in the Arab Spring protests in Tahrir Square in Cairo and aimed to achieve political, economic, and social reform in Egypt.<sup>5</sup> A student of the American University of Cairo, sometimes associated with the influential April 6 Youth Movement formed in 2008 to support workers' rights to strike, Elmahdy represents the new political voice of the educated Arab World Facebook feminist. Facebook removed her nude protest post, but she had already passed her message. She commented on the picture 'screams against a society of violence, racism, sexism, sexual harassment and hypocrisy'.<sup>6</sup> Elmahdy's post created a huge buzz between supporters and opponents, so she went into exile in Sweden in fear for her life the following year. This discussion of Al Bassam's play marks an important point of connection: the moment of liberation of the country from tyranny is directly linked to the liberation of women and the Arab female voice. At the heart of *The Speaker's Progress*, Al Bassam places

---

<sup>3</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam and Graham Holderness. *The Arab Shakespeare Trilogy*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury, London).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> al-Jazīrah Nī, "ta'rifu 'alá Ḥarakat 6 Abrīl". *Mawqī' al-Jazīrah*, 12 Fabrāyir 2014. mstrj' min: <https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/movementsandparties/2014/2/12/تعرف-على-حركة-6-أبريل>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 23 Yūniyū 2021.

<sup>6</sup> "Aliaa Magda Elmahdy Biography - Egyptian Women's Rights Activist", *Pantheon*, pantheon.world/profile/person/Aliaa\_Magda\_Elmahdy. Accessed 27 June 2022.

#### **Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress***

an actress playing Shakespeare, who tests the boundaries of what it is permissible to say on stage, all the time aware of the political changes happening in the world outside.

*The Speaker's Progress* is a dark satire of a totalitarian state that was once culturally and politically progressive but has now turned to regulation and suppression as a means of policing its people. Once again, Al Bassam sets his play in an unnamed Arab country where theatre is now banned, but where a director wants to re-stage a [fictional] 1963 performance. This is revealed to be based on Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* at the end. The mysterious 1963 'original' performance is shown in the play as an example to be condemned, as it was against the regime, norms, and traditions of that country. The staging of the show, the critical comments and interventions of the Speaker and the Envoys, as well as the increasingly interesting interventions by the actresses on stage all combine to demonstrate that this attempt to reproduce and replicate a historical production as an authentic revival cannot be impervious to the contemporary political situation. Perhaps alluding to Bertolt Brecht's idea that the stage should be like a boxing ring, *The Speaker's Progress* stage is set as to be for a lecture. In the foreground is a projector screen with camera stand just opposite the audience, capturing the stage and performance. The Speaker has a platform on the right of the stage with a 'criminal forensic laboratory' on the left.<sup>7</sup> Free speech and state-sponsored forensic evidence are shown to compete from the outset. The Speaker is represented and played by Al Bassam, who informs the audience that he 'used to be a theatre director' but is now under 'forced retirement' (1.1.141). Theatres and other public venues have been closed because they were part of the spread of 'mental plague' (1.1.141). The Speaker seems to approve the government's actions and says that he will show America that they are mistaken in their views of the Arabs even if it is through an 'outdated medium' such as theatre (1.1.141). The

---

<sup>7</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam and Graham Holderness. *The Arab Shakespeare Trilogy*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury, London) 137.



#### **Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress***

Speaker and this country seem to create this cultural experiment to show America that they are a liberated and democratic country. As a result, the audience-spectator is located somewhere between the original production of 1963 and a contemporary one in rehearsal, with a detailed commentary coming from the laboratory, which attempts to prevent any risk that the process of the adaptation of Shakespeare's classic might become subversive.

When the spectator learns that there is to be an Arabic play adapted from Shakespeare, especially a comedy and in this case *Twelfth Night*, they might imagine diverse love stories, tender songs, and shades of beautiful design and colours to nourish the audience throughout the play. But when they come to view *The Speaker's Progress* in performance, all this quickly dissipates. From the first scene, this is a harsh, monochrome world: the viewer sees nothing but white and grey from the clothes of the actors to the stark laboratory room. It is as if he had entered a hospital or prison, not a theatre. Carlson sums up 'the setting, like that of Al-Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress*, is an Arab country (in this case clearly Tunisia) in the not too distant future when Islamic fundamentalists have largely consolidated their power over individual and social lives'.<sup>8</sup> The audience also quickly notices the absence of music 'the food of love' and then realizes that this absence is intended: all the pleasures of life are forbidden in this tyrannical state to which the play's actors belong. Further clues come from former actress 'music, like masturbation, is a secret habit' (1.1.145). The Speaker cuts her off, and later says 'here we make music that does not perturb the air-ha!' (1.2.146) the censorship rules forbid music.

---

<sup>8</sup> Marvin Carlson, *Theatre & Islam* (Macmillan Education, London, 2019), 69.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

The original 1963 production quickly comes to symbolise freedom of speech and the cultural possibilities that Arab theatre offered in comparison to the current state censorship, exemplified by the presence of the Envoys. The Envoys are representatives of various sectors of the anonymous Arab country, including the Writer's Union, National Tourist Board, Council of Virtue, Women's League, and Student's Union. It might at first appear that the presence of these Envoys shows a progressive state in which various interest groups can voice their opinions, but their role is to suppress the show. The fact that this is an unknown country is essential, as it represents all Arab countries where theatre and other forms of art undergo heavy local and international censorship to ensure that the public is 'protected', but also that resistance is contained. Such regimes trade on keeping the population both paralysed and politically illiterate to prevent change. This idea is important as it enlightens the public on their complicity in such regimes and their critical resistance to such regimes. Considering these perspectives and the timing of the play during the Arab Spring, this anonymity is crucially important. Particular resonant is the uncertainty that characters experience under the suppression of this fictionalised Arab country. There is a sense of fear, anxiety, and hesitation in the way characters speak, use expressions and move to speak, especially with the women. For example, we see the lead actress, Thuraya, is afraid to present herself and 'shies away from the microphone' (1.1.144). This is no shock when we consider the presence of the Envoys, who constantly interfere to enforce proper behaviour. They rigorously measure the distance between men and women to ensure that it is acceptable. Al Bassam's adaptation of *Twelfth Night* puts the very craft of theatre making, and importantly of adaptation under the microscope of both The Envoys and the audience. The play asks the question: is it enough to rehearse and adapt Shakespeare when political unrest is happening on the streets?

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

#### ***Twelfth Night: An Arab World Pre-history.***

As my case-studies have so far shown, *Hamlet* was popular in the Arab World and as often translated and performed; *Richard III* was first translated into Arabic in the 1990s and found little interest before Al Bassam brought it into circulation in 2007. *Twelfth Night*, as is general for the Shakespearean comedies was even less well-known in the Arab World. As I shall explore, until very recently, the English original and Arabic translation were slightly known but rarely performed. It is perhaps true that in the West Shakespeare's cross-dressing comedies in particular have recently become more popular; they have become a focus for exploring gender-and performance identity, linked in the case of *Twelfth Night*, to religious and sexual puritanism. However, these are controversial subjects for many Arab societies, making the play mainly a subject for Arab World English literature professors. As I have also clarified in the other case-studies, many scholars prefer reading Shakespeare to watching him. It is also true that Shakespeare's tragedies are simply better known and have more of an Arab World performance tradition. Here the comedies are not so popular. As the theatre maker and commentator Mohammed Sami states:

This [emotion] is what I feel when I re-read any of Shakespeare's tragedies, but his comedies are different. I read them many years ago, and I almost forgot about them or forgot most of them, and I tried recently to re-read them, but I was not impressed, except for a play or two (including *Twelfth Night*).<sup>9</sup>

Having demonstrated that *Twelfth Night* is perhaps the least known of the three Shakespeare plays in my case-studies, I will now examine three key twentieth-century

---

<sup>9</sup> Muhammad Sami is a member of the Iraqi Artists Syndicate, and the Iraqi Theatrical Union. He works for Rawabet Centre for Culture and the Arts and is an editor of the Stage and Arab Theatre Authority website. See, Muḥammad Sāmī, "masraḥīyah al-laylah al-thānīyah 'ashrah li-Shiksbūr D. 'Alī Khalīfah". *Mawqī' al-Hay'ah al-'Arabīyah lil-Masrah*, 2017. mstrj' min: <https://atitheatre.ae/مسرحية-الليلة-الثانية-عشرة-لشكسبير-د-ع>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 22 Mārs 2022.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

moments of translation of *Twelfth Night*: in the first two cases, those by Ali Ahmed Bakathir (1936) and Mohammed Anani (1999), the play is embroiled in debates about the nature of translation and poetic experiment while the final translation, that of Jabra Ibrahim Jabra (1989) brings us closer to the social and feminist concerns that animate Al Bassam's 2011 adaptation.

### **The 1930s Experiments in poetry: Ali Ahmed Bakathir (1910-1969)**

Ali Ahmed Bakathir's attempt to translate parts of *Twelfth Night* was published in *Al Resala* magazine in 1936.<sup>10</sup> Bakathir was born in 1910 in Surabaya, Indonesia, to Arab Yemeni parents, then moved back to Yemen when he was aged ten.<sup>11</sup> Shortly afterwards, aged around thirteen, Bakathir started writing his own poetry, while reading some of the most highly regarded Arabic works: the pre-Islamic poetry of Almuttanabi and the contemporary poetry of Ahmed Shawqi.<sup>12</sup> Though impossible to prove, Bakathir's first encounter with

---

<sup>10</sup> An Egyptian literary and cultural magazine, published in Cairo (1933-1953), founded by Ahmed Hassan El-Zayat. See, Ma'rifat dūt awrj, "Majallat al-Risālah". *Mawqi' Mawsū'at al-Ma'rifah*. mstrj' min: <https://www.marefa.org>مجلة الرسالة. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Yūliyū 2021.

<sup>11</sup> Bakathir studied Arabic and Sharia sciences at the Al-Nahda Scientific School, Yemen where he later became a teacher and administrator. In 1934 he moved to Egypt to join Fouad I University (currently Cairo University) and got a BA. In 1954, he got a scholarship to France. Bakathir was fluent in English, French and Malay, in addition to his mother tongue, Arabic. In 1943 he married an Egyptian woman, and 1951, Bakathir obtained Egyptian citizenship by virtue of a royal decree. He stayed in Egypt till his death in 1969 and was buried there. See, Bākathīr dūt Kūm, "Bākathīr fī Suṭūr". *Mawqi' Bākathīr*. mstrj' min: <http://www.bakatheer.com/sotor.php>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Yūliyū 2021.

<sup>12</sup> Almuttanabi (915- 956) was of the Abbasid era poets and considered one of the greatest, most influential Arab poets. See, al-Dīwān dūt Nīt, "al-Mutanabbī". *Mawqi' al-Dīwān*. mstrj' min: <https://www.aldiwan.net/cat-poet-Mutanabi>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 22 Mārs 2022.

- Ahmed Shawqi (1868-1932) was an Egyptian poet and author who graduated from a translation school in Egypt in 1887. Then in 1887, he went to Paris to study French literature in a scholarship from Khedive Tewfik. Shawqi got engaged with Shakespeare and wrote a poem about *Hamlet* and *The Death of Cleopatra* (1929). See, Tasnīm Mursī, "Aḥmad Shawqī 1868 – 1932". *Mawqi' Maktabat al-Iskandarīyah*. mstrj' min: <http://www.bibalex.org/libraries/presentation/static/Shawki.pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 15 Māyū 2018.



## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

translation; the second is the Arabic prosodic reading, then the English reading where is the translation of Bakathir, followed by the Arabic prosodic reading, then the English reading, with the metrical pattern shown in the vowelled (/) and unvowelled (o) units. The ramal (*sea*) Bakathir used has a prosodic metrical pattern of 'fa'elatun, fa'elatun, fa'elatun'. Bakathir also offers technical variations on the pattern, such as 'fa'ela, fa'elat', demonstrating that the poet claims a good measure of freedom regarding the choice of rhyme.<sup>17</sup> It is a unique example of a translation and prosodic reading, in which Bakathir imposes the rules of pre-Islamic poetry on an Arabic Shakespearean text. It places one of the most famous speeches of *Twelfth Night* at an interesting point of cross-cultural poetic experiment.

Bakathir's second poetic encounter with Shakespeare occurred during his English literature studies in Egypt when he moved away from pre-Islamic forms to become interested in the possibilities offered by blank verse. Just months before his death, in an interview in 1969 for Kuwait TV, Bakathir talked of an early class discussion about original language blank verse: 'I experienced a jolt in my first encounter with Shakespeare'.<sup>18</sup> He commented that, even though it was not a norm, blank verse is possible in Arabic poetry, and that 'the challenge made me translate *Romeo and Juliet* using blank verse'.<sup>19</sup> Bakathir used Shakespeare once again, but this time to open the long-standing debate of whether Arabic poetry can be free of metrical rhyme (*sea*). With the coming of modernity in the eighties, the usage of the blank verse spread widely amongst contemporary Arab poets; however, the

---

<sup>17</sup> 'Abd al-'Azīz Sharaf, "Aḥmad 'Alī Bākathīr wa-al-masraḥ al-shi'rī fī al-adab al-ḥadīth". *Majallat al-Fayṣal*, 'A. 30, 1979, Ṣ Ṣ. 72 – 77. mstrj' min: [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/\\_/\\_/DdWDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PT73&dq=مسرح+مصر+في+مسرح+لشكسبير+عشرة+الثانية+عشرة](https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/_/_/DdWDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PT73&dq=مسرح+مصر+في+مسرح+لشكسبير+عشرة+الثانية+عشرة). *Tārīkh alāstrjā'*: 29 Yanāyir 2021.

<sup>18</sup> 'Alī Aḥmad Bākathīr, "Maqta' min liqā' ma'a al-adīb Bākathīr fī tilifizyūn al-Kuwayt". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: zubaidi2, 6 Māyū 2008.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TZnzPCLQeOo>. *Tārīkh alāstrjā'*: 30 Mārs 2021.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

rhyme and *sea* of the pre-Islamic poem, the model for Bakathir's 1936 attempt to translate *Twelfth Night*, still persists to this day.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the Duke's speech was particularly suited to pre-Islamic verse's 'correct' rhyme and metrical patterns. In any case, when he was inspired to experiment with blank verse translation, Bakathir moved on from the problematic and little-known *Twelfth Night*; instead, his technical innovation was rooted in an encounter with the much more widely known, classic Shakespearian tragedy *Romeo and Juliet*.

### **The Millennium: Mohammed Anani and the Expert Translation**

Over sixty years after Bakathir's partial poetic experiments in translating *Twelfth Night*, the academic translator, dramatist, and poet, Mohammed Anani attempted the first full, scholarly annotated translation of *Twelfth Night* in Arabic, probably somewhere in or after 1999.<sup>21</sup> It was not his first or only Shakespearian translation. All in all, as he states, the translation dates in the introduction to his *Richard II*, he translated 24 works of Shakespeare, including *Merchant of Venice* (1988), *Julius Caesar* (1991), *A Midsummer's Night Dream* (1992), *Romeo and Juliet* (1993), *King Lear* (1996), *Henry VIII* (1997), and *Richard II*

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibrāhīm al-Khālidī, *Twāryq al-Nabaʿ* (Sharikat al-mukhtalif lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, al-Kuwayt 2012) S176.

<sup>21</sup> Mohamed Anani is a professor of English literature at Cairo University, with a long history of English translation. He received his BA Hons. in English Language and Literature from what is now Cairo University in 1959. He received his master's degree from the University of London in 1970, and his doctorate from the University of Reading in 1975. He is a playwright, who has composed seven plays. He has three collections of poetry and two poetic stories. He is also a well-established critic. He is one of the few Arab translators whom the most important publishing houses such as Longman have published. One of Anani's most prominent achievements is addressing the translation of important examples of English literature, such as Lord Byron's epic *Don Juan* and John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. See Maʿrifat dūt awrj, "Muḥammad 'Inānī". *Mawqi' Mawsū'at al-Ma'rifah*. mstrj' min: [https://www.marefa.org/محمد\\_عناني](https://www.marefa.org/محمد_عناني). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 26 Mārs 2021. See also, al-Hay'ah al-Waṭanīyah lil-I'lām, "Muḥammad 'Inānī". *Mawqi' Māsbīrū*. mstrj' min: <https://www.maspero.org/wps/portal/home/treasures/guests/مرواه20%من20%هنا/تفاصيل20%المبدع/6ff2992a-0789-4448-87bb-ceb675ad4bbb/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 5 Yūliyū 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

(1998).<sup>22</sup> Like Bakathir, Anani was interested in the formal challenges of Shakespeare's verse. In his book, *Literary Translation between Theory and Practice*, Anani discusses the importance of the semantic and poetic meaning of the translated text, insisting that regardless of the translator's capabilities, he would never be able to transpose the meter adequately and so should not try. Anani includes his translation of part of *Twelfth Night* in his practical analysis (Appendix iii). His translation aims to address and include poetic meter and semantic meaning to not sacrifice the meaning of the play.<sup>23</sup> Anani's translation stresses the academic training of the good literary translator who ideally, after years of study, can address the contexts and circumstances surrounding the text. There is no indication that Anani is attacking Bakathir's translation in particular or indeed that he had read and rejected his technical verse translation of *Twelfth Night* in his argument. However, Anani distances himself from his own earlier 1985 translation of *Romeo and Juliet* because, as he said: 'I made a mistake in translating it by presenting it as a tragic musical work at the same time, so I translated it again in a different way'; this second less formally technical, less 'tragic' translation appeared in 1993.<sup>24</sup> In an interview published by *Reuters* in 2015, Anani gave some insight into his methods of Shakespeare translation: he translates poetry as versed poetry and prose as prose, thus replicating the lines in the original in the translated text. Anani uses multiple editions of the English text, sometimes up to seven examples published

---

<sup>22</sup> Wilyam Shiksbīr, *al-Malik Rītshārd al-Thānī*. (tarjamat wa-taqdīm: Muḥammad 'Inānī, Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1998). mstrj' min: <https://www.noor-book.com/كتاب-ريتشارد-الثاني-شكسبير-ترجمه-عناي-pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 11 Yūliyū 2021. Unfortunately, it has so far proved impossible to access his translation of *Twelfth Night* in print. The date is therefore an estimate.

<sup>23</sup> Muḥammad Fāyiz Jād, "Muḥammad 'Inānī fī iḥtifālīyat Naḥnu wa-Shikisbīr: ākhir mā yḥtrmh almmthlwn huwa al-naṣṣ li-dhālik yfdlwn al-nathr 'alā al-shi'r". *Mawqi' bawwābat al-Ahrām*, 14 Abrīl 2016. mstrj' min: <https://gate.ahram.org.eg/News/906498.aspx>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 11 Yūniyū 2021.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.



## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

across the centuries; he includes marginalia, annotations and footnotes belonging to these eras, as well as his own scholarly framework and annotations. The results of his work are recognised in the interview. According to Anani, his texts are generally 'the most accurate and closest to the spirit of the text'.<sup>25</sup> His translation of *Twelfth Night* then seeks to capture the play's musicality and meaning. Anani seeks to present the text in context, enlightening Arab readers through re-creating the critical history and the text's metrical and lexical specifics.<sup>26</sup>

### ***Twelfth Night: Jabra Ibrahim Jabra (1989)***

In 1989, the Palestinian author, artist and critic Jabra Ibrahim Jabra published his translation of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*.<sup>27</sup> As he admits in the final section of his introduction, his choice to translate is ultimately a personal one:

I must say here that I hesitated for many years before taking the risk of translating this play into Arabic, despite that I was attached to it from a young age, have memorised much of its poetry, and that I have studied it and taught it in more than one college. I

---

<sup>25</sup> Farīq rwytrz, "Muqābalah-Muḥammad 'Inānī ystbq 'ām Shiksbīr bi-tarjamat abraz msrḥyāth". *bawwābat rwytrz al-I'lāmīyah*, 4 Nūfimbir 2015. mstrj' min: <https://www.reuters.com/article/idARAL8N12X4T120151104>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 26 Mārs 2021.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Jabra Ibrahim Jabra (1919-1994) is a Palestinian author, painter, and critic, of Syriac Orthodox origin, born in Bethlehem during the British Mandate era. He has produced about 70 novels, books and translations, and his work has been widely translated. He studied in Jerusalem, England and America, then moved to work in the universities of Iraq to teach English literature, and there, where he was closely acquainted with the educated elite and established strong relations with the most important literary figures such as Al-Sayyab and Al-Bayati. He is considered one of the most productive and diverse Arab writers. See, Ma'rifat dūt awrj, "Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā". *Mawqi' Mawsū'at al-Ma'rifah*. mstrj' min: [https://www.marefa.org/جبرا\\_إبراهيم\\_جبرا](https://www.marefa.org/جبرا_إبراهيم_جبرا). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 11 Yūliyū 2021.



#### Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

##### *Progress*

the importance of *Twelfth Night* in Shakespeare's canon. He concludes that only among such a context of heroic tales that *Twelfth Night* might interest the Arab reader.

Jabra's choice resonates with Al Bassam's own personal choices for his Shakespeare Trilogy: he adapted first *Hamlet*, a tragedy, then *Richard III*, a history, then *Twelfth Night*, a comedy. Moreover, I would argue that if Jabra is determined to face the linguistic and poetic challenges of translating *Twelfth Night*, he is also aware of a further task: 'the difficulty of transferring all this from a different culture to ours not only regarding time but also socially and ethically'.<sup>31</sup> Shakespeare's comedies *Twelfth Night* can be seen as highly culturally specific. Jabra may worry that the Arab reader would not understand it without some knowledge of the history of England and its festive practices. I would argue that this is exactly the challenge that draws Al Bassam to adapt the play 20 years later. In particular, both Jabra and Al Bassam will be drawn to the complex sexual politics of the play and the part played by women in correcting social upheaval.

Just like Bakathir and Anani, Jabra confirms the intrigue of Shakespeare's poetic language in *Twelfth Night*. He wants his readers to experience Shakespeare's poetic and musical world as it celebrates 'love and human happiness'.<sup>32</sup> Jabra also further explicitly engages with this particular play-world's particular female qualities. Writing in 1989, the age of Arab World female emancipation, he stresses the role of women in his introduction, singling out the female characters of *Twelfth Night* in particular for praise: 'despite the many wonderful women Shakespeare created, in *Twelfth Night* he embodied three women who remain in the memory of human culture as symbols for the immeasurable abundance in a women's experience if she loves'.<sup>33</sup> Jabra directs the readers explicitly to focus on the roles

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

of Viola, Olivia, and Maria. All three are disruptive and act to end the chaos caused by male rulers acting as tyrants or failing to do their jobs. These women also love, but they do not like Orsino languishing on couches listening to music, reading poetry, and waiting for things to happen. They plot, plan, insist, and show singular determination to achieve their desires. In fact, I argue that they provide exactly the kind of inspirational female actor-model that inspires Al Bassam to undertake his 2011 adaptation *The Speaker's Progress* a generation later.

So far we have been dealing with *Twelfth Night* in regard to the pre-history of different translators of interest: Bakathir, the Yemeni in Egypt; the Egyptian English-educated Anani, and the Palestinian English-educated Jabra. I want to now briefly consider the recent pre-*The Speaker's Progress* performance history of *Twelfth Night* in the Arab World; to move from page to stage.

### **Two *Twelfth Nights*: Home-grown Players and Touring Shakespeare (2005, 2010)**

#### **The Doha Players, Qatar 2005**

As part of a celebration for the 50th anniversary of the Doha Players in Qatar and in the evening of 19 March 2005, Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* was to be performed in the Doha Players Theatre. But the performance was interrupted by a 'suicide bombing'.<sup>34</sup> In fact, I have a childhood memory of the incident. I was in the last year in high school, sitting in the living room with my mother. We both heard the explosion and wondered what had happened.

---

<sup>34</sup> Farīq Ṣaḥīfat al-Ittiḥād, "Qaṭar: mnfdh al-Hujūm 'alá masraḥ al-Madrasah al-Barīṭānīyah mbrmj kmbywtr Miṣrī". *Mawqi' Ṣaḥīfat al-Ittiḥād*, 21 Mārs 2005. mstrj' min:

قطر:-منفذ-الهجوم-على-مسرح-المدرسة-البريطانية-مبرمج-مصري  
<https://www.alittihad.ae/article/3758/2005/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Yūniyū 2022.

- Tayyaba Imran, "Rising from the Ashes: The Revival of Qatar's Theatre Scene." *The Daily Q*, [thedailyq.org/11880/magazine/rising-from-the-ashes-the-revival-of-qatars-theatre-scene](http://thedailyq.org/11880/magazine/rising-from-the-ashes-the-revival-of-qatars-theatre-scene). Accessed 27 June 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

Later, we found out the explosion was in a nearby English school where there was to be a performance. Though I was not aware that the performance was Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, I knew it was an English play. I had no idea that one day I would connect the event to my PhD research. An official source at the Qatari Ministry of Interior announced that the perpetrator of the terrorist attack on the British School Theatre in Doha was Egyptian, and his name was Omar Ahmed Abdullah Ali. The play's director, teacher and amateur actor Jonathan Adams, heard the car's engine noises and headed outside to check as he was 'sitting in the control room at the back of the theatre watching the performance'; he was killed immediately.<sup>35</sup> Some attendees were injured and taken to the hospital as *Al Jazeera* reported 'nine of the wounded had minor injuries and had left the hospital, while the other three were still receiving treatment, describing their injuries as minor'.<sup>36</sup> Sadly, the festive play event turned out to be tragic, surrounded by fire in the theatre, the building, and some nearby cars at the scene of the attack.

Though 'Qatar is a relative stranger to terrorism' and considered a very safe country, the terrorist attack shocked both attendees and the population.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, according to Holderness and Loughery about the British School and the Doha Players, 'They are not a military or political organisation, and did not think of themselves as having any high-profile symbolic value'; then, the attack does not make any sense. Some direct explicit reasons are related to 'Al Qaeda's territory of global jihad' as the GCC and the Arab World were affected

---

<sup>35</sup> Graham Holderness, and Bryan Loughrey, "'Rudely Interrupted': Shakespeare and Terrorism", *Critical Survey*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2007.

<sup>36</sup> al-Jazīrah Nit, "maqṭal bryṭāny fī infjār syārḥ mfkhhkh Buqtur". *Mawqī 'al-Jazīrah*, 20 Mārs 2005. mstrj' min: <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2005/3/20/-انفجار-في-بريطاني-مقتل-سيارة-مفخخة>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Yūniyū 2022.

<sup>37</sup> Graham Holderness and Bryan Loughrey, "'Rudely Interrupted': Shakespeare and Terrorism," *Critical Survey*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2007.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

by the Invasion of Iraq in 2003.<sup>38</sup> From another perspective, the explosion can be connected to refusing the other.<sup>39</sup> Considering that the cast of the performance of *Twelfth Night* and of Doha Players were mostly British, and that the area also was the place of the American Embassy, the attack then might be targeting the British and the Americans (Westerners).<sup>40</sup> This British School and the area are a replica of old-style colonial educational theatre that is not welcomed and thought of as imposed one. This imposed colonial educational theatre is soft power that creates some resistance against the West. Five years later *Twelfth Night* was successfully performed without any terrorism incident.

### **The Birmingham Stage Company in Abu Dhabi and Syria (2010)**

In 2010, five years after the events in Qatar and the year before Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress* was first performed, the internationally renowned Abu Dhabi Festival commissioned Birmingham Stage Company to perform *Twelfth Night* as part of its educational programme targeting young people.<sup>41</sup> BSC then built a tour of *Twelfth Night* around this commission: it opened first in The Old Rep Theatre in Birmingham for two days, 16 and 17 March 2010, and then toured for ten days in the United Arab Emirates.<sup>42</sup> The BSC's *Twelfth Night* was performed in English and targeted children. In an interview with Neal Foster, director of both BSC and the production of *Twelfth Night*, he confirmed that Abu

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Tony Thompson, "Qatar Blast Kills Briton." *The Guardian*, 20 Mar. 2005, [www.theguardian.com/world/2005/mar/20/tonythompson.theobserver](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/mar/20/tonythompson.theobserver). Accessed 3 Jan. 2021.

<sup>41</sup> Abu Dhabi Festival was founded in 2004 and organised by Abu Dhabi Music & Arts Foundation. It hosts an annual multidisciplinary Festival which is the largest in the region. The programs present plays, musical performances, forums, educational and social programs, operas, and exhibitions. See, "About Abu Dhabi Festival." *Abu Dhabi Festival*, [abudhabifestival.ae/about](http://abudhabifestival.ae/about). Accessed 10 July 2021.

<sup>42</sup> "Twelfth Night", *Birmingham Stage*, [www.birminghamstage.com/shows/twelfth-night](http://www.birminghamstage.com/shows/twelfth-night).

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

Dhabi requested a Shakespearian performance; the Birmingham Stage Company chose *Twelfth Night*.<sup>43</sup> When I asked Foster whether the festival's commissioning agents had mandated or requested any restrictions or any requirements concerning staging *Twelfth Night* in the UAE, he replied that there were no absolute requirements, but they did request that the BSC minimise physical interaction between the sexes. The play was performed in three cities in the UAE: Abdu Dhabi, Dubai, and Ras Al-Khaimah, as well as in Damascus in Syria. Foster declared that the audience in all three UAE performances were mainly teenagers and reinforced the fact that, compared to English teenage audiences, the UAE audiences reacted more spontaneously to the textual and performance jokes made in the production.<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, there is no official documentation of the composition of the UAE audiences, particularly their educational backgrounds. Foster did not mention any difference in the audience's reception of the play between the three UAE venues; it was clear to the BSC that, whether Arabic- or English-speaking, whether privately or publicly educated, they clearly understood Shakespeare's language.

The BSC continued its *Twelfth Night* tour to Syria to take part in the 2010 Shakespeare Festival in Damascus.<sup>45</sup> The festival included some related activities: an exhibition of English books, a drama workshop in cooperation with Birmingham Stage Company, and a sculpture workshop for children.<sup>46</sup> Ammar Ismail, Director of the festival

---

<sup>43</sup> Neal Foster, "Twelfth Night in the United Arab Emirates and Syria." 2021.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> The previous year's festival featured *Romeo and Juliet* (2010) also featured activities associated with this play. See, Muḥammad Dībū, "masraḥīyah al-laylah al-thānīyah 'ashrah li-Shiksbīr fī Dimashq". *Mawqī' Jarīdat al-Dustūr al-Urdunīyah*, 11 Abrīl 2010. mstrj' min: <https://www.addustour.com/articles/453846-مسرحية-«الليلة-الثانية-عشرة»-لشكسبير-في-دمشق>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Māyū 2021.

<sup>46</sup> Farīq bwstḥ, "Shiksbīr fī Dimashq: 'arḍ al-laylah al-thānīyah 'ashar". *Mawqī' bwstḥ*, 4 Yūliyū 2012. mstrj' min: <https://www.bostah.com/الأخبار/شكسبير-في-دمشق-عرض-الليلة-الثانية-في-دمشق.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Fabrāyir 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

states that it was named the 'Shakespeare Festival' because of Shakespeare's literary importance, his global status, and his resonance with the Arab World:

We chose him due to the closeness between his writings and our Arab societies, and because his writings are suitable for all ages and far from extremism, and his writings are clearly influenced by Arab culture.<sup>47</sup>

The program stresses Shakespeare as part of an elite global culture, removed from political 'extremism', appealing to the most cultured of Arab audiences. The festival was aimed at the younger generation and families; Ismail found *Twelfth Night* to be the most suitable play for this target audience. In an interview, he states:

*Twelfth Night* deals with the story of the separation of a brother and sister and is characterised by romance when the two fall in love, a satirical comedy filled with mostly sweet irony, with a happy ending for the brother and sister, who are reunited together as they both reunite with their beloveds. In the middle is the intriguing complexity: false identities, plotting fools, and two egotistical people who get their due.<sup>48</sup>

His interpretation stresses the themes of love, family relations, and harmony as is proper for a family festival. Interestingly, the previous year's featured play, *Romeo and Juliet* is the quintessential Shakespeare play for conflict situations as it deals with lovers and rival families who threaten to destroy peace in the city. On the other hand, *Twelfth Night* deals with siblings, family separation, the aftermath of war, but with full, happy reconciliation. In

---

<sup>47</sup> Muḥammad Dībū, "masraḥīyah al-laylah al-thānīyah 'ashrah li-Shiksbīr fī Dimashq". *Mawqī' Jarīdat al-Dustūr al-Urdunīyah*, 11 Abrīl 2010. mstrj' min: <https://www.addustour.com/articles/453846-مسرحية-«الليلة-الثانية-عشرة»-لشكسبير-في-دمشق>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Māyū 2021.

<sup>48</sup> Farīq bwstḥ, "Shiksbīr fī Dimashq: 'arḍ al-laylah al-thānīyah 'ashar". *Mawqī' bwstḥ*, 4 Yūliyū 2012. mstrj' min: <https://www.bostah.com/الأخبار/شكسبير-في-دمشق-عرض-الليلة-الثانية-في-دمشق>.html. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Fabrāyir 2021.



## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

my interview, Foster did not mention restrictions or requests regarding the performance in Syria and confirmed that 'the audiences were mainly adults, not children'.<sup>49</sup> In another newspaper interview, Ismail implies that they had to request some alterations to make the play suitable for performance in an Arab country, as happened with Abu Dhabi.<sup>50</sup> Neither the implied restrictions nor the required alterations are explicitly outlined and the word 'censorship' is not used anywhere. However, it is ironic that Ismail also acknowledges that changes are necessary to make the performance suitable even as he stresses the relevance of Shakespeare's works to contemporary Arab audiences.

Perhaps this indicates a cultural difference when we compare the play's reception in the GCC and Syria, a country that, as discussed in my Chapter Two, was once colonised by France. Syria's relationship with Shakespeare and theatre is certainly older and more embedded than the GCC's. That relationship continues through performances like Shakespeare in Al-Zaatari refugee camp in 2014 where the RSC and others worked with young people to perform *Hamlet* and *King Lear*.<sup>51</sup> Reviews of the BSC Damascus performance of *Twelfth Night* vary considerably since they are particularly concerned with the fact that *Twelfth Night* was performed in Shakespeare's original language. Denis Delahunt, the actor who performed Feste, suggested that the difficulty of Shakespeare's language rendered the audience silent and they had to concentrate hard, all the time both to

---

<sup>49</sup> Neal Foster, "Twelfth Night in the United Arab Emirates and Syria", 2021. Muḥammad Dībū, "masraḥīyah al-laylah al-thānīyah 'ashrah li-Shiksbīr fī Dimashq". *Mawqi' Jarīdat al-Dustūr al-Urdunīyah*, 11 Abrīl 2010. mstrj' min: <https://www.addustour.com/articles/453846-مسرحية-«الليلة-الثانية-عشرة»-لشكسبير-في-دمشق>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Māyū 2021.

<sup>51</sup> Nārīmān 'Uthmān, "Shiksbīr yrāfq al-aṭfāl al-Sūrīyīn bi-Mukhayyam al-z'try". *Mawqi' al-Jazīrah*, 2014. mstrj' min: <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/cultureandart/2014/3/13/-شكسبير-يرافق-الأطفال-السوريين-بمخيم>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 21 Yūliyū 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

understand both the words and the complex plot.<sup>52</sup> This actor's impression matches comments from the audience. For example, Farah Qasomah, an audience member interviewed by the press, said 'I tried to put all my focus into understanding the play because the language was very tough, especially since they spoke in old English and the dialogue was fast and I could not understand all the sections and I wish the speech was a little slower'.<sup>53</sup> Qasomah's difficulty is common among Arab audiences of Shakespeare, particularly when they are ignorant of the plot in advance. This is unsurprising because even among the elite English- and internationally-educated Arab people, *Twelfth Night* is not as well-known as the tragedies such as *Hamlet* and *Richard III* I examined in this thesis's previous chapters. Difficulties with understanding Shakespeare's original text were further complicated by a combination of costs and limited availability freight from London to Damascus prohibited BSC from bringing the full set comprising costumes and musicians with them. The resulting lack of stage set and music made it very challenging for Arab audiences to enjoy and comprehend the performance.<sup>54</sup> Yara Sabry, a Syrian actress who attended, expressed her admiration for the ambition of the play, and recognised the need to see all kinds of international arts performances to support the cultural development of the child; but the music and dance that would appeal to children is exactly what the audience did not see in this

---

<sup>52</sup> Mawqī' al-Jamal, "masraḥīyah al-laylah al-thānīyah 'ashrah adā' klāsyky Mutqin wsynwghrāfyā mtqshfh". al-maṣdar: Sānā. *Mawqī' al-Jamal bi-mā ḥaml*, 31 Mārs 2010. mstrj' min:

<https://aljaml.com/>مسرحية%20الليلة%20الثانية%20عشرة%20أداء%20كلاسيكي%20متقن%20وسينوغرافي%20متقشفة. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Fabrāyir 2021.

<sup>53</sup> Arwā al-Bāshā, "masraḥīyah al-laylah al-thānīyah 'ashar li-Shiksbūr tabda' 'arḍihā al-Awwal fī Dimashq wtḥr al-ḥuḍūr". *Mawqī' syryānywz*, 30 Mārs 2010. mstrj' min: <http://syria-news.info/var/articlem.php?id=8976>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Māyū 2021.

<sup>54</sup> Farīq Mudawwanat waṭan, "nhāt Ṣaghīr fī laylah Shiksbūr al-thānīyah 'ashrah". taṣwīr: 'Alā' al-Ibrāhīm. *Mawqī' Mudawwanat waṭan al-Sūrī*, 30 Māyū 2010. mstrj' min: <http://esyria.sy/sites/code/index.php?site=damascus&p=stories&category=todayimg&filename=201003292005021>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Māyū 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

pared-down version of the play. All in all, the performance did not achieve the cultural excitement and dazzling reviews expected from watching a touring English theatre group.<sup>55</sup> As Litvin commented on Sabry's opinion: 'No surprise there. If ever there were a problematic play for cross-cultural presentation, surely *Twelfth Night* must be it'.<sup>56</sup> The quotation indicates how culturally specific Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* is and how problematic it is to stage it in other cultures. This central question, combined with the recent violence associated with *Twelfth Night* in Qatar, as well as the recent tour recoupling the play to an elite version of Shakespeare as a global entertainer, takes us to the particular challenges Al Bassam's *The Speaker* faces and articulates on stage as he sets out to adapt the play in his anonymous Arab World nation.

### **Leadership and Love in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress***

As outlined in Chapter Two of this thesis, Simone De Beauvoir and Nawal Sa'dawi's work outlines the historical discrimination women face in Western Europe and the Arab World, respectively. As I also explored, the question of love is essential to the work of both authors. On the one hand, De Beauvoir explored love as a reaction to women's subjection: here, I will focus on women in love, and her figure of the female Mystic in both plays. On the other hand, Sa'dawi believed that women must have equality of souls, bodies and minds to love freely as men do; love should be one pleasure among others, aimed at enriching, not

---

<sup>55</sup> Mawqi' al-Jamal, "masrahīyah al-laylah al-thānīyah 'ashrah adā' klāsyky Mutqin wsynwghrāfyā mtqshfh". al-maṣdar: Sānā. *Mawqi' al-Jamal bi-mā ḥaml*, 31 Mārs 2010. mstrj' min:

<https://aljamal.com/مسرحية%20الليلة%20الثانية%20عشرة%20أداء%20كلاسيكي%20متقن%20وسينو%20غرافي%20متقشفة> Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Fabrāyir 2021.

<sup>56</sup> Margaret Litvin, "Twelfth Night in Damascus." *Margaret Litvin*, 2010, [margaretlitvin.com/2010/05/](http://margaretlitvin.com/2010/05/). Accessed May 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

completely defining and limiting women's life. Both authors see equal love as an important value, necessary to the equality and strength of women. De Beauvoir intends to enlighten and educate women about their historical lack of status while Sa'dawi's intends to inspire women to take action by documenting the present experience of subjection. She aims for awareness of the reality of inequality to spread to all women in the Arab World; this awareness should inspire all women to liberate themselves and achieve their goals. Both feminist writers indicate that revolution is the only solution, the only way oppressed and suppressed women will liberate themselves from their current situation. However, Sa'dawi's focus as a medical practitioner, writer, and political activist is on immediate female emancipation in the Arab World. When Al Bassam chose to adapt Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, he chose a play in which the female characters use their minds, bodies, and souls to lead and to love. Al Bassam's Arab World actresses, as they play those characters, will experience political and personal struggle as they strive to acknowledge the limits of their present situation and work to exceed the limits of Shakespeare's original.

Discrimination between genders, enforced by the patriarchs and the state, is threateningly present throughout *The Speaker's Progress*. At a moment and as mentioned earlier and as Sa'dawi herself explained, all genders were participating in the Arab Spring, and in particular strong women's voices were emerging to change totalitarian regimes. Thus, the play emphasises that passive and active resistance is a right for every woman. The actresses Thuraya and Fawz, broadly representing Olivia and Viola respectively whose identities are increasingly fused into an 'everywoman' character throughout *The Speaker's Progress*, offer powerful models for maintaining independent character and thought in this nameless Arab country. Both demonstrate the importance of resistance to change their futures; they learn to decide for themselves as independent human beings through performing. Al Bassam, both as the 'Speaker' within the play and as performer/ adapter/

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

director of *The Speaker's Progress* portrays general, acute concern about the suppression of freedoms, the injustice, oppression, and poverty suffered by the Arab peoples represented in this play. It is a timely examination of the forms of domination by retrogressive political powers that caused the Arab Spring revolutions and popular protests anger in a number of countries in 2010-11. I want here to depend on De Beauvoir's and Sa'dawi to focus on the particular trajectory of the women in the play: to examine how their emerging confident political voice prevails in the play, as it does in the streets outside. I also want to examine how, beyond the play, as the Arab Spring rolls on, women's voices are eventually suppressed again.<sup>57</sup> Thuraya (Olivia) and Fawz (Viola) fight often and harder than the men in *The Speaker's Progress*; their articulacy and strength are repeatedly stressed to indicate the potential of feminist resistance in the changes sweeping the region. Even though this anonymous, fictionalised Arab country marginalises women from participation in the political sphere and from sentimental feelings, Thuraya and Fawz can maintain and develop their feminist perspectives on leadership and love because they voice resistance through the accepted vessel of Shakespeare. Al Bassam shows that women cannot fully participate in the political life of their country, but they can love and hold sentimental feelings. Indeed, the two things are woven tightly together. As an Arab woman, I choose to support all those women who went out into the fields to participate and are still participating in revolution for women's rights, which is why I have chosen to focus on feminism in this chapter.

### Shakespeare's Leadership and Love

---

<sup>57</sup> Ghādah 'Abd al-Mun'im, "Dār al-falak yastalhim al-Rabī' al-'Arabī wyksr al-ṣamt ḍidda kbt al-Ḥurrīyāt". *Mawqī' Jarīdat al-waṭan al-Kuwaytīyah*, 9 Māyū 2012. mstrj' min: <http://alwatan.kuwait.tt/article/details.aspx?id=193201&yearquarter=20122>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 12 Yūniyū 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress*

Gender problems and inequalities were common features of the Renaissance. Men dominated women and tried their best to keep them subjugated and in their 'right position'. Women were subordinate and inferior to men as well as to the state. Huge distinctions between the genders were essential for stabilising the social hierarchy and order.<sup>58</sup> Shakespeare exceeds the limits and transgresses the social order in *Twelfth Night* by portraying female characters such as Olivia and Viola. These two characters represent feminist aspects of leadership and love in their utterances and actions in different ways. I will start by outlining leadership and love in Shakespeare's Olivia and Viola.

As a chaste and well-mannered noble woman, Olivia embraces leadership qualities in her character throughout *Twelfth Night* in how she manages her household. She is plunged into grief at the loss of her brother, yet she maintains will and dignity. The audience never sees Olivia commanding the people living in her house; instead, she is found assigning specific duties and delegating requisite authority to her servants. Olivia runs her household methodically and seeks and implements a specific system and 'modest limits of order' (1.3.7-8). For example, she does not allow Sir Toby to come late to the household; we find her assistant, Maria, telling him, 'You must come in earlier a-nights' (1.3.3) because Olivia 'takes great expectations of your ill hours' (1.3.3-4). Olivia holds an opinion on the ethical qualities of the patriarchs living in her house and she looks down on the drinking habits of her uncle: 'That quaffing and drinking will undo you./ I heard my lady talk of it yesterday' (1.3.13-14). Sir Toby continues his unethical behaviour, and Maria gets angry, for she believes that he should respect the household and its mistress; if he does not do that, he will be kicked out: 'What a caterwauling do you keep here! If my lady have not called up her

---

<sup>58</sup> Jean E Howard, "Crossdressing, The theatre, and gender struggle in early modern England", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 4, 1988, p. 418, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/176000>. Accessed 18 Apr. 2020.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

steward Malvolio and bid him turn you out of doors, never trust me' (2.3.68-70). 'Order' should be maintained in the house no matter what, and for Olivia, mourning should not be an obstacle to running the house. Indeed, she criticises those who opt out of their household duties: when Feste disappears for some time, Olivia disapproves, again as reported by Maria: 'My lady will hang thee for thy absence' (1.4.3). For Olivia, then, and for her enforcer, Maria, everyone has a role to play, and all should fully participate in the household.

If Olivia demonstrates her leadership qualities in the domestic sphere, Viola demonstrates hers as she runs the plot of *Twelfth Night*. At the beginning of the play, she quickly grasps the fact that she is alone and vulnerable in an unknown country and decides to act right away. Her reaction to the situation she finds herself in is to adopt a disguise to sort things out. Viola does not waste her time asking questions about irrelevant matters, but she does ask, 'who governs here?' (1.2.22). Faced with a choice between Olivia, 'what's she?' (1.2.32) – and the Duke, Viola weighs the pros and cons and swiftly decides to work for the Duke, to remain disguised 'and . . . not be delivered to the world/ Till '(she) made (her) own occasion mellow,/ What (her) state is' (1.2.39-41). She decides to upend the social order without fear or hesitation and is happy to play the assumed role. As Barber has argued: 'Viola's spritely language conveys the fun she's having in playing a man's part with a hidden womanly perspective about it'.<sup>59</sup>

If Shakespeare's Viola adapts quickly to her new social place and disguise, Al Bassam's Fawz, operating under the gaze of the censors, takes a long time to adopt her disguise and complete her transformation. Viola makes a playful festive move to accommodate herself in Ilyria while Fawz's disguise is problematic, carefully scrutinised in

---

<sup>59</sup> Cesar Lombardi Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* (Princeton University Press, 1959) 274.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

her anonymous Arab country, and painfully slow. She has to fight her way through as the dramatist tries to reconstruct the scene several times, but is repeatedly cut off, then interrupted by the Envoy and The Sound Technician as he 'presses his buzzer to stop proceedings' (1.2.148). Shakespeare's Viola is a strong, determined, and natural leader but she acts largely alone. Fawz's actions are constantly monitored, resisted, and explained, even by her supposed ally, The Speaker. She visibly acts through speech against a tightly restrictive Muslim Arabic social order; the conflict this produces is, as the title confirms, the subject of Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress*.

It is noteworthy that Shakespeare's Viola does not trade on her high-status connections. After all, the Duke knows her father and might be duty bound to help her follow the laws of hospitality. Shakespeare shows Viola as an astute woman who can understand and collaborate with the common people around her. Viola correctly reads the captain's character and reposes her trust in him to enter the Duke's house: 'there's a fair behaviour in thee, captain, and though that nature with a beauteous wall' (1.2.44-45). She offers pragmatic solutions: 'thou shalt present me as a eunuch' (1.2.52), she demands, having discovered that the Duke likes music, that he associates it with love, and that as a eunuch, with an excellent singing voice, she will be able 'to speak to him in many sorts of music' (1.2.52-53). She takes the commission of wooing Olivia from the Duke and acts accordingly. Finally, where one might assume that Viola would stop pretending to be Cesario after she falls in love, she sticks to her plan till the end of *Twelfth Night*. Her only desire is to achieve her overall goal of restitution of brothers, of lovers, and of kingdoms, which is much more important to her than simply loving the Duke.

Viola is both leader and a consummate performer determined to fulfil her courtly mission to Olivia to the best of her ability, no matter how damaging that is to her interests. Viola memorises the words the Duke wants Olivia to listen to and insists on meeting her no



## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

matter what, as Malvolio informs Olivia, 'Madam, yon young fellow swears he will speak with you' (1.5.133). Viola will not back down from her mission; though she is told to leave, the audience is informed, 'he'll stand at (the) door like a sheriff's post, and to be a supporter to a bench, but he'll speak with you' (1.5.141-143). Viola does not waste time or energy: her question to Olivia when she first meets her: 'are you the lady of the house?' (1.5.176) dispenses with social chit-chat and immediately directs the focus of her mission to woo. She constantly reminds both herself and the audience that she is an intermediary ' . . . but this is form of my commission' (1.5.181). She continues to 'surprise (Olivia) with discourse of (her) dear faith' (1.4.25) and insists on a later visit that 'my matter hath no voice, lady, but to your own most pregnant and vouchsafed ear' | (3.1.86-87). Ultimately, Viola's performance is so convincing that all three parties involved fall deeply in love, just not with the intended people.

Amid such strong women, Shakespeare's Duke Orsino is a problematic example of male power: he has the chief political authority in the play, but he consistently refuses to exercise it. From the beginning of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, the audience knows that the Duke is in love, yet he suffers from these sentiments and does not act. He wallows in music as the 'food of love' (1.1.5) but prefers to take perverse pleasure in sending his new recruit, the unknown Cesario, to do what we might term 'a man's job'. The active, disruptive insistence of Cesario/ Viola in the last act finally jolts him out of inaction to propose marriage and take back some of his Ducal duties to restore civic order.

Heteronormative models of love are missing from Shakespeare's play as the brave Duke does not seek to win the first lady (Olivia) by feats of courage but we find strong models of family love and duty: Olivia and Viola both love their brothers and commit themselves to their memory. After Viola is parted from her brother in a shipwreck, she asks, 'what country, friends, is this?' (1.2.1), part of an attempt to find out her brother's fate. The

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

Captain gives her faint hope that Sebastian may be alive, 'I saw him hold acquaintance with the waves' (1.2.15) and Viola rewards him 'for say gold' (1.2.17). She also cannot rely on her probably dead brother's help and must act for herself. On the other hand, Olivia knows that her brother is dead: she has been mourning and grieving for several years. Her grief is slowly killing her, as observed by Sir Toby: 'what a plague means by my niece to take the death of her brother thus?' (1.3.1-2). Unlike the Duke, Olivia retreats into a mourning due to her self-destructive love for her brother while Viola leaps into action to find her brother if she can but finds the Duke, her future husband. It is through their love that both women find the husbands best suited to their needs.

Olivia rejects the love of Orsino and Sir Andrew and decides to mourn her brother. It is the energy of Cesario /Viola that causes Olivia to snap out of her mourning. Olivia becomes what De Beauvoir would call a Mystic in her love since her mourning is a kind of worship. She refuses all of Orsino's messengers except Cesario, who sparks her curiosity: 'of what personage and years is he' (1.5.149). She listens intently when Cesario talks and likes his company so much so that she orders him: 'you come to me again, to let me know how he takes it' (1.5.271-272). Having rejected both the Duke and Sir Andrew Ague, Olivia now makes her own resolution to have Cesario and to return to him the ring, 'he left . . . behind him' (1.5.291) just to have another opportunity of a conversation with him. This conversation eclipses Cesario/ Viola's role as messenger for the Duke; Olivia and s/he now talk directly to each other. Olivia is alive to emotion again, she loves, she insists, she persuades and she experiences the comic desperation of a lover: when Cesario says 'I pity you' (3.1.121), she replies, 'That's a degree of love' (3.1.122). Every word from Cesario matters to her, and she tends to interpret it as love. To her 'love sought is good, but given unsought is better' (1.1.154). Olivia may lose her dignity in trying to win Cesario's heart, 'I have said too much unto a heart of stone/ And laid mine honour too unchary on't./ There's something in me that

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

reproves my fault' (3.4.194-196). She also learns through love and desire that is *not* about her brother and family interests, to live again. Her first choice, to refuse the Duke and embrace the life of a Mystic, is a rejection of power and subjection. Her choice to love Cesario, a servant boy, seems to promise subversion and maintain her power. Finally, they are revealed to be equal in power and love.

