

neapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986) are standard for "cultural critics," particularly those who follow the postcolonialist theories of Edward Said. The applicability of these theories are convincing in Hever's article on Shamma's *Arabesques*, "Hebrew in an Israeli Arab Hand: Six Miniatures on Anton Shamma's *Arabesques*," *Cultural Critique* 7 (1987): 47–76, reprinted in *The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse*, eds. Abdul R. JanMohamed and David Lloyd (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 264–93. They become less convincing as he attempts to apply his ideas to the entire corpus of Israeli literature. In a subsequent article, "Lehakot ba'aquevo shel Achilles," in *Alpayim* 1 (June 1989): 186–93, [English version in *Tikkun* 4/5 (Sept./Oct. 1989): 30–33], Hever considers the new openness of Israeli literature to Palestinian writers, usually translated from Arabic, as a major cultural breakthrough, an attack on the "Achilles heel" of the Zionist narrative that has dominated Israeli Hebrew literature. The theories of Deleuze and Guattari, especially "deterritorialization," support Hever's argument only if inverted, only if the features of the minority culture are appropriated—consciously or unconsciously—by the majority literature.

12. The first appearances of these stories are noteworthy: A.B. Yehoshua's "Facing the Forests" (Mul haya'arot), *Qesbet* 5 (Spring 1963):18–45; Amos Oz's "Nomad and Viper" (Navvadim vatsefa), *Ha'arets*, Feb. 7, 1964; Amalia Kahana-Carmon's "Heart of Summer, Heart of Light" (Lev haqayits, lev ha'ot), *Molad* 23 (dated Dec. 1965; actually appeared in Sept. 1966): 576–613.
13. Aharon Megged, *Habay al bamet* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1965); Amos Oz, *Mikha'el shelli* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1968).
14. Yael Zerubavel, "The Forest as National Idiom," *Israel Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 60–99.
15. Simon Halkin, *Mavo lasipporet ha'ivrit: reshimot lefi bartsa'ot* (Jerusalem: Mifal Hashikhpul, 1958), 339–43; Simon Halkin, *Derakhim vetsidei derakhim besifrutenu*, vols. 1–3 (Jerusalem: Akademon, 1969). For an expansion and updating of Halkin's thesis, see Oz Almog, *Hatsabbar: deyoqan* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1997).

## Arabic and/or Hebrew: The Languages of Arab Writers in Israel\*

Ami Elad-Bouskila

Most literature is written by residents of a particular country or homeland, and its language is usually the native tongue of the writers. Contemporary societies are not homogeneous, however, but made up of those who speak and write in the language of the majority and those who speak and write in other languages. Thus, when a group of writers that is not part of the majority chooses to write in the language of the majority, the question of motivation arises. Why do they do it? One must also distinguish between those who write only in the majority language, which is not their native tongue, and those who write in both languages—their native tongue and the language of the majority. These categories encompass a host of very different cases, and these differences are reflected in the attitudes toward the writer of both the surrounding majority culture and the minority language group.

One of the most fascinating subjects in the study of modern Palestinian literature concerns the language used by Palestinian Arab writers who live in Israel. Palestinian writers who reside in the other two Palestinian locales, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as well as those who emigrated to the Diaspora in Arab countries and elsewhere, have clearly chosen to write in Arabic. A few writers, such as Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā (1919–94), wrote in both Arabic and English and composed many translations from English to Arabic.<sup>1</sup> Most Palestinian writers who were born

in the various diasporas, especially in North America (like Arab writers in general), no longer write in Arabic but write instead in English.<sup>2</sup> One prominent example is Naomi Shihab Nye (1952–), who has published books of poetry and prose and has also composed translations (mostly of poetry) from Arabic to English.<sup>3</sup> In addition to Arabic or one of the languages of North or South America, Palestinian literature is also written in European languages, especially French and German. One prominent Palestinian writer in France is the prolific writer, playwright, and critic Afnān al-Qāsim, who generally writes in Arabic, with some of his criticism also produced in French.<sup>4</sup>

This twentieth-century phenomenon of emigration to another country with some writers continuing to write in their mother tongue, some writers beginning to write bilingually, and the younger generation born in the new community writing only in the new language, is not unique to Arab or Palestinian writers. This phenomenon, which produces bilingual writing, is related to economic, cultural, and social elements that are factors in the immigration process.

There is an additional universal phenomenon in which authors write not only in their native tongue or the local language, but also in an additional language, the language of the conqueror. This takes place, of course, in countries that were under an extended period of foreign rule, such as African and Asian countries controlled at one time by European or American colonial powers. One dramatic example is India, in which, under the impact of British rule, English became the official language. The primary reason for the dominance of English in India has been the competition among the various Dravidian languages, such as Tamil. To avoid granting "cultural imperialism" to Hindi, the use of English has been maintained.

Writers in Arab and North African states have chosen at various times to write in the languages of the colonial powers that ruled them, either English or French. In countries like Algeria, for example, the choice to write in the language of the conqueror has typically progressed through four stages. In the first stage, the local writers composed in the language of the conqueror, which was considered the language of "culture." In the second stage, when the colonial power left, a reaction set in and the local writers began composing in their own language. In the third stage, some writers again began composing in the language of the former conqueror, this time as a deliberate choice in the new circumstances. And in the fourth stage, writers returned to composing in the local language following the increased religious climate and the rise of fundamentalist Islam.

The above examples from both the Arab and the non-Arab world sharpen the uniqueness of the phenomenon to be explored here and also provide context and insight into it. Within the singularity of Palestinian literature in the corpus of modern Arabic literatures, Palestinian literature written in Israel stands out.<sup>5</sup> This literature is unique by definition, since most Arabic literature is written in Arab lands or where a local Arab community demands it. Egyptian literature, for example, is written only in Egypt, while modern Palestinian literature lacks a state and is written in various locations. Modern Palestinian literature from its inception was written not only in historical Palestine, but also outside it, in Arab capitals such as Cairo and Damascus. Palestinian literature written in Arabic in Israel is different from its sisters in that it is written in a Middle Eastern country where Hebrew is the main language and Arabic is only the second official language. Which language will be used for their writing by Arab Palestinians in Israel is an open question; while this is one of the fundamental issues related to the literary endeavor, it also belongs to the realm outside literature. The issue of the language of writing is related not only to language, but also to territory, the target audience, the goals of the writer, and the period of writing. No Arab writers in Israel choose to write only in Hebrew, but some write in both Arabic and Hebrew. It is important to examine when and why Arab writers in Israel choose to write in either Arabic or Hebrew or in both languages.

#### Israeli Jews Writing in Hebrew and Arabic

A parallel phenomenon exists among Jewish writers who lived in Arabic-speaking countries and wrote in Arabic. Their contribution to the development of modern Arabic literature in the early twentieth century is well known, especially in Iraq.<sup>6</sup> Some Jews living in Arab states felt that Arab culture was an inseparable part of their own culture. They saw no contradiction between being Jewish and being members of the Arab culture. Therefore these Jews, especially in Iraq and Egypt, were part of the literary movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Jewish writers wrote in Arabic for an Arabic-speaking public, without differentiating between Jewish and Arab readers, as they shared the same territory and the same Arab culture.

When most of the Jews in the Arab states immigrated to Israel, the writers among them for a short while continued to write both fiction and nonfiction in Arabic, especially during the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>7</sup> Some of

these writers stopped writing in Arabic in response to the conflict between Jews and Arabs and, in addition, out of a desire to contribute to the revitalization of modern Hebrew literature. Others continued to write in Arabic and to contribute to Arab journals and newspapers works of fiction, literary criticism, and writings in other genres.

