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AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THEMES
IN THE POETRY OF
MA'ḤŪF AL-HUSAYNī

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Faculty of Arts in the University of Glasgow,
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Ma'ruf al-Ruṣāfī, the distinguished Iraqi poet, was born in Baghdad in 1875 and died there on the sixteenth of March, 1945. He became a member of the al-Mab‘ūthān Council, he was several times in the Iraqi parliament, he lectured in Arabic Literature, and was unemployed for a long period during the last part of his life, when he had great difficulty in earning his living.

Because he was frank, free-minded, ambitious, pure and dignified, he was subjected to continual attack by the rulers, religious leaders and conservatives, and consequently he lived a troubled and changeable life. This coloured his poetry with melancholy.

His poetry was a complete record of the intellectual developments, social changes, economic problems, political events and literary currents of the time, in Iraq particularly, and in the Arab and Muslim World generally. His Diwān (in two volumes) contains three hundred and fifty poems. Some further political and social poems and his poems for children were not included in this Diwān. He also composed another Diwān, Al-Shīr al-Makṣūf, consisting mostly of erotic poems, which is not published yet.

His poetical manner generally was smooth, easy, clear, expressive and eloquent. He believed that art has a goal, and that the real function of literature in any nation is to illustrate the ideal principles to the new generation, to awaken the national consciousness, and to encourage belief in progress. He therefore gave great attention to the content of his poems and tried to avoid rhetorical devices. He was a modern poet in his poetical objectives, clear expression and unified poems, and a traditional poet in the form of his poetry using
metre and rhyme. Although he tried to avoid the use of obscure words
and repetition, his poetry contained some of both. It also contained
many rhetorical devices, reminiscences of and quotations from earlier
poets, proverbs and sayings. His poetry for children was distinguished
by its clearness, easiness, simple words and particular poetical music.

Al-Ruṣāfī was influenced by Turkish literature and Western
literary currents, reflecting some of the new scientific theories in
his poetry.

He composed in different genres of poetry: Social, Political,
Description, Elegy, Panegyric, Satire, Nasīb and Fakhr. But the most
important parts of his Diwān were the Social and Political genres.

In his Social poetry, he tried to direct people's attention
to the great importance of Education and knowledge in the progress of
any nation. He also tried to point out the importance of Work,
National unity, Social equality, Charitable work: and the Emancipation
of women. He recalled earlier glory of the Muslims and Arabs in
order to urge people to regain it.

He was a humanitarian poet, took a special interest in the
miserable, and called for aid for them as being human and the victims
of society.

In his political poetry, under the Ottoman Empire, he
demanded Individual Freedom for each country within the group, so that
they might obtain their political rights through a representative
government working under a constitution and might obtain their rights
of Freedom of publication and thought, both of which were limited by
the law.

After 1911, and with the increase of Western control of the
Arab and Muslim countries, he demanded Independence for these countries.
When the British occupied Iraq, he devoted his poetry to attacking them and demanding their evacuation, and to persuading the people of Iraq to pursue full independence. He continually advocated the formation of a nationalist government, and he always exposed the antinational policies that were followed by the native governments, believing that these were the agents of the British.

Al-Ruṣāfī was a great believer in Peace and the importance of Unity between the Arab countries in all aspects.

His Descriptive poetry was distinguished by its completeness and accuracy, and by being linked with his humanitarian feelings. He described nature, modern inventions, calamities, and places of entertainment.

In Elegy, he demonstrated his feelings towards his friends and contemporary poets, his faithfulness to his teachers and his patriotic consciousness.

He used Panegyric to praise men for the benefits they confirmed on the people, not to flatter them for his own profit.

He tried to avoid Satire and when he did use it he did not use it in a painful manner.

Al-Nasib poetry is very infrequent in his Diwan, and he imitated classical models.

Al-Ruṣāfī was proud of his own poetical skill and his striking personality, but he acknowledged the poetical talents of others as well.
CHAPTER ONE

HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER
CHAPTER ONE
HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER

SECTION 1. HIS LIFE

Ma'rūf ʿAbd al-Ghānī Māḥmūd, known later as al-Ruṣāfī, was born in 1875 in Baghdad, in the al-Qaragḥūl quarter of al-Ruṣāfā. He began his education when he was three years old, attending the elementary school in which he completed the study of the holy Qur'ān. Later he became a student in the al-Ruṣāfīya military school, which was the only high school at that time. Because he failed in the third class of this school, he left it for the religious schools which were the main places of study in the country, and held a similar position to al-Azhar in Egypt. Al-Ruṣāfī studied in these schools many kinds of religious, linguistic, and literary topics, and he remained for 12 years in al-Ḥūsī's religious school in Baghdad. Because of his great interest in, and vast knowledge of, religious studies, al-Ḥūsī called him al-Ruṣāfī on the analogy of Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, the well known Persian Sufī of al-Karkh.

1. 'Alī, M. Muḥāṣṣarat 'An Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī, 1
2. 'Alī, M. Muḥāṣṣarat 'An Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī, 1
3. Tabāna, B. Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī, 40
4. Baṭṭī, R. Loghat al-ʿArab (1927) 7, 386
5. Al-Khāṭṭāt, Q. Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī, 44
6. Ibn Khallīkān, A. 1, 152
In order to get a better life, al-Ruṣāfī accepted a post as a teacher in a primary school, then another as a teacher of the Arabic language in a high school in Baghdad. After the declaration of the Ottoman constitution in 1908, al-Ruṣāfī became the chief editor of the paper Sabīl al-Raṣād. This paper was published in Istanbul by the Committee of the friends of the Arabs, of which al-Zahāwī and Fāhmi al-Mudarris were distinguished members. In 1912, al-Ruṣāfī became a member of the Council of al-Mabūtān in Constantinople, representing the al-Muntāfīq district of Iraq. During this time he married to a Turkish woman whom he divorced afterward. Besides his work as a member of parliament, he was appointed as a lecturer in Arabic literature in the Higher Royal School in Constantinople. During the First World War, he was a lecturer in Arabic Rhetoric in the al-Maṣīh school there. In 1919, he left Turkey for Iraq. Because of the political confusion in Iraq and the closing of its frontiers, he was compelled to stay in Damascus. In Damascus there was the Arab government which had been formed on 18 October, 1918 under the rule of Amir Fayṣal. Many responsible leaders in this government were Iraqis. Al-Ruṣāfī was received there with utter neglect and contempt.

1. Baṭṭī, R., Al-Adab al-Asrī Fī’l-Iraq al-‘Arabī, 1, 70
2. Al-Khaṭṭāt, Q., Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī, 55
3. ‘Alī, M., Muhāṣṣāt ‘An Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī, 6
4. Baṭṭī, R., Al-Adab al-Asrī Fī’l-Iraq al-‘Arabī, 1, 72
5. Baṭṭī, R., Loghat al-‘Arab (1927), 7, 386
6. ‘Alī, M., Muhāṣṣāt ‘An Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī, 6
7. Longrigg, S.H., 115
8. Wilson, A.T., Mesopotamia (1917-1920), 228
He was received badly in Damascus: for many possible reasons. First, because he attacked al-Iqlâhiyyîn in Beirut when they assembled in 1913 in Paris to demand reform from the Ottoman government. Many problems arose during their meeting, which were evidence that they were generally against Arabs and Muslims. In their programme they tried to disunite Muslims and Christians, and some of them like Şmukrî Ǧhânîm, claimed that the Lebanese were not Arabs but Phoenicians. Accordingly, al-Ǧuṣṣîfî regarded them as dishonestly acting against a Muslim empire for the benefit of France, especially since they held their meeting in Paris. He believed that France had great ambitions in Syria, and that these were her agents in the Arab World. This is reflected in his poem Ma Hakadha, consisting of 43 verses, in which he directly attacked them.

If their gathering was not in Paris, I would not regard them as people who have deviated from the right way.

But the ambitions of Paris still look towards Syria (hoping to annex it) from top to bottom.

Because of her policy she still every day encounters obstacles and troubles.
Does the people have faith that an army will not occupy their country and destroy Syria's hills?

Al-Ruşāfī was convinced that this group was intending to help France to occupy Syria, since one of its chiefs, al-‘Arīsī, was writing articles in French papers against the Arabs, and another, Haqqī al-‘Aẓūm, who was in Egypt at that time, sent a telegram to the French paper Le Temps, demanding the intervention of France in Syria.

Did Haqqī al-‘Aẓūm have an object, when he sent a false report to Le Temps?

So that he asked the help of France, demanding justice, as though he was a lamb asking a wolf for help.

Al-Ruşāfī therefore tried to stimulate all Arabs and Muslims against this group and even asked them to kill these dishonest people.
O people, do not be deceived by people who agitated in Paris, causing corruption and division.

Their letters were instigations to evil, trying to create new kinds of treachery.

So attack them with hands which assault them, tearing them to pieces.

Because of the attack aimed by al-Ruṣāfī at this group, he faced great troubles, so that some of the Arabic papers who were with al-İslāhiyyīn attacked him, claiming that al-Ruṣāfī was dishonest and against reform for the benefit of the Ottomans, and for his own benefit at the same time. In his poem Ḥū Layla ʿAbīghīyya, he again attacked them after their false accusations, and they again charged him as dishonest. For example, in the following two verses, he shows his contempt for them.

العَارُ يَرْحَلُ مَعَهُمْ أَيْنَما رَجَلُوا، وَالْخَزْيُ يَهْبُطُ مَعَهُمْ أَيْنَما هَبْتُوا
الخَلْقُ كَالْخَطُ لَا نَقْرَأُ لَهُمْ شَأْنًا وَاَشْتَبَعُونَ بَيْنِهِمْ بِنَبَأٍ إِنَّمَا غَلَبَتْ

Disgrace travels with them wherever they travel, and shame halts with them wherever they halt.

People are like writing. Do not read the mean ones among them; erase them with a sandal, because they are mistakes.

Al-Ruṣāfī praised al-İslāhiyyīn at their first meeting in
Beirut. This is to be seen in his poem about them, Fi Ma’rad al-
Seyf 1.

The second reason was because al-Ruṣāfī paid no attention
when Jamāl Pāshā (one of the triumvirate, and the minister of the navy),
he put to death in 1914 in Syria the chiefs of the first Arab
conference 2, such as ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Zahrāwī, ‘Abd al-Karīm Khalīl,
Shukrī al-‘Asālī, ‘Abd al-Ǧanī al-‘Arīṣī, Šālim ’Abd al-Ḥādī, Šafīq
al-Mū’ayyad, Sa‘īd ‘Aql, Šālim al-Jāzā’rī, ‘Alī al-Ĥarámāzī, Ḥāfīz al-
Sa‘īd, and others. Most Arab poets participated in this event with
great and effective poems. Al-Zahrāwī, in his poem Al-Nā ḫa
mentioned most of the names of these figures 3. To al-Ruṣāfī they
were dishonest, as we have mentioned before and therefore he kept
silent. Jamāl Pāshā published a book, in both Arabic and Turkish,
in which he included the documents on which the court martial depended
in the execution of these accused, and the document found in the French
embassy in Beirut which established the dishonesty of Šafīq al-
Mū’ayyad and his conspiracy with France 4.

The third reason was al-Ruṣāfī’s attack on Sharīf Ḥusayn
when he revolted against Turkey in 1916. Al-Ruṣāfī was against the
Arab revolution, motivated by his Islamic feeling. He believed that
Arabs and Muslim should bear the Ottoman tyranny rather than be ruled
by foreign Christians. In the Arab world many sections remained

1. D.2., 257
2. Lenczowski, G., 47
3. Batṭī, R. Al-Adab al-‘Ashārī, 1.18
4. Al-Ḫaṭṭāṭ, Q. Ma‘rūf al-Ruṣāfī, 87
faithful to Turkey, such as Yemen, the Arab tribes of Libya, and the Rashids of central Arabia. In the following verses al-Ruṣāfī attacked Sharīf Ḫusayn, Ḫusayn Kamil, the Khedive of Egypt, and Ḫusayn Rushīdī, his minister.

Leave the two Ḫusayns in Egypt, where they have injured the people; there is another Ḫusayn like them in Ḥijāz.

The injustice of those two shamed the pyramids, and the injustice of this one shamed the sacred house and al-Haram.

O earth, be agitated restlessly under him, and O sky, rain wrath upon him.

They say al-Ṣarīf, though his nobility is true, has not broken promises, or observed compacts.

Al-Ruṣāfī attacked Sharīf Ḫusayn also in his poem, Qad Yatfah al-Luʾm, Amīr Faysal, the son of Sharīf Ḫusayn, and later

1. Lenczowski, G., 47
2. Al-Wāʿīz, R., 163
3. D.2., 306
King of Iraq, did not forget this unfriendly act of al-Ruşāfī.

Whilst al-Ruşāfī was in this critical position, he was asked to be a lecturer in Arabic literature in Jerusalem. He left Damascus with great sorrow, passion, and regret. This is fully expressed in his poem, Ba'd Barāh al-Shām.

Your resolve was healthy while the time was ill; how long will you alternate in your hopes?

Why is your sorrow in your heart as though it is a broken bone shaking in your ribs?

How often have you passed, burdened with great afflictions, a night in which the darkness did end with dawn!

1. Sa'id, A., 18
Your soul's desire for life became very great; neither the sky nor the earth is large enough for it. You still rush into dangers for it; so you ride terror and overcome troubles.

By God, what a terror you ride and what a battle of calamities you go through.

I produced a talent for poetry which overflowed with the glory of the noble Arabs.

And how often have I stood against politics in a position in which my face was turned towards death, trying to lift up my people towards glory by poetry, where they were flaccid and prostrate.

In days when no poet had said that before me, and no poetry was recited there.

Until, when time turned in its orbit, poetry was disappointed and was again stifled.

Al-Rușafī found respect and attention in Jerusalem. This appears from his poem Fi 'Ilyā?' When Ṭalib al-Naqīb and 'Abd al- Ṣāmīn al-Gaylānī wished to publish a paper to make propaganda against Faysal, they asked al-Rușafī to become its chief editor. Accordingly he turned to Iraq. Immediately Ṭalib al-Naqīb was exiled to India and Faysal arrived in Iraq as a candidate for the throne. Al-Rușafī again found himself in a very critical position, face to face with Faysal and his government. They tried to put difficulties in the way.

1. D.1., 388
2. Sa'īd, A., 19
of his earning a living. In the same year, he was appointed as a vice-chairman of the Committee of Translation and Arabization. According to him, this was an insult aimed at him by the government, because it was a job unsuited to his personality, and because this committee had no chairman at that time.

1. Tabāna, B., 55
May God not drive away others from your positions;
I do not earn my living by disgracing my honour.

Because of this treatment, al-Rūṣāfī left Iraq in 1922, intending to spend the rest of his life in Beirut. In his poem 
Baḍ al-Nuzūh, which was published there, he fully expressed his feeling about this.
It is my country, but when I approach it, it rejects me; just as I experience occurrences and they afflict me.

I have long complained of a time which I endure but cannot find in it a free man to sympathise with me.

It is as though when I stop in my country, I stop in an uninhabited house.

Even when I live as a stranger in other countries, misfortunes of destiny make me bleed with their teeth.

Now I find myself in a desert riding a camel, and now on the sea in a ship.

How often the nights have overwhelmed me with their calamities; I have floated in them on a dolphin by my patience.

I am a son of the Tigris whose writing is well-known there, though its water does not quench my thirst.

I was its warbling Bulbul, singing to it the most wonderful songs to the most wonderful tunes,

Where the branches crowned with roses transported me among the flowers of the gardens.

While I was in it singing and enraptured, breathing the odour of aromatic plants,

A Crow (King Faysal) settled down in it and tried to upset me, and his croaking about separation troubled me,

So that I became in it the object of pursuit of a Crow, not of hawks.
So I flew away, then uncaring about the narcissus and eglantine that I had left there.

Woe to Baghdad for what time will say in the Dawāwīn about me and about it!

Irrigated its land with floods of tears, on the sides of the river which does not water me.

I never thought that when I wept for my people there, I wept for those who would weep for me.

Is it right that the ignorant should be respected there, and I live there in the grasp of humiliation?

And that a mean person should live there disdainfully, while I am humiliated in my life?

Why should I stay in Baghdad patiently bearing humiliation in the midst of disgrace?

I will go to Beirut; perhaps Beirut will entertain me from now on.

Al-Ruṣāfī's plan to emigrate to Beirut had a great effect in Arab countries. This is well expressed by the Tunisian poet 'Abd al-Razzāq Kirbāka in his poem Ma'ruf al-'Azīma addressed to al-Ruṣāfī, which was published in the paper Dīla.¹

¹ Shaybūb, H., 137-138
Mārūf, revert to your resolve, and I am the guarantor that you will achieve success and gain.

Your decision stirred up protests in the East, in disagreement with what you did,

In Tunis, Egypt, Syria, Fez, Baghdad, and Mecca,

Their great persons are agitated and all are full of hope that you will return and give up your decision.

In 1923, al-Ruṣāfī returned to Baghdad. In his poem ILLA Abnā' al-Wātan, written on this occasion, he speaks of the speed of his return.

The traveller has returned to the country, compelled to return.

If he had intended to return, he would not have hurried to go.

In the same year, al-Ruṣāfī was appointed as inspector of Arabic language in the Ministry of Education; he later became a lecturer in Arabic literature in the Higher Teacher's Training College in Baghdad ¹. He was also

¹. 'Alī, M., Maḥādārat 'an Mārūf al-Ruṣāfī, 8
appointed a member of the Arabic Scientific Council in Damascus and chairman of the committee of Scientific terms. This kind of work was not satisfactory to him. He was looking to gain his proper place in his own country. Accordingly he suffered in Baghdad especially, being continually attacked by the religious leaders and conservatives for his social demands, as he says, for instance.

I have lived in a country which is full of spite against me; everything in it is terrible.

When I pass, the eyes look askance at me, as though a wolf had passed.