### Al Bassam's Leadership and Love

Just as in Shakespeare, in *The Speaker's Progress*, the audience is introduced to Fawz (Viola) after the shipwreck scene. Her feminist resistance starts exactly as in Shakespeare and echoing the imagined 1963 original performance they are recreating when Fawz decides to stay in disguise to be able to work with the Ruler (shaikh) and says to the Sea Captain, 'Thou shalt present me to him as a eunuch' (1.2.148). This is the first disturbance of gender norms in the play. Shakespeare's Viola too chooses to be a eunuch but I would argue that the context of this decision in the anonymous Arab country is different. In Western literature, the eunuch is often figured as 'oriental' of Turkish, or broader Arab World heritage, and associated with tyranny since the reproductive organs, associated with pleasure and pain, are destroyed not by nature, but by human intervention.<sup>60</sup> In traditional Arab heritage, the 'eunuch' is not considered a man since it has lost all male characteristics, he is closer to an animal.<sup>61</sup> The eunuch has a problematic mixed and complex identity because it is not considered complete. In the era of the Caliphate, the eunuch served in threshold positions such as in the Harem palaces (*haremlik*); they are like the *aghas*,

---

<sup>60</sup> 'Amr al-Jāhiz, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, taḥqīq: 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, mjl1, ʔ2, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1965. mstrj' min: <https://foulabook.com/ar/book/الحيوان-مجلد-1.pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 22 Sibtambr 2021.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

entrusted with guarding and monitoring the two Holy Mosques and Jerusalem. As such, they perform work no one else can perform, including separating the men from the women in the *tawaf*, (pilgrimage), and when performing prayer.<sup>62</sup> Being a 'eunuch' is then considered shameful, but also gives a special liminal status: Fawz's choice acknowledges she will be treated differently, neither man nor woman, but castrated. The Captain agrees to keep her secret, 'I'll your mute be' (1.2.148). But her choice already signals other secret practices, for example, the practice of female genital mutilation in the Arab World that Sa'dawi had long campaigned against and the complicit painful silence surrounding that practice among older mature women. When Fawz chooses to be a 'eunuch', she admits her weakness and limited freedom as a woman in the patriarchal society.

The episode of Fawz's transformation does not end here; the bell rings to indicate the end of the scene, then the Former Actress explains that Fawz is in disguise; 'she puts on the captain's jacket and transforms herself into a member of the opposite sex' (1.2.148). There is a moment of fusion where male and female work together to produce a new disruptive force as the Speaker reassures and reminds all present that the performance is 'a reconstruction of a historical performance' (1.2.148); they are not trying to produce something new against the tradition and virtue of their country. The careful choice of words shows how the contemporary production company fears the censorship of the watching Envoys. The moment's weight is made clear as the Speaker addresses the audience and Envoys to justify

---

<sup>62</sup> The history of the "eunuch" of man, with his white and black races, goes back to very ancient times, and at the level of all civilizations since the Byzantine and Greek times, even the Persian and Babylonian eras. It is believed that the Pharaohs were the first to use "eunuchs" to serve in their palaces, and it is said that "Yazid bin Muawiyah" was the first Whoever used them in his palace, and used them as a guard for his diwan, his name is "Fath". See, Sa'ūd al-Muṭayrī, "almkḥsywn .. jins Bishrī mnqt' al-nasl khadamū Nisā' al-Balāṭ wa-quṣūr al-salāṭīn". *Mawqī' Jarīdat al-Riyāḍ*, 16 Sibtambr 2011. mstrj' min: <https://www.alriyadh.com/667644> .Tārīkh alāstrjā': 5 Yūliyū 2021.

#### **Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress***

the disguise 'A magnifying glass is not a mirror. Not in any way does it seek to make a new performance, challenge, question or reflect our reality through' (1.2.148). Fawz voices and performs Shakespeare's original without change, but the Speaker is already defensive and overanxious: his explanations to the Envoys pre-empt their interference and seek to assure them that he is absolutely faithful to the state and its regulations, as well as to Shakespeare. The Speaker disclaims his agency and responsibility as director of the play, arguing that he is simply staging a faithful reproduction of the sanctioned original.

The first scene then takes us immediately to the difficulties of adapting *Twelfth Night* in an Arab country where cross-dressing and the mixing of genders is not accepted, even in comic performance. The reaction of the Envoy of the National Tourist Board is crucial. The Envoy refuses to acknowledge the legitimacy of Fawz's disguise, even when The Speaker presents the license he has obtained for the action. The Envoy puts a new statement in front of the surveillance camera and declares, 'The National Tourist Board does not regard a woman dressing up as a man as part of our country's tourist attractions. It is not in the list' (1.2.149). This first introduces the power of 'the list'; it is illegitimate if anything is not mentioned in the 'list' of all proven and allowed scenes. This sets a pattern for the play with the Envoys relying on 'the list' for their authority to suppress on the one hand. On the other hand, The Speaker claims authority by performance precedent as he tries to persuade the audience that he works according to approved rules for the 1963 production and fidelity to the original Shakespearean text. At the centre of the dispute between The Speaker and the Envoys, as they on the one hand use and on the other resist the 'magnifying glass' of censorship, is the seemingly powerless actor, Fawz. Her voice on stage wins through: she acts, others critique, comment and seek to silence her. But at this first moment of conflict, Fawz voices Shakespeare and demonstrates her strength of leadership in *The Speaker's*

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

*Progress*, even as she utters Viola's plans for love, leadership, and, above all, action in *Twelfth Night*.

Leadership is defined in OED as '[to] show the way to, to conduct, to guide'.<sup>63</sup> The meaning includes other essential qualities such as spreading awareness, resistance, and revolting against injustice. From the beginning of the play, Fawz decides to act to save herself and maintain her safety by limiting her body. This quality of leading becomes the driving force of Fawz's to liberate herself. In this case, leadership shifts between taking action oneself and enabling and encouraging others to take action. This dual focus of leadership also has a modulation role as adjustments are made between Shakespeare's original *Twelfth Night* and the new version being produced in *The Speaker's Progress*. In the new version under scrutiny by the Envoys, Fawz is a young Arab woman disguised as a Eunuch and has the mission of acting as intermediary between the Duke and Thuraya [Olivia]. The communication she maintains between them and the messages she addresses to Thuraya portray the strength and growing potential of her leadership qualities. Fawz takes her strength from Shakespeare's words; she voices his original text but then increasingly moves beyond them to offer commentary or utter her notions of liberation in the context of the current political events of the Arab Spring. She carefully acts in a male-dominated world in a way that she can address her notions and enable her mind, soul, and body.

Fawz's extraordinary ability to translate her role performance into active engagement with the contemporary is evident right from her first dialogue with Thuraya. As Thuraya refuses the ruler's love, she asks Fawz, 'What would you if you were you?' (1.4.163) Fawz replies as follows:

---

<sup>63</sup> "Lead, V (1)". *Oxford English Dictionary*, [www-oed-com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/Entry/106586?rskey=1sgrHn&result=4&isAdvanced=false#id](http://www-oed-com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/Entry/106586?rskey=1sgrHn&result=4&isAdvanced=false#id). Accessed 3 Jan 2020.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

Make me a willow cabin at your gate,  
And call upon my soul within the house;  
Write loyal cantons of contemned love  
And sing them loud even in the dead of night...  
Then, she 'glances at the red notebook' and says the following:  
I'd turn myself into a fruit seller  
And set my body aflame in the square.  
I'd scratch your initials on the school walls,  
Take a bullet to the chest and turn the gash  
Into a spring millions flock to drink from.  
Thuraya, Thuraya, Thuraya:  
Huriya, Huriya, Huriya !!! (1.4.163)

The poem's first part corresponds with Shakespeare's original and the love Fawz's 'boss' wants her to express to Thuraya. The diction is sweet and tender: it reflects the nature of love; it sticks to Shakespeare's language, his mission, and his plan. Then, she looks at her secret weapon, the 'red notebook', which contains the director's notes of the 1963 performance of *Twelfth Night* that increasingly become a source of power for Fawz. If the Envoys knew of the 'red notebook', it is clear that they would confiscate it as a source of the 'mental plague' they continually combat (1.1.141). This results in an abrupt turn away from Shakespeare and his patient waiting to take economic, political, and violent action. In this moment, Fawz acknowledges that it is not enough to cry; there is a need for her and all Arab World women to revolt. Fawz continues taking strength from Shakespeare, but this is further strengthened by the 'red notebook' which rehearses previous resistance: this adds a newly strident political voice that will continue to develop in the course of the play. The performer who plays Fawz, like Fawz, is aware of the danger, for her intervention connects directly to the unfolding

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

contemporary events of the Arab Spring. The Tunisian Revolution started at the end of 2010 when an employee from the Ministry of Municipality confiscated the cart from which Mohammed Albuazzizi was selling fruit on the street. Albuazzizi then set himself on fire, an act which ignited anger and sparked action among the population against the Tunisian political regime.<sup>64</sup> In this sense, the notebook, ostensibly a historical document, becomes a live issue: it stands perhaps for the social media, mobile phones, newspapers, and live reporting and discourse of the Arab Spring, as everyone, starting from the younger generations within the 'school walls', was able to keep abreast of events. 'The bullet to the chest' is the oppression the population faced that provoked 'millions' to revolt against the tyranny. Fawz ends her speech with 'Thuraya ... Huriya'; both resemble slogans for the revolution. Thuraya, the Arabic name for Al Bassam's Olivia figure, means planets or chandeliers, a structure of lights fastened to the middle of the ceiling.<sup>65</sup> Huriya refers to freedom. It is also worth mentioning that Fawz means winning, success and victory. The wordplay is similar to Shakespeare's anagrams with Viola/ Olivia where Olivia suggests olive branch and peace while Viola hints at violence, perhaps rape, and change. Al Bassam uses the assonance of 'Thuraya and Huraya', words that can potentially be used as slogans are connected to the sky, light, height and freedom of speech and thought. Fawz shouts these names associated with living a respectful life and reinforces her right to freedom and the 'Huriya' to reinforce her feminist perspective and the liberation she seeks. In the theatre

---

<sup>64</sup> The president of Tunisia was Zain Alabdeen Ben Ali who was in office from (1987 to 2011). After the Tunisian revolution, on 11 February 2011, he fled to Saudi Arabia. See, Şakhrī Muḥammad, "al-thawrah al-Tūnisīyah (2010-2011): asbābuhā, khaṣā'ishuhā wa-natā'ijuhā". *Mawqī' al-Mawsū'ah al-Jazā'irīyah lil-Dirāsāt al-siyāsīyah wa-al-Istirātījīyah*, Yanāyir 2021. mstrj' min: <https://www.politics-dz.com/-الثورة-التونسية-2010-2011-أسبابها-،/خصائصها-و>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 25 Mārs 2022.

<sup>65</sup> "Thurayyā, N. (1)". Qāmūs al-ma'ānī, [www.almaany.com/ar/name/ثريا/](http://www.almaany.com/ar/name/ثريا/). Accessed 13 May 2021.



## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

rehearsal, Fawz seizes a dangerous opportunity to articulate her views about politics and appeal to popular experience and imagination. She realises the role of the theatre in enlightening the public and dares to go beyond the script even though the censors are watching closely. Her speech is strong and daring, but also produces chaos. The Envoys try to silence Fawz, but this does not silence the women of the play. As in the Arab Spring, under suppression, the women do not stop; instead, they strengthen their resistance further to gain democracy and freedom. Fawz continues to resist and will not surrender.

The audience observes Fawz's leadership again during her later conversation with the Mullah (Malvolio). Malvolio is a representative of Puritanism in Shakespeare's original, a comic figure, but also perhaps one of the trickiest to reproduce fully in contemporary Western productions because of his religious severity. However, the character has a special political and dramatic potential for Al Bassam. Malvolio and Mullah hide a repressive agenda under the name of religion: they exercise repressive sexual politics and discriminate against women, simply because they are patriarchal figures. They are also laughed at as comic stereotypes. The Mullah, like Malvolio, is upset because, out of jealousy, he does not want any sort of communication between Thuraya and the Ruler. Fawz's response to this attempt to control and dominate Thuraya's will shows the strength of her own leadership where both male and female qualities fuse in her strangely liberating disguise as a eunuch. The Mullah, ignorant of Fawz's female identity, throws a pearl at Fawz, implying disrespect and arrogance. The lack of the 'real man's' genitals makes the Mullah treat Fawz differently from other men, such as The Speaker in the play. The Mullah sees himself above Fawz the eunuch; she is inferior to him, so the Mullah's disrespect and supercilious behaviour is the same as that he shows to women. Al Bassam claims revenge using Shakespeare, but also carefully differentiates the gendering of his revenge. Ultimately, the Mullah/ Malvolio is tortured by Nishami/ Maria as 'she beats him with his stick and burns him with the hairdryer' (3.1.188).

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

The stick represents Maria taking the phallic symbols of power from the Mullah; the hairdryer represents a comic, distinctly feminine power. Women take over and use both male and female tools of suppression in avenging the patriarchs. Fawz speaks and acts to inspire other women to follow her lead, such as Nishami.

Fawz's leadership abilities enable her to progress as a speaker while those of Thuraya allow her to participate in the male-dominated world of politics. In this Arab country, men hold all the public political positions; they and only they discuss politics. In Thuraya's household though, she does seem not to have any interest or any say in her future concerning marriage. She claims her right to have a say in her country's politics. Her dialogue with the obviously love-struck Mullah is telling:

Mullah: Can a drunkard man poet speak of politics, my lady?

Thuraya: You speak of politics, and I say there is nothing that I lack to speak of politics as well as any man

Feylooti: Except a husband. I see you've picked up your ears. Mullah!

Thuraya: I want to enter into politics

Envoy: The two females advance.

Mullah: My lady! Please-

Thuraya: Why not?

Envoy: The two females advance.

Mullah: It's not in your interest to think like that.

Thuraya: To speak of politics as well as any man, I lack for nothing. (1.4.160)

The scene shows that all, including the Envoy and Feylooti/ Feste, are against the patriarchal voice of the Mullah. The 'lack' by Thuraya echoes and counters Shakespeare's Viola when she reflects nervously and comically on her own disguise: 'make me tell them how much I lack of a man' (3.4. 291). The diction of 'lack' is significant in *Twelfth Night* because it

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

triggers women to perform and act as happens with Thuraya. They break the image of compliant subject women De Beauvoir and Sa'dawi portrayed; they engage with their bodies, minds and souls in their state matters. Thuraya asserts that she lacks 'for nothing'; as a whole political entity, she is not satisfied with the role men allow her in her society. She wants to participate in political discourse to have a say in making a change. She voices her interest and insists on having this role simply because she knows she is equal to any man. The patriarchy, represented here by the Mullah, does not agree; in his opinion, each gender has its role and patriarchal order should be maintained.

This is the only moment where Al Bassam shows Thuraya speaking about politics. Thus, it is significant that the Envoy supports Thuraya and women since he encourages Thuraya's attempt to advance the progress of women's' roles in politics. However, the Envoys are reading the permitted stage directions, but the repetition suggests that women should step up in real life as on stage. In refusing to be contained by her domestic role as wife and mother imposed by both the Mullah and the State, Thuraya links herself directly to Arab women's participation in the Arab Spring. Women in those countries recorded a tangible place in and penetration of the public sphere, which was hitherto seen as exclusively for men.<sup>66</sup> For example, Tawakul Karman, the Yemeni women's rights activist received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011 for leading a pro-democracy protest movement.<sup>67</sup> Thuraya's assertion of equality and the support it gains from the secular authority of the Envoy remind the audience that women participated fully and at great personal risk in revolutions and protest against tyrannical monarchs during the Arab Spring. As reported in *The Guardian*,

---

<sup>66</sup> Ibn Salāmah, Rajā' w'khryāt, Thawrat al-nisā': *Makhāwif min al-Rabī' al-'Arabī* (Markaz al-Misbār lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth, 2013) §.7.

<sup>67</sup> *Tawak Kolkarman*, [www.tawakkolkarman.net/](http://www.tawakkolkarman.net/). Accessed 23 Feb. 2022.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

Some of the most striking images of this season of revolt have been of women: black-robed and angry, a sea of female faces in the capitals of North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, the Syrian hinterland, marching for regime change, an end to repression, the release of loved ones. Or else delivering speeches to the crowds, treating the injured, feeding the sit-ins of Cairo and Manama and the makeshift army of eastern Libya.<sup>68</sup>

Thuraya, Fawz, and Nishami are all angry. enabling them to claim the strength to act as leaders. Even though the patriarchs of the play try to marginalise their role in the political realm, they refuse to submit to suppression. They bring to the stage the courage of the women of the Arab Spring who claimed their rights to revolt against their regimes along with men. As cited above, they contributed to the protests and revolutions of the Arab Spring in Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Yemen. Tyrannical regimes were so shocked by the number of women who went out into the streets to shout the slogan 'ash-shab yurid isqat al-nizam', meaning 'the population wants to overthrow the regime', which made the regimes to take immediate action to suppress them.<sup>69</sup> In Yemen, for example, a *fatwa* to prevent women 'mixing with men' was released to stop women from participating in public revolutionary activities.<sup>70</sup> In direct response to the *fatwa*, thousands of women went out to revolt the following day in Sanna.<sup>71</sup> Al Bassam gestures towards this use of religious power and the *fatwa* to contain female resistance. Al Bassam shows how tyrannical regimes try to affect public behaviour and opinion through religion. They connect women's behaviour by naming it sin and infidelity. In the context of the Arab Spring, this attack on women's sexual rights

---

<sup>68</sup> "Women Have Emerged as Key Players in the Arab Spring." *The Guardian*, 22 Apr. 2011, [www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/22/women-arab-spring](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/22/women-arab-spring). Accessed 6 July 2021.

<sup>69</sup> Aḥlām Raḥūmah, "al-Rabī' al-'Arabī wālsh'ārāt". *Mawqī' al-'Arabī al-jadīd*, 2019. mstrj' min: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/الربيع-العربي-والشعارات>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Yūniyū 2021.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, p. 24.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

often took on a more brutal form, including use of kidnapping, rape, and sexual harassment to punish and deter women from taking part in political protest. There were several reports of rape in Egypt, where a South African reporter for CBS was also sexually assaulted. In Tripoli, Libya, Iman al-Obeidi announced in front of television cameras that she had been raped by about fifteen members of the pro-Gaddafi forces.<sup>72</sup> Al Bassam does not flinch at showing the violent repercussions of female political action: Thuraya and Fawz speak out, claiming their right to participate in the political sphere, earning strong verbal disapproval from the patriarchy. However, when a lower-class female named Nishami breaks the rules on stage, the female body is shown to be at risk. The Envoy 'stabs the meter rule into her lower abdomen' and calls her a 'dirty little whore' (2.2.175). This overtly sexual physical violence, accompanied by violent verbal male aggression, is a sharp reminder of the threats and risks women run when exercising their right to protest. Women in the Arab Spring know the risks but continue to act; as *The Guardian* report reminds us, some of the most influential scenes from international news coverage are those of women wearing black clothes, in the capitals of the Arab Spring countries, as they participate in demonstrations for regime change, an end to repression, and release for their families; or as they treat the wounded and provide food to the protesters in Cairo and Manama and the armed opposition forces in eastern Libya; or as they make their political voice publicly heard, giving speeches among the crowds.<sup>73</sup> Thuraya's statement 'there is nothing I lack' gives voice to the will of all the women across the Arab World who, regardless of torture by tyrannical regimes, refused to surrender or be silenced during the Arab Spring.

---

<sup>72</sup> Bī Bī Sī nywz 'Arabī, "al-mar'ah al-'Arabīyah fī (al-Rabī' al-'Arabī)". *Mawqī' Bī Bī Sī 'Arabī*, 23 Abrīl 2011. mstrj' min: [https://www.bbc.com/arabic/inthepress/2011/04/110422\\_press\\_sat\\_new](https://www.bbc.com/arabic/inthepress/2011/04/110422_press_sat_new) .Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Māyū 2021.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

#### Love: A Woman's Place

Though love is constantly policed and under surveillance in *The Speaker's Progress*, Thuraya and Fawz's resistance is all for love. The first translations of *Twelfth Night* mentioned above focused on the theme and poetics of love, a vital, famous theme in Arab literature since the pre-Islamic period.<sup>74</sup> Most love poets were men; for example, Qais bin al-Malouh al-Hawzani (645- 688 AD), nicknamed Majnun Layla (insane about her), was an Arab poet from Najd.<sup>75</sup> One of the most famous courtly love poets, he was 'insane about' for Laila al-Amriya, the cousin with whom he grew up; he adored her, but her family refused to marry her to him. He travelled from place to place, across many different countries, composing poetry about his beloved. Many women were also love poets; for example, Wallada bint al-Mustakfi (1011- 1091) whose father, Muhammed III of Córdoba, insisted on giving his daughter the best possible education.<sup>76</sup> She became a poet, making her house a destination and salon for male and female authors and politicians.<sup>77</sup> Eventually, she met, fell in love with, and exchanged poetry with the Andalusian poet Ibn Zaydun (1003–1071).<sup>78</sup> The

---

<sup>74</sup> Courtly love in Arabic culture is different than the Renaissance: the poet can marry the beloved and the relationship can pass from desire to physical love.

<sup>75</sup> The lands of Najd in Saudi Arabia are wide plains, with many villages and vast deserts, inhabited by Arab tribes. See, الألويسي, م., 2007. الأثري, نجد. تاريخ نجد. [ebook] pp.31- 39. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/FP99064/page/n38/mode/2up>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Yūniyū 2021.

<sup>76</sup> Muhammed III of Córdoba was one of the last Umayyad Cordoban caliphs. Her early childhood was during the high period of the Caliphate of Córdoba. See, بركاني, م., n.d. نبذة عن. [online]. Available at: <https://www.tadwiina.com/نبذة-عن-ولادة-بنت-المستكفي-شاعرة-وأميرة-أندلسية-تدوينة>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Yūniyū 2021.

<sup>77</sup> Islām stūrī dūt Kūm, "Wilādat bint al-Mustakfi", *Mawqi' qiṣṣat al-Islām*, <https://www.islamstory.com/ar/artical/3409189/wlādt-bnt-ālmstkfī>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Yūniyū 2021.

<sup>78</sup> Also born in Cordoba, he trained in jurisprudence, interpretation, *hadith* and logic, before becoming an excellent poet and prose writer. See, Farīq bawwābat al-shu'arā', "Ibn Zaydūn". *Mawqi' bawwābat al-shu'arā'*. mstrj' min: <https://poetsgate.com/poet.php?pt=134>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Yūniyū 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

Arab prose writer Ibn Hazm (384-456) considered the subject at length in his book *The Ring of the Dove*. His comments are useful to this exploration of Al Bassam's adaptation of *Twelfth Night*:

The first part is jesting, and the last part is right earnestness. So majestic are its divers aspects, they are too subtle to be described; their reality can only be apprehended by personal experience. Love is neither disapproved by Religion, nor prohibited by the Law; for every heart is in God's hands.<sup>79</sup>

The comedy, joy, and pleasure of love have a serious philosophical truth at heart. As this brief outline of well-known, influential examples from the Arabic canon suggests, there is a long literary tradition exploring the full range and experience of psychological, social, cultural, sexual, and political love. Contrary to popular opinion and that of the Envoys in the play, neither the literary exploration nor the act of the complexities of love, the link between Self and Other, is forbidden by Islam or State law in the Arab World.

Sa'dawi's assertion that Arab World women in love are not equal to men is made crystal clear in Al Bassam's play. In the anonymous Arab country where Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress* takes place, the different experiences and social dimensions of love are explored: Thuraya seeks a pure, romantic love, whereas Fawz connects her love to her political agenda. Sometimes, the love experiences of Thuraya and Fawz correspond directly to those of Olivia and Viola in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*; at other times, the Arab

---

<sup>79</sup> Ibn Ḥazm 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad, *The Ring of the Dove: A Treatise on the Art and Practice of Arab Love*. Translated by A. J. Arberry, Luzac Oriental, <https://openmaktaba.com/the-ring-of-the-dove>, Accessed 27 May 2021. Ibn Hazm was an Andalusian Muslim polymath – historian, jurist, philosopher, theologian and writer. See, Mawqī' al-bawwābah, "Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī .. al-sīrah al-kāmilah". *Mawqī' al-bawwābah*, 2017. mstrj' min: <https://www.albawaba.com/ar/1032672-أدب-وثقافة/سيرة-ابن-حزم-الاندلسي-الظاهر-ي-ترجمة-حياة-> Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Yūniyū 2021. Also see, 'Alī al-Andalusī, *Ṭawq al-ḥamāmah fī al-ulfah wa-al-ullāf* (Ṭ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2014) Ṣ. 12.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

characters shift the original to suit a new contemporary revolutionary political agenda. I shall now explore how Thuraya and Fawz actively choose the kind of love they want, considering both their own words and the commentaries others offer on their choices and desires.

In *The Speaker's Progress*, we are first introduced to love through the 1963 performance of *Twelfth Night* as re-enacted on the screen on stage. This historical performance also returns us to the earliest translations of the Duke's speech from *Twelfth Night* discussed above. Al Bassam's The Ruler starts out as Shakespeare's Orsino, a man who is both tortured and nurtured by the poetics of love. However, there is one important omission from his speech in Shakespeare's original: the 'If'. No longer conditional, the Ruler's words are an assertion: 'Music is the food of love' (1.1.142). The Ruler, like Fawz, expands on Shakespeare, connecting love to politics: 'love is the food of freedom and freedom is the mother of progress' (1.1.142). Nonetheless, this language of freedom and progress does not extend to women. The Ruler thinks of Thuraya as an object, as something that he can buy with 'forty days' worth of this country's wealth (1.1.142); if he publishes this as his will, it shall be done. The population and the institutions of the State will work to fulfill The Ruler's wishes regardless of what Thuraya thinks of the matter. In a world dominated by men, women should follow and be subordinate, but Thuraya refuses this love and The Ruler is unhappy. He cannot accept rejection since it is unthinkable within the patriarchal norms of this Arab society. It is deeply ironic that, even as The Ruler speaks of freedom and progress, the two pillars of a modern Arab World state, he completely disregards Thuraya's wishes, relying on his country's wealth and official media to fulfil his demands.

The objectification of Thuraya continues further when men marginalise her in the discussion of matters that are related to her future, such as love and marriage. The patriarchs consider themselves the legitimate guardians of women when it comes to marriage from an Islamic perspective; their kinship relationship gives them complete authority, so fathers have



## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

this guardianship over their daughters, then brothers, then uncles and so on.<sup>80</sup> However, the men in *The Speaker's Progress* cannot control Thuraya's will as shown in the three stages of Thuraya's involvement in her future marriage discussions. First, Thuraya is not at all involved in these marriage discussions since it is simply a decree made by The Ruler to be implemented by the state apparatus. Next, in the household of Thuraya, the audience encounters the second discussion of Thuraya's future marriage between Nishami/ Maria and Tagtiga/ Sir Toby. The drunken uncle promises Faris/ Andrew Aguecheek (Rich Idiot) the hand of Thuraya. This is a comic subplot that draws on the real authority of the uncle recognised by both state and religion. Thuraya communicates her unwillingness to marry Faris but her uncle encourages her to do so because he thinks it is the best option for her. He also trades on the authority of his guardianship since he is doing this purely for his own personal benefit. In this anonymous Arab country, there are still men who persist in choosing husbands for women in arranged marriages regardless of the wishes and safety of the women. Neither The Ruler nor her uncle fully considers Thuraya's wishes or consequences. Al Bassam highlights for the audience the ongoing debate about ending the restraints of guardianship upon women in the Arab World. Though it is not mentioned in the play, the most basic decisions, such as the issuing of a passport, permission to travel abroad, the right to drive, to live alone, and to have a job all require the permission of a male guardian in many Arab World nations, especially in the GCC.<sup>81</sup> Thuraya does not surrender to the norm of her society but remains reliant on the patriarchy's decisions regarding her future marriage.

---

<sup>80</sup> 'Awaḍal-'Awfī, *al-wilāyah fī al-nikāḥ* (Ṭ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Jāmi'ah al-Islāmīyah, 2002) § 1.

<sup>81</sup> Farīq jmālk, "isqāt al-wilāyah fī al-Sa'ūdīyah: 'alā Mādhā yanūṣṣu Hādhā al-qānūn, wa-li-mādhā shkkl jdlan wās'an?". *Mawqī' jmālk*, 10 Yūliyū 2019. mstrj' min: [https://jamalouki.net/-لايف-ستايل/تحقيق/اسقاط-الولاية-في-السعودية-على-ماذا-ينص-هذا-القانون-ولماذا-شكل-](https://jamalouki.net/-لايف-ستايل/تحقيق/اسقاط-الولاية-في-السعودية-على-ماذا-ينص-هذا-القانون-ولماذا-شكل-https://jamalouki.net/) جدلاً-واسعاً؟. *Tārīkh alāstrjā'*: 28 Yūniyū 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

Thuraya can only voice her concerns and participate in the discussions about her future when the question of her marriage becomes an international concern. Politicians, such as the Ambassador to Geneva, have also asked for the hand of Thuraya. Her voice in the matter is not immediately strong: she uses it to ask the Mullah his opinion concerning the marriage, in deference to the long Islamic heritage of her family household. Once again, this intervention by a foreign suitor deviates from Shakespeare's original text to introduce a contemporary political question. The Mullah relishes his words as he refuses the marriage proposal from the ambassador because the latter is corrupt and takes advantage of the country's resources: 'Ambassadors are oiled in deceit' (1.4.158). The Mullah relates ambassadors to dishonesty simply because of their diplomatic nature of their work in international relations. The Mullah also refuses another proposal from The Minister of Commerce who sent Thuraya a gift of 'gold watch' (1.4.158). His refusal is brutally scathing of political corruption: 'The Minister has peeled skin off the people's backs to place gold on your wrists' (1.4.161). In both cases, the Mullah points out, from a position of religious authority and clarity, that political positions and the country's resources are used to fulfill personal interests. Thuraya surrenders to the Mullah's opinion, representative of male and religious superior wisdom, without any opposition, which underlines the fact that women cannot make independent decisions. She has exercised for the first time her right to act and to speak: Thuraya *herself* asked the Mullah for his opinion, then quietly concedes with his verdict because it is the one she wants.

At the third stage, the audience finally see that Thuraya persists in claiming her voice regarding her feelings and marriage. So far, we might think that Thuraya has given Tagtiga or the Mullah the right to decide for her; but as the stakes rise, we see that Thuraya only allows them to do what *she* wants them to do. Thuraya decides that she does not want to marry The Ruler and acts accordingly. First, she refuses to see anyone from The Ruler's side and asks

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

the Mullah to deliver her messages: 'make it clear I will not see any more of his envoys' (1.4.161). She looks at herself as someone who owns her own soul, body, and mind; it is her right to cut communication with the Ruler, as she also makes clear to her would-be guardian, Tagtiga/ Sir Toby: 'You are not to interfere with my personal life, uncle' (1.4.161). Second, Thuraya acknowledges her emerging feelings for Fawz and acts to fulfill her sentimental desires and intentions. The patriarchy, now in the form of the Mullah, still tries to interfere with the warning about Fawz noted above: 'This boy has the devil in his eye; do not see him' (1.4.161). But Thuraya rejects the interference and insists on her rights: 'Let him in' (1.4.162). The watching Envoy does not accept this behaviour from Thuraya, as a censoring voice interrupts to say this: 'suggests desire' (1.4.161). This nameless Arab country practices male guardianship of women and suppresses female desire by submitting it to the toughest surveillance. Though love is allowed in this version of Islam, it is only allowed with the full approval of the patriarchs. The use of the term 'desire' in the text is essential because the Envoy wants to direct the audience's thoughts from love to religious disapproval: 'desire' in this Arabic context is akin to lust in the seven sins of the Bible.<sup>82</sup> In Islam, legitimate sexual desire should be within the frame of marriage; adulterous 'desire' is forbidden.<sup>83</sup> The power of suppressive religious discourse on love takes us back to the earlier connections made between love, freedom, and progress. Thuraya dares to declare an intention to love as she now needs freedom to fulfill her feelings and to progress in the relationship; she needs to step free of all those male voices who conspire in her guardianship.

---

<sup>82</sup> Kelli Mahoney, "What the Bible Has to Say about Lust", *Learn Religions*, [www.learnreligions.com/bible-verses-about-lust-712095](http://www.learnreligions.com/bible-verses-about-lust-712095). Accessed 25 April 2021.

<sup>83</sup> Islām wyb dūt Nīt, "al-shahwah al-jinsīyah .. ḥaqīqatuhā .. al-Ḥikmah minhā .. wa-khuṭūratuhā". *Mawqī' Islām wyb*. raqm al-Fatwá: 25077, 8 Mārs 2003. mstrj' min: <https://www.islamweb.net/ar/fatwa/25077/الشهوة-الجنسية-حقيقتها-الحكمة-منها-وخطورتها>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 25 Abrīl 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

Thuraya finally reaches her strongest state of independence when she falls in love with Fawz and acts accordingly. Her decision also shows a sense of dizzy release: 'Even so quickly may one catch the plague' (1.5.250). As in Shakespeare, Thuraya hands her pearl to the Mullah and asks him to call Fawz the following day. Thuraya once again shifts beyond Shakespeare to the discourse of contemporary politics: she goes beyond words as she ends with 'the revolutionary signal' followed by 'After a power cut, blindness descends, but for eyes accustomed to darkness, colours lie in ambush' (1.4.166). Thuraya uses the signal to signify the image of sight and blindness as words are no longer enough for her; the patriarchal order is one of speaking, whereas the female resistance is of seeing. Love makes Thuraya rebel, speak out about her rights, and reject male guardianship. She seeks further to enlighten the audience about their rights, encouraging them to see the freedom they cannot see because they are used to the 'darkness' of tyrannical regimes. The 'revolutionary signal' is a message for women and others to rebel for freedom and progress. The Speaker's reaction to all this is telling: he shows his dissatisfaction regarding what he terms 'The woman's improvisation', indicating that in his opinion 'the journeys towards liberty are comic' and that Thuraya seems to 'lose her mind' (1.4.167). This bold attempt to distance himself from Thuraya's speech, coupled with his warning to the audience that their 'complicit silence' and passive participation have empowered women to speak out and rebel, plays a double game: Al Bassam, as both The Speaker and the Director, aligns himself with the authorities while opening through his on-stage adaptation, the space for new female voices (1.4.167). Through Shakespeare's precedent, Thuraya can voice her desires in her home, in her nation and on the international stage, establishing herself as equal with men in Sa'dawi's terms of soul, mind, and body.

Thuraya voices Arab World women in her love, but Fawz's situation is more complicated for she is disguised as a man through *The Speaker's Progress*. Fawz encounters

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

love for the first time when The Ruler employs her as his intermediary to Thuraya. In the second act, Fawz voices her desires as she acknowledges her place in the love triangle: 'My master loves Thuraya, I love my master and Thuraya loves me' (2.1.169). Once again, the speech begins with Shakespeare's original but then gets disrupted: it shifts to contemporary political concerns when the Former Actress hands the red notebook to the Representative of the Council of Virtue and 'relays the revolutionary signal to him' (2.1.169). Fawz once again deviates from Shakespeare, but this time to voice Arabic poetry:

When your water stands still it turns foul

And the arrow that does not leave the bow,

Can never touch the target;

I am one who has always known

She will die young. (2.1.169)

Fawz quotes the first two lines from a poem by the legendary ancient Sunni lawyer and poet Mohammed Al-Shafi'ee, a famous traditional saying still current across the Arab world.<sup>84</sup>

Verses of the Holy Quran propose ideas that resonate with Al-Shafi'ee's poem for example;

'Say: "Travel through the earth and see how Allah did originate creation; so will Allah

produce a later creation: for Allah has power over all things'.<sup>85</sup> The verses suggest that

movement is the essence of life and stillness is death. Productive people move and work for

---

<sup>84</sup> Imam Al-Shafi'ee, also known as 'Shaykh Al Islam', is one of the four great Imams of the Sunni schools of law. He is also the author of several prominent works in the field. He has been titled 'Nasir al-Hadith' which means "Defender of the *hadith*". See, IslamicFinder, "Biography of Imam Al-Shafi'ee" *Islamic Finder*, [www.islamicfinder.org/knowledge/biography/story-of-imam-alshafiee](http://www.islamicfinder.org/knowledge/biography/story-of-imam-alshafiee). Accessed 26 Apr. 2021.

<sup>85</sup> al-Qur'an al-Karim, "qul sīruwā fī al'arḍi fānzuruwā kayfa bada'a alkhalqa ۞ thumma allahu yunshi'u alnash'ata al'ākhirata ۞ inna allaha 'alāa kulli shay'in qadīrun". *Mawqi' al-rūh dūt Nit*. mstrj' min: <https://www.alro7.net/ayaq.php?langg=english&sourid=29&aya=20>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 26 Māyū 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

change; they travel with their souls, minds, and bodies to their goal and spread Allah's principles among the people. Fawz's words resonate with both secular and Holy writings: she speaks on stage to spread her notion of freedom and change to the audience. She encourages the audience to compare, to judge, and to reach their own conclusions about meaningful action. Here is a call for all human beings to move, to travel, and to walk through the earth to see the power of Allah. Through movement, all senses, hearts and bodies should engage together to learn the truth as fully as possible. This freedom of knowledge and movement contrasts starkly with the restrictive notions of freedom as fortress in the play as the Speaker says 'Shield your eyes and open your hearts: freedom is a city with many points of entry' (2.3.178).<sup>86</sup>

The freedom and movement Fawz calls for is about love, but is also about a revolution that will change the current totalitarian regime to a democratic one that recognises desire. Change is always associated with victims and sacrifice and Fawz comprehends fully that her call for change may cause her death at the hands of the regime. The political agenda emerges again in a conversation between The Ruler and Fawz. The latter speaks out about her beloved. The Ruler orders Fawz to 'pluck her like a thorn from your heart!' (2.3.177). However, Fawz turns his words on love to address the political situation through sharp wordplay: 'And you, can you pluck the revolution out of yours?' (2.3.177) she asks, as she 'puns on the name of Thuraya and the word for revolution, "Thowra"'.<sup>87</sup> This is no coincidence but intended by Fawz to awaken the light of rebellion in The Ruler's head and

---

<sup>86</sup> al-Qur'ān al-Karīm, "tafāsīr al-āyah 20 min Sūrat al-'ankabūt". *Mawqī' Mashrū' al-Muṣḥaf al-iliktrūnī bi-Jāmi'at al-Malik Sa'ūd*. mstrj' min: <https://quran.ksu.edu.sa/tafseer/tabary-saadi/sura29-aya20.html#saadi>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 26 Māyū 2021.

<sup>87</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam and Graham Holderness. *The Arab Shakespeare Trilogy*, 1st ed. (Bloomsbury, London, 2014), 198.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

heart. Just as Thuraya cast caution to the winds in insisting that Fawz should visit, Fawz asks The Ruler to allow love to explode into action for freedom.

The discussion of love and freedom circulates once more in the final scene of *The Speaker's Progress*. By this stage, Fawz has become the Representative of the Women's League and Thuraya is the Former Actress. The change and slippage of characters is remarkable in the performance as it marks the move away from the idea of Shakespeare's original and the 1963 production to a firm rooting in the contemporary. The stage has by now collapsed, and the camera moves closer to the floor to reveal broken glass strewn beneath the actresses' feet. The camera appears to forewarn us about the anticipated outcomes of this revolution, particularly for women. It is also conceivable that Al Bassam intended to emphasise that every revolution must produce a fracture and that every fracture must then go through the long slow process of healing. The Representative of Women's League and the Former Actress try to remember the dream scene that was cut from a play, of which we neither know the scene nor the author. Nonetheless, they both speak the lines: 'Tell me your name, without shame, without fear?' and 'Tell me your mother's name without shame, without fear?' and 'Describe the colour of your eyes without shame, without fear?' (3.3.196). The questions, related to current and inherited identity, work to establish and state clearly who these women really are. It is a powerful scene in which Arab women announce their identities despite the patriarchal social norms that produce fear and shame. It invokes a state where men are ashamed of announcing their women relatives' names in public before their compatriots, where patriarchal guardians forbid women to announce their names in the media; and where some women are forbidden from writing under their names in newspapers and social media.<sup>88</sup> In all such cases, the ruling patriarchy aims to block these women to

---

<sup>88</sup> Wafā' Bādāwd, "mā al-'ayb fī dhikr ism al-mar'ah?". *Mawqi' 'Ukāz*, 15 Māyū 2008. mstrj' min: <https://www.okaz.com.sa/article/185182> .Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Yūniyū 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

limit their political voice and shrink their participation in the society of which they are part.

Such oppressive Arab societies make women's minds, bodies, and souls shameful objects.

Al Bassam changes the end of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* to give women the voice and the space to utter their identities and their concerns. In this nameless totalitarian Arab country, the fact that these women can speak their name and their desire rights a great social injustice considering women's names and rights are suppressed and concealed. The female figures in the play begin by ventriloquising Shakespearean identities, but then shape-shift into a kind of Arab World Everywoman. They call on female freedom as a noble moral value that society should both adhere to and actively seek to raise its children (male and female) to defend.<sup>89</sup> The Representative of the Women's League and the Former Actress continue to debate the question of love 'Have you tasted love?' (3.3.196); they continue to claim a space for love in a place where emotions and sentimental feelings are forbidden. In the performance, the lights gradually dim as the women continue to talk; the stage finally goes completely dark after The Representative of the Women's League utters 'I want to fly' and a woman comes on stage and makes the 'revolutionary signal'.<sup>90</sup> It takes us back to Thuraya's claim of her individual right to love, but also, simultaneously, to the necessity of the collective revolution demonstrated by De Beauvoir and Sa'dawi. The dream of freedom has moved beyond one woman to the Arab World Everywoman: it now has the potential to move from the stage to the street.

---

<sup>89</sup> Su'ād al-Sab', "al-Tamyīz bayna al-rajul wa-al-mar'ah wa-thaqāfat al-'ayb". *Majallat Dīwān al-'Arab*, 11 Nūfimbir 2009. mstrj' min: <https://diwanalarab.com/التميز-بين-الرجل>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Yūniyū 2021.

<sup>90</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam, *The Speaker's Progress (Twelfth Night) Al-Bassam 2011* (MIT Global Shakespeares, 2011).



## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

#### Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have shown how Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, though not as well-known as *Hamlet*, or even *Richard III*, has been used by Arab World translators as a means to think about the poetics of love, and has been welcomed on tour to elite cultural festivals in the GCC and Syria to entertain and educate family audiences. The staging of this particular Shakespearean comedy seems to offer the ideal opportunity to exhibit the Arab World's elite, global, cultural values. In *The Speaker's Progress*, this kind of aspirational Shakespeare is parodied, for example, when the Envoys plan an interval for the production showcasing the tourism opportunities in their country: 'a beach, a school, a state hospital; a gazelle in a desert landscape' (1.4.164). In performance, this up-beat leisure intervention is signalled by the playing of cheerful music. Nonetheless, the violent and tragic disruption of the 2005 production by The Doha Players in Qatar also indicates that this play, as well as being a comedy about love, also has potential for danger.

Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress* is not, like Shakespeare's original, a festive comedy since it exploits the darker areas of *Twelfth Night* to show the tragedy of an Arab country where chaos and suppression has spread from the head of the regime throughout its institutions. The only hope for the future lies in the women: Al Bassam uses Shakespeare's female characters to inspire freedom and democracy. They try to reach freedom, but the price and sacrifice are huge. I have drawn on the work of the feminist writers Simone De Beauvoir and Nawal Sa'dawi who both, in their very different ways and from their very different perspectives, pinpoint women's equal participation in love as a marker of true political, economic, intellectual, and sexual equality. Both writers suggest that revolution is necessary for women to transcend their patriarchal subjection. For Sa'dawi, later writing in the wake of the Egyptian Arab Spring Revolution, there is extreme pessimism that even with revolution women continue to be oppressed and suppressed, that male tyranny will always survive. But

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

in 2011, as the Arab Spring unfolded outside the staged rehearsal room, Al Bassam hopes his female actors can act; they can first use and adapt Shakespeare, then leave him behind, to voice and claim their own liberation.

The three women central to the play have claimed freedom in the space between the '1963 play' and the present day. As outlined above, Thuraya and Fawz have very different experiences of leadership and love throughout *The Speaker's Progress*; their freedoms too are different disguised as a 'eunuch', Fawz's freedom has been more physical than that of Thuraya: she can roam freely across the country, between The Ruler's palace and Thuraya's household. Like Thuraya, she also has been able to voice her thoughts and plans without being silenced. Two high-born women from two different nations are enabled to meet; the kind of cross-border encounter fuelled the Arab Spring. For the third lower social class woman named Nishami, her new ability to voice dissatisfaction result in very different emotion of anger and not in love. The scene in which Nishami tortures the Mullah is powerful since she improvises, just like Fawz and Thuraya. She interrogates him aggressively holding the Mullah's symbolic stick and her hairdryer as weapons: 'what is the opinion of the fallen dictator towards his crimes' (3.1.188). Nishami's physical and verbal aggression towards the Mullah embodies women's anger and desire for vengeance on dictators and patriarchal figures. Though the Mullah, like Malvolio, ultimately swears that he will 'be revenged upon the pack of you' (3.1.189), it is in fact Nishami who is the agent of revenge, resorting to violence to reverse the tyrannical oppression of women by men.

I would argue that Al Bassam uses the ghostly '1963 play' Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* to invoke what Habermas called a 'public sphere', in this case an Arab World public sphere, to represent and circulate his political and artistic idea for debate among both audiences on-stage and off and beyond the general population of Kuwait, the GCC, and the

#### Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

##### *Progress*

Arab World to the international audiences on tour.<sup>91</sup> If we consider the stage and the rehearsal room as spaces where populations share their political concerns and critique them, then *The Speaker's Progress* is a prime example. Moreover, the action of *The Speaker's Progress* is deliberately placed in a public space: the women (with the exception of Fawz in disguise) wear veils through the performance; the Envoys and various Representatives of the Arab country's institutions censor speech, and police custom, dress, and act as they would in a public space, for example, the orders they give about maintaining distance between males and females: 'Female in A3, Male in C2' (1.2.148). The decision of the actors to improvise political speeches suggest the public arenas of the Arab Spring such Cairo's Tahrir Square. The actors shift between performers and citizens of this totalitarian country. By the end of the play, everything is falling apart as the rules and regulations become impossible to enforce, the borders of actor and citizen more difficult to police. Central to this disruption is the 'red notebook', The Speaker's secret weapon in the play. When he is eventually kicked out and abused by the Representative of the Tourist Board, The Speaker dramatically confesses: 'I denounce myself; I was originator of the transgressive improvisation. I display willful negligence in my duty towards the committee; I obscured the true origins of the 1963 play; an adaptation of William Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*' (2.2.173). This is the first time Shakespeare's name is mentioned on stage, which was based on intention by the Speaker to escape punishment. The ideas of liberation are actually not Arab but Shakespeare's, the invention of the West. It is Shakespeare who is dangerous because his plays communicate democratic ideologies that tyrannical Arab countries do not embrace in their regimes. Everything that once seemed desirable to the Envoys and Representatives is now a threat; all things designed to signal that they are members of a global civil elite have instead become

---

<sup>91</sup> Craig Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (MIT Press, 1992).

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

instruments of resistance and rebellion. As the Representative of the Council of Virtue declares 'I don't want Shakespeare, I don't want politics, I don't want theatre, no more art' (3.2.194).

The last word goes to Al Bassam's Speaker who addresses the audience, assuring them that they have played a part in the unnamed Arab country's progress towards freedom and democracy. However, the audience should be cautious with fear implying that it paralyses change, as The Speaker says 'The fear has gone', they said/ ... fear then, only fears ghosts. (3.2.194). He is about to leave but returns and says 'perhaps you will find the magical phrase in which Saadallah Wannous has expressed, life becomes beautiful and our lands flourishes. Here ends the discourse'.<sup>92</sup> This utterance is not found the text; however, it is uttered in the video performance. The Speaker ends, 'Farewell, I; Oh happy, happy wreck; Progress is made' (3.2.194) which was only in the performance and not the text. It is a phrase by Saadallah Wannous (1941- 1997) who was a Syrian playwright and journalist. Wannous studied journalism in Cairo (Egypt) and worked as an editor for the cultural pages of the Lebanese newspapers *As-Safir* and *The Syrian Revolution*. He also served as director of the General Authority for Theatre and Music in Syria. In the late sixties, he studied Theatre in Paris. His plays always dealt with a political and social critique of the Arab reality after the defeat of 1976.<sup>93</sup> Al Bassam seems to agree with Wannous in that life in tyrannical countries popularise fear within its population, life becomes beautiful and flourished, which is the funeral of rhetoric. Wannous declared in an interview about democracy and culture, that Arab countries need a free society capable of thinking, aware of its destiny and questioning its fate

---

<sup>92</sup>Sulayman, Al-Bassam, *The Speaker's Progress (Twelfth Night) Al-Bassam 2011* (MIT Global Shakespeares, 2011).

<sup>93</sup> Ma'rifat dūt awrj, "Sa'd Allāh Wannūs". *Mawqī' Mawsū'at al-Ma'rifah*. mstrj' min: <https://www.marefa.org> /سعد\_الله\_ونوس. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 15 Mārs 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

without fear or restrictions.<sup>94</sup> The author's freedom is not complete without that of the society he belongs to. The Speaker addresses the audience in *The Speaker's Progress* to assure them of their role in the country's progress towards freedom and democracy. At the end of the performance, the Speaker goes against the stage and production because of his fear of his tyrannical country. Nonetheless, he is satisfied as he believes theatres and art are mediums for change. The Speaker's notion is applicable because of the chaos and unrest that occurred on stage, which is the price of freedom.

I shall further portray an account of two recent Arab World productions of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, which shows some of the challenges of working on Shakespeare and the Arab Spring without full access to the archives. In 2017, an Arabic audio performance of *Twelfth Night* was broadcasted on Egyptian Radio. It was translated and directed by the Egyptian playwright, Abbas Younus, who also played Malvolio. Despite my best efforts during and after the pandemic, it has so-far proven impossible for me to find out when the play was originally made and first broadcasted. However, Younus's performance troupe was active from the 1950s onwards, so I infer that the production was in the 1950s-70s. Younus was one of the first students to attend the Egyptian Higher Institute of Dramatic Arts, established in 1944 where, as part of his training, he was sent to study acting in London.<sup>95</sup> The students regularly reported what they saw and experienced their articles

---

<sup>94</sup> Sa'd Allāh Wannūs, "al-Kātib al-kabīr Sa'd Allāh Wannūs yataḥaddath ma'a Sufyān Jabr 'an al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah wa-al-ḥurrīyah wa-al-Thaqāfah al-juz' al-Awwal". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: harb967, 7 mārs 2011. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSkxpWJWs0c>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 14 Abrīl 2021.

<sup>95</sup> Sayyid Ismā'īl, "al-tafāṣīl al-majhūlah li-awwal Ma'had masraḥī fi Miṣr (28 wa-al-akhīrah) Firqat al-Ṭalī'ah wa-nihāyat awwal Ma'had masraḥī fi Miṣr". *Mawqī' Jarīdat Masraḥunā*, al-Hay'ah al-'Āmmah li-Quṣūr al-Thaqāfah al-Miṣrīyah, 'A 678, 24 aghstṣ2020. mstrj' min: <https://www.gocp.gov.eg/Masr7na/articles.aspx?ArticleID=53222>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 21 Aghuṣṭus 2021.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

being often published in the national newspapers. In his first article, Younus declared that he was impressed to visit an open-air theatre, implying that Egypt should have one too.<sup>96</sup>

Younus reported that he attended *Twelfth Night*: 'We visited that theatre eagerly, on a quiet and clear night, and we enjoyed watching Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. We also visited it on another night and enjoyed watching Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*. We witnessed a wonder: a hall full of spectators, a meticulous system of service and reception, wonderful directing, and elaborate acting'.<sup>97</sup> In another article, Younus further declared why he decided to study acting: 'I felt my need to be equipped with the new weapons of science, to triumph truth over falsehood'.<sup>98</sup>

In the discussion of the BSC 2010 *Twelfth Night* tour in this chapter above, I established that in the Arab World, marketing and reviews of *Twelfth Night* usually focused on the themes of family, love, and comedy. In my interview with the BSC director, Foster declared that there were no problems in terms of homosexuality and religion with performing *Twelfth Night* on the tour simply because the production did not address or stress those themes. However, precisely, these themes often dominate contemporary productions of

---

<sup>96</sup> Younus was impressed by the theatres in London: 'If a country is distinguished by its musical richness, England has been distinguished by its theatrical richness. In London alone, 53 theatres are growing and thriving. This year, with the completion of the construction of the English National Theatre, it will become 54 theatres. There, in one of London's largest gardens, the most beautiful theatre of all and the most beautiful in nature, theatrical art has occupied a centre of beauty, a landing strip of revelation'. See, Sayyid Ismā'īl, "al-tafāṣīl al-majhūlah li-awwal Ma'had masraḥī fī Miṣr (23) al-ṭālib 'Abbās Yūnus yaktubu min Landan". *Jarīdat Masraḥunā*, al-Hay'ah al-'Āmmah li-Quṣūr al-Thaqāfah, 20 Yūliyyū 2020. mstrj' min: <https://www.gocp.gov.eg/Masr7na/articles.aspx?ArticleID=53115>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 21 Mārs 2022.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Sayyid Ismā'īl, "al-tafāṣīl al-majhūlah li-awwal Ma'had masraḥī fī Miṣr (20) ṭullāb Ma'had al-tamthīl bi-al-furqah al-Qawmīyah". *Jarīdat Masraḥunā*, al-Hay'ah al-'Āmmah li-Quṣūr al-Thaqāfah, 29 Yūniyyū 2020. mstrj' min: <https://www.gocp.gov.eg/masr7na/articles.aspx?ArticleID=53063>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 21 Mārs 2022.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

*Twelfth Night* in the Western world, which are of interest when considering the 2017 repeat of Younus's production.