Shimon Ballas (Adīb al-Qāṣṣ), born in Iraq in 1930, and Sami Michael (Samīr Mārid), born in Iraq in 1926, are two of the most notable examples of Jewish writers who began writing in Arabic, but in the early 1960s shifted their literary activity to Hebrew.<sup>8</sup> There is no fundamental difference between Ballas and Michael in terms of their Hebrew writing careers. Both underwent the same process, at first writing Arabic fiction and nonfiction in Iraq, then making the move to Israel, while continuing to write primarily in Arabic, and gradually making the transition to both languages, until their decision to use Hebrew as their literary language. Ballas published *Hama 'abarab* (The Transit Camp), his first Hebrew novel, in 1964, and since then has published many Hebrew novels and short stories. He has not, however, completely stopped writing in Arabic. While he uses Hebrew for his literary works, his academic work about modern Arabic literature is in Arabic as well as in Hebrew and European languages. He is the editor of the Arabic journal *al-Karmil*, which is published by Haifa University. Like many of his colleagues, he is also a translator from Arabic to Hebrew, especially of Palestinian writing.<sup>9</sup>

Michael began his career in the Israeli Communist Party and published articles in Arabic in *al-Jadīd* and *al-Ittiḥād*.<sup>10</sup> His first novel, *Shavim veshavim yoter* (Equal and More Equal), appeared in 1974, and since then he has published more than half a dozen novels in Hebrew. *Viqtoryah* (1994),<sup>11</sup> his most recent novel, has won popular acclaim and seems to have installed him in the canon of modern Hebrew literature, while giving legitimacy to his Israeliness. In contrast to Ballas, Michael has chosen, in his words, to cut himself off from writing in Arabic. He has not, however, completely broken his ties to Arabic literature, as evidenced by his translation into Hebrew of the Cairene trilogy of Najīb Maḥfūz (1911–),<sup>12</sup> as well as by the fact that he continues to follow the developments of literature that appears in the Arab world.<sup>13</sup>

In general, Jewish writers who immigrated to Israel in the 1950s from the Arab states and Iraq in particular underwent a process of Israelization. During the course of this process, the Jewish writers aspired to become part of Israeli Jewish society and hence consciously chose to abandon their mother tongue partially or completely for the sake of the language of their nation.<sup>14</sup>

There are, however, two outstanding exceptions to this process: Yitzhak Bar-Moshe and Samīr Naqqāsh. Yitzhak Bar-Moshe was born in Baghdad in 1927 and after immigrating to Israel has held various jobs, primarily in journalism. He has continued to write mainly in Arabic, beginning with his first anthology of stories *Warā' al-Sūr* (Beyond the Wall), published in 1972. Since then Bar-Moshe has published many books in Arabic and is currently the editor of the Arabic-language publication of the Israeli Foreign Ministry. Despite Bar-Moshe's many jobs in the service of the government, which ostensibly would indicate his integration and acceptance into Israeli society, he has always preferred to write in Arabic. Interestingly, Bar-Moshe's writing in Arabic commands attention not just in the local Arab press, but also in the foreign Arab press, especially in Egypt.<sup>15</sup>

Samīr Naqqāsh represents this phenomenon of continuing to write in Arabic to the extreme. Born in Baghdad in 1936, Naqqāsh immigrated to Israel as an adolescent in 1951. Although he is one of the younger Iraqi Jewish writers, if not the youngest, Naqqāsh insists on writing exclusively in Arabic. Moreover, most of his colleagues, such as Sami Michael and Yitzhak Bar-Moshe, Hebraicized their last names and sometimes their first names as well, while Samīr Naqqāsh has rejected this trend and almost never uses his Hebrew first name. Following the appearance of his first collection of short stories *al-Khata'* (The Mistake), in 1971, Naqqāsh has published many short stories, plays, and novels. Like some of his Iraqi Jewish colleagues, Naqqāsh translates from Hebrew to Arabic, which is almost his only professional connection to Hebrew.

Why would someone who immigrated at such a young age prefer to create and live in an "Arabic bubble," deliberately cutting himself off from his Israeli Jewish, Hebrew-speaking environment? One would expect that since Naqqāsh moved to Israel at a relatively young age he would have made the transition to Hebrew fairly rapidly, but the opposite has been true. Naqqāsh has felt foreign, exiled, and alienated in the Israeli Jewish environment and has thus continued to cling to his Arabic cultural heritage. Indeed, Samīr Naqqāsh has even announced his desire to move to an Arab country, although he has not yet carried this out. Here we are witnesses to a conflict between, on the one hand, the territory and language of the community and, on the other hand, the desires and cultural heritage of the writer. The national barrier is difficult to surmount. As a Jew living in Israel and writing in Arabic, Naqqāsh has not achieved wide popularity, despite his formidable talents and critical acclaim.<sup>16</sup>

Naqqāsh addresses the question of language in his Hebrew article

"Mah attem rotsim mimmenni? ani shomer al ha'otonomyah shelli!"  
(What Do You Want From Me? I'm Protecting My Autonomy!):

Arabic is the first language I grew accustomed to when I learned to speak; it became my second nature, I love it and am devoted to it even after having immigrated to Israel at age twelve, where I filled in my missing vocabulary, and it is my most powerful means of expression derived from an ardent love for it. Besides all that, it is a language known for its perfection and rich heritage; if we compare it to Hebrew, which was dormant for thousands of years, then revived and returned to development a short time ago, we find that it [Arabic] is more beautiful and richer by several fold.<sup>17</sup>

Naqqāsh testifies that there are four psychological, social, and economic factors that created a situation in which he writes in Arabic and distances himself from Israeli matters: (1) his uprooting from Iraq, which was a form of holocaust, in his words; (2) the social and economic humiliation to which he and his family were subject when they moved to Israel; (3) the death of his father a short time after their immigration to Israel; and (4) the fact that he still views himself as Iraqi for all intents and purposes. Naqqāsh is aware of the fact that he is expected to become absorbed in Israel and to begin, as part of a natural process, to write in Hebrew. Even the famed Egyptian writer Najīb Maḥfūz has expressed his opinion about this complex matter in a letter to Naqqāsh: "The next step that I expect from you is that in the future you will write in Hebrew and be translated into Arabic. . . ."<sup>18</sup> Naqqāsh, however, takes the position that it is not his job to meet the expectations of others.

#### Israeli Arabs Writing in Hebrew and Arabic

Most of the Arab writers who live in Israel write in Arabic, although a small number write both in Arabic and Hebrew. Why should this be unusual, given the existence of similar examples of bilingual writing not just in the world at large but even in other parts of the Arab world? There is a fundamental difference between the general phenomenon of writing in the language of the other and the phenomenon in Israel of Arab authors writing bilingually. The political situation in the Middle East, which has involved an extended conflict between the Arab and Israeli communities and an ongoing state of war between Israel and some Arab states, gives special significance to the fact that these authors write in Hebrew. These authors are acclaimed by the Hebrew reading commu-

nity, although some, such as Na'im 'Arāydī, are regarded by the Arab world and some Israeli Arabs as traitors to Arab culture and are often condemned.

It is important to note that only a limited number of Arabs began writing in Hebrew, and these writers continued to write in Arabic, for example the veteran writer 'Aṭallāh Maṣṣūr (1934–) and the younger writers Na'im 'Arāydī (1948–) and Anton Shammas (1950–). Together with the Arab writers who write in Hebrew there is also a group of Israeli Arab writers who use Arabic for their literary work, but Hebrew for their nonfiction articles. This includes, for example, Imīl Ḥabībī (Émile Habiby) (1921–96) and Samīḥ al-Qāsim (1939–), who have achieved prominence not just in the Arab world, but also in the Hebrew-speaking world and media.

The conscious decision of Imīl Ḥabībī and Samīḥ al-Qāsim to use Arabic for fiction, in the case of Ḥabībī, and for poetry, in the case of al-Qāsim, was presumably based on cultural and political considerations, and not just because they are more fluent in Arabic than in Hebrew. Moreover, Imīl Ḥabībī, who is considered not just one of the major twentieth-century figures in Palestinian literature, but also in Arabic literature as a whole, wrote an autobiographical text in Hebrew. But this fact did not prevent one of the respected publishing houses in the Arab world from publishing it in Arabic and mentioning its linguistic roots.<sup>19</sup> The fact that both these authors write for the Hebrew press, give frequent interviews in Hebrew on Israeli radio and television, and appear in literary evenings and interviews on subjects broader than Arabic literature indicates beyond doubt their involvement in the spiritual, social, and political life of Israel. Moreover, Samīḥ al-Qāsim also translates from Arabic to Hebrew. His choice to edit and translate an anthology of Hebrew poets, as well as to edit an anthology of the Israeli Jewish poet Ronni Somek, demonstrates his significant connection to Hebrew literature.<sup>20</sup>

One of the most salient features of Israeli Arab authors who write in Hebrew is the fact that most of them are Christian or Druze, rather than Muslim. This is related to ongoing ethnic tensions between Muslims, on the one hand, and Christians and Druze, on the other, fanned by both the Lebanon War in 1982 and the growth of the Islamic revivalist movement throughout the Middle East.

Of the two groups of Arab authors who write in Hebrew, clearly the Druze, whose foremost writer is Na'im 'Arāydī, are more integrated into Israeli society, primarily as a result of their compulsory service in the Israeli army. This group is exposed to the Hebrew language during their

compulsory service in the Israeli army (to which most other Arabs are not subjected), through university education in which the language of instruction is Hebrew, or through the media. The exposure to Hebrew of these writers accelerates the process of their integration into the life of Israeli Jewish culture and can account for the relatively large number of Druze who write in both Arabic and Hebrew.