And how often faces appear smiling, and in within their smile there is a scowl.

I have lived in a caravansarai in my country, as though I am a traveler, thrown from one road to another.

And I have lived in it a life of strangers, because I am, today, a stranger in my country.

In the following verses, he complained to his friend Khaz‘al,

1. Battî, R. Loghat al Arab (1927) 7, 387
the head of the Arabistan tribes, that he was not able to get his proper place in Iraq.

Father of proud princes, I have come to you,
to complain of the crimes of the hypocrite time.

Save me from , God preserve you, because
it is deeply rooted in every one of my bones.

Do you agree that, while I am a hawk of
Baghdad, magpie chicks have surpassed me there?

'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Saʿdūn, the prime minister of Iraq,
succeeded in reconciling King Faysal and al-Ruṣāfī and accordingly
al-Ruṣāfī became a member of parliament in 1928 1. A few months
later al-Saʿdūn killed himself and al-Ruṣāfī fell out of favour. In
the following verses, al-Ruṣāfī describes his changeable life.

1. Al-Khaṭṭāt, Q. Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī, 139
My eye sees what my hand is not able to obtain, and I am still seeking empty-handed and needy.

I see from afar that the door of my livelihood is open, but when I come to it, I find it closed.

I despair sometimes and hope at others; I have nothing except despair and hope.

During this period Iraqi politicians were divided into two groups. Some favoured the British, and some were against them. Accordingly the ministers and parliament in Iraq were always changing. Consequently, al-Ruşāfī lived a changeable life, sometimes being a member of parliament, and sometimes living without office or income, completely neglected. Between 1928 and 1937, he was a member of parliament five times. In 1937, he abandoned his work and his poetry and lived in retirement in a house in al-Fallūja in which he had lived since 1933. There were many psychological reasons for his isolation. According to his friend Amin Sa'īd, in this year he was very disturbed and concerned about his changeable life. Many Iraqi poets tried to bring him out of his isolation. Al-Jawāhirī, for example, had long arguments with him in the newspapers. There are two poems in al-Ruşāfī's Diwān, Tla al-Jawāhirī, and Munajāt wa-Shakwa, in which he answered al-Jawāhirī and explained to him the reasons for his isolation.

Tāhā al-Rawī, a distinguished Iraqi author, also tried to persuade al-Ruşāfī to return to composing poetry. Al-Rawī sent a poem to this effect to Mustafa Ibn 'Alī, a close friend of al-Ruşāfī.

1. 'Alī, M., Muḥādarat 'An Ma'rūf al-Ruşāfī, 8
2. 'Alī, M., Muḥādorat 'An Ma'rūf al-Ruşāfī, 8
3. Sa'īd, A., 19
4. D.1., 757
5. D.1., 486
O Muṣṭafa Ibn ʿAlī, trustworthy brother,
I have found you a helper of your brothers.

If relations between brothers become turbid,
you purify them; if a friend is unfaithful, you keep faith.

Give the king of rhyme my best wishes, which scatter perfume of all kinds.

What has happened to him may God preserve him,
that he has completely deserted poetry.

After having composed and fashioned it, shining,
many-hued and alluring?

You have poured upon ʿUmm al-ʿUlā, ornaments of it
more beautiful than gardens in the days of April.

1. Al-Ḥilāl (1945) 2, 273
You were the beauty and splendour of our valley when you were sending us song after songs.

If you write a precious, outstanding poem, you will conquer our hearts, old and young.

And if you sing this glory, the tones of our lives will be harmonized.

If you cry, our valley and its people will cry too, and the large and lofty trees share with you in your sorrow.

I find Umm al-Ma'ali very censorious of you, sad-faced and grieved.

You accustomed her before to your decking her in a necklaces that alternated pearls and carnelian.

Al-Rusafi answered Taha al-Rawi with a poem sent also to Mustafa Ibn Ali. In this poem, al-Rusafi tried to explain the reasons which compelled him to abandon poetry and to live a lonely life.
I send to you, Muṣṭafa, a beautiful, unique rhyme, into which I have put all kinds of sorrow of the soul.

Give Abū Ḥāshim (Ṭāḥā al-Ṭāḥī) a speedy message about me, in which fresh poetry abounds, drunk.

Muṣṭafa brought to me a message from you which resembles a jewel, but is of greater value.

It dressed my unhealed wound, and it has stirred up sadness in my inmost heart.

I know that you have a liberal soul; and that you are looking to attain greatness as a goal and the truth as an aim.
You thought well of me when you praised me in such a way as to increase the kindness of your good opinion.

You thought that I had left poetry behind for a long time. Do you think that I can stop loving myself?

That lover (the poetry) on whom I have lavished my love and have made it a title of glory.

Love of him has emaciated me so that I have left the sweetness of sleep for him and have remained sleepless all night.

If he is awake, I am awake all night, and if he spends the night happily, so I do.

Ask him about me, if you want, if he has found any one except me to drink with him.

If cares are stirred up in my heart, I find consolation in him alone.

I am always joined with poetry in my thoughts; my heart sometimes surges with it like the sea.

But today I refuse to express it, among people who are steeped in lies and tyranny.

They have rejected the language of the liberals and give no weight to thoughts.

How can I compose poetry when an evil government chokes it with injustice and hostility?

And what is the meaning of poetry among the arrogant who do not give one with liberal thoughts any place?
Can I fail to be jealous for it today, when they wish to prostitute it?

They have rejected my attitude to it, although they know that I have raised with it a building for honour.

So accept my apologies in poetry, Abū Ḥāshim, may God preserve you as a helper for the liberals.

Take it Abū Ḥāshim, young and virgin; it comes as a proof of the originality that you believed me to have.

The words and the thoughts are well-matched, and are in it like flowers in a garden spreading perfume.

This debate between al-Ruṣāfī and Tahā al-Rawi was written in 1942, but published in 1945, after the death of al-Ruṣāfī, according to his own desire.

During the revolution of Rashīd 'Alī al-Gaylānī, al-Ruṣāfī returned to Baghdad. Although he greatly supported this revolution, the British authorities, after its collapse, paid no attention to him. He remained free, while most of the liberals were imprisoned. This was may be because they tried to persecute him psychologically by this neglect, or they were afraid that he would die in the jail because he was old and ill, and this would create a serious problem for them with the nation.

During this period, al-Ruṣāfī was compelled to sell cigarettes in a small shop in Aẓamiyya in order to earn his living. He used the following two verses as an advertisement for his shop.
Smoke Ghāzī Cigarettes while stopping and while passing.

Give me a good reward for my advice, if you are a person who rewards.

On the 16th of March, 1945, al-Ruṣāfī died from illness in a house in al-AʿZamīyya in Baghdad. The news of his death was announced on the radio, and he was buried two hours later. Ḥikmat Sulaymān, held a funeral party for him at which Ṣāliḥ Bahr al-ʿUlūm and Akram Ahmad eulogized him.

The way al-Ruṣāfī lived and died is still quoted as an example of the political injustice and social tyranny to which liberals were generally subjected in Iraq during that time. This was expressed by the Iraqi poet, Khudr ʿAbd al-Ṣāliḥ in a poem delivered in the occasion of the reception of Hilāl Nājī for his edition of the Muʿjam Mutaḥāyyīr al-Alfāẓ of Ahmad Ibn Fāris, found in Baghdad in 1972.

1. Al-Khaṭṭāṭ, Q. Al-Hilāl (1972) 7, 74
2. ʿAlī, M. Al-Ruṣāfī, 34
If you want examples for my speech, I have brought you a wonderful one.

Ma'ruf al-Ruṣāfī, who was an honour to the people of thought and fertile literature,

He spent his perplexed days in torture, with calamities tearing his heart.

Enduring great evil and persecution, if he expressed a right opinion.

And if he voiced great ideas, all kinds of war were made on him.

Criminal gangs pursued him and rejected him as a terrible devil.

If he walked in the street, each person would glance at him frowning.

He was the son of glory, his hand committed non of the crimes committed by those who opposed him.

He died without a shroud, alone, and was buried under surveillance.

Al-Lisan al-'Arabi (1972) 1, 474 - 475
The present Iraqi national government erected a bronze statue to al-Ruṣāfī in al-ʿĀmin square in Baghdad, where he used to spend most of his time. The government yearly celebrate the occasion of his death in recognition of his great role in Iraq's progress and independence.
During the period under discussion, poetry played a very important role in the awakening of people in the Arab World. It was the principal means and information, especially during the great Wars when the means of publication were very few because of the high price of paper. Poetry was also particularly dangerous in a nation like Iraq most of whose subjects were ignorant. It was more effective than journalism today. The most effective poetry was that which was frank and clear. As a result of political persecution, social conservation, and the control of the religious leaders over the people's way of life, few Arabic poets were brave enough to convey frankly their liberal thoughts and beliefs. Some of them tried to stimulate people against political tyranny by indirect means. For instance, the Egyptian poet Khalil Mu'tran used historical injustices to refer indirectly to the injustice and persecution of the Ottomans. Other poets addressed the people frankly but they used a false name, like Al-Zahawi during 'Abd al-Hamid's II rule.

Al-Rusafi was the most distinguished poet to speak out frankly. In the first period of his career he published national poems against Ottomans in the Egyptian papers, al-Mu'ayyad and al-Muqtataf. These poems reached the Mahjar and because they were so frank and gave voice to such free ideas, and nationalistic feeling, the Arabic paper there al-Manazir of Na'am Labk stated that al-Rusafi

1. See Khouri, M. See also Jabra, I.J. Journal of Arabic Literature, 77
2. Dayf, Sh., 130
3. Battî, R. Al-Adab al-'Asri Fi'l-İraq al-'Arabî, 1, 10
was pseudonym for some great Arabic poet. His poems al-Sijn Fī Baghdad, al-Yatīn i‘lā‘d, Iqāz al-Ruqūd, Ruqūyat al-Sarī‘, Al-al-Saltāna, or Tanbīh al-Niyām exemplify these qualities.

During the rule of the Young Turks, he was also the principal Arabic poet who strongly attacked their unjust and tyrannical policies. During the twenties, his frank poems against the King of Iraq, parliament, the government, ministers, and the British authorities were distinguished by their bold and frank manner.

He did not speak frankly only in the political field. His social advocacies were unusually outspoken at a time when Iraq, like all other Muslim countries, was based on religion, and religious leaders and conservatives controlled society. He made most dangerous demands, such as for the emancipation of women, socialism, and religious reform, when most of his contemporary poets were devoting their poetry to the praise of their rulers, to the glorification of the prophet and al-Husayn, or to personal Hijā‘, Wasf, or Nasīb.

Wasf, i‘z, R., 85
2. D.1., 120
3. D.1., 165
4. D.1., 332
5. D.1., 450
6. D.2., 276
7. D.1., 296
For this reason I have made truth the focus of my aims, and I have revealed secret matters for its sake.

And I have stripped my poetry of hypocrisy, and I have dressed it only in true ideas.

There is no use in reciting poetry unless it reveals the truth.

I am not one of those who believe that it is good that truth should be kept concealed.

Accordingly, he tried to express his ideas freely regardless of the consequences and, indeed, he displayed considerable bravery in his efforts for the public good.

My soul will not allow me to be deceitful in order to gain for myself an advantage or in order to ward
off harm.

Weakness is nothing but concealing something, when nobility requires me to reveal it.

In all circumstances he tried to reveal the truth and was very proud of his reputation for doing so.

I have accustomed myself to recite disciplined poetry, and I have put myself far above lying in it.

Because of my love for truth I have not been with the deceiver time in its changing.

Even when he was without work and in very bad circumstances he did not change this principle and he continued to attack the rulers and religious leaders.

He deeply believed that a person should freely express his thoughts and ideas, without regard to those of others, since he is free and should act for what is good and right.
A free man is one who breaks through traditions, following the right way, even though he may go against the beliefs of everyone else.

And when people ignorantly abandon the truth he sets up its flags among them.

أحَرْيَتِي اني اتخذت كِتَابَكَ قُلْلاً وأمسك منبها الركن مستسلمًا له

O my freedom, I made you my Qibla; I turn my face to you ten times a day.

And I hold your corner, devoting myself to you and in your corner, instead of the stone I have reason.

Because he was frank, he did not join any political party either during the period of Ottoman rule or during that of national rule. He wished to express his thought freely without the restriction of a party or group. He also believed that most of the political parties were working for their personal benefit rather than for the country's good. For example in the following verses he expresses his opinion of the two parties, al-Ittihat, al-I'tilafr.

أقول وليسو وقوم قولون
قد اختلفت البرية و اختلتنا
فلا تغررك أحزاب شاكدا

بياناً للحقيقة واعتراضًا
فكنّا نحن أسوها اختلافنا
بأني لهم أقفاً ولا لطافًا

I shall explain and acknowledge the truth, even though what I say displeases the people:

That mankind everywhere has disagreed and we have disagreed too, but we have become the worst in disagreement.

Do not be misled by strong parties because they have fine words.

People in their hearts are greedy, though they appear outwardly honest.

They have disagreed, not for any good purpose, but in order that the strong among them may devour the weak.

His love for freedom of speech perhaps influenced by his early religious studies in al-Ālusī's school which held more liberal attitudes than the orthodox religious. He was also influenced by the movements of al-Afghānī and ʿAbduh. In addition, he was influenced indirectly by the new western currents and their liberal ideas through Turkish literature and the Egyptian and Syrian papers.

Al-Rusāfī was very proud of his personality, his knowledge, and his poetical skill. He, was therefore ambitious of obtaining a better life and a position of respect to himself.

He was unable to achieve his ambition, however, since by his outspokenness he made himself unpopular with the civil and religious authorities.
Being deprived of material success, he had to content himself with the quest for glory as a poet.

ヴェルステロキー：アイニ・アマム・グンニ

I do not care that I have no fortune, since my luck in glory is not unsuccessful.

He believed also that a man should seek this glory everywhere, travelling in all countries for its sake. During his life he travelled to Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt with this goal.

وسافرت في البلاد طولا مشرقا أروم العلم فيها وطوا مغربا

I have travelled in many countries seeking glory, sometimes in the East and sometimes in the West.

When his wife criticised him for travelling continuously, he said:

وأدعها رزقًا في الحاجز وأما سافر إليه البين عنى مسافر وقلت لها اني اموثلي لبنانية تعودت أن لا أستني الى المنى وأني أغي اليوم الذي هو ملغي

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The daughter of the people says, blaming me, with tears glistening in her eyes:

How long will you find separation from me in travelling? Do you not enjoy life without travelling?

I told her that I am a man who has an object whose limit is suspended with the shining stars.

I have become accustomed to not yielding to destiny, and to not appearing only as a rebel.

To dispelling the sorrow that disturbs me by crossing deserts or rushing into obscurities.

He answered his mother's criticism as follows:

٢١٦٦ -١٦٧

O mother, be patient because your son has a resolve aiming and racing towards greatness.

Baghdad became too small to contain it and after Baghdad so did Damascus.

In his poetry he tried continually to urge the people to become ambitious and to achieve glory.
We are Arabs, who refuse anything except honour, seeking loftiness in this life.

Seek glory adventurously when you try to obtain its marrow.

No one can obtain glory except one who takes risks in seeking it.

Do not despair if you try to get a rank in which both glory and respect flutter upon you.

The qualities by which life becomes exalted are resolution, determination, bravery and daring.

He was ambitious also for Iraq, in many ways this ambition was more important to him than his personal ambition.
I am imbued with the love of a country in which
I have grown up only in order to defend it from
every enemy.

I have loved it sincerely, so that because of this
love I forgot my family, my loved ones, and my friends.

O country, in which I do not live at ease, live
after my death meekly and happily.

The happiness of everyone in you is important to
me, and all your sons who are against me are my brothers.

If time, one day, pleases you, it will please me,
and if it harms you with troubles, it will harm me.

What does it matter to me if everyone despises me,
provided that you are dignified and honourable.

There is no advantage in my having respect and
honour, if you have no honour and power.

I swore, when I first reached puberty in my country,
that I would not requite its favours with ingratitude.

And that I would be the first to help and support
it in gaining victory.
He always suffered because Iraq was not as advanced as those countries which he visited. He hoped to see his own country progress no less than Lebanon, Turkey, Egypt, or Syria.

Countries in every land smiled, while Iraq remained frowning.

It is because of the indolence of its inhabitants that calamities oppress it.

Alas for Baghdad, for she has been deprived of a share of development.

I will weep for her, and then I shall try to move others to weep for her, if my own tears dry up.

He felt that love of country should be totally disinterested:

This country is a mother; we should serve her faithfully.

If we serve, we do not want a reward; how could a reward be asked from a mother?
He lived unhappily in his own country, but he did not emigrate from it like others, because he believed:

I believe that the emigration of men from their country is something which disgraces those countries. To lose the beloved country is a crime which is unpardonable by time.

He tried to emigrate to Beirut in 1922, but he found that he could not stay there more than a few months.

His great interest in achieving his own ambition did not lead him to humiliate himself. His dignity was more important than that. He preferred to live troubled and needy rather than to bear the insults and the humiliation that were the price of success.

I prevented my soul assuming a rank in life other than that which is built on honour.

I do not seek a comfortable life through humiliation, even if I would live on Ful Mudammus.
in honour.

If my purity and integrity smile on me, I
do not care if time frowns.

العـُـز أعظم للإنسان من شيع
والذل أقتل من جموع لجوعان
فالذل يقتل نفسه بينما الحدب يقتل منه جسمه الثاني

Dignity is more important to a human being
than fullness, and humiliation is more deadly than
hunger to the hungry.

For humiliation kills his immortal soul
while hunger kills his mortal body.

His dignity caused him many problems with his friends in
his daily life. He would immediately break off his friendship with
his friends if he thought that they try to insult him.

ово أُورت قلبي حبـي باقي
أراد انقيادى للهوان وزر
دري حسن صعب قيادـي
أبيت عليها أن تكون سائدة

How often have I filled my heart with love of a
brother and committed a crime against my heart with this
love.