Interestingly, Younus's *Twelfth Night* is for radio; it relies strongly on the aural and visual imagination of the audience. It acknowledges the strength of dramatised storytelling and the *Maqamat*, the popular and often subversive traditional Arab World art forms outlined in Chapter Two. In 2017, the dramatic aural imagination is supplemented by the striking image chosen to advertise the production. The production photograph displays two women caught at a moment when they are close enough and ready to kiss each other, yet they do not.<sup>99</sup> This image might seem almost expected to Western audiences; it is emblematic of the confusion and conflict that Shakespeare's female characters, Viola and Olivia, face in the play, a dilemma heightened further in Younus's radio production. In the Arab World, even in the comparative cultural freedom of Egypt, the image is deliberately provocative. More than half a century before, Younus commented on female emancipation during his period of study in London, noting; 'the importance of English women and their freedom, and how much English society respects them! So much so that the judiciary listens to her first before it listens to the man, and her words are as true as the man's words!'<sup>100</sup> The implication then was that the situation in 1950s Egypt was very different. His choice to use his 'weapons of science', the power of observation and knowledge to produce an audio-version of *Twelfth Night*, which is acceptable to the censors, but also pushed the boundaries of female

---

<sup>99</sup> 'Abbās Yūnus, "min al-adab al-Injilīzī : al-laylah al-thānīyah 'ashrah .. Shiksbīr". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: al-Barnāmaj al-Thaqāfi-al-Idhā'ah al-Miṣrīyah, 11 Fabrāyir 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xWAMuWhFVRw&lc=UghXmRbMF16IMHgCoAEC>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Abrīl 2021.

<sup>100</sup> Sayyid Ismā'īl, "al-tafāṣīl al-majhūlah li-awwal Ma'had masraḥī fi Miṣr (23) al-ṭālib 'Abbās Yūnus yaktubu min Landan". *Jarīdat Masraḥunā*, al-Hay'ah al-'Āmmah li-Quṣūr al-Thaqāfah, 20 Yūliyū 2020. mstrj' min: <https://www.gocp.gov.eg/Masr7na/articles.aspx?ArticleID=53115>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 21 Mārs 2022.

## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

representation. Once again, Shakespeare and feminism are at the front line of the developing Arab World political theatre. Five years after the Egyptian Revolution and the Arab Spring, Younus's play, with a new poster hinting at the new possibilities of self-expression for Arab women, finds new currency.

*Twelfth Night* was performed by third-year students in the following year as their 2018 graduation project at the Higher Institute of Dramatic Arts in Damascus.<sup>101</sup> The production was chosen and directed by Ajaj Selim, Dean and the Director of the Institute, who in an interview, explained that the Institute's curriculum focuses on qualifying and forming the actor through engagement with the most powerful dramatists of the world, including Shakespeare, Molière, and Racine.<sup>102</sup> Selim chose Shakespeare in this occasion due to his notion that Shakespeare is a poet and his words have an immense impact, expressing the feelings of humanity and what it is to be human.<sup>103</sup> The emphasis on the language of *Twelfth Night* is crucial; the poetry is given the power to transcend the national boundaries of histories, cultures, and languages. After the Damascus performance, following the trajectory of *Richard III* in Chapter Four, Selim directed *Twelfth Night* again in Sharjah, UAE, where he is Artistic Director of the Sharjah National Theatre. This performance, which was part of a

---

<sup>101</sup> Aḥmad al-‘Alī, "Shiksbīr .. yūṣal ṭullāb al-Ma‘had al-‘Ālī lil-Funūn al-masrahīyah llāḥṭrāf". *Mawqī‘ Mudawwanat waṭan al-Sūrī*, Abrīl 2011. mstrj‘ min: <http://esyria.sy/sites/code/index.php?site=damascus&p=stories&category=arts&filename=201104101600021>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 10 Yūniyū 2021.

<sup>102</sup> Ajaj Selim has a Doctorate in Philosophy of Arts, Department of Directing, St. Petersburg State Academy of Theatre, Music, and Cinema. He works in the Arab International University in Syria and published several works about theatre. See, Mawqī‘ al-Jāmi‘ah al-‘Arabīyah al-Dawlīyah, "D. ‘Ajjāj Salīm", *Mawqī‘ al-Jāmi‘ah al-‘Arabīyah al-Dawlīyah*, <https://www.aiu.edu.sy/en/25-8344/Dr.-Ajaj-Saleem>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 10 July 2021. - Aḥmad al-‘Alī, "Shiksbīr .. yūṣal ṭullāb al-Ma‘had al-‘Ālī lil-Funūn al-masrahīyah llāḥṭrāf". *Mawqī‘ Mudawwanat waṭan al-Sūrī*, Abrīl 2011. mstrj‘ min: <http://esyria.sy/sites/code/index.php?site=damascus&p=stories&category=arts&filename=201104101600021>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 10 Yūniyū 2021.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.



## Chapter 4: Feminism in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Al Bassam's *The Speaker's*

### *Progress*

cooperation agreement between the Sharjah Theatre Group and the Higher Institute of Dramatic Arts in Damascus, brought *Twelfth Night* back, if not to Qatar, the scene of the tragedy at the 2005 Doha Players production, then at least to one of the GCC's elite global theatre centres.<sup>104</sup> Surprisingly, there is very little in the official archive about the questions that motivated Selim's play: themes of desire, gender confusion and emancipation of women do not really feature. In a discussion panel featuring Selim, theatre director Musa Al-Omari, and actor Ramiz Mohammed, the main topic of conversation was the importance of Shakespeare's language and dramatic imagination.<sup>105</sup>

Thus, in 2017, seven years after Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress* spoke of the hopes of the Arab Spring, the re-broadcasting of Younus's mid-twentieth-century radio production revives the female voices of *Twelfth Night*, while the marketing poster suggests a very different Egyptian background. It argues again for female inclusion in the emerging public sphere. The following year, Selim's privileges Shakespeare's poetry and genius at the Sharjah National Theatre production, contributing to the international stature of UAE as a centre for global culture. I suggest that both events build on the foundations laid in the twenty-first century's first decade by Al Bassam's Trilogy of Shakespeare adaptations but in different ways. Both work to absorb Shakespeare into the growing field of contemporary Arab World theatre and to explore the place of adaptation in resistance and compliance with cultural norms.

---

<sup>104</sup> Bāsīl Abū Ḥamdah, "al-laylah al-thānīyah 'ashrah .. Mu'ālahat insānīyah 'alā Janāḥ al-ḥubb". *Mawqī' al-Bayān*, 19 Abrīl 2011. mstrj' min: <https://www.albayan.ae/five-senses/culture/2011-04-19-1.1423347>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Māyū 2021.

<sup>105</sup> Aḥmad al-'Alī, "Shiksbīr .. yūṣal tullāb al-Ma'had al-'Ālī lil-Funūn al-masraḥīyah llāḥtrāf". *Mawqī' Mudawwanat waṭan al-Sūrī*, Abrīl 2011. mstrj' min: <http://esyria.sy/sites/code/index.php?site=damascus&p=stories&category=arts&filename=201104101600021>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Yūniyū 2021.

## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

### **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

This thesis has examined how Shakespeare and Shakespeare's adaptations, as well as the idea of Presentist interpretations and rewrites, exert a significant influence on contemporary cultural life in the Arab World. It has focused on how Shakespeare fuelled Arab World dramatists to challenge the colonial notions of elite, global, conservative productions of Shakespeare as a civilising influence from the colonial eras of the nineteenth century onwards. They have used Shakespeare's plays to explore radical political, philosophical, and artistic ideas about individual and social freedom. The thesis focused on the Arab World Shakespeare Trilogy of the British-Kuwaiti dramatist Sulayman Al Bassam: *The Al-Hamlet Summit* (English version 2002; expanded Arabic version, 2004), *Richard III: An Arab Tragedy* (2007), and *The Speaker's Progress* (2011). It examined the importance of these adaptations in the context of the decade before the revolutionary events of the Arab Spring (2010-12). The thesis sketched the long pre-history of Shakespeare in the Arab World, from the importing of canonical Western Theatre by both French and British colonial regimes through the establishment of Egypt, Cairo in particular, as the metropolitan colonial centre to the point where Egypt played a huge and vital role in disseminating Shakespeare's performances, translations, adaptations, and appropriations across the Arab World. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century and across the various political movements towards post-colonial nationhood, Shakespeare continued to feature in theatrical performances until the Arab Spring. Moreover, the thesis showed that after the success of Al Bassam's Trilogy, Shakespeare continued to thrive in all parts of the Arab World, including the GCC and the post-Arab Spring, as a new generation of theatre-makers re-engage with his works and the cultural freedom that can be used to embody.

## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

Even though studies have been made with regard to Al Bassam's Trilogy, I have identified a lacuna in the research; most of these studies were from a Western perspective. Therefore, my thesis sought to relocate these plays in their Arab World, and particularly GCC contexts. As stated in the Introduction to this thesis, I focused on the Arab World themes of secularism, Machiavellian political thought, and feminism, guided by key Western and Arab World scholars to define terms for each theme. While drawing on the excellent Timeline of conflict provided by Holderness in his edition of the Trilogy in my analysis, I have also stretched that Timeline to include the Pan-Arab League translation project to translate the Complete works of Shakespeare (as well as other global canonical authors) into Arabic, active between 1955 and 1965 in Egypt and involving scholars from across the Arab World. This project marked the desire for an Arab ownership of Shakespeare free from the previous century of colonial cultural domination. It is a project that marks a number of Arab scholars and theatre-makers in the generation before the Arab Spring. It had a strong impact on the collective imagination of the Arab World. The Trilogy is first haunted by the global and local responses to 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq, then later actively shaped by the unfolding events of the Arab Spring.

In Chapter Two of this thesis, I worked to set a number of parameters crucial for my research. First, the history of the French and British colonisation in Egypt is vital to understanding the establishment of the modern Arab World theatre scene; Al Bassam's SABAB Theatre in Kuwait and the GCC. Theatre under the French occupation can be divided into two waves. The first wave of 1798 concentrated on elite, colonial settler audiences. Remarkably, Bonaparte was quite aware of the cultural differences and variations in local Egyptian society and using acculturation, he aimed to bring about a change in the norms and traditions of the Egyptian elite. He focused on the secular and cultural soft power to corroborate his political goals and had reasonable, if short-lived, success. The second wave

## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

is defined by the establishment of the Republic Theatre in the 1800. In the drive for local acculturation performances were of two kinds: one catered to the local audiences while the other was centred around canonical French literature. Though the French colonisation did not succeed from a political perspective, they created a theatre tradition that persisted for a long time thanks to its support among indigenous audiences.

It was during the French colonisation when the British arrived in Egypt. Here, they were invited in as a protectorate at the request of KT due to the 'Urabi revolt of 1881. The British were more aggressive than the French, especially in terms of taking military control of the Egyptian army. Their goals were mainly strategic, military, and political; however, they also shaped and affected Egyptian cultural life during their seventy-year rule. The spread of English language can be attributed to the British colonisation with the vast majority of Egyptian universities aimed at educating local elites for the colonial administration, which were established during the same period. The study of Shakespeare and the production of his plays was also embedded in this colonisation process. However, the new generation of highly educated Egyptians began to voice resistance to the coloniser's influence that was slowly seeping into and coming to dominate their indigenous culture.

Chapter Two also explored the religious questions arising from importing Western theatre practices into the Arab World. While Western scholars often oversimplify the questions, stating that Islam does not approve of theatre, the question is more complex, as I demonstrated. While some disapproved wholly of theatre, many argued that it could be approved, as long as it is morally educational and does not contradict the ethics of Islam. As I showed, many traditional Arabic theatrical practices, such as storytelling, *Maqamat*, and shadow plays existed before the arrival of the colonisers. They remained and thrived during the colonial period. These practices were also subject to local disapproval from both religious and secular governing perspectives. However, the colonisers largely ignored and neglected

## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

these existing Arabic theatrical practices, thinking they were harmless entertainment. Sometimes, these traditional Arab theatrical practices worked as a means of resistance against the colonisers: in their performances, they delivered subversive tales of Arab heroes, spreading ideas of national identity, liberation, and independence. I suggested that Al Bassam's adaptations of Shakespeare exploit some of the traditional techniques of dramatised storytelling to voice the subversive voices of the political concerns that led to the Arab Spring.

Traditional Arabic theatre practices have a part to play in adapting Shakespeare to popular taste and so too does translation of Shakespeare into Arabic as I demonstrated in both Chapter Two and the three case-studies. It was not until 1955, when the influential Egyptian author Taha Hussein initiated the Pan-Arab League translation project, that a coherent plan was made to produce a definitive version of Shakespeare's Complete Works in Arabic. In the preceding century, translations were a largely haphazard and personal issues. As Ramses Awadh has suggested, these translations were divided into two broad camps: some were so faithful to Shakespeare's original, that they were awkward for the Arabic reader; others tried to tweak and modify the phrasing to suit and appeal to Arab cultural expectations. In any case, translating into Arabic was a radical act of ownership.

In Chapter Two, I considered the first printed Arabic play by the father of modern practice of Arabic theatre, Marun Al-Naqqash (1817-1855). Drawing on the strengths of both colonial and indigenous theatre, he sought to engage society to actively participate in the theatre scene, including intellectuals, theatre-makers, and theatre-goers. He acknowledged the important role of theatre in spreading ideas, heralding change, and encouraging collective action. Collective action was also an important feature of the work of another Arab dramatist whom I also explored as a precedent to Al Bassam: Iskandar Farah (1851–1916).

Shakespeare performances in Egypt were divided into two groups: musical performances and

## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

performances that were faithful to the original text. Even though the former was more popular, Farah chose the latter. He worked to liberate and spread awareness amongst audiences by focusing on themes of independence and resistance. His work marked a new era of adapting Shakespeare into plays that resisted colonial power. He even wrote a manifesto about theatre and audience reception based on his personal experience and ambition for a new collective, active, theatre.

Having established these aspects of the pre-history of Arab World theatre's confrontations with Shakespeare, Chapter Two then established the specific contemporary contexts for Al Bassam's Trilogy. Al Bassam's specific background and education as a Kuwaiti-British playwright enabled him to work, much like Al-Naqqash, to benefit from his connections with and knowledge of the West. He worked nationally and internationally to present the current situation in the Arab World through his Shakespeare Trilogy. By adapting these three plays to challenge and explain Arab World culture, and more specifically GCC culture in the decade preceding the Arab Spring, Al Bassam tested Shakespeare adaptation to its limits: Al Bassam is reasonably faithful to Shakespeare in *The Al-Hamlet Summit*; but the RSC commission to adapt *Richard III* to *The Baghdad Richard*, a story based on Saddam Hussein, leads Al Bassam to question and alter the terms of the commission to produce instead *an Arab Tragedy*. Finally, in his experiments with *Twelfth Night*, *The Speaker's Progress* (2011) developed against political unrest, Al Bassam shows Shakespeare to be both enabling and inadequate in the 1963 play. New voices must break through to challenge the restrictions of tyranny and the status quo.

The terminologies section of Chapter Two sets up the three key ideas that will shape my approach to the three case-study chapters that followed: secularism and *The Al-Hamlet Summit* (2002); Machiavellian political thought and *Richard III: an Arab Tragedy* (2007); feminism and *The Speaker's Progress* (2011). For each idea I worked with, I paired Western

## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

and Arab scholars to come to a working definition for my exploration. I drew on Charles Taylor and Talal Asad to define secularism; Machiavelli's Prince and related Arabic texts to explore political thought and De Beauvoir and Sa'dawi to expand on feminism. This was the foundation for the three case-study chapters that are the core of the thesis. Each of these case-studies traces the pre-history of that play in the Arab World in translation and performance, then examines the central question in readings of both Shakespeare's original and Al Bassam's adaptation based on secularism, Machiavellian political thought, and feminism themes.

Chapter Three explores *Hamlet* and secularism. Early adaptations of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in the Arab World by Tanius 'Abdoh, Mamdouh 'Udwan, and Riyadh 'Ismat proved very popular, all sharing questions about responsibility in the personal and political spheres. *Hamlet* has a long history of voicing personal political rebellion for popular audiences in the Arab World from colonial to post-colonial and to post-post-colonial nations. Throughout all these periods, the spiritual dilemma of *Hamlet*, the questions of religious faith and belief, and its connection to the secular world are a constant feature of early Arab adaptations of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. As mentioned, due to the differences between the Western and Arab World philosophies of the secular, I referred to two different scholars to define and test ideas of secularism in *Hamlet* and *The Al-Hamlet Summit*: Charles Taylor and Talal Asad. In both plays, I argued that Hamlet is trapped between what Taylor terms the 'buffered' and 'porous' selves, though each play defines Hamlet's 'question of belief' very differently. Hamlet's dilemma of belief is figured in Shakespeare's original through his father's Ghost. The Ghost is a constant projection of Hamlet's religious-secular concern. He is lost between two worlds and cannot even recognise if the Ghost is from purgatory, thus legitimate, or just a disguised devil. He worries about the legitimacy of revenge and the consequences of his action. As a scholar of Wittenberg, he is secular in his beliefs with the perception that ghosts do not exist

## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

and seeks concrete proof as the son of a murdered King, he also seeks revenge. He turns to the secular test of theatre to make his final decision, staging a play within a play that shows him the nephew killing a king. Revenge and high politics affect his private emotional life with Ophelia as well; he rejects her and with her the possibility of a redemptive, secular love. Hamlet dies in both Shakespeare's and Al Bassam's works, but in the former, he dies by another's hand, almost by hasty accident and in Al Bassam's version he dies by choice.

The Ghost is omitted in Al Bassam's adaptation. It is an important omission consistent with the Islamic world in which this Hamlet operates. It is also used to highlight the difficulties of choosing to live in a secular world. Hamlet struggles with the responsibility of individual and collective in revenge. This reflects the conflict of the younger generation in the Arab World who like Hamlet, strive to choose a secular world. However, traditional theological beliefs reside in their subconscious and resurface at moments of tension. Shakespeare's Hamlet lives between what Asad terms the 'enchanted' and the 'disenchanted' worlds where ghosts are still possible while Al Bassam's Hamlet is firmly situated in the 'disenchanted' world. He is untroubled by ghosts but his turmoil comes from within as he weighs up whether to act for himself or for the 'New Democracy'. Certain that his enemies are 'Satan' and 'Greater Satan' who attack the political morality of his country, Hamlet chooses to become a Jihadist: he serves religion since he sacrifices his self for the sake of both religion and his country. His relationship with Ophelia already signals Al Bassam's interest in woman's place in the Arab World, one which will be fully expanded in *The Speaker's Progress*. As in Shakespeare, both characters die; but it is crucial that Al Bassam's Ophelia decides to show the world her anger and frustration towards the patriarchal system and ends her life in public. In this modern nameless Arab World tyranny, Ophelia is a threat representing all women, fully aware of both internal and external threats to her nation: the tone of her death directly opposes Shakespeare's silent suicide. In Al Bassam's, the audience



## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

hear and see Ophelia's death on-stage while in Shakespeare, they rely on an untrustworthy messenger speech by the inactive witness, Gertrude. Ophelia's manner of death underlines the fact that both she and Hamlet die because of Western intervention in national politics: the West, exemplified by the sexually aggressive Arms Dealer provides destructive information and equipment. Al Bassam offers a crucial message to the Arab World that they should not blindly follow Western rhetoric about secular power and government as a solution to religious tyranny. Both Shakespeare and Al Bassam show the religious and secular dilemma through Asad's 'behaviours, knowledges, and sensibilities' of Hamlet; he is caught between Taylor's 'buffered' and 'porous' selves; between the 'enchanted' and 'disenchanted' worlds of religious and secular belief systems.

In Chapter Four, I presented the second case-study, which considers how Shakespeare's original and Al Bassam's adaptation of *Richard III* portray Machiavellian political thought and resistance. Once again, Western intervention is a crucial part of the story, this time at a cultural as well as a political level. Unlike *Hamlet*, *Richard III* was not a well-known play in the Arab World; its subject, a detailed history of the medieval English Civil wars, attracted little attention until 1990 when Abdulkader AlQit translated and published the play as part of the Pan-Arab League translation project. For the RSC, the commission for Al Bassam to write *The Baghdad Richard* as a response to Michael Boyd's *Richard III* as part of the staging of the *Complete Works* was ground-breaking. It would be the first Arabic Shakespeare play to be staged in Stratford. Al Bassam began to reflect on the limits of the project, in particular its colonial imagination of a Baghdad Machiavellian villain. This was also considering that this play was relatively unknown in the Arab World and writing would take place in the aftermath of the Iraq War, as Saddam Hussein was hunted and captured then tried and executed. Once again, the questions of Western intervention in

## Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance

Arab World politics produced complications for the playwright.<sup>1</sup> Al Bassam knew that Western actions such as these had empowered Arab World tyranny. Instead of fulfilling his contract to write *The Baghdad Richard*, a play which refuses the neo-colonial vision of the West, Al Bassam widens his territory, setting his play again in a nameless Arab World state with his Richard as a representative of the dilemmas that face many Arab World leaders in terms of succession, foreign interference and local resistance. Crucial to Al Bassam's version is a Machiavellian notion of the cyclical nature of history and historical causation where success is always followed by failure and progress by retreat.

Shakespeare's and Al Bassam's Richards follow the prime Machiavellian desire for self-preservation to acquire and keep the throne. Richard himself famously voices the opening words of Shakespeare's original in a soliloquy, giving his audience carefully reasoned logic for his decision to be a villain. On the contrary, Al Bassam's opening offers us the voice of the observer, again female and a long-suffering victim of the history's repetition of mistakes, a version of Shakespeare's Queen Margaret.

Queen Margaret, not Richard, speaks first and warns us to resist Richard's narrative; he will act in self-interest and collaborate with the West, as she has seen it all before. Shakespeare's Richard shows the dangers of the individual's Machiavellian response to internal family conflict and civil war while Al Bassam's Margaret warns of the tyrannical consequences of inviting external intervention in domestic matters. As chapter four explores, Shakespeare's *Richard III* demonstrates some of the traits of the Elizabethan stock figure of the Machiavel; he schemes and plots to get what he wants and always works to preserve his

---

<sup>1</sup> According to Tala Asad, for example: 'the fact [was] that the United States supplied him [Saddam Hussein] with vital military intelligence in his aggressive war against Iran and the Europeans helped him manufacture chemical weapons that he used against Iranians as well as Iraqi Kurds'. See, Talala Asad, *On Suicide Bombing*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007) 13.

## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

power and status even exploiting friendship and faith as a political tool where necessary.<sup>2</sup> Even as he exploits the huge dramatic potential of the stereotype, Shakespeare restores to Richard some of the original philosophical and political complexity of Machiavelli's ideal Prince; he makes us, the audience, complicit in Richard's schemes, encouraging empathy, and ultimately reveals the crucial, if fragmentary, moments of humanity and self-doubt. Al Bassam's Richard develops this potential for sympathy and empathy much further. He moves away from Shakespeare's Tudor propaganda showing Richard as a self-determined villain. Al Bassam's Richard appears at times as a victim of circumstance, he is a ruler who does what he can, according to the limits and opportunities available. He is not as evil as the people surrounding him, but he makes selfish compromises, pretending they are in the country's best interests. For example, he is willing to go further than Shakespeare's Richard in making religion one of his Machiavellian political tools due to the recognition that Islam motivates the people and he manipulates that motivation. Nonetheless, the Emir Gloucester remains a more sympathetic, perhaps more human character than Shakespeare's self-determined 'villain'.

Like Machiavelli who wrote *The Prince* in exile, Al Bassam wrote his Trilogy away from Kuwait, the GCC, and general Arab World political strife. In fact, he insists on anonymity for the country, even though certain aspects suggest it is set in Kuwait. Al Bassam shows us his interest in Italian Renaissance Humanist advice literature and Arabic advice literature through *The Mirror for Princes: Kalila Wa Dimna* (2006) for political advice. The world of Al Bassam's Richard is one of elite high politics; the Emir Gloucester operates in a scrappy world of internal strife and petty squabbles, which the West, in the shape of Buckingham, the US Embassy and Richmond, are always ready to exploit. Given the framework of the RSC commission, Buckingham's old-style British colonial politicking is

---

## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

particularly nasty. Though he calls it *an Arab Tragedy*; at times the play seems closer to a farce. What would Machiavelli think when Richmond takes over from Richard at the end, making the queen the ruler and calling for democratic elections in the near future? The scene seems set for a new tragic cycle of history. As I argue in conclusion to Chapter Four, it is intriguing that after Al Bassam's production, *Richard III* moves from being a little known play to being adopted in the Arab World as a vehicle for examining tyranny and resistance, good and evil, religion and secularism. I examined two adaptations that seem to draw both on Shakespeare and Al Bassam to place *an Arab Tragedy* in specific Arab World locations: the Tunisian adaptation of *Richard III* by Mahfouz Ghazal (2014), and Mohannad Kareem's *Ma Baa'd Al-ensan* (2018), staged for the Sharjah Theatre Festival, UAE. In Ghazal's post Tunisian Revolution 2014 adaptation, the voice of the female is as strong as Al Bassam's Margaret, which seems to echo those of Al Bassam's *The Speaker's Progress*. A female narrator retells the story of Richard to the audience, at the same time as a younger sister tries to encourage her older brother to reinvent domestic family patriarchy after the death of their father. However, in Kareem's 2018 adaptation, the male voice of an all-male cast dominates. This takes us back to the original Shakespearean conditions of performance, where women are again suppressed. In 2017, in the aftermath of the Arab Spring, this reminds us as Sa'dawi writes that although women took a vital part in the protests and revolutions against tyrannical political regimes across the Arab World, they remain marginalised, even in more liberal regimes. The Arab representations and adaptations of *Richard III* produced in the wake of Al Bassam's version are complex: they show resistance to tyranny and reveal the mind of the tyrant; but they also show the Machiavellian vision of a cyclical history where regime change is a constant threat to stability, and where that threat often comes from international intervention to maintain a state of political and cultural dependence on the West.

## Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance

I outlined the final case-study in Chapter Four, which explored Al Bassam's 2011 adaptation of *Twelfth Night*, *The Speaker's Progress*. It focused on his use of Shakespeare's women characters to give voice to the feminist resistance voiced on the streets and the squares across the Arab World during rehearsals. *The Speaker's Progress* was written against the background of the political unrest of the Arab Spring (2010-2012). The important moment where the Tunisian fruit-seller Mohammad Bouazizi set himself on fire in protest against government tyranny, an act that sparked revolution in many other Arab countries, is memorialised on stage by Fawz as she consults the 'red notebook' from the '1963 play'. *The Speaker's Progress* believes in and shows the possibility of progress. As The Speaker tries to re-enact the '1963 play', which is revealed in the final scenes to be Shakespeare's 1602 play, *Twelfth Night*, it also shows how history depressingly repeats itself. Thus, a dark satire and a tragedy of the Arab World emerges from Shakespeare's comedy to reflect the structures of political repression faced by many living with tyranny across the Arab World. The question of women's oppression and the possibilities for feminist action, which have already featured in Al Bassam's earlier adaptations, are foregrounded in this play. It is a call to arms for women in many ways.

*Twelfth Night*, a festive Shakespearean comedy, was much less popular in the Arab World than *Hamlet* or even *Richard III*. It had been translated across the 20<sup>th</sup> Century by the scholar-poets Bakathir and Anani, who offered partial translations out of poetical interest in the possibilities of Shakespearean blank verse in ancient and contemporary Arabic poetry. Only in 1989 did Jabra produce a complete translation of the text. Furthermore, the play's themes and concerns, which include cross-dressing and a play of the possibilities of same-sex desire, while they feature in many Western productions, are considered controversial and unstageable in the Arab World. The 2005 car bomb that killed the director, Jon Adams and injured many staff while the Doha Players production of *Twelfth Night* was in progress in the

## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

British School in Qatar demonstrates that this is a dangerous play. It is not surprising that other recent productions prior to Al Bassam's version were imported, such as the BSC 2010 tour that presented the play at elite global cultural festivals and stressed the play's comedy and family entertainment value. It is not surprising that when Al Bassam staged his *Twelfth Night* adaptation and decided to use it to explore the female voice as a cultural force for change, he placed it under heavy disguise: the play is called *The Speaker's Progress*, the '1963 play' remains hidden in plain sight.

To analyse the feminist themes in *Twelfth Night* and *The Speaker's Progress*, I drew on the works of Simone de Beauvoir and Nawal Sa'dawi. From their wide-ranging histories and accounts on the background and investigation of the status of women, I focussed particularly on the question of love. I used this theme to explore the female characters of Shakespeare's original and Al Bassam's adaptation. De Beauvoir describes women in love as 'Mystic' using the spiritual force of being in love whereas Sa'dawi focuses on the souls, bodies, and minds of women, arguing that through freedom of lived experience, women can be equal to men in love. While De Beauvoir enlightens women about their status in the course of history and philosophy in the hope of inspiring revolution, Sa'dawi urges women to take action to gain their rights and break free from discrimination. Both feminists agree that revolution is the necessary solution to freeing oneself from oppression and leading a dignified life. *Twelfth Night's* female characters use their bodies and minds to lead and to love; *The Speaker's Progress* actresses, and the Arab World women they represent, face a different struggle for self-expression that tends more towards political freedom and leadership as a step towards meaningful love.

The women in both plays resist the conventional notions of their roles in society. They resist, act, and make their opinions and decisions quite clear, especially regarding their future. In *The Speaker's Progress*, the road to self-expression is more complex: performance

## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

is constantly monitored and policed by the Envoys and Representatives of the nameless Arab World State. The Patriarchs try to silence the female characters, Thuraya and Fawz, and to prevent them from engaging in political statements. Yet, Shakespeare's Olivia and Viola, speaking through and transcending the 'red notebook' can inspire Thuraya and Fawz to voice present concerns, to put the voices of the Arab Spring on stage; or make their true feelings clear. However, from *Twelfth Night*, they could transcend their strength to those Arabs and develop leadership and love themes. In their very different ways, both Thuraya and Fawz find inner strength to voice and achieve their goals. It is important to remember that Fawz, in spite of the Envoy's protests, is disguised as male: she is more able to share her thoughts and feelings, she also has the freedom to move, to wander, to observe. This freedom of movement in the space underlines her ability to change and reinforce liberation in her choices and decisions. Fawz goes further by improvising lines that were not in the original text to voice her thoughts. In the process, she brings her underlying thoughts to the surface and challenges all the male characters as well as the state. On the other hand, Thuraya always remains within the limits of the household, though this confinement does not stop her from fulfilling her desire for leadership and love. From that position, she resists the patriarchy, both Uncle and Ruler, as it tries to take control of her marriage and future. Both women show the possibilities and the limits of adapting Shakespeare to voice present day concerns and produce political change. Nishami, as she claims revenge in torturing the Mullah/ Malvolio figure with a hairdryer and a stick, indicates that for some women, words may not be enough and violent action may be necessary to overthrow the tyrant.

*The Speaker's Progress* ends with The Speaker/Director, played by Al Bassam himself, confessing that he has all along been staging *Twelfth Night*, and taking personal responsibility for the political and cultural disruption he has caused: 'Farewell, I; Oh happy, happy wreck; Progress is done.' (3.2.194). His words seem to offer an epitaph for this play

## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

and for his Shakespeare Trilogy. It implies presentism as Al Bassam has taken Shakespeare as far as it can go to explore Arab World politics. He hopes that amid the Arab Spring, new politics and new plays are emerging. I want to conclude by retracing the Timeline and key features of Al Bassam's journey and to present my own claims for the Trilogy's importance to the contemporary and future Arab World.

Of course, the events of 9/11, 2001, as the historical starting point of the Trilogy, underpin *The Al-Hamlet Summit* since they are the very reason for the millennial religious-secular dilemma in the Arab World. The play explores projections of radical Islam and extremism in the GCC, especially in Saudi Arabia, which was suspected to be involved in the 9/11 events. Hamlet and Ophelia are both victims in the play and they represent many Hamlets and Ophelias across the Arab World who struggle with revolution and decision, becoming victims of the political and religious system. They stand for the mounting pressure on the younger generation of the Arab World, who are considered to be the harbingers of change and the future of each nation. As Al Bassam indicates, the West can be considered the source of catastrophe for the younger generations if they do not think critically and become subject to its neo-colonialism, especially its soft power. This concern was made evident in an interview that Al Bassam gave to a Kuwaiti channel where he discussed the political insights in his plays: 'The question of Western sovereignty, orientalism is an important part of my international theatrical project, not to clarify but to challenge because the stage is a mirror'.<sup>3</sup> The challenge is to make the youth aware through the fate of Hamlet and Ophelia that a new path is necessary. This awareness will enable young generations to fight, criticise, and bring change to the current political scenario.

---

<sup>3</sup> Sulaymān al-Bassām, "liqā' Sulaymān al-Bassām fī Barnāmaj bālkwyty 'an al-ikhrāj al-masraḥī". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat AlziadiQ8 Plus 3, 13 abryl2017 . mstrj' min: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hMQUjrTQIgU>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Māyū 2022.



## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

In the same interview, Al Bassam declares that ‘theatre is a mirror for a phase’, implying that his theatrical project relates to the current phase of potential change in the Arab World. *The Al-Hamlet Summit* is a mirror to resisting religion and testing secularism in the Arab World while *Richard III, an Arab Tragedy* is for declaring resistance to any Machiavellian political thought in the region. Moreover, Al Bassam’s adaptations of *Richard III* could ‘mirror’ the cyclical history that is not only resisted by Margaret, but by the whole Arab World. Here, the resistance has two layers: the first is when Al Bassam resists the ‘rules’ of the RSC’s commission, a resistance to the West’s appropriation of the Arab World. The second layer lies in his resistance to injustice and political corruption in one’s country. It is in *The Speaker’s Progress* that these two layers of resistance are clearly staged: as The Speaker, Al Bassam resists the ongoing censorship of theatrical performances in the Arab World, specifically in Kuwait, even as he recognises that Arab World regimes are also very aware of the value of staging certain kinds of elite theatre as a form of global soft power. His revelation that the ‘1963 play’, banned for political reasons, exposes the hypocrisy of the Patriarchs who seek to use theatre as a sign of civility to generate tourism. The second layer of resistance in this play, and for me the strongest undercurrent throughout the Trilogy, is voiced by the women of the play as they resist conventional notions about the position of women in the Arab World. A decade after the 9/11 attacks, as protests and revolutionary acts across the Arab World brought women into the streets. *The Speaker’s Progress* seems to show an alternative path of action for *The Al Hamlet Summit*’s Ophelia. It imagines a comic instead of a tragic ending for women in the Arab World where they fight to ensure their rights to a respectable life. The voice of female resistance is so loud that the characters must break away from the confines of the Shakespearean world and campaign for the revolution that De Beauvoir and Sa’dawi both saw as necessary for real change.

## Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance

Al Bassam's British-Kuwaiti origins put him in a privileged position to use Shakespeare to 'mirror' events in the Arab World. It is worth noting that, although the company is now based in Kuwait, performances in Kuwait are fewer than performances elsewhere: 'Al Bassam's theatrical works, however, have been performed right around the world, particularly America and Europe, as well as across the Middle East and North Africa'.<sup>4</sup> In many ways, *The Speaker's Progress* can be viewed as Al Bassam's comment on Kuwaiti theatre: dramatists face difficulties in Kuwait because of the continuous censorship, fear, lack of governmental support, and neglect of cultural investment.<sup>5</sup> After a productive period working in Kuwait during the years of the Shakespeare Trilogy, perhaps this moment has now passed, as he recently remarked: 'I've been digging stones for 15 years in this country'.<sup>6</sup> Al Bassam believes that the theatre scene in Kuwait started out strong when it was focused on serious matters. Now, it has been commercialised and trivialised.<sup>7</sup> It is also of interest to note that Al Bassam does not claim that Islam itself has anything to do with the regression of theatre; rather it is the more secular pressures exerted by the political system and governmental interference in culture. Such censorship, spreads fear amongst dramatists, making them practise self-censorship, as they steer clear of any possible political or controversial notions. For Al Bassam, this censorship is almost like a medieval inquisition.<sup>8</sup> His job is to resist, awaken the audience, and make them aware that liberation will not happen by itself; that the people should strive to eliminate tyrannical regimes and attain a dignified

---

<sup>4</sup> Sulayman Al-Bassam, *The Al-Hamlet Summit: Original Playscript in English and Arabic with an Introduction by Graham Holderness* 1st ed. (University of Hertfordshire Press, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> Sulaymān al-Bassām, "liqā' Sulaymān al-Bassām fī Barnāmaj bālkwyty 'an al-ikhrāj al-masrahī". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat AlziadiQ8 Plus 3, 13 abryl2017 . mstrj' min: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hMQUjrTQIgU>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Māyū 2022.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

## Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance

life with equality for men and women. From his base in Kuwait, it is important for Al Bassam to spread awareness amongst audiences across the GCC, the Arab World, and beyond so they can understand their rights as well as their strength to resist and change.

Al Bassam asserts that ‘theatre creates intellectual, emotional, fictional sparks and from within comes the beauty and danger of the theatre’.<sup>9</sup> The use of the word ‘spark’ is vital as it can contain hidden meanings; a spark is a tiny flame that develops into a fire. It is synonymous with the spark in Tunisia, the self-immolation of a fruit seller who started the Arab Spring and aimed to bring justice and eliminate tyranny. A spark also has a figurative meaning: ‘A small trace, indication, or portion of some quality, feeling, sentiment, in some way comparable to a spark, in respect of its latent possibilities’, is related to notions and thoughts.<sup>10</sup> We might assume that Al Bassam implies both meanings here; both further imply resistance. The ‘intellectual’ spark might change the audience's ideology; the ‘emotional’ spark might shape resistance into anger and even action; the powerful spark of ‘fiction’ might allow the audience to fantasise, imagine a democratic utopia and then aim to create it. These types of audience reception are very powerful as they stimulate the heart and mind; the present and future. Therefore, they can generate resistance and bring about necessary change.

Al Bassam's future seems to lie still in Kuwait, not only with Shakespeare but with other dramatists. He continues to adapt and think about Shakespeare, but recently has come to focus on classical Greek theatre. His most recent production of *IMEDEA* (2021-22) was premiered in December 2021 as part of the ‘Journées Théâtrales de Cartage’.<sup>11</sup> This version

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> “Spark, *N* (1)”. *Oxford English Dictionary*, [www-oed-com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/Entry/185674?rskey=mgSchn&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid](http://www-oed-com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/Entry/185674?rskey=mgSchn&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid). Accessed 9 June 2022.  
-“Sharārah, *N*. (1,3)”. *Qāmūs al-ma‘ānī*, [www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/شراة/](http://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/شراة/). Accessed 9 June 2022.

<sup>11</sup> “*IMEDEA* (2021-22)”, *Sabab Theatre*, [www.sabab.org/the-icarus-cycle/project-two-97cpj](http://www.sabab.org/the-icarus-cycle/project-two-97cpj). Accessed 27 June 2016.

## Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance

of Medea, staged in the home of Queen Dido, is an educated Arab woman who refuses to accept the surveillance imposed upon her in her tyrannical country and works to restructure and resolve the history of violence in her family.<sup>12</sup> Medea speaks to the legacy of Margaret and other female characters from the Shakespeare's Trilogy; women's agency, history and their action for political change are still vital in Al Bassam's work.

If women's agency continues to be a key concern, what about Kuwait, the GCC and the Arab World? In a 2019 interview with Al Jazeera entitled '*Hamlet in Failaka*', Al Bassam pleads with all Kuwaiti institutions to cooperate and build a Greek amphitheatre in Failaka, a Kuwaiti island in the Gulf: 'we are here in an area that seems to me to be similar, I mean very excellent for excavating a Greek theatre. This sea is here, Kuwait is there and the gulf is in front of me'.<sup>13</sup> Failaka had been the venue for work on a production of *UR* (2015-18) including a writing workshop that preceded the performance. According to Al Bassam, *UR* was 'inspired by the ancient Sumerian tablet, *The Lamentation for the Destruction of the City of Ur*, the first lamentation written for a city in the history of mankind'.<sup>14</sup> The sea is hugely significant here for Al Bassam: it was and still the method of communication between the GCC and the entire world; it contradicts the earlier image of Kuwait as a land of stones and deserts. For him, the sea is emblematic of a new regenerative future: 'today our relationship as Kuwaitis is one of strategic relations with the rest of the world; diversity, modernity, and languages lie across the sea, but we have turned our back to the sea'.<sup>15</sup> This new interest in the sea as both a natural resource and a necessary aspect for the future of human civilisation

---

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Maktabat al-Jazīrah al-mar'īyah, "al-mashshā'-Sulaymān al-Bassām .. Hāmlit fī Jazīrat Faylakā al-Kuwaytīyah kw". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: Aljazeera Media Library Maktabat al-Jazīrah al-mar'īyah, 5 Dīsimbir 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1MyNV1\\_nis](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1MyNV1_nis). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 21 Māyū 2022.

<sup>14</sup> "UR (2015–18)", *Sabab Theatre*, [www.sabab.org/the-icarus-cycle/ur](http://www.sabab.org/the-icarus-cycle/ur). Accessed 19 June 2022.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

## **Conclusion: Shakespeare and the Arab World: Adaptation and Resistance**

also underpins the company's new 'Post Petroleum Society' project: '[an] artistic production platform that seeks to usher the world beyond its current dependencies on carbon models and resource extraction'.<sup>16</sup> To undertake this project in Kuwait and the GCC where oil production dominates, where the carbon footprint is unsustainable, and where temperatures are becoming dangerously high, shows that Al Bassam is still working for political and cultural change in both the GCC and the broader Arab World in various ways. Perhaps his Shakespeare Trilogy turned Al Bassam towards the sea; it saw diversity in Shakespeare's characters and settings, it called for modernity through the use of and additions to Shakespeare's language. The Trilogy even ends with one of Shakespeare's 'shipwreck' plays. For Al Bassam, Failaka is an outward-facing island of huge historical significance related and connected to the history of human civilisation. A new theatre there offers 'symbols of free speech and openness'.<sup>17</sup> As the interview title suggests, it might one day offer a new opportunity to stage a new, reimagined Arab World *Hamlet*. The island of Failaka takes us to back to 1608 and the island of Socotra at the Gulf of Aden; it creates a new stage from which the Arab World writes back.

---

<sup>16</sup> "Sabab", *Sabab Theatre*, [www.sabab.org](http://www.sabab.org). Accessed 20 May 2022.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.









## English Bibliography

### English Bibliography

#### Primary Sources (Books and Journals)

Abū Hayf, Allāh. *al-masraḥ al-‘Arabī al-mu‘āṣir Qaḍāyā wa-ru‘ā wa-tajārib*. Ittiḥād al-Kutub al-‘Arabīyah, 2002, Ş Ş. 400 – 425.

‘Adwān, Mamdūh. *Hāmlit yastayqīza muta‘akhhiran*. 1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Zāwīyah lil-Ṭibā‘ah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘, 1980, Ş. 5. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://www.kutubpdfbook.com/book>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 10 Yanāyir 2018.

Aḥmad, Ibn Ḥazm ‘Alī Ibn. *The Ring of the Dove: A Treatise on the Art and Practice of Arab Love*. Translated by A. J. Arberry, Luzac Oriental, <https://openmaktaba.com/the-ring-of-the-dove>. Accessed 27 May 2021.

Āl brjl, Aḥmad. *al-Şālūnāt al-adabīyah fī al-waṭan al-‘Arabī*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār al-Faḍīlah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘, 2016. mstrj‘ min:  
[https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=oZIUDwAAQBAJ&newbks=1&newbks\\_redir=0&dq=التقاضي+النازلي+صالون&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=oZIUDwAAQBAJ&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&dq=التقاضي+النازلي+صالون&source=gbs_navlinks_s). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Uktūbir 2021.

al-Alūsī, Maḥmūd Shukrī. *Tārīkh Najd al-Atharī*. taḥqīq: Muḥammad Bahjat al-Atharī, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Maktabat Madbūlī, 2007, Ş 31 – 39. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://archive.org/details/FP99064/page/n38/mode/2up>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Yūniyū 2021.

al-Andalusī, ‘Alī. *Ṭawq al-ḥamāmah fī al-ulfah wa-al-ullāf*. 1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu‘assasat Hindāwī lil-ta‘līm wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2014, Ş Ş. 12 – 16. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://www.hindawi.org/books/97086179/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 16 Abrīl 2021.

## English Bibliography

- al-Anwar, Muḥammad. "al-Salafīyah al-Wahhābīyah wa-al-rabī‘ al-‘Arabī". *Jarīdat al-Sūdānī*, 5 Yanāyir 2013. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.sudaress.com/alsudani/12389>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 16 Māyū 2022.
- al-‘Aqqād, ‘Abbās. *Ibn Rushd*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu’assasat Hindāwī lil-ta‘līm wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2014, Ş Ş. 7 – 19. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/73941747/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 16 Māyū 2021.
- Al-Bassam, Sulayman, and Graham Holderness. *The Arab Shakespeare Trilogy*, 1st ed., Bloomsbury, London, 2014.
- Al-Bassam, Sulayman. *Kalila Wa Dimna, or, the Mirror for Princes*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2006.
- Al-Bassam, Sulayman. *The Al-Hamlet Summit: Original Playscript in English and Arabic with an Introduction by Graham Holderness*. 1st ed., University of Hertfordshire Press, 2006.
- al-Fīl, Muḥammad. *ru’yah wa-bayān ḥālat al-masraḥ al-‘Arabī (I) al-ta’sīs*. al-Hay’ah al-Miṣrīyah al-‘Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 2001.
- al-Jabartī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. ‘*Ajāyib al-Āthār fī al-tarājim wa-al-akhbār*. ʦ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, J 4, Mu’assasat Hindāwī lil-ta‘līm wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2013, Ş. 213. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/53519152/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 17 Sibtambr 2021.
- al-Jāhiz, ‘Amr. *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, taḥqīq: ‘Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, mʦ1, ʦ2, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīyah, 1965. mstrj‘ min: <https://foulabook.com/ar/book/1-الحيوان-مجلد-1-pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 22 Sibtambr 2021.
- al-Jawdar, Şalāḥ. *maqālāt al-iṣlāḥ al-siyāsī*. Dār al-Fārābī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘, 2012.
- al-Rāfī‘ī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. *al-Za’īm al-thā’ir Aḥmad ‘Urābī*. ʦ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu’assasat Hindāwī lil-ta‘līm wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2020, Ş Ş. 135 – 141. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/27518393/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 12 Yūniyū 2022.

## English Bibliography

- al-Rā‘ī, ‘Alī. "Takrīs al-huwīyah aw al-intihār". *Ṣaḥīfat al-yawm*, 2004. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://www.alyaum.com/articles/149111/د-علي-الراعي>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 30 Mārs 2022.
- al-Rā‘ī, ‘Alī. *al-masrah fī al-waṭan al-‘Arabī*. ʔ2, Kitāb iliktrūnī, ‘Ālam al-Ma‘rifah, al-Majlis al-Waṭanī lil-Thaqāfah wa-al-Funūn wa-al-Ādāb bi-al-Kuwayt, 1999, ʔ ʔ. 29 – 47. mstrj‘ min: <https://ia802807.us.archive.org/21/items/ebw02/248.pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 10 Māyū 2021.
- al-Ramādī, Jamāl al-Dīn. *fuṣūl muqāranah bayna adabī al-Sharq wa-al-Gharb*. ʔ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Dār al-Qawmīyah lil-Ṭibā‘ah wa-al-Nashr, and, ʔ ʔ. 28 – 33. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.noor-book.com/كتاب-فصول-مقارنة-بين-أدبي-الشرق-و-الغرب-pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 27 Mārs 2021.
- al-Rāsikhī, Furūzān. *al-mar’ah fī al-‘Irfān al-Islāmī wa-al-Masīhī ḥattā al-qarn al-thāmin al-Hijrī*. Dār al-Hādī lil-Ṭibā‘ah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘, 2004.
- al-Sa‘dāwī, Nawāl. *al-mar’ah wa-al-jins*. ʔ4, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār wa-Maṭābi‘ al-mustaqbal, 1990, ʔ ʔ. 7 – 11. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://foulabook.com/ar/book/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B1%D8%AC%D9%84-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%86%D8%B3-pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 19 Mārs 2021.
- al-Sa‘dāwī, Nawāl. *al-mar’ah wa-al-ṣirā‘ al-nafsī*. ʔ 3, Dār wa-Maṭābi‘ al-mustaqbal, 1993.
- al-Sa‘dāwī, Nawāl. *Dhikrayāt bayna al-thawrah wa-al-ibdā‘*. Sharikat al-Maṭbū‘āt lil-Tawzī‘ wa-al-Nashr, 2016.
- Alsaif, Omar Abdulaziz. "The Significance of Religion in Hamlet." *Journal of English and Literature*, vol. 3, no. 6, Oct. 2012, pp. 132–135.
- Al-Shetawi, Mahmoud F. "Hamlet in Arabic." *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1999.

## English Bibliography

- al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Rifā‘ah. *talkhīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz*. Ṭ1, Mu’assasat Hindāwī lil-ta‘līm wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2010. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/46205086/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 31 Māyū 2021.
- al-Ṭayyib, Muḥammad, wa-ḥanīn, Rushdī, wmnisy, Maḥmūd. *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn aḥdāth ṣana‘at al-tārīkh*. Ṭ1, Dār al-Da‘wah lil-Nashr wa-al-Ṭab‘ wa-al-Tawzī‘, 1994, Ṣ Ṣ. 75 – 97. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.noor-book.com/كتاب-الإخوان-المسلمين-أحداث-صنعت-التاريخ-pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Fabrāyir 2019.
- al-Zayn, Ḥasan. *al-Rabī‘ al-‘Arabī: ākhir ‘amalīyāt al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ al-kabīr*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār al-Qalam al-jadīd, 2013. mstrj‘ min: <https://books4arab.me/-كتاب-الربيع-العربي-> تحميل-كتاب-الربيع-العربي-آخر-عمليات-ال. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 23 Māyū 2022.
- al-Zayyāt, ḥbyr. *al-mar‘ah fī al-Jāhilīyah*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu’assasat Hindāwī lil-ta‘līm wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2012.
- Asad, Talal. “The Idea of the Anthropology of Islam.” *The Center for Contemporary Arab Studies*, 1986, <http://mapage.noos.fr/masdar/Talal%20Asad-Antropology%20of%20Islam.pdf> . Accessed 14 December 2016.
- Asad, Talal. *Formations of the Secular*. 1st ed., Stanford University Press, 2010.
- Asad, Talal. *On Suicide Bombing*. Columbia University Press, 2007, <https://voidnetwork.gr/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/On-Suicide-Bombing-Talal-Asad.pdf> , Accessed 19 June 2022.
- ‘Awaḍ, Luwīs. *Thawrat al-Fikr fī ‘aṣr al-Naḥḍah al-Ūrūbbīyah*. Ṭ1, 1987, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Markaz al-Ahrām lil-Tarjamah wa-al-Nashr, Ṣ Ṣ. 73 – 105. mstrj‘ min: <https://foulabook.com/ar/book/عصر-النهضة-الأوروبية-pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 14 Māyū 2022.
- ‘Awaḍ, Ramsīs. *Shiksbīr fī Miṣr*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Hay‘ah al-‘Āmmah al-Miṣrīyah lil-Kitāb, 1986. mstrj‘ min: [https://www.dopdfwn.com/cacnretra/scgdfnya/shksber-fy-msr-awd-ar\\_PTIFFF.pdf](https://www.dopdfwn.com/cacnretra/scgdfnya/shksber-fy-msr-awd-ar_PTIFFF.pdf). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 7 Mārs 2020.

## English Bibliography

- ‘Āyish, ‘Abd al-Fattāh. *Mu‘jam al-Udabā’ min al-‘aṣr al-Jāhilī ḥattā sanat 2002*. j4, ʾ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīyah, 2003. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=7ys-CwAAQBAJ&pg=PT9&lpg=PT9&dq=عبدالقادر+القط+ترجمه+ريتشارد+الثالث&source=bl&ots=bhlsqmJCrA&sig=ACfU3U0U9oq2kKJVsr-47jun1aQaD0AnLw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjf3ZXL74TjAhUzoXEKHXQfDZYQ6AEwAXoECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=عبدالقادر%20القط%20ترجمه%20ريتشارد%20الثالث&f=false>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘ 17 Yanāyir 2017.
- Badrān, Shibl. *al-Tarbiyah al-madanīyah: al-Ta‘līm wa-al-muwāṭṭanah wa-ḥuqūq al-insān*. taqdīm: Ḥāmid ‘Ammār, ʾ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Dār al-Miṣrīyah al-Lubnānīyah, 2009, mstrj‘ min: <https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/UJqsDQAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 28 Mārs 2022.
- Bakīr, Amīn. "Wilyam Shiksbīr: masraḥih kull al-Dunyā". *Majallat al-Fayṣal*, ‘A. 204, Nūfimbir / Dīsimbir 1993, mstrj‘ min: [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=doNcDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=doNcDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 29 Sibtambr 2021.
- Ba‘ī, Ḥifnāwī. *al-tarjamah al-adabīyah: ālkḥṭāb al-Muhājir wmkhāṭbh al-ākhar*. tarjamat: ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Qitt, Dār al-Yāzūrī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘, 2018.
- Barber, Cesar Lombardi. *Shakespeare’s Festive Comedy*. Princeton University Press, 1959.
- Barbour, Nevill. "The Arabic Theatre in Egypt." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 8, no. 4, 1937, p. 991, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/stable/pdf/608109.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A17252ed1280fe0c0eb4d56e00828b8da> .
- Bwlāt, ‘Ā’ishah. *muqāranah bayna aṭrwḥty Charles tāylr wṭlāl Asad ḥawla Ishkālīyat alt‘lmm*. tarjamat: Muḥammad Karīm. Markaz Namā’ lil-Buḥūth wa-al-Dirāsāt, D. t, Ṣ Ṣ. 2 – 22.