It is also interesting to note which literary genres Arab writers choose for their writing in Hebrew. Israeli Arab authors use Hebrew to write poetry, novels, and short stories, as well as literary criticism and articles. But indisputably the most popular genre in Hebrew for Israeli Arab writers is poetry. This strikes me as evidence of their internalization of the Hebrew language, as poetry is the most personal medium for a writer. (When Jewish writers lived in Spain during the Golden Age of the medieval period, they used Arabic for all genres except poetry, which was generally written in Hebrew.) A small number of Arab writers write poetry in Hebrew as well as in Arabic. Among these, the two most prominent poets since the 1970s have been Anton Shammas and Na'im 'Arāydī.<sup>21</sup>

Israeli Arabs who write in Hebrew can be divided into two general categories: those who wrote from the birth of the State of Israel until the late 1960s and those who have been writing since then. There is a sharp delineation between these two periods. In the first period, following the recent birth of the State of Israel and the attendant animosities between Jews and Arabs, we know of two Arab writers who wrote in Hebrew, 'Aṭallāh Maṣṣūr (1934–) and Rāshid Ḥusayn (1936–77). During the second period there were social, political, demographic, economic, and cultural changes in Israel, including the lifting of Israeli military rule over the Arab sector, that accelerated the process of the Israelization of at least some Israeli Arabs. These changes allowed for the emergence of many Arab writers writing in Hebrew, most prominently Na'im 'Arāydī and Anton Shammas. In the first period mostly prose was written in Hebrew, while in the second period, Arabs wrote both prose and poetry in Hebrew.

The fact that in the first twenty years of the state Arab authors in Israel did not write in Hebrew (with the few exceptions noted above) points to the fact that efforts to relate Arab society to Jewish society in Israel were private rather than collective. The linkage took place primarily in the fields of journalism and fiction, especially in Arabic newspapers and journals that appeared in the 1950s, whether sponsored by the Israeli Jewish establishment, such as *al-Mirṣād*, *al-Yawm*, *Ḥaḡiqat al-Amr*, or *al-*

*Anbā'*; or by the Israeli Communist Party, including *al-Ittibād* and *al-Jadīd*. In both types of periodicals, Arabs and Jews all wrote in Arabic. In between, attempts were made, some successful and others not, to found independent or quasi-independent newspapers and journals in the 1950s, such as *al-Wasīṭ* and *al-Mujtama'*.

'Aṭallāh Maṣṣūr was the only Arab writer who published a narrative text in Hebrew during the first period, namely, his novel *Be'or ḥadash* (In a New Light), issued in 1966 by a minor publishing house.<sup>22</sup> To understand the background to the Hebrew writing of Maṣṣūr, a brief sketch of his life would be useful. Maṣṣūr, born in the village of Jish in 1934, completed high school in 1949, and moved to Kibbutz Sha'ar Ha'amakim, where he lived for a year when he was seventeen years old. Maṣṣūr then worked as a journalist for the anti-establishment weekly *Ha'olam hazeh* (1954–56) and wrote for the daily *Ha'arets* for many years. In 1983, Maṣṣūr was one of the founders of the Arabic newspaper *al-Ṣinnāra*, and is a member of the editorial board to this day.<sup>23</sup>

The very fact that as a young man Maṣṣūr chose to live in Jewish society reflects his tendency to flaunt conventions of Arab society that not many dared to defy. Maṣṣūr writes in an article that he was not the first Israeli Arab intellectual to publish in Hebrew, but was preceded by Rāshid Ḥusayn, who wrote Hebrew poetry and even translated poetry from Hebrew to Arabic, as well as Ṣabrī Jirias, who wrote a book in Hebrew about the Arabs in Israel.<sup>24</sup> Maṣṣūr, however, is aware of how strange it was for him to choose to write in Hebrew during the early years of the state. He relates this choice to the cultural, social, and political situation of the Arabs in Israel, who found themselves between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand, they were called traitors by the Arab states for not abandoning their land and, on the other hand, the Israeli government viewed them as a fifth column. Maṣṣūr asserts that when he wrote his first novel in Arabic, *Wa-Baqiyat Samira*, published by the Histadrut in 1962,<sup>25</sup> he was harshly condemned by the Hebrew press and accused of hostility toward Israel and the Jews. He then decided to write a novel in Hebrew with only one motivation: vengeance. He wanted to take revenge on the most important Israeli Jewish ideal of the time, the kibbutz. Thus, he wrote in Hebrew out of anger and a desire to humiliate this ideal. To his amazement and bewilderment, the Hebrew novel not only failed to anger the Jewish critics, they generally heaped praise upon it. Maṣṣūr suggests two possible explanations for the good reviews. The first reason is that while his first book, *Wa-Baqiyat Samira*, written in Arabic, was reviewed by so-called experts on Arab affairs who considered

their role to be censors of the enemy, the critics who reviewed his Hebrew novel held liberal views that led them to have a positive reaction to it. The second reason was that his Jewish readers were amazed and impressed that a Gentile could use Hebrew as a literary medium.<sup>26</sup>

The writers of the second period, who have been active since the early 1970s, have contributed to three central spheres of writing: the media, fiction, and translations. They include both veteran authors and poets who wrote and published in the first period, such as Imīl Ḥabībī, Samīḥ al-Qāsim, Sālīm Jubrān, and 'Aḥallāh Maṣṣūr, as well as younger writers who began publishing in the second period, such as Nazīh Khayr, Na'īm 'Arāydī, Anton Shamma, Sihām Dāwūd, and Asad 'Azzī. What have been the factors that led Arabs to write in Hebrew during this second period, and do these differ from the external and internal factors in the first twenty years of the State of Israel? The political considerations have remained, but they have markedly changed. There has been a political transformation following the confrontations between Israel and the Arab and Palestinian world in the 1967 and 1973 wars, the Lebanon War of 1982, the Intifada that erupted in 1987, the Declaration of Principles with the Palestinians in 1993, the peace treaty with the Jordanians in 1994, and the attempts at peace agreements with Syria and Lebanon. All have profoundly influenced the overall relations between Israel and its neighbors, as well as the web of relations between Jews and Arabs within Israel, as Israeli Arabs have taken an increasingly active role in the process, especially in the context of the Palestinian National Authority headed by Yasser Arafat.

There has also been a marked transformation in the media between the first two decades of the state and the most recent twenty-five years. Changes have occurred in all the media, especially newspapers and journals, not only quantitatively, but also in terms of their greater variety and openness. As for the electronic media, television did not even exist during the first era, having been introduced to Israel in 1968. Today there are two TV channels in Israel, as well as the option of tuning in to radio and TV broadcasts from various Arab states, which allows Israeli Arabs to be exposed to what is going on in the Arab and Muslim world.

During the first period, most of the Arab population in Israel was rural, with approximately 150,000 inhabitants. Today, the Arab minority in Israel is over 800,000 strong, some living in Arab cities such as Nazareth, Shafā'amr (Shfaram in Hebrew), and Umm al-Faḥm (pronounced Umm al-Faḥim), as well as the mixed cities of Haifa, Ramle, and Jaffa. In addition, there is no question that education in Israel, both

in the Jewish and Arab sectors, has also undergone a metamorphosis since the 1970s. Until then, the number of Arabs who had more than an elementary school education was limited, and among Israeli Arabs there were only a small number of writers and readers of journals and newspapers. The dramatic increase in the education of Israeli citizens, including the Arabs, in the past twenty-five years has brought about changes in employment and media-consumption patterns, increased the number of girls in school, raised the level of education of the writers, and improved the quality of periodicals.

In recent years more and more Arab writers have acquired their high school education in Jewish schools conducted in Hebrew, including Sihām Dāwūd and Na'īm 'Arāydī, and some, such as Na'īm 'Arāydī and Anton Shamma, also did their university training in Hebrew. The effect is that Arab writers in Israel have not only a greater command of Hebrew, but also a much more complex understanding of Jewish reality. Thus, we see more Arab writers translating literary texts from Hebrew into Arabic; striking examples of this phenomenon are Anton Shamma in the 1970s and 1980s and Samīḥ al-Qāsim and Nazīh Khayr in the 1980s.<sup>27</sup> Anton Shamma, Na'īm 'Arāydī, and Salmān Maṣālḥa have also translated stories, poems, and novels from modern Arabic into Hebrew, mainly in the late 1980s and early 1990s.<sup>28</sup>

Other than Na'īm 'Arāydī, the only example, to the best of my knowledge, of an Israeli Arab writer who began writing in Hebrew and then switched to bilingual writing is the poet Sihām Dāwūd. She was born in Ramle (1952–) and moved to Haifa. Dāwūd states that Hebrew and Arabic are both part of her culture, but that she first wrote in Hebrew because she had attended a Jewish school in Ramle.<sup>29</sup> In this, Dāwūd differs from her colleagues in the second period, most of whom began their literary careers in Arabic, from which they switched into Hebrew. Common to all is that these writers did not completely abandon Arabic, but rather added Hebrew as a language of writing. Anton Shamma is to some extent an exception as he not only wrote his most recent works in Hebrew, but afterwards he did not return to writing in Arabic. Unlike Shamma, Na'īm 'Arāydī has taken pains to write in Arabic and be involved in the Arab literary world as well.<sup>30</sup>