He tried to guide me to humiliation, but he did
not know that I am a free spirit hard to guide.
If the rain of my sky pours down humiliation, I refuse to regard it as my sky.

During his life he tried not to complain of his troubles except to his close friends. A verse from his poem *Tījah al-Rāhānī*, written to his friend Amin al-Rāhānī states this.

اِنَّ لَآ نُقَرَبَ اِبْنَهُمْ لَا لَقَدْ تَدْرِ على تَحْمِيلهَ

I disdain to reveal my secret except to one who is worthy of that.

For example, in 1926 he was totally without work or income. He could have flattered the King or the British authorities and obtained recognition, as many poets did, but because of his dignity and integrity he remained opposed to them, and he tried to leave Iraq rather than to suffer humiliation. In the last few years of his life, he exiled himself to preserve his pride and dignity. He lived in a small town outside Baghdad away from social and political life.

As a result of his troubled life and his continual problems, he lost faith in life and regarded it as being beset with evil on all sides.

كَدَرُ المَوارِدِ اَنَّ صَفاً لَكْ شَرِبٌ

وطَنَّ حُبَيْكَ لِلْكَئِفَاءِ اَرْتِقَبْ

كَلَّ الْاَسْمَآءِ لِلَّذِيَةُ مُظْنَةً

حِتْى السَّمَاوَاتِ تَدْبِبِيَهَا العَقْبَ
Accustom your life to calamities and expect watering places to become muddy, even if the water appears pure.

Harm lurks in every place, even the sky, for the scorpion creeps through it.

This black view of life was caused not only by his own circumstances but also by the environment in which he lived and the tragedies that constantly occurred a result of disease, hunger, floods, and civil and international wars.

May God shame a world whose people are every day destroyed by the downfall of fortresses and thrones!

Life's arrows are shot aimlessly in it, while death's arrows never miss the mark.

By your life, the calamities of destiny are boiling, and the noise of people's screaming is their bubbling.

It is as though the armies of death feel sorry for us, for armies of us march to the wars.

He who considers the world will see that
both cribs and biers are the same.

In the last year of his life, he welcomed approaching death.

فلوكط في هذا الوجود مخيباً وفي عدي لااختره غير نام

1,400

If I had free choice between this existence and death, I would choose death without regret.

His disillusionment with life did not, however, lead him into complete pessimism or cynicism. He encouraged people to believe that although there was little hope of their avoiding calamity, there was none without effort on their part.

 ومن غاور الأيام غير مدجج ومن لم يهين صرف الزمان برحلة

تهن صر浓缩 الدم في عقر داره

1,103

One who attacks the days without being fully armed should not expect booty from his raid.

And one who does not scorn the vicissitudes of time by travelling will be scorned by them in his own house.

His discontent with life was perhaps discontent with a large number of the people with whom he came in contact and whose standards of morality fell below his expectations. He particularly disliked
the deterioration that he saw round him in the period after the First World War, when many apparently stable things were being challenged and overturned, not for the benefit of the people as a whole, but for the benefit of parvenus. This is expressed, for instance, in his elegy for Al-Alusî (1857-1924), Fâ Mawqif al-Asâ.

You have left us on a day which the events destiny's changed us for the worse,

So that the tail of the people advanced and became a head, and the head went to the tail.

And he who used to drink disturbed water from cans, came to drink wine from a golden cup.
So go, you have escaped, may God preserve you, from a time which one who lives in it calls misery and battle.

In which the truth becomes burdensome to its hearer's ear, and the echoing of lies enrapts the people.

And good has perished; the seeker of it cannot find it except in books.

Regarding men, the fire of evil is burning among them, and they either blow it or gather fuel.

Their deeds are neither seriousness nor play, but trickery between seriousness and play.

If you sit with them in their assembly you will find them loudly quarrelling with each other.

The most lofty literary work amongst them is that which is outside the rules of literature.

They rejoice in a man's insulting his friends, as though insults are an invitation to pleasure.

They enjoy the people's abuse as a mangy beast enjoys scratching.

They are not angry about widespread falsehood, as though they were not made of sinew.

Their faces are not damp (with shame) at disgraceful acts, as though they were carved out of wood.

His general feeling about the people in authority at this time is perhaps best summed up in his poem on the death of al-Kâzîmî.
I tried them until both their abuse and their praise became the same to me.

People are seduced by their evil desires; everything they do is error and hypocrisy.

He greatly resented the attitude of the religious leaders, who continually accused him of unbelief, and who had, in the earlier period of his life, had him imprisoned and asked for him to be put to death.

The people ignorantly charged me with apostasy, and they said that I had a dreadful doubt.

0. people, I shall die, then you will be disappointed.

Who of you has split open my heart? and have my secrets been revealed to you?

I shall stand with you before God when
Hearts reach their throats.

My strong belief that God knows and sees everything will save me from your evil slander.

How bad are the men of religion, in not revealing what they think in it.

They use it according to their desires, as though it is just a tool to them.

So, if you follow the path of reform you are suspected of disbelief by them.

And if you clash with traditions that you dislike, in their eyes you clash with religion.

And if you produce a proof which renders them helpless, they cannot answer, but abuse you because they are helpless.

And if you tell them something in order to convince them, they attack you and refute you before they understand.

Human beings are like the darkness of the night;
he who sees them says: by the like of these nations are ruined.

The main reason for his being accused of unbelief was his outspokenness, for example:

أَرَانَا أَذَا رَمَيْتُهُم حَقًا ١َ١ ١
عَزَّتُهُم مَعَازِلَهُم فِيهَا إِلَى الْكَفِّ١٥١

I see that if we try to reveal truth, we are charged, may God preserve us, with disbelief.

أَضْمَنَّه مَعَنٍّ الْحَقُّ عَارِبًا ١٤٢
فَخَسَّهُ جِيَالَهُ مَنْطَقَةً هُجْرًا ١٣١٠
وِهِلَّهُ النَّاَوِي عَلَى غِير وَجِهٍ ١٤٣
فِوْسُعِيْنِي شَما وِينْظُرِي شَمْرًا ١٣١٠

I fill it (poetry) with truth openly; so those who do not understand it regard it as obscenity.

And the ignorant one explains it wrongly, and so he loads me with abuse and looks askance at me.

In fact, until the twenties, al-Fuṣūrī was a strong orthodox muslim. He supported the Turks in the First World War, and was still pro-Turkish even after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire; other poets, such as Shawqī, Ḥāfīz Ibrāhīm, and al-Zahwī lost their enthusiasm for Islam and praised the forces of occupation; al-Zahwī going so far in his support for
the British authorities that he became known as Sha‘ir al-Ingiliz.

Al-Ruṣāfī’s strong belief in Islam, however, was shaken during the twentysies by his contact with new currents of Western scientific and philosophical thought.

In youth I learned truths in religion which are difficult to be understood by the mind.

Then the time of youth passed, with its rashness, and I found that these truths are all just fancies.

I am not of those who believe that there is good in hiding the truth.

And not of those who believe that religions come from an inspiration vouchsafed to the prophets.

But they are created and invented by wise people of great ability.

1. Al-Jubūrī, ‘A., 199
His scientific knowledge of the universe caused him to doubt the physical truths of the afterlife.

I am not of those who imagine that the spirit rises to the sky,

Because the earth is swimming in space, and that sky is nothing except space.

And I am not of those who pray and fast for the good reward that they have been promised.

And I am not of those who think that God reward prayers with beautiful Houris.

I believe that there is an unseen connection between the spirit and the body.

So no body can exist without spirit, and no
spirit can exist without body.

I do not believe that the spirit remains when the body is obliterated.

But perhaps it remains, but without consciousness.

And it did not descent from the sky, but God created it from the earth.

This questioning of the tenets of Islam, which became common among the Arab intelligentsia in this period was not of course a new phenomenon. Ibn Sīna, Ibn al-Shīb al-Baghdādī, and Abū 'l-‘Alā' al-Ma'arrī, among others, had all expressed their various doubts in the past. The new wave of doubt and questioning was a natural result of sudden exposure to new ways of thought and of the confusion produced by a World War.

Al-Rusāfī did not, for all his doubts, completely abandon his faith. In his poem Law, he implied that the spiritual feeling that underlies all religions may remain, even if the dogmas of the individual religions change and disappear.

4 4 4 4

1. See Khān, A.M., 25
If the mind of a man defeats his love for his soul, he does not resort to religion. Were it not for the fatal inflexibility of their holy laws, religions would change with the change of the times.
CHAPTER TWO

POETICAL PHILOSOPHY
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POETICAL PHILOSOPHY

Introduction

During the nineteenth century, poets in Iraq continued to imitate classical models, Šāliḥ al-Tamīmī (1761-1832) 1, ʻAbd al-Baqa’ī al-Umarī (1774-1849) 2, and ʻAbd al-Qhaṭār al-Aḥrasr (1792-1862) 3 were the principal poets of this classical period.

At the close of the nineteenth century, a new genre of poetry appeared in the south, known as al-Adab al-Husaynī or al-Adab al-ʻAlawi. This was a simple and emotional type of poetry which used the subject of the Tragedy of al-Husayn to inspire both religious and revolutionary political enthusiasm 4. In the same period another kind of poetry appeared, known as al-Shi‘r al-Sufī. This was highly encouraged by the Ottoman court for it was a kind of religious poetry which might serve to distract the people from demanding political and social rights 5. Kāẓim al-Uzari, ʻHayder al-Hillī, Ḥasan al-Bazzāz, and Muḥammad Sa‘īd al-ḥabbūbī, were the principal poets of this period.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, social and political poetry appeared. This was a result of the new liberal thoughts which had been encouraged by the new government of Union and Progress, the cultural advance in education, art, press and publishing,

1. Al-Tamīmī, S., Diwan
2. Al-Umarī, A.B., Diwan
3. Al-Aḥrasr, A. Qh. Diwan
5. Lazim, ‘A.T., 19
and the close connection with the West. Al-Âlusî school in Baghdad
and al-Najaf school in the south were most prominent in propagating
these ¹. Poets directed their interest to national and social matters
trying to lead their people towards progress. Jamîl Šidqi al-Zahawî,
(1863-1936) and Ma‘rûf al-Ruṣâfî (1875-1945) were the principal poets
of this cultural period.

During the thirties, new literary currents appeared, trying
to popularise free verse, influenced by western movements and modern
Egyptian schools; al-Dîwân and Apollo ². Generally this was
neglected in Iraq, and poets maintained the classical form of a poem.

1. Al-Shibîbî, M.R. Al-Hilal (1942), 122
2. See al-Zubaidî, A.M.K. 5., 17
SECTION 1. POETICAL OBJECTIVES

Al-Ruṣafī was one of those few Arabic poets who believed that art has a goal. He was an opponent of the art for arts sake creed, which was held by the majority of poets of the time. He believed that the real function of literature in any nation is to illustrate the ideal principle to the new generation, to awaken the national consciousness, and to impel opinion towards advance. To him literature, chiefly poetry, was most potent force in life, it was the ultimate touch which had great ability to reassure, heal, stimulate, and embolden man's spirit. He maintained that a poet has an obligation to his society and must concern himself with contemporary socio-political events. He rejected the new creed held by the al-Dīwan school, headed by al-ʾAqqād, al-Māzīnī and Shukrī, which said it was not the task of a poet to stir up the enthusiasm of the masses believing that poetry had its own special way of uplifting the life of the nation, a way different from that of the politician and social reformer. The poet in their eyes was one who taught men to love beauty; this beauty would incline their feelings towards freedom and advance. Al-Ruṣafī deeply involved his poetry in the social, economical, and political affairs of his time. He was the Arabic poet who most discussed social diseases and advocated political reform.

1. Amīn, A., Fayḍ al-Khāṭir. 7, 213
2. See al-Zubaidī, A.M.K., 1, 36
3. Semah, D., 11
4. Semah, D., 11
A. Ideal Poet

According to his belief that art has a noble goal, he regarded the ideal poet as one who guides his nation towards advance and progress, not a poet who seeks an artistic goal.

Poetry should be an advice, stimulating the indolent one and awakening the conservative one.

The master of a nation is not one who is a poet, but one who is a guide,

Who teaches them how they may progress upwards on which road they should seek glory.

The ideal poet in his eye, is before all else an inspired counsellor seeking in his poetry human welfare.

What is the advantage of my poetry if I do not seek by it the people's welfare?

I am not seeking by my poetry any reward, but to
give the people advice is my main goal.

He did not seek any personal advantage or aspire to material gain by his poetry. Only natural feeling inspired him and he was therefore far removed from panegyric and satire.

I have left panegyric to its people, and I have placed my poetry free satire.

In his opinion the real poet, who wants to enlighten his nation sincerely, is one who makes his poetry very clear, easily to be understood by common people.

When I want to advise, I advise clearly, obscure language is not one of my characteristics.

He also believed that the ideal poet is the one who reflects the spirit of the time by giving a true picture of his society with all its social, political, and literary development in a fresh manner.
The best poetry is that which its composer
decorates with the spirit of the time, not that which
is empty of it.

The most beautiful poetry is original poetry,
because there is no beauty in poetry which is not
original.

His poetry was a complete record of the intellectual
developments, social changes, and political events of the time in
Iraq particularly and in the Muslim world generally. From the first
stage of his career he dedicated his poetry to his nation's welfare.
In his will he emphasised this fact, as he says:

"I did not seek my own benefit from anything that
I wrote, either prose or poetry, but rather that of my
society, the society in which I lived, and that of my
people, the people among whom I lived. Therefore, I
was unfortunate in my life and obtained no prosperity or
happiness.".

1. 'Ali, M. Al-Rusafi, 43
B. Meaning and Word

Since the Abbásid period, many books had been written discussing which was more important in poetry, words or meanings, such as al-Muwazna by al-Ámídi, al-Yatíma by al-Thálibí, Akbár Abí Tammam by al-Súlí, al-Sinaíyatán by al-'Askarí and Dalâ'il al-Íjaz by al-Jurjání. Some of these critics regarded artistic excellence as consisting in beautiful, brilliant, and selected wording such as al-'Askarí and al-Ámídi. Some of these regarded artistic excellence as consisting in clear meanings and simple words, believing that words should follow meanings, and that the function of words come to an end as soon as they had made clear the meaning, such as al-Jurjání, al-Súlí and al-Jabíz. According to Ibn Rashíq, the Arabs regarded the following verses of Abu al-Átháhiyya as unequalled for their easiness, clearness and comeliness.

1. Amín, A. Al-Naqd al-Ádabí. 2, 445
2. Cantarino, V., 107
3. Al-Jabíz, A. Al-Bayán wa'l-Tabýín. 1, 76
4. Al-Qayrawání, R., 1, 105
The real function of a poet, in al-Ruṣāfī's opinion, is to transfer his feeling and thought to his audience without any difficulties to prevent them understanding. He, therefore, gave great heed to meaning rather than words.

I am not a poet who releases words at random in order to play upon them.

I desire only words that flow easily and smoothly,

Because my goal in poetry is a clear meaning which does not confuse the intelligent.

While most Iraqi poets, as well as most other Arab poets, during that time, paid great attention to words ¹, trying to copy the ancient Arabic poetry in using ornamental and obscure expressions, he tried to be far removed from this kind of poetry. He could not attain his poetic goal of his poetry except with easy meaning and clear expressions, even if this compelled him to break the rules of grammar.

¹ Amin, A. Fayḍ al-Khāṭir. 2, 244
Abandon sajā in your speech, and do not say anything except naturally.

If I deliver a saying, listen to it, otherwise what is the advantage of my continual saying?

Because when I cause the sun of a truth to rise for a listener, I want it to set in his hearing.

And after he understands what I have said, I do not care whether I followed the rules of grammar or not.

His interest in clear meanings does not mean that he completely neglected the words. But he regarded the meanings as the spirit and the words as the body, and tried to combine them.

I have made my words well-matched with my thoughts, free from pleonasm, and full of examples.

I put strip the true meaning naked and I dress it in words cut from pearl.
This quality in poetry according to Ibn Rashīq ¹, al-Jāhiz ², and Ibn Qutayba ³, was regarded by the Arabs formerly as that which artistic excellence required, and he therefore was very proud of this quality in his poetry. This is also expressed by him in his last poem, which was published after his death.

Words and thoughts are well-matched, and are in it, like flowers in the garden, spreading perfume.

1. Al-Qayrawānī, R., 1, 103 - 104
2. Al-Jāhiz A., Al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyin. 1, 115
3. Ibn Qutayba, A., 35
4. Al-Hilāl (1945) 2, 273 - 274
According to al-Maghribî, the great Syrian philologist, al-Ruṣāfî used as few obscure words as most other poets of his generation used plain words, and al-Ruṣāfî used them on purpose in order to enlarge the vocabulary of the Arabic language on which he was a great authority. For example he used some words in an unusual sense such as ألفان which means "Zebra", used it as "artist".

\[
\text{أما الصور فهو ألفان يرى ما كان من صور الحياة دقيقاً}
\]

1,233

He used يغشى which means "Fabricate" for "bring".

\[
\text{وقد يغشى الجبال الغضائل للورى وليس لهم مما افتراء نصيب}
\]

1,14

He used راع which means "frighten" or "delight" for "coloured".

\[
\text{بتدت كالشم يحضنها الغروب فتحاة راع نضرتها الشحوب}
\]

1,154

Within his poems in which he tried to imitate the classical.

1. Al-Maghribî, 'A.2, 16
models, he used also some obscure words which perhaps are obscure only
to the ordinary reader, such as:

لا إذا مخضوا أراهم ظهرت للناس زبدتها نايا وتخبيسا

means "weakness" and تخبيسا means "deceit"

أنا شئت أن تسري بكفاءة الصور، يدوي بقطريها هزيم الرواعد

means "dry desert"

وأصبع ماأثور المكار في الورى بريك إذا يلقاك وجه فات حسن

means "arrogant"

اذا جميش البحر النسيم تهتت أسارير فيها للضياء وثوب

means "titillate"
حتى اطمئنت قلب الناس هادئة وكان قلب لك من غيظة نازٍ

2,286

ان التدح من عجب ومن أشٍير والمر في الحجب متوت في الأسر

1,456

أشٍير means "dissatisfaction".