## English Bibliography

- Carlson, Marvin. *Theatre & Islam*. London: Macmillan Education, 2019.
- Charles. Lām, wmyry lārm. *qīṣaṣ min Shiksbīr*. tarjamat: Muḥammad Badrān, Aqlām ‘Arabīyah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī’, 2017.
- “Collaborations and Affiliated Projects.” *Global Shakespeares*,  
globalshakespeares.mit.edu/collaborations.
- Ḍayf, Shawqī. *Tārīkh al-adab al-‘Arabī*. j5, Manshūrāt dhawī al-Qurbá ‘an Ṭab‘ah Dār al-Ma‘ārif, Ṭ 1, 2021, ṭ2, 1427.
- De Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex*. Jonathan Cape, 1956,  
<https://newuniversityinexileconsortium.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Simone-de-Beauvoir-The-Second-Sex-Jonathan-Cape-1956.pdf> , Accessed 21 Mar. 2022.
- De Beauvoir, Simone, et al. *The Second Sex*. Vintage, 2011.
- El Ma’ani, Arap. “The First Arabic Translation of Machiavelli’s The Prince.” Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands, vol. 133, 2010, [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789042029637\\_011](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789042029637_011). Accessed 17 May 2022.
- Fawzī, Mu’ayyad. "ra’y fi naql tarjamat a’ māl Shiksbīr ilā al-‘Arabīyah". *Majallat al-Jasrah al-Thaqāfīyah*, ‘A. 6, Abrīl 2011. mstrj‘ min: <http://aljasra.org/archive/cms/?p=546>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 17 Uktūbir 2021.
- Fernie, Ewan. “Shakespeare and the Prospect of Presentism.” *Shakespeare Survey*, edited by Peter Holland, vol. 58, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 169–184.
- Gillies, John. “The Question of Original Sin in Hamlet.” *Jstor*, 2013. Available at:  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24778492>. Accessed 16 October 2021.
- Goody, Jack. *The Theft of History*. Cambridge University Press, 2017,  
[https://ia902706.us.archive.org/2/items/ost-history-jack\\_goody\\_theft\\_of\\_historybookfiorg/Jack\\_Goody\\_Theft\\_of\\_historyBookFi.org.pdf](https://ia902706.us.archive.org/2/items/ost-history-jack_goody_theft_of_historybookfiorg/Jack_Goody_Theft_of_historyBookFi.org.pdf),  
Accessed 9 Aug. 2017.

## English Bibliography

- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Hamlet in Purgatory*. Princeton University Press, 2001.
- GÜNENÇ, Mesut. "Ophelia and Gertrude: Victimized Women in Hamlet." *Journal of International Social Research*, vol. 41, no. 41, 2015, pp. 164–164,  
[http://www.sosyalarastirmalar.com/cilt8/sayi41\\_pdf/1dil\\_edebiyat/gunenc\\_mesut.pdf](http://www.sosyalarastirmalar.com/cilt8/sayi41_pdf/1dil_edebiyat/gunenc_mesut.pdf).  
Accessed 13 July 2018.
- Habib, Imtiaz. "'Never Doubt I Love': Misreading 'Hamlet' ." *Jstor*, vol. 21, no. 2, 2017,  
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/stable/pdf/25112101.pdf>. Accessed 13 July  
2018
- Hanna, Sameh F. "Hamlet Lives Happily Ever After in Arabic." *The Translator*, vol. 11, no. 2,  
2005, pp. 167–192,  
<http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/doi/pdf/10.1080/13556509.2005.10799197?needAccess=true>. Accessed 13 June 2019.
- Hennessey, Katherine, and Margaret Litvin, editors. "Arab Shakespeares." *Critical Survey/Berghahn Journals*, vol. 28, 2016.
- Holderness, Graham, and Brian Loughrey. "Arabesque: Shakespeare and Globalisation." *MIT Global Shakespeares*, 2016, <https://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/extra/arabesque>.  
Accessed 20 May 2019.
- Holderness, Graham, and Bryan Loughrey. "'Rudely Interrupted': Shakespeare and Terrorism." *Critical Survey*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2007.
- Holderness, Graham, and Margaret Litvin. "Search Results." *MIT Global Shakespeares*,  
[globalshakespeares.mit.edu/?s=al%2Bbassam](https://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/?s=al%2Bbassam). Accessed 1 July 2022.
- Holderness, Graham. "Arab Shakespeare." *MIT Global Shakespeares*, 2013,  
<https://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/extra/arab-shakespeare>. Accessed 20 May 2018.
- Holderness, Graham. "From Summit to Tragedy: Sulayman Al-Bassam's Richard III and Political Theatre." *MIT Global Shakespeares*, 2013,

## English Bibliography

<https://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/extra/from-summit-to-tragedy>. Accessed 20 May 2018.

Holderness, Graham. "Sulayman Al-Bassam's An Arab Tragedy: Introduction." *MIT Global Shakespeares*, 2013, <https://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/extra/an-arab-tragedy-intro/>.

Holderness, Graham. "The Speaker's Progress (Twelfth Night)." *MIT Global Shakespeares*, 2013, <https://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/the-speakers-progress-al-bassam-sulayman-2011/>. Accessed 20 May 2018.

Ismā'īl, Sayyid. "al-tafāṣīl al-majhūlah li-awwal Ma'had masraḥī fī Miṣr (20) ṭullāb Ma'had al-tamthīl bi-al-furqah al-Qawmīyah". *Jarīdat Masraḥunā*, al-Hay'ah al-Āmmah li-Quṣūr al-Thaqāfah, 29 Yūniyū 2020. mstrj' min:

<https://www.gocp.gov.eg/masr7na/articles.aspx?ArticleID=53063>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 21 Mārs 2022.

Ismā'īl, Sayyid. "al-tafāṣīl al-majhūlah li-awwal Ma'had masraḥī fī Miṣr (23) al-ṭālib 'Abbās Yūnus yaktubu min Landan". *Jarīdat Masraḥunā*, al-Hay'ah al-Āmmah li-Quṣūr al-Thaqāfah, 20 Yūliyū 2020. mstrj' min: <https://www.gocp.gov.eg/Masr7na/articles.aspx?ArticleID=53115>.

Tārīkh alāstrjā': 21 Mārs 2022.

Ismā'īl, Sayyid. *qirā'ah fī Tārīkh al-masraḥ al-Kuwaytī min khilāl wathā'iq ghayr manshūrah 1961 – 1971*. Ṭ1, Markaz al-Buḥūth wa-al-Dirāsāt al-Kuwaytīyah, 2015.

Ismā'īl, Sayyid. *Tārīkh al-masraḥ fī al- 'ālam al- 'Arabī: al-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah, 1999. mstrj' min:

<https://www.hindawi.org/books/58285828/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Uktūbir 2021.

'Iṣmat, Riyāḍ. *ḥadāthat wa-aṣālat*. Dār al-Fikr, 2013.

Jabartī, 'Abd Al-Raḥmān, and Jane Hathaway. *Al-Jabarti's History of Egypt*. Markus Wiener Publishers, 2009.



## English Bibliography

- Kahle, Paul. "The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, vol. 72, no. 1, 1940, pp. 21–34,  
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/stable/pdf/25221591.pdf>. Accessed 1 July 2018.
- Litvin, Margaret. "Critical Survey Volume 19 Issue 3: Arab Shakespeare. Guest Editor: Margaret Litvin (2007)." *Berghahn Journals*, 2007.
- Litvin, Margaret. "Richard III: An Arab Tragedy (Review)." *Shakespeare Bulletin*, 2007, pp. 85–91,  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/26347623.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A25ce11d3f660bd830587549558fa163b>. Accessed 20 July 2018.
- Litvin, Margaret. "The French Source of the Earliest Surviving Arabic Hamlet." *Shakespeare Studies*, vol. 39, 2011,  
<http://www.trincoll.edu/academics/centers/tiis/documents/litvin.pdf>. Accessed 13 Mar. 2019.
- Litvin, Margaret. "Twelfth Night in Damascus." *Margaret Litvin*, 2010,  
[margaretlitvin.com/2010/05/](http://margaretlitvin.com/2010/05/). Accessed May 2021.
- Litvin, Margaret. *Hamlet's Arab Journey: Shakespeare's Prince and Nasser's Ghost*. Princeton University Press., 2011.
- Litvin, Margaret. *Riḥlat Hāmlit al-'Arabīyah: Amīr Shiksbīr wshbḥ Abdelnasser*. tarjamat: Suhā al-Sibā'ī, Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Markaz al-Qawmī lil-Tarjamah bi-al-Qāhirah, 2006, Ṣ Ṣ. 40 – 54. mstrj' min: <https://www.dopdfwn.com/cacnretra/scgdfnya/pdf-books-org-5N9N6.pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 8 Yūniyū 2021.
- Machiavelli, Niccolò. *The Prince*. Edited by Peter Bondanella, Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Machiavelli, Niccolò. *The Prince*. Vintage, 2008.

## English Bibliography

- Mansfield, Harvey C. *Machiavelli's Virtue*. pp.6-54, University of Chicago Press, 1998,  
[https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Machiavelli\\_s\\_Virtue/Q4EULB2IM50C?hl=en&gbpv=0](https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Machiavelli_s_Virtue/Q4EULB2IM50C?hl=en&gbpv=0). Accessed 8 Jan. 2022.
- Manşūr, Ashraf. "Nazarīyat Hābirmās fī al-majāl al-‘āmm". *Kitāb Awrāq falsafīyah ghayr al-Dūrī*, ‘A. 7, 2002, Ş Ş. 251 – 264. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://search.mandumah.com/Record/625503>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 28 Māyū 2021.
- McDonald, Russ. “‘Richard III’ and the Tropes of Treachery.” *Scholarly Journal*, 1989,  
<https://www.proquest.com/docview/1290888823/citation/E9E9C1DC6F9F4DC9PQ/7?accountid=11149&forcedol=true>.
- Muḥabbak, Aḥmad. "al-Tanāşş ma‘a Hāmlit Shiksbūr fī masraḥīyah Hāmlit yastayqīza muta‘akhhīran". *Majallat al-Mawqif al-Adabī*, 2016, Ş Ş. 17 – 32. mstrj‘ min:  
<http://www.awu.sy/PublicFiles/pdf/mawkif/mawkif537.pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 12 Nūfimbir 2017.
- Najemy, John M. *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli*. Cambridge University Press, 2010, [https://www-cambridge-org.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/7358D39304C00AD94AB08EC446992467/9780511780691c01\\_p14-30\\_CBO.pdf/niccolo\\_machiavelli\\_a\\_portrait.pdf](https://www-cambridge-org.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/7358D39304C00AD94AB08EC446992467/9780511780691c01_p14-30_CBO.pdf/niccolo_machiavelli_a_portrait.pdf). Accessed 30 July 2017.
- O’ Riordan, Rachel. “Religion, Language and Performance in Hamlet.” *Studies in Theatre and Performance*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2004, pp. 77–93.
- Ried, D., and M. W. Daly. “The Urabi Revolution and the British Conquest, 1879-1882.” *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 217–238, [https://www-cambridge-org.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/BD8A4DFB05CC2C5695074E1A9B44524F/9781139053341c9\\_p217-238\\_CBO.pdf/urabi\\_revolution\\_and\\_the\\_british\\_conquest\\_18791882.pdf](https://www-cambridge-org.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/BD8A4DFB05CC2C5695074E1A9B44524F/9781139053341c9_p217-238_CBO.pdf/urabi_revolution_and_the_british_conquest_18791882.pdf). Accessed 9 July 2017.

## English Bibliography

- Sa‘d, Fārūq. *Khayyāl al-ẓill al-‘Arabī*. Sharikat al-Maṭbū‘āt lil-Tawzī‘ wa-al-Nashr, 1993.
- Sādjrwf, Fīlīb. *al-masraḥ al-Miṣrī fī al-qarn al-tāsi‘ ‘ashar (1799 – 1882)*. tarjamat: Amīn al-‘Ayyūtī, taqḍīm wa-ta‘līq: Sayyid ‘Alī Ismā‘īl, al-Markaz al-Qawmī lil-Masraḥ wa-al-Funūn al-sha‘bīyah, 1996.
- Sanders, Julie. *Adaptation and Appropriation*. 2nd ed., Routledge, 2016.
- Sārjrwf, Fīlīb. *al-masraḥ al-Miṣrī fī al-qarn al-tāsi‘ ‘ashar (1799 – 1882)*. al-Markaz al-Qawmī lil-Tarjamah bi-al-Qāhirah, 1996.
- Shakespeare, William, and Stanley W. Wells. *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*. Edited by William Shakespeare and Roger Warren, Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Shakespeare, William. *Hamlet: The Oxford Shakespeare*. Edited by G. R. Hibbard, 1st ed., Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Shakespeare, William. *King Richard III*. Edited by Janis Lull, 2nd ed., Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Shakespeare, William. *The Tragedy of King Richard III: The Oxford Shakespeare*. Edited by John Jowett, Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Sharaf, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. "Aḥmad ‘Alī Bākathīr wa-al-masraḥ al-shi‘rī fī al-adab al-ḥadīth". *Majallat al-Fayṣal*, ‘A. 30, 1979, Ṣ Ṣ. 72 – 77. mstrj‘ min: [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/\\_/\\_-DdWDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PT73&dq=ممسرح+في+مشكبير+عشرة+لشكبير+الثانية+عشرة](https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/_/_-DdWDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PT73&dq=ممسرح+في+مشكبير+عشرة+لشكبير+الثانية+عشرة) صر. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 29 Yanāyir 2021.
- Shiksbīr, Wilyam. *al-laylah al-thānīyah ‘ashar aw mā tshā’*. tarjamat: Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār al-Ma’mūn lil-Tarjamah wa-al-Nashr, 1989, Ṣ Ṣ. 9 – 11. mstrj‘ min: [https://archive.org/details/20200130\\_20200130\\_1352/page/n3/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/20200130_20200130_1352/page/n3/mode/2up). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 29 Mārs 2021.

## English Bibliography

- Shiksbīr, Wilyam. *al-Malik Rītshārd al-Thānī*. tarjamat wa-taqdīm: Muḥammad ‘Inānī, Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Hay’ah al-Miṣrīyah al-‘Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1998. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://www.noor-book.com/كتاب-ريتشارد-الثاني-شكسبير-ترجمه-عناي/pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 11 Yūliyū 2021.
- Shiksbīr, Wilyam. *Hāmlit*. tarjamat: Ṭānyūs ‘Abduh, al-Majlis al-A‘lá lil-Thaqāfah bi-al-Qāhirah, 2005.
- Shiksbīr, Wilyam. *Rītshārd al-thālith: masraḥīyah fī khamsat fuṣūl*. tarjamat: ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Qitt, Kitāb iliktrūnī, 1990. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=2f8dDgAAQBAJ&hl=en>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 17 Yanāyir 2019.
- Shubbar, Ṣalāḥ. *al-thawrah al-sha‘bīyah wa-thawrāt al-Rabī‘ al-‘Arabī*. Kitāb iliktrūnī. Dār Rawāfid, 2014. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.noor-book.com/كتاب-ثورات-الربيع-العربي/pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 23 Māyū 2022.
- Shukrī, Ghālī. *Mudhakkirāt Thaqāfat taḥṭadīr*. Ṭ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār al-Ṭalī‘ah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘, 1970. mstrj‘ min:  
[https://ia801905.us.archive.org/21/items/modhakerat\\_thaqafa\\_tahtadher/modhakerat\\_thaqafa\\_tahtadher.pdf](https://ia801905.us.archive.org/21/items/modhakerat_thaqafa_tahtadher/modhakerat_thaqafa_tahtadher.pdf). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 4 Yūniyū 2022.
- Sīdū, Amīn. "al-Zawāhir albyblywjrāfyh wa-ishkālīyātuhā fī tarjamat al-Masraḥīyāt al-ajrabīyah". *Majallat al-Fayṣal*, ‘A. 322, 2003, Ṣ Ṣ. 56 – 61. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=NU9iDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT60&lpg=PT60&dq=ترجمه+املت&source=bl&ots=yWC6USEj92&sig=ACfU3U1ioa-املت&f=false>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 8 Māyū 2021.
- Tājir, Jāk. *Ḥarakat al-tarjamah bi-Miṣr khilāl al-qarn al-tāsi‘ ‘ashar*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu’assasat Hindāwī lil-ta‘līm wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2014, Ṣ Ṣ. 53 – 57. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://www.hindawi.org/books/31613630/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 26 Māyū 2022.

## English Bibliography

Taylor, Charles. *A Secular Age*. 1st ed., The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.

Yāghī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. *fī al-Juhūd al-‘Arabīyah al-masraḥīyah: min Mārūn al-Naqqāsh ilā Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm*. Dār al-Fārābī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī‘, 1999.

Yāghī, Ismā‘īl. *Tārīkh al-‘ālam al-‘Arabī al-mu‘āṣir*. Maktabat al-‘Ubaykān, 2011.

Zaytūnat, Laṭīf. "tarjamat al-masraḥīyah ilā al-‘Arabīyah fī ‘aṣr al-Naḥḍah". *Majallat al-Fayṣal*,

‘A. 136, Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal lil-Buḥūth wa-al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmīyah, 1988, Ṣ Ṣ. 28 –

32. mstrj‘ min:

[https://www.google.com.qa/books/edition/مجلّة\\_الفیصل/mT1ZDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=ترجمة+المسرحية+إلى+العربية+في+عصر+النهضة+زيتونة&pg=PT3&printsec=frontcove](https://www.google.com.qa/books/edition/مجلّة_الفیصل/mT1ZDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=ترجمة+المسرحية+إلى+العربية+في+عصر+النهضة+زيتونة&pg=PT3&printsec=frontcove).

Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 30 Mārs 2022.

### Secondary Sources (Books and Journals)

Abū Ḥasan. "al-shi‘r wa-al-ma’sāh fī masraḥ Mamdūḥ ‘Adwān .. al-kitābah ‘an al-

muhammashīn fī al-ḥayāh". *Majallat ṣuḥufī*, 10 Mārs 2006. mstrj‘ min:

<http://www.sahafi.jo/arc/art1.php?id=f4041461fb43b10a052f57ed9ec4f1daa179baba>.

Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 3 Abrīl 2018.

Āl ‘Alī, Nūr al-Dīn. *al-Imām al-Ṣādiq kamā ‘Arafah ‘ulamā’ al-Gharb*, Ṭ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Dār

al-Dhakhā’ir lil-Maṭbū‘āt, 1988. mstrj‘ min:

<https://www.aqaed.com/ahlulbait/books/askeugh/indexs.htm>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 31 Mārs 2019.

al-‘Aqqād, ‘Abbās. *al-ta’rīf bshksbyr*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu’assasat Hindāwī lil-ta’līm wa-al-

Thaqāfah, 2014. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/80382405/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘:

15 Māyū 2018.

al-Fāḍilī, Dāwūd. *uṣūl al-Masīḥīyah kamā yuṣawwiruhā al-Qur’ān al-Karīm*. Ṭ1, Maktabat al-

Ma‘ārif, 1986.

## English Bibliography

- ‘Alī, Hānī. "Fann al-Maqāmāt .. min Funūn al-adab al-‘Arabī al-mansīyah". *Mawqī‘ arāyjy*, 24 Yūniyū 2015. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.arageek.com/art/2015/06/24/maqama-forgotten-arabic-art.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 10 Mārs 2018.
- al-Khamīsī, Aḥmad. "al-Ta‘rīb .. Khuṭwatān lil-Imām". *swdānyz Ūn lāyin*, 21 Yanāyir 2016. mstrj‘ min: <http://sudaneseonline.com/board/7/msg/-أحمد-بـقلم-د-أحمد-خطوتان-للإمام-بـقلم-د-أحمد-الخميسي-1453388562.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 10 Mārs 2018.
- Allen, Roger. *An Introduction to Arabic Literature*. Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Allen, Roger. *The Arabic Literary Heritage*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- al-Naqqāsh, Mārūn. *Arzat Lubnān*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Maṭba‘ah al-‘Umūmiyah, 1869. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.noor-book.com/أرزة-لبنان-كتاب-pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 1 Aghuṣṭus 2021.
- Arkūn, Muḥammad. *al-Fikr al-uṣūlī wa-istiḥālat al-ta‘ṣīl*. Dār al-Sāqī, 2011.
- Arslan, Savaş. "Turkish Hamlets." *Shakespeare*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2008, pp. 157–168.
- Balakian, Anna. "Theorizing Comparison: The Pyramid of Similitude and Difference." *World Literature Today*, vol. 69, no. 2, 1995, p. 263.
- Baldwin, David A. "The Concept of Security." *Review of International Studies*, vol. 23, 1997, pp. 5–26, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20097464>. Accessed 26 March 2017.
- Banham, Martin. *The Cambridge Guide to Theatre*. Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Basu, Sammy. "In a Crazy Time come out well: Machiraelli and the Cosmology of his Day." *History of Political Thought*, 2019, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26213857>. Accessed 26 May 2021.
- Berkey, Jonathan. *The Formation of Islam*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Bevington, David. "The Play’s the Thing: Ideological Contexts of Hamlet in 1599–1601." *Murder Most Foul: Hamlet Through the Ages*, Oxford University Press Scholarship Online, Oxford, 2011, pp. 1–29 & 15, <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/97801>

## English Bibliography

99599103.001.0001/acprof-9780199599103-chapter-4?print=pdf. Accessed 28 Mar. 2018.

Calhoun, Craig, editor. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. MIT Press, 1992, [https://courses.ischool.berkeley.edu/i218/s15/calhoun\\_BPSIntroduction.pdf](https://courses.ischool.berkeley.edu/i218/s15/calhoun_BPSIntroduction.pdf). Accessed 23 May 2021.

Campbell, Kenneth L. *Western Civilization in Global Context: Prehistory to the Enlightenment. Sources and Documents*. Bloomsbury, 2015.

Capellanus, Andreas. *The Art of Courtly Love*. Columbia University Press, 1960, <https://sirmykel.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/the-art-of-courtly-love-andreas-cappellanus.pdf>. Accessed 11 Apr. 2018.

Castiglione, Dario. "Republicanism and Its Legacy." *European Journal of Political Theory*, vol. 4, no. 4, 2005, pp. 453–465, <http://socialsciences.exeter.ac.uk/politics/research/readingroom/CastiglioneRepublicanism.pdf>. Accessed 20 Apr. 2018.

Choksy, Carol E. B., and Jamsheed K. Choksy. "THE SAUDI CONNECTION: Wahhabism and Global Jihad." *World Affairs*, vol. 178, no. 1, 2015, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43555279>. Accessed 20 Apr. 2021.

Dhareshwar, Vivek. "Marx, Foucault, and the Secularization of Western Culture." *Rethinking Marxism*, vol. 28, no. 3–4, 2016, pp. 354–366, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08935696.2016.1243421>. Accessed 20 May 2017.

Donaldson, Peter. "Olivier, Hamlet, and Freud." *Cinema Journal*, vol. 26, no. 4, 1987, p. 22, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/stable/pdf/1225188.pdf?refreqid=excelsior:a8c7280dbb7b67a9a25a7be5f561df39>. Accessed 15 July 2017.

Eller, Jack David. *Cultural Anthropology: Global Forces, Local Lives*. 2nd ed., Taylor & Francis, 2012.

## English Bibliography

- Foghel, Bianca. "Patterns and Representations of Shakespearean Love: Hubris, Infatuation, Agape in Hamlet." *Gender Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2012, pp. 38–50,  
<https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/j/genst.2012.11.issue-1/v10320-012-0027-4/v10320-012-0027-4.pdf>. Accessed 15 July 2017.
- Freud, Sigmund, et al. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. 1st ed., Vintage, 2001.
- Gascoigne, John. "The Religious Thought of Francis Bacon." *Religion and Retributive Logic*, pp. 202–223,  
[https://brill.com/display/book/edcoll/9789047441151/Bej.9789004178809.iv-375\\_015.xml](https://brill.com/display/book/edcoll/9789047441151/Bej.9789004178809.iv-375_015.xml). Accessed 25 July 2017.
- Gerges, Fawaz A. *The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Godelek, Kamuran. "Rousseau As a Philosopher of Enlightenment and The Equality Of Sophie and Émile Regarding Education." *The European Journal of Social & Behavioural Sciences*, vol. 3, no. 3, 2012, pp. 435–450,  
[http://www.futureacademy.org.uk/files/menu\\_items/other/ejsbs28.pdf](http://www.futureacademy.org.uk/files/menu_items/other/ejsbs28.pdf). Accessed 20 July 2017.
- Gottheil, Richard. "Mohammed 'Abdu, Late Mufti of Egypt." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 28, 1907, p. 189,  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/592771.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A2e32cfb055f42099d9a91fa741c89e4e>. Accessed 10 July 2017.
- Habib, Rafey. *A History of Literary Criticism and Theory*. Blackwell Publ., 2009.
- Haigh, Christopher. *English Reformations*. Clarendon Press, 2012.



## English Bibliography

- Ḥannā, Sāmiḥ. "al-tārīkh al-ijtimā'ī lil-Tarjamah fī Miṣr-al-qism al-Awwal min qismayn".  
*Majallat Dīwān al-'Arab*. 21 Mārs 2006. mstrj' min:  
<http://www.diwanalarab.com/spip.php?article3788>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 1 Yūniyū 2017.
- Ḥannā, Sāmiḥ. "Tarjamāt ma'āsī Shiksbīr al-Kubrā fī Miṣr". *Ṣaḥīfat al-mustaqbal*, 2004. mstrj'  
min: <http://almustaqbal.com/article/69484/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Yanāyir 2018.
- Harrās, Muḥammad. *al-Ḥarakah al-Wahhābīyah: radd 'alā maqāl al-Duktūr Muḥammad al-Bahī fī Naqd al-Wahhābīyah*. Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 2007.
- Hazlitt, William. *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*. 1st ed., Dodo Press, 1817.
- Howard, Jean E. "Crossdressing, The Theatre, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England."  
*Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 4, 1988, p. 418, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/176000>.
- Huang, Rebecca Yanxia. "Nahum Tate's Adaptation of Shakespeare's King Lear: Political, Social, and Aesthetic Considerations." 1997,  
[https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10092/12324/Huang\\_thesis.pdf?sequence=1](https://ir.canterbury.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10092/12324/Huang_thesis.pdf?sequence=1).  
Accessed 18 Oct. 2021.
- Hubbard, Ben. *MBS: The Rise to Power of Mohammed Bin Salman*. William Collins, 2021.
- Huelin, S. "Reading, Writing, and Memory in 'Hamlet' ." *Religion & Literature*, 2005, pp. 25–44, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/stable/pdf/40059975.pdf>. Accessed 24 February 2017.
- Hussain, Ali J. "The Mourning of History and the History of Mourning: The Evolution of Ritual Commemoration of the Battle of Karbala." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2005, pp. 78–88.
- Hussain, Nazir. "The Israel-Lebanon War and Its Implications for Regional Security." *Policy Perspectives*, 2007, pp. 17–32, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/42909160.pdf>. Accessed 19 Oct 2020.

## English Bibliography

- Ibrāhīm, Mufidah. *al-mar'ah al-'Arabīyah wa-al-fikr al-ḥadīth*. Dār Majdalāwī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 2000.
- Ishāq, Rāfā'īl. *Tārīkh Naṣārā al-'Irāq mundhu intishār al-Naṣrānīyah fī al-aqtār al-'Irāqīyah ilā ayyāminā*. 1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, Maṭba'at al-Manṣūr, 1948, Ṣ Ṣ. 120 – 144. mstrj' min: <https://www.noor-book.com/-الى-العراقية-في-الأقطار-العراقية-منذ-انتشار-النصرانية-في-الأقطار-العراقية-الى-أيامنا>.pdf. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 12 Yūliyū 2021.
- Ismā'īl, Sayyid. *masīrat al-masrah fī Miṣr 1900 – 1935: fīraq al-masrah al-ghinā'ī*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah, 2018, Ṣ Ṣ. 11-63. mstrj' min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/80285963/0.3/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 30 Mārs 2022.
- Ispahani, Farahnaz. "Women and Islamist Extremism: Gender Rights Under the Shadow of Jihad." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2016, pp. 101–104, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15570274.2016.1184445>. Accessed 4 March 2017.
- Kedourie, Elie. *Arabic Political Memories and Other Studies*. Frank Cass.
- Kressel, Gideon. "Shame and Gender." *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 65, no. 1, <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/stable/pdf/3318096.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ac8e99882334f7ccf0eea2a70431ce0ef>. Accessed 11 August 2017.
- Labelle, Maurice Jr. "De-Coca-Colonizing Egypt: Globalization, Decolonization, and the Egyptian Boycott of Coca-Cola, 1966–68." *Journal of Global History*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2014, pp. 122–142.
- Langohr, Vickie. "Colonial Education Systems and the Spread of Local Religious Movements: The Cases of British Egypt and Punjab." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 47, no. 1, 2005, pp. 161–189, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417505000071>. Accessed 18 July 2018.

## English Bibliography

- Li, Xiangdong. "Putting Interpreting Strategies in Their Place: Justifications for Teaching Strategies in Interpreter Training." *Babel. Revue Internationale de La Traduction / International Journal of Translation*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2015, pp. 170–192, <https://doi.org/10.1075/babel.61.2.02li>. Accessed 20 Apr. 2021.
- Macmillan, Alexandre. "Michel Foucault's Techniques of the Self and the Christian Politics of Obedience." *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 28, no. 4, 2011, pp. 3–25, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.901.2596&rep=rep1&type=pdf>. Accessed 5 April 2018.
- Marotti, Arthur. "Shakespeare and Religion: Early Modern and Postmodern Perspectives." *Choice Reviews Online*, Edited by Ken Jackson, vol. 49, no. 04, 2011, pp. 49–1855.
- Martin, Jose Manuel, editor. *Summaries of Catholic Teaching*. Opus Dei Information Office, 2017, <https://opusdei.org/en/article/ebook-summaries-of-catholic-teaching/>. Accessed 10 April 2018.
- Matei, Anca-Beatrice. "The Meaning of Silence: The Silence of the Oppressed in Many Angelou's I Know Why the Cages Bird Sings, and Zora Neale Hurston's Their Eyes Were Watching God and Jonah's Gourd Vine." *Linguaculture*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2013, pp. 59–78.
- Matsumoto-Best, Saho. "British and Italian Imperial Rivalry in the Mediterranean, 1912–14: The Case of Egypt." *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 18, no. 2, 2007, pp. 297–314.
- McCoy, Richard C. "'Look upon Me, Sir': Relationships in King Lear." *Representations*, vol. 81, no. 1, 2003, pp. 46–60.
- McNally, Robert E. "The Ninety-Five Theses of Martin Luther: 1517–1967." *Theological Studies*, vol. 28, no. 3, 1967, pp. 439–480.

## English Bibliography

- Mu'assasat Hindāwī. *kutub wa-mu'allafāt 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jabartī*. Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta'lim wa-al-Thaqāfah. mstrj' min: <https://www.hindawi.org/contributors/28182839/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Sibtambr 2021.
- Nāfi'ah, Ḥasan, wbwzwr, klyfwr. *Turāth al-Islām*. tarjamat: Ḥusayn Mu'nis w'ḥsān Ṣidqī, murāja'at: Fu'ād Zakarīyā. J 2, 'Ālam al-Ma'rifah bi-al-Kuwayt, 1978.
- Parel, A. J. "The Question of Machiavelli's Modernity." *The Review of Politics*, vol. 53, no. 2, 1991, pp. 320–339, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1407757>. Accessed 11 July 2017.
- Parker, G. F., and Samuel Johnson. *Johnson's Shakespeare*. 1st ed., Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Regnier, Tom. "The Law in Hamlet: Death, Property, and the Pursuit of Justice." *Brief Chronicles*, vol. 3, 2011, pp. 125–127.
- Ribner, Irving. "Marlowe and Machiavelli." *Comparative Literature*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1954, p. 348, [https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1768203.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A02c73a299258a7137f4c47a00324319b&ab\\_segments=&origin=&acceptTC=1](https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1768203.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A02c73a299258a7137f4c47a00324319b&ab_segments=&origin=&acceptTC=1). Accessed 2 March 2022.
- Richmond, Hugh M. "'Richard III' and the Reformation." *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. 83, no. 4, Oct. 1984, pp. 509–521, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27709395>. Accessed 2 March 2022.
- Ro'i, Ya'akov. *Encroachment to Involvement: A Documentary Study of Soviet Policy in the Middle East, 1945-1973*. 1st ed., Transaction Books, 1974.
- Ṣaḥīfat al-Khalīj. "Maḥfūz Ghazāl: u'iddat kitābat "Rīshārd al-thālith" min jadīd". *Mawqi' Ṣaḥīfat al-Khalīj*, 15 Yanāyir 2014. mstrj' min: <http://www.alkhaleej.ae/alkhaleej/page/33ba6e96-99ba-40af-87d2-8a3b4418d4fe>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Uktūbr 2019.
- Salter, W. "Nietzsche's Superman." *Journal of Philosophy, Inc.*, vol. 12, no. 16, pp. 421–438, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2013575.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A520c882ffd9fd43aba19e78d346905b5>. Accessed 5 January 2019.

## English Bibliography

- Starkey, Paul. *Modern Arabic Literature*. Edinburgh University Press, 2006.
- Strathern, Paul. *The Medici: Godfather of the Renaissance*. Vintage, 2007.
- Tarlton, Charles D. "Political Desire and the Idea of Murder in Machiavelli's The Prince." *Philosophy*, vol. 77, no. 1, 2002, pp. 39–66,  
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/stable/pdf/3752194.pdf?refreqid=excelsior:91fe4acf1bd701ac68d39af705db7a73>. Accessed 11 July 2017.
- Toorawa, Shawkat M. "A Translation of Sahrah Ma'a Abi Khalil al-Qabbani by Sa'dallah Wannus." *Arabic & Middle Eastern Literature*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2000, pp. 19–49.
- Torgler, Benno, and Christoph Schaltegger. "Suicide and Religion: New Evidence on the Differences Between Protestantism and Catholicism." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 53, no. 2, 2014, pp. 316–340, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24644267>. Accessed 11 July 2018.
- Van Tassel, Daniel E. "Clarence, Claudio, and Hamlet: 'The Dread of Something After Death.'" *Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 19, no. 1, 1983, pp. 48–62,  
<https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/renref/article/view/12361>. Accessed 11 July 2018.
- Weaver, David H. "What Voters Learn from Media." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 546, no. 1, 1996, pp. 34–47.
- "What Are the Seven Deadly Sins?" *Bibleinfo*, 2019, [www.bibleinfo.com/en/questions/what-are-seven-deadly-sins](http://www.bibleinfo.com/en/questions/what-are-seven-deadly-sins). Accessed 9 February 2022.
- Wynne-Davies, Marion. "Ophelia's Ghost." *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses*, no. 25, 2012, p. 151, [https://rua.ua.es/dspace/bitstream/10045/27453/1/RAEI\\_25\\_12.pdf](https://rua.ua.es/dspace/bitstream/10045/27453/1/RAEI_25_12.pdf). Accessed 16 October 2021.
- Yāsīn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān wa-ākharūn. *al-taḥawwul al- 'āṣif-Siyāsat Īrān al-khārijīyah bayna 'ahdayn*. Maktabat Madbūlī, 2006.

## **English Bibliography**

Zrzār, U. "Hāmlit m'āšrnā .. al-ḥuzn yalīqu bi-Sūriyā". *Ṣaḥīfat al-akhbār*, 5 Māyū 2012. mstrj' min: [https://www.al-akhbar.com/Literature\\_Arts/69254](https://www.al-akhbar.com/Literature_Arts/69254). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 30 Mārs 2018.

## **Original Phone Interview**

Foster, Neal. "Twelfth Night in the United Arab Emirates and Syria." 2021.

## **Dictionaries**

English: *Oxford English Dictionary*, <https://www.oed.com>.

Arabic: *al-Ma'ānī*, <https://www.almaany.com/ar/>.

## **Original Email**

Kotoub, Waseem. 'Inquiry' (Received by Fatima Al-Abdulla), 28 Feb. 2016.

## **Online Sources**

Abāzyd, Nādir. "idhn mā huwa al-insān al-A'lá?". *Mawqi' Ma'ābir*. mstrj' min:

[http://www.maaber.org/issue\\_november03/lookout2.htm](http://www.maaber.org/issue_november03/lookout2.htm). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Fabrāyir 2019.

Abbey, R. "Charles Taylor." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, [www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-Taylor](http://www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-Taylor). Accessed 15 July 2017.

'Abd al-'Azīz, Muḥsin. "Imām al-Tanwīr: al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh". *Mawqi' bawwābat al-Ahrām*, 2 Yūniyū 2017. mstrj' min:

<https://gate.ahram.org.eg/daily/News/202283/1152/596976/ضيف-العدد/إمام-التنوير-الشيخ-محمد-عبد-عبد>.asp. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Mārs 2019.

'Abd al-Ilāh, Lu'ayy. "masraḥīyah Rītshārd al-thālith wa-mu'ālat al-wāqi' al-'Arabī: awwal 'amal yuqaddimu bi-al-'Arabīyah fawqa Khashabah masraḥ Shiksbīr al-Malakīyah

## English Bibliography

- yukharrijuhu Kuwaytī". *Mawqi' Ṣaḥīfat al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ*, 11 Fabrāyir 2007. mstrj' min: <http://acrchive.aawsat.com/details.asp?issueno=10261&article=405905#.WooQaa2carc>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 18 Fabrāyir 2018.
- ‘Abd al-Ilāh, Lu’ayy. "masraḥīyah Rītshārd al-thālith wa-mu‘ālat al-wāqi‘ al-‘Arabī: awwal ‘amal yuqaddimu bi-al-‘Arabīyah fawqa Khashabah masraḥ Shiksbīr al-Malakīyah yukharrijuhu Kuwaytī". *Mawqi' Ṣaḥīfat al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ*, 11 Fabrāyir 2007. mstrj' min: <https://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?article=405905&issueno=10302>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 18 Fabrāyir 2018.
- ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, Kamāl. "al-dīmūqrāṭīyah wāmthānāthā al-Jadīdah". *Mawqi' wa-ṣaḥīfat al-‘Arabī al-jadīd*, 22 Mārs 2017. mstrj' min: [www.alaraby.co.uk/opinion/2017/3/22/الديمقراطية-1](http://www.alaraby.co.uk/opinion/2017/3/22/الديمقراطية-1). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Mārs 2017.
- ‘Abd al-Maqṣūd, Muḥammad. "mā ba‘da al-insān .. makhraj yuḥākm al-basharīyah ‘alā al-Khashabah". *Mawqi' al-Imārāt al-yawm*, 22 Mārs 2018. mstrj' min: <https://www.emaratalyoum.com/life/culture/2018-03-22-1.1082494>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 15 Mārs 2019.
- ‘Abd al-Mun‘im, Ghādah. "Dār al-falak yastalhim al-Rabī‘ al-‘Arabī wyksr al-ṣamt ḍidda kbt al-Ḥurrīyāt". *Mawqi' Jarīdat al-waṭan al-Kuwaytīyah*, 9 Māyū 2012. mstrj' min: <http://alwatan.kuwait.tt/articledetails.aspx?id=193201&yearquarter=20122>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 12 Yūniyū 2021.
- ‘Abd al-Mun‘im, Rashā. "Shiksbīr mntqman yaḥṣudu al-Jā'izah al-Kubrā". *Mawqi' Ṣaḥīfat al-Bayān*, 17 Uktūbir 2015. mstrj' min: <https://www.albayan.ae/five-senses/mirrors/2015-10-17-1.2482779>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 14 Fabrāyir 2022.
- ‘Abd al-Rādī, ‘Imād. "Khayyāl al-zill". *Mawqi' bawwābat al-Ahrām*, 28 Mārs 2015. mstrj' min: <https://gate.ahram.org.eg/daily/News/101494/119/373840/الظل-خيال-وابداع-شعبية.aspx>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 11 Uktūbir 2021.





## English Bibliography

- Abū Ḥamdah, Bāsīl. "al-laylah al-thānīyah ‘ashrah .. Mu‘ālahajāt insānīyah ‘alā Janāḥ al-ḥubb". *Mawqī‘ al-Bayān*, 19 Abrīl 2011. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.albayan.ae/five-senses/culture/2011-04-19-1.1423347>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 27 Māyū 2021.
- Abū Shanab, ‘Ādil. "al-Ḥakawātī". *Mawqī‘ al-Mawsū‘ah al-‘Arabīyah*. mstrj‘ min: <http://arab-ency.com.sy/ency/details/4823/الحكواتي>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 11 Yūniyū 2021.
- Abū Shanab, ‘Ādil. "al-Ḥakawātī". *Mawqī‘ al-Mawsū‘ah al-‘Arabīyah*. mstrj‘ min: <https://arab-ency.com.sy/ency/details/4823/8/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%83%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%8A>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 11 Yūniyū 2021.
- ‘Ādil, Samāḥ. "Jūrj Abyaḍ .. min Rūwād al-masraḥ al-Trājīdī". *Mawqī‘ al-Hay‘ah al-‘Arabīyah lil-Masraḥ*, 2019. mstrj‘ min: <https://atitheatre.ae/التراجيدي>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 12 Abrīl 2022.
- ‘Ādil, Samāḥ. "Salāmah Ḥijāzī: Rā’id al-masraḥ al-ghinā’ī alladhī ghnnā fī al-Ūbirā". *Mawqī‘ Kitābāt*, 3 Yūniyū 2019. mstrj‘ min: <https://kitab.com/cultural/سلامة-حجازي-رائد-المسرح-الغنائي-الذي>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 29 Sibtambr 2021.
- ‘Adnānī, Ikrām. "alnswyh al-Islāmīyah: ‘awā’iq al-tajdīd al-fikrī wa-al-tahdīth al-mujtama’ī". *Mawqī‘ Mu’minūn bi-lā ḥudūd lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Abḥāth*. mstrj‘ min: <http://www.mominoun.com/articles/-النسوية-الإسلامية-عوائق-التجديد-الفكري-والتحديث-المجتمعي> 4009. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 13 Yūniyū 2017.
- Agafonov, Vladimir. *Chronology of Socotra*, [socotra.info/chronology-of-socotra.html](http://socotra.info/chronology-of-socotra.html). Accessed 5 Apr. 2018.
- Aḥmad, Muḥammad. "i‘ādat intāj alklāsykyāt ḍarūrah masraḥīyah". *Ṣaḥīfat al-Khalīj*, 2 Mārs 2015. mstrj‘ min: <http://www.alkhaleej.ae/supplements/page/7153d85a-1ab7-4f91-8b27-e4d130bc85ef>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 4 Fabrāyir 2018.
- al-‘Alawī, Ghādah. Shabaḥ l’lyā Abū Māḍī. *Mawqī‘ al-shi‘r*, 2009. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.alsh3r.com/poems/view/21526>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 16 Abrīl 2018.

## English Bibliography

- al-‘Alī, Aḥmad. "Shiksbīr .. yūṣal ṭullāb al-Ma‘had al-‘Ālī lil-Funūn al-masraḥīyah llāḥṭrāf".  
*Mawqi‘ Mudawwanat waṭan al-Sūrī*, Abrīl 2011. mstrj‘ min:  
<http://esyria.sy/sites/code/index.php?site=damascus&p=stories&category=arts&filename=201104101600021>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 10 Yūniyū 2021.
- al-Amānah al-‘Āmmah li-Majlis al-Ta‘āwun li-Duwal al-Khalīj al-‘Arabīyah. al-nizām al-asāsī.  
*Mawqi‘ Majlis al-Ta‘āwun li-Duwal al-Khalīj al-‘Arabīyah*. mstrj‘ min: <http://www.gcc-sg.org/ar-sa/AboutGCC/Pages/Primarylaw.aspx>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 10 Mārs 2017.
- al-‘Āmirī, Ibrāhīm. "Rītshārd al-thālith lltwnsy Ja‘far al-Qāsimī .. al-ṭughāh Ḥīna ṭṣn‘hm sh‘wbhm". *Mawqi‘ al-Jasrah al-Thaqāfī*, Nādī al-Jasrah al-Thaqāfī. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://aljasrah.net/aljasra119/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 27 Mārs 2019.
- al-‘Arab dūt Kūm. "liqā’ al-tajārib al-mashriqīyah wa-al-Maghribīyah fī Ayyām al-Shāriqah al-masraḥīyah". *Mawqi‘ Ṣaḥīfat al-‘Arab*, 2018. mstrj‘ min: <https://alarab.co.uk/-التجارب-لقاء-المسرحية>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 22 Yūniyū 2022.
- al-‘Arab dūt Kūm. "Tūnis wa-al-Kuwayt wa-al-Jazā’ir taḥṣudu Jawā’iz Ayyām Qartāj al-masraḥīyah". *Mawqi‘ Ṣaḥīfat al-‘Arab*, 14 Dīsimbir 2021. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://alarab.co.uk/تونس-والكويت-والجزائر-تحصد-جوائز-أيام-قرطاج-المسرحية>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Māyū 2022.
- al-‘Arabī dūt Kūm. "Raḥala al-Nahār .. yaḥṣudu Mu‘azzam Jawā’iz Ayyām al-Shāriqah al-masraḥīyah". *Mawqi‘ wa-ṣaḥīfat al-‘Arabī al-jadīd*, 2022. mstrj‘ min:  
[https://www.alaraby.co.uk/entertainment\\_media/%22رحل-النهار%22-يحصد-معظم-جوائز-أيام-الشارقة-المسرحية](https://www.alaraby.co.uk/entertainment_media/%22رحل-النهار%22-يحصد-معظم-جوائز-أيام-الشارقة-المسرحية). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 23 Yūniyū 2022.
- al-‘Awfī, ‘Awaḍ. *al-wilāyah fī al-nikāḥ*. Ṭ1, Kitāb iliktrūnī, al-Jāmi‘ah al-Islāmīyah, 2002, Ṣ Ṣ. 1 – 46. mstrj‘ min: <https://waqfeya.net/book.php?bid=2869>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 28 Yūniyū 2021.

## English Bibliography

- al-Badrī, Yūsuf. "al-ḥubb fi Allāh 'lāmāth wa-fadlihi wa-shurūṭuh". al-maṣdar: majmū'ah mawāqī' Midād. *Mawqī' ṭarīq al-Islām*, 21 Fabrāyir 2015. mstrj' min: <https://ar.islamway.net/article/45477/الحب-في-الله-علاماته-وفضله-وشروطه>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 12 Fabrāyir 2022.
- al-Bāshā, Arwā. "masraḥīyah al-laylah al-thānīyah 'ashar li-Shiksbīr tabda' 'arḍihā al-Awwal fi Dimashq wtbhr al-ḥudūr". *Mawqī' syryānywz*, 30 Mārs 2010. mstrj' min: <http://syria-news.info/var/articlem.php?id=8976>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Māyū 2021.
- al-Bawwābah al-qānūnīyah al-Qaṭarīyah. "al-Dustūr al-Dā'im li-Dawlat Qaṭar". *Mawqī' al-mīzān*, Wizārat al-'Adl al-Qaṭarīyah. mstrj' min: <http://www.almeezan.qa/LawPage.aspx?id=2284&language=ar>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 5 Aghuṣṭus 2017.
- al-Dawwī, 'Abd al-Nāṣir. "abbnh Ittiḥād al-Kitāb al-Miṣrīyīn .. rumūz ibdā'īyah Miṣrīyah: D. 'Abd-al-Qādir al-Qitt: Fāris min al-zaman al-nabīl". *Jarīdat al-Dustūr al-Urdunīyah*, 12 Aghuṣṭus 2002. mstrj' min: <https://www.addustour.com/articles/472424-أبنة-اتحاد-الكتاب--> &desktop=1. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Sibtambr 2018.
- al-Dīwān dūt Nit. "al-Mutanabbī". *Mawqī' al-Dīwān*. mstrj' min: <https://www.aldiwan.net/cat-poet-Mutanabi>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 22 Mārs 2022.
- al-Dustūr dūt Kūm. "al-mashrū' al-Qawmī lil-Tarjamah yaḥtafilu bi-al-Kitāb al-alf: Jābir 'Uṣfūr yanjaḥu fimā fashal fihi Ṭāhā Ḥusayn wa-Aḥmad Amīn". *Mawqī' Jarīdat al-Dustūr al-Urdunīyah*, 22 Nūfimbir 2005. Mstrj' min: <https://www.addustour.com/articles/463556-المشروع-القومي-للترجمة-يحتفل-بالكتاب-الألف-جابر-عصفور-ينجح-فيما-فشل-فيه-طه-حسين-وأحمد-أمين>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 30 Mārs 2022.
- aldynāry, Jihād. "5 Ashyā' iyjābyh trkhā al-iḥtilāl al-Barīṭānī li-Miṣr ahmhā Niqābat al-Ṣuḥufiyīn". *Mawqī' al-yawm al-sābi'*, 30 Mārs 2016. mstrj' min:

## English Bibliography

<https://www.youm7.com/story/2016/3/30/5--أهمها-المصر-البريطاني-الاحتلال-الإيجابية-تركها-الاحتلال-البريطاني-المصر-أهمها-2652858/> نقابة-الصحفيين. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Uktūbir 2021.

al-Ghazzī, Muḥammad. "masraḥīyah Shiksbūr Rītshārd al-thālith bnbrh twnsyyh". *Mawqī' al-Jasrah*, Nādī al-Jasrah al-Thaqāfī, 2014. mstrj' min:

<http://www.alhayat.com/article/585980/مسرحية-شكسبير-ريتشارد-الثالث-بنبرة-تونسية>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Sibtambr 2018.

al-Ḥaffār, Nabīl. "qrdāḥy Sulaymān". *Mawqī' al-Mawsū'ah al-'Arabīyah*. mstrj' min:

<http://arab-ency.com.sy/ency/details/9006/15>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 29 Māyū 2022.

al-Hay'ah al-Waṭanīyah lil-I'lām. "Muḥammad 'Inānī". *Mawqī' Māsbūrū*. mstrj' min:

<https://www.maspero.eg/wps/portal/home/treasures/guests/مروا%20من%20%20هنا/تفاصيل%20> 6/ع/المبدع/ff2992a-0789-4448-87bb-ceb675ad4bbb/. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 5 Yūliyū 2021.

al-ḥurrah / Tarjamāt. "ṣadmat thulāthīyat .. Hākadhā atharat Hajamāt 11 Sibtambr 'alā Awḍā'

al-'Arab wa-al-Muslimīn fī Amīrikā". *Mawqī' Qanāt al-ḥurrah*, 12sbtmbr 2021. mstrj'

min: <https://www.alhurra.com/september-11/2021/09/12/-سبتمبر-11-هجمات-أثرت-ثلاثية-صدمة> أوضاع-العرب-والمسلمين-في-أميركا. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 14 Fabrāyir 2022.

'Alī Ismā'īl, Sayyid. "al-tafāṣīl al-majhūlah li-awwal Ma'had masraḥī fī Miṣr (28 wa-al-akhīrah)

Firqat al-Ṭalī'ah wa-nihāyat awwal Ma'had masraḥī fī Miṣr". *Mawqī' Jarīdat*

*Masraḥunā*, al-Hay'ah al-'Āmmah li-Quṣūr al-Thaqāfah al-Miṣrīyah, 'A 678, 24

aghsts2020. mstrj' min:

<https://www.gocp.gov.eg/Mas7na/articles.aspx?ArticleID=53222>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 21 Aghustus 2021.

"Aliaa Magda Elmahdy Biography - Egyptian Women's Rights Activist." *Pantheon*,

[pantheon.world/profile/person/Aliaa\\_Magda\\_Elmahdy](http://pantheon.world/profile/person/Aliaa_Magda_Elmahdy). Accessed 27 June 2022.