This bilingual writing characterizes Arab writers in the second period, primarily those in fiction and translation. For some of these writers, there sometimes appears to be a confusion or a blurring of the differences between writing and translation, especially for 'Arāydī, Shamma, Dāwūd, and Nazīh Khayr. The latter writes not just for newspapers and journals,

but also publishes anthologies and translates together with Samīḥ al-Qāsim, especially from Hebrew to Arabic.<sup>31</sup>

The Arab writers in Israel in the second period were born at about the time of Israeli independence or soon after. The period of the first decades of the state was a decisive one in shaping these writers, including 'Arāyḏī, Dāwūd, and Shamma, in their adolescence and young adulthood. These writers were influenced by the political, social, and cultural realities of the Arab world in the mid-1960s. Most Arab states had already achieved independence and were preoccupied with state-building. The glorification of Nasserism was past its prime and the process of urbanization in the Arab world had gathered momentum. As Israeli Arabs, these writers did not remain indifferent to the turning points of the 1960s and 1970s, which included the trauma that gripped the Arab world after the 1967 war and the perception in the Arab world that the 1973 war provided a restoration of Arab pride.<sup>32</sup>

In addition, this group of Israeli Arab writers were influenced by developments in Hebrew and Arabic literature as well as world literature during this period. In the 1960s, Hebrew literature abandoned, to some extent, its tendency from before Israeli independence until the late 1950s to recruit for the cause of the collective. Writers such as Amos Oz, A. B. Yehoshua, Amalia Kahana-Carmon, Pinhas Sadeh, Yehoshua Kenaz, and others enriched and varied the literary inventory in the 1960s.<sup>33</sup> As for world literature in the late 1960s, the influence of the major literatures in the United States and Europe diminished, while the literature of South America, until then considered marginal, burst upon the scene, thanks in large measure to the novel *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, by Colombian writer Gabriel García Márquez.<sup>34</sup> Arabic literature flourished in the 1960s, especially in the genres of the novel, novella, and short story. This development was led primarily by such Egyptian writers as Najīb Maḥfūz (1911–), Faṭḥī Ghānim (1924–99), and 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Qāsim (1935–90). In Lebanon, the major writer was Laylā Ba'labakkī (1936–); and in Syria, Zakariyyā Tāmir (1931–) and Ḥannā Mīna (1924–) were the outstanding writers. From Iraq, we can cite Fu'ād al-Takarlī (1922–) and Muḥammad Khuḍayyir (1940–). In Sudan, al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ (1929–) and Ibrāhīm Ishāq Ibrāhīm (1946–) tower over the others. The influence of al-Ṭayyib Ṣāliḥ on Arab writers in Israel, such as Zakī Darwish (1944–), Muḥammad 'Alī Ṭāhā (1941–), and Riyāḍ Baydas (1960–) was profound from the late 1960s on. Prominent Arab writers since the 1960s from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the Gulf states have included

Laylā al-'Uthmān (1945–) and Sharīfa al-Shamlān (1947–); and writers from the Maghrib have included Muḥammad Zifzāf (1945–), Muḥammad Barrāda (1938–), and others.<sup>35</sup> In short, the literary and cultural activity of the Arab world in the 1960s was at a zenith, and ripples of it reached Israel as well. We must keep in mind, however, that until 1967, books from Arab countries almost never reached Israel. This situation changed drastically in the wake of the 1967 war, when Israeli Arab writers were exposed to more Arab newspapers, journals, and books and could meet with Arab and especially Palestinian writers.

As for the influence of Hebrew writing on Israeli Arab literature, we cannot make a claim for a significant impact either on the Arabs writing in Arabic or on those writing in both Arabic and Hebrew.<sup>36</sup> Young Arab writers did, however, use literature in Hebrew translation to gain access to writing from around the world. In other words, Hebrew was influential as a bridge to other cultures, although language is never just a mediator, but functions as a cultural world with its own codes and indicators. Anton Shamma describes well the process in which Arab writers drew sustenance from both Arabic and Hebrew literature:

Today the younger generation of writers and poets is trying to capitalize on the achievements of the generations that preceded it. But while discovering its ties to the culture of the region, it is also leaping beyond the fence, overcoming the barrier of the Hebrew language, and trying to reach other areas. Poets such as Sihām Dāwūd and Na'im 'Arāyḏī belong to this generation. The fact that I also belong to this generation seems to liberate me from the obligation of evaluating it and taking a stand. But I believe that the uniqueness of this generation is that it draws from two worlds; knowledge of the Hebrew language brings it into contact, both through Hebrew literature and world literature translated into Hebrew, with unfamiliar mappings of experience, and knowledge of Hebrew confronts it with the latest achievements of modern Arabic literature.<sup>37</sup>

In the second period, at least four writers stand out: Na'im 'Arāyḏī, Anton Shamma, Sihām Dāwūd, and Nazīh Khayr. Sihām Dāwūd is the only Arab woman to write in both languages. Efforts to understand why these authors chose to write also in Hebrew indicate that they did it less out of a desire "to strike the Achilles heel"<sup>38</sup> of Israeli culture and more out of a desire to be integrated in Israeli culture and its emerging identity, each author for his or her own reasons. We will focus on two writers, Na'im 'Arāyḏī and Anton Shamma, because

they are the two most prolific Arab writers in Hebrew and because they have been active in the translation of writing from Hebrew to Arabic, and vice versa.

Na'im 'Arāydī began his writing career in Arabic at a rather early stage, in poetry and research, then tried his hand at Hebrew writing in 1972, and has ever since continued to publish in Hebrew, especially poetry and fiction, as well as in Arabic. Interestingly, 'Arāydī preferred to write his first novel in Hebrew (*Tevilah qatlanit*, 1992), while he writes poetry and stories in both Arabic and Hebrew. In general, 'Arāydī is more aware of his choice of language, with all his doubts, misgivings, and reservations, than is Anton Shammas. In a response to Shammas, 'Arāydī wrote, "I don't know if I, who write in Hebrew, am writing Hebrew literature. But I do know that I am not writing Arab literature in Hebrew. And I believe that this possibility exists, since I do write Hebrew literature in Hebrew."<sup>39</sup> 'Arāydī does not attempt to gloss over the difficult dilemma he faces as a bilingual writer. On the contrary, he is fully aware of it and struggles with it in a way that leaves him with both options: two languages and two worlds. 'Arāydī is aware that his choice of writing in Hebrew does not relegate Arabic to the background, for Arabic continues to serve him for lectures, poetry, and nonfiction. He consciously chooses this division between Hebrew and Arabic, entering and leaving the world of Hebrew not diminished, but enriched. He understands that the choice of two languages for his fiction and nonfiction is not just a matter of bilingualism, but is a choice that is bicultural, and binational.

Interestingly, both 'Arāydī and Shammas, each citing different reasons, reach the same conclusion, that there is no hope of creating a high-quality literature among Israeli Arabs. This is the common opinion among educated Israeli Arabs in general. It is a view that is not shared, however, by many critics from the West and from the Arab states, who sometimes take great interest in Arabic literature written in Israel. Their interest is not just politically motivated, but based also on the high quality of some Arab writing in Israel, in both poetry (Samīḥ al-Qāsim, Sihām Dāwūd, Michel Ḥaddād, Muḥammad 'Alī Ṭāhā) and prose (Imīl Ḥabībī, Zakī Darwīsh). I am not trying here to defend Arabic literature written in Israel, but to assert that the statements by 'Arāydī and Shammas are fundamentally in error when one considers the Arabic literature written today and the small numbers of Arabs who live in Israel writing it. The best proof of the incorrectness of their view is the fact that both 'Arāydī and Shammas translate into Hebrew literary works by such Is-

raeli Arab writers as Zakī Darwīsh, Muḥammad Naffā', Sihām Dāwūd, and the extraordinary Imīl Ḥabībī.<sup>40</sup>

It was one writer only, Anton Shammas, and indeed, one novel only, his Hebrew work *Arabesqot* (Arabesques, 1986),<sup>41</sup> that brought about the revolutionary, problematic issue of Arab authors writing in Hebrew and exposed it to criticism and serious debate. Until now, Shammas has published only one book in Arabic, *Asīr Yaqqatī wa Nawmī* (Prisoner of My Wakefulness and My Sleep, 1974), as well as poetry books in Hebrew. He has also translated five books, mainly of poetry, from Hebrew into Arabic and three books from Arabic into Hebrew.<sup>42</sup> This impressive literary output by Shammas is quite different from the literary output of his colleague 'Arāydī, although they are similar in quantity. First and most important, more than half the books published by 'Arāydī are in Arabic. And, second, 'Arāydī has published studies in Arabic and Hebrew about both Arabic and Hebrew literature.<sup>43</sup>

Both writers are active in the Hebrew literary community, while 'Arāydī, in contrast to Shammas, does not neglect his audience of readers in Arabic. And yet the reactions to Shammas in the press and among Hebrew critics have been much more intense, charged, and agitated than the reactions to 'Arāydī. Why is this so? Is 'Arāydī's literary activity considered more legitimate because he is a Druze who served in the Israeli army or because Hebrew critics feel threatened by the quality of Shammas's writing in Hebrew? Why is Shammas perceived by a wide range of critics and journalists to be a fig leaf for coexistence and cooperation between Arabs and Jews? Whatever the answers, beginning with Shammas's poetry collections *Kerikhab qashab* (1974) and *Shetahḥ hefqer* (1979), the reactions to his Hebrew works throughout the entire political and literary spectrum of the Hebrew press were above and beyond what other Arab writers who write in Hebrew had ever received in Israel.<sup>44</sup> But this critical assessment of the Shammas oeuvre in poetry was only a preamble to the flood of reactions that met the publication of his novel *Arabesqot*.