أَسْتَتِكَبَدَ من فِئٍ أَلْمُ بِهَا

أَلَمَ عيش يشيع الطعم مَذْرِيج

ظُمٍان يشكو آلل حرقة اللوّوح

1,593

المَدُروّح means "poisoned", المَلَح means "mirage" and المَشْرِيق means "thirst".

وراح بعذ الفصل يجمع شمله

وراح بين القَنْب يجمع والحب

2,198

السَّيْور means "whale".
B.2. Repetitions

He appears to have had certain favourite expressions, which he used a number of times. For example he used 

 воспоминания

in his poems and بعد بينه وبينه

ذكري فتى السعدون

أني عادم الغنسي

لا كان جد في العلي غير عاشو

قلست أبالي بعد أن جد بينهم

وزجرت كابا أم قحت سباعا

والننا نبالي دون احيا مجدنا

أُعشنا على وجه البسيطة أم مننا

2,811

He used in his poems والدائم والنقيره، والجريان، وال Spinner في مندى التهذيب، والجريدة

الروضه الموضع يمنى بينهما، máy قرار

خلال على مرّ الجددتين لم تزل

1,136

جدال على مرّ الجددتين دائم

1,622
He used the phrase in his poem and the phrase in his poem. He used the phrase in his poem and the phrase in his poem.
In his poems

He used

in his poems

He used
He used Sطرين للدموع in his poem ميتة البطل الأكبر and واشخاء Sطرين للدموع في الخدين قدسطرا جلت العراقيين خدي ناكل وهمسًا Sطرين للدموع في خديه قد سألًا.

In his poems السجابة فوق العلم فوق العلم في معرض السيف he used تمسخ الأمام والجزر كالجبل في الأزرق تأطسم داعًا تمسية أو تمسخ الأمام.
He used 

\( \text{in his poems} \)

and

\( \text{in Baghdad} \)

\( \text{and} \)

the themes in the poems of his modern style.

They were written in the \( \text{city of Baghdad} \) and in the modern style.

I, 28, 371

I, 1, 128

I, 2, 336
B.3. Influences and Quotations

There are many reminiscences of, and quotations from earlier poets in his Dīwān. Some examples are:

In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

وَأَصَبَّ قَلِيلٌ وَهُوَ كَالشَّعْرَاءُ لَمْ يَدْعِ "لَهُ شِعْرَاءَ الْقَرْمُ مِنْ مَرْدِ م"

1, 111

Of 'Antara Ibn Shaddād:

هل غادر الشُّعْرَاءُ مِنْ مَرْدِ م أَمْ هَلْ عَرِيتَ الدَّارِ بِعَدَدٍ تَوَهَّمَ

1

In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

وجَعَّلَ عَلَيْهَا للشُّحُوب مَلَامِح "تَلْحُقُٰ كِتَابُ الوَشْمِ فِي ظَاهِرِ الْبَدِّ"

1, 126

Of Tarafa. b. 'Abd:

لَحُوَّلَةً أَطْلَالَ بِبَرَقَةٍ تَعْمَسَدَ "تَلْحُقُٰ كِتَابُ الوَشْمِ فِي ظَاهِرِ الْبَدِّ"

1. 'Antara Ibn Shaddād., 166
In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

أفعالهم لم تكن جددا ولا لعبا
لكن تراوح بين الجد واللعب

2, 29

Cf Abī Tamânān:

السيف أصدق أنباء من الكتب
في حدد الحد بين الجد واللعب

2

In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

وأضرب في البلاد بغير مكتبت
أجوب من المهمة ما أجوب

1, 396

Cf al-Buhturi:

كيف سبيت من تحوتات
فجوب من الغافلين ما نجوب

3

1. Tarafa.b. Abd., 31
2. Abū Tamām .H.1., 45
3. Al-Buhturi .A.A.1., 26
In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

ان الصعوق فيها السيف للعلم

2,364

Cf al-Mutanabbi:

الجد للسيف ليس الجد للعلم

1

In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

وللمصر من دنياه ما يتعود

1,213

Cf al-Mutanabbi:

وعادة سيف الدولة الفتلك بالعدا

2

In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

1. Al-Mutanabbi, A., 497
2. Al-Mutanabbi, A., 370
In his poem al-Rusafi says:

\[
\text{كَتَبَ كَانَ الْدِّحْرَ لَمْ يَلْقِ غِيَرَهُ أَنَّهَا مَارَى كَرُوا رُؤِيَ مَتَنَّا}
\]

1,563

Cf. al-Mutanabi:

\[
\text{رَفِئُ الْدِّحْرِ بَالْأَرْزَعِ حَتَّى نَبِسُ الْتَّلَكُّرُ النِّسَالُ عَلَى النِّسَالَ}
\]

2

In his poem al-Rusafi says:

1. Al-Mutanabi, A., 326
2. Al-Mutanabi, A., 265
In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

"ليسع النطق ان لم تسعد الحال
ومن تلك الحال فيها لا تسعد ه

Cf al-Mutanabbi:

لا خيل عندك تهديها ولا مسأل
"ليسع النطق ان لم تسعد الحال

Cf al-Mutanabbi:

In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

فتع الحياة أحق من أن يستفز القلوب بالاحقاند

1. Al-Mutanabbi, A., 571
2. Al-Mutanabbi, A., 486
In his poem, al-Rūṣāfī says:

ألا أبلغ (أبو هاشم) عن همغيلة

In his poem, al-Rūṣāfī says:

رَقيَةُ الصَّرٌعِ، قَنَّا أَمَامُهُمْ نَمْ نَقِنَلِمُ

Cf Hassan Ibn Thābit:

ألا أبلغ أبي سفيان عن همغيلة

1. Al-Mutanabbi, A., 474
2. Al-Hilāl (1945), 2,274
3. Hassan Ibn Thābit., 18
Cf 'Antara Ibn Shaddad:

كُنْ مِلَأْكَ بَيْنَ أَمْيَةٍ وَأَمْيَةٍ
أَيُّهَا السَّمَوَاتُ لَا أَقْتَل

In his poem السجن في بغداد, al-Ru'afi says:

وَقَدْ كَانَ عِنْدَ أَوَّادِهِمْ غَيْرَ مَيْمُوس

Cf al-Tughra’i:

تَقَمْنَا قُوْمٌ فَأَعْبَدْنَاهُمْ شَوَاطِهٌ

In his poem حكومة الاستداب, al-Ru'afi says:

أَنَا بِالحُكْمَةِ وَالسَّيَاسَةِ أَعْرَفُ

Cf al-Ma‘arrī:

1. 'Antara Ibn Shaddād. Kitāb 'Antara bin Shaddād, 1., 98
2. Al-Tughra’i. H., 21
In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

أَشْكُوا لِلَّهِ قَبْلاً لا يُطَّلَعُنَّ

أَلَا أَكُونُ عَلَى الأَوَّلَانِ غَيْرَانَا

In his poem the poet al-Maʿarrī says:

الله أَشْكُوُّ مِجْهَةٍ لَا تُطَيْعِنِي

وَعَالَمُ سَوَءٌ لَيْسَ فِيهِ رَشِيدٌ

Cf al-Maʿarrī:

لَا لَانِي أَرَاهُ فِي مَعَمَارَتِهِ

لِيِّنَ فِي هَذِهِ الْهَيَاتِ السَّيَاسِيَّة

Cf al-Maʿarrī:

1. Al-Maʿarrī, A.A., 1, 445
2. Al-Maʿarrī, A.A., 1, 317
In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

و ما الوباء الا بيت الشعر عوضه مصائب لكن ضيه حفرة القبر

1,17

Cf al-Maʿarrī:

و أعمارنا بيت شعر كأنهنا أواخرها للجيشين توافقى

2

In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

للله در رمالموت من خطة فيها استوى ذوالعي والصقع

1,65

Cf Abū Nuwas:

للله در رمالموت من خطة فيها استوى الأحق والداهي

1. Al-Maʿarrī, AʿA., 2, 35
2. Al-Maʿarrī, AʿA., 2, 161
In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

في معرض السيف

In his poem al-Ruṣāfī says:

1. Abu Nuwās, H. 2., 169
2. Al-Buḥtūrī, A. 1., 23
3. Al-Tughrā‘ī, H., 19
In his poem al-Ruṣafī says:

لولا يبد شدة لسانى بنعمة  

2, 255

Cf 'Abd Yaghūth al-Ḥarīthī:

أقول وقد شدّوا لسانى بنعمة  

1

1. See al-Bayān wa ʾl-Tabyīn 40, 45
B.4. Rhetorical Devices

Although al-Ruṣāfī tried to keep his poetry free from stylistic devices and wordplay, there are some of them in his poetry; they occur, however, in his occasional, psychological and descriptive poetry, not in the more important part of his work. For example he used the Tibāq "antithesis".

وادي جبان ففي فراق أحتني
وانت في غير الفراق شجاعا

1,357

ليبوت اذا ماعبست في ممامة
تبيس الدنيا تبيس ناصر

1,226

و ما كان حظي وهو في الشعر ضانك
ليظهر الا في سوى الشعر بايكنا

1,348

He sometimes produces the Jinās "pun":

قف بالديار الدارسات وحيها
وأتر السلام علي جآذر حياتها

1,733

حيبا in the first hemistich means greet her and in the second means her quarter.
in the first half of the verse is the name of a person, and in the second means "my thanks".

In the following verses he used al-Taṣdīr which, according to Ibn al-Mu‘tazz ¹ is of three kinds. First, the first word in the verse is from the same root as the last word in it:

Second, the last word of the first hemistich is like the last word of the verse:

Third, the last word in the verse is like some other word in it:

He also used al-Muqābala al-Badi‘iyya;

In the following verses he used al-Muqarrā‘a, which means that the last word of the first half of the verse rhymes with the last word of the second half of the verse:
ورأتك فافتنت بك المذال

2,617

أوماءالذك هذه التكبيرات

بغداد حسبك ردة وسماوات

1,304

سعت شعاعاً للمندليب

تلاه فوق الخص الرطيب

لم تهؤلا حسن الطبيع

أحسن بذلك الحسن البديع

1,675
B.5. Use of Badi‘

The classical Arab poets confined themselves rigidly to a certain canon of metaphor, simile and other figures of speech from which was regarded as a grave literary fault. 

1. Badi‘ bin Burd, (d. 167), Abu Nuwas (145-199), Abu Tammam (188-231) and Ibn al-Rumay (221-284) introduced novelties Badi‘ into their poetry, and were severely criticised for doing so. This Badi‘, however, fell again into disuse, and were to revert to the Badi‘ of the Abbasid period. As contact with the West increased, Arab poets imitated what they found in Western poetry. Al-Ruṣafī was the first Iraqi poet to employ novel expressions of this kind. For example:

\[
\text{كم نشرب الظن فلا نرتوى ونأكل الحدس فلا نشبعه} \\
\text{غدا يتشم الحدث الحنانيا} \\
\text{أرى أنف الحواءد مشخزا} \\
\text{انما هذه الحياة جدرو ح} \\
\text{أنتختينا والموت شل الضماو} \\
\text{ولمن رام في سوق المعالي تجارة}
\]

1. Dayf, Sh., 195
2. Franke, F.K., 26
ومن نظر الدنيا وجب أن أهلها

وءي مرجل بالحاديث يجيء
فلسحفنا للحرب جيشون

قد يحسب الإنسان ما يقاله
والموت صغير، يسمع

لمكان للقسوة بين و tüد
رأته كانتعينها تدمع

وحل رؤى إلى الحياة نحو أبيه
فهاجيت به الأحزان فاغته

وبيت فيه الحياة نحوه
به ألق الأعيام أثقال بوسه

على بحره بالردى مطلاطم

جسرت سفن الأيام مشحونة بنسبا
**D. Proverbs and Sayings**

Al-Ruṣāfī's poetry is full of proverbs and sayings, as for example the following:

1. **وَكَنْ صَلِّيْا اذَا عَضُّتَكَ حَادِثَة**
2,366

2. **كَانَتْ مَنْفُعَهَا هِيِ النَّآتُهَا**
1,308

3. **بَالسِّعِي إِنَّ الْحَيَاةَ بِغِيْرِ سُعِيٍّ كَامِدَهُ**
1,463

4. **تَجِبَّزُ مِنَ الحَسنِ بِذَا أَنتَ قَادِرٌ عَلَىٰهُ وَلَا تَتَبَلُّ سَوَى العُقَلِ مَرْشَدًا**
1,219

5. **كَمَا هِيَ اذَا أُوَدَتْ بَعَادٌ وَجَرَهُمْ**
1,365

6. **فَلَا تَأْتِوا الْإِيْلَامَ اذَا صَرَفَهَا**
1,590
ولا تهطل الأوقات فهي بسواتر
تقطع أوصال الحياة شباهة
1,647

لا خير في العيش يغدو فيه صاحبه
وأنبه باحتلال الذل مزدوم
2,368

قد يطلب الحق طبياً فيطلسه
ما كل طالب حق نال مطلوس
1,265

كيف السعادة في الحياة وللدوّر
في قول كل ضغينة تتبيض
2,311

وإذا غضب قصيدة أفعاله
أعيه بالنسب الرفيع يهذوه ض
2,312

وما الكرم وان أودى بعدنون
ان اللهم دفين قبّل متيشه
2,324

لا تؤمنك أن الحفر محترم
عند الل كتاب وان الهد محترم وم
و ما يعيبك أن الدهر مهتنا
فالعقل يتهم الدهر المسي بذل
2,366
وأشق الورى نفسا وأضيعهم نسي

1,356

فالمريعتان وان الحلو يستر طا

2,273

لا تستهينوا بنا من ضعف قوتنا

فكم نسابقة غادآزعجت نصر

2,73
SECTION 2. MEANING OF POETRY

Al-Ruṣafī's idea of poetry is expressed in the following passage:

"Poetry is a silk dress inspired by thoughts and imagination, decorated with many kinds of inspiration, set with jewels of eloquence which only beautiful meanings are able to wear."

He believed with Ibn Rashīq that the Arabs originally created poetry in order to sing the praise of their awyām, wagā'ī and akhlāq. He, therefore, insisted that poetry should rhyme and scan regularly in order, to make it easier to sing.

الشعر فلَا تَفْضَّل الْمَصْرَحَةُ تَنْثَرُ الشِّهْدَةُ بِالْأَلْسَنَ المُوْسِيَّةَ

Poetry is an art, whose kinds always reflect the emotion through the tongues of music.

Because of his belief that Arabic poetry was a lyric poetry, he did not use the scattered poetry Shiʿr Muntūr which the East knew long before the West; the Arabs even regarded the holy Qur'ān as poetry and the prophet as a poet. To him this kind of poetry which was recently used for the first time in Iraq by al-Zahāwī, was a

1. Al-Ruṣafī, M., 103
2. Al-Shaʿrubāf, R., 371
3. Loghat el `Arab (1929) 5, 392
4. Loghat el `Arab (1927) 10, 577
"silent" poetry. That it is to say that it could not be sung.

Poetry, in his eyes, is a wide sea of meanings reflecting all kinds of vital features in life. It is a metrically rhythmical and rhymed discourse expressing all kinds of thought and impressions.

I do not limit poetry to words which can be arranged in verses as pearls are strung,

Because poetry is wider than a language restricted to the utterance of the tongue.

Poetry is everything that affects a man as wine affects the drinker,

And everything moves his emotion so that he becomes excited as a foal becomes excited in the meadow.

So, poetry is inspired by the cooing of a pigeon on a bush, who saddens the one who longs with her

1. Al-Rusafi, M., 101
And poetry is inspired by the hovering of a butterfly around flowers in a garden in which flowers smile.

And poetry is inspired by the tear of a lover by which he complains of what separation has done to his love.

Poetry is inspired by the glance of a beautiful damsel having a large languid eyes by which she captivate hearts.

Poetry is inspired by the wailing of a bereaved woman afflicted with the death of her child.

Poetry is inspired by the singing of a singer who now raises his voice and now lowers it.

Believing that poetry is a reflection of all facets of life, he rejected the view held by some of his contemporary writers, that poetry is restricted to a special subjects and it is unsuitable to express concrete topics. He believed that the ancient Arabic poetry dealt with many kinds of the concrete and abstract, religious and earthly, intellectual and superstitious, without losing its connection with the feelings and emotions.

During the twenties a new literary current appeared, known as al-Adab al-Baki. This was full of sad feeling. Some critics such as Amin al-Rihanî, attacked it believing that it may colour...
life with a black view and lead to disappointment, while others welcomed it, believing that there are many passions in life, the kinds which stir up sadness, and the kinds which stir up pleasure, and both are good in literature, though there values are different.

In al-Rūṣāfī's opinion, poetry is not restricted to joyful themes. Poetry is a tool with which a poet reflects his feelings, thoughts, and impressions whether sad or joyful. Even if poetry linked with singing, singing is not restricted only to joyful themes.

0 poet, whose songs enrapture life, how did you create a song which stirred my sorrows?

A poem, full of emotion, with which you healed an old wound in my heart, which had made me bleed.

Although it reminded me of my past sorrow, it consoled me for my present sorrows.

This is, by your life, a poem by which I have been delighted, although it stirred my sorrow and caused me to weep.

1. Haykal, H. Al-Hilāl (1933) 1, 21
2. Al-Rūṣāfī, M., 99
Poetry is also a treasure house of reason and wisdom, full of emotion and imagination by which a poet can obtain power and experience in life.

By your life, poetry is the sword of wisdom, and intellect is one of its kinds.