## English Bibliography

- al-‘Itābī, ‘Abd al-Jabbār. "al-Jumhūrīyah .. Şaḥīfat ‘Irāqīyah ḥjbhā al-iḥtilāl w’ḥyá dhikrāhā şḥāfywhā". *Mawqī‘ Īlāf*, 8 Dīsimbir 2013. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://elaph.com/Web/news/2013/12/854742.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 21 Māyū 2022.
- al-Jarīdah dūt Kūm. "Sulaymān al-Bassām yu‘raḍu « Mu’tamar Āl Hāmlit » fī Dubayy". *Mawqī‘ al-Jarīdah*, 21 Uktūbir 2017. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://www.aljarida.com/articles/1509382469280154900/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 18 Fabrāyir 2022.
- al-Jawādī, Muḥammad. "Ibrāhīm Zakī Khūrshīd: mutarjim al-Mawsū‘ah wa-şāḥib fikrat Maktabat al-usrah". *Mawqī‘ al-Jazīrah Mubāshir*, 20 Nūfimbir 2019. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://mubasher.aljazeera.net/opinions/2019/11/20/إبراهيم-زكي-خورشيد-مترجم-الموسوعة>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 17 Uktūbir 2021.
- al-Jazīrah Nīt. "al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn". *Mawqī‘ al-Jazīrah*, 11 Nūfimbir 2014. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/movementsandparties/2014/11/11/الإخوان-المسلمون-مصر>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Fabrāyir 2019.
- al-Jazīrah Nīt. "al-Islāmūfūbiyā .. Mu‘ānāt al-Muslimīn fī dymqrātyāt al-Gharb". *Mawqī‘ al-Jazīrah*, 19 Abrīl 2016. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/conceptsandterminology/2016/4/19/الإسلاموفوبيا-معاناة-المسلمين-في>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 5 Sibtambrir 2021.
- al-Jazīrah Nīt. "al-raşāş al-Maşbūb .. ‘Adwān ‘alá Ghazzah fashal b’khdā‘ hā". *Mawqī‘ al-Jazīrah*, 27 Dīsimbir 2016. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/military/2016/12/27/معركة-الفرقان-عدوان-على-غزة-فشل>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 6 Uktūbir 2021.
- al-Jazīrah Nīt. "al-Sa‘ūdīyah t’tql al-dā‘iyah Salmān al-‘Awdah". *Mawqī‘ al-Jazīrah*, 10 Sibtambrir 2017. mstrj‘ min: <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2017/9/10/السعودية-تعتقل-الداعية-سلمان-العودة>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 9 Sibtambrir 2017.

## English Bibliography

al-Jazīrah Nīt. "ām 2006 .. Wuṣūl al-‘Irāq ilā Ḥāffāt al-ḥarb al-Ahlīyah". *Mawqī‘ al-Jazīrah*, 29

Dīsimbir 2006. <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/reportsandinterviews/2006/12/29/>-عام

الحرب إلى-حافات-العراق-وصول-2006. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 7 Sibtambr 2021.

al-Jazīrah Nīt. "mā lā ta‘rifuh ‘an Hay‘at al-Bay‘ah fī al-Sa‘ūdīyah". *Mawqī‘ al-Jazīrah*, 22

Yūniyū 2017. mstrj‘ min:

<https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/organizationsandstructures/2017/6/22/>-ما-لا-تعرفه-

عن-هيئة-البيعة-في-السعودية. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 8 Sibtambr 2021.

al-Jazīrah Nīt. "maqtal bryṭāny fī infijār syārḥ mfkhhkhh Buqṭur". *Mawqī‘ al-Jazīrah*, 20 Mārs

2005. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2005/3/20/>-مقتل-بريطاني-في-انفجار-

سيارة-مفخخة. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 28 Yūniyū 2022.

al-Jazīrah Nīt. "“Raḥīl al-fannān Fāḍil Khalīl aḥad rumūz al-masraḥ al-‘Irāqī. ” ". *Mawqī‘ al-*

*Jazīrah*, 8 Oct 2017. mstrj‘ min:

[www.aljazeera.net/culture/2017/10/8/%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%8A%D9%84-](http://www.aljazeera.net/culture/2017/10/8/%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D9%84-%D8%AE%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B2-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%AD)

[-D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-](http://www.aljazeera.net/culture/2017/10/8/%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D9%84-%D8%AE%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B2-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%AD)

[-D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D9%84-%D8%AE%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84-](http://www.aljazeera.net/culture/2017/10/8/%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D9%84-%D8%AE%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B2-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%AD)

[-D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B2-](http://www.aljazeera.net/culture/2017/10/8/%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D9%84-%D8%AE%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B2-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%AD)

[-D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%AD](http://www.aljazeera.net/culture/2017/10/8/%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D9%84-%D8%AE%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B2-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%AD). Tārīkh alāstrjā : 4

Sibtambr 2023.

al-Jazīrah Nīt. "ta‘rifu ‘alā Ḥarakat 6 Abrīl". *Mawqī‘ al-Jazīrah*, 12 Fabrāyir 2014. mstrj‘ min:

<https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/movementsandparties/2014/2/12/>-تعرف-على-حركة-

6-أبريل. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 23 Yūniyū 2021.

Aljwrjy, ‘Ādil. "Mabādi’ Thawrat 25 Yanāyir al-sittah". *Mawqī‘ al-Başrah*, 2011. mstrj‘ min:

[http://www.albasrah.net/ar\\_articles\\_2011/0211/jojari\\_060211.htm](http://www.albasrah.net/ar_articles_2011/0211/jojari_060211.htm). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 8

Fabrāyir 2019.

## English Bibliography

- al-Khuḍayr, ‘Abd al-Karīm. "min huwa al-Şāliḥ". *al-mawqi‘ al-rasmī li-Faḍīlat al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Khuḍayr*. mstrj‘ min: <https://shkhudheir.com/pearls-of-benefits/2083924625>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 6 Fabrāyir 2019.
- al-Khūlī, al-Bahī, "Naḥnu bayna al-Khayr wa-al-sharr: mā al-Khayr wa-mā al-sharr?" *Mawqi‘ Rābiṭat al-‘ulamā’ al-Sūrīyīn*, 16 Uktūbir 2012. mstrj‘ min: [https://islamsyria.com/site/show\\_articles/3092](https://islamsyria.com/site/show_articles/3092). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 6 Fabrāyir 2019.
- Allan, Michael. "Reading Secularism: Religion, Literature, Aesthetics." *Comparative Literature*, 2013, <http://complit.dukejournals.org/content/65/3/257.full.pdf>. Accessed 1 February 2017.
- Almāwy, Muḥammad. "mā ma‘ ná al-dīmūqrāṭīyah al-Jadīdah?". *Mawqi‘ wa-ṣaḥīfat al-Ḥiwār al-Mutamaddin*, 28 Abrīl 2011. mstrj‘ min: <http://www.m.ahewar.org/s.asp?aid=256924&r=0> Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 19 Mārs 2017.
- al-Muṭayrī, Sa‘ūd. "almkḥsywn .. jins Bishrī mnqt‘ al-nasl khadamū Nisā’ al-Balāt wa-quṣūr al-salātīn". *Mawqi‘ Jarīdat al-Riyāḍ*, 16 Sibtambir 2011. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.alriyadh.com/667644> .Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 5 Yūliyū 2021.
- al-Najjār, Muḥammad. "dirāsah: al-Jazīrah sāhamat bnjāḥ al-thawrāt". *Mawqi‘ al-Jazīrah*, 2011. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2011/9/29/-دراسة-الجزيرة-ساهمت-بنجاح-الثورات>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 31 Mārs 2022.
- al-Naṣṣār, M. "ḥawla Laṭīf wkhwshābā wa-dawr al-Suryān fī Nash’at al-masraḥīyah al-‘Irāqīyah". *Mawqi‘ al-Hay’ah al-‘Arabīyah lil-Masraḥ*, 2016. mstrj‘ min: <https://atitheatre.ae/ا-حول-لطيف-وخوشابا-ودور-السريان-في-نشأة-الثورات>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 25 Aghuṣṭus 2021.
- al-Qur’ān al-Karīm. "qul sīruwā fī al’arḍi fānzuruwā kayfa bada’a alkhalqa ۞ thumma allahu yunshi’u alnash’ata al’ākhirata ۞ inna allaha ‘alāā kulli shay’in qadīrun". *Mawqi‘ al-rūḥ dūt Nit*. mstrj‘ min:

## English Bibliography

<https://www.alro7.net/ayaq.php?langg=english&sourid=29&aya=20>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 26 Māyū 2021.

al-Qur'ān al-Karīm. "tafāsīr al-āyah 20 min Sūrat al-‘ankabūt". *Mawqī' Mashrū' al-Muṣḥaf al-iliktrūnī bi-Jāmi'at al-Malik Sa'ūd*. mstrj' min: <https://quran.ksu.edu.sa/tafseer/tabary-saadi/sura29-aya20.html#saadi>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 26 Māyū 2021.

al-Qur'ān al-Karīm. "tafsīr al-Ṭabarī-tafsīr Sūrat al-Kahf-al-āyah 49". *Mawqī' Mashrū' al-Muṣḥaf al-iliktrūnī bi-Jāmi'at al-Malik Sa'ūd*. mstrj' min: <http://quran.ksu.edu.sa/tafseer/tabary/sura18-aya49.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 8 Fabrāyir 2019.

al-Qur'ān al-Karīm. "walaqad khalaqnā al'nsāna min ṣalṣālin min ḥama'in masnūnin". *Mawqī' al-sab' al-mathānī lil-Qur'ān al-Karīm*. mstrj' min: <http://www.quran7m.com/searchResults/015026.html> Tārīkh alāstrjā': 6 Fabrāyir 2019.

al-Sab', Su'ād. "al-Tamyīz bayna al-rajul wa-al-mar'ah wa-thaqāfat al-‘ayb". *Majallat Dīwān al-‘Arab*, 11 Nūfimbir 2009. mstrj' min: <https://diwanalarab.com/التميز-بين-الرجل>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Yūniyū 2021.

al-Sayyid, 'Alā'. "Iskandar Faraḥ min kibār rijāl al-Māsūnīyah fī Sūriyā nihāyat al-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar". *Mawqī' Dār al-wathā'iq al-raqmīyah al-tārīkhīyah al-Sūrīyah*, 24 Abrīl 2020. mstrj' min: [https://www.dig-doc.org/index.php?page=YXJ0aWNsZQ==&op=ZGlzcGxheV9hcnRyY2xlX2RldGFpbHNfdQ==&article\\_id=NzM=&lan=YXI](https://www.dig-doc.org/index.php?page=YXJ0aWNsZQ==&op=ZGlzcGxheV9hcnRyY2xlX2RldGFpbHNfdQ==&article_id=NzM=&lan=YXI). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 15 Uktūbir 2021.

al-Sīnimā dūt Kūm. "Muḥammad al-Fīl". *Mawqī' al-sīnimā*. mstrj' min: <https://elcinema.com/person/1109870/> Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Aghuṣṭus 2021.

Alssabt, Khālīd. sharḥ Ḥadīth min aḥq al-nās bi-Ḥasan ṣḥābty? ". *Mawqī' Faḍīlat al-Shaykh al-Duktūr Khālīd alssabt*, 19 Mārs 2007. mstrj' min:



## English Bibliography

- <https://khaledalsabt.com/explanations/1470/حديث-من-احق-الناس-بحسن-صحابتي>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Uktūbir 2021.
- al-Tawbah, Ghāzī. "al-iṣlāḥ al-dīnī .. al-Muḥāwalāt wālt'thr". *Mawqī' al-Jazīrah*, 16 Fabrāyir 2017. mstrj' min: <http://www.aljazeera.net/knowledgegate/opinions/2017/2/16/الإصلاح> الديني-المحاولات-والتعثر. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 2 Yūliyū 2017.
- Altrogge, Mark, et al. "Luke 18:19 - 'Why Do You Call Me Good?' Jesus Answered. "No ...." *Bible Study Tools*, [www.biblestudytools.com/luke/18-19.html](http://www.biblestudytools.com/luke/18-19.html). Accessed 7 Feb. 2019.
- "Arab Revolt Comes to the Theatre." *The Guardian*, 11 Mar. 2011, [www.theguardian.com/stage/2011/mar/11/speakers-progress-sulayman-al-bassam](http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2011/mar/11/speakers-progress-sulayman-al-bassam). Accessed 3 July 2021.
- 'Asal, Usāmah. "Rītshārd al-thālith shakhṣīyah 'Arabīyah fī Mihrajān al-Khalīj". *Mawqī' Ṣaḥīfat al-Bayān*, 19 Abrīl 2011. mstrj' min: <https://www.albayan.ae/five-senses/cinema/2011-04-19-1.1423318>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 1 Yūliyū 2019.
- Ayyūb, Muḥammad. "al-Lūrd Krūmar .. al-mandūb al-sāmī alladhī akhd' Miṣr thqāfyan w'skryan". *Mawqī' al-Jazīrah*, 2019. mstrj' min: <https://www.aljazeera.net/midan/intellect/history/2019/6/12/اللورد-كرومر-المندوب-السامي> الذي-أخضع. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Sibtambrir 2021.
- 'Azzām, Mamdūḥ. "alwṣfh almkyāfylyh". *Mawqī' al-'Arabī al-jadīd*, 2015. mstrj' min: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/الوصفة-المكيافيلية>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 14 Māyū 2022.
- Bādāwd, Wafā'. "mā al-'ayb fī dhikr ism al-mar'ah?". *Mawqī' 'Ukāz*, 15 Māyū 2008. mstrj' min: <https://www.okaz.com.sa/article/185182>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Yūniyū 2021.
- Badrān, Walīd. "Ḥarb 1967: Kayfa ghayyarat Sittah Ayyām al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ ll'bd?". *Mawqī' Bī Bī Sī 'Arabī*, 5 Yūniyū 2021. mstrj' min: <https://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast-57360161>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Māyū 2021.

## English Bibliography

Bākathīr dūt Kūm. "Aḥmad al-Mājid". *Mawqī‘ Bākathīr*. mstrj‘ min:

[http://www.bakatheer.com/temp/plays/ahmed\\_al-majed.htm](http://www.bakatheer.com/temp/plays/ahmed_al-majed.htm). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 5 Yūliyū 2019.

Bākathīr dūt Kūm. "Bākathīr fī Suṭūr". *Mawqī‘ Bākathīr*. mstrj‘ min:

<http://www.bakatheer.com/sotor.php>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 10 Yūliyū 2021.

Baker, O. "Post -9/11 Islamophobia and The Future Of American Islam." *Searcct*,

[www.searcct.gov.my/publications/our-publications?id=44](http://www.searcct.gov.my/publications/our-publications?id=44). Accessed 13 May 2018.

Balkhayrī, Aḥmad. "al-muṣṭalaḥ al-masraḥī fī al-Thaqāfah al-‘Arabī". *Mawqī‘ Majallat Dīwān*

*al-‘Arab*, 18 Aghuṣṭus 2006. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.diwanal-arab.com/-المصطلح-المسرحي-في>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Yanāyir 2021.

Bārī‘, Laylā. "‘alā hāmish dawratihī al-‘ishrīn .. Aḥmad jāryd yumaththilu al-Maghrīb fī

Mihrajān al-Funūn al-Islāmīyah bi-al-Shāriqah". *Mawqī‘ mghrs*, 27 Dīsimbir 2017.

mstrj‘ min: <https://www.maghress.com/alittihad/2036799>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 21 Uktūbir 2019.

Bawwābat Muḥāfazat al-Qāhirah. "mtāḥf al-Qāhirah". *Mawqī‘ al-Qāhirah*. mstrj‘ min:

[http://www.cairo.gov.eg/ar/Bank%20of%20Ideas/Pages/matahif-alqahra-\\_text.aspx?ID=1](http://www.cairo.gov.eg/ar/Bank%20of%20Ideas/Pages/matahif-alqahra-_text.aspx?ID=1). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 25 Aghuṣṭus 2021.

Bayyūmī, Khālīd. "Ramsīs ‘Awaḍ: Hādhā al-mujtama‘ al-Gharīb lā yurīd an ykhdm al-

bāḥithīn". *Mawqī‘ al-ḥayāh*, 2015. mstrj‘ min:

<http://www.alhayat.com/article/668679/-رمسيس-عوض-هذا-المجتمع-الغريب-لا-يريد-أن-يخدم-الباحثين>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 13 Māyū 2018.

Bī Bī Sī nywz ‘Arabī. "al-mar’ah al-‘Arabīyah fī (al-Rabī‘ al-‘Arabī)". *Mawqī‘ Bī Bī Sī ‘Arabī*,

23 Abrīl 2011. mstrj‘ min:

[https://www.bbc.com/arabic/inthepress/2011/04/110422\\_press\\_sat\\_new](https://www.bbc.com/arabic/inthepress/2011/04/110422_press_sat_new). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 28 Māyū 2021.

## English Bibliography

- Bī Bī Sī nywz ‘Arabī. "al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ fi (‘ahd) Jū Bāyḍin wāltqryr al-Barīṭānī bi-sha’n Rūsiyā fi al-ṣuḥuf al-Barīṭāniyah". *Mawqi‘ Bī Bī Sī ‘Arabī*, 22 Yūliyū 2020. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.bbc.com/arabic/inthepress-53495871>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 9 Dīsimbir 2021.
- Bī Bī Sī nywz ‘Arabī. "naql Mubāarak ilā maqarr iqāmth al-Jabrīyah bi-Mustashfá al-Ma‘ādī". *Mawqi‘ Bī Bī Sī ‘Arabī*, 22 Aghuṣṭus 2013. mstrj‘ min: [http://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast/2013/08/130822\\_mubarak\\_release\\_egy\\_medical\\_centre](http://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast/2013/08/130822_mubarak_release_egy_medical_centre). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 8 Fabrāyir 2019.
- “Bible Gateway Passage: 1 John 4:8 - New International Version.” *Bible Gateway*, [www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=1+John+4%3A8&version=NIV](http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=1+John+4%3A8&version=NIV). Accessed 14 Mar. 2018.
- Blicker, Vivian. “What Does the Bible Say about Ghosts?” *Christianity.Com*, [www.christianity.com/wiki/holidays/what-does-the-bible-say-about-ghosts.html](http://www.christianity.com/wiki/holidays/what-does-the-bible-say-about-ghosts.html). Accessed 6 Oct. 2021.
- Boeree, George C. “Sunnis and Shiites.” *Webspace.Ship.Edu*, [webspace.ship.edu/cgboer/sunnisshiites.html](http://webspace.ship.edu/cgboer/sunnisshiites.html). Accessed 2 July 2022.
- Burkānī, Munīr. "nubdhah ‘an Wilādat bint al-Mustakfī: shā‘ irah w’myrh Andalusīyah". *Mawqi‘ tdwynh*. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.tadwiina.com/نبتة-عن-ولادة-بنت-المستكفي-شاعرة-وأمير>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 28 Yūniyū 2021.
- Cafiero, Giorgio. “Biden as President: Winners and Losers in the GCC.” *The New Arab*, [www.newarab.com/analysis/biden-president-winners-and-losers-gcc](http://www.newarab.com/analysis/biden-president-winners-and-losers-gcc). Accessed 22 June 2022.
- Cawthorne, Ellie. “The East India Company: How A Trading Corporation Became an Imperial Ruler.” *History Extra*, [www.historyextra.com/period/tudor/the-east-india-company-how-a-trading-corporation-became-an-imperial-ruler/](http://www.historyextra.com/period/tudor/the-east-india-company-how-a-trading-corporation-became-an-imperial-ruler/). Accessed 1 June 2017.

## English Bibliography

- “Charles Taylor Bibliography.” *Charles Taylor*, charlestaylor.net/general.htm. Accessed 10 Nov. 2021.
- “Charles Taylor.” *Philosophy*, www.mcgill.ca/philosophy/people/emeritus-faculty/taylor.
- Dakroub, Karim. “Ibn Daniel.” Translated by Anne Nguyen, *World Encyclopedia of Puppetry Arts*, 2009, wepa.unima.org/en/ibn-daniel. Accessed 7 October 2021.
- Ḍaw, Mārḳ wa-‘imārat, Ḥusayn. "Nābuliyūn bwnābrt wa-al-ḥamlah al-Faransīyah ‘alā Miṣr: taḥawwul ḥaqīqī fī Tārīkh Hādhā al-Balad". *Mawqi‘ France 24*, 4 Māyū 2021. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.france24.com/ar/-مصر-على-الحملة-الفرنسية-في-مصر-أوروبا/20210504-نابليون-بونابرت-والحملة-الفرنسية-على-مصر>. تحول-حقيقي-في-تاريخ-هذا-البلد. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 17 Uktūbir 2021.
- Dickenson, Andrew “Voodoo Child: Jonathan Pryce on Channelling His Father’s Death for Hamlet.” *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 18 Apr. 2016, [www.theguardian.com/stage/2016/apr/18/jonathan-pryce-hamlet-royal-court-1980](http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2016/apr/18/jonathan-pryce-hamlet-royal-court-1980). Accessed 27 Aug 2023.
- Dībū, Muḥammad. "masraḥīyah al-laylah al-thānīyah ‘ashrah li-Shiksbīr fī Dimashq". *Mawqi‘ Jarīdat al-Dustūr al-Urdunīyah*, 11 Abrīl 2010. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.addustour.com/articles/453846-مسرحية-«الليلة-الثانية-عشرة»-لشكسبير-في-دمشق>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 27 Māyū 2021.
- “English History Timeline - 1500 to Present.” *The Florida State University*, myweb.fsu.edu/cupchurch/Resources/Timeline\_ModBrit.html. Accessed 1 Mar. 2017.
- Farīq al-Hay’ah al-‘Āmmah lil-Isti‘lāmāt bi-Miṣr. "“Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī”. *Mawqi‘ al-Hay’ah al-‘Āmmah lil-Isti‘lāmāt*, 23 Dīsimbir 2013. mstrj‘ min: <https://sis.gov.eg/Story/80845/عبدالرحمن-الجبرتي?lang=ar>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 7 Sibtambir 2021.
- Farīq al-Hay’ah al-‘Āmmah lil-Isti‘lāmāt bi-Miṣr. "nubdhah ‘an Sa‘d Zaghlūl za‘īm Thawrat 1919". *Mawqi‘ al-Hay’ah al-‘Āmmah lil-Isti‘lāmāt*. mstrj‘ min:

## English Bibliography

<https://www.sis.gov.eg/Newvr/egyptionrevoution/saadfive.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Mārs 2019.

Farīq al-Hay'ah al-'Arabīyah lil-Masraḥ. "akhbārānā". *Mawqī' al-Hay'ah al-'Arabīyah lil-Masraḥ*. mstrj' min: <http://atitheatre.ae/اخبارنا/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 12 Uktūbir 2019.

Farīq al-tārīkh al-Sūrī al-mu'āšir. "Riyād 'Iṣmat". al-maṣdar: Mawqī' Wizārat al-Thaqāfah al-Sūrīyah. *Mawqī' al-tārīkh al-Sūrī al-mu'āšir*. mstrj' min:

<https://syrmh.com/2020/05/14/رياض-عصمت/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Fabrāyir 2022.

Farīq arājyk. "min huwa Ḥamad al-Rajīb". *Mawqī' arājyk*. mstrj' min:

<https://www.arageek.com/bio/hamad-al-rjib>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 6 Uktūbir 2021.

farīq bawwābat al-shu'arā'. "Ibn Zaydūn". *Mawqī' bawwābat al-shu'arā'*. mstrj' min:

<https://poetsgate.com/poet.php?pt=134>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Yūniyū 2021.

Farīq bwstḥ. "Shiksbīr fī Dimashq: 'arḍ al-laylah al-thāniyah 'ashar". *Mawqī' bwstḥ*, 4 Yūliyū

2012. mstrj' min: <https://www.bostah.com/الأخبار/شكسبير-في-دمشق-عرض-الليلة-الثانية-عشر.html>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Fabrāyir 2021.

Farīq Dā'irat al-Thaqāfah bi-al-Shāriqah. "Ayyām al-Shāriqah al-masraḥīyah". *Mawqī' Dā'irat*

*al-Thaqāfah bi-al-Shāriqah*. mstrj' min: <https://sdc.gov.ae/ar/Content/33/3>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 22 Yūniyū 2022.

Farīq Dā'irat al-Thaqāfah bi-al-Shāriqah. "Mihrajān al-Shāriqah lil-Masraḥ al-Khalījī". *Mawqī'*

*Dā'irat al-Thaqāfah bi-al-Shāriqah*. mstrj' min: <https://sdc.gov.ae/ar/Content/35/3>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 22 Yūniyū 2022.

Farīq Dār al-Hilāl. "fī Dhikrī Mīlād Fāṭimah Rushdī .. ta'rifu ilá sabab anṣālhā 'an 'Azīz 'Īd".

*Mawqī' bawwābat Dār al-Hilāl*, 15 Nūfimbir 2021. mstrj' min:

<https://www.darehhalal.com/News/717112.aspx>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Yūniyū 2022.

Farīq Jāmi'at al-Duwal al-'Arabīyah. "'an al-Jāmi'ah". *Mawqī' Jāmi'at al-Duwal al-'Arabīyah*

(*lāsbwrtāl*). mstrj' min:

## English Bibliography

<http://www.lasportal.org/ar/aboutlas/Pages/HistoricalOverView.aspx>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Mārs 2017.

Farīq jmālk. "isqāt al-wilāyah fī al-Sa'ūdīyah: 'alā Mādhā yanūṣṣu Hādhā al-qānūn, wa-li-mādhā shkkk jdlan wās'an?". *Mawqi' jmālk*, 10 Yūliyū 2019. mstrj' min:  
<https://jamalouki.net/>-ولماذا-القانون-ولماذا-هذا-السعودية-على-ماذا-ينص-هذا-القانون-ولماذا-  
لايف-ستايل/تحقيق/اسقاط-الولاية-في-السعودية-على-ماذا-ينص-هذا-القانون-ولماذا-  
Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Yūniyū 2021. شكّل-جدلاً-واسعاً؟

Farīq Majallat al-ummah al-'Arabīyah. "masraḥīyah Rītshārd al-thālith min Tūnis ḥattā lā ywld Rītshārd min jadīd". *Mawqi' Majallat al-ummah al-'Arabīyah*, 2014. mstrj' min:  
<https://مجلةالامةالعربية.com/CulturalNews/> /مسرحية-ريتشارد-الثالث-من-تونس-حتى-  
Tārīkh alāstrjā': 3 Nūfimbir 2019.

Farīq Mudawwanat waṭan. "nhāt Ṣaghīr fī laylah Shiksbīr al-thāniyah 'ashrah". taṣwīr: 'Alā' al-Ibrāhīm. *Mawqi' Mudawwanat waṭan al-Sūrī*, 30 Māyū 2010. mstrj' min:  
<http://esyria.sy/sites/code/index.php?site=damascus&p=stories&category=todayimg&filename=201003292005021>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Māyū 2021.

Farīq Muntadā al-Kuwayt 32. "Dār al'āthār al'slāmyh fī al-Kuwayt". *Mawqi' Muntadā al-Kuwayt 32*, 22 Fabrāyir 2015. mstrj' min: <https://kwt32.com/> /الآثار-الإسلامية-في-الكو  
Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Yūniyū 2022.

Farīq mws'w'ty. "Riyād 'Iṣmat". *Mawqi' mws'w'ty*, 2022. mstrj' min:  
[https://mawsoati.com/plus/عصمت\\_رياض\\_ي/html](https://mawsoati.com/plus/عصمت_رياض_ي/html). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Fabrāyir 2022.

Farīq qāsywn. "Mamdūh 'Adwān: (Naḥnu lā nt'wwd illā idhā māta Shay' finā)". *Mawqi' qāsywn*, Ḥizb al-irādah al-sha'bīyah. 16 Yanāyir 2015. mstrj' min:  
<https://kassioun.org/more-categories/art-and-culture/item/38330-11871>. Tārīkh alāstrjā':  
8 Yūniyū 2021.

Farīq rwytrz. "Muqābalah-Muḥammad 'Inānī ystbq 'ām Shiksbīr bi-tarjamat abraz msrḥyāth". *bawwābat rwytrz al-I'lāmīyah*, 4 Nūfimbir 2015. mstrj' min:

## English Bibliography

<https://www.reuters.com/article/idARAL8N12X4T120151104>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 26 Mārs 2021.

Farīq Şahīfat al-Ittiḥād. "Qatar: mnfdh al-Hujūm 'alā masraḥ al-Madrasah al-Barīṭānīyah mbrmj kmbywtr Mişrī". *Mawqi' Şahīfat al-Ittiḥād*, 21 Mārs 2005. mstrj' min:

<https://www.alittihad.ae/article/3758/2005/>-مرفذ-الهجوم-على-مسرح-المدرسة-البريطانية-مبرمج-قطر: كميوتر-مصري. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 28 Yūniyū 2022.

Farīq sāsat Būst. "Khayyāl al-ẓill .. al-sīnimā fī al-'aşr al-Mamlūkī!". *Mawqi' sāsat Būst*, 2020.

mstrj' min: <https://www.sasapost.com/cinema-in-the-era-of-the-mamluks/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 4 Yūliyū 2022.

Farīq Wizārat al-Thaqāfah al-Sūrī. "Wizārat al-Sūrīyah". *Mawqi' Wizārat al-Thaqāfah al-Sūrīyah*, 2005. mstrj' min: <http://www.moc.gov.sy/index.php?d=48&id=322>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 5 Abrīl 2018.

"Film Richard III: An Arab VIP (2010) - 70 Minutes Long." *The Mandy Network*, [www.mandy.com/uk/films/richard-iii-an-arab-vip](http://www.mandy.com/uk/films/richard-iii-an-arab-vip). Accessed 13 Mar. 2022.

Gharīb, Samīḥah. "alkāf bayna al-zawjayn min ahamm Usus al-Sa'ādah al-zawjīyah". ḥiwār:

Tasnīm al-Rīdī. *Mawqi' ṭarīq al-Islām*, 14 Abrīl 2014. mstrj' min:

<https://ar.islamway.net/article/26463/>التكافؤ-بين-الزوجين-من-أهم-أسس-السعادة-الزوجية. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 12 Yūniyū 2022.

Ghzyzy, Wafīq. "Adīb Ishāq". *Majallat al-Jaysh*, 'A. 288, Yūniyū 2009. mstrj' min:

<https://www.lebarmy.gov.lb/ar/content/أديب-إسحاق>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 12 Yūliyū 2017.

"Giordano Bruno Facts, Information, Pictures | Encyclopedia.Com Articles about Giordano

Bruno." *Encyclopedia.Com*, [www.encyclopedia.com/people/philosophy-and-religion/philosophy-biographies/giordano-bruno](http://www.encyclopedia.com/people/philosophy-and-religion/philosophy-biographies/giordano-bruno). Accessed 11 June 2017.

ḥabs, Suhá. "al-shi'r 'inda al-'Arab". *Mawqi' ḥyātki*. 17 Yūniyū 2019. mstrj' min:

[https://hyatoky.com/الشعر\\_عند\\_العرب](https://hyatoky.com/الشعر_عند_العرب). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Uktūbir 2019.

## English Bibliography

- Ḥalabī, Samīr. "Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī Muṣliḥ raghma al-jadal". *Mawqī‘ Islām Ūn lāyin*.  
mstrj‘ min: <https://archive.islamonline.net/?p=9118>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 12 Yūliyū 2017.
- Ḥalabī, Samīr. "Muḥammad ‘Abduḥ: Rā’id al-iṣlāḥ fi al-‘aṣr al-ḥadīth". *Mawqī‘ Islām Ūn lāyin*.  
mstrj‘ min: <https://archive.islamonline.net/?p=8925>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 9 Yūliyū 2017.
- Ḥamdāwī, Jamīl. "al-masraḥ al-Islāmī wafqa al-nasaq al-maqāṣidī". *Mawqī‘ al-Furqān*,  
Mu’assasat al-Furqān lil-Turāth al-Islāmī. mstrj‘ min: <https://al-furqan.com/ar/-المسرح-المقاصدي>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Fabrāyir 2021.
- Ḥannā, Sāmīḥ. "fikrat al-khiyānah wa-al-amānah fi al-tarjamah aṣḥaḥtu fi dhimmat al-tārīkh".  
ḥiwār: Āzād Aḥmad wḥmyd al-Yazīdī Mūllar. *Mawqī‘ Īlāf*, 4 Aghuṣṭus 2009. naqlan ‘an  
Majallat quot. mstrj‘ min: <http://elaph.com/Web/Culture/2009/8/468514.htm>. Tārīkh  
alāstrjā‘: 5 Mārs 2018.
- “Harvey C. Mansfield.” *Scholars at Harvard*, scholar.harvard.edu/harveymansfield/home.  
Accessed 7 Mar. 2022.
- Haykal, Muḥammad Ḥasanayn. "ṣafaqāt al-silāḥ fi al-‘ālam al-‘Arabī". *Mawqī‘ al-Jazīrah*, 18  
Mārs 2007. mstrj‘ min: <http://www.aljazeera.net/programs/with-haykal/2007/3/18/-هيكل-صفقات-السلح-في-العالم-العربي>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 26 Mārs 2017.
- Herbermann, C. “Galileo Galilei.” *CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA: Galileo Galilei*,  
[www.newadvent.org/cathen/06342b.htm](http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06342b.htm). Accessed 6 June 2017.
- Ḥijāb, Mufraḥ. "Kalīlah wa-Dimnah ‘alā al-masraḥ al-Ithnayn al-Muqbil, al-Bassām: aḥāwl  
khalq anṭbā‘ mughāyir ‘an al-insān al-‘Arabī ‘ālmīyan". *Mawqī‘ Jarīdat al-Qabas*, 24  
Fabrāyir 2006. mstrj‘ min: <https://alqabas.com/article/60584--الاثنين-على-المسرح-الاثنين>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 22 Yūniyū 2022.
- “Holy Qur’an: Arabic with Parallel English Translation.” *One Ummah*,  
[www.oneummah.net/quran/book/2.html](http://www.oneummah.net/quran/book/2.html). Accessed 17 June 2017.



## English Bibliography

- hubbu, Abdullāh "Hāmlit ... baṭal wa-mufakkir li-kull al-‘uṣūr ". *Mawqi‘ Mu’assasat al-Nūr lil-Thaqāfah wa-al-I‘lām*, 2014. mstrj‘ min, <http://www.alnoor.se/article.asp?id=241874>.  
Tārīkh alāstrjā‘ : 3 Sibtambr 2023.
- Ḥusayn, ‘Alī. "Li-mādhā yajibū an naqra’u Nawāl al-Sa‘dāwī". *Mawqi‘ al’nṭwlyjyā*, 25 Mārs 2021. mstrj‘ min: <https://alantologia.com/blogs/42090/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘ : 19 Māyū 2021.
- Ḥusayn, āljy. "Mamdūḥ ‘Adwān: yd‘ aṣb‘h fī ‘uyūnihim". *Mawqi‘ al-Khalīj*, Dīsimbir 2011. mstrj‘ min: <https://khaleesque.com/2011/12/ar/ممدوح-عدوان-يضع-إصبعه-في-عيونهم/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘ : 2 Abrīl 2018.
- Ḥusayn, Āmāl. "Awrāq mansīyah min ḥayāt Rifā‘ah al-Ṭaḥṭāwī .. Rā’id al-Tanwīr fī al-‘aṣr al-ḥadīth". *Mawqi‘ Māsbrū*, 2019. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.maspero.eg/wps/portal/home/radio/stations/cultural-program/news/details/6f9e535f-3558-4ab5-af33-f0f6c65aef27>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘ : 26 Māyū 2022.
- Ḥuṭayt, Amīn. Ḥarb 2006 ‘alā Lubnān .. khalfiyat wa-adā’an wa-natā’ij. *Mawqi‘ al-Jazīrah*, 15 Aghuṣṭus 2006. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.aljazeera.net/opinions/2006/8/15/-2006-حرب-على-لبنان-خلفية-وأداء-ونتايج-2>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘ : 7 Sibtambr 2021.
- Ibn Bāz, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. "Hal al-liḥyah wājibah Umm Jā’izat?", Majmū‘ Fatāwá wa-maqālāt mutanawwi‘ah, j3. Idārat al-Buḥūth al-‘Ilmīyah wa-al-Iftā’, 1999.
- Ibn Bāz, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. "Hal al-liḥyah wājibah Umm Jā’izat?". *al-mawqi‘ al-rasmī li-samāḥat al-Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Bāz*. mstrj‘ min: <https://binbaz.org.sa/fatwas/3629/-هل-اللحية-واجبة-ام-جانزة>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘ : 30 Mārs 2019.
- Ibn Bāz, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. "ḥukm tqṣyr althwb ilā mā fawqa alk‘b". *Mawqi‘ ṭarīq al-Islām*, 1 Dīsimbir 2006. mstrj‘ min: <https://ar.islamway.net/fatwa/3983/-حكم-تقصير-الثوب-إلى-مافوق-الكعب>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘ : 26 Mārs 2019.

## English Bibliography

- Ibn Ibrāhīm, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. "Fann al-Maqāmah .. Hādhihi Asālīb al-Maqāmah allatī tǧ‘1 minhā fnan msrḥyan". *Mawqī‘ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ibrāhīm*, 20 Abrīl 2015. mstrj‘ min: <http://www.abderrahmane-benibraheem.com/index.php/2018-03-23-17-44-27/325-2018-04-07-15-11-47>. Tārīkh alāstrǧā‘: 9 Nūfimbir 2021.
- Ibn Kathīr. "tafsīr al-āyah 112, Sūrat al-An‘ām, tafsīr Ibn Kathīr". *Mawqī‘ Mashrū‘ al-Muṣḥaf al-iliktrūnī bi-Jāmi‘at al-Malik Sa‘ūd*. mstrj‘ min: <https://sites.google.com/site/alqranalkrym/swrte-alanam/1-13/1-2>. Tārīkh alāstrǧā‘: 14 Mārs 2018.
- Ibn Kathīr. "tafsīr al-āyah 32, Sūrat al-mā’idah, tafsīr Ibn Kathīr". *Mawqī‘ Mashrū‘ al-Muṣḥaf al-iliktrūnī bi-Jāmi‘at al-Malik Sa‘ūd*. mstrj‘ min: <http://quran.ksu.edu.sa/tafseer/katheer/sura5-aya32.html>. Tārīkh alāstrǧā‘: 30 Abrīl 2019.
- “IBN KHALDUN - His Life and Work.” *Muslim Philosophy*, [www.muslimphilosophy.com/ik/klf.htm](http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ik/klf.htm). Accessed 10 March 2022.
- Ibn Salāmah, Rajā’, w’khryāt. Thawrat al-nisā’: *Makhāwif min al-Rabī‘ al-‘Arabī*. Markaz al-Misbār lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth, 2013.
- Ibrāhīm, ‘Azzah. "al-‘ashwā’īyah taḥkumu ‘amal al-Markaz al-Qawmī lil-Tarjamah". *Ṣaḥīfat al-Khalīj*, 2017. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.alkhaleej.ae/-المركز-القومي-ملحق/العشوائية-تحكم-عمل-المركز-القومي-للترجمة>. Tārīkh alāstrǧā‘: 1 Māyū 2021.
- Ibrāhīm, Mayy. "al-masraḥ al-Qawmī bi-al-Qāhirah ... kāna sṛḥan min Funūn fhwá". *andbndnt ‘Arabīyah*, 26 Dīsimbir 2020. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.independentarabia.com/node/179891/-فنون/المسرح-القومي-بالقاهرة-كان-صرحا-من-فنون-فهوى>. Tārīkh alāstrǧā‘: 26 Mārs 2022.
- Ibrāhīm, Nihād, wkāml, Nāṣir. "(Mu’tamar Hāmlit) taḥṣudu Jā’izat afḍal masraḥīyah fī Mihrajān al-Qāhirah". *Ṣaḥīfat al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ*, ‘A. 8689, 12 Sibtambr 2002. mstrj‘ min:

## English Bibliography

<http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?article=124079&issueno=8689#.WQJtsbGZOrc>.

Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 27 Uktūbir 2016.

Idrīs, ‘Abd al-Nūr. "Ḥaḳīqat al-unthá bayna al-Jāhiliyah wa-al-Islām". *Majallat Dīwān al-‘Arab*,

17 Māyū 2011. mstrj‘ min: <http://www.diwanalarab.com/spip.php?article28637>. Tārīkh

alāstrjā‘: 20 Aghuṣṭus 2017.

“IMEDEA (2021-22).” *SABAB THEATRE*, [www.sabab.org/the-icarus-cycle/project-two-97cpj](http://www.sabab.org/the-icarus-cycle/project-two-97cpj).

Accessed 27 June 2016.

Imran, Tayyaba. “Rising from the Ashes: The Revival of Qatar’s Theatre Scene.” *The Daily Q*,

[thedailyq.org/11880/magazine/rising-from-the-ashes-the-revival-of-qatars-theatre-scene](http://thedailyq.org/11880/magazine/rising-from-the-ashes-the-revival-of-qatars-theatre-scene).

Accessed 27 June 2021.

‘Inānī, Muḥammad. *al-tarjamah al-adabīyah bayna al-naẓarīyah wa-al-taṭbīq*. Kitāb iliktrūnī,

Lūnjmān lil-Nashr bi-Landan, 2003. mstrj‘ min: [https://archive.org/details/al-tarjama\\_al-](https://archive.org/details/al-tarjama_al-adabia)

adabia. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 11 Abrīl 2021.

“Isaiah 45 KJV.” *Bible Hub*, [www.biblehub.com/kjv/isaiah/45.htm](http://www.biblehub.com/kjv/isaiah/45.htm). Accessed 9 Sept. 2021.

Islām stūrī dūt Kūm. "Wilādat bint al-Mustakfī". *Mawqi‘ qiṣṣat al-Islām*. 10 Dīsimbir 2019.

mstrj‘ min: <https://www.islamstory.com/ar/artical/3409189/ولادة-بنت-المستكفي>. Tārīkh

alāstrjā‘: 28 Yūniyū 2021.

Islām wyb dūt Nit. "al-shahwah al-jinsīyah .. ḥaḳīqatuhā .. al-Ḥikmah minhā .. wa-khuṭūratuhā".

*Mawqi‘ Islām wyb*. raqm al-Fatwá: 25077, 8 Mārs 2003. mstrj‘ min:

<https://www.islamweb.net/ar/fatwa/25077/الشهوة-الجنسية-حقيقتها-الحكمة-منها-وخطورتها>. Tārīkh

alāstrjā‘: 25 Abrīl 2021.

Islām wyb dūt Nit. "Hal ykhāṭb Qurayn al-mayyit al-ahyā’?". *Mawqi‘ Islām wyb*, raqm al-

Fatwá: 18135, 26 Yūniyū 2002. mstrj‘ min:

<http://fatwa.islamweb.net/fatwa/index.php?page=showfatwa&Option=FatwaId&Id=18135>

5. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 15 Māyū 2018.



## English Bibliography

- “1 John 4:8; He That Loveth Not Knoweth Not God; for God Is Love.” *Bible*, 2017,  
www.bible.com/bible/1/1JN.4.8. Accessed 16 August 2017.
- Kāblān, Robert. "Faḍilat mykyāfyllly wa-al-ḥadāthah". *Mawqi' Qanāt al-'Arabīyah*, 26 Mārs  
2013. mstrj' min: <https://www.alarabiya.net/2013/03/26/فضيلة-مكيافيلي-تقدير-موقف>. Tārīkh  
alāstrjā': 7 Yanāyir 2022.
- “Kalila Wa-Dimna.” Edited by Paul Lunde, *Muslim Heritage*, muslimheritage.com/kalila-wa-  
dimna/. Accessed 8 Mar. 2022.
- Kanīsat al-Iskandarīyah lil-Aqbāt al-Kāthūlīk bi-Miṣr. "al-sharr fi al-mafhūm al-Masīhī".  
*Mawqi' al-Aqbāt al-Kāthūlīk*, 1 Yanāyir 2013. mstrj' min: <http://copticatholic.net/p4453/>.  
Tārīkh alāstrjā': 7 Fabrāyir 2019.
- Khalaf, Zainab, et al. “BASRAH: Arabic Verses Meters Identification System.” *Research Gate*,  
www.researchgate.net/publication/216476394\_BASRAH\_Arabic\_Verses\_Meters\_Identi-  
fication\_System. Accessed 30 Mar. 2021.
- Khalīl, Fāḍil "tṭwl 'amal al-Mukhrij fi al-masraḥ al-'Arabī al-mu'āṣir". *Mawqi', al-Ḥiwār al-  
Mutamaddin*, 18 Aug. 2022. mstrj' min,  
www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=767453. Tārīkh alāstrjā' : 4 Sibtambir 2023.
- Khnfyir, Hājar. "al-ḥubb fi fikr Nawāl al-Sa'dāwī: Thaghrāh ttwss' fi Bunyān al-mujtama' al-  
'Arabī". *Mawqi' Klūd Abū Shaqrā (thqāfyāt)*, 16 Fabrāyir 2015. mstrj' min:  
<https://claudeabouchacra.com/?p=14398> .Tārīkh alāstrjā': 19 Aghuṣṭus 2021.
- Kulthūm, F. "al-masraḥ al-siyāsī fi Sūrīyah (mnṣṣh maftūḥah 'alā al-azamāt)". *Ṣaḥīfat Tishrīn*,  
2017. mstrj' min: <http://tishreen.news.sy/?p=92397>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 23 Mārs 2018.
- Kūnā dūt Nit. "masraḥīyah (wa-Dār al-falak) tabda' 'rwḍhā lil-Jumhūr al-Thulāthā' al-Muqbil  
'alā masraḥ al-Shāmīyah". *Mawqi' Kūnā*, 6 Māyū 2012. mstrj' min:  
<https://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticleDetails.aspx?id=2238630&Language=ar>. Tārīkh  
alāstrjā': 22 Aghuṣṭus 2021.

## English Bibliography

- Kūnā dūt Nit. "Wazīr Shu'ūn al-Dīwān al-Amīrī yr'á 'arḍ masrahīyah (Kalīlah wa-Dimnah Mir'āt al-mulūk)". *Mawqi' Kūnā*, 28 Fabrāyir 2006. mstrj' min:  
<https://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticleDetails.aspx?id=1598677&language=ar>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 22 Yūniyū 2022.
- "Leviticus & 'The King's Great Matter' ." *Famous Trials*, famous-trials.com/thomasmore/985-leviticus. Accessed 16 May 2022.
- li-Ḥabīb, Muḥammadū. "ikhrāj al-nuṣūṣ al-Maḥallīyah yttlb Kasr al-asālīb al-taqlīdīyah". *Mawqi' Ṣaḥīfat al-Khalīj*, 7 Yūliyū 2018. mstrj' min:  
<http://www.alkhaleej.ae/alkhaleej/page/73352c19-5764-4139-81f6-c1f42993d122>.  
Tārīkh alāstrjā': 13 Abrīl 2019.
- li-Ḥabīb, Muḥammadū. "Shiksbīr al-'Arabī .. Hal kāna yaktubu 'an wāqī'inā?". *Mawqi' Ṣaḥīfat al-Khalīj*, 1 Nūfimbir 2017. mstrj' min: <https://www.alkhaleej.ae/ملحق/شكسبير-العربي>.  
Tārīkh alāstrjā': 4 Sibtambir 2021.
- Logan, Brian. "Richard III - an Arab Tragedy, Swan, Stratford-upon-Avon." *The Guardian*, 16 Feb. 2007, [www.theguardian.com/stage/2007/feb/16/theatre1?CMP=gu\\_com](http://www.theguardian.com/stage/2007/feb/16/theatre1?CMP=gu_com). Accessed 20 January 2023.
- "London 2012: All of Shakespeare's Plays to Be Performed in 37 Different Languages to Mark Olympics." *Mirror*, 27 Sept. 2011, [www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/london-2012-all-of-shakespeares-plays-to-be-performed-273517](http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/london-2012-all-of-shakespeares-plays-to-be-performed-273517). Accessed 12 December 2021.
- Lwrkh, ntān'il. "al-ḥurūb al-Isrā'īliyah". *Mawqi' Wizārat al-khārijīyah al-Isrā'īliyah*, 2013. mstrj' min:  
<https://mfa.gov.il/mfaar/informationaboutisrael/thehistoryofthejewishpeople/warsofisrael/pages/six%20days%20war%201967.aspx> Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Abrīl 2021.
- M. t. wa-M. Kh (farīq bitrā). "msrḥytā Shiksbīr mntqman wa-ayyām allwlv twḥy bṭrwhāt al-riwā'ī fwknr". *Mawqi' Wakālat al-Anbā' al-Urdunīyah (Bitrā)*, 23 Mārs 2016. mstrj'

## English Bibliography

min:

[https://petra.gov.jo/Include/InnerPage.jsp?ID=2160945&lang=ar&name=archived\\_news](https://petra.gov.jo/Include/InnerPage.jsp?ID=2160945&lang=ar&name=archived_news).

Tārīkh alāstrjā': 14 Fabrāyir 2022.

Mahoney, Kelli. "What the Bible Has to Say about Lust." *Learn Religions*, 25 Jan. 2019,

[www.learnreligions.com/bible-verses-about-lust-712095](http://www.learnreligions.com/bible-verses-about-lust-712095). Accessed 25 April 2021.

Mākbys, mārjryt. "nubdhah tārīkhīyah 'an Sharikat al-Hind al-Sharqīyah al-Injilīzīyah 1600-

1858". *Mawqi' Maktabat Qaṭar al-raqmīyah (qdl)*, 13 Aghuṣṭus 2014. mstrj' min:

<http://www.qdl.qa/١٦-الانجليزية-الشرقية-الهند-شركة-تاريخية-عن-شركة-الهند-الشرقية-الانجليزية-١٦>

١٨٥٨. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 26 Mārs 2017.

Manṣūr, Muḥammad. "al-Wahhābīyah: qiṣṣat al-ṣu'ūd al-dīnī wa-al-siyāsī". *Mawqi' awrynt*

*nywz*, 30 Nūfimbir 2014. mstrj' min: [http://www.orient-news.net/ar/news\\_show/83054](http://www.orient-news.net/ar/news_show/83054).

Tārīkh alāstrjā': 12 Yūliyū 2017.

Mar'ī, Muná. "Isti'ādat alhāmlyth al-'Arabīyah min al-Nāṣirīyah ilá zaman al-azamāt al-

rāhinah". *Mawqi' al-Hay'ah al-'Arabīyah lil-Masraḥ*, 2020. mstrj' min:

<https://atitheatre.ae/استعادة-الهاملتية-العربية-من-الناصرى>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 8 Yūniyū 2021.

Ma'rifat dūt awrj. "'Alyā' al-Mahdī". *Mawqi' Mawsū'at al-Ma'rifah*. mstrj' min:

[https://www.marefa.org/علياء\\_المهدي](https://www.marefa.org/علياء_المهدي). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 23 Yūniyū 2021.

Ma'rifat dūt awrj. "Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā". *Mawqi' Mawsū'at al-Ma'rifah*. mstrj' min:

[https://www.marefa.org/جبرا\\_ابراهيم\\_جبرا](https://www.marefa.org/جبرا_ابراهيم_جبرا). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 11 Yūliyū 2021.

Ma'rifat dūt awrj. "Majallat al-Risālah". *Mawqi' Mawsū'at al-Ma'rifah*. mstrj' min:

[https://www.marefa.org/مجلة\\_الرسالة](https://www.marefa.org/مجلة_الرسالة). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Yūliyū 2021.

Ma'rifat dūt awrj. "Muḥammad 'Inānī". *Mawqi' Mawsū'at al-Ma'rifah*. mstrj' min:

[https://www.marefa.org/محمد\\_عناني](https://www.marefa.org/محمد_عناني). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 26 Mārs 2021.

Ma'rifat dūt awrj. "Sa'd Allāh Wannūs". *Mawqi' Mawsū'at al-Ma'rifah*. mstrj' min:

[https://www.marefa.org/سعد\\_الله\\_ونوس](https://www.marefa.org/سعد_الله_ونوس). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 15 Mārs 2021.

## English Bibliography

- Mark, Joshua J. "Alexander the Great." *Ancient History Encyclopedia*,  
www.ancient.eu/Alexander\_the\_Great. Accessed 16 May 2023.
- Markaz al-Ish‘ā‘ al-Islāmī. "mā hiya Ḥaqīqat al-ru‘á wa-al-aḥlām allatī yarāhā al-insān fī  
mnāmh?". *Mawqī‘ Islām Fūr yw. mstrj‘ min*: <https://www.islam4u.com/ar/almojib/-ما-هي-ما-هي-حقيقة-الرؤى-و-الاحلام-التي-يراها-الانسان-في-منامه؟>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 7 Fabrāyir 2019.
- Marshall, Peter. "History - British History in Depth: The British Presence in India in the 18th  
Century." *BBC*, 2017,  
www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/empire\_seapower/east\_india\_01.shtml. Accessed 16 May  
2023.
- Ma‘tūq, Akram. "Rīthārd al-thālīth: almn‘rj al-masraḥī wa-thawrat al-lughah al-‘Arabīyah".  
*Mawqī‘ alḥşry al-Tūnisī*, 2011. mstrj‘ min: <https://ar.espacemanager.com/-رينتشارد-الثالث->  
Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 24 Sibtambr 2018.
- Mawqī‘ al-bawwābah. "Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī .. al-sīrah al-kāmilah". *Mawqī‘ al-bawwābah*,  
2017. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.albawaba.com/ar/-ادب-وثقافة-سيرة-ابن-حزم-الاندلسي-الظاهري->  
1032672. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 27 Yūniyū 2021.
- Mawqī‘ al-Jamal. "masraḥīyah al-laylah al-thānīyah ‘ashrah adā’ klāsyky Mutqin wsynwghrāfyā  
mtqshfh". al-maşdar: Sānā. *Mawqī‘ al-Jamal bi-mā ḥaml*, 31 Mārs 2010. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://aljamal.com/مسرحية-20%-الليلة-20%-الثانية-20%-عشرة-20%-أداء-20%-كلاسيكي-20%-متقن-20%-وسينوغ/>  
Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 9 Fabrāyir 2021.
- Mawqī‘ al-Jāmi‘ah al-‘Arabīyah al-Dawlīyah. "D. ‘Ajāj Salīm". *Mawqī‘ al-Jāmi‘ah al-  
‘Arabīyah al-Dawlīyah*. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.aiu.edu.sy/en/25-8344/Dr.-Ajaj-Saleem>.  
Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 10 Yūliyū 2021.
- Mawsū‘at al-tarājim wa-al-a‘lām. "al-Qiss rāfāyyī". *Mawqī‘ tarājim*. mstrj‘ min:  
<https://www.taraajem.com/persons/1880-القس-رافاييل>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 16 Māyū 2022.