Hebrew criticism, which has drawn the literary map in the 1980s and early 1990s, wrote about the works of Shammas, and specifically his novel *Arabesqot*, in the context of the total literary output of Hebrew writing by Jewish authors including Yoel Hoffmann, Youval Shimoni, Orly Castel-Bloom, and others. For example, the Hebrew critic Avraham Balaban writes:

One of the salient features of modern [Hebrew] literature is the shattering of accepted literary and cultural dichotomies, and the challenging of the princi-

ples of hegemony that accompany it. *Arabesqot* is typical of this new writing direction in this as well. What could be more postmodernist than the text of an Arab-Palestinian-Christian that describes the conquest of his village by the "Jewish army", a text written in spit-and-polish Hebrew and constructed like a mask upon a mask upon a mask.<sup>45</sup>

The question of the place of the novel *Arabesqot* in modern Hebrew literature is also addressed by Hannan Hever, who claims that:

A double provocation was thrown into the Israeli arena with the appearance of *Arabesqot*, the Hebrew novel by Shammas that cleverly served to undermine several of the most accepted criteria that define the limits of Hebrew literature. To address this complex issue of cultural identity, Shammas exposed the Israeli duplicity over the vague and loose distinction between Israeli and Jew. These trends were strikingly confirmed by the fact that, for example, some found it hard to accept this as a novel that belongs organically to Hebrew literature.<sup>46</sup>

Dan Laor treats the novel *Arabesqot* as a "normal" book, barely dealing with the fact that the author is an Arab, and he expresses the view that the novel is a failure from a literary artistic point of view:

The failure of Anton Shammas in the writing of the novel *Arabesqot* can be attributed, first and foremost, to the fact that the author lacked the determination, artistic maturity, and perseverance for writing a novel that focuses entirely on the unknown world of the Galilean village of his birth, Fassuta. This statement is made recognizing that the encounter between an author like Shammas and materials taken from his nearby childhood surroundings created an extraordinary opportunity for artistic exposure of a unique and unfamiliar geographic, social, and historical reality, that while existing on the periphery of Israeli reality, can singularly illuminate its center.<sup>47</sup>

Literary critics, in addressing the use of Hebrew by Shammas, saw this novel as a throwing down of the gauntlet to the acceptance of non-Jewish writers in modern Hebrew literature. The author, poet, and translator Aharon Amir, who praises the work profusely, makes the following observation about the language of the writing:

It is sufficient for me to note that this is a multifaceted work, laden with talent, and from the point of view of language and style, it is a multi-faceted diamond, glittering, polished to perfection. I did not hesitate to tell the author

himself that in my opinion, he returns to Hebrew writing the honor that it lost to a great extent in the past decade, as it became permeated with the haphazard, sloppy style of pen-pushers who are poseurs, arrogant, superficial, smart alecks, raucous, show-offs. What Shammas does for Hebrew literature can be compared, in truth, to what was done for English literature in this century by English-writing authors born in India, Poland, the West Indies, or Russia, just as this can be compared to the work of writers from the cultural periphery of France—in northern or equatorial Africa, Egypt, the Antilles, Lebanon, Belgium, or Romania—to contemporary French literature, without which these literatures would be far poorer and more boring than they are.<sup>48</sup>

While other critics were put off by Shammas's Hebrew, they could not fail to be impressed by the level and quality of the language in the novel. These critics, moreover, refused to include the works of Shammas or of any Arab writer into the Hebrew corpus of modern Israeli literature. Obviously, the considerations of those who take stands on this matter are not purely artistic or literary, but often political, rooted in the relations between the Jewish majority in Israel that writes in Hebrew and the Arab minority that writes in Arabic. Some critics suggest that by writing in Hebrew, Shammas is deliberately defying Israeli linguistic-cultural conventions and mounting a challenge to the dominant Zionist discourse to include Israeli Arab culture within it.

Arab critics have not viewed favorably, to put it mildly, the Hebrew writings of Israeli Arabs, and their attitude has been aggressive and expressed in crass, insulting terms, which have included the charge that these writers have betrayed Arab culture. But the case of Anton Shammas is exceptional in this regard. Criticism in Arabic on the novel *Arabesqot* has been based mostly on readings of its French translation, and we shall present two striking examples. The first, by the Lebanese poet and critic Sharbal Dāghir, who lives in Paris, appeared in the Arabic journal *al-Nāqid*, which is published in London. The critic praises the novel from an artistic point of view, but condemns the choice made by Shammas to write in Hebrew:

Is it possible that Shammas, by using Hebrew, is provoking the rival in his own home with his very own weapons? It is possible, but this provocation seems to take the form of a demand to recognize the other in him. Shammas has the right and the freedom to write in any language he wants, and we have the right and the freedom to raise these sensitivities, especially since language—as we and others have learned—is the fundamental basis in shaping national identity.<sup>49</sup>

The second criticism was written by Yumnā al-ʿĪd, a prominent Arab critic, who analyzes the novel in a long and comprehensive article. In this article, she applies a structuralist approach to *Arabesqot*, dealing with poetics, thematics, and ideology in a general way. As far as the poetics of the work is concerned, al-ʿĪd praises the structure of the novel, the depiction of the characters, and the treatment of time and place. But she presents incisive criticism in two areas: the Christian dimension, which she feels is all-encompassing at the expense of the Palestinian element, and the writing of the novel in Hebrew. She attacks Shammaas on this latter point, claiming:

It's strange, Anton Shammaas {is living} in Israel, or so he says, but he wants to learn the language of this country. Hence he is beginning to write in Hebrew. And the Hebrew writing is the writing of a novel that creates its own authority, i.e., from a foreign land, and from its own time, it shapes the biography of the family (or the biography of the relationships among a group of Christians) and makes from the original that it creates an original for the narrator to relate, to write.<sup>50</sup>

As noted, criticism in Hebrew and Arabic has often dealt at length with the question of why the novel *Arabesqot* was written in Hebrew and not in Arabic. And, indeed, why was the novel written in Hebrew and not Arabic? And no less important, why was this novel translated into English, French, and Dutch, inter alia, but not into Arabic? Shammaas addressed this question by writing:

One needs a lot of chutzpa to write Hebrew prose. And to have perfect chutzpa, one must work hard to hone one's tools. In retrospect, the [Hebrew] poems were my small battles with the language, to command and to grapple with the angel of the Hebrew language. Prose is the true battleground. Here all the possible forms of nakedness are exposed. I came to the language with a particular baggage and I did not forget my language. But when I wrote this book, I did forget my language, or otherwise I would have written it in my language. This forgetting is a kind of salute to the language, homage that I give the Hebrew language. I tried to treat the language with great cautiousness, with respect, like an Arab elephant in a china shop (without breaking anything), trying to preserve inside the new language all the side baggage that I brought from my other culture, from the other side, from a world that doesn't even exist for some Arabs. It's a kind of double redemption of a slice of life that has now vanished. When legend disintegrates and recedes, from beyond the horizon the new language appears, the one my father tried to command,

knowing inside that he would have to bind the mouth of the Arabic language beast in order to conquer the Hebrew language. Now I return the honor and write in Hebrew.<sup>51</sup>

To the best of my understanding, the novel *Arabesqot* was written in Hebrew and not in Arabic because Shammaas, who was active in the Hebrew literary world from the 1970s until the mid-1980s, saw it as natural that he would continue to write in the language in which he had published his two previous poetry collections. Moreover, at the time Shammaas decided to write in Hebrew, he was not perceived to be writing in the language of the other, unlike the Maghrib writers who wrote in French and lived in France, such as al-Ṭāhir b. Jallūn, or the Maḥjar writers in the American diasporas who wrote in the local language. What is common to these two groups of writers is that they wrote outside their homeland, their country, their land, and that there was a complete split between the writers and their home territory. Shammaas, in contrast, wrote his novel in his homeland in Hebrew, a language in which he swims like a fish. He also made wonderful use of the Hebrew language in all its levels and nuances, thus delivering a double message to readers and critics. The first part of the message was: I, Anton Shammaas, an Arab, am writing Hebrew that is not only no worse than your Hebrew, but even better. The second part of the message was: Whether you like it or not, I am part of your literature, your culture, and you; and this is my place at this stage of my life, my education, and my literary work.