Poetry pleases me when I am dreary, and consoles my heart during its sorrow.

Its effusion takes the place of tears when destiny makes me weep by its vicissitudes.

I use it a mirror of wisdom in this life, and it shows me the image of its affairs.

So I can see the secrets of past time which have been hidden by the turning of its wheel over the age.

Poetry has an eye if I looked by the light of which at what is hidden I should see to the heart of it.

And it has an ear if I inclined which to one who is silent I should hear with it from him.
Poetry is also an integral part of the fine arts with which
life becomes less harsh, and which is a specific treatment for the
soul, relieving sorrow, solving complex difficulties, and causing
pain to subside.

If you desire an easy and gentle life, follow
art's way.

And make your life soft and comfortable by
poetry, the stage, painting, and music.

These desirable arts are those by means of life's
branch become luxuriant.

And it is they which polish souls and fill
faces with lustre and vitality.

And with their taste and difficulties the harsh
person becomes tender.

He believed that poetry was an instinctive gift and natural
power given only to the intelligent, clever, sensible, and talented
one, as many gifted Arab and Foreign poets believed 1.

1. Al-Hilāl (1938) 3, 338 - 339
Poetry is also an inspiration that comes like lightning and goes like lightning. A real and ideal poet, consequently, is one who composes his poems motivated by his own desire, not by that of others. This is well expressed in his poem Ila al-Jawahiri, written to his friend al-Jawahiri, who was asking him to return to his poetry which he had deserted in the last few years of his life.

Poetry is not a rope as you mentioned, but it is circling and wavering lightning.

Poetry is a lightning of circles, the first parts of which turn to connect with its last parts.

Because of this belief, he did not compose any poem unless he was fully committed to its subject, and consequently his poetry is
full of emotion and sentiment. When he was compelled to compose verses for some particular occasion they are weak and ineffective, for example, his elegies for Sharīf Ḥusayn ۱, King Faysal ۲, al-Khalīṣī ۳, al-Khalīḍi ۴.

Although, he was the one who says:

١٢٠ُ ١٢٠ُ ١٢٠ُ

The days want me to be fettered , while I want

to be in them, a innovator.

he did not change the form of the poem. He followed the traditional form, using the same rhyme and metre throughout poem. On the other hand, he gave importance to the unity of the poem instead of the inherited fashion which was to give importance to the unity of the verse. He had a very great ability to use a suitable rhyme according to his poem's objective. He was also able to use the most difficult rhymes which were unattainable to others, such as: ۱۲٠ُ ١۲٠ُ ١۲٠ُ

۱. D. ۱., ۸۹
۲. D. ۱., ۱۰۵
۳. D. ۱., ۳۸
۴. D. ۱., ۳۳
His poem was a complete unite in its ideas, objective, imagination, musical form, metre and rhyme, and in the logical succession of its verses. Notwithstanding, there are a few instances in his Diwan of his using more than one objective, rhyme and theme in the same poem.
SECTION 3. POETICAL MANNER

In his poetry he followed traditional poetry in form, using Arabic metre and rhyme, but he followed modern poetry in its poetical objective, clear meaning, the unity of the poem, and avoidance of rhetorical devices. Consequently, his poetical manner was a modern one distinguished by its clearness, easiness, eloquence, and expressiveness. Therefore, his poetical manner was regarded unequalled in modern Arabic literature and his poems were among those that circulated most in the Arab world. It is very easy to change any one of his poems into prose, without losing its eloquence and originality. He was very proud of this characteristic of his poetry.

وأرسلته نظماً بروق انسجامه في سم النصي لنشاهدهن

I have delivered it as a harmonious poetry, but one who listens to it may think that it is prose.

Generally, his poems begin without any introduction such as anasib, panegyric, or weeping for ruins, but there are rare poems of this kind in his Diwan, which begin with his own praise, like his poems, Fi Haflat Shawqi 1, Nahnu wa’l-Madi 2, Fi’l-Ma‘had al-Almi 3, Siyasa La Hamasa 4, and Fi Muntadā al-Tahdīb 5.

1. D.I., 379
2. D.I., 93
3. D.I., 212
4. D.I., 181
5. D.I., 217
In order to show his artistic greatness and literary skill, he tried in some poems to imitate the great ancient poets and to borrow their style and phraseology. For example, in the following verses of his narrative poem al-Sijin Fi Baghdad in which he imitated Tarafa b. 'Abd.

بلاد أتات الذل فيها يلكلك
معاهد عنها ضلل سابق عزها
أحاطت بها الأزاء من كل جانب
وحلق في أفقها الجور بازها

A country in which humiliation oppresses every strong and great man.
Places from which their previous glory strayed - can it find its way after straying?
Misfortunes surrounded it on every side, until they destroyed it, place after place.
Tyranny hovered around about it like a falcon, looking down on it, screaming threats.

In his poem Umm al-Tifl Fi Mashhad al-Harīq, he imitated the manner of ʿImrū al-Qays.
Why does this house look like ruins? Have its owners departed from it today?

Green mimose trees were verdant in it, but today there are neither mimosas nor ḏal trees.

What happened to it so it became scattered rubble-stones over which morning and evening alternate?

Did lightning destroy its buildings from above? or earthquake destroy it from below?

Fire broke out in it at night when it was built, and when morning came it was ruins.

In his poem *Umm al-Yatīm*, he imitated 'Antara Ibn Shaddād's masterpiece.
She assaulted my hearing at night with the
groaning of one in pain, and she threw my heart between
the teeth of a lion.

She passed the night continually groaning, and I
passed the night as if I had been bitten by a poisonous
snake.

Her voice was resounded in my heart as the ringing
of a dirham resounds in the heart of a poor man.

When she sent me a groan because of her pain, I
sent her a groan because of my compassion for her.

She sent the groaning at night as though she
cuts my heart by a sharp sword.

Her voice makes the heart tremble with grief when
it throbs in the depth of the silent night.

She reiterated it, while silence reigned in the
night, in a thin voice, obscure in the darkness.

As though night's stars when she trembles, listen
to her incoherent groan.

The star flickers for her, and the falling star is
nothing but its tears falling for her.

In his poem Ḥa al-Qazwīnī, he imitated producing a
faithful copy of a Classical Qasīda, which begins in the traditional
way:

-variable text-

1,733
Stop in these ruined dwellings and give them
my greetings for the women of their tribe.

He followed this with an asib:

والمنزل هل علمك بأنني
يا قلب أو هوى أسحب عند ماما
أجرب العدم مع عيون عضيبي
فكت ضعاف الحاظه بقوقة

1733-734

And ask these houses if they knew that love
of their beautiful girls had exhausted me?

O my heart, which passion struck you when you
were smitten by the glances of a girl of Thugal there?

A gazelle, if he shows a smile of longing, makes
even reluctant eyes shed tears.

He occupied hearts with his love and how often did
his weak glance destroy the strong ones there.

In the last few verses of this poem, he turned to his main
theme, a panegyric.

The same classical style is to be found in his poems, ماء
Hâkadha, Fi Layla Nabighyva, al-Jarâ'id, and Liman al-Diyâr. He did
not use it in the more important part of his poetry. His social and
political poems are empty of imitation.

Generally, his poetic manner differed according to the object
of his various poems and the intellectual level of his audiences.
His social poems are more expressive and effective than his descriptive poems; his descriptive poems are more eloquent and attractive than his erotic, satirical or panegyric poems. His political poems are smoother and more expressive than his historical poems. On the other hand, his poems aimed at educated people are more eloquent than those aimed at the common people. After 1921 he created a new style in his political poetry. It was a sarcastic manner which is simple, frank, clear, and very effective, full of enthusiasm by which he tried to stimulate the people's desire for the full independence of their own country. Many Iraqi poets among his students tried to copy him in this new sarcastic manner.

One of those poets was Muhammad Mahdī al-Jawāhirī. He began to write his political poetry during the thirties, trying to copy al-Ruṣafī's political manner. For example, the following verses come from a poem published in 1952.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ما تشاهدون فاصعوا} & \quad \text{نرصة لا تضيّعوا} \\
\text{وتحطّوا وتتفعّوا} & \quad \text{نرصة أن تحكموا} \\
\text{وتطلّوا وتنعّوا} & \quad \text{وتدلّوا على الرقاب} \\
\text{المشاهدون فاصعوا} & \quad \text{المشاهدون هطّعوا} \\
\text{الذّى تستطيعه} & \quad \text{مستضاءمون جَوَّع}
\end{align*}
\]

Whatever you want, do it, and do not lose any opportunity,

An opportunity for you to rule, and to humiliate and to raise up wherever you want.

1. Jabra, I.J. Al-Hilāl (1970) 1 , 100
And to be a burden to people, and to give and to prevent.

Whatever you want, do it, all the people are abject before you,

What can they do, wronged and hungry?

After the death of al-Ruṣāfī, al-Jawāhirī's sarcastic poems against the rules of Iraq had the same effect as al-Ruṣāfī's had as, for example, the following verses in which he imitated him.

Sleep, hungry people, sleep, may the Goddess of food preserve you.

Sleep, and if you are not satisfied in your wakefulness, be so in your sleep.

Sleep on the butter of promises, mixed with the honey of work.

Another Iraqi poet who tried to copy al-Ruṣāfī's political manner completely, especially in its frankness, was Akram Aḥmad (b, 1906).  

2. Al-Ḥawi, H. T., 123
Can the people untie their bonds in one day?
They have suffered the bitterness of bondage.
They are free; but the rulers want to drive them
with a stick. A sign is enough for a free man.
(The second verse was not published because of his
outspoken views).

Ṣafī al-Najafī also followed al-Ruṣāfī's political style,
trying to urge the people of Iraq to revolt against the British
occupation. He was treated severely by them and was imprisoned many
times. After the second World War, the British authorities in
Beirut put him in prison, claiming that he was a Nazi. In prison he
wrote the poem from which the following verses are taken.¹

Go away, England, may God make her blind.
Her grave is every land; she has dug it with her
own hands.

1. "Izz al-Dīn, Y. Al-Hilāl (1973) 1, 45
She put me in prison for no reason except that I cursed her parents.

‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥuwayzī, another Iraqi poet was influenced also by al-Ḥusain’s political style ¹.

¹. See al-Juburi, 'A., 196
SECTION 4. THE INFLUENCE OF WESTERN CULTURE

A. Turkish Literature

During the reform period known as al-Tanzimat, Turkish literature was influenced by the classical French school. A new literary current that appeared encouraged a nationalistic trend in literature. İbrahim Şinasi and Namiq Kemal were the principal poets of this current. At the close of the nineteenth century, another literary current appeared influence of French and English literary currents. It was more moderate than the first one. It encourage both nationalistic trends in literature and innovation in the form of the poem. ʿAbd al-Ḥaq Ḥamīd and Tawfīq Fikrat were the principal poets of this literary current. As well as other educated Iraqis, al-Ruşāfī was influenced by these new literary currents, especially as he had a close connection with educated Turkish figures in the society Turkıyıa al-Fatāt, which had a great role in spread over these new national current. It began as a literary society rather than a political society. Because of al-Ruşāfī's revolutionary spirit, he was greatly influenced by these currents, taking from them what suited his own nature and his environment.

In 1908, he translated the Turkish anthem by Tawfīq Fikrat. This was a national anthem written for school students, directing them to love their country. It had a very great effect on Iraqi students since it was published in their books and was the official anthem in

1. Ramsaur, E.E., 3
2. Brocklemann, C., 390
3. Al-Misrī, H.M., 444
4. Al-Waṣīr, R.
5. Ramsaur, E.E., 4
We plunge into the depths of death, we explore tribulations.

We can only dress in honour or wear a shroud.

We give ourselves freely for our country's revival.

Is there in the world any price higher than souls given for countries?

Our ancestors were wrong, not to be its ransom.

If we die, let our country live.

1. Al-Khaḍajī, M. A., 308
2. Alī, M., Muhadrat An Maʿrūf al-Rusafī, 13
We were not created in order to bear tyranny
or wear the dress of humiliation.

We were created for glory and victory in the day
of contest.

This is our country; it surpasses the garden of
paradise,

How should we not freely give ourselves for her
in fierce war?

Our ancestors were wrong, not to
be its ransom.

If we die, let our country live.

About 1909, Tawfiq Fikrat published a sarcastic poem in
which he attacked some of the leaders of Union and Progress who tried
to take advantage of their offices. Al-Ruşâfî translated this poem
freely. Some of its verses were published in his Dīwān.

كلّهم يأكلون السادة
كلّهم من مطبخ الدستور
كلّهم بالسجعة الأمعا
كلّهم لا تخشى الناس
كلّهم لا تخشى الدهر
كلّهم من قضائدهم
كلّهم من قضائدهم
كلّهم من قضائدهم
كلّهم من قضائدهم
كلّهم من قضائدهم
كلّهم من قضائدهم

2,503

O leaders, eat greedily as custom does not allow.

Eat from the kitchen of the constitution as
politicians and leaders eat.

Eat with your seven guts until you finish its
provision.

Eat, do not fear the people, because the people are submissive to your role.

Eat, do not fear destiny, because destiny's mother is a procress.

In 1909, Nāmiq Kamāl published his nationalist novel al-Ru'ya. The main characteristic of this novel was that it suggested solutions to Iraq's social and political problems, directing it in the way that he thought it should progress. Its subject was a dream in which the author saw Iraq's future. In the same year, al-Ruṣāfī published a translation of this novel and it had a great effect in Iraq.

During the British occupation, he was also indirectly influenced by western culture, the rise of journalism in Egypt and Syria and by translations of books. These influences are very clear in all types of his poetry.

It is important to say that new western currents were not the source of his free-mind, humanitarian feeling and revolutionary spirit. His religious studies were originally the source of his inspiration, since Islam was a powerful motive force towards freedom, knowledge, and culture. The new western currents merely helped him to be more frank and more understanding of life, in addition to giving him new social and scientific ideas and attitudes.

This is very clear in the poems in which he tried to direct people towards progress by comparing their present conditions with

1. Al-Ṣāharūnī, Y., 134.
earlier conditions when their country was the centre of culture, and with present western conditions. For instance:

Have you not seen the rules of the West by which everyone there lives freely?

You would not find there that truth is in any way despised, and you would not find that the sacredness of knowledge is desecrated.

In the West, there are voices of knowledge by which they bring back to life those in the graves, so are you stone-deaf?

Men of East, uncover resolutions the veil of which is torn apart for the people of the West.

I do not ask you to do as they have done, and I do not ask you to leave what they have left.

But remember how your forefathers were, then follow their way to glory.
B. Science and Scientific Theories

Al-Ruṣāfī had a special interest in science and its theories, believing that the ideal good poet should understand scientific idioms and thoughts, both in order to enlarge his knowledge and imagination for simile and metaphor, and in order to give a true and complete picture of the time. In his book al-Adab al-Rafī'ī Mizan al-Shī'ir, he gave the following verses as an example of this matter, believing that a poet cannot understand the meaning of them unless he knows something about the syllogism.

لا تخطبن سووى كريمة مغشقر
فالعرق دسسمن الطرفين
و ما ترى أن النتيجة دائمًا
تبع الأخر من المقدمتين

Do not ask for the hand of any except a high-born woman, because blood will tell on both sides.

Or do you not think that the conclusion always follows the minor premise?

He used his discussions of scientific theories with imagination, trying to relate them to everyday life. For this reason his poems of this kind appeared more expressive and attractive than those of al-Zahāwī, who was the first Iraqi poet to deal extensively with this subject in his poetry.

1. 'Alī, M., Al-Ruṣāfī, 204
2. Dayf, Sh., 73
In his poem, Mi'tarak al-Hayat, al-Ruṣāfī tried to relate people's lives and the theory of natural selection.

My friends, the earth is a sieve of power, creatures are collected within its frame.

Time's hand shakes it in order to destroy the weak and to retain the strong.

So the stronger stays in it and develops with time, and the weaker falls from it and is effaced with it.

So, there is no life in this world for anyone who is not able to ward off harm and misfortunes.

He drew a parallel between the difference in the elements, which maintains the equilibrium of the universe, and the difference in people's characters.
Often evil brings good, and often our alienation from one another brings us sincerely towards one another.

If sea water were not salt, we should come from the flood complaining about the storm clouds.

Were it not for the difference of attraction and repulsion, the stars could not move around in their orbits.

And how we can see the phenomena of electricity, if its positive elements are not connected with its negative elements.

Natural powers perish if they are not different, and they live as long as they are different.

So do not be surprised that we are living in estrangement; do you not see that estrangement is current in the universe?

He also discussed chemistry, trying to show people that fire gets its power from the close unity of oxygen and carbon, in order to draw their attention to the fact that there is no power without unity.
Your ardours fire did not burn because you were disunited, and its flame died out for a long time.

Were it not for the unity of the two elements, no fire would ever burn, even if you knew how to light it.

In the following verse he mentioned arithmetic.

\[
\text{ضاّع جذر الحياة عّنا فَخلننا} \quad \text{أنّها كالآصمّ في الأّصداد}
\]

The root of life was unknown to us, but we thought that it was like an irrational root.

In the following verses he drew an analogy from physics in talking about arrogance.

\[
\text{خفّ من غضّ في الخروّ كّ في} \quad \text{لجنة الماء خفّّّةّّّّّل الجمالّ}
\]

One who plunges into conceit becomes light among people, as the heaviness of a body becomes light in the depths of water.

He extensively discussed astronomy, trying to reflect new scientific theories regarding the universe and its creation.
0 power of gravity, set me free from a burden that has caused me to suffer.

Were it not for you, my shackles, I would fly like a light in space.

You are the prop of the heavens, but no one can see you.

You have tied all stars in the sky, grouped one with another, very carefully.

So they turn around in the atmosphere, flowing as though they were tongues of fire upon water.

We, the people of the Earth, know that we are from the people of the sky.

If I were on Jupiter, my earth would appear as sky without any doubt.