## English Bibliography

- McGreal, Chris. "Why Israel Went to War in Gaza." *The Guardian*, 4 Jan. 2009, [www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/04/israel-gaza-hamas-hidden-agenda](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/04/israel-gaza-hamas-hidden-agenda). Accessed 6 October 2021.
- McLaren, Anne. "The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage, and Succession in Elizabethan England: Journal of British Studies." *Cambridge Core*, 10 May 2017, [www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-british-studies/article/quest-for-a-king-gender-marriage-and-succession-in-elizabethan-england/271632D599B92B65E90D76F46FD4A542](http://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-british-studies/article/quest-for-a-king-gender-marriage-and-succession-in-elizabethan-england/271632D599B92B65E90D76F46FD4A542). Accessed 10 March 2017.
- Midḥat, Yumná. "Ḥīna waqa‘at Miṣr fī al-usar: mā warā’ al-taḥdīth al-baghīd". *Mawqi‘ Idā‘āt*, 2017. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.ida2at.com/egypt-in-captivity-beyond-the-obnoxious-modernization/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Uktūbir 2021.
- "Mission Laique Francaise (MLF)." *Devex*, [www.devex.com/organizations/mission-laique-francaise-mlf-145750](http://www.devex.com/organizations/mission-laique-francaise-mlf-145750). Accessed 9 February 2022.
- M‘km dūt Kūm. "'Awnī krwmy .. wasīṭ al-thaqāfāt". *Mawqi‘ m ‘km*, 8 Aghuṣṭus 2011. mstrj‘ min: <https://maakom.com/article/wny-krwmy-wsy-tlthqft>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 23 Aghuṣṭus 2021.
- "Mohamed Morsi's Death: World Reaction." *Mohamed Morsi News | Al Jazeera*, [www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/6/18/mohamed-morsis-death-world-reaction](http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/6/18/mohamed-morsis-death-world-reaction). Accessed 23 June 2019.
- Mu‘assasat Hindāwī. "Ṭānyūs ‘Abduh". *Mawqi‘ Mu‘assasat Hindāwī lil-ta‘līm wa-al-Thaqāfah*. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.hindawi.org/contributors/69739264/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 1 Abrīl 2018.
- Mudīrīyat al-Masāriḥ wa-al-mūsīqā bi-Sūriyā. "D. Riyāḍ ‘Iṣmat Kātīb wmkhrj". *Mawqi‘ Mudīrīyat al-Masāriḥ wa-al-mūsīqā bi-Sūriyā*, 2008. mstrj‘ min:

## English Bibliography

[http://theaters.gov.sy/?page=show\\_det&category\\_id=35&id=142&lang=ar](http://theaters.gov.sy/?page=show_det&category_id=35&id=142&lang=ar). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Fabrāyir 2022.

Mufraḥ, Sa' dīyah. "maqālāt min Majallat al-'Arabī Qays ibn al-Mulawwaḥ .. Imām al-'āshiqīn".

*Mawqi' Majallat al-'Arabī*, 2013. mstrj' min:

<http://www.3rbi.info/Article.asp?ID=12128>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Māyū 2021

Muḥabbak, Aḥmad. "altnāṣṣ fī al-masraḥ al-'Arabī". *Majallat al-Funūn al-masraḥīyah*, 18

Yūniyū 2016. mstrj' min: [http://theatermaga.blogspot.com/2016/06/blog-](http://theatermaga.blogspot.com/2016/06/blog-post_91.html#.ZF-WPC8RrQ0)

[post\\_91.html#.ZF-WPC8RrQ0](http://theatermaga.blogspot.com/2016/06/blog-post_91.html#.ZF-WPC8RrQ0). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 16 Mārs 2018.

Muḥammad, Anwar. "āy Mīdiyā .. t'ryh al-Dawr allā'nsāny lil-nizām al-'Ālamī al-jadīd".

*Mawqi' diffat thālithah al-'Arabī*, 17 Yanāyir 2022. mstrj' min:

<https://diffah.alaraby.co.uk/diffah/arts/2022/1/17/-اللاإنساني-للنظام-العالمي->  
أي-ميديا-تعريية-الدور-اللاإنساني-للنظام-العالمي- الجديد. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Māyū 2022.

Muḥammad, Ṣakhrī. "al-thawrah al-Tūnisīyah (2010-2011): asbābuhā, khaṣā' iṣuhā wa-

natā' ijuhā". *Mawqi' al-Mawsū'ah al-Jazā'irīyah lil-Dirāsāt al-siyāsīyah wa-al-*

*Istirātījīyah*, Yanāyir 2021. mstrj' min: <https://www.politics-dz.com/-الثورة-التونسية-2010->  
الثورة-التونسية-2010-أسبابها،-خصائصها-و- Tārīkh alāstrjā': 25 Mārs 2022.

Mukhtār, Ḥasan. "al-masraḥ wa-thawrat 1919 .. Rūwād wirāyah wmtālbāt bi-al-ḥurrīyah".

*Mawqi' al-bawwābah nywz*, 16 Mārs 2019. mstrj' min:

<https://www.albawabhnews.com/3523324>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 7 Sibtambir 2021.

Munīr, Maḥmūd. "Hāmlit ba'da Ḥīna: ṣirā' dākhl al-Khashabah wa-'alayhā". *Mawqi' al-'Arabī*

*al-jadīd*, 15 Fabrāyir 2018. mstrj' min:

<https://www.alaraby.co.uk/culture/2018/2/15/هاملت-بعد-حين-صراع-داخل-الخشبة-وعليها/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 26 Mārs 2018.

"Muntadā Amrīkā wa-al-'ālam al-Islāmī fī al-Dawḥah". Qiṭā' al-akhbār wa-al-barāmij al-

siyāsīyah-wzārḥ al-I'lām. mstrj' min :

## English Bibliography

<[www.news.gov.kw/News/MilafaatKhasa/Details/141459](http://www.news.gov.kw/News/MilafaatKhasa/Details/141459). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Abrīl 2022.

Mursī, Tasnīm. "Aḥmad Shawqī 1868 – 1932". *Mawqī' Maktabat al-Iskandarīyah*. mstrj' min: <http://www.bibalex.org/libraries/presentation/static/Shawki.pdf>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 15 Māyū 2018.

Mwysāt, mhrnāz. "al-masrahīyah al-Sūrīyah ; zuhūrihā, rwāfdhā, wa-mawḍū'ātuhā". *Mawqī' Dīwān al-'Arab*, 6 Yūliyū 2013. mstrj' min: <http://www.diwanalarab.com/spip.php?article37618> Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Abrīl 2018.

Mydl iyst awnlāyn. "Rītshārd al-thālith y'tly 'arsh al-masrah al-'Arabī bi-al-Shāriqah". *Mawqī' mydl ayst Ūn lāyin*, 2014. mstrj' min: <https://middle-east-online.com/-ريتشارد-الثالث-يعتلي-عرش-المسرح-العربي-بالشارقة>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 20 Sibtambr 2018.

Mydl iyst awnlāyn. "Sulaymān al-Bassām yd' a 'mālihi al-masrahīyah 'alā khāriṭat al-qārrāt al-arba'ah". *Mawqī' mydl ayst Ūn lāyin*, 2016. mstrj' min: <http://www.middle-east-online.com/?id=235445>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 27 Nūfimbir 2016.

Nassar, Nélida. "Sulayman Al-Bassam's the Speaker's Progress." *ART & CULTURE TODAY*, 2011, [www.artandculturetoday.wordpress.com/theatre/us-theatre/sulayman-al-bassams-the-speakers-progress](http://www.artandculturetoday.wordpress.com/theatre/us-theatre/sulayman-al-bassams-the-speakers-progress). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Māyū 2017.

"Not Comfortable but Important", *ReviewsGate*, [reviewsgate.com/richard-iii-an-arab-tragedy-till-february-17/](http://reviewsgate.com/richard-iii-an-arab-tragedy-till-february-17/). Accessed 10 January 2023.

Nu'mān, Shaymā'. "al-Ḥarakah al-niswīyah al-Ūrūbbīyah wa-ishkālīyat al-ḥurrīyah". *Mawqī' al-Muslim*, 14 Yūniyū 2012. mstrj' min: <http://www.almoslim.net/node/166478>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Māyū 2017.

Pandey, Vikas. "Haider: Why Is 'indian Hamlet' Controversial?" *BBC News*, 2017, [www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-india-29502393](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-india-29502393). Accessed 26 March 2017.



## English Bibliography

- Richcards, Steve. "Here Are the Qualities You Need to Be a Top Political Leader." *The Independent*, 2017, [www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/here-are-the-qualities-you-need-to-be-a-top-political-leader-9633829.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/here-are-the-qualities-you-need-to-be-a-top-political-leader-9633829.html). Accessed 2 April 2017.
- Riḍā, 'Umar. "Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā: dirāsah fi ḥayātuhu wa-a'māluh". *Mawqi' al-ḥayāh al-Jadīdah*, 18 Yanāyir 2021. mstrj' min: <https://www.alhaya.ps/ar/Article/126926/>-جبرا-إبراهيم-جبرا-دراسة-في-حياته-وأعماله. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 22 Mārs 2022
- Rītshārd al-thālith Ma'sāt 'Arabīyah". *Mawqi': Mu'assasat al-Shāriqah lil-Funūn*. mstrj' min, [sharjahart.org/ar/sharjah-art-foundation/projects/richard-iii-an-arab-tragedy](http://sharjahart.org/ar/sharjah-art-foundation/projects/richard-iii-an-arab-tragedy). Tārīkh alāstrjā' : 3 Sibtambr 2023.
- "Russian Revolution - Facts & Summary." *History.Com*, [www.history.com/topics/european-history/russian-revolution](http://www.history.com/topics/european-history/russian-revolution). Accessed 13 March 2017.
- "Sabab." *SABAB THEATRE*, [www.sabab.org](http://www.sabab.org). Accessed 20 May 2022.
- S, Ḥ. "Ḥulm laylah ṣayf .. 'alā Khashabah Ma'had al-Shāriqah lil-Funūn al-masrahīyah, Riyād 'Iṣmat yu'aṣrin rā'i'ah Shiksbīr alkwmydyh". *Mawqi' al-Bayān*, 28 Sibtambr 2002. mstrj' min: <https://www.albayan.ae/five-senses/arts/2002-09-28-1.1348991>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 9 Fabrāyir 2022.
- Ṣāliḥ, Ḥannā. "ba'da 14 sanat: ba'd Ab'ād iḡhtiyāl Qaṣīr wḥāwy wtwyny". *Mawqi' Ṣaḥīfat al-Sharq al-Awsat*, 5 Yūniyū 2019. mstrj' min: <https://aawsat.com/home/article/1755216/>-حنا-صالح/بعد-14-سنة-بعض-أبعاد-اغتيال-قصير-وحواي-وتويني. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 16 Uktūbir 2021.
- Sāmī, Muḥammad. "masrahīyah al-laylah al-thāniyah 'ashrah li-Shiksbīr D. 'Alī Khalīfah". *Mawqi' al-Hay'ah al-'Arabīyah lil-Masrah*, 2017. mstrj' min: <https://atitheatre.ae/مسرحية-الليلة-الثانية-عشرة-لشكسبير-د-ع>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 22 Mārs 2022.
- Sarḥān, 'Imād 'Umar. "qiṣṣat al-Shī'ah .. al-ḥikāyah min al-Bidāyah". *Mawqi' al-Jazīrah*, 2017. mstrj' min: <https://www.aljazeera.net/blogs/2017/5/28/قصة-الشيعه-الحكاية-من-البداية>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 7 Sibtambr 2021.

## English Bibliography

- Saxena, Akanksha. "Macaulay's Minutes: How A British Policy Treatise 'Westernised' Indian Education?" *The Logical Indian*, 2 Feb. 2022, [thelogicalindian.com/history/macaulay-indian-education-33724](http://thelogicalindian.com/history/macaulay-indian-education-33724). Accessed 30 March 2023.
- Sayf, Nismah. "al-masrah wa-tatawwur al-mujtama' al-Miṣrī fi al-niṣf al-Awwal min al-qarn al-'ishrīn". *Mawqi' bawwābat Shumūs nywz*, 2017. mstrj' min: <https://www.shomosnews.com/المسرح-وتطور-المجتمع-المصري-في-النصف-الاول/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Uktūbir 2021.
- "Seven Deadly Sins | Definition, History, & Examples." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, [www.britannica.com/topic/seven-deadly-sins](http://www.britannica.com/topic/seven-deadly-sins). Accessed 10 April 2019.
- Sha'bān, Ṣalāḥ. "al-naẓarīyah almykāfylyh: al-Ghāyah tbr al-wasīlah". *Mawqi' al-Jazīrah*, 14 Yanāyir 2017. mstrj' min: <https://www.aljazeera.net/blogs/2017/1/4/النظرية-الميكافيلية-الغاية-الغاية-الغاية>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 2 Yanāyir 2022.
- Sqbāny, ḥsānh. "allāyyk .. dhākirat atharīyah tarbutu al-mādī bālḥādr". *Mawqi' Mudawwanat waṭan al-Sūrī*, 4 Nūfimbir 2014. mstrj' min: <http://www.esyria.sy/edamascus/index.php?p=stories&filename=201411040050193>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 15 Māyū 2018.
- "Sulayman Al Bassam." *Sharjah Art Foundation*, [sharjahart.org/sharjah-art-foundation/people/al-bassam-sulayman](http://sharjahart.org/sharjah-art-foundation/people/al-bassam-sulayman). Accessed 8 Mar. 2022.
- "Sulayman Al." *NYU Gallatin*, [gallatin.nyu.edu/people/faculty/sa4127.html](http://gallatin.nyu.edu/people/faculty/sa4127.html). Accessed 16 May 2022.
- "Sunnis and Shia: Islam's Ancient Schism." *BBC News*, 4 Jan. 2016, [www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-16047709](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-16047709). Accessed 7 September 2021.
- "Surah Al-An'am - 1-165." *Quran*, [quran.com/6](http://quran.com/6). Accessed 14 Mar. 2018.
- "Surah Al-Infitar - Quran Search." *Search the Quran*, [search-the-quran.com/search/Surah+AL-Infitar/8](http://search-the-quran.com/search/Surah+AL-Infitar/8). Accessed 10 Mar. 2018.

## English Bibliography

- Şuwayliḥ, Khalīl. "al-Kuwaytī Sulaymān al-Bassām qār'an Shiksbīr: Rītshārd al-thālith bālkwfyh wāl'qāl". *Mawqi' al-akhbār*, 2008. mstrj' min: [https://al-akhbar.com/Culture\\_People/166518](https://al-akhbar.com/Culture_People/166518). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 18 Fabrāyir 2018.
- Ṭāhir, Suhayr. "'ulamā' bi-al-Azhar: altkāf' fī al-zawāj .. yqlṣ alānhyārāt al-usarīyah". *Mawqi' bawwābat al-Ahrām*, 20 Aghuṣṭus 2021m. mstrj' min: <https://gate.ahram.org.eg/daily/News/203851/41/820127/-فكر-دينى/علماء-بالأزهر-التكافؤ-فى-الزواج-يفلص-الانهيئات-ال>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 6 Fabrāyir 2022.
- Ṭal'at, Najāḥ. "'Alī al-Rā'ī". *Majallat al-qāfīlah*. mstrj' min: <https://qafilah.com/ar/علي-الراعي/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 3 Nūfimbir 2021.
- Tammām, Aḥmad. "Rifā'ah al-Ṭaḥṭawī bayna al-Azhar wa-Bārīs". *Mawqi' Islām Ūn lāyin*. mstrj' min: <https://islamonline.net/archive/الطهطاوي-بين-الأزهر-وباريس/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 23 Dīsimbir 2021.
- Tawak Kolkarman*, [www.tawakkolkarman.net/](http://www.tawakkolkarman.net/). Accessed 23 Feb. 2022.
- "Tawakkul Karman | Biography, Nobel Prize, and Facts." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, [www.britannica.com/biography/Tawakkul-Karman](http://www.britannica.com/biography/Tawakkul-Karman). Accessed 6 July 2021.
- "Text of Quran, Sura 5: AL-MAEDA (THE TABLE), Verse 32 - Verse 41." *ParsQuran*, [www.parsquran.com/data/show.php?sura=5&ayat=41&user=eng&lang=eng](http://www.parsquran.com/data/show.php?sura=5&ayat=41&user=eng&lang=eng). Accessed 30 Apr. 2019.
- The Avalon Project: Balfour Declaration November 2, 1917*, [avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/balfour.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/balfour.asp). Accessed 22 June 2022.
- "The Book of Knowledge ." *Sunnah*, [sunnah.com/riyadussaliheen/13/8](http://sunnah.com/riyadussaliheen/13/8). Accessed 3 Feb. 2017.
- "The Book of Miscellany." *Sunnah*, [sunnah.com/riyadussalihin:316](http://sunnah.com/riyadussalihin:316). Accessed 9 Oct. 2021.
- "The Book of the Prohibited Actions." *Sunnah*, [sunnah.com/riyadussaliheen/18/104](http://sunnah.com/riyadussaliheen/18/104). Accessed 30 Apr. 2019.

## English Bibliography

“The Guardian View on Morsi’s Death in Egypt: Shocking Because Foreseen | Editorial.” *The Guardian*, 18 June 2019, [www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jun/18/the-guardian-view-on-morsis-death-in-egypt-shocking-because-foreseen](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jun/18/the-guardian-view-on-morsis-death-in-egypt-shocking-because-foreseen).

“The Quranic Arabic Corpus - Translation.” *Quran*, [corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=23&verse=100](http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=23&verse=100). Accessed 12 June 2022.

Thompson, Tony. “Qatar Blast Kills Briton.” *The Guardian*, 20 Mar. 2005, [www.theguardian.com/world/2005/mar/20/tonythompson.theobserver](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/mar/20/tonythompson.theobserver). Accessed 3 Jan. 2021.

Thorpe, Vanessa. “Sufi or Not Sufi? That Is the Question.” *The Guardian*, 24 Oct. 2004, [www.theguardian.com/uk/2004/oct/24/religion.artsnews](http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2004/oct/24/religion.artsnews). Accessed 29 November 2016.

“Twelfth Night.” *Birmingham Stage*, [www.birminghamstage.com/shows/twelfth-night](http://www.birminghamstage.com/shows/twelfth-night).

Twngħ, Māw tsy. "ħawla al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah al-Jadīdah (1940) - al-juz' al-Awwal". *Mawqi' wa-ṣahīfat al-Ĥiwār al-Mutamaddin*, ‘A 1302, 30 Aghuṣṭus 2005. mstrj' min: <https://www.ahewar.org/m.asp?i=868>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 13 Fabrāyir 2022.

Twngħ, Māw tsy. "ħawla al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah al-Jadīdah (1940) - al-juz' al-Awwal". *Mawqi' wa-ṣahīfat al-Ĥiwār al-Mutamaddin*, ‘A 1302, 30 Aghuṣṭus 2005. mstrj' min: <https://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=44274>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 13 Fabrāyir 2022.

‘Uqbī, Ḥamīd. "al-Kātib al-‘Irāqī Aḥmad al-Mājid: al-masrah lā yashghalu bāl mjt m'ātnā al-‘Arabīyah kthyran". *Mawqi' ra'y al-yawm*, 2015. mstrj' min: <https://www.raialyoum.com/index.php/الكاتب-العراقي-أحمد-الماجد-المسرح-لا-ي-العراق>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 10 Yanāyir 2019.

‘Uthmān, Nārīmān. "Shiksbīr yrāfq al-aṭfāl al-Sūrīyīn bi-Mukhayyam alz'try". *Mawqi' al-Jazīrah*, 2014. mstrj' min:



## English Bibliography

<https://www.aljazeera.net/news/cultureandart/2014/3/13/شكسبير-يرافق-الأطفال-السوريين-بمخيم>.

Tārīkh alāstrjā': 21 Yūliyū 2021.

White, Ellen. "No, No, Bad Dog: Dogs in the Bible - Biblical Archaeology Society." *Biblical Archaeology Society* -, 2019, [www.biblicalarchaeology.org/daily/ancient-cultures/daily-life-and-practice/dogs-in-the-bible](http://www.biblicalarchaeology.org/daily/ancient-cultures/daily-life-and-practice/dogs-in-the-bible). Accessed 2 February 2019.

Wilcox, Z. "Fragment of Captain William Keeling's Journal: Hamlet and Richard II Possibly Performed at Sea." *Shakespeare Documented*, [shakespearedocumented.folger.edu/resource/document/fragment-captain-william-keelings-journal-hamlet-and-richard-ii-possibly-performed](http://shakespearedocumented.folger.edu/resource/document/fragment-captain-william-keelings-journal-hamlet-and-richard-ii-possibly-performed). Accessed 5 Oct. 2021.

"Women Have Emerged as Key Players in the Arab Spring." *The Guardian*, 22 Apr. 2011, [www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/22/women-arab-spring](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/22/women-arab-spring). Accessed 6 July 2021.

"Women's History, Feminist History." *Women's History, Feminist History - Articles - Making History*, 2017, [archives.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/womens\\_history.html](http://archives.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/womens_history.html). Accessed 10 March 2017.

Zaydān, Ilhām. "min hiya Nawāl al-Sa' dāwī?". *Mawqi' al-waṭan nywz*, 21 Mārs 2021. mstrj' min: <https://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/5387255> Tārīkh alāstrjā': 19 Māyū 2021.

Yūnus, Muḥammad Rif'at. "t'thyr shksbyr fy 'jrtsm .3102 ,ānuḥarsaM 'iqwaM ."yršmla ḥrsmlā :nim <http://www.masrahona.com/المعدية/item/2600-شكسبير-في-شكسبير> %E2%80%AE-%E2%80%ACالمصري. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 1 Māyū 2018.

Zaynab, Firās. "al-Ḥakawātī .. shakhṣīyah min al-māḍī tarwī al-buṭūlāt wa-al-ḥikāyāt". *Mawqi' Ṣaḥīfat al-Bayān*, 14 Uktūbir 2005. mstrj' min: <https://www.albayan.ae/sports/2005-10-14-1.984241>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 21 Fabrāyir 2022.

## English Bibliography

### Videos

Aflām al-khaṭṭ al-Aḥmar. "al-Rabī‘ al-‘Arabī | al-ḥalaqah alā‘awlā". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf’ bi-wāsiṭat: Red Line Films, 14 Yanāyir 2017.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GK\\_mEtgC5GE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GK_mEtgC5GE). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 6 Uktūbir 2021.

Al-Bassam, Sulayman, director. *Richard III: An Arab Tragedy*. *MIT Global Shakespeares*, 2007,

<https://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/richard-3-al-bassam-sulayman-2007/#video=richard-3-al-bassam-sulayman-2007>. Accessed 12 May 2023.

Al-Bassam, Sulayman, director. *The Al-Hamlet Summit (Al-Bassam 2004)*. *MIT Global*

*Shakespeares*, 2004, <https://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/hamlet-al-bassam-sulayman-2004/#video=hamlet-al-bassam-sulayman-2004>. Accessed 11 May 2023.

Al-Bassam, Sulayman, director. *The Speaker’s Progress (Twelfth Night) Al-Bassam 2011*. *MIT*

*Global Shakespeares*, 2011, <https://globalshakespeares.mit.edu/the-speakers-progress-al-bassam-sulayman-2011/#video=the-speakers-progress-al-bassam-sulayman-2011>.

Accessed 28 June 2016.

al-Bassām, Sulaymān. "liqā’ Sulaymān al-Bassām fi Barnāmaj bālkwyty ‘an al-ikhrāj al-

masraḥī". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf’ bi-wāsiṭat AlziadiQ8 Plus 3, 13 abryl2017 . mstrj‘ min: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hMQUjrTQIgU>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Māyū 2022.

al-Hay’ah al-‘Arabīyah lil-Masraḥ. "i‘lān masraḥīyah Rītshārd al-thālith – Tūnis". *ywtywb*,

tamma al-Raf’ bi-wāsiṭat: AtiTheatre Chanel, 2 Yanāyir 2014.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JL4G\\_ZXJK1k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JL4G_ZXJK1k). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Sibtambir 2018.

al-Hay’ah al-‘Arabīyah lil-Masraḥ. "masraḥīyah mā ba‘da al-insān-masraḥ khwrfkān". *ywtywb*,

tamma al-Raf’ bi-wāsiṭat: AtiTheatre Chanel, 27 Mārs 2018.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CNMsbp-08W0&t=282s>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 24

Yūniyū 2022.

## English Bibliography

- al-Hay'ah al-‘Arabīyah lil-Masrah. "masrahīyah Rītshārd-Tūnis-Mihrajān Ayyām al-Shāriqah al-masrahīyah al-dawrah 24 – 2014". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: AtiTheatre Chanel, 17 Mārs 2014. <https://youtu.be/Dz0fzY6YvSI>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 20 Yanāyir 2019.
- al-Jazīrah al-wathā’iqīyah. "al-‘Amīd-1 al-mutamarrid". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: Al Jazeera Documentary al-Jazīrah al-wathā’iqīyah, 15 Nūfimbir 2019.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=esdVvn8iucE&t=599s>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 4 Yūniyū 2022.
- al-Khalīj, Shādī wālkhraz, Sanā’. "kullamā zādt al-miḥan". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: Nasser Al Shaibani, 29 Mārs 2008. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BcUqr\\_dphSM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BcUqr_dphSM). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 14 Fabrāyir 2022.
- al-Khuḍayr, ‘Abd al-Karīm. "min huwa al-Šāliḥ". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat Durūs Ma‘ālī al-Shaykh al-Duktūr ‘Abd-al-Karīm al-Khuḍayr, 1 Abrīl 2014. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rx-WrvsotSo>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘ : 29 Sibtambr 2021.
- al-Nābulusī, Muḥammad Rātib. "tafsīr Sūrat alānftār". *ywtywb*. tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat Tareq Amro, 17 Māyū 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=02t1J4PThMw>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 1 Māyū 2018.
- al-Nābulusī, Muḥammad Rātib. "tafsīr Sūrat alānftār-al-Duktūr Muḥammad Rātib al-Nābulusī". *ywtywb*. 2016. mstrj‘ min: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pysHdICxVUw> Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 1 Māyū 2018.
- Bākathīr, ‘Alī Aḥmad. "Maḥta‘ min liqā’ ma‘a al-adīb Bākathīr fī tilifizyūn al-Kuwayt". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: zubaidi2, 6 Māyū 2008.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TZnzPCLQeOo>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 30 Mārs 2021.
- Bishārah, ‘Azmī. "al-siyāqāt al-tārīkhīyah li-nushū’ al-‘Almānīyah". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf' bi-wāsiṭat: al-Markaz al-‘Arabī ArabCenter, 23 Māyū 2012.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t0SWUJwNjwY>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 1 Nūfimbir 2021.

## English Bibliography

- “Consequences of the War and Occupation of Iraq.” *GlobalPolicy*, 2019,  
<https://archive.globalpolicy.org/security/issues/iraq/attack/conseqindex.htm>. Accessed 28  
Sept. 2019.
- “Conversations with History - Talal Asad.” *UC Berkeley Events*, YouTube, 17 Oct. 2008,  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kfAGnxKfwOg>. Accessed 2 Oct. 2018.
- Ismā‘īl, Sayyid. "‘arḍ masraḥīyah mā ba‘da al-insān .. Ayyām al-Shāriqah al-masraḥīyah".  
*ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf’ abwāsth: Sayed Esmail, 21 Mārs 2018.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=GuLOgWkoQjU>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 17  
Yanāyir 2019.
- Jāryd, Aḥmad. "al-athar ba‘da al-insān". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf’ bi-wāsiṭat: Banan Alyousef, 22  
Yanāyir 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zJK0Qs-EVTM>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 9  
Yūniyū 2019.
- Khālīd, Shū. "Salāmah Ḥijāzī-yā ghzālan ṣād qalbī jfnh". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf’ bi-wāsiṭat:  
Shoug Khaled, 7 Aghustus 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f6IuzKAX9MM>.  
Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 29 Sibtambr 2021.
- Maktabat al-Jazīrah al-mar’īyah. "al-mashshā’-Sulaymān al-Bassām .. Hāmlit fi Jazīrat Faylakā  
al-Kuwaytīyah kw". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf’ bi-wāsiṭat: Aljazeera Media Library  
Maktabat al-Jazīrah al-mar’īyah, 5 Dīsimbir 2019.  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1MyNV1\\_nis](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1MyNV1_nis). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 21 Māyū 2022.
- Nūr sā. "Hāmlit 1 al-Sūrī \_ HAMLET". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf’ bi-wāsiṭat: noor sa, 3 Dīsimbir  
2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKydAQdwfME>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 7 Abrīl  
2018.
- Nūr sā. "Hāmlit 2 al-Sūrī \_ HAMLET". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Raf’ bi-wāsiṭat: noor sa, 4 Dīsimbir  
2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=brAIT5-tbrg>. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 7 Abrīl 2018.

## English Bibliography

- Rādyw al-masraḥ. "Rītshārd 3". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Rafʿ bi-wāsiṭat: RADIO THEATRE, 1 Dīsimbir 2013. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i\\_LrH4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i_LrH4). Tārīkh alāstrjāʿ: 24 Sibtambr 2018.
- Sulaymān, Maḥmūd. "al-Kātib Mārūn al-Naqqāsh al-juzʿ 1". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Rafʿ bi-wāsiṭat: al-Duktūr Maḥmūd Sulaymān, 29 Mārs 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yDW32xPAuOk>. Tārīkh alāstrjāʿ: 24 Nūfimbir 2021.
- Sulaymān, Maḥmūd. "Mārūn al-Naqqāsh al-juzʿ 2". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Rafʿ bi-wāsiṭat: al-Duktūr Maḥmūd Sulaymān, 29 Mārs 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=29ZmPgd4q1o>. Tārīkh alāstrjāʿ: 24 Nūfimbir 2021.
- Wannūs, Saʿd Allāh. "al-Kātib al-kabīr Saʿd Allāh Wannūs yataḥaddath maʿa Sufyān Jabr ʿan al-Dīmuqrāṭīyah wa-al-ḥurrīyah wa-al-Thaqāfah al-juzʿ al-Awwal". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Rafʿ bi-wāsiṭat: harb967, 7 mārs 2011. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSkxpWJWs0c>. Tārīkh alāstrjāʿ: 14 Abrīl 2021.
- Yūnus, ʿAbbās. "min al-adab al-Injilīzī : al-laylah al-thānīyah ʿashrah .. Shiksbīr". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Rafʿ bi-wāsiṭat: al-Barnāmaj al-Thaqāfī-al-Idhāʿah al-Miṣrīyah, 11 Fabrāyir 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xWAmuWhFVRw&lc=UghXmRbMF16lMHgCoAEC>. Tārīkh alāstrjāʿ: 10 Abrīl 2021.
- Zāyid, Aḥmad. "al-Masīḥīyah Asās Ḥaḍārat al-Gharb al-Awwal". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Rafʿ bi-wāsiṭat: Ahmed Zayed, 22 Māyū 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LDmLqIHLyIE>. Tārīkh alāstrjāʿ: 7 Yūliyū 2017.
- Zāyid, Aḥmad. "fīkr al-Imām Ibn Rushd wa-faṣl al-maqāl". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Rafʿ bi-wāsiṭat: Ahmed Zayed, 5 Sibtambr 2012. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=05TbQk1YS50>. Tārīkh alāstrjāʿ: 11 Yūliyū 2017.

## English Bibliography

Zāyid, Aḥmad. "Miṣr Nābuliyūn wa-al-ḥamlah al-Faransīyah". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Rafʿ bi-wāsiṭat: Ahmed Zayed, 12 Uktūbir 2013.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvL5HF161fA>. Tārīkh alāstrjāʿ: 16 Dīsimbir 2018.

Zāyid, Aḥmad. "Miṣr taḥta al-iḥtilāl al-Injilīzī". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Rafʿ bi-wāsiṭat: Ahmed

Zayed, 14 Nūfimbir 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZiEg93H-TOA>. Tārīkh alāstrjāʿ: 20 Uktūbir 2021.

Zāyid, Aḥmad. "muqaddimāt fi Falsafat al-tārīkh". *ywtywb*, tamma al-Rafʿ bi-wāsiṭat: Ahmed

Zayed, 23 Fabrāyir 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W8hQLMkoB3U>. Tārīkh alāstrjāʿ: 10 Nūfimbir 2021.

Arabic Bibliography

المراجع العربية

مصادر رئيسية (كتب ومجلات):

- أبو هيف، عبدالله. المسرح العربي المعاصر قضايا ورؤى وتجارب. اتحاد الكتب العربية، ٢٠٠٢، ص ص. 400-425.
- إسماعيل، سيد. تاريخ المسرح في العالم العربي: القرن التاسع عشر. كتاب إلكتروني، مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم والثقافة، 1999.
- مسترجع من: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/58285828> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 17 أكتوبر 2021.
- إسماعيل، سيد. قراءة في تاريخ المسرح الكويتي من خلال وثائق غير منشورة ١٩٦١-١٩٧١. ط1، مركز البحوث والدراسات الكويتية، 2015.
- إسماعيل، سيد. "التفاصيل المجهولة لأول معهد مسرحي في مصر (20) طلاب معهد التمثيل بالفرقة القومية". جريدة مسرحنا، الهيئة العامة لقصور الثقافة، 29 يونيو 2020. مسترجع من:
- <https://www.gocp.gov.eg/masr7na/articles.aspx?ArticleID=53063> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 21 مارس 2022.
- إسماعيل، سيد. "التفاصيل المجهولة لأول معهد مسرحي في مصر (23) الطالب عباس يونس يكتب من لندن". جريدة مسرحنا، الهيئة العامة لقصور الثقافة، 20 يوليو 2020. مسترجع من:
- <https://www.gocp.gov.eg/Masr7na/articles.aspx?ArticleID=53115> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 21 مارس 2022.
- آل برجل، أحمد. الصالونات الأدبية في الوطن العربي. كتاب إلكتروني، دار الفضيحة للنشر والتوزيع، ٢٠١٦. مسترجع من:
- [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=oZIUDwAAQBAJ&newbks=1&newbks\\_redir=0&dq=صالون+نازلي+الثقافي&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=oZIUDwAAQBAJ&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&dq=صالون+نازلي+الثقافي&source=gbs_navlinks_s) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 أكتوبر 2021.
- الألوسي، محمود شكري. تاريخ نجد الأثري. تحقيق: محمد بهجة الأثري، كتاب إلكتروني، مكتبة مدبولي، 2007، ص 31-39.
39. مسترجع من: <https://archive.org/details/FP99064/page/n38/mode/2up>

## Arabic Bibliography

- الأندلسي، علي. *طوق الحمامة في الألفة والألاف*. ط1، كتاب إلكتروني، مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم والثقافة، 2014، ص ص.
- 12-16. مسترجع من: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/97086179> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 16 أبريل 2021.
- الأنور، محمد. "السلفية الوهابية والربيع العربي". *جريدة السوداني*، 5 يناير 2013. مسترجع من:
- <https://www.sudaress.com/alsudani/12389> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 16 مايو 2022.
- بدران، شبل. *التربية المدنية: التعليم والمواطنة وحقوق الإنسان*. تقديم: حامد عمار، ط1، كتاب إلكتروني، الدار المصرية اللبنانية، 2009، ص ص. 51-58. مسترجع من: <https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/>
- التربية المدنية* [UJqsDQAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0](https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/UJqsDQAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28 مارس 2022.
- بعلي، حفناوي. *الترجمة الأدبية: الخطاب المهاجر ومخاطبة الآخر*. ترجمة: عبد القادر القط، دار اليازوري للنشر والتوزيع، 2018.
- بكير، أمين. "وليم شكسبير: مسرحه كل الدنيا". *مجلة الفيصل*، ع. 204، نوفمبر/ ديسمبر 1993، ص ص. 112-115.
- مسترجع من:
- <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=doNcDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gb>
- [s\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=doNcDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gb) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 29 سبتمبر 2021.
- بولاط، عائشة. مقارنة بين أطروحتي تشارلز تايلر وطلال أسد حول إشكالية التعلم. ترجمة: محمد كريم. مركز نماء للبحوث والدراسات، دبت، ص ص. 2-22.
- تاجر، جاك. *حركة الترجمة بمصر خلال القرن التاسع عشر*. كتاب إلكتروني، مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم والثقافة، 2014، ص ص. 53-57. مسترجع من: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/31613630>.
- تشارلز. لام، وميري لارم. *قصص من شكسبير*. ترجمة: محمد بدران، أقلام عربية للنشر والتوزيع، 2017، مقدمة الترجمة.
- الجاحظ، عمرو. *كتاب الحيوان*، تحقيق: عبد السلام محمد هارون، مج1، ط2، كتاب إلكتروني، دار الكتب العلمية، 1965.
- مسترجع من: <https://foulabook.com/ar/book/> *الحيوان-مجلد-pdf* تاريخ الاسترجاع: 22 سبتمبر 2021.
- الجبرتي، عبد الرحمن. *عجائب الآثار في التراجم والأخبار*. ط1، كتاب إلكتروني، ج 4، مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم والثقافة، 2013، ص ص. 213. مسترجع من: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/53519152> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 17 سبتمبر 2021.



## Arabic Bibliography

- الجودر، صلاح. مقالات الإصلاح السياسي. دار الفارابي للنشر والتوزيع، ٢٠١٢، ص ص. 36-46.
- الراسخي، فروزان. المرأة في العرفان الإسلامي والمسيحي حتى القرن الثامن الهجري. دار الهادي للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع، ٢٠٠٤.
- الراعي، علي. المسرح في الوطن العربي. ط2، كتاب إلكتروني، عالم المعرفة، المجلس الوطني للثقافة والفنون والآداب بالكويت، 1999، ص ص. 29-47. مسترجع من:
- <https://ia802807.us.archive.org/21/items/ebw02/248.pdf> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 مايو 2021.
- الراعي، علي. "تكريس الهوية أو الانتحار". صحيفة اليوم، 2004. مسترجع من:
- <https://www.alyaum.com/articles/149111/>-د-علي-الراعي تاريخ الاسترجاع: 30 مارس 2022.
- الرافعي، عبد الرحمن. الزعيم الثائر أحمد عرابي. ط1، كتاب إلكتروني، مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم والثقافة، 2020، ص ص. 135-141. مسترجع من: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/27518393> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 12 يونيو 2022.
- الرمادي، جمال الدين. فصول مقارنة بين أدبي الشرق والغرب. ط1، كتاب إلكتروني، الدار القومية للطباعة والنشر، 1900، ص ص. 28-33. مسترجع من: <https://www.noor-book.com/> كتاب-فصول-مقارنة-بين-أدبي-الشرق-و-الغرب-pdf- تاريخ الاسترجاع: 27 مارس 2021.
- الزيات، حبيبت. المرأة في الجاهلية. كتاب إلكتروني، مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم والثقافة، 2012، ص ص. 1-38.
- زيتونة، لطيف. "ترجمة المسرحية إلى العربية في عصر النهضة". مجلة الفيصل، ع. 136، مركز الملك فيصل للبحوث والدراسات الإسلامية، 1988، ص ص. 28-32. مسترجع من:
- <https://www.google.com.qa/books/edition/mT1ZDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1>مجلة الفيصل
- <https://www.google.com.qa/books/edition/mT1ZDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=ترجمة+المسرحية+إلى+العربية+في+عصر+النهضة+زيتونة&pg=PT3&printsec=frontcover> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 30 مارس 2022.
- الزين، حسن. الربيع العربي. آخر عمليات الشرق الأوسط الكبير. كتاب إلكتروني، دار القلم الجديد، 2013. مسترجع من:
- <https://books4arab.me/>تحميل-كتاب-الربيع-العربي-آخر-عمليات-ال- تاريخ الاسترجاع: 23 مايو 2022.
- السيمان، خالد. "خليج واحد.. مصير واحد". موقع إيلاف، ٦ يناير ٢٠٢١. مسترجع من:
- [elaph.com/Web/NewsPapers/2021/01/1315702.html](http://elaph.com/Web/NewsPapers/2021/01/1315702.html) تاريخ الاسترجاع: ٢٠ مارس ٢٠٢٢

## Arabic Bibliography

- رمزي، محمود. "الخليج العربي". موقع الموسوعة العربية. مسترجع من: <https://arab-ency.com.sy/ency/details/4723/8>. تاريخ الاسترجاع: ١٦ مايو ٢٠٢٢.
- سادجروف، فيليب. *المسرح المصري في القرن التاسع عشر (١٧٩٩-١٨٨٢)*. ترجمة: أمين العيوطي، تقديم وتعليق: سيد علي إسماعيل، المركز القومي للمسرح والفنون الشعبية، 1996.
- سارجروف، فيليب. *المسرح المصري في القرن التاسع عشر (1799-1882)*. المركز القومي للترجمة بالقاهرة، 1996.
- سعد، فاروق. *خيال الظل العربي*. شركة المطبوعات للتوزيع والنشر، 1993.
- السعداوي، نوال. *المرأة والجنس*. ط4، كتاب إلكتروني، دار ومطابع المستقبل، 1990، ص ص. 7-11. مسترجع من: <https://foulabook.com/ar/book/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B1%D8%AC%D9%84-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%86%D8%B3-pdf> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 19 مارس 2021.
- السعداوي، نوال. *المرأة والصراع النفسي*. ط 3، دار ومطابع المستقبل، 1993.
- السعداوي، نوال. *نكريات بين الثورة والإبداع*. شركة المطبوعات للتوزيع والنشر، 2016.
- سيدو، أمين. "الظواهر البيولوجرافية وإشكالياتها في ترجمة المسرحيات الأجنبية". *مجلة الفيصل*، ع. 322، 2003، ص ص. 56-61. مسترجع من: <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=NU9iDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT60&lpg=PT60&dq=+سامي+جرديني+هاملت&source=bl&ots=yWC6USEj92&sig=ACfU3U1ioa-املت&f=false> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 8 مايو 2021.
- شبر، صلاح. *الثورة الشعبية وثورات الربيع العربي*. كتاب إلكتروني. دار روافد، 2014. مسترجع من: <https://www.noor-book.com/كتاب-ثورات-الربيع-العربي-pdf> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 23 مايو 2022.
- شرف، عبد العزيز. "أحمد علي باكثير والمسرح الشعري في الأدب الحديث". *مجلة الفيصل*، ع. 30، 1979، ص ص. 72-77. مسترجع من: <https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/-/DdWDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PT73&dq=الليلة+الثانية+عشرة+لشكسبير+في+مسرح+مص> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 29 يناير 2021.

## Arabic Bibliography

شكري، غالي. *مذكرات ثقافة تحتضر*. ط1، كتاب إلكتروني، دار الطليعة للنشر والتوزيع، 1970. مسترجع من:

[https://ia801905.us.archive.org/21/items/modhakerat\\_thaqafa\\_tahtadher/modhaker](https://ia801905.us.archive.org/21/items/modhakerat_thaqafa_tahtadher/modhaker)

at [thaqafa tahtadher.pdf](https://ia801905.us.archive.org/21/items/modhakerat_thaqafa_tahtadher/modhaker) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 4 يونيو 2022.

شكسبير، وليم. *الليلة الثانية عشر أو ما تشاء*. ترجمة: جبرا إبراهيم جبرا، كتاب إلكتروني، دار المأمون للترجمة والنشر، 1989، ص ص. 9-11. مسترجع من:

[https://archive.org/details/20200130\\_20200130\\_1352/page/n3/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/20200130_20200130_1352/page/n3/mode/2up) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 29

مارس 2021.

شكسبير، وليم. *ريتشارد الثالث: مسرحية في خمسة فصول*. ترجمة: عبد القادر القط، كتاب إلكتروني، 1990. مسترجع من:

<https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=2f8dDgAAQBAJ&hl=en> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 17

يناير 2019.

شكسبير، وليم. *الملك ريتشارد الثاني*. ترجمة وتقديم: محمد عناني، كتاب إلكتروني، الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب، 1998.

مسترجع من: <https://www.noor-book.com/> كتاب-ريتشارد-الثاني-شكسبير-ترجمه-عناني-pdf- تاريخ

الاسترجاع: 11 يوليو 2021.

شكسبير، وليم. *هاملت*. ترجمة: طانيوس عبده، المجلس الأعلى للثقافة بالقاهرة، 2005، ص. 8.

ضيف، شوقي. *تاريخ الأدب العربي*. ج5، منشورات ذوي القربي عن طبعة دار المعارف، ط1، 2021، ط2، 1427.

الطهطاوي، رفاعة. *تلخيص الإبريز في تلخيص باريز*. ط1، مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم والثقافة، 2010. مسترجع من:

<https://www.hindawi.org/books/46205086/> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 31 مايو 2021.

الطيب، محمد، وحنين، رشدي، ومنسي، محمود. *الإخوان المسلمون أحداث صنعت التاريخ*. ط1، دار الدعوة للنشر والطبع

والتوزيع، 1994، ص ص. 75-97. مسترجع من: <https://www.noor-book.com/> كتاب-الإخوان-المسلمين-

[أحداث-صنعت-التاريخ-pdf](https://www.noor-book.com/) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 فبراير 2019.

عائش، عبد الفتاح. *معجم الأدياء من العصر الجاهلي حتى سنة 2002*. ج4، ط1، كتاب إلكتروني، دار الكتب العلمية، 2003.

مسترجع من: <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=7ys->

[CwAAQBAJ&pg=PT9&lpg=PT9&dq=&source=bl&ots=ريتشارد+الثالث](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=7ys-CwAAQBAJ&pg=PT9&lpg=PT9&dq=&source=bl&ots=ريتشارد+الثالث)

[bhlsqmJCrA&sig=ACfU3U0U9oq2kKJVsr-](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=7ys-bhlsqmJCrA&sig=ACfU3U0U9oq2kKJVsr-)

## Arabic Bibliography

[47jun1aQaD0AnLw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjf3ZXL74TjAhUzoXEKHXQfDZYQ](https://www.kutubpdfbook.com/book/47jun1aQaD0AnLw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjf3ZXL74TjAhUzoXEKHXQfDZYQ&f=fa)  
[6AEwAXoECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=](https://www.kutubpdfbook.com/book/6AEwAXoECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=)

. lse

عدوان، ممدوح. *هاملت يستيقظ متأخرًا*. ط1، كتاب إلكتروني، الزاوية للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع، 1980، ص. 5. مسترجع من: <https://www.kutubpdfbook.com/book/> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 يناير 2018.

عصمت، رياض. *حادثة وأصالة*. دار الفكر، 2013.

العقاد، عباس. *ابن رشد*. كتاب إلكتروني، مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم والثقافة، 2014، ص. 7-19. مسترجع من:

<https://www.hindawi.org/books/73941747>

عوض، رمسيس. *شكسبير في مصر*. كتاب إلكتروني، الهيئة العامة المصرية للكتاب، 1986. مسترجع من:

[https://www.dopdfwn.com/cacnretra/scgdfnya/shksber-fy-msr-awd-ar\\_PTIFf.pdf](https://www.dopdfwn.com/cacnretra/scgdfnya/shksber-fy-msr-awd-ar_PTIFf.pdf) تاريخ

الاسترجاع: 7 مارس 2020.

عوض، لويس. *ثورة الفكر في عصر النهضة الأوروبية*. ط1، 1987، كتاب إلكتروني، مركز الأهرام للترجمة والنشر، ص. 73-105. مسترجع من: <https://foulabook.com/ar/book/> *ثورة الفكر في عصر النهضة الأوروبية*.pdf-

تاريخ الاسترجاع: 14 مايو 2022.

فوزي، مؤيد. "رأي في نقل ترجمة أعمال شكسبير إلى العربية". *مجلة الجسرة الثقافية*، ع. 6، أبريل 2011. مسترجع من:

<http://aljasra.org/archive/cms/?p=546> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 17 أكتوبر 2021.

الفيل، محمد. *رؤية وبيان حالة المسرح العربي (1) التأسيس*. الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب، 2001، ص. 33-59.

لتقن، مارجريت. *رحلة هاملت العربية: أمير شكسبير وشيخ عبدالناصر*. ترجمة: سها السباعي، كتاب إلكتروني، المركز

القومي للترجمة بالقاهرة، 2006، ص. 40-54. مسترجع من:

<https://www.dopdfwn.com/cacnretra/scgdfnya/pdf-books-org-5N9N6.pdf> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 8

يونيو 2021.

محبك، أحمد. "التناص مع هاملت شكسبير في مسرحية هاملت يستيقظ متأخرًا". *مجلة الموقف الأدبي*، 2016، ص. 17-

32. مسترجع من: <http://www.awu.sy/PublicFiles/pdf/mawkif/mawkif537.pdf> تاريخ الاسترجاع:

12 نوفمبر 2017.

## Arabic Bibliography

منصور، أشرف. "نظرية هابرماس في المجال العام". كتاب أوراق فلسفية غير الدوري، ع. 7، 2002، ص ص. 251-264. مسترجع من: <https://search.mandumah.com/Record/625503> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28 مايو 2021.

ياغي، إسماعيل. تاريخ العالم العربي المعاصر. مكتبة العبيكان، 2011.

ياغي، عبد الرحمن. في الجهود العربية المسرحية: من مارون النقاش إلى توفيق الحكيم. دار الفارابي للنشر والتوزيع، 1999.

### مصادر ثانوية (كتب ومجلات):

إبراهيم، مفيدة. المرأة العربية والفكر الحديث. دار مجدلاوي للنشر والتوزيع، 2000، ص ص. 21-41.

أبو حسن. "الشعر والمأساة في مسرح ممدوح عدوان.. الكتابة عن المهتمين في الحياة". مجلة صحفي، 10 مارس 2006.

مسترجع من:

<http://www.sahafi.jo/arc/art1.php?id=f4041461fb43b10a052f57ed9ec4f1daa179baba> تاريخ

الاسترجاع: 3 أبريل 2018.

أركون، محمد. الفكر الأصولي واستحالة التأصيل. دار الساقى، 2011.

إسحاق، رافائيل. تاريخ نصارى العراق منذ انتشار النصرانية في الأقطار العراقية إلى أيامنا. ط1، كتاب إلكتروني، مطبعة

المنصور، 1948، ص ص. 120-144. مسترجع من: <https://www.noor-book.com/> كتاب-تاريخ-نصاري-

العراق-منذ-انتشار-النصرانية-في-الأقطار-العراقية-إلى-أيامنا-pdf- تاريخ الاسترجاع: 12 يوليو 2021.

إسماعيل، سيد. مسيرة المسرح في مصر 1900-1935: فرق المسرح الغنائي. كتاب إلكتروني، مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم

والثقافة، 2018، ص ص. 11 - 63. مسترجع من: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/80285963/0.3>

تاريخ الاسترجاع: 30 مارس 2022.

آل علي، نور الدين. الإمام الصادق كما عرفه علماء الغرب، ط1، كتاب إلكتروني، دار الذخائر للمطبوعات، 1988. مسترجع

من: <https://www.aqaed.com/ahlulbait/books/askeugh/indexs.htm> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 31 مارس

2019.

بالحاج، الهواري. "ثورات الربيع العربي: أسبابها ونتائجها". مجلة الدراسات الحقوقية، ص ص 470-493. مسترجع من:

<https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/downArticle/137/9/2/212362>. تاريخ الاسترجاع: 22 فبراير 2022.