Although he is one of the top translators from Hebrew into Arabic in Israel, Shammaas has rejected the notion of having his novel translated into Arabic or of translating it himself for precisely one of the reasons that led him to write the novel in Hebrew in the first place, which was the greater freedom in Israeli Jewish society, in contrast to Israeli Arab society, to criticize not just the other, but also oneself. In this novel, Shammaas offers some rather harsh criticism not only of Jewish society in Israel, but also of Arab society inside and outside Israel, and he was not willing to criticize his society in its own language:

I write in Hebrew about the village. I'm not sure what story would emerge had it been written in Arabic. I would certainly have been more cautious had I written in Arabic about the village. The Hebrew language paradoxically seems to give me security. I would not have had this freedom had I written in Arabic, because what would my aunt and uncle have said? This is a conscious act of camouflage. I use Hebrew as camouflage cover. But all this is in my mind. The

younger generation in the village will read it all [anyway], know what is true and what not, and will undoubtedly pursue me until my dying day.<sup>52</sup>

Nevertheless, perhaps in another time and place, Shammas will change his mind and allow the translation of his novel into the language of his people.

Shammas has understood that the debate over his identity as a writer has epitomized the debate over the identity of Arabs and Jews in Israel. The dialogues between him and the Israeli Jewish writer A. B. Yehoshua<sup>53</sup> and the reactions of writers from all shades of the political spectrum have only clarified and sharpened the nuances of the problem of identity, which is an existential problem of the individual, of Israeli Arabs, and of the Jewish community in Israel, about which he writes:

Israel defines itself as a Jewish state (or as a state for the Jewish people) and demands that its Arab citizens invest their citizenship with content, but when they do, the state clarifies in no uncertain terms that this was meant to be a social partnership only, that they have to search elsewhere for the political content of their identity (i.e., national belonging—to the Palestinian nation), and when they do search for their national identity elsewhere, they are at once accused of undermining the foundation of the state, and one who undermines the foundation of the state cannot possibly be recognized as an "Israeli," and so it goes, a perfect catch.<sup>54</sup>

Three years later, when he was in the United States, at some distance of time and space, Shammas related both to the subject of having written *Arabesqot* in Hebrew and to the problem of defining the identity of the Israeli Arabs:

In articles about *Arabesqot*, people didn't always know how to define me. "An Israeli author?" they would ask. Not exactly, I would respond, even though this is what I called myself for years. "An Arab?" Also not. I chose the impossible combination of "an Israeli-Palestinian", and this was an act of defiance against them all, even against myself: de-Judaization and de-Zionization of the Jewish state by bestowing Israeli, national meaning on the word "Israel" and at the same time, emphasis of the Palestinian as an ethnic dimension equivalent to Jewish. And this was somewhat of a self-fulfilling prophecy in our day: just as Israel exists, so too Palestine will exist. And it held something of the fleeting and innocuous despair of the Israeli idea that I wanted to define in my battles with the windmills of the literary world over the years. And it

held something of the desire to deal with bilingual translation—the identity of the Galilean Arab translated to Israeli-Arabic, and then translated to Palestinian in Hebrew letters, and finally to Israeli-Palestinian, in spite of it all and thanks to the Hebrew.<sup>55</sup>

It is not clear whether the identification of some Israeli Arab authors with the Hebrew language and culture of the majority have stamped these authors with the mark of Cain or have brought them honor and pride. Israeli Arabs have certainly felt a sense of pride with regard to *Arabesqot* by Anton Shammas and its successful incorporation into mainstream Hebrew literature. It is possible that Israel's peace agreements with some of the Arab states, the Declaration of Principles by Israel and the Palestinians, and Israel's peace contacts with Syria and Lebanon will neutralize some of the accusations flung at Israeli Arab writers who write in Hebrew. It is also possible that these writers and others will not continue to write in Hebrew if peace comes to the region, or perhaps the opposite will be true: peace in the region could relieve the resistance to writing in Hebrew felt by most Arabs inside and outside Israel. This would indicate not only an acceptance of Israel in the Middle East, but also acceptance of these Israeli Arab authors who write in Hebrew.

#### Notes

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1. On the writing of Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā in English, primarily his poetry, see 'Abd al-Wāhīd Lu'lu', "Šūrāt Jabrā fī Shabābihi, Shi'r bi l-Inklīziyya," in *Nāqid* 10 (April 1989): 26–31.
2. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, *Anthology of Modern Palestinian Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 333–66.
3. For more information, see Jayyusi, *Anthology*, 727–28 and also *Food for Our Grandmothers: Writing by Arab-American and Arab-Canadian Feminists*, ed. Joanna Kadi (Boston: South End Press, 1994), 279–80.
4. The better known works of Afnān al-Qāsim are, among his novels, *al-'Ajūz* (Baghdad: Wizārat al-'Ilām wa Itihād al-Kuttāb wa l-Suḥufiyyīn al-Filasṭīniyyīn, 1974); among his short stories, *Kutub wa-Aṣfār* (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma li l-Kitāb, 1990); among his plays, *Umm al-Jamī'* (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub); and in the field of criticism, *Mas'alat al-Shi'r wa l-Malḥama al-Darwīshiyya: Maḥmūd Darwīsh fī Madīh al-Zill al-'Āli: Dirāsa Sūsiyyū-Bunyawiyya* (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 1987).