There is no up and no down, and no one can rise up.

But we are living on a star surrounded with air.
any conclusive opinions. The scientific truths he reflected were still shrouded in doubt. For example in the following verses he considers the sky.

0 stars, show what there is behind you, because we think that it is a deep distance.

Space has spread very wide for you; do its distances end with you?

You appear very small because you are so far away; those who look out expectantly raise their eyes to you.

Are you eternally fixed in your space, or will you be extinguished and disappear?

They have said that your numbers are unaccountable; did they speak the truth or is their claim foolishness?
And they have said that the earth is certainly your daughter; do your daughters children tell us the truth?

And they have said that your beloved father is Ether in space, continually moving.

Observers have observed you but they could not reveal to us your real nature.

So Herschel could not quench our thirst, neither could Galileo tell us the certain truth.

And Kepler was right, or almost, when he declared that you are attracted to each other.

For how long shall we be clothed in doubt about you, and for your sake wear the armour of supposition?

The most famous poem of this kind is his poem al-Ard in which he reflected the La Place theory of the formation of the earth. It consists of 82 verses, for example the following:

خبير في الأرض أوحته السما
لأولئ العالم سارسل التكـر
ما ترى بها أو جميلة
أن هذى الأرض كانت ولا
أوسهولا أو رفأ أو سبلا
أو ريضا زهرها الغضـما
من سحاب جاذها بالعطر
إذا كانت كتلتك الأخوات
من نجم سائرات دائـرات
حتى شمس هي احدى النبـرات
كـئة واحدة في النظـر
There is a story on Earth, with which heaven has inspired the leaders of knowledge, by means of the messengers of thought.

That this earth had at first no sea or hills.
No plains, no hillocks, no paths, no gardens whose lush flowers grew because of clouds generous with rain.

But it was, like its other moving, turning sister stars,

Around a-sun, was one of those stars which were a
nebula on it, looking like one mass.

Then afterwards it separated from this nebula, and parts were cut from it, some of them small and some great.

Orbits guaranteed their continual turning, and all settled, turning only around the sun.

First Neptune separated from it, then Uranus preceded Saturn.

Then Mars followed Jupiter, then this Earth and then Venus, followed only by her more famous brother Mercury.

Venus' brother emulated the sun and became the nearest planet to it.

Venus followed it the whole time, and they were arranged in front of the earth; behind it were Mars and then Jupiter.

Our Earth originally was a burning flame, after it separated from the sun.

It continued moving around its orbit, a mass full of flames, throwing sparks into space.

The strong heat of fire ascended from it, spreading in space far away from it.

So that no vapour above it could condense into heavy continuous down pourings.

It stayed in this case, for a time, then by radiation its heat was gradually extinguished.

Its surface after that folded with cold, and it was covered with a-crust like leather, while its inside
still flamed.

Then in course of time, its covering become thick, age after age.

But the fire, when agitated, again caused its crust to be perforated by fissures amazing to see.

Then he told how these amazing fissures threw up lava and created metals, rocks, and other minerals. Then in the upper stratum of the earth became cold and the steam which was moving in space became cold too, creating rainy clouds.

The flood reigned in it, covered its surface, washing away its sands.

So the water overflowed, but the mountains appeared in it and rose like ships on the seas.

This flood did not cover all parts of the earth. Some of it remained as islands, some as hills, and some as mountains. Then it became suitable for life. First, plants grew on it, then by its power spirits appeared on it, which later developed into human beings.

After speaking about the great alteration in the surface of the earth, he included in his poem the evidence on which the scientists relied to show that it was once a flaming celestial body.
What we see today of hot water and volcanos which imitate hell,
And earthquakes of great terror, are evidence that the earth was once a fluid flaming body.

Then this fluid flaming celestial body became hard because of its continual turning. In the last few verses, he referred to the theory that the moon separated from the earth.

This earth before it became hard, generated not a lot of children,
But a moon which turned around it happily, driving away the darkness from it at night. So it is the sun's daughter, and the moon's mother.
Poetry in which science and knowledge were discussed was not a new trend, for the Arabs had formerly versified works on various branches of knowledge, such as history, grammar \(^1\) and medicine \(^2\).

\(^1\) See Ibn Sînâ Al-Urjūza Fī'l-Tibb

\(^2\) See Al-Alfiyyah of Ibn Mālik
CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL POETRY
Al-Rūsāfī had a special interest in education. He believed that most political, economical, and social problems were caused by the ignorance of the nation.

If ignorance reigns in a country, you will see her lions change into monkeys.

He therefore, regarded knowledge as the basis of any progress.

Through knowledge the country will be organized. Knowledge is the basis of progress for every state.

He believed that all the defects of the country would be put right by knowledge.

If there are diseases in our conditions because
of ignorance, knowledge, like medicine, will heal those diseases.

It educates the mind, reforms the spirit, and directs men in the right way.

Knowledge is a sufficient light in darkness, making clear to us the things in our life.

How often have the humble found through it respect, and how often have the sad through it put on pleasure.

Through it minds are led more in the right path and souls gain heightened perception.

Knowledge is a great power which brings honour and happiness.
A man cannot reach the utmost of his object except with knowledge which he exerts himself to acquire.

So, take shelter in its shadow, then you will live comfortably, secure from the changes of circumstance.

Indeed, knowledge has an orbit on high, round the pole of which glory turns.

So strive for it with strong will and endurance, with a determined and unmuddled mind.

Do not depend hereafter on genealogy, because knowledge will be a substitute for genealogy.

The basis of every glory will come to an end, except of that which is based on knowledge.

Al-Ruṣafī regarded the uneducated as lifeless.

أنت يا جاهل من قبل الهموم تمرر ما بين البيوت أو ما تعلم في هذه الحياة أن رب العلم حي لا يموت

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You, the uneducated one, you are indeed dead, before your death, exulting among the houses.

Do you not know that in this life the master of knowledge is deathless and never dies?

Because of this belief in knowledge and its great role in the progress of both country and individuals, he tried repeatedly to draw attention to its importance, as, for example, in the following verses of him poem Fiṣl-Qīṭār written in 1898 in Constantinople.
It is knowledge that makes life more happy, and makes it, like knowledge, praised for its consequences.

Each country which knowledge has spread in, her hills become fertile and grow honour, not grass.

So, when shall the East, whose horizon has become dusty, create a cloud of knowledge which will rain sweet honour?

Indeed the breeze of humiliation has taken away its glory, and the hot wind of ignorance has almost burnt it into sterility.

Look when the quern of the East turns, can you see anything except ignorance as the axle on which it turns?

By the year 1922, there were two types of schools in Iraq, as in Egypt, the religious schools, headed by the al-Najaf school, and the modern schools, which were much attacked by the religious authorities, chiefly the Shi'ite leaders, for their corrupting influence in society.

Consequently, a great number of Muslims in Iraq were

restricted in their knowledge to simple religious studies which they
could acquire in the Mosque. In order to encourage these people to
get secular education, al-Ruṣāfī tried to indicate to them that the
acquisition of knowledge was a part of Islam.

Piety in religion is not restricted to prayer or
fasting,
But it is the leaving of shameful deeds and the
doing of good actions that lead to benefits.
So the piety of a man is his endeavour to acquire
knowledge and piety is not restricted to the leaving of
unlawful deeds.

In order to spread education in the country, he advocated
the building of schools and regarded this matter as a national duty
which should be borne by both people and rulers.

If people are undutiful towards their country and
do not build schools in it,
Their clothes will be shrouds to them and their houses will be graves.

In his poem *al-Majlis al-'Umīm*, written in 1910, he demanded the building of more schools from the new Ottoman Council, for the sake of their great effect on society.

Regarding schools, their foundations must be raised until the mountains of ignorance are turned upside down.

If the sources of knowledge are diminished in a kingdom, pools overflow with floods of calamities round it.

Who builds a school pulls down thereby a prison for those who corrupt and murder in the earth.

How often the winds of ignorance have blown up clouds whose rain is blood shed on the earth.

There is a complete difference between knowledge and ignorance; one is dissoluteness and the other is success and devoutness.

He also tried to persuade the people to contribute towards
the building of schools, as in the following verses, in which he tried
to convince the youth of the East in general, that their demands for
progress could not be fully met unless the number of schools was
increased in their countries.

You want to reach glory, but how you will reach it
when you are ignorant?
I ask you, where are the schools, for they are your
guides to life and existence.
And where is the hoped-for rich man in your country
who continually gives generously for establishing them?
A country with illiteracy and poverty - both of
them eat and drink greedily and are deadly to her life.
Yes, your number is great, but in fact you are
few, because so many of you are ignorant.

During the period of native control, when the need for
education was pressing, the ministry of Waqfs, supported by the
religious authorities, devoted their efforts to building more
mosques. Al-Ruṣāfī advocated the building of schools instead of
mosques, believing that they were more useful to the country.
The earth is our Mosque, so what is the need of those Mosques which are counted in thousands today?

Prayer in Mosques or in another place was the same, in the view of our ancestors.

Would that they might become schools flowing with the pure stream of each kind of knowledge?

Attended by your children, in order to get from each art a proper share.

And would that knowledge might overflow so that people in both town and fields might quench their thirst from it.

Indeed the honour of a country, if it is not fortified with knowledge, is threatened at the extremities.

Although the educational authorities during this period entered upon their work with enthusiasm and faith, believing that knowledge is the basis of progress, their success was not complete. Al-Rusafî demanded the application of modern educational methods, believing that these were more effective and useful to the students. First, he demanded the use of practical training during all periods of
education instead of merely theoretical teaching.

Do not make knowledge itself in schools the most important aim, but teach your progeny such knowledge as produces practical results. These schools are like your farms; plant in their soil what is good and expensive.

Second, he demanded specialisation in knowledge instead of generalisation.

Men's heads have not a brain that can digest all kinds of knowledge.

So it is wrong if you try to take a share of every kind of knowledge.

Good understanding of the particular is more useful than the bad understanding of the general.

Third, he demanded good upbringing besides education.
Give your sons, besides education, an upbringing by means of which the man of rational character will become perfect.

Education must not be pursued at the expense of the training of character.

There is no advantage in knowledge however powerful it is, if an honourable character is not also present.

If the characters of the people change for the worse, neither knowledge nor independence will be of use to them.

The rope of rule does not become tangled unless morals and natures become disordered.

Were it not for natures that are moulded to the love of what is lofty, no one, Arabs or non-Arabs, can rule.
He emphasises this in the following two passages.

لا تستنفعوا التعليم إلاّ إذا هذين الطبيع الشريران.

أنا ما العلم لا يحسن خلق نسي لأهله خيرًا كبيرًا

Your education has no advantage unless you rectify your nature.

When knowledge puts on good morals, it brings to people great good.

داً التأخر منّا في خليقتنا فقد نشأ الداء حتى استنحل السلم.

فانتقلت للعرّافين حتى فندن نزال العزّ والشمـ.

The disease of our decline is in our natures; indeed the disease has become wide-spread until it has got out of control.

Our natures guaranteed our glory, until they become bad and both honour and glory passed away.

In this he aligned himself with many other Arab reformers of the time.

His fourth demand was the use of modern psychological theories in the field of education, such as the philosophy of punishment and recompense.
Avoid punishment, truly if you repeat punishment it will destroy the spirit.

Punishment increases the evil in the soul, and no one can deny this except one who is ignorant.

He believed that the school cannot properly carry out its social functions unless it creates a new generation of students, a generation new in mind, education, morals, upbringing, religious beliefs, and experience. Believing this, he regarded Eastern schools in general as unsatisfactory.

What advantage will one who enters your schools get if he comes out of them the same as he went in.

Because of his belief in education and its importance in the advancement of a nation, he regarded the teacher as of great importance and said so.
If people's ignorance is what caused them to stray, nothing can direct them to the right way except education.

If I am asked: who can stir up the people towards glory when their life is bad? I will say "the teacher".

The teacher of the sons of a country is their doctor who treats those who suffer from ignorance; the ignorant man is indeed ill.

He is a star in their sky who guides them to glory.

So do not disparage his right, because it is great, like the right of parents, and greater.

Because to him belongs your intelligence which is essential, while to the parents belong bone, flesh, and blood.

Al-Ruṣāfī acknowledged his debt to his own teachers: al-Qāṣīb, al-Qaysī and al-Ālūsī, the last of whom he elegized in two elegies, Wā Shaykhāh ¹ and Fī Mawqīf al-Asa. The following verses are from the first of these:

1. D.2., 21
2. D.2., 27
I will thank you, Shukrī, all my life, and I will weep for you early in the morning and late in the evening.

Because you are the one who taught me wisdom, whereby I have put on a garment of culture.

You gave me drugs of all kinds of knowledge which cured the deadly disease of ignorance.

My mind became healthy, while, before that, I was suffering the pains and fears of the sickness of ignorance.

Indeed, I can not properly thank you for your favour, even though I fill the rest of time with lamentation.
SECTION 2. SOCIAL ACTIVITY

In the last part of the nineteenth century, when the West had attained a high level of culture, Iraq, like much of the East, was, still very backward and its people very conservative. This is reflected in the following verses of al-Rusārī:

أيًا سألنا عننا ببغداد أنسًا
على أمة الغرب السماء وأشرقنت
فنحن أناس لم نزل في بطالة

أنا فرس عن مقتب السعي مشنت
كأننا يهود كل أياشًا سبنت

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You, who ask about us in Baghdad, indeed we are animals in Baghdad in need of grass,

The West has risen to the sky and shines over us, while we have remained looking up at them from below.

They urged their horses to run fast but a horse stumbled and had to give up the race.

Indeed we are people who are always idle; it is as though we were Jews and all our days were Saturdays.

Although most of the land in Iraq was suitable for agriculture, and there was abundant water in the rivers that flowed through it, only a very limited area was under cultivation. The rivers were not used

1. Hollingworth, C., 61
properly; their waters were allowed to run to waste in the sea, instead of being used to irrigate more crops, and the country had suffered great aridity for several years.

Al-Ruṣāfī tried to point out the importance of the proper use of such great natural resources, especially when the nations economy depends on agriculture.

O water, where are you running to waste when around you are dry deserts?

When will people realise and this dead country be enlivened by your watering?

If we planted the land with seeds, watered by you, we should reap gold on the reaping day.

Does the Persian gulf know how much of you its channel swallows?

You are by God, gold and silver, if we know how to manage our affairs.

Because of the topography of the land, the Tigris and Euphrates requires great efforts and organisation for their management and control. Under Ottoman rule neither the government, nor the people

1. Edmonds, C.J., 20
paid attention to this important matter, and as a result of this neglect, Iraq was constantly subjected to great floods. During the last few years of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid's rule, Baghdad was subjected to a disastrous flood when the Harbawa dam on the Euphrates broke. On this sad occasion, al-Ruṣāfī wrote his poem Si' al-Mungalib, in which he laid the principal responsibility for this disaster on the people of Iraq, because they had neglected their public duty and were incapable of demanding reform from the government.

A people who have lost their glory and are divided - you believe that they are gathered together, but they are scattered.

They considered living easy so that they neglected to exert themselves in something, and this brought distress.

You who endure humiliation, when men should reject it,

Do not neglect small damage, because if it continues the whole land will be too small for it.

Fire catches because of the fall of sparks and a

1. Longrigg, S.H. and Stoakes, F., 110
current of water is composed of drops.

In Iraq, as in other Muslim countries, the belief that God provides one's livelihood was widespread among the uneducated. As a result, they yielded to fate, believing that a successful life was attained not by toil and endeavour but by visiting shrines and giving offerings. This caused society great harm, both psychologically because it made the people poor-spirited, accepting humiliation and yielding easily to tyrannical rulers, and socially, because it made them careless in their work, depending for its successful outcome on the intercession of the Awlīyā'.

Al-Ruṣāfī tried to awaken the people and to draw their attention to the fact that this superstitious attitude was one of the main reasons for their lack of advancement, as, for example, in the following verses:

By God your deeds are opposed to Him. The Qurān and the verses came down.

1. Amin, A. Zu'ma' al-Islāḥ fī l-'Ashr al-Hadith., 8
Do you pretend that the neglect of endeavour in this life is trust in God and godliness?
If this claim is true, illustrate it, or, if you have a proof, give it.
Life cannot, in any circumstances, gain honour from you, for you are as if dead.
When you suffered, your land suffered from you.
You caused each other hardship.
You ignored the right way for glory, so that she was made to stumble again and again by you.

Life needs ability and resolution, and therefore al-Ruṣafī tried to urge the people to earn their livelihood by their endeavours and energy.

By your life, this life is not an outer garment for one the fabric of whose inner garment is woven from incompetence.
But for one who by his endeavour and strength proudly draws along the train on his robe throughout the days.

The powerless, in his opinion, have no chance to live or to get honour in this life.
Incacity is, like ignorance, in all ages, a disease from which nations be die or suffer damage.

And glory is rooted where strength supports it, until, when it goes, glory and honour go too.

Indeed the pinnacle of glory cannot reached by resolution into which feebleness has crept.

He demanded that the new Ottoman council should devote special efforts to increasing public security, which had almost broken down in Iraq, as in other Arab countries, between 1908 to 1914. This was a result of the disorders caused by famine, and also of political upheaval and it interfered with the work of the nation, particularly in rural areas.

1. Longrigg, S.H., 52
A country without security is ill; take pains to heal her with the medicine of your judgment.

Indeed her people have a claim on your protection; a body like you is one that observes its obligations.

And do not forget the earth of Iraq and its people, because great afflictions surround it.

The Tigris has become like the Dujail, scanty, and it has not produced plants or satisfied the cloven-hoofed beasts.

And the sweet Euphrates has become muddy; the water in it is drying up, or has dried up.

Ask vast Hilla about it, for indeed she has become thirsty like the Martyrs of Taff when they stopped there.

The unhappy people of Iraq have embraced humiliation, since their hearts became covered.

And they forget their glory which pitched its tent higher than the stars.