## Arabic Bibliography

- حنا، سامح. "ترجمات مآسي شكسبير الكبرى في مصر". *صحيفة المستقبل*، 2004. مسترجع من: <http://almustaqbal.com/article/69484/> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 يناير 2018.
- حنا، سامح. "التاريخ الاجتماعي للترجمة في مصر - القسم الأول من قسمين". *مجلة ديوان العرب*. 21 مارس 2006. مسترجع من: <http://www.diwanalarab.com/spip.php?article3788> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 1 يونيو 2017.
- الخميسي، أحمد. "التعريب .. خطوتان للأمام". *سودانيز أون لاين*، 21 يناير 2016. مسترجع من: <http://sudaneseonline.com/board/7/msg/html1453388562> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 مارس 2018.
- زرزار، أ. "هاملت معاصرنا.. الحزن يليق بسوريا". *صحيفة الأخبار*، 5 مايو 2012. مسترجع من: [https://www.al-akhbar.com/Literature\\_Arts/69254](https://www.al-akhbar.com/Literature_Arts/69254) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 30 مارس 2018.
- صحيفة الخليج. "محفوظ غزال: أعدت كتابة" ريتشارد الثالث" من جديد". *موقع صحيفة الخليج*، 15 يناير 2014. مسترجع من: <http://www.alkhaleej.ae/alkhaleej/page/33ba6e96-99ba-40af-87d2-8a3b4418d4fe> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 أكتوبر 2019.
- العقاد، عباس. *التعريف بشكسبير*. كتاب إلكتروني، مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم والثقافة، 2014. مسترجع من: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/80382405/> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 15 مايو 2018.
- علي، هاني. "فن المقامات.. من فنون الأدب العربي المنسية". *موقع أراجيك*، 24 يونيو 2015. مسترجع من: <https://www.arageek.com/art/2015/06/24/maqama-forgotten-arabic-art.html> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 مارس 2018.
- الفاضلي، داوود. *أصول المسيحية كما يصورها القرآن الكريم*. ط1، مكتبة المعارف، 1986. مؤسسة هنداوي. *كتب ومؤلفات عبد الرحمن الجبرتي*. مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم والثقافة. مسترجع من: <https://www.hindawi.org/contributors/28182839/> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 17 سبتمبر 2021.
- نافعة، حسن، وبوزورت، كليفورت. *تراث الإسلام*. ترجمة: حسين مؤنس وإحسان صدقي، مراجعة: فؤاد زكريا. ج 2، عالم المعرفة بالكويت، 1978.

## Arabic Bibliography

النقاش، مارون. أرزة لبنان. كتاب إلكتروني، المطبعة العمومية، 1869. مسترجع من: [https://www.noor-](https://www.noor-book.com/)

[book.com/](https://www.noor-book.com/) كتاب-أرزة-لبنان-pdf-تاريخ الاسترجاع: 1 أغسطس 2021.

هراس، محمد. الحركة الوهابية: رد على مقال الدكتور محمد البهي في نقد الوهابية. دار الكتاب العربي، 2007.

ياسين، عبد الرحمن وآخرون. التحول العاصف - سياسة إيران الخارجية بين عهدين. مكتبة مدبولي، 2006.

### المواقع الإلكترونية:

أبازيد، نادر. "إذن ما هو الإنسان الأعلى؟". موقع معابر. مسترجع من:

[http://www.maaber.org/issue\\_november03/lookout2.htm](http://www.maaber.org/issue_november03/lookout2.htm) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 فبراير 2019.

أبو اليزيد، أشرف. "سليمان البسام على مسرح الكون: قمة آل هاملت وأخواتها"، آسيا إن،

<http://ar.theasian.asia/archives/24717>. تاريخ الاسترجاع: 16 مايو 2016.

إبراهيم، عزة. "العشوائية تحكم عمل المركز القومي للترجمة". صحيفة الخليج، 2017. مسترجع من:

[https://www.alkhaleej.ae/](https://www.alkhaleej.ae/mlحق/العشوائية-تحكم-عمل-المركز-القومي-للترجمة-تاريخ-الاسترجاع: 1 مايو 2021)

2021.

إبراهيم، مي. "المسرح القومي بالقاهرة... كان صرخاً من فنون فهوى". اندبندنت عربية، 26 ديسمبر 2020. مسترجع من:

[https://www.independentarabia.com/node/179891/](https://www.independentarabia.com/node/179891) فنون/المسرح-القومي-بالقاهرة-كان-صرحاً-من-فنون-فهوى تاريخ

الاسترجاع: 26 مارس 2022.

إبراهيم، نهاد، وكامل، ناصر. "مؤتمر هاملت) تحصد جائزة أفضل مسرحية في مهرجان القاهرة". صحيفة الشرق الأوسط،

ع. 8689، 12 سبتمبر 2002. مسترجع من:

تاريخ <http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?article=124079&issueno=8689#.WQJtsbGZOrC>

الاسترجاع: 27 أكتوبر 2016.

ابن إبراهيم، عبد الرحمن. "فن المقامة.. هذه أساليب المقامة التي تجعل منها فناً مسرحياً". موقع عبد الرحمن بن إبراهيم، 20

أبريل 2015. مسترجع من: <http://www.abderrahmane-benibraheem.com/index.php/2018-03-23->

[17-44-27/325-2018-04-07-15-11-47](http://www.abderrahmane-benibraheem.com/index.php/2018-03-23-17-44-27/325-2018-04-07-15-11-47) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 نوفمبر 2021.

## Arabic Bibliography

- ابن باز، عبد العزيز. "حكم تقصير الثوب إلى ما فوق الكعب". موقع طريق الإسلام، 1 ديسمبر 2006. مسترجع من: <https://ar.islamway.net/fatwa/3983/> 26 مارس 2019.
- ابن باز، عبد العزيز. "هل اللحية واجبة أم جائزة؟". الموقع الرسمي لسماحة الشيخ عبد العزيز بن باز. مسترجع من: <https://binbaz.org.sa/fatwas/3629/> هل-اللحية-واجبة-ام-جائزة تاريخ الاسترجاع: 30 مارس 2019.
- ابن باز، عبد العزيز. "هل اللحية واجبة أم جائزة؟"، مجموع فتاوى ومقالات متنوعة، ج3. إدارة البحوث العلمية والإفتاء، 1999.
- ابن سلامة، رجاء، وأخريات. ثورة النساء: مخاوف من الربيع العربي. مركز المسبار للدراسات والبحوث، 2013.
- ابن كثير. "تفسير الآية 112، سورة الأنعام، تفسير ابن كثير". موقع مشروع المصحف الإلكتروني بجامعة الملك سعود. مسترجع من: <https://sites.google.com/site/alqranalkrym/swrte-alanam/1-13/1-2> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 14 مارس 2018.
- ابن كثير. "تفسير الآية 32، سورة المائدة، تفسير ابن كثير". موقع مشروع المصحف الإلكتروني بجامعة الملك سعود. مسترجع من: <http://quran.ksu.edu.sa/tafseer/katheer/sura5-aya32.html> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 30 أبريل 2019.
- أبو القام، عصام. "دراما الرهن في مرايا الكلاسيكيات". مجلة الفيصل، العدد: ٤٩٣-٤٩٤، نوفمبر/ديسمبر 2017. مسترجع من: <https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/O0s8DwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&pg=PT182&printsec=frontcover> مجلة الفيصل تاريخ الاسترجاع: 14 فبراير 2022.
- أبو حمدة، باسل. "الليلة الثانية عشرة.. معالجة إنسانية على جناح الحب". موقع البيان، 19 أبريل 2011. مسترجع من: <https://www.albayan.ae/five-senses/culture/2011-04-19-1.1423347> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 27 مايو 2021.
- أبو شنب، عادل. "الحكواتي". موقع الموسوعة العربية. مسترجع من: <http://arab.ency.com.sy/ency/details/4823/> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 11 يونيو 2021.



## Arabic Bibliography

- أبو شنب، عادل. "الحكواتي". *موقع الموسوعة العربية*. مسترجع من: <https://arab-ency.com.sy/ency/details/4823/8/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%83%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AA%D8%A9%8A> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 11 يونيو 2021.
- أحمد، محمد. "إعادة إنتاج الكلاسيكات ضرورة مسرحية". *صحيفة الخليج*، 2 مارس 2015. مسترجع من: <http://www.alkhaleej.ac/supplements/page/7153d85a-1ab7-4f91-8b27-e4d130bc85ef> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 4 فبراير 2018.
- إدريس، عبد النور. "حقيقة الأنثى بين الجاهلية والإسلام". *مجلة ديوان العرب*، 17 مايو 2011. مسترجع من: <http://www.diwanal-arab.com/spip.php?article28637> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 أغسطس 2017.
- إسلام ستوري دوت كوم. "ولادة بنت المستكفي". *موقع قصة الإسلام*. 10 ديسمبر 2019. مسترجع من: <https://www.islamstory.com/ar/artical/3409189/> ولادة-بنت-المستكفي تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28 يونيو 2021.
- إسلام ويب دوت نت. "الشهوة الجنسية.. حقيقتها.. الحكمة منها.. وخطورتها". *موقع إسلام ويب*. رقم الفتوى: 25077، 8 مارس 2003. مسترجع من: <https://www.islamweb.net/ar/fatwa/25077/> الشهوة-الجنسية-حقيقتها-الحكمة-منها-وخطورتها تاريخ الاسترجاع: 25 أبريل 2021.
- إسلام ويب دوت نت. "هل يخاطب قرين الميت الأحياء؟". *موقع إسلام ويب*، رقم الفتوى: 18135، 26 يونيو 2002. مسترجع من: <http://fatwa.islamweb.net/fatwa/index.php?page=showfatwa&Option=FatwaId&Id=18135> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 15 مايو 2018.
- إسماعيل، سامر. "عروة العربي يعيد إحياء هاملت الدانماركي على خشبة الحمراء". *موقع بوسطة*، 4 يوليو 2012. مسترجع من: <https://www.bostah.com/> عروة-العربي-يعيد-إحياء-هاملت-الدانماركي-على-خشبة-الحمراء.html. تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 فبراير 2022.
- الأمانة العامة لمجلس التعاون لدول الخليج العربية. النظام الأساسي. *موقع مجلس التعاون لدول الخليج العربية*. مسترجع من: <http://www.gcc-sg.org/ar-sa/AboutGCC/Pages/Primarylaw.aspx> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 مارس 2017.

## Arabic Bibliography

أيوب، محمد. "اللورد كرومر.. المندوب السامي الذي أخضع مصر ثقافيًا وعسكريًا". موقع الجزيرة، 2019. مسترجع من: <https://www.aljazeera.net/midan/intellect/history/2019/6/12/> اللورد-كرومر-المندوب-السامي-الذي-

أخضع تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 سبتمبر 2021.

باداود، وفاء. "ما العيب في ذكر اسم المرأة؟". موقع عكاظ، 15 مايو 2008. مسترجع من:

<https://www.okaz.com.sa/article/185182> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28 يونيو 2021.

بارع، ليلى. "على هامش دورته العشرين.. أحمد جاريدي يمثل المغرب في مهرجان الفنون الإسلامية بالشارقة". موقع مغرس،

27 ديسمبر 2017. مسترجع من: <https://www.maghress.com/alittihad/2036799> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 21

أكتوبر 2019.

الباشا، أروى. "مسرحية الليلة الثانية عشر لشكسبير تبدأ عرضها الأول في دمشق وتبهر الحضور". موقع سيريانيز، 30

مارس 2010. مسترجع من: <http://syria-news.info/var/articlem.php?id=8976> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 27

مايو 2021.

باكثير دوت كوم. "أحمد الماجد". موقع باكثير. مسترجع من: [http://www.bakatheer.com/temp/plays/ahmed\\_al-](http://www.bakatheer.com/temp/plays/ahmed_al-majed.htm)

[majed.htm](http://www.bakatheer.com/temp/plays/ahmed_al-majed.htm) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 5 يوليو 2019.

باكثير دوت كوم. "باكثير في سطور". موقع باكثير. مسترجع من: <http://www.bakatheer.com/sotor.php> تاريخ

الاسترجاع: 10 يوليو 2021.

بدران، وليد. "حرب 1967: كيف غيرت ستة أيام الشرق الأوسط للأبد؟". موقع بي بي سي عربي، 5 يونيو 2021. مسترجع

من: <https://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast-57360161> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 مايو 2021.

البدري، يوسف. "الحب في الله علاماته وفضله وشروطه". المصدر: مجموعة مواقع مداد. موقع طريق الإسلام، 21 فبراير

2015. مسترجع من: <https://ar.islamway.net/article/45477/> الله-علاماته-وفضله-وشروطه تاريخ

الاسترجاع: 12 فبراير 2022.

المصلح، وليد. "عماق المسرح العراقي سامي عبد الحميد.. انتهت رحلة العطاء" موقع: الجزيرة دوت نت، 30 سبتمبر

2019. مسترجع

من: [www.aljazeera.net/arts/2019/9/30/%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A-](http://www.aljazeera.net/arts/2019/9/30/%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A-%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF-)

[%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF-](http://www.aljazeera.net/arts/2019/9/30/%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A-%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF-)

## Arabic Bibliography

[%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%AF-](#)

[%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%84%D8%A9-](#)

[%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%AE%D8%B1%D8%A9-](#)

٣. تاريخ الاسترجاع: [%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B7%D8%A7%D8%A1.](#)

سبتمبر ٢٠٢٣.

بركاني، منير. "نبذة عن ولادة بنت المستكفي: شاعرة وأميرة أندلسية". موقع تدوينية. مسترجع من:

<https://www.tadwiina.com/>نبذة-عن-ولادة-بنت-المستكفي-شاعرة-وأمير تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28 يونيو 2021.

بلخيري، أحمد. "المصطلح المسرحي في الثقافة العربي". موقع مجلة ديوان العرب، 18 أغسطس 2006. مسترجع من:

<https://www.diwanalarab.com/>المصطلح-المسرحي-في تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 يناير 2021.

البوابة القانونية القطرية. "الدستور الدائم لدولة قطر". موقع الميزان، وزارة العدل القطرية. مسترجع من:

<http://www.almeezan.qa/LawPage.aspx?id=2284&language=ar> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 5 أغسطس

2017.

بوابة محافظة القاهرة. "متاحف القاهرة". موقع القاهرة. مسترجع من:

<http://www.cairo.gov.eg/ar/Bank%20of%20Ideas/Pages/matahif-alcqahra-text.aspx?ID=1>

تاريخ الاسترجاع: 25 أغسطس 2021.

بي بي سي نيوز عربي. "المرأة العربية في (الربيع العربي)". موقع بي بي سي عربي، 23 أبريل 2011. مسترجع من:

[https://www.bbc.com/arabic/inthepress/2011/04/110422\\_press\\_sat\\_new](https://www.bbc.com/arabic/inthepress/2011/04/110422_press_sat_new) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28

مايو 2021.

بي بي سي نيوز عربي. "نقل مبارك إلى مقر إقامته الجبرية بمستشفى المعادي". موقع بي بي سي عربي، 22 أغسطس

2013. مسترجع من:

[http://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast/2013/08/130822\\_mubarak\\_release\\_egy\\_medical\\_c](http://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast/2013/08/130822_mubarak_release_egy_medical_c)

[entre](#) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 8 فبراير 2019.

## Arabic Bibliography

بي بي سي نيوز عربي. "الشرق الأوسط في (عهد) جو بايدن والتقارير البريطاني بشأن روسيا في الصحف البريطانية". موقع

<https://www.bbc.com/arabic/inthepress-53495871> مسترجع من: 22 يوليو 2020.

تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 ديسمبر 2021.

بيومي، خالد. "رمسيس عوض: هذا المجتمع الغريب لا يريد أن يخدم الباحثين". موقع الحياة، 2015. مسترجع من:

<http://www.alhayat.com/article/668679/> مسترجع من: 13 مايو 2018.

تاريخ الاسترجاع: 13 مايو 2018.

تمام، أحمد. "رفاعة الطهطاوي بين الأزهر وباريس". موقع إسلام أون لاين. مسترجع من:

<https://islamonline.net/archive/> مسترجع من: 23 ديسمبر 2021.

التوبة، غازي. "الإصلاح الديني.. المحاولات والتعثر". موقع الجزيرة، 16 فبراير 2017. مسترجع من:

<http://www.aljazeera.net/knowledgegate/opinions/2017/2/16/> مسترجع من: 2 يوليو 2017.

تاريخ الاسترجاع: 2 يوليو 2017.

تونغ، ماو تسي. "حول الديمقراطية الجديدة (1940) - الجزء الأول". موقع وصحيفة الحوار المتمدن، ع 1302، 30

أغسطس 2005. مسترجع من: <https://www.ahewar.org/m.asp?i=868> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 13 فبراير

2022.

تونغ، ماو تسي. "حول الديمقراطية الجديدة (1940) - الجزء الأول". موقع وصحيفة الحوار المتمدن، ع 1302، 30

أغسطس 2005. مسترجع من: <https://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=44274> تاريخ

الاسترجاع: 13 فبراير 2022.

جاد، محمد فايز. "محمد عناني في احتفالية نحن وشكسبير: آخر ما يحترمه الممثلون هو النص لذلك يفضلون النثر على

الشعر". موقع بوابة الأهرام، 14 أبريل 2016. مسترجع من:

<https://gate.ahram.org.eg/News/906498.aspx> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 11 يونيو 2021.

جاسم، أنور. "التواصل بين الثقافات ومد جسور الحوار المحرك الأساسي في مشاريعي". موقع الوطن، 2006. مسترجع من:

<https://alwatan.com/graphics/2006/08aug/1.8/dailyhtml/culture.html> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10

مارس 2022.

## Arabic Bibliography

- جامعة الأزهر. "نبذة تعريفية بجامعة الأزهر". موقع الأزهر، 9 مايو 2017. مسترجع من:  
<http://www.azhar.edu.eg/AboutUs/i> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 26 مايو 2022.
- الجريدة دوت كوم. "سليمان البسام يعرض «مؤتمر آل هاملت» في دبي". موقع الجزيرة، 21 أكتوبر 2017. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.aljarida.com/articles/1509382469280154900/> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 18 فبراير 2022.
- الجزيرة نت الإسلاموفوبيا.. معاناة المسلمين في ديمقراطيات الغرب". موقع الجزيرة، 19 أبريل 2016. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/conceptsandterminology/2016/4/19/> الإسلاموفوبيا-  
معاناة-المسلمين-في تاريخ الاسترجاع: 5 سبتمبر 2021.
- الجزيرة نت. "تعرف على حركة 6 أبريل". موقع الجزيرة، 12 فبراير 2014. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/movementsandparties/2014/2/12/> تعرف-على-حركة-6-  
أبريل تاريخ الاسترجاع: 23 يونيو 2021.
- الجزيرة نت. "رحيل الفنان فاضل خليل أحد رموز المسرح العراقي". موقع الجزيرة، 8 أكتوبر 2017. مسترجع من:  
[www.aljazeera.net/culture/2017/10/8/%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D9%84-%D8%AE%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B2-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%AD](http://www.aljazeera.net/culture/2017/10/8/%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B6%D9%84-%D8%AE%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%AD%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B2-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%AD).  
سبتمبر 2023.
- الجزيرة نت. "الإخوان المسلمون". موقع الجزيرة، 11 نوفمبر 2014. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/movementsandparties/2014/11/11/> الإخوان-المسلمون-  
مصر تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 فبراير 2019.
- الجزيرة نت. "الرصاص المصبوب.. عدوان على غزة فشل بإخضاعها". موقع الجزيرة، 27 ديسمبر 2016. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/military/2016/12/27/> معركة-الفرقان-عدوان-على-غزة-فشل  
تاريخ الاسترجاع: 6 أكتوبر 2021.

## Arabic Bibliography

- الجزيرة نت. "السعودية تعتقل الداعية سلمان العودة". موقع الجزيرة، 10 سبتمبر 2017. مسترجع من:  
<http://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2017/9/10/>السعودية-تعتقل-الداعية-سلمان-العودة تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 سبتمبر 2017.
- الجزيرة نت. "عام 2006.. وصول العراق إلى حافات الحرب الأهلية". موقع الجزيرة، 29 ديسمبر 2006.  
<https://www.aljazeera.net/news/reportsandinterviews/2006/12/29/>عام-2006-وصول-العراق-إلى-حافات-الحرب-تاريخ الاسترجاع: 7 سبتمبر 2021.
- الجزيرة نت. "ما لا تعرفه عن هيئة البيعة في السعودية". موقع الجزيرة، 22 يونيو 2017. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/organizationsandstructures/2017/6/22/>ما-لا-تعرفه-عن-هيئة-البيعة-في-السعودية تاريخ الاسترجاع: 8 سبتمبر 2021.
- الجزيرة نت. "مقتل بريطاني في انفجار سيارة مفخخة بقطر". موقع الجزيرة، 20 مارس 2005. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2005/3/20/>مقتل-بريطاني-في-انفجار-سيارة-مفخخة تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28 يونيو 2022.
- الجوادي، محمد. "إبراهيم زكي خورشيد: مترجم الموسوعة وصاحب فكرة مكتبة الأسرة". موقع الجزيرة مباشر، 20 نوفمبر 2019. مسترجع من:  
<https://mubasher.aljazeera.net/opinions/2019/11/20/>إبراهيم-زكي-خورشيد-مترجم-الموسوعة تاريخ الاسترجاع: 17 أكتوبر 2021.
- جود ريدز. "رياض عصمت". موقع جود ريدز. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.goodreads.com/author/show/5817505> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 7 يناير 2018.
- الجورجي، عادل. "مبادئ ثورة 25 يناير الستة". موقع البصرة، 2011. مسترجع من:  
[http://www.albasrah.net/ar\\_articles\\_2011/0211/jojari\\_060211.htm](http://www.albasrah.net/ar_articles_2011/0211/jojari_060211.htm) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 8 فبراير 2019.
- حبس، سهى. "الشعر عند العرب". موقع حياتك. 17 يونيو 2019. مسترجع من:  
<https://hyatoky.com/>الشعر عند العرب تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 أكتوبر 2019.
- حبه، عبدالله. "هاملت ... بطل ومفكر لكل العصور" موقع: مؤسسة النور للثقافة و، الاعلام، 2 مايو 2014. مسترجع من:  
<http://www.alnoor.se/article.asp?id=241874>. تاريخ الاسترجاع: 3 سبتمبر 2023.

## Arabic Bibliography

حجاب، مفرح. "كليلة ودمنة على المسرح الإثنيين المقبل، البسام: أحاول خلق انطباع مغاير عن الإنسان العربي عالمياً". موقع

جريدة القبس، 24 فبراير 2006. مسترجع من: <https://alqabas.com/article/60584> كليلة ودمنة-على-

المسرح-الإثنيين-المق تاريخ الاسترجاع: 22 يونيو 2022.

الحرّة/ ترجمات. "صدمة ثلاثية.. هكذا أثرت هجمات 11 سبتمبر على أوضاع العرب والمسلمين في أميركا". موقع قناة

الحرّة، 12 سبتمبر 2021. مسترجع من: <https://www.alhurra.com/september-11/2021/09/12/> صدمة-

ثلاثية-أثرت-هجمات-11-سبتمبر-أوضاع-العرب-والمسلمين-في-أميركا تاريخ الاسترجاع: 14 فبراير 2022.

حسين، آلي. "ممدوح عدوان: يضع أصبعه في عيونهم". موقع الخليج، ديسمبر 2011. مسترجع من:

<https://khaleejnews.com/2011/12/ar/> ممدوح-عدوان-يضع-إصبعه-في-عيونهم/ تاريخ الاسترجاع: 2 أبريل

2018.

حسين، أمال. "أوراق منسوبة من حياة رفاة الطهطاوي.. رائد التنوير في العصر الحديث". موقع ماسبيرو، 2019. مسترجع

من: <https://www.maspero.eg/wps/portal/home/radio/stations/cultural->

[program/news/details/6f9e535f-3558-4ab5-af33-f0f6c65aef27](https://www.maspero.eg/wps/portal/home/radio/stations/cultural-program/news/details/6f9e535f-3558-4ab5-af33-f0f6c65aef27) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 26 مايو 2022.

حسين، علي. "لماذا يجب أن نقرأ نوال السعداوي". موقع الأنطولوجيا، 25 مارس 2021. مسترجع من:

<https://alantologia.com/blogs/42090/> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 19 مايو 2021.

حطيط، أمين. حرب 2006 على لبنان.. خلفية وأداء ونتائج. موقع الجزيرة، 15 أغسطس 2006. مسترجع من:

<https://www.aljazeera.net/opinions/2006/8/15/> حرب-2006-على-لبنان-خلفية-وأداء-وننتائج-2 تاريخ

الاسترجاع: 7 سبتمبر 2021.

الحفار، نبيل. "قرداحي سليمان". موقع الموسوعة العربية. مسترجع من: <http://arab->

[ency.com.sy/ency/details/9006/15](http://arab-ency.com.sy/ency/details/9006/15) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 29 مايو 2022.

حليبي، سمير. "جمال الدين الأفغاني مصلح رغم الجدل". موقع إسلام أون لاين. مسترجع من:

<https://archive.islamonline.net/?p=9118> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 12 يوليو 2017.

حليبي، سمير. "محمد عبده: رائد الإصلاح في العصر الحديث". موقع إسلام أون لاين. مسترجع من:

<https://archive.islamonline.net/?p=8925> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 يوليو 2017.

## Arabic Bibliography

- حمداوي، جميل. "المسرح الإسلامي وفق النسق المقاصدي". موقع الفرقان، مؤسسة الفرقان للتراث الإسلامي. مسترجع من: <https://al-furqan.com/ar/>المسرح-الإسلامي-وفق-النسق-المقاصدي/ تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 فبراير 2021.
- حنا، سامح. "فكرة الخيانة والأمانة في الترجمة أصبحت في ذمة التاريخ". حوار: آزاد أحمد وحميد اليزيدي مولر. موقع إيلاف، 4 أغسطس 2009. نقلاً عن مجلة "quot. مسترجع من: <http://elaph.com/Web/Culture/2009/8/468514.htm> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 5 مارس 2018.
- الخضير، عبد الكريم. "من هو الصالح". الموقع الرسمي لفضيلة الشيخ عبد الكريم بن عبد الله الخضير. مسترجع من: <https://shkhudheir.com/pearls-of-benefits/2083924625> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 6 فبراير 2019.
- خليل، فاضل. "تطور عمل المخرج في المسرح العربي المعاصر". موقع: الحوار المتمدن، 18 أغسطس 2022. مسترجع من: [www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=767453](http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=767453) . تاريخ الاسترجاع: 4 سبتمبر 2023.
- خنفير، هاجر. "الحب في فكر نوال السعداوي: ثغرة تتوسّع في بنيان المجتمع العربي". موقع كلود أبو شقرا (ثقافيات)، 16 فبراير 2015. مسترجع من: <https://claudeabouchacra.com/?p=14398> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 19 أغسطس 2021.
- الخولي، البهي، "نحن بين الخير والشر: ما الخير وما الشر؟" موقع رابطة العلماء السوريين، 16 أكتوبر 2012. مسترجع من: [https://islamsyria.com/site/show\\_articles/3092](https://islamsyria.com/site/show_articles/3092) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 6 فبراير 2019.
- الدستور دوت كوم. "المشروع القومي للترجمة يحتفل بالكتاب الألف: جابر عصفور ينجح فيما فشل فيه طه حسين وأحمد أمين". موقع جريدة الدستور الأردنية، 22 نوفمبر 2005. مسترجع من: <https://www.addustour.com/articles/463556-عصفور-ينجح-فيما-فشل-فيه-طه-حسين-وأحمد-أمين-تاريخ-الاسترجاع-30-مارس-2022>
- ديبو، محمد. "مسرحية الليلة الثانية عشرة لشكسبير في دمشق". موقع جريدة الدستور الأردنية، 11 أبريل 2010. مسترجع من: <https://www.addustour.com/articles/453846-مسرحية-«الليلة-الثانية-عشرة»-لشكسبير-في-دمشق> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 27 مايو 2021.
- الديناري، جهاد. "5 أشياء إيجابية تركها الاحتلال البريطاني لمصر أهمها نقابة الصحفيين". موقع اليوم السابع، 30 مارس 2016. مسترجع من: <https://www.youm7.com/story/2016/3/30/5-أشياء-إيجابية-تركها-الاحتلال-البريطاني-لمصر-أهمها-نقابة-الصحفيين/2652858> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 أكتوبر 2021.



## Arabic Bibliography

- الديوان دوت نت. "المتنبي". موقع الديوان. مسترجع من: <https://www.aldiwan.net/cat-poet-Mutanabi> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 22 مارس 2022.
- راديو ديوان إف إم. "أيام قرطاج المسرحية 2022: قائمة الجوائز والمتوجين في المهرجان". موقع ديوان إف إم، 12 ديسمبر 2021. مسترجع من: <https://diwanfm.net/news/> ثقافة/أيام-قرطاج-المسرحية-2022-3%A-قائمة-الجوائز- والمتوجين-في-المهرجان تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 مايو 2022.
- "ريتشارد الثالث مأساة عربية". موقع: مؤسسة الشارقة للفنون. مسترجع من: [sharjahart.org/ar/sharjah-art-foundation/projects/richard-iii-an-arab-tragedy](http://sharjahart.org/ar/sharjah-art-foundation/projects/richard-iii-an-arab-tragedy). تاريخ الاسترجاع: 2 سبتمبر 2023.
- رحومة، أحلام. "الربيع العربي والشعارات". موقع العربي الجديد، 2019. مسترجع من: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/الربيع-العربي-والشعارات> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28 يونيو 2021.
- رضا، عمر. "جبرا إبراهيم جبرا: دراسة في حياته وأعماله". موقع الحياة الجديدة، 18 يناير 2021. مسترجع من: <https://www.alhaya.ps/ar/Article/126926/> جبرا-إبراهيم-جبرا-دراسة-في-حياته-وأعماله تاريخ الاسترجاع: 22 مارس 2022.
- رمضان، بسمة. "التعليم المصري في عهد الاحتلال الإنجليزي.. من سيء لأسوأ". موقع شفاف، شبكة الجامعات المصرية، 19 يونيو 2015. مسترجع من: <http://www.shafaff.com/article/5239> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 أكتوبر 2021.
- زيدان، إلهام. "من هي نوال السعداوي؟". موقع الوطن نيوز، 21 مارس 2021. مسترجع من: <https://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/5387255> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 19 مايو 2021.
- زينب، فراس. "الحكواتي.. شخصية من الماضي تروي البطولات والحكايات". موقع صحيفة البيان، 14 أكتوبر 2005. مسترجع من: <https://www.albayan.ae/sports/2005-10-14-1.984241> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 21 فبراير 2022.
- س، ح. "حلم ليلة صيف.. على خشبة معهد الشارقة للفنون المسرحية، رياض عصمت يُعصّرُن رائعة شكسبير الكوميديّة". موقع البيان، 28 سبتمبر 2002. مسترجع من: <https://www.albayan.ae/five-senses/arts/2002-09-28-1.1348991> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 فبراير 2022.
- سامي، محمد. "مسرحية الليلة الثانية عشرة لشكسبير د.علي خليفة". موقع الهيئة العربية للمسرح، 2017. مسترجع من: <https://atitheatre.ae/مسرحية-الليلة-الثانية-عشرة-لشكسبير-د-ع/ع> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 22 مارس 2022.

## Arabic Bibliography

- السبت، خالد. شرح حديث من أحق الناس بحسن صحابتي؟". موقع فضيلة الشيخ الدكتور خالد السبت، 19 مارس 2007. مسترجع من: <https://khaledalsabt.com/explanations/1470/> حديث-من-أحق-الناس-بحسن-صحابتي تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 أكتوبر 2021.
- السبع، سعاد. "التمييز بين الرجل والمرأة وثقافة العيب". مجلة ديوان العرب، 11 نوفمبر 2009. مسترجع من: <https://diwanalarab.com/التمييز-بين-الرجل-تاريخ-الاسترجاع:> 28 يونيو 2021.
- عمر سرحان، عماد. "قصة الشيعة.. الحكاية من البداية". موقع الجزيرة، 2017. مسترجع من: <https://www.aljazeera.net/blogs/2017/5/28/قصة-الشيعة-الحكاية-من-البداية-تاريخ-الاسترجاع:> 7 سبتمبر 2021.
- سقباني، حسانة. "اللايك.. ذاكرة أثرية تربط الماضي بالحاضر". موقع مدونة وطن السوري، 4 نوفمبر 2014. مسترجع من: <http://www.esyria.sy/edamascus/index.php?p=stories&filename=201411040050193> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 15 مايو 2018.
- السيد، علاء. "إسكندر فرح من كبار رجال الماسونية في سوريا نهاية القرن التاسع عشر". موقع دار الوثائق الرقمية التاريخية السورية، 24 أبريل 2020. مسترجع من: [https://www.dig-doc.org/index.php?page=YXJ0aWNsZQ==&op=ZGlzcGxheV9hcnRpY2xlX2RldGFpbHNdQ==&article\\_id=NzM=&lan=YXI](https://www.dig-doc.org/index.php?page=YXJ0aWNsZQ==&op=ZGlzcGxheV9hcnRpY2xlX2RldGFpbHNdQ==&article_id=NzM=&lan=YXI) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 15 أكتوبر 2021.
- سيف، نسمة. "المسرح وتطور المجتمع المصري في النصف الأول من القرن العشرين". موقع بوابة شمس نيوز، 2017. مسترجع من: <https://www.shomosnews.com/المسرح-وتطور-المجتمع-المصري-في-النصف-1/> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 17 أكتوبر 2021.
- السينما دوت كوم. "محمد الفيل". موقع السينما. مسترجع من: <https://elcinema.com/person/1109870/> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 17 أغسطس 2021.
- شعبان، صلاح. "النظرية الميكافيلية: الغاية تبرر الوسيلة". موقع الجزيرة، 14 يناير 2017. مسترجع من: <https://www.aljazeera.net/blogs/2017/1/4/النظرية-الميكافيلية-الغاية-تبرر-تاريخ-الاسترجاع:> 2 يناير 2022.

## Arabic Bibliography

- صالح، حنا. "بعد 14 سنة: بعض أبعاد اغتيال قصير وحاي وتويني". موقع صحيفة الشرق الأوسط، 5 يونيو 2019. مسترجع من: <https://aawsat.com/home/article/1755216/> حنا-صالح-بعد-14-سنة-بعض-أبعاد-اغتيال-
- قصير-وحاي-وتويني تاريخ الاسترجاع: 16 أكتوبر 2021.
- صويلح، خليل. "الكويتي سليمان البسام قارئاً شكسبير: ريتشارد الثالث بالكوفية والعقال". موقع الأخبار، 2008. مسترجع من: <https://al-akhbar.com/Culture People/166518> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 18 فبراير 2018.
- ضو، مارك وعمارة، حسين. "نابليون بونابرت والحملة الفرنسية على مصر: تحول حقيقي في تاريخ هذا البلد". موقع فرانس 24، 4 مايو 2021. مسترجع من: <https://www.france24.com/ar/> أوروبا/20210504-نابليون-بونابرت-والحملة-الفرنسية-على-مصر-تحول-حقيقي-في-تاريخ-هذا-البلد-تاريخ الاسترجاع: 17 أكتوبر 2021.
- الضوي، عبد الناصر. "أبته اتحاد الكتاب المصريين.. رموز إبداعية مصرية: د. عبدالقادر القط: فارس من الزمن النبيل". جريدة الدستور الأردنية، 12 أغسطس 2002. مسترجع من: <https://www.addustour.com/articles/472424-> أبنه-اتحاد-الكتاب-المصريين-رموز-إبداعية-مصرية-د-عبدالقادر-القط-فارس-من-الزمن-النبيل=1&desktop=1
- عبدالقادر-القط-فارس-من-الزمن-النبيل=1!! تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 سبتمبر 2018.
- طاهر، سهير. "علماء بالأزهر: التكافؤ في الزواج.. يقلص الانهيارات الأسرية". موقع بوابة الأهرام، 20 أغسطس 2021م. مسترجع من: <https://gate.ahram.org.eg/daily/News/203851/41/820127/> فكر-ديني/علماء-بالأزهر-التكافؤ-في-الزواج-يقلص-الانهيارات-الأسرية-تاريخ الاسترجاع: 6 فبراير 2022.
- طلعت، نجاح. "علي الراعي". مجلة القافلة. مسترجع من: <https://qafilah.com/ar/> علي-الراعي/تاريخ الاسترجاع: 3 نوفمبر 2021.
- عابد، هشام. "قراءة في كتاب الأمير - نيقولو ميكافيلي". موقع وصحيفة الحوار المتمدن، ع. 3552، 20 نوفمبر 2011. مسترجع من: <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=284116> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 30 يوليو 2017.
- عابدين، مصطفى. "الترجمة والهوية الثقافية العربية-1". موقع جريدة الشرق، 29 مايو 2014. مسترجع من: <https://al-sharq.com/opinion/29/05/2014/> الترجمة-والهوية-الثقافية-العربية-1 تاريخ الاسترجاع: 1 سبتمبر 2021.
- عادل، سماح. "جورج أبيض.. من رواد المسرح التراجيدي". موقع الهيئة العربية للمسرح، 2019. مسترجع من: <https://atitheatre.ae/> جورج-أبيض-من-رواد-المسرح-التراجيدي/تاريخ الاسترجاع: 12 أبريل 2022.

## Arabic Bibliography

- عادل، سماح. "سلامة حجازي: رائد المسرح الغنائي الذي غنى في الأوبرا". موقع كتابات، 3 يونيو 2019. مسترجع من: <https://kitab.com/cultural/> سلامة-حجازي-رائد-المسرح-الغنائي-الذي/ تاريخ الاسترجاع: 29 سبتمبر 2021.
- العامري، إبراهيم. "ريتشارد الثالث للتونسي جعفر القاسمي.. الطغاة حين تصنعهم شعوبهم". موقع الجسرة الثقافي، نادي الجسرة الثقافي. مسترجع من: <https://aljasrah.net/aljasra119> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 27 مارس 2019.
- عبد الإله، لوي. "مسرحية ريتشارد الثالث ومعالجة الواقع العربي: أول عمل يقدم بالعربية فوق خشبة مسرح شكسبير الملكية يخرج كويتي". موقع صحيفة الشرق الأوسط، 11 فبراير 2007. مسترجع من: <http://acrhive.aawsat.com/details.asp?issueno=10261&article=405905#.WooQaa2carc> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 18 فبراير 2018.
- عبد الإله، لوي. "مسرحية ريتشارد الثالث ومعالجة الواقع العربي: أول عمل يقدم بالعربية فوق خشبة مسرح شكسبير الملكية يخرج كويتي". موقع صحيفة الشرق الأوسط، 11 فبراير 2007. مسترجع من: <https://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?article=405905&issueno=10302> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 18 فبراير 2018.
- عبد الرازق، علاء. "الخدوي توفيق.. الحاكم الذي اتهمه شيوخ الأزهر بخيانة مصر". موقع الجزيرة، 7 يناير 2022. مسترجع من: <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/politics/2022/1/7/> الخدوي-توفيق-الحاكم-الذي-اتهمه-شيوخ تاريخ الاسترجاع: 8 يناير 2022.
- عبد الراضي، عماد. "خيال الظل". موقع بوابة الأهرام، 28 مارس 2015. مسترجع من: <https://gate.ahram.org.eg/daily/News/101494/119/373840/> ثقافة-شعبية-وإبداع/خيال-الظل.aspx تاريخ الاسترجاع: 11 أكتوبر 2021.
- عبد السميع، محمد. "مطر تصاعدي يعقبه الظمأ". موقع صحيفة الاتحاد، 2016. مسترجع من: <https://www.alittihad.ae/article/54111/2016/-مطر-تصاعدي-يعقبه-الظمأ-تاريخ> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 14 يناير 2019.

## Arabic Bibliography

- عبد العزيز، محسن. "إمام التنوير: الشيخ محمد عبده". موقع بوابة الأهرام، 2 يونيو 2017. مسترجع من: <https://gate.ahram.org.eg/daily/News/202283/1152/596976/> ضيف-العدد/إمام-التنوير-الشيخ-محمد-عبده.aspx. تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28 مارس 2019.
- عبد اللطيف، كمال. "الديموقراطية وامتحاناتها الجديدة". موقع وصحيفة العربي الجديد، 22 مارس 2017. مسترجع من: [www.alaraby.co.uk/opinion/2017/3/22/](http://www.alaraby.co.uk/opinion/2017/3/22/) الديمقراطية-وامتحاناتها-الجديدة-1 تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 مارس 2017.
- عبد المقصود، محمد. "ما بعد الإنسان.. مخرج يُحاكم البشرية على الخشبة". موقع الإمارات اليوم، 22 مارس 2018. مسترجع من: <https://www.emaratalyom.com/life/culture/2018-03-22-1.1082494> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 15 مارس 2019.
- عبد المنعم، رشا. "شكسبير منتقماً يحصد الجائزة الكبرى". موقع صحيفة البيان، 17 أكتوبر 2015. مسترجع من: <https://www.albayan.ae/five-senses/mirrors/2015-10-17-1.2482779> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 14 فبراير 2022.
- عبد المنعم، غادة. "دار الفلك يستلهم الربيع العربي ويكسر الصمت ضد كبت الحريات". موقع جريدة الوطن الكويتية، 9 مايو 2012. مسترجع من: <http://alwatan.kuwait.tt/article/details.aspx?id=193201&yearquarter=20122> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 12 يونيو 2021.
- العتابي، عبد الجبار. "الجمهورية.. صحيفة عراقية حجبها الاحتلال وأحى ذكراها صحافيوها". موقع إيلاف، 8 ديسمبر 2013. مسترجع من: <https://elaph.com/Web/news/2013/12/854742.html> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 21 مايو 2022.
- عثمان، ناريمان. "شكسبير يرافق الأطفال السوريين بمخيم الزعتري". موقع الجزيرة، 2014. مسترجع من: <https://www.aljazeera.net/news/cultureandart/2014/3/13/> شكسبير-يرافق-الأطفال-السوريين-بمخيم تاريخ الاسترجاع: 21 يوليو 2021.

## Arabic Bibliography

- عدناني، إكرام. "النسوية الإسلامية: عوائق التجديد الفكري والتحديث المجتمعي". موقع مؤمنون بلا حدود للدراسات والأبحاث. مسترجع من: <http://www.mominoun.com/articles/> النسوية-الإسلامية-عوائق-التجديد-الفكري-  
والتحديث-المجتمعي-4009 تاريخ الاسترجاع: 13 يونيو 2017م
- العرب دوت كوم. "تونس والكويت والجزائر تحصد جوائز أيام قرطاج المسرحية". موقع صحيفة العرب، 14 ديسمبر 2021.  
مسترجع من: <https://alarab.co.uk/> تونس-والكويت-والجزائر-تحصد-جوائز-أيام-قرطاج-المسرحية تاريخ  
الاسترجاع: 20 مايو 2022.
- العرب دوت كوم. "لقاء التجارب المسرحية والمغربية في أيام الشارقة المسرحية". موقع صحيفة العرب، 2018. مسترجع من:  
<https://alarab.co.uk/> لقاء-التجارب-المسرحية-والمغربية-في-أيام-الشارقة-المسرحية تاريخ الاسترجاع: 22 يونيو  
2022
- العربي دوت كوم. "رحل النهار.. يحصد معظم جوائز أيام الشارقة المسرحية". موقع وصحيفة العربي الجديد، 2022.  
مسترجع من: [https://www.alaraby.co.uk/entertainment\\_media/%22رحل-النهار%-22-يحصد-معظم-جوائز-أيام-الشارقة-المسرحية-تاريخ-الاسترجاع: 23 يونيو 2022](https://www.alaraby.co.uk/entertainment_media/%22رحل-النهار%-22-يحصد-معظم-جوائز-أيام-الشارقة-المسرحية-تاريخ-الاسترجاع: 23 يونيو 2022)
- عزام، ممدوح. "الوصفة المكيفيلية". موقع العربي الجديد، 2015. مسترجع من: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/> الوصفة-  
المكيفيلية تاريخ الاسترجاع: 14 مايو 2022.
- عسل، أسامة. "رينتشارد الثالث شخصية عربية في مهرجان الخليج". موقع صحيفة البيان، 19 أبريل 2011. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.albayan.ae/five-senses/cinema/2011-04-19-1.1423318> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 1 يوليو  
2019.
- عقبي، حميد. "الكاتب العراقي أحمد الماجد: المسرح لا يشغل بال مجتمعاتنا العربية كثيرًا". موقع رأي اليوم، 2015. مسترجع  
من: <https://www.raialyoum.com/index.php/> الكاتب-العراقي-أحمد-الماجد-المسرح-لا-ي/ تاريخ  
الاسترجاع: 10 يناير 2019.
- العلوي، غادة. شبح لإيليا أبو ماضي. موقع الشعر، 2009. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.alsh3r.com/poems/view/21526> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 16 أبريل 2018.
- علي إسماعيل، سيد. "التفاصيل المجهولة لأول معهد مسرحي في مصر (28 والأخيرة) فرقة الطليعة ونهاية أول معهد  
مسرحي في مصر". موقع جريدة مسرحنا، الهيئة العامة لقصور الثقافة المصرية، ع 678، 24 أغسطس 2020.

## Arabic Bibliography

- مسترجع من: <https://www.gocp.gov.eg/Masr7na/articles.aspx?ArticleID=53222> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 21 أغسطس 2021.
- العلي، أحمد. "شكسبير.. يوصل طلاب المعهد العالي للفنون المسرحية للاحتراف". موقع مدونة وطن السوري، أبريل 2011. مسترجع من: <http://esyria.sy/sites/code/index.php?site=damascus&p=stories&category=arts&filename=201104101600021> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 يونيو 2021.
- عناي، محمد. *الترجمة الأدبية بين النظرية والتطبيق*. كتاب إلكتروني، لونجمان للنشر بلندن، 2003. مسترجع من: [https://archive.org/details/al-tarjama\\_al-adabia](https://archive.org/details/al-tarjama_al-adabia) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 11 أبريل 2021.
- العوفي، عوض. *الولاية في النكاح*. ط1، كتاب إلكتروني، الجامعة الإسلامية، 2002، ص ص. 1-46. مسترجع من: <https://waqfeya.net/book.php?bid=2869> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28 يونيو 2021.
- غريب، سميحة. "التكافؤ بين الزوجين من أهم أسس السعادة الزوجية". حوار: تسنيم الريدي. موقع طريق الإسلام، 14 أبريل 2014. مسترجع من: <https://ar.islamway.net/article/26463/> التكافؤ-بين-الزوجين-من-أهم-أسس-السعادة-الزوجية تاريخ الاسترجاع: 12 يونيو 2022.
- الغزي، محمد. "مسرحية شكسبير ريتشارد الثالث بنيرة تونسية". موقع الجسرة، نادي الجسرة الثقافي، 2014. مسترجع من: <http://www.alhayat.com/article/585980/> مسرحية-شكسبير-ريتشارد-الثالث-بنيرة-تونسية تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 سبتمبر 2018.
- غزيري، وفيق. "أديب إسحاق". مجلة الجيش، ع. 288، يونيو 2009. مسترجع من: <https://www.lebarmy.gov.lb/ar/content/> أديب-إسحاق تاريخ الاسترجاع: 12 يوليو 2017.
- فريق أراجيك. "من هو حمد الرجيب". موقع أراجيك. مسترجع من: <https://www.arageek.com/bio/hamad-al-rjib> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 6 أكتوبر 2021.
- فريق التاريخ السوري المعاصر. "رياض عصمت". المصدر: موقع وزارة الثقافة السورية. موقع التاريخ السوري المعاصر. مسترجع من: <https://syrmh.com/2020/05/14/> رياض-عصمت/

## Arabic Bibliography

- فريق الهيئة العامة للاستعلامات بمصر. "عبد الرحمن الجبرتي". موقع الهيئة العامة للاستعلامات، 23 ديسمبر 2013.
- مسترجع من: <https://sis.gov.eg/Story/80845/?lang=ar> عبد الرحمن الجبرتي. تاريخ الاسترجاع: 7 سبتمبر 2021.
- فريق الهيئة العامة للاستعلامات بمصر. "نبذة عن سعد زغلول زعيم ثورة 1919". موقع الهيئة العامة للاستعلامات. مسترجع من: <https://www.sis.gov.eg/Newvr/egyptionrevoution/saadfive.html> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28 مارس 2019.
- فريق الهيئة العربية للمسرح. "أخبارنا". موقع الهيئة العربية للمسرح. مسترجع من: <http://atitheatre.ae/> أخبارنا/ تاريخ الاسترجاع: 12 أكتوبر 2019.
- فريق بوابة الشعراء. "ابن زيدون". موقع بوابة الشعراء. مسترجع من: <https://poetsgate.com/poet.php?pt=134> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28 يونيو 2021.
- فريق بوسطة. "شكسبير في دمشق: عرض الليلة الثانية عشر". موقع بوسطة، 4 يوليو 2012. مسترجع من: <https://www.bostah.com/الأخبار/شكسبير-في-دمشق-عرض-الليلة-الثانية-عشر.html>. تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 فبراير 2021.
- فريق جامعة الدول العربية. "عن الجامعة". موقع جامعة الدول العربية (لاسبورتال). مسترجع من: <http://www.lasportal.org/ar/aboutlas/Pages/HistoricalOverView.aspx> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 مارس 2017.
- فريق جمالك. "إسقاط الولاية في السعودية: على ماذا ينص هذا القانون، ولماذا شكّل جدلاً واسعاً؟". موقع جمالك، 10 يوليو 2019. مسترجع من: <https://jamalouki.net/لايف-ستايل-تحقيق/اسقاط-الولاية-في-السعودية-على-ماذا-ينص-هذا-القانون-ولماذا-شكل-جدلاً-واسعاً> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28 يونيو 2021.
- فريق دار الهلال. "في ذكرى ميلاد فاطمة رشدي.. تعرف إلى سبب انفصالها عن عزيز عيد". موقع بوابة دار الهلال، 15 نوفمبر 2021. مسترجع من: <https://www.darelhilal.com/News/717112.aspx> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 27 يونيو 2022.
- فريق دائرة الثقافة بالشارقة. "أيام الشارقة المسرحية". موقع دائرة الثقافة بالشارقة. مسترجع من: <https://sdc.gov.ae/ar/Content/33/3> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 22 يونيو 2022.



## Arabic Bibliography

- فريق دائرة الثقافة بالشارقة. "مهرجان الشارقة للمسرح الخليجي". موقع دائرة الثقافة بالشارقة. مسترجع من: <https://sdc.gov.ae/ar/Content/35/3> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 22 يونيو 2022.
- فريق رويترز. "مقابلة - محمد عناني يستيق عام شكسبير بترجمة أبرز مسرحياته". بوابة رويترز الإعلامية، 4 نوفمبر 2015. مسترجع من: <https://www.reuters.com/article/idARAL8N12X4T120151104> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 26 مارس 2021.
- فريق ساسة بوست. "خيال الظل.. السينما في العصر المملوكي!". موقع ساسة بوست، 2020. مسترجع من: <https://www.sasapost.com/cinema-in-the-era-of-the-mamluks/> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 4 يوليو 2022.
- فريق صحيفة الاتحاد. "قطر: منفذ الهجوم على مسرح المدرسة البريطانية مبرمج كمبيوتر مصري". موقع صحيفة الاتحاد، 21 مارس 2005. مسترجع من: <https://www.alittihad.ae/article/3758/2005/> قطر:-منفذ-الهجوم-على-مسرح-المدرسة-البريطانية-مبرمج-كمبيوتر-مصري تاريخ الاسترجاع: 28 يونيو 2022.
- فريق قاسيون. "ممدوح عدوان: (نحن لا نتعود إلا إذا مات شيء فينا)". موقع قاسيون، حزب الإرادة الشعبية. 16 يناير 2015. مسترجع من: <https://kassioun.org/more-categories/art-and-culture/item/38330-11871> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 8 يونيو 2021.
- فريق مجلة الأمة العربية. "مسرحية ريتشارد الثالث من تونس حتى لا يولد ريتشارد من جديد". موقع مجلة الأمة العربية، 2014. مسترجع من: <https://مجلةالأمةالعربية.com/CulturalNews/> مسرحية-ريتشارد-الثالث-من-تونس-حتى/ تاريخ الاسترجاع: 3 نوفمبر 2019.
- فريق مدونة وطن. "نحات صغير في ليلة شكسبير الثانية عشرة". تصوير: علاء الإبراهيم. موقع مدونة وطن السوري، 30 مايو 2010. مسترجع من: [http://esyria.sy/sites/code/index.php?site=damascus&p=stories&category=todayimg&file\\_name=201003292005021](http://esyria.sy/sites/code/index.php?site=damascus&p=stories&category=todayimg&file_name=201003292005021) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 27 مايو 2021.
- فريق منتدى الكويت 32. "دار الآثار الإسلامية في الكويت". موقع منتدى الكويت 32، 22 فبراير 2015. مسترجع من: <https://kwt32.com/> دار-الآثار-الإسلامية-في-الكو تاريخ الاسترجاع: 27 يونيو 2022.
- فريق موسوعي. "رياض عصمت". موقع موسوعي، 2022. مسترجع من: [https://mawsoati.com/plus/ي/الرياض\\_عصمت.html](https://mawsoati.com/plus/ي/الرياض_عصمت.html) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 فبراير 2022.