5. Ami Elad[-Bouskila], "Sifrutam shel ha'aravim beYisra'el (1948-1993)" in Ami Elad[-Bouskila], ed., *Hamizrah behadash* (special issue devoted to the literature of Israeli Arabs) 35 (1993): 1-4.
6. On the Arabic and Hebrew literature of the Jews of Iraq, see Shmuel Moreh, *al-Qiṣṣa al-Qaṣīra 'inda Yabūd al-'Irāq* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1981), 1-25 and Nancy E. Berg, *Exile From Exile: Israeli Writers From Iraq* (Albany: State University of New York, 1996). On the dilemma of choosing between writing in Arabic and Hebrew, see Berg, *Exile from Exile*, 43-66 and Ammiel Alcalay, *After Jews and Arabs: Remaking Levantine Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 235-47.
7. Reuven Snir, "We Were Like Those Who Dream: Iraqi-Jewish Writers in Israel in the 1950s," *Prooftexts* 11 (1991): 153-73. Also see Reuven Snir, "Petsa mipetsa'av: hasifrut ha'aravit haPalastinit beYisra'el," *Alpayim* 2 (1990): 247; Maḥmūd 'Abbāsī, "Hitpatḥut haroman vehasippur haqatsar basifrut ha'aravit bashanim 1948-1976," doctoral dissertation (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1983), 251.
8. Shmuel Moreh and Maḥmūd 'Abbāsī, *Tarājim wa-Āthār fi l-Adab l-'Arabī fi Isrā'īl, 1948-1986*, 3rd ed (Shafā'amr: Dār al-Mashriq, 1987), 31-33 and Moreh, *al-Qiṣṣa al-Qaṣīra*, 187-90.
9. Shimon Ballas, ed. and trans., *Sippurim palestiniyyim* (Tel Aviv: Eked, 1970). Ballas also served as editor and consultant for Arabic literature of the Mifras publishing house, which has published more Palestinian texts than any other publishing house in Israel.
10. On the life and works of Sami Michael, see Moreh and 'Abbāsī, *Tarājim wa-Āthār*, 226-27; Moreh, *al-Qiṣṣa al-Qaṣīra*, 221-24.
11. Sami Michael, *Viqtoryab* (Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 1994).
12. The Cairene trilogy by Najīb Maḥfūz was published in 1956-57. In Hebrew, the trilogy was published by Sifriat Poalim as follows: *Bayit beQabir* (Part 1), 1981; *Bayit beQabir: Kamal* (Part 2), 1984; *Bayit beQabir: dor shelishi* (Part 3), 1987.
13. Sami Michael, "Shylock beKartago," *Yediot Aḥaronot* (October 28, 1994): 28; Sami Michael, "Historyah qatlanit," *Yediot Aḥaronot* (August 18, 1995): 24.
14. On the subject of the legitimacy and the Israeliness of writers of Sephardic origin in modern Hebrew literature, see Lev Hakak, *Peraqim besifrutam shel yebudei hamizrah bemedinat Yisra'el* (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1985), 8-9 and Alcalay, *After Jews and Arabs*, 227-34.
15. Moreh and 'Abbāsī, *Tarājim wa-Āthār*, 26-28; Moreh, *al-Qiṣṣa al-Qaṣīra*, 233-36; and Shmuel Moreh, "Olamo hameyuhad shel Yitzhak Bar-Moshe," *Shevet ve'am*, second series 3 (8) (1978): 425-44.
16. Moreh, *al-Qiṣṣa al-Qaṣīra*, 251-54; Moreh and 'Abbāsī, *Tarājim wa-Āthār*, 236-37; Alcalay, *After Jews and Arabs*, 236-38.
17. Samīr Naqqāsh, "Ma atem rotsim mimmeni? ani shomer al ha'otonomyah shelli!" *Mifgash* 7 (Spring 1986): 34.
18. *Ibid.*, 35.
19. Imīl Ḥabībī, "Kemo petsa," *Politiqab* 21 (1988): 6-21. In an anthology that appeared in Arabic called *Mukhtārāt min al-Qiṣṣa al-Qaṣīra fi 18 Baladan 'Arabiyyan* (*Selections of Short Stories From 18 Arab Countries*) (Cairo: Markaz al-Ahrām li l-Tarjama wa l-Nashr, 1993), 239-51, a footnote in Arabic notes, "This chapter was first written by the author [Imīl Ḥabībī] in Hebrew in response to a request by the monthly *Politiqab* and appeared in its special issue 'Arabs in Israel—An Inside Look—Mid-1988'; the Arabic language version was translated by the author himself who also made additions to the text."
20. Samīl al-Qāsim and Nazīh Khayr, eds. and trans., *al-Dhākira al-Zarqā'* (Tel-Aviv: Mifras 1991); Samīl al-Qāsim, *Yāsmīn: mishirei Ronni Somek* (Haifa: Beit al-Karma, 1995).
21. Anton Shammas, *Kerikbab qasbah* (Tel-Aviv: Sifriat Poalim, 1974); *Shetah beqer: shirim* (Tel-Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1979); Na'im 'Arāyḏī, *Eikh efsbar le'ehov* (Tel-Aviv: Eked, 1972); *Ḥemlah ufahad* (Tel-Aviv: Eked, 1974-75); *Hazarti el hakefar: shirim* (Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 1986). To this list can be added such works as Asad 'Azzī, *Lemargelot hagoral hamar* (Haifa: Renaissance, 1976); *Onat haleḥishot* (Haifa: Renaissance, 1978); Asad 'Azzī and Fāḏīl 'Alī, *Shirei rehov* (Daliyat al-Karmil: Milim Publishing House, 1979); Fu'ād Ḥusayn, *Yom shishi* (Tel Aviv: Sa'ar, 1990); *Siah pesagot* (Haifa: Defus HaVadi, 1995); and Maḥmūd Zaydān, *Ketovet behalal* (Tel-Aviv: Eked, 1992). Fārūq Mawāṣī wrote his poem "Shenayim" in Hebrew. See *Ha'etsvonim shelo buvnu: shirim*, trans. Roge Tavor (Kufit Qara': al-Shafaq, 1989), 79-81.
22. 'Aṭallāh Maṣṣūr, *Be'or hadash* (Tel-Aviv: Karni, 1966). This book was translated into English as *In a New Light*, trans. Abraham Birman (London: Vallentine and Mitchell, 1969).
23. Moreh and 'Abbāsī, *Tarājim wa-Āthār*, 218-19.
24. 'Aṭallāh Maṣṣūr, "Arab Yaktubūn bi l-'Ibriyya: al-Wuṣūl ilā al-Jār," *Bulletin of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo* 16 (1992): 65; Rāshid Ḥusayn, *Ḥayyim Naḥmān Biyālik: Nukhba min Shi'rihi wa-Natbrihi* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1966); Sabri Jirias, *The Arabs in Israel* (Haifa: self-published, 1966).
25. 'Aṭallāh Maṣṣūr, *wa-Baqiyat Samīra* (Tel-Aviv: Dār al-Nashr al-'Arabī, 1962).
26. Maṣṣūr, "Arab Yaktubūn bi l-'Ibriyya," 65.
27. Anton Shammas translated into Arabic the poems of David Avidan in his book *Idbā'a min Qamar Iṣṭinā'ī* (Acre: Maktabat wa-Maṭba'at al-Surūjī, 1982) and edited and translated the anthology *Ṣayd al-Ghazāla* (Shafā'amr: Dār al-Mashriq, 1984). Samīl al-Qāsim and Nazīh Khayr translated into Arabic and edited the anthology *al-Dhākira al-Zarqā'* (Tel-Aviv: Mifras, 1991). Samīl al-Qāsim translated into Arabic a selection of poems by Ronni Somek under the title *Yāsmīn: Qaṣā'id* (Haifa: Bayt al-Karma, 1995).
28. Na'im 'Arāyḏī edited and translated some of the works in Arabic as well as Hebrew texts that appeared in his anthology *Ḥayalim shel mayim* (Tel-Aviv:

- Sifrei Ma'ariv and Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1988). He also edited and translated a collection of poems by Adonis, *Tebiliyyot* (Tel-Aviv: Kadim, 1989). In the 1970s, Salmān Maṣālḥa translated into Hebrew Saḥar Khalifa's novel *al-Subbār* (in Hebrew: *Hatsabbar* [Jerusalem: Galileo, 1978]). In the late 1980s, Maṣālḥa translated into Hebrew Maḥmūd Darwish's book *Dhākira li l-nisyan* (in Hebrew: *Zekher lashikbeḥab* [Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv: Schocken, 1989]).
29. In an interview with Sihām Dāwūd in the Jerusalem weekly newspaper *Yerushalayim*, February 19, 1990.
  30. By Anton Shammas in Hebrew: *Hashbaqran bakbi gadol ba'olam* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1982) and *Arabesqot* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1986). By Na'im 'Arāyḏi in Hebrew: *Eikh efsar le'ehov* (Tel Aviv: Traklin-Eked, 1972); *Hanozlim hame-nagnim bytsirat Uri Zvi Greenberg* (Tel-Aviv: Eked, 1980); *Ulay zo abavab* (Tel Aviv: Ma'ariv, 1983); *Hazarti el bakesfar: shirim* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1986); *Behamishab memadim* (Tel Aviv: Sifriat Poalim, 1991); and *Tevilah qatlanit* (Tel Aviv: Bitan, 1992). By Na'im 'Arāyḏi in Arabic: *Qaṣā'id Karmiliyya fi l-'Ishq al-Bahri* (Shafā'amr: Dār al-Mashriq li l-Tarjama wa l-Tibā'a wa l-Nashr, 1984); *Masirat al-Ibdā': Dirāsāt Naqdiyya Tahliyya fi al-Adab al-Filastīnī al-Mu'āṣir* (Haifa and Shafā'amr: Maktabat Kull Shay', Dār al-Mashriq li l-Tarjama wa l-Tibā'a wa l-Nashr, 1988); and *Mahattāt 'alā Tariq al-Ibdā': Dirāsāt Naqdiyya fi l-Adab al-Filastīnī al-Mu'āṣir* (Haifa: Maktabat Kull Shay', 1992).
  31. Nazih Khayr, ed., *Mifgash ve'immot bayetsirah ha'aravit veba'ivrit* (Haifa: Bayt al-Karma, 1993). This book has writings in Arabic and Hebrew and also translations from and to both languages, which is not always noted in the text and raises questions about the original language in which it was written. Interestingly, the Arab and Jewish writers who appear in this anthology in the original or in translation also appear in anthologies edited by Nazih Khayr, Samīḥ al-Qāsim, and others.
  32. Aharon Leish, "Kavvim umegamot aḥarei milḥemet sheshet hayamim," in *Ha'aravim beyisra'el: retsifut utemurah*, ed. Aharon Leish (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1981), 240–47.
  33. Gershon Shaked, *Hasipporet ha'ivrit, 1880–1980*, vol. 4 (Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem: Hakibbutz Hameuchad and Keter, 1993), 97–188.
  34. Gabriel García Márquez, *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, trans. Gregory Rabassa (London: Penguin Books, 1970).
  35. For broad surveys of the modern Arabic literatures of the Mashriq and the Maghrib from the 1960s, see Ami Elad[-Bouskila], ed., *Writer, Culture, Text: Studies in Modern Arabic Literature* (Fredericton, N.B.: York Press, 1993); Ami Elad[-Bouskila], *The Village Novel in Modern Egyptian Literature* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1994); Ali Gad, *Form and Technique in the Egyptian Novel, 1912–1971* (London: Ithaca Press, 1983); Sabry Hafez, "The Egyptian Novel in the Sixties," *Journal of Arabic Literature* (1976): 68–84; Roger Allen, *The Arabic Novel: An Historical and Critical Introduction* (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1982); Muhammad Mustafa Badawi, ed., *Modern Arabic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū 'Awf, *al-Baḥth 'an tariq Jadid li l-Qiṣa al-Qaṣira al-Miṣriyya: Dirāsa Naqdiyya* (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma li l-Ta'lif wa l-Nashr, 1971); Sayyid Ḥamid al-Nassāḥ, *Bānūrāmā al-Riwāya al-'Arabiyya al-Ḥaditha* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'arif, 1980); al-Sa'id al-Warāqī, *Ittijābāt al-Riwāya al-'Arabiyya al-Mu'āṣira* (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-Miṣriyya al-'Āmma li l-Ta'lif wa l-Nashr, 1982); Ami Elad[-Bouskila], introduction to the anthology *Me'ever la'ofeq haqarov: sippurim arviyyim benei yamenu* (Jerusalem: Keter, Bidayat, 1989), 13–16; Ami Elad[-Bouskila], "Mitsrayim: me'ah ve'esrim shenot sipporet," *Apiron* (1989): 68–71; Ami Elad[-Bouskila], *Sifrut aravit belevush ivri* (Jerusalem: Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sport, 1995), 11–65; Sasson Somekh, "Hasippur hadu'erki shel Najib Maḥfūz," *Hasifrut* 2 (1969–70): 565–79; Sasson Somekh, "Haromanim hahevrativiyim shel Najib Maḥfūz," *Hamizrah beḥadash* 21 (1970–71): 260–81; Menahem Milson, "Najib Maḥfūz uve'ayat haḥippus aḥar tokhen laḥayyim," *Hamizrah beḥadash* 19 (1968–69): 1–8; Menahem Milson, "Behinot aḥadot baroman hamitsri hamoderni," *Qeshet* 47 (Spring 1969–70): 161–70.
  36. In this context, it is interesting to note the possible influence of Hebrew poetry on Arabic poetry in Israel. For an analysis of the influence of the poetry of Bialik on the work of Maḥmūd Darwish, see Jamāl Aḥmad al-Rifā'i, *Āḥbār al-Thaqāfa al-'Ibriyya fi al-Shi'r al-Filastīnī al-Mu'āṣir, Dirāsa fi Shi'r Maḥmūd Darwish* (Cairo: Dār al-Thaqāfa al-Jadida, 1994).
  37. Anton Shammas, "Hasifrut ha'aravit be'Yisra'el le'aḥar 1967," *Skirot* (Tel Aviv University) 2 (June 1976): 7.
  38. Hannan Hever, "Lehakot ba'aqevu shel Achilles," *Alpayim* 1 (June 1989): 186–93; Hannan Hever, "Ivrit be'itto shel aravi: shisha paraqim al Arabesqot me'et Anton Shammas," *Te'oryah uviqqoret* 1 (Summer 1991): 23–38. For an entirely different point of view, see Reuven Snir, "Petsa mipetsa'av," 244–68.
  39. Na'im 'Arāyḏi, "Sifrut ivrit, mah na'amc," *Moznayim* 65, no. 4 (1991): 41.
  40. Imīl Ḥabībī, *al-Waqā'i' al-Ghariba fi Iktifa' Sa'id Abī al-Naḥs al-Mutashā'il*, 3rd ed (Jerusalem, Manshūrāt Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, 1977); for the Hebrew version, see *Ha'opsimist: hakhroniqah hanusla'ah shel be'almut Sa'id Abī al-Naḥs al-Mutashā'il*, trans. Anton Shammas (Jerusalem: Mifras, 1984). Imīl Ḥabībī, *Iktifiyya* (Nicosia: Kitāb al-Karmil 1, 1985). For the Hebrew version, see *Iktifiyya*, trans. Anton Shammas (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1988). The stories by Ḥabībī—"Levasof paraḥ hashaqed," "Rūbābikā," and "Qinat hasartan"—were translated by Na'im 'Arāyḏi in the anthology he edited, *Hayyalim shel mayim*, 57–71. Imīl Ḥabībī, *Sarāyā bint al-Ghūl: Khurāfiyya* (Haifa: Dār Arābesk, 1991). For the Hebrew version, see *Sarayab: bat hashed bara, Khurāfiyya*, trans. Anton Shammas (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1993).
  41. This appeared in English translation as Anton Shammas, *Arabesques*, trans. Vivian Eden (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

42. Moreh and 'Abbāsī, *Tarājim wa-Āshār*, 122–23.
43. *Ibid.*, 155–56.
44. *Ibid.*, 123–24.
45. Avraham Balaban, "'Hagaḥ heḥadish' neged 'hagal heḥadash,'" *Yediot Aḥaronot*, (June 5, 1992): 34–35.
46. Hever, "Lehakot ba'aqevō shel Achilles," 191. For a full discussion of the novel *Arabesqot*, see Hever's article, "Ivrit be'itō shel aravi."
47. Dan Laor, "Hafasuta'im: hasippur shelo nigmar," *Ha'arets*, May 30, 1986.
48. Aharon Amir, "Ge'ulah vehitbolelut," *Be'ereẓ Yisra'el* (October 1986): 9.
49. Sharbal Dāghīr, "Arabisk Filasṭīniyya," *al-Nāqid* 2 (August 1988): 75.
50. Yumnā al-Īd, *Taqniyyāt al-Savd al-Riwā'ī fi Ḍaw' al-Manhaj al-Bunyawī* (Beirut: Dār al-Fārābī, 1990), 149.
51. "Millim shemenasot laga'at," an interview of Anton Shammas conducted by Dalia Amit in 1988.
52. *Ibid.*
53. On the debate between Anton Shammas and Avraham B. Yehoshua and those who joined the debate, see Anton Shammas, "Avram ḥozēr laḡolah?" *Itton 77* 72–73 (February 6, 1986): 21–22; Anton Shammas, "Ashmat hababushqah," *Politiqah* 5–6 (February-March 1986): 44–45; Anton Shammas, "Rosh hashanah layehudim," *Ha'ir* 1 (September 1985): 13–18; Anton Shammas, "Qitsh 22, o: gevul hatarbut," *Itton 77* 84–85 (January-February 1987): 24–26; and Avraham B. Yehoshua, "Im attah nish'at—attah mi'ut," *Qol ha'ir* (January 31, 1986): 42–43. The latter article also appeared under the title "Avraham B. Yehoshua: teshuvah leAnton," *Ha'ir* (January 31, 1986): 22–23. See also Herzl and Balfour Hakak, "Shammas eino makkir bemedinah yehudit," *Moznayim* 5–6 (November-December 1986): 80; Michal Schwartz, "Al ashmat A.B. Yehoshua vehababushqah shel Shammas," *Derekh hanitsot* (February 5, 1986): 6–7; and B. Michael, "Kosot ruah, pitspon veAnton," *Ha'arets* (January 17, 1986): 9.
54. Shammas, "Qitsh 22," 25.
55. Anton Shammas, "Yitsu zemani shel hafatsim nilvim," *Ha'arets, Sefarim* (June 13, 1989): 11.

## Maḥmūd Darwīsh: Identity and Change

Issa J. Boullata

Since Maḥmūd Darwīsh began publishing his poetry in the early 1960s, his life has undergone many drastic changes. Until 1971, he lived in Israel and, as an active member of Rakah, the Israeli Communist Party, he was in opposition to many aspects of Israeli policy, particularly its treatment of Arabs living in Israel. During this period he was put in prison or under house arrest by the Israeli authorities several times. After a year studying in Moscow, he decided not to return to Israel. He went to Egypt for a brief stay and then settled in Lebanon, where he supported the activities of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Following the 1982 Israeli invasion of the country, he left for Tunisia with the PLO fighters evacuated under the protection of multinational forces. After a few years of intimate involvement with the PLO in Tunisia, he left for Paris in disagreement with the policies of the Palestinian leadership.<sup>1</sup> After the Oslo accords, he wanted to return to Haifa, where he had originally lived, but was not permitted to do so by Israel.

These changes in his life conditions affected his poetic vision, no doubt. In this chapter, I will focus on their effect on his concept of identity as a young and rising Palestinian poet who gradually became a national figure whose words commanded public attention by their articulate expression of feelings and their aesthetic sophistication. In one of his earliest poems entitled "Identity Card," in his collection *Aurāq al-Zaytūn* (1964),<sup>2</sup> Darwīsh puts forth a forceful and very direct expression