They were made disdainful by it, but they came to suffer such terrors that their noses were cut off.

They try to fix their hopes on visits to shrines and on those who carry the dubbūs and bear the daff.

Al-Ruṣāfī believed that without security, there could be no
endeavour, and without endeavour, no prosperity, and without prosperity, no happiness.

All Arabs are a proud and passionate people 1. The memory of ancient glories had a strange effect on their souls. Gertrude Bell wrote in an article in the Round Table in 1924 "idealism and memory of ancient glories entitled men in Iraq to the exercise of power" 2. In many parts of the Muslim World, reformers such as Jamal al-Din al-Afghānī, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Kawākibī, Amīr ʿAlī, and Muhammad bin ʿAbd al-Wahhāb recalled past glory as a means to provoke the people to desire it again.

Iraqis, like other Arabs, were conscious of their prowess and fame in earlier centuries 3. Al-Ruṣāfī tried frequently to stir up this consciousness in order to bring back that civilisation which flourished in Iraq before the Turkish conquest and had made their country a centre of culture, wealth, and political development.

There are many examples of this in his Diwan, for instance, the following verses:

لهفي على العرب أست من جمودهم
أين الحاصل ممن ينتمون إلى
قمهم الشمس كانوا والواري قسم
راحوا وقد أعقبتا ممن بعدهم عقبا

1. Glubb, J.B., 127
2. Kadourie, E., 203
3. Longrigg, S.H. and Stoakes, F., 37
Alas for the Arabs who have become so inactive that even the minerals complain in annoyance.

Where are the great lords who are related to the high bright honour of Mu'jar?

Indeed they were the sun and the people were the moon, and there is no consideration given to the moon but for the sun.

They went, leaving behind a progeny, who have neglected their affairs and resigned them to the will of God.

On the other hand, this feeling of pride in past glories was a discouraging factor to those who possessed restricted ability and a weak spirit, so that they neglected their present and future and were satisfied with these past glories.

In the following verses he tried to draw attention to this feeling, which led to retrogression and weakness:

أرى مستقبل الأبناء أولى
فما بلغ المقاصد غير ساعٍ
فرج وجه عزوك نحبّو آتً
وهل إن كان حاضرنا شقياً
فان أمامك العيش الرغيداً
טיסف واترك النجد التليداً

1. Amin, A., Fad'al-Khāṭir. 1, 203 - 204
I believe that the future of our days is more deserving of attention for one who wants to rule.

No one can attain his aim, except one who gives his attention to the future.

So turn your purpose to the future and do not turn your head towards the past.

If our present is miserable, can we rule because our past was happy?

Come forward, you Arab, for in front of you is a plentiful life.

And establish in your building every new glory, and leave the ancient glory.

The worst people are those who are indolent, and who, when you vie with them concerning achievements, just mention their forefathers.

And the best people are those who have ancestral esteem and have also constructed for themselves new esteem.

He was one of those who were extremely proud of their past glory. In the following he explains this.
I do not refer to my forefathers in order to boast of their glory, but in order to make them an example to others.
SECTION 3. NATIONAL UNITY

The Ottoman Empire consisted of many nations, each of which contained many different religious sects. Many troubles and civil disturbances happened as a result of these differences, causing great difficulties in the society.

Al-Ruṣāfī tried always to direct people's attention towards this religious hatred, rejecting any discrimination on the basis of religion. To him, religion in general always leads to the happiness of human beings, and it was only because of the misbehaviour of ignorant people that religious riots happen.

Do we suffer in the name of religion, when it is happiness? In this case, following of religion, 0 people, is a loss.

But the ignorance of the ignorant drives them to every saying that has no proof.

He believed that all people, regardless of their religion, are the same, trying to remind people that Islam called for equality amongst people of different religions and races.
Islam gave no preference to anyone descended from Adam over one than like him.

Therefore the rich may not deny the right of the poor, and the Arab may not deny the non-Arab preference.

A person can boast only of his own endeavour, and he is superior only by reason of his piety and generosity.

The Armenians revolted in 1896 against Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid II, demanding the promised reform which was determined by the Treaty of Berlin after the war between Turkey and Russia. 'Abd al-Ḥamid exhorted the ignorant Muslims against them, not only in Armenia, but everywhere they were found in the Empire. Consequently, ten to twenty thousand of them were massacred. This civil war in the Empire made a great stir everywhere and had a profound effect on society.

This tragedy inspired al-Ruṣāfī to compose one of his most distinguished narrative poem, Umm al-Yatīm, which was written on the occasion of the Adana massacre. In this poem he described the misery of the victim's family, trying to stir up humanitarian feelings in order to motivate the people to reject this discrimination.

1. Ramsaur, E.E., 10
Ask this man, mother, where has my father gone?
and is he going to bring us food in the evening?

She said to him, while her eyes were shedding tears, and her breaths throwing out blazing fire,

Your father has gone far away on a journey to death; there is no hope that he will come back again one day.

He walked as an Armenian, in all places and he was thrown into the abyss of death by a Muslim's stroke.

When the revolution of calamities broke out, it brought hatreds related to religion,

Because of it, massacres took place in the countries, in which the Armanians waded through their
blood,

Were it not for you, I would choose death in order to get rid of my hard and unpleasant life.

So you are the one who hindered your mother, Mariam, being carried off by death.

O Mariam, gently with what you say; indeed you have shot my heart full of arrows.

O Mariam, undoubtedly God will take revenge on the people for their forbidden killing,

O Mariam, study the matter before you judge, and if you know the truth, give your judgement.

Whatever they do is not the religion, but it is ignorance and misapprehension.

So even if they fill the earth with crimes, it was they who commit the crimes, and religion is not criminal.

He tried always to direct people's attention towards the importance of their national unity for the progress of their country, and for its defence. For instance when the army of Salonica, headed by Mahmud Shawkat Pasha, proceeded in 1909 to Istana to repress the movement against the constitution, he took this occasion to indicate that national unity was the reason by which this army got the victory and saved the country from this reactionary revolution.
They gathered the masses, Christians, Jews, and Muslims.

So they were the army, composed of soldiers and volunteers.

You see them there united in their resolution, even though they were disunited in religion.

They are the countries that put among their sons firm brotherhood in their love for them.

And she makes them disdainful; they see a life of humiliation as madness,

And the death is better than a life in which a person remains humiliated.

In Beirut in 1913 al-Islâhiyyîn, a group most of which were Christians, demanded the reform from the new Turkish government.

Many problems occurred because of this demand, which was based on religion. In his poem, Mâ Hakadâ, he attacked them, believing that their demand was a cause of national disunity in the Arab countries.
They aimed at reform, and they produced a stupid programme which disunites the nation.

They considered Christians apart and Muslims apart in it, while we considered them all as Arabs without exception.

They used religion in it, so it showed the falsehood of their claim to represent all people.

Is it for their benefit, when they are Arabs, that they classify according to religion.

What harm would come to them, if they followed a united front, which excludes both the Church and the Mosque.

But they are a nation, whose rejects anything but nature is the love of religious fanaticism.

During the twenties, differences between Muslims and Christians in Arab countries were used as a means to disunite the nation. Accordingly, continual civil strife happened in the Arab World, especially in Lebanon, in which there were a great number of Christians. In his poem addressed directly to Christians, Hādlī Khwānīnī al-Mašīhiyyīn, he again and again tried to explain to both Christians and Muslims that neither the Bible nor the Qur’ān accepted this discrimination in religion.

1. Marlowe, J., 168
Why this enmity because of your different religion?

Enmity in religion is aggression.

What harm would come to us if co-operation became our religion, so that countries would be restored and citizens would be secure?

If national unity brings us together, what does it matter if we have different religions?

If people had three things in common; language, fatherland, and faith in God,

What belief would hinder brotherhood, which both Bible and Qur'an recommend?

Two books which our God has sent down to his apostles only to make men happy.

Therefore, one who tries to disunite the people in the name of religion - his advocacy is false in the principle of religion.

Beside Arabs, the Iraqi nation contains many minorities, such as Kurds, Turks, Iranians and Assyrians scattered all over the country.
Considerable problems were created by these minorities, especially the Assyrians, who were Christians, and protected by British authorities. In 1941, al-Falluja was attacked by British troops and Assyrian troops, assisted by the Jews in the area, when they were on their way to Baghdad to suppress the revolution of al-Gaylānī. This is reflected in al-Rūṣāfī's poem written on this occasion, al-Falluja.

A day on which the wolves of Assyrians caused havoc that carried great disgrace.

For you disdained the Muslims, foolishly, and you took the Jews as close friends.

Various religious minorities were also found in different parts of the country such as Christians, Jews, and Yazidis. There was always animosity between these minorities and Muslims.

These differences in religion and race among the Iraqi nation, provided a means for the British authorities to disunite the nation. It was easier for British forces to control a disunited nation than a united one. Most of the political problems in Iraq came from these religious and denominational differences. In the following

1. Lenczowski, G., 215
verses, al-Ruṣāfī tried to awaken the Iraqis to the fact that their unity is very important in gaining their own independence, depending in this advocacy upon the principles of Islam which required this.

Qal lāmm rām ṣdūna ṣbqāq
wālik ʾl-ʾlslbm ʾwjd finsa
faʾṣūṣa mina bḥbīl ṣīq
liʿins mwn ntwjdnā ʾllḥ fī ʾl-ḥī
ftlhdh tām lftdha, lhm-dhā
wḥdā lā yqllhba al-ṣwalī
tḏhā ʾl-ḥīn fiḥā
fhdhnā ṣh-yāl-hā qdnīm
mā ntr ʾl-slt lṭnā l-ḥlqāq

Say to those who want to split us, you are like
a wild goat who butts a solid stone.

Woe to you; Islam had created amongst us a unity
like the unity of God.

To achieve this we clung to a trusty rope, that of
brotherhood and faith.

Our belief in the unity of God means that we are
unity in our nature.

Therefore, yes, therefore, therefore, we believed
in the unity of religions.

A unity which is not broken by the succession of
centuries and time,

A unity concerning which a messenger from God
brought us the Qur'an and the Bible.

One ancient God has guided us by it to whom the centuries are but seconds.

We do not believe that any creature has authority over us, except the authority of the creator of the universe.

Even in his poems on the universe, he tried to emphasize the importance of national unity.

People who come to the tumult of life unarmed with the two weapons of co-operation and unity will be disappointed.

The life has treated us roughly, so why have we not clung, to escape from the roughness of life, to the rope of love?

Or the following verses of him poem Alīknī ya Diyā'.
You mother of stars, and you are a mother, are sons born in you as on the earth?

And is life in existence in you, so that death can be found in you?

And is there in you earth like this earth, and on it people like us, in disagreement?

And are they like us in character and constitution, and do they eat and drink?

Are they in disagreement over religion, Christians, Jews, and Muslims?
Al-Ruṣāfī demanded, social equality as a result of the political changes and intellectual developments in the last few years of Sultān ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's rule. During this period, there was still a very great difference in wealth between the ruling class and the majority of the subjects of Ottoman Empire. The situation was made worse when ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd demanded from his parliament pensions for all those who had married into the Royal house, as well as those actually of royal blood. Al-Ruṣāfī was the first poet of his generation who strongly attacked this request and demanded more social equality. This demand appears in his poem Al-al-Saltana, for example in the following verses:

1. Ṭarīq, M. Muḥarrat ʿAn Maʿrūf al-Ruṣāfī, 54
They are numbered in hundreds, males and females, and they possess lofty palaces,
And they have in them slaves and bond-maids and prosperity, and haughtiness and greatness,
They have made no effort and they have not earned their living in the world, and they have lived as a burden on the people,
Prosperity is revealed in them, while the eyes of endeavour weep for the prosperity of unemployment.
They eat the best by the toil of people who lack even Sakhīna made of bran,
It is as though the people toil very hard and are miserable, in order that this dynasty may be prosperous.
And as though God had created the people to be a tool to make easy the life of the family of the Sultans.
They have burdened us with each burden of their life, then they have increased the numbers of their sons and brothers-in-law, and of their more distant relations.
We supplied sufficient provision of life for their in-laws, but they became more and more,
This is something that is impossible in the socialist creed.
And in the Ḥanafī faith it is disbelief in God.

Feudal land tenure iqtā' was a serious problem in Iraq from the period of native control. This system was introduced by the British
mandatory government; they handed the land over to the Shaykh, although by custom and tradition it was the property of the whole tribe. When the national government came to power, they continued to conform this system and handed over large estates to their supporters.

Al-Ruṣāfī was one of the reformers who strongly attacked this system, believing that it was unjust. In his book, al-Risāla al-‘Irāqīyya, which he wrote in Fallūja in 1940, he urged the people to protest against this system. He also attacked it in the following verses:

1,104

I see each poor man considered merely as a hireling by each rich man - a servant on his property. He gives him only a little, but it is only by means of his toil that the palaces of his wealth rise, and he wears plentiful honour by means of the humiliation of the poor man while he looks askance at him with contempt.

He regarded this system as a serious social problem which caused much misery to the country.

1. Izzeddīn, N., 201
2. ʿAlī, M., Al-Ruṣāfī, 211
We have today in life an order which includes falsehood and impossible things,

So that the poor man works like a hireling employee for the benefit of the rich man who alone takes the proceeds.

So you see the wealthy people enjoying ease of life which the hands of the poor have provided for them.

And you see the divers in the sea providing for others the pearls that they bring up,

And you see the people who live in hard circumstances, in each land, live as slaves and the prosperous as lords.

Indeed most people toil hard for those who sit in their palaces.

One lives in idle luxury, and a thousand live in
misery, suffering and illness.

It is a situation in our life which has driven us to paths of betrayal and deceit.

Therefore you see each of us wearing the fox's pelt of betrayal for each other's benefit.

These are disagreeable customs which we have inherited from past times.

So for how long shall we suffer and for how long shall we stay like this, in blindness and error?

During this time he demanded Islamic socialism, believing that this creed was a good means to achieve social impartiality and the greatest happiness of all people.

The socialist creed is the only right one, as far as individual property is concerned.

It is an ideology with objects that guarantee the hopes of those who are alive,

That lead to happiness in life, and guide men aright towards the path to sublimity.

Advocacy of socialism was generally considered as against religion, Muslim tradition, morals, and the government; it was
Therefore very dangerous, as one who believed in it was faced with great difficulties, and might even sentenced to death, al-Ruṣāfī was the first poet of his generation to follow this creed. In order to convince the people that it was not against Islam, he tried to relate it to religion.

قديماً في غلاب الأجيال ليس فضل الزكاة في الشاعر إلا 

It is a creed which Abu Dhar in past time inclined to,

The pre-eminence given to Zakāt in the Sharia is, in fact, only a step towards its high purpose.

He gave encouragement to the labourer, believing that he is the effective power in a country's progress.

كل ما في البلاد من أمور ليس إلا نتيجة الأعمال وان يطبع فن حياتنا الاجتماعية عيش نالفض للعمال

All the property of a country is nothing but the result of labour.

And if our social living is easy, the honour belongs to the labourers.

1. Al-Saḥartī, M.A., 258
2. See al-Shurbāsī, A., 13
He also encouraged them to become more powerful through co-operation and unity.

Labourers, unity among you will make each expensive thing cheap for you.

Only by unity will you recover from the sickness that you suffer in life.

Therefore be to each other a helper in all circumstances.

If I say that you are the whole people, I shall not exaggerate.

So persist in your labour without laziness, watch for what the nights will bring to you,

Then say, with me, in a loud voice, "Long live the band of workers".
SECTION 5. CHARITABLE WORK

After 1920, charitable societies which supported orphans and performed other good works appeared in Arab countries. This was a result of the growth of national consciousness. Al-Ruṣārī was the most distinguished Arabic poet at that time who supported these charitable establishments, and tried to stimulate wealthy persons to donate some of their fortunes to endow them. He believed that this was essential for co-operation between the people, which would lead to more progress.

People's civilisation is nothing but their co-operation in order to achieve the best ends.

And nothing has been able to correct people's corruptness, except shared wealth from their earnings,

By which institutions for orphans will be established, and kitchens for hungry people will be provided.

And buildings for the sciences will be established, throwing bright beams of knowledge.

Otherwise, misery will become their ally, and
bearing misery is impossible.

To him, charitable works like the protection of orphans and the needy are a humanitarian duty. This is well reflected in his poem *Dar al Aytām*, written on the occasion of the establishment of *Dār Shanillar* in Jerusalem around the year 1921.

The *Dar Shanillar* in Jerusalem is a favour by which orphans forget their orphanhood,

And which is praised by a poor child who blames death for the loss of his father.

In it, the orphan finds a place for himself, when destiny has deprived him of one.

He finds in place of his mother a kind mother, and in place of his father a father who looks after him.

The orphan enters it as a child, and it sends him out as a young man,

With good understanding of life, so that he can pass through its circumstances with good experience, and
it sends him out as a young man,

With good understanding of life, so that he can pass through its circumstances with good experience, and penetrate its crush,

Having dressed in moral excellence and girded himself with firm resolution.

It is also a social duty, so that it creates useful members of society from these lost children who are in his eye the source of the future of any society.

This life is nothing but a struggle, in which the strong one gains the victory.

And no nations of this creation have ever ruled except by preparation of its children for this struggle.

If a people does not give attention to children, the mound of their glory will be subjected to collapse.

No land of any people will flourish, if they regard a child as a rubbish.

The first charitable work in Baghdad was established between the years 1923 - 1928. It was a school for orphans, Dār Tarbiyat al-
Tifl. On this occasion al-Ruṣâfī delivered the following poem Dār Tarbiyat al-Tifl, in which he tried to indicate that the death of these lost and orphaned children would perhaps have caused great loss to the country.

Many of them have died and with them have died some of our proud honour and glory.

The death of children is not an insignificant matter, because some of them may become distinguished figures.

Indeed, they are like the sea-shells; you do not know whether there are pearls in them or not.

The child of them who died, perhaps there died with him intelligence and sagacity.

In 1928, the Islamic Charitable Society built a school for orphans in Baghdad. On this occasion al-Ruṣâfī published his poem Al-Iḥsān, in which he tried to indicate to the people that charity is a religious duty.
If I were to worship anything transitory in this life, I would worship, apart from God, the charitable man.

I would make my heart a mosque for my worship in secret, and I would thank him openly.

In harvesting the plants of this creation, I have found only charity sweet.

No country can shelter beneath its shadow without God making that country, strong.

I do not know why, when there are so many signs of it in the West, there should be few in our country.

Is it unknown to us, when all people in the East know that it was raised as a foster son among us?

Are we not ordered by the commandments of our holy Qur'ān to follow justice and charity?

Believing that charitable works are social, humanitarian, and religious duties, he tried to use his artistic gift to encourage people to contribute to these types of institutions, though he was not able to support them himself by contributing directly to them. This may be well illustrated by a passage from his poem ʿIlā Humāt al-ʿAṭfāl.
published on the occasion of the meeting which was called to
collect contributions for the establishment of the Society for the
Protection of Children in Baghdad in 1928.

I try to be your helper, but difficulties
prevent me.

If my wealth could support you, the Tigris and
Euphrates would not give more than I.

If my days would give me my health, the
strongest worker would not do more than I.

If I cannot support you practically, I still
remain one of your helpers with my poetry.
SECTION 6. EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

Introduction

Although a number of women had attained positions of importance during the Jāhiliyya, the majority were rescued from their down-trodden situation only by the coming of Islam. During the period of the Prophet the Muslim woman became an essential member of her society. She shared with the man in social, economical, and political affairs, and even went with him to war 1. There were also a number of female writers and poetesses, and under the Umayyads they enjoyed considerable freedom.

When during the 'Abbāsid period, the Islamic world, now at its greatest extent, also reached its cultural peak, Harems became more common and concubinage was increased. Accordingly men started to change their attitudes towards their women; they looked on them as not worthy of trust, and so they restricted their movements 2. They used religion as a means to justify this action, and interpreted the holy Qur'ān accordingly; consequently women were veiled, neglected, and unjustly treated, whilst the holy Qur'ān spoke of love and respect between the man and the woman, and laid down woman's rights in marriage, divorce, inheritance, and other matters. 3

In the nineteenth century Muslim woman remained in subjection, and her condition was particularly bad in the Arab parts

1. See al-Qustulānī, 5., 67-69
2. Zaydān, J., 5., 77
3. See the holy Qur'ān Surat, al-Talāq, and al-Niṣā'
of the Ottoman Empire. She was regarded as nothing from her birth, which was an occasion for sadness.

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the woman started to regain some of her denied rights as a result of the reform movement which was headed by Jamāl al-Dīn-al-Afghānī (1839 - 1897) in Egypt. This caused a great upheaval, and was directed at both religious and social reform and the liberation of woman. This reconsideration of the condition of women was launched by Qāsim Amin, in his two books, Ṭahīr al-Manʿa (1898), and al-Manʿa al-Jadīda (1900 - rewritten 1911), at first with the help of foreign women, but soon this movement found a native-born leader in Huda Shaʿrāwī (1879 - 1949).

In Beirut too, a new social movement began demanding both social reform and the liberation of women, but Iraq remained deaf for a long time as a result of its great decline and the utter ignorance of its people. Accordingly this trend made itself felt there very slowly, and al-Ruṣāfī and al-Zahāwī were its principal advocates. It was one of the most dangerous subjects that they had treated in their poetry, because it had to do with tradition and religious beliefs.

Al-Ruṣāfī devotes a separate section of his Dīwān to women al-Manʿiyāt, in which he discusses women's rights in education, unveiling, marriage, divorce and work, for both Muslim women in general and Arab women in particular.

2. Gachia, P., 22
A. Education

The first right which al-Ruṣāfī demanded is education, for he believed that social conditions were chiefly effected by three factors: first the family, especially the mother, second the school, especially the teacher, and third the environment. He believed with 'Abduh that social reform should begin with the family, and chiefly the mother. For this reason he had a strong interest in the liberation of women in general and their rights in education in particular, for regarded them as the child's first school.

The first lesson in rectifying natural dispositions is your responsibility, 0 women.
How can we expect good for children if they grow up in the care of ignorant mothers?
And is there any hope for children to be perfect if they are suckled by imperfect mothers?

His advocacy of women's right to education began during the period of Ottoman rule, when female education was almost unknown, and the few existing girls' schools were chiefly confined to those

1. 'Uthmān, A., 57
organised by denominational bodies, notably the Alliance and the French Sisters of Mercy, and those for Muslims girls were even fewer and were very backward. With increased vigour when control over education was transferred to the Iraqi authorities in 1921 and consciousness of the need for reform increased.

In fact, female education in Iraq, as in other Arab countries, was rejected by both the religious authorities and the common people. Accordingly Iraqi women remained uneducated, although many serious attempts had been made after the declaration of the Ottoman constitution in 1908.

The majority of the religious authorities opposed female education, claiming that it was against religion and Muslim tradition, and the Mufti of Baghdad consequently gave an opinion to this effect. Al-Ruṣāfī says regarding this group:

وعناءُ العلمِ كَمُ أَلْقِتْ بِأَدِمَتْ فَحِرَّوا وَأَحَلُّوا حُسُبَ عَادَتِهِمْ حِتَّى تُراَمِ عِرْونَ الْعَلَمِ مُقْصَدَةُ وَحِجْبُهُنَّ خَوْفَ العَلَارِ لِيَتَهَسُّ

1,320

How often have the spiders of ignorance woven in the brains of some people the cobwebs of superstition. So they forbade and allowed according to their habits and they prevented the principles of religion.

1. Wilson, A.T., Mesopotamia (1917-1920), 175
2. Lazim, A.T., 55 and Tachāţ, F., 26
3. ‘Izz al-Dīn, Y. Al-Hilāl (1973) 2, 93
You see them even believing that knowledge is a defect in women, even though they are chaste.

And therefore they veiled them for fear of shame; would that they had feared for them the shame of ignorance.

Such was the respect in which the religious authorities were held and such was the ignorance of the common people, that they accepted this ban on female education without question. Consequently when a high school for girls was opened in Baghdad in 1920, there was a riot and the students had stones thrown at them. Al-Rusafi tried hard to convince people that there was no religious basis for this ban.

They said that knowledge is something which singing-girls are too weak to bear.

And they said that ignorant women are more chaste and less likely to commit adultery than educated women.

1. 'Izz al-Dīn, Y., Al-Hilāl (1973) 2, 94
They falsified Islam with a lie from which mountains will tremble and fade away.

Is not knowledge in Islam religious obligation on both its sons and daughters?

And our mother (Khadija al-Kubra) had extensive knowledge so that she solved problems for those who consulted her.

And the Prophet had taught her great knowledge so that she became the greatest of women.

He believed that habits and customs are not inherited but acquired.

Everything in the human being is acquired; do not believe that there is anything in him that is not acquired.

I believe that the worst father in bringing up his child should more properly described as the most undutiful father.

The human being is like a plant, and grows according to its soil; the mabṣ will not grow where the sālāh grows.
And because of this belief, he insists on female education:

Morals are like plants; they grow if watered with noble deeds,

If the grower takes care of them, they will grow well and produce fruit on the stem of excellence.

And they will rise to noble deeds in good order as the pipes of gannāt are well ordered.

And they will irrigate a spirit with fragrant flowers from the inmost part of glory.

I have not seen any place for the refining of human beings like the bosom of their mothers.

The mother's bosom is a school which is preeminent in the upbringing of both boys and girls.

The child's morals are measured in goodness against the mother's morals.
So the child who is nursed by a mother of superior qualities is not like a child who is nursed by a mother of inferior qualities. A plant which grows in a garden is not like a plant which grows in a desert.

Accordingly he considered the ignorance and the poor-spiritedness of men to be the result of their imperfect upbringing. This may best be illustrated by the following verses:

Do you not see that they have become slaves because they have grown up in degradation in the bosoms of slave-girls? And they have found it easy to bear the tyranny of foreign rulers since they have despised their own women.

In his poem al-Mar'a Fīl-Sharg, he tries to convince the men of the East that their demands for independence and progress can not be fully met, unless women achieve a measure of equality, particularly in education.
Does the Eastern man know that his life will advance if he educates and refines girls?

And if he gives them their rights and does not dominate them, and teaches them knowledge and morals.

Indeed, the East will never revive unless he brings the women close to the men.

If you claim progress for its men, the backwardness of the women will show up that this is a lie.

Because how can a man rise if half of him is affected with hemiplegia.

Because of his belief that the women is an essential member of society and the progress of the country depends on her, he paid great attention to the activities of women both in Iraq and in other Arab countries.

He was one of the editors of Laylā, the first Iraqi magazine for women which was started in Baghdad in 1923 by Yūlīnā Ḥassūna.¹

The magazine and its editors were savagely attacked for their corrupting influence on women, who were in any case, imperfect creatures who did not need literature written especially for them.²

On the other hand, he was able to present women's success

1. Dā'ūd, S., 81

2. 'Īzz al-Dīn, Y. Al-Hilāl (1973) 2, 95
in fields such as publishing as evidence of their denied ability.

This is illustrated, for example, in his poem قَهْبَةُ مِجَالَةُ الْكِحْدَرَ. 

They tell me that women are imperfect, and they depend in this on what they hear. 

But I have refused to accept that depending on intelligence; in this refusal, I am not saying anything exceptional. 

If the spadix of a great palm tree becomes weak, I do not blame the spadix, 

But I blame its trunk which grows in a bad growing place, the defect is in the trunk. 

Therefore I tear their false claim when I attack it, even if it is armoured with religion. 

So owner of al-Khидr, reveal what you believe by answering and rebutting.
You are a symbol of perfection that contains knowledge which cannot be denied.

May the God of the people preserve you for the people as evidence against those who relate the imperfection of women to nature.

His position on this question may be summed up in his own words.

* * *

I am not one of those who believe that men are greatly superior to women,

But the days have gone by, until men despise women.

Iraqis women eventually won their rights to education after the Second World War.
B. Unveiling

The idea of the unveiling of women was rejected by all classes in the nation. The religious authorities, the common people, and the educated all considered the putting forward of this idea as against religion and likely to provoke immorality. For this reason those who demanded unveiling (such as al-Zahawi and al-Ruṣāfī), were strongly attacked and were accused of disbelief.

The veil was intended to cover both the body and the face; al-Ruṣāfī considered it a hindrance to the real freedom of women. He did not believe, as most people did, that the veil guaranteed the honour of the wearer.

Ask those who imposed veil upon women; do you know what happened under veil?

The honour of a good woman is to be literate, and her veil among people is to be morally educated.

If her face is veiled with modesty, there is no need then for a girl to veil herself.

No Iraqi woman ventured to remove the veil, even after she had won her rights on education, because of the fixed belief in the
importance of the veil for preserving respectability. Al-Ruṣāfī again tried to convince the women and the men that there was no real religious basis for this ban.

أوان شاعرات نساء القلوب قدما
بالحرب مع الغزاة
وهم من أسرت وذاقت
فماذا اليوم ضر ليوالتنا

Have we not seen (female writers and poetesses) among beautiful girls before?

And the women of the people formerly went to the war with the warriors.

They helped them against the enemy, and they bandaged their bleeding wounds.

And how many of them were taken captive and were subjected to suffering disgrace in the enemy's prison.

So what harm would it do today if we paid some attention to our ancestors and followed them?

Although the Arab woman in rural society was uneducated and submissive to the control of the man, she was unveiled and worked side by side with him. Al-Ruṣāfī tried to use this point as evidence of
the backwardness of women and the conservatism of men in town.

Congratulations to the bedowins, even if they have been described to us as rough people!

How often have beauties emerged among their people, unveiled, without any fear,

And how often have fawns and antelope passed in their camp side by side with kid and oryx!

Were it not for ignorance there, I would say well done to those who live as nomads in the desert.

In 1928 Naṣīra Zayn al-Dīn, published her book Al-Sufūr wa'l-Ḥijāb in Beirut. Al-Ruṣāfī hastened to support her with a poem in which he expressed his rejoicing at this event; he used it as evidence that unveiling did not necessarily involve shamelessness.
Ask those who believe in veiling, what will you say after the publishing of a clear book for unveiling?

In it Naţira bint Zayn-al-Dîn removed the veils of blindness from you.

A book that established evidence in favour of unveiling, that left your flies without a buzz.

You who used mere opposition as an argument, the fort of your opposition was not well fortified.

Is there any one among you like Naţira? or any intelligent person or scholar like her?

Naţira has demolished every degrading prison that your traditions had built for women.

Do you still persist in your opposition, when, after the night of doubt, the morning of certainty has come?

We who believe in unveiling, understand better what the Prophet laid down as law.

Is that which the Prophet laid down something
against the law of civilisation?

Your haughty segregation of women is something against the wisdom of creation.

Even Chinese men respect their women; are we less than them?

No, it is just uncivilised habit which has made you war against every good thing.

The feeling of the majority regarding the importance of the veil may best be illustrated by the following verses by one of al-Ruṣāfī's contemporaries and fellow - countryman, ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Uzari, (1880 - 1957) in which he protests against al-Ruṣāfī's advocacy of unveiling in his poem al-Marʿa fī l-Shaʾr ¹.

Daughter of al-Zawrā', do not let yourself be

¹. Batti, R. Al-Adab al-`Asrī fī l-`Iraq al-`Arabī. 2, 56
misdirected on the way which does not lead to the homeland of al-Zawrā’.

Do not be misled by a poet’s imagination; imagination is the mount of poets.

They restricted your cure to unveiling, but they did not know that what they had restricted it to was the illness itself.

Did they not see that a girl, by her nature, is like water and cannot be kept without a container.

Who will guarantee a girl, after she appears unveiled, against that which boils up in the minds of the insolent?

And who will prevent a youth from deceiving a beautiful virgin?

The veil is not a hindrance to her education, because knowledge is not based on fashions.

The holy Qur’ān required the veil, and did not allow Muslim virgins to display their charms.

There is nothing in the veil except modesty; is it part of culture that they tear off the veil of modesty?

Is there in sitting with a girl anything except desire, if the minds of those who do so told the truth?

Another objector was Khidr al-Ṭā’ī, also a fellow-countryman, who accused those who advocated the liberation of women, and especially their right to unveil, of dishonesty and thoughtlessness.

1. Al-Jubūrī, A., 204
They have conspired against the people in order to attain, through (women's) thoughtlessness, to low pleasures.

They said: men have imprisoned their women and have inflicted upon them this veiling.

They have preserved beauty from men's eyes for chastity; what if this beauty were freely available?

They will not have a girl raised above obscenity, or honour protected, or a home kept honourable.

Woe to them; they thought that the pleasures of passion were everything that the soul could hope for.

Shall we overthrow high honour because it separates us from life's pleasures?

Woe to me, O girl, shall I shed my dignity and
become a matter for gossiping?

You, the best one I have protected in this life, my honour with your honour is great and cannot be subverted.

Protect your beauty from evil propaganda gradually introduced by a group who wish to lead you astray.

You, lady of honour which is indicated by your boudoir, do not listen to his cheap seduction.

Do not play with a dignity which is all by means of which high honour flourishes and becomes abundant.

Mother of sons, you are a school for them; raise them on virtue and they will become noble.

Woe to a group who think that you are something to be enjoyed; their desire is deeply damaging.

The same view was expressed by another Iraqi contemporary poet Shaykh Hamza Quftān, who also regarded the veil as essential for honourable women, and considered al-Ruṣāfī and his group as the most dangerous people in the East, because of their advocacy of unveiling.

1. Al-Jubūrī, A., 202
Slowly; good advice is not one of your natural characteristics, so that we should listen to you. Is there in fire a draught of water?

Wait, tell us what you want, for we and you are not in agreement in this matter.

You have commanded the East to take your medicine, when you are to the East the greatest disease.

Is it an objectionable thing that a pure girl seeks to have knowledge, wrapped in veil and mantle? Is the flow of water in a branch by which it is watered, blocked because it is covered with bark?

She can come and go, morning and evening, and the veil will not prevent her seeking knowledge.

The veil restricted women's freedom and hindered their progress. The choice of work that they could do was very limited, and they were deprived of any kind of social activity. The number of unveiled women in Iraq until 1934 was only ten, and there was only one women's society, headed by Nuri al-Sa'id's wife, in Baghdad.

Iraqi women remained veiled until recently, and even now the majority of women are veiled.

1. Al-Tanâhî, T., 116
C. Marriage

The women in Iraq, as in other Arab countries during the period under discussion, had no right to express her feelings about the man who asked her father for her hand in marriage. She was always compelled to marry the man who was chosen for her by her father. The dowry was the basis for the agreement of the father, and one who had many daughters was considered wealthy, as is well explained in al-Ruṣāfī’s book al-Risāla al-Īrāqiyya.

This belief in dowries encouraged wealthy old men to get married to very young women, which the could do by paying bigger dowries. Al-Ruṣāfī says regarding this:

قلب الفتاة أجل من أن يشتهرى ببعض العتق وهن في عهد الصبي من عاشذا شرف وكان مهذباً بالحلا لا بالحب عاد مخبرسا

This is, by the name of God, rejected by one who lives honourably and is educated. 

1. ‘Alī, M. Al-Ruṣāfī, 208 – 209
The home of marriage, if built on the basis of money, not love, would be demolished.

In the following verses he tries to urge the girl to refuse this unequal marriage so long as she is free, not a slave.

They have treated you with injustice, O girl, in their ignorance, because they have compelled you to marry an old man.

They became greedy for money from him, so that even Ash'ab (a legendary figure of greed) became ashamed of their impudent greediness.

So if you refuse, there is no shame on you, even though this agitates your guardian and displeases him.

The honourable women in her marriage