## Arabic Bibliography

- فريق وزارة الثقافة السوري. "وزارة السورية". موقع وزارة الثقافة السورية، 2005. مسترجع من:  
<http://www.moc.gov.sy/index.php?d=48&id=322> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 5 أبريل 2018.
- القرآن الكريم. "تفسير الطبري - تفسير سورة الكهف - الآية 49". موقع مشروع المصحف الإلكتروني بجامعة الملك سعود. مسترجع من: <http://quran.ksu.edu.sa/tafseer/tabary/sura18-aya49.html> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 8 فبراير 2019.
- القرآن الكريم. "تفسير الآية 20 من سورة العنكبوت". موقع مشروع المصحف الإلكتروني بجامعة الملك سعود. مسترجع من: <https://quran.ksu.edu.sa/tafseer/tabary-saadi/sura29-aya20.html#saadi> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 26 مايو 2021.
- القرآن الكريم. "قُلْ سِيرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ فَانظُرُوا كَيْفَ بَدَأَ الْخَلْقَ ثُمَّ اللَّهُ يُنشِئُ النَّشْأَةَ الْآخِرَةَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ". موقع الروح بوث نت. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.alro7.net/ayaq.php?langg=english&sourid=29&aya=20> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 26 مايو 2021.
- القرآن الكريم. "وَلَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ صَلْصَالٍ مِنْ حَمَإٍ مَسْنُونٍ". موقع السبع المثاني للقرآن الكريم. مسترجع من: <http://www.quran7m.com/searchResults/015026.html> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 6 فبراير 2019.
- قناة العالم الإخبارية. "من هو أردوغان أول رئيس منتخب في تركيا؟". موقع قناة العالم. مسترجع من: <https://www.alalamtv.net/news/1622041/> من-هو-أردوغان-أول-رئيس-منتخب-في-تركيا؟ تاريخ الاسترجاع: 11 يونيو 2019.
- كابلان، روبرت. "فضيلة ميكيافيلي والحداثة". موقع قناة العربية، 26 مارس 2013. مسترجع من: <https://www.alarabiya.net/2013/03/26/> فضيلة-مكيافيلي-تقدير-موقف تاريخ الاسترجاع: 7 يناير 2022.
- كلثوم، ف. "المسرح السياسي في سورية (منصة مفتوحة على الأزمات)". صحيفة تشرين، 2017. مسترجع من: <http://tishreen.news.sy/?p=92397> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 23 مارس 2018.
- كنيسة الإسكندرية للأقباط الكاثوليك بمصر. "الشر في المفهوم المسيحي". موقع الأقباط الكاثوليك، 1 يناير 2013. مسترجع من: <http://copticatholic.net/p4453/> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 7 فبراير 2019.

## Arabic Bibliography

- كونا دوت نت. "مسرحية (ودار الفلك) تبدأ عروضها للجمهور الثلاثاء المقبل على مسرح الشامية". موقع كونا، 6 مايو 2012. مسترجع من: <https://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticleDetails.aspx?id=2238630&Language=ar>  
تاريخ الاسترجاع: 22 أغسطس 2021.
- كونا دوت نت. "وزير شؤون الديوان الأميري يرعى عرض مسرحية (كليلة ودمنة مرآة الملوك)". موقع كونا، 28 فبراير 2006. مسترجع من: <https://www.kuna.net.kw/ArticleDetails.aspx?id=1598677&language=ar>  
تاريخ الاسترجاع: 22 يونيو 2022.
- لحبيب، محمود. "إخراج النصوص المحلية يتطلب كسر الأساليب التقليدية". موقع صحيفة الخليج، 7 يوليو 2018. مسترجع من: <http://www.alkhaleej.ae/alkhaleej/page/73352c19-5764-4139-81f6-c1f42993d122> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 13 أبريل 2019.
- لحبيب، محمود. "شكسبير العربي.. هل كان يكتب عن واقعنا؟". موقع صحيفة الخليج، 1 نوفمبر 2017. مسترجع من: <https://www.alkhaleej.ae/ملحق/شكسبير-العربي-تاريخ-الاسترجاع:4-سبتمبر-2021>
- لوزخ، نتانيل. "الحروب الإسرائيلية". موقع وزارة الخارجية الإسرائيلية، 2013. مسترجع من: <https://mfa.gov.il/mfaar/informationaboutisrael/thehistoryofthejewishpeople/warsofisrael/pages/six%20days%20war%201967.aspx> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 أبريل 2021.
- م.ت. وم.خ (فريق بئرا). "مسرحيتنا شكسبير منتقما وأيام اللولو توحى بطروحات الروائي فوكنر". موقع وكالة الأنباء الأردنية (بئرا)، 23 مارس 2016. مسترجع من: [https://petra.gov.jo/Include/InnerPage.jsp?ID=2160945&lang=ar&name=archived\\_new](https://petra.gov.jo/Include/InnerPage.jsp?ID=2160945&lang=ar&name=archived_new) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 14 فبراير 2022.
- ماكبيس، مارجريت. "نبذة تاريخية عن شركة الهند الشرقية الإنجليزية ١٦٠٠ - ١٨٥٨". موقع مكتبة قطر الرقمية (qdl)، 13 أغسطس 2014. مسترجع من: <http://www.qdl.qa/العربية/نبذة-تاريخية-عن-شركة-الهند-الشرقية-الانجليزية-1600-1858%D9%A0%D9%A0> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 26 مارس 2017.
- الماوي، محمد. "ما معنى الديمقراطية الجديدة؟". موقع وصحيفة الحوار المتمن، 28 أبريل 2011. مسترجع من: <http://www.m.ahewar.org/s.asp?aid=256924&r=0> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 19 مارس 2017.

## Arabic Bibliography

محبك، أحمد. "التناص في المسرح العربي". *مجلة الفنون المسرحية*، 18 يونيو 2016. مسترجع من:

تاريخ [http://theatermaga.blogspot.com/2016/06/blog-post\\_91.html#.ZF-WPC8Rrq0](http://theatermaga.blogspot.com/2016/06/blog-post_91.html#.ZF-WPC8Rrq0)

الاسترجاع: 16 مارس 2018.

محمد، أنور. "آي ميديا.. تعرية الدور اللانسانى للنظام العالمى الجديد". *موقع ضفة ثالثة العربى*، 17 يناير 2022. مسترجع

من: <https://diffah.alaraby.co.uk/diffah/arts/2022/1/17/> أي-ميديا-تعرية-الدور-اللانسانى-للنظام-العالمى-

الجديد تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 مايو 2022.

محمد، صخري. "الثورة التونسية (2010-2011): أسبابها، خصائصها ونتائجها". *موقع الموسوعة الجزائرية للدراسات*

*السياسية والاستراتيجية*، يناير 2021. مسترجع من: <https://www.politics-dz.com/> الثورة-التونسية-2010-

2011-أسبابها،-خصائصها-و/ تاريخ الاسترجاع: 25 مارس 2022.

مختار، حسن. "المسرح وثورة 1919.. رواد وراية ومطالبات بالحرية". *موقع النبوة نيوز*، 16 مارس 2019. مسترجع من:

<https://www.albawabhnews.com/3523324> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 7 سبتمبر 2021.

مدحت، بمنى. "حين وقعت مصر في الأسر: ما وراء التحديث البغيض". *موقع إضاءات*، 2017. مسترجع من:

تاريخ <https://www.ida2at.com/egypt-in-captivity-beyond-the-obnoxious-modernization/>

الاسترجاع: 20 أكتوبر 2021.

مديرية المسارح والموسيقا بسوريا. "د. رياض عصمت كاتب ومخرج". *موقع مديرية المسارح والموسيقا بسوريا*، 2008.

مسترجع من: [http://theaters.gov.sy/?page=show\\_det&category\\_id=35&id=142&lang=ar](http://theaters.gov.sy/?page=show_det&category_id=35&id=142&lang=ar) تاريخ

الاسترجاع: 9 فبراير 2022.

مرسي، تسنيم. "أحمد شوقي 1868 – 1932". *موقع مكتبة الإسكندرية*. مسترجع من:

<http://www.bibalex.org/libraries/presentation/static/Shawki.pdf> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 15 مايو 2018.

مرعي، منى. "استعادة الهاملية العربية من الناصرية إلى زمن الأزمات الراهنة". *موقع الهيئة العربية للمسرح*، 2020.

مسترجع من: <https://atitheatre.ae/> استعادة-الهاملية-العربية-من-الناصرى/ تاريخ الاسترجاع: 8 يونيو 2021.

مركز الإشعاع الإسلامى. "ما هي حقيقة الرؤى والأحلام التي يراها الإنسان في منامه؟". *موقع إسلام فور يو*. مسترجع من:

<https://www.islam4u.com/ar/almojib/> ما-هي-حقيقة-الرؤى-و-الأحلام-التي-يرأها-الإنسان-في-منامه؟ تاريخ

الاسترجاع: 7 فبراير 2019.

## Arabic Bibliography

المطيري، سعود. "المخصيون.. جنس بشري منقطع النسل خدموا نساء البلاط وقصور السلاطين". موقع جريدة الرياض، 16

سبتمبر 2011. مسترجع من: <https://www.alriyadh.com/667644> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 5 يوليو 2021.

المعاني دوت كوم. "تعريف ومعنى شرارة في معجم المعاني الجامع". موقع المعاني. مسترجع من:

<https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/> شرارة/ تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 يونيو 2022.

المعاني دوت كوم. "معنى اسم ثريا في قاموس معاني الأسماء". موقع المعاني. مسترجع من:

<https://www.almaany.com/ar/name/> ثريا/ تاريخ الاسترجاع: 13 مايو 2021.

معتوق، أكرم. "ريتشارد الثالث: المنعرج المسرحي وثورة اللغة العربية". موقع الحصري التونسي، 2011. مسترجع من:

<https://ar.espacemanager.com/> ريتشارد-الثالث-المنعرج-المسرحي-وثورة-اللغة-العربية تاريخ الاسترجاع:

24 سبتمبر 2018.

معرفة دوت أورج. "سعد الله ونوس". موقع موسوعة المعرفة. مسترجع من:

<https://www.marefa.org> سعد الله ونوس تاريخ الاسترجاع: 15 مارس 2021.

معرفة دوت أورج. "جبرا إبراهيم جبرا". موقع موسوعة المعرفة. مسترجع من:

<https://www.marefa.org/> جبرا إبراهيم جبرا تاريخ الاسترجاع: 11 يوليو 2021.

معرفة دوت أورج. "علياء المهدي". موقع موسوعة المعرفة. مسترجع من: <https://www.marefa.org/> علياء المهدي

تاريخ الاسترجاع: 23 يونيو 2021.

معرفة دوت أورج. "مجلة الرسالة". موقع موسوعة المعرفة. مسترجع من: <https://www.marefa.org/> مجلة الرسالة

تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 يوليو 2021.

معرفة دوت أورج. "محمد عناني". موقع موسوعة المعرفة. مسترجع من: <https://www.marefa.org/> محمد عناني

تاريخ الاسترجاع: 26 مارس 2021.

معكم دوت كوم. "عوني كرومي.. وسيط الثقافات". موقع معكم، 8 أغسطس 2011. مسترجع من:

<https://maakom.com/article/wny-krwmy-wsyt-lthqft>. تاريخ الاسترجاع: 23 أغسطس 2021.

مفرح، سعدية. "مقالات من مجلة العربي قيس بن الملوح.. إمام العاشقين". موقع مجلة العربي، 2013. مسترجع من:

<http://www.3rbi.info/Article.asp?ID=12128> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 27 مايو 2021.

## Arabic Bibliography

- "منتدى أمريكا والعالم الإسلامي في الدوحة". قطاع الأخبار والبرامج السياسية -وزارة الإعلام. مسترجع من:  
[www.news.gov.kw/News/MilafaatKhasa/Details/141459](http://www.news.gov.kw/News/MilafaatKhasa/Details/141459). تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 أبريل 2022.
- منصور، محمد. " الوهابية: قصة الصعود الديني والسياسي". موقع أورينت نيوز، 30 نوفمبر 2014. مسترجع من:  
[http://www.orient-news.net/ar/news\\_show/83054](http://www.orient-news.net/ar/news_show/83054) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 12 يوليو 2017.
- منير، محمود. " هاملت بعد حين: صراع داخل الخشبة وعليها". موقع العربي الجديد، 15 فبراير 2018. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.alaraby.co.uk/culture/2018/2/15/> هاملت بعد-حين-صراع-داخل-الخشبة-وعليها تاريخ الاسترجاع: 26 مارس 2018.
- مؤسسة هنداوي. " طانيوس عبده". موقع مؤسسة هنداوي للتعليم والثقافة. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.hindawi.org/contributors/69739264/> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 1 أبريل 2018.
- موسوعة التراجم والأعلام. " القس رافاييل". موقع تراجم. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.taraajem.com/persons/1880/> القس-رافاييل تاريخ الاسترجاع: 16 مايو 2022.
- موقع البوابة. "ابن حزم الأندلسي.. السيرة الكاملة". موقع البوابة، 2017. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.albawaba.com/ar/أدب-وثقافة/سيرة-ابن-حزم-الاندلسي-الظاهري-ترجمة-حياة-1032672> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 27 يونيو 2021.
- موقع الجامعة العربية الدولية. "د.عجاج سليم". موقع الجامعة العربية الدولية. مسترجع من:  
<https://www.aiu.edu.sy/en/25-8344/Dr.-Ajaj-Saleem> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 يوليو 2021.
- موقع الجمل. "مسرحية الليلة الثانية عشرة أداء كلاسيكي متقن وسينوغرافيا متقشفة". المصدر: سانا. موقع الجمل بما حمل،  
31 مارس 2010. مسترجع من:  
<https://aljami.com/> مسرحية%20الليلة%20الثانية%20عشرة%20أداء%20كلاسيكي%20متقن%20وسينوغرافيا%20متقشفة تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 فبراير 2021.
- مويسات، مهرناز. "المسرحية السورية؛ ظهورها، روافدها، وموضوعاتها". موقع ديوان العرب، 6 يوليو 2013. مسترجع من:  
<http://www.diwanalarab.com/spip.php?article37618> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 17 أبريل 2018.

## Arabic Bibliography

ميدل إيست أونلاين. "ريتشارد الثالث يعتلي عرش المسرح العربي بالشارقة". موقع ميدل إيست أون لاين، 2014. مسترجع

من: <https://middle-east-online.com/> ريتشارد-الثالث-يعتلي-عرش-المسرح-العربي-بالشارقة تاريخ

الاسترجاع: 20 سبتمبر 2018.

ميدل إيست أونلاين. "سليمان البسام يضع أعماله المسرحية على خارطة القارات الأربعة". موقع ميدل إيست أون لاين،

2016. مسترجع من: <http://www.middle-east-online.com/?id=235445> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 27 نوفمبر

2016.

النجار، محمد. "دراسة: الجزيرة ساهمت بنجاح الثورات". موقع الجزيرة، 2011. مسترجع من:

<https://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2011/9/29/> دراسة-الجزيرة-ساهمت-بنجاح-الثورات تاريخ

الاسترجاع: 31 مارس 2022.

النصار، م. "حول لطيف وخوشابا ودور السريان في نشأة المسرحية العراقية". موقع الهيئة العربية للمسرح، 2016. مسترجع

من: <https://atitheatre.ae/> حول-لطيف-وخوشابا-ودور-السريان-في-نشأة-ال-تاريخ الاسترجاع: 25 أغسطس

2021.

نعمان، شيماء. "الحركة النسوية الأوروبية وإشكالية الحرية". موقع المسلم، 14 يونيو 2012. مسترجع من:

<http://www.almoslim.net/node/166478> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 17 مايو 2017.

هيكل، محمد حسنين. "صفقات السلاح في العالم العربي". موقع الجزيرة، 18 مارس 2007. مسترجع من:

<http://www.aljazeera.net/programs/with-haykal/2007/3/18/> هيكل-صفقات-السلاح-في-العالم-العربي

تاريخ الاسترجاع: 26 مارس 2017.

الهيئة الوطنية للإعلام. "محمد عناني". موقع ماسبيرو. مسترجع من:

<https://www.maspero.eg/wps/portal/home/treasures/guests/> بدع/6/ceb675ad4bbb-87bb-4448-0789-2992a-ff تاريخ الاسترجاع: 5 يوليو 2021.

يونس، محمد رفعت. "تأثير شكسبير في المسرح المصري". موقع مسرحنا، 2013. مسترجع من:

<http://www.masrahona.com/item/2600-تأثير-شكسبير-في-ال-المصرية-2013> مسترجع من:

<http://www.masrahona.com/item/2600-تأثير-شكسبير-في-ال-المصرية-2013>

%E2%80%AC المسرح-المصري تاريخ الاسترجاع: 1 مايو 2018.

المرئيات:

## Arabic Bibliography

- إسماعيل، سيد. "عرض مسرحية ما بعد الإنسان.. أيام الشارقة المسرحية". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: Sayed Esmail، 21 مارس 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=GuLOgWKOQjU> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 17 يناير 2019.
- أفلام الخط الأحمر. "الربيع العربي | الحلقة الأولى". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: Red Line Films، 14 يناير 2017. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GK\\_mEtgC5GE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GK_mEtgC5GE) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 6 أكتوبر 2021.
- باكثير، علي أحمد. "مقطع من لقاء مع الأديب باكثير في تلفزيون الكويت". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: zubaidi2، 6 مايو 2008. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TZnzPCLQeOo> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 30 مارس 2021.
- البسام، سليمان. "لقاء سليمان البسام في برنامج بالكويتي عن الإخراج المسرحي". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: AlziadiQ8 Plus 3، 13 أبريل 2017. مسترجع من: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hMQUjrTQIgU> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 مايو 2022.
- بشارة، عزمي. "السياقات التاريخية لنشوء العلمانية". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: المركز العربي ArabCenter، 23 مايو 2012. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t0SWUJwNjwY> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 1 نوفمبر 2021.
- جاريد، أحمد. "الأثر بعد الإنسان". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: Banan Alyousef، 22 يناير 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zJK0Qs-EVTM> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 9 يونيو 2019.
- الجزيرة الوثائقية. "العميد - 1 المتمرد". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: Al Jazeera Documentary الجزيرة الوثائقية، 15 نوفمبر 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=esdVvn8iucE&t=599s> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 4 يونيو 2022.
- خالد، شو. "سلامة حجازي - يا غزالاً صاد قلبي جفنه". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: Shoug Khaled، 7 أغسطس 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f6IuzKAX9MM> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 29 سبتمبر 2021.
- الخصير، عبد الكريم. "من هو الصالح". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: دروس معالي الشيخ الدكتور عبدالكريم الخصير، 1 أبريل 2014. مسترجع من: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rx-WrvsotSo> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 29 سبتمبر 2021.
- الخليج، شادي والخرار، سناء. "كلما زادت المحن". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: Nasser Al Shaibani، 29 مارس 2008. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BcUqr\\_dphSM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BcUqr_dphSM) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 14 فبراير 2022.



## Arabic Bibliography

- راديو المسرح. "ريتشارد 3". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: RADIO THEATRE، 1 ديسمبر 2013.
- [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i\\_LrH4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=um9a2i_LrH4) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 24 سبتمبر 2018.
- زايد، أحمد. "المسيحية أساس حضارة الغرب الأول". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: Ahmed Zayed، 22 مايو 2015.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LDmLqIHLYIE> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 7 يوليو 2017.
- زايد، أحمد. "فكر الإمام ابن رشد وفصل المقال". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: Ahmed Zayed، 5 سبتمبر 2012.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=05TbQk1YS50> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 11 يوليو 2017.
- زايد، أحمد. "مصر تحت الاحتلال الإنجليزي". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: Ahmed Zayed، 14 نوفمبر 2013.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZiEg93H-TOA> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 أكتوبر 2021.
- زايد، أحمد. "مصر نابليون والحملة الفرنسية". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: Ahmed Zayed، 12 أكتوبر 2013.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nvL5HF161fA> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 16 ديسمبر 2018.
- زايد، أحمد. "مقدمات في فلسفة التاريخ". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: Ahmed Zayed، 23 فبراير 2013.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W8hQLMkoB3U> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 نوفمبر 2021.
- سليمان، محمود. "الكاتب مارون النقاش الجزء 1". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: الدكتور محمود سليمان، 29 مارس 2021.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yDW32xPAuOk> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 24 نوفمبر 2021.
- سليمان، محمود. "مارون النقاش الجزء 2". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: الدكتور محمود سليمان، 29 مارس 2021،
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=29ZmPgd4q1o> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 24 نوفمبر 2021.
- مكتبة الجزيرة المرئية. "المشاء - سليمان البسام.. هاملت في جزيرة فيلكا الكويتية kw". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: Aljazeera Media Library مكتبة الجزيرة المرئية، 5 ديسمبر 2019.
- [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1MyNV1\\_nis](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1MyNV1_nis) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 21 مايو 2022.
- النابلسي، محمد راتب. "تفسير سورة الانفطار". يوتيوب. تم الرفع بواسطة Tareq Amro، 17 مايو 2013،
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=02t1J4PThMw>. تاريخ الاسترجاع: 1 مايو 2018.
- نور سا. "هاملت 1 السوري \_ HAMLET". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: noor sa، 3 ديسمبر 2013.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKyDAQdwfME> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 7 أبريل 2018.

## Arabic Bibliography

- نور سا. "هاملت 2 السوري\_HAMLET". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: noor sa، 4 ديسمبر 2013.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=brAIT5-tbrg> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 7 أبريل 2018.
- الهيئة العربية للمسرح. "إعلان مسرحية ريتشارد الثالث – تونس". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: AtiTheatre Chanel، 2 يناير 2014. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JL4G\\_ZXJK1k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JL4G_ZXJK1k) تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 سبتمبر 2018.
- الهيئة العربية للمسرح. "مسرحية ريتشارد - تونس - مهرجان أيام الشارقة المسرحية الدورة ٢٤ - ٢٠١٤". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: AtiTheatre Chanel، 17 مارس 2014. <https://youtu.be/Dz0fzY6YvSI> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 20 يناير 2019.
- الهيئة العربية للمسرح. "مسرحية ما بعد الإنسان - مسرح خورفكان". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: AtiTheatre Chanel، 27 مارس 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CNMsbp-08W0&t=282s> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 24 يونيو 2022.
- ونوس، سعد الله. "الكاتب الكبير سعد الله ونوس يتحدث مع سفيان جبر عن الديمقراطية والحريّة والثقافة الجزء الأول". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: harb967، 7 مارس 2011.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSkxpWJWs0c> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 14 أبريل 2021.
- يونس، عباس. "من الأدب الإنجليزي: الليلة الثانية عشرة.. شكسبير". يوتيوب، تم الرفع بواسطة: البرنامج الثقافي - الإذاعة المصرية، 11 فبراير 2017.
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xWAmuWhFVRw&lc=UghXmRbMF16IMHgCoAE> تاريخ الاسترجاع: 10 أبريل 2021.





## **Marun Al-Naqqash Speech**

### **Marun Al-Naqqash Speech**

I thank you, who spread advice and caution, from folding tradition and tales, and taught your servants seriousness and lessons, through jokes and novels, thank you from a slave who loved the homeland, and I beg of your generosity because you are the Beneficial Helper, the Unique Comforter... And after, says who is despised of his nature and intelligence, who lacks the help of his Master, Marun Ibn Elias Al-Naqqash, may God bless his soul with relief and recovery: When I noticed the people of our country beginning with success, and advancing day by day to the farmer, I realized that the divine mercies have looked upon it with eternal care, and missed it with those ordinary gifts in order to restore its glory and happiness. Nevertheless, I see that the people of the Frankish countries are still dominant over the people of these Arab countries, superior to the sciences, arts, order, urbanisation and affairs. At that time, I was hopeful, with the effort of reading and working; May I stand on the reality of their great inequality and reveal the veil of deceit about our perpetual poverty. However, we are more deserving of this honour, and it would have been better for us to be the owners of this privilege because we are the origins and those branches, and they are the streams and we are the spring, after hardship, and toil, I have stood on the reasons for our pride, glory and consideration. I refused to show some reasons and refrained from telling them to avoid prolongation and elongation and beware of gossip.

Other reasons I must mention and narrate briefly about them; To get close to what is worth getting close to, and to avoid what requires avoiding, are the reasons to be a model for understanding people. The first reason: is that we abandoned the love of the homeland and the position and did not search for the public good; because each of us thinks only of himself, and is not interested in others, even though Europeans, with their love for their country, give their lives as well as their money and their effort. The second: It is a state of our negligence,

## **Marun Al-Naqqash Speech**

laziness, and lack of jealousy. Because, praise be to Him, at this time, there is a great crowd of eminent students, masters of meanings and eloquence, adorned with eloquence, crowned with ingenuity and navigation, mastering languages and sciences, blossoming in the sky of knowledge like stars, but nonetheless, each of them enjoys and is content with his success, and relies on his companion, and drop the burden on his friend, although it was crowned with them that they should not bury what God weighed to them, rather each one should proceed openly and directly, to facilitate load when cooperating. The third: It is our excessive urgency, and our lack of patience and endurance, because each of us does not want to plant trees today, if it is not realised that tomorrow he will eat fruit from them. The situation is that foreigners begin in their own countries with deeds, although they cannot be finished before the passing of a number of generations. If we had been following their way, and imitating their reality, we would now be enjoying the legacy of our fathers, and bequeathing blessings and comfort to our children, which is pleasing to the Great Lord, and the beneficial and beautiful remembrance. The fourth and final reason is our shyness mixed with arrogance, and our shyness mixed with arrogance. Because you people of science and knowledge, and people of understanding and philosophy, are afraid to invent something so that it does not make others happy, or to translate a book so that it does not please others. So upset will make you rest, and shame will prevent you. But I kind of find you are compelled, and for not showing your knowledge you are excused; Because Europeans, for their good behaviour, the quality of their education and their kindness, when they look at one of their people, inventing an something for the benefit of their people, they desire him to master that purpose, and are fanatical about helping him. If he succeeds, he will receive the wreath of reward, and they chant his praises and thanks, and if he is unable and recurs, they do not give up the continuity of assistance and they establish arguments and excuses for him, so that in this way great progress increases for them, and great growth accumulates in their homes. Rather, the people

## Marun Al-Naqqash Speech

of this country, and some of those who are relied on, have become accustomed to the topics of their saying. Some of them slander and taunt and some of them condemn and control. They insult the compiler with reprimand and shyness, and attribute him to coldness and unemployment, and reproach him for having been extravagant in his time with writings and wasting his days in writing. And if they hear about a matter and a fate, then they are satisfied with the argument of incapacity and shortcomings and before experience, they judge that in our country it does not happen. Also, If they look at composition, they do not pay attention except to the decoration of speech, and they only revise on prose and order, deprived of envy and purpose, to the extent that they leave the essence and cling to the presentation. They think that by mocking and humiliating others, they gain pride and goodness, and the reality is not as they imagine, nor is the reputation for joking as they claim. If it is just, show courage and show ingenuity you have, and light the fire from its trigger, and restore souls to their bodies.

And here I am going ahead without you to the front, bearing the possibility of blaming on your behalf, in advance of these respected masters, the esteemed masters, those who have superior knowledge, and unique and clear minds, who are the eyes of the distinguished in this age, and the crown of the parents and the progeny in this country, showing them a literary stage and a Frankish gold with Arabic. However, when I passed through the European countries, and when I went through the Frankish countries, I have witnessed in [European theatres], mediations and benefits that would refine human nature, theatres in which they play extraordinary performances and tell peculiar stories. These tales can be seen from the outside as metaphors and jokes, but actually they speak to truth and righteousness, to the extent that they attract with their wisdom the kings from the highest of their families, so they come to it and win with their good politics and their pleasure. One of them: they call it play, and it is divided into comedy, then into drama and tragedy, and they highlight it simple without

## Marun Al-Naqqash Speech

poems, and not composed on instruments and strings. And the second is called, according to them, Opera, and it is divided into frowning, sad. It is in the orbit of the music moonlit.

Rather, it was more important and necessary to categorize and translate in the first place and not the other; Because it is easier and closer, and in the beginning required. But what compelled me to violate the analogy, and to practice this anchor; First: because the second (opera) was for me the most delightful, the most beautiful and the most splendid. It is the habit of a person not to be generous with what he has, except for what his soul is inclined to. The equitable wherever he is, he overflows towards him the goodness of his heart and his prohibition. Second: Where a person thought of people, as he thought of himself without ambiguity, and my opinions, desire and jealousy prevailed, that the second is more beloved than the first for my people and my clan; so from here on, I chose this musical theatre. If my masters approve of my actions, and they help me with their wisdom over my ignorance, and praise what is presented to them and clears them, then attributing that to their good morals, and counting it from their kindness and taste, otherwise I do not attribute the guilt except to my wretchedness, and a punishment and discipline for my stupidity; For I have stormed a field of which I am not, and rode a horse of which I am not a hero. Nevertheless, I beg them to warn me of what has gone wrong, and to guide me in isolation to rectify the mistake; Because this art is a rich sea, and a revolving ark, especially that those who participate with me, to form with this ludicrous appearance, who helped me in this work, and supported me and helped me to reach hope, are still renewing and beginning to do it, and they did not pass by an appearance like it, so it is not without them that they fall into Some troubles, and they denounce some of the lapses, felt by those who have read, on the minutes of these bright facts, but in reality they are excused due to their beginning, and the lack of a sufficient imam to guide them, especially given our lack of appropriate places, and the cosmic and compatible crews. Nevertheless, I have a firm hope, by your good will, that if you see my works are



## Marun Al-Naqqash Speech

incomplete, and my works are not working, you will not be scorned by contempt and boredom. Do not let boredom and anger prevent you. Rather, each of you who was intelligent, jealous, and had knowledge of these matters, would be encouraged and increase to my wicked composing, another significant composition.

However, those whom you will seize beyond enthusiasm, motivate them with generosity and wit, and compose or extract things in this regard, begging God for help and assistance, they will undoubtedly surpass me and there is no problem. Because the essence does not appear except by re-glazing, because the Franks, from the time they discovered this treasure, did not have the same as the theatres of Milan and Naples, but slowly they began to progress, and with the passage of time they gained this glorification. You will also see, when it is repeated, benefits those tongues cannot describe; Because it is filled with exhortations, etiquette, wisdom and admiration, because by these theatres the flaws of human beings are revealed, so the intelligent person takes the lesson and is wary of it. Apart from people acquiring discipline from it and sipping them from the pleasure of advice, civility and politeness, at the same time they learn eloquent words, and they seize the meanings of weighty. By its nature, it is composed of organized speech, and precise metering, then they enjoy physical exercise, listening to musical instruments, and learning if they want melodies, and the art of singing among regrets, and they gain knowledge of effective signs, and show signs, and they enjoy admiring looks, and singing formations and they enjoy the funny and joyful chapters, and the cheerful episodes. Then they understand world affairs and civil events, and graduate in the science of behaviour and the companying of kings; As a result, it is an earthly paradise and a rich experience, so I ask you to listen to it, and this is a variant of it, so enjoy.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Ismā'īl, *Tārīkh al-masrah fī al- 'ālam al- 'Arabī: al-qarn al-tāsi' 'ashar*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Mu'assasat Hindāwī lil-ta' līm wa-al-Thaqāfah, 1999. mstrj' min: <https://www.hindawi.org/books/58285828/>. Tārīkh alāstrjā': 17 Uktūbir 2021.

### خطبة مارون النقاش

أحمدك يا من نشرت النصيحة والحذر، من طي التقليدات والحكايات، وعلمت عبادك الجد والعبر، على نفقة الهزل والروايات، حمداً من عيدٍ ساح بحب الوطن، والتمس من جودك إيهاب الفطن؛ لأنك أنت المعين المفيد، والمعزي الفريد... وبعد، فيقول المحقر طبعه وذكاه، المفتقر لمساعدة مولا، مارون بن إلياس النقاش، أفاض الله على روحه غيث الإغاثة والإنعاش: إنني إذ لاحظت أهالي بلادنا مبتدئةً بالنجاح، ومتقدمة يوماً فيوماً إلى الفلاح، فأيقنت أن المراحم الإلهية، قد نظرتها بعين العناية الأزلية، وافتقدتها بتلك المواهب الاعتيادية لأجل ترجيع مجدها، وإعادة عزها وسعدها. غير أنني مع ذلك أرى أن أهالي البلاد الإفريقية، لم تزل راجحة على أهالي هذه البلاد العربية، فائقة بالعلوم والفنون، والترتيب والتمدن والشئون، فعند ذلك أطمعني الأمل، بجهد المطالعة والعمل؛ لعلني أفق على حقيقة تفاوتهم العظيم، وأكشف غشا الحجاب عن فقرنا المستديم. على أننا نحن أحق بهذا الإعزاز، وكان الأولى أن نكون نحن المالكين هذا الامتياز؛ لكوننا نحن الأصول وأولئك الفروع، وهم السواقي ونحن ينبوع، فبعد عناءٍ ونصب، وكدٍ وتعب، قد وقفت على أسباب نزع فخارنا، وسلب مجدنا واعتبارنا، كما أنني قد وقفت أيضاً على أسباب دوام الحالة التي نحن فيها، وعدم رجوع الماء إلى مجاريها. فالأسباب الأولى أعرضت عن إظهارها، وعدلت عن إخبارها؛ هرباً من الإسهاب والتطويل، وحذراً من القال والقيل .

والأسباب الثانية لا بد أن أذكر شيئاً منها، وأروي بالاختصار حديثاً عنها؛ لكي نتقرب إلى ما يُجدي تقربه، وتجنب ما يقتضي تجنبه. وهذه هي الأسباب، لتكون أنموذجاً لذوي الألباب؛ السبب الأول: هو تركنا حب الوطن والمقام، وعدم تفتيشنا على النفع العام؛ لأن كلاً منا لا يفكر إلا بنفسه، غير مهتم بأبناء جنسه، مع أن الأورباويين بحبهم لوطنهم وبلادهم، يبذلون نفوسهم فضلاً عن مالهم وجهادهم. الثاني: هو حالة تهاونا وكسلنا وعدم غيرتنا؛ لأنه يوجد بحمده تعالى بهذا الأوان، جمهور عظيم من التلامذة الأعيان وجهابذة المعاني والبيان، مزينين بالنجابة والفصاحة، مكللين بالبراعة والملاحة، متقنين اللغات والعلوم، مزهرين في سماء المعارف كالنجوم، ولكنهم مع ذلك كلُّ منهم يتنعم ويكتفي بتوفيقه، ويتكلم معتمداً على رفاقه، ويلقي الحملة مستنداً على صديقه، مع أنه كان المتوج عليهم أن لا يدفنوا ما وزن الله إليهم، بل يشرع كل واحد بفتوح ومباشرة، ليسهل الحمل عند المكاثرة. الثالث: هو فرط استعجالنا، وعدم صبرنا واحتمالنا، فإن كلِّ منا لا يريد أن يزرع اليوم أشجاراً، إذا لم يتحقق أنه في غدٍ يأكل منها أثماراً. الحال أن الأعراب يبتدون في بلادهم بأعمال، مع عدم قابليتها للنهاية قبل مرور جملة أجيال، فلو كنا سالكين في طريقتهم، ومتشبهين في حقيقتهم، لكننا نكون الآن متعممين بمتروكات آبائنا، ومورثين النعم والراحة لأبنائنا، الأمر المرضي للمولى الجليل، والمفيد الاسم والذكر الجميل. والسبب الرابع والأخير: هو خجلنا الممتزج بالتكبر، وحيواننا المختلط بالتجبر؛ لأنكم يا ذوي العلوم والمعرفة، ومعشر الفهم

## Marun Al-Naqqash Speech

والفلسفة، تخافون أن تخترعوا أمراً فلا يُطرب، أو تترجموا كتاباً فلا يُعجب، فيقعكم الزعل، ويمنعكم الخجل. ولكنني على نوع ما أعددكم مجبورين، وبدعم إظهار علومكم معذورين؛ لأن الأورباويين لحسن تصرفهم، وجودة تثقفهم وتلفهم، عندما ينظرون أحداً من أقوامهم، مبتدعاً قضية لنفع عامهم، فيرغبونه لإتقان ذلك المراد، ويتعصبون على مساعدته والإنجاد، فإن نجح وساد فينال إكليل المكافأة ويطنون بمدحه والشكر، وإن عجز وعاد، لا يفترون من دوام المساعدات ويقيمون عنه الحجج والعذر، فيزداد عندهم بهذا الوجه التقدم العظيم، ويتراكم في ديارهم النمو العميم. وإنما أهل هذه البلاد، والبعض ممن عليهم الاعتماد، فبالصد قد عودوا مواضع أقوالهم، على ثلب وإعابة تأليفات أمثالهم، فمنهم من يشين ويتهم ومنهم من يدين ويتحكم، فيجرحون المصنف بسيف التوبيخ والخجالة، وينسبونه إلى البرودة والبطالة، ويعيرونه بأنه أسرف زمانه بالتصانيف، وأضاع أيامه بالتأليف، وإن سمعوا بأمر ومصير، فيرتاحون على حجة العجز والتقصير، ومن قبل التجربة يحكمون بأنه في بلادنا لا يصير. وإن نظروا تأليفاً فلا يلتفتون إلا إلى زخرفة الكلام، ولا ينقحون إلا على النثر والنظام، مسلوبين من الحسد والغرض، حتى إنهم يتركون الجوهر ويتمسكون بالعرض، مظنين باستهزائهم وإخراقهم للغير، أن ينالوا الفخر والخير، وليس الواقع كما يتوهمون، ولا الصيت بالتتكيت كما يزعمون، فإذا كان من العدل أن تظهروا الجراحة وتبينوا ما عندكم من البراعة، وتقذحوا النار من زنادها، وتعيدوا الأرواح إلى أجسادها .

وها أنا متقدم دونكم إلى قدام، محتملاً فداء عنكم إيمان الملام، مقدماً لهؤلاء الأسياد المعتمدين، أصحاب الإدراك الموقرين، ذوي المعرفة الفائقة، والأذهان الفريدة الرائقة، الذين هم عين المتميزين بهذا العصر، وتاج الألباء والنجا بهذا القطر، ومبرزاً لهم مرسحاً أدبياً وذهباً إفرنجياً مسبوكاً عربياً. على أنني عند مروري بالأقطار الأورباوية، وسلوكي بالأمصار الإفرنجية، قد عاينت عندهم فيما بين الوسائط والمنافع التي من شأنها تهذيب الطبائع، مراسحاً يلعبون بها ألعاباً غريبة، ويقصون فيها قصصاً عجيبة. فيرى بهذه الحكايات التي يشيرون إليها، والروايات التي يتشككون بها ويعتمدون عليها، من ظاهرها مجاز ومزاح، وباطنها حقيقة وصلاح، حتى إنها تجذب بحكمتها الملوك من أعلى أسرّتهم، فيأتونها ويفوزون بحسن سياستهم ومسرّتهم، وإذ كانت هذه المراسح تنقسم إلى مرتبتين، كلتاها تقر فيهما العين؛ إحداها: يسمونها برونه، وتنقسم إلى كوميديا ثم إلى دراما وإلى تراجيديا، ويبرزونها بسيطا بغير أشعار، وغير ملحنة على الآلات والأوتار. وثانيتهما: تسمى عندهم أوبره، وتنقسم نظير تلك إلى عيوسة ومحزنة ومزهره. وهي التي في فلك الموسيقى مقمرة .

فكان الأهم والألزم بالأحرى، أن أصنف وأترجم بالمرتبة الأولى لا الأخرى؛ لأنها أسهل وأقرب، وفي البداية أوجب. ولكن الذي ألزمني لمخالفة القياس، وممارستي هذا المراس؛ أولاً: لأن الثانية كانت لدي ألد وأشهى، وأبهج وأبهى. ومن عادة المرء ألا يوجد مما يبديه، إلا على ما مالت نفسه إليه. والمنصف حيثما يكون مناه، يطفح نحوه جود قريحته ونهاه. ثانياً:

## Marun Al-Naqqash Speech

حيث ظن المرء بالناس، كظنه بنفسه بلا التباس، فترجحت آرائي ورغبتي وغيرتي، أن الثانية تكون أحب من الأولى عند قومي وعشيرتي؛ فلذلك قد صوّبت أخيراً قصدي، الى تقليد المرسح الموسيقي المجدي، فإن استصوب ساداتي فعلي، وساعدوني بحكمتهم على جهلي، ومدحوا ما يتقدم لديهم، وينجلي عليهم، فإن سب ذلك لحسن أخلاقهم، وأعدده من لطفهم ومزاقهم، وإلا فلا أنسب الذنب إلا لشقواتي، وجزاءً وتأديباً لغياوتي؛ لأنني أكون اقتحمت ميداناً لست من رجاله، وركبت فرساً لست من أبطاله. ولكني مع ذلك أرجوهم لكي يبنهوني عما فرط، ويرشدوني بمعزل إلى إصلاح الغلط؛ لأن هذا الفن بحرٌ زاخر، وفلك دائر، لا سيما أن المشتركين معي، للتشكل بهذا المظهر اللودعي، الذين ساعدوني على هذا العمل، ووافوني وأنجدوني لبلوغ الأمل، لم يزالوا متجددين ومبتدئين بفعله، ولم يمر عليهم قبلاً مظهر كمثلته، فلا يخلو الأمر من أنهم يقعون في بعض ورطات، ويُسجّبون على بعض سقطات، يشعر بها من له المطالعة، على دقائق هذه الحقائق الساطعة، ولكنهم بالحقيقة معذرون نظراً لبداءتهم، وعدم وجود إمام كاف لهدايتهم، خصوصاً نظراً لافتقارنا إلى المحلات اللائقة، والكواسم والطواقم الموافقة. ومع ذلك فلي أمّل متين، بحسن شئكم الرهين، بأنكم لو رأيتم أعمالي غير كاملة، وأفعالي غير عاملة، فلا يقعدنكم الازدراء والملل، ولا يمنعنكم الضجر والزعل، بل كل من كان منكم لبيباً وغيوراً وعنده إمام بهذه الأمور، يتشجع ويزيد على تألّفي هذا المهان، تأليفاً آخر ذا شأن .

على أن الذين ستأخذهم بعدى الحماسة، وتحثهم النخوة والفراسة، ويولفون أو يستخرجون أشياء بهذا الصدد، ملتسمين من الله العون والمدد، فإنهم سيفوقون عليّ بلا شك ولا إشكال؛ لأن الجوهر لا يظهر إلا بإعادة الصقال، لكون الإفرنج من ساعة كشفهم هذا الكنز المنجلي، لم يكن عندهم مثل مراسح ميلانو وناپولي، بل رويّداً رويّداً ابتدأوا بالتقدم، ومع مرور الزمان نالوا هذا التعظيم، فأنتم أيضاً ستنتظرون عند كثرة تكرارها، منافع تعجب الألسن عن وصف مقدارها؛ لأنها مملوءة من المواعظ والآداب، والحكم والإعجاب، لأنه بهذه المراسح تنكشف عيوب البشر، فيعتبر النبيه ويكون منها على حذر . وعدا اكتساب الناس منها التأديب ورشفتهم رضاب النصائح والتمدن والتهديب، فإنهم بالوقت ذاته يتعلمون ألفاظاً فصيحة، ويغتمون معاني رجيحة؛ إذ من طبعها تكون مؤلفة من كلام منظم، ووزن محكم، ثم يتنعمون بالرياضة الجسدية، واستماع الآلات الموسيقية، ويتعلمون إن أرادوا مقامات الألحان، وفن الغنا بين الندمان، ويربحون معرفة الإشارات الفعالة، وإظهار الإمارات العمالة، ويتمتعون بالنظارات المعجبة، والتشكلات المطربة، ويتلذذون بالفصول المضحكة المفرجة، والوقائع المسرة المبهجة، ثم يتفقهون بالأمور العالمية، والحوادث المدنية، ويتخرجون في علم السلوك ومنادمة الملوك؛ وبالنتيجة فهي جنة أرضية، وحافلة سنية، فأرجوكم أن تصغوا لها وتسمعوا، وهذا ضربٌ منه فتمتعوا.

Technical translation of parts of *Twelfth Night* by Bakathir

Technical translation of parts of *Twelfth Night* by Bakathir

<p>تكن الألمان للحب غذاء إن تكن لل حائل حب ب غذاء</p> <p>takun al-alhano lilhubi 'getha</p> <p>fa'elatum fa'elatum f'elat /o//o/o /o//o/o ///oo</p>	<p>هات ألعانك يا عازف إن ... ها تءل حائلك يعازف</p> <p>Hatt Alhanuka ya azifo en</p> <p>fa'elatum f'elatum f'ela /o//o/o ///o/o ///o</p>
<p>أن يلاقي حتفه منها امتلاء أن يلاقي حت فهو من هم تلاء</p> <p>an yulaqi hatfahu menha imtila</p> <p>fa'elatum fa'elatum fa'elat /o//o/o /o//o/o /o//oo</p>	<p>هاتها! زدني منها فعسى ... ها تها زدني يمن ها ! ف عسى</p> <p>hatiha zidni menha fa asā</p> <p>fa'elatum f'elatum f'ela /o//o/o ///o/o ///o</p>
<p>إنه طاب على السمع غناء إن نهو طاب على السم ع غناء</p> <p>ennahu taba ala alsamee 'gena</p> <p>fa'elatum. f'elatum f'elat o//o/o ///o/o ///oo</p>	<p>أعد اللحن الذي غنيتَه ... أع عدل لحن لذي عن ني تهو</p> <p>a-ed allahana allathi 'ganitahu</p> <p>fa'elatum fa'elatum fa'ela /o//o/o ///o/o /o//o/</p>
<p>يدع الشجو له الأدماء</p> <p>yadee alshajwa lahu alathama</p>	<p>كاد من رفته يفنى ! فلم ...</p> <p>kadda min reqatihi yafna! fa lam</p>
<p>سرق الروض شذاه ثم جاء</p> <p>saraqa alrawdū shathahu thumma ja</p>	<p>رفت بالسمع جنوباً عطراً ...</p> <p>raff belsame januban ateran</p>
<p>عندي الآن وما قبل سوا</p> <p>endi alaan w ma qablu sawa</p>	<p>قدك! قف لحنك هذا لم يعد ...</p> <p>qaduka! qif lahnuka hatha lam ya-ud</p>
<p>راك في النفس وأقواك مضاء</p> <p>raki fe al nafsi w aqwak mada</p>	<p>أه روح الحب! ما أطف مس ...</p> <p>Ah roh al hub! ma altaf mas</p>
<p>كدت تطغين على ماضي القضاء</p>	<p>قوة هائلة أنت، فقد ...</p>

**Technical translation of parts of *Twelfth Night* by Bakathir**

kidtee tat'gein ala ma'di al 'qada	Quwatun haelatun ante fa-qad
أبداً تَبْدِين فِي أَلْفِ رِوَاءِ abadan tabdeen fe alfe rawa	قُوَّةٌ حَوْلَهُ قَلْبُهُ ... quwatun huwlatun qulbahu
إِنَّهُ مَاءٌ وَأَنْتِ الْكَهْرِبَاءُ ennahu maaun w ante kahraba	أَيْنَ مِنْكَ الْبَحْرُ عَظْمًا وَقُوَى؟! ... ayna minke albahru authman w quwan
تَعْدَمُ التَّأْتِيرَ فِيهِ وَالتَّوَاءِ taadum altatheera fehe w althawa	تَسْقُطُ الْأَنْهَارُ فِي الْبَحْرِ فَلَا ... tas'qutu alanharu fe albahre fala
وَسَمَتِ أَوْجَاءَ، وَشَطَّتْ فِي غَلَاءِ w samat awja w shattat fee gala	وَهَمُومُ النَّفْسِ مَهْمَا عَظُمَتْ ... w humum alnafsu mahma athumat
تَتَلَاشَى كَالْتِمَاعِ مِنْ ضِيَاءِ tatalasha kaltimaa min 'deya	دُونَ أَمْوَاجِكِ فِي ثَانِيَةٍ! ... duna amwajeka fee thanyatin
أَوْجِ قَعْرٌ، وَإِذَا الْأَسْرُ عِيَاءِ awju 'quron w etha alasr aya	فَإِذَا الْغَالِي رَخِيصٌ، وَإِذَا ال ... faetha al'ghali ra'kisun w etha al

## Technical Translation of parts of *Twelfth Night* by Annani

### Technical Translation of parts of *Twelfth Night* by Annani, <sup>1</sup>

<p>If music be the food of love, play on, Give me excess of it that, surfeiting, The appetite may sicken and so die. That strain again, it had a dying fall. O, it came o'er my ear like the sweet sound That breathes upon a bank of violets, Stealing and giving odour. Enough, no more;</p>	<p>إن كانت الأنعام قوتا للغرام فاعزفوا ثم اعزفوا وأتخّموا شهيتي حتى إذا غصت فربما اعتلت وماتت ! هيا أعيدوا ذلك اللحن الذي يهوي فيذوي ! آه لقد مرّ على أذني كصوتٍ ذي أريجٍ يتنفّس ! قد جاء يسترقُّ الحُطى فوق البنفسج في الرُبا ويشبع أنفاسَ الشدّا – لا بل كفاكم !</p>
--	--

<sup>1</sup> 'Inānī, Muḥammad. *al-tarjamah al-adabīyah bayna al-naẓarīyah wa-al-taṭbīq*. Kitāb iliktrūnī, Lūnjmān lil-Nashr bi-Landan, 2003. mstrj' min: [https://archive.org/details/al-tarjama\\_al-adabia](https://archive.org/details/al-tarjama_al-adabia). Tārīkh alāstrjā': 11 Abrīl 2021.

## Glossary

### Glossary

**English-language readers will note some repetitions in the romanized translations, namely:**

Tārīkh alāstrjā‘ = access date.

mstrj‘ min = website that the reference is taken from.

Mawqī = website

Kitāb iliktrūnī = electronic book.

§ § = pp.

**Mission laïque Française:** The French Secular Mission, a non-profit organisation launched in 1902, noted for its contributions to society, is in charge of a network of 112 French educational institutions around the world that educate more than 60,000 students in 39 different nations.

**Hadith:** A person came to Prophet Mohammed and asked, "Who among people is most deserving of my fine treatment?" He said, "Your mother". He again asked, "Who next?" "Your mother", the Prophet replied again. He asked, "Who next?" He (the Prophet) said again, "Your mother." He again asked, "Then who?" Thereupon he said, "Then your father." The hadith shows the virtue and the position of the mothers in Islam. The mother has the right of good company three times for the father, and what is meant by good company: good cohabitation, kindness, benevolence and kindness, because of the pregnancy and childbirth, as well as breastfeeding and custody.<sup>1</sup>

**Sunnis:** are the majority of the Muslims in the world, and they are considered to be ‘the people of the tradition’ as they follow the actions and sayings of Prophet Mohammed, peace

---

<sup>1</sup> “Miscellany.” Sunnah, <https://sunnah.com/riyadussalihin:316>. Accessed. 9 Oct. 2019. Also see, al-Sabt, Khālid. “Ḥadīth min aḥq al-nās bi-Ḥasan ṣḥbtī?”. mstrj‘ min, khaledalsabt.com/explanations/1470. Tārīkh alāstrjā‘: 9 Uktūbir 2021.



## Glossary

be upon him. While the majority agree that Abu Baker Al-Siddiq is the rightful successor for the Muslims after the death of the prophet, some disagree and argue that the successor should be from the family of the Prophet, namely Ali bin Abi Talib. Thus, a movement called "Shiat Ali", or the "Party of Ali", was initiated that claimed that following the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632, Ali was the rightful successor as the leader (imam) of the Muslim community. They consist of 10% of the Muslims in the world. This conflict between the two sects continues to the present day.<sup>2</sup>

**Shiite:** ‘comes from the word shia, which means "the party (of Ali)." They are mostly found in Iran and Iraq. They consider certain direct descendants of Ali - the Imams - infallible and the true inheritors of Prophet Mohammed. Ali was the first Imam, his son Hassan the second, his second son Hussein the third. Ali’s sons were killed in the conflict with Caliph Muawiya. However, their succession ended with the 12th Imam, who went into hiding in 940. Most Shiites believe that the 12th Imam will re-emerge someday as the Mahdi or Messiah and reassert his leadership of the Islamic world. In the meantime, ayatollahs are elected to serve as caretakers of the faith’.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> BBC News. (2016). *Sunnis and Shia: Islam's ancient schism*. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-16047709>, Accessed 7 September 2021. Also see, ‘Imād ‘Umar Sarḥān. "qiṣṣat al-Shī‘ah .. al-ḥikāyah min al-Bidāyah". Mawqi‘ al-Jazīrah, 2017. mstrj‘ min :[www.aljazeera.net/blogs/2017/5/28/قصة-الشيعة-الحكاية-من-البداية](http://www.aljazeera.net/blogs/2017/5/28/قصة-الشيعة-الحكاية-من-البداية). Tārīkh alāstrjā‘ :9 Sibtambir. 2021.

<sup>3</sup> Boeree, C., “Sunnis and Shiites.” *Webspace.Ship.Edu*, [webspace.ship.edu/cgboer/sunnisshiites.html](http://webspace.ship.edu/cgboer/sunnisshiites.html). Accessed 2 July 2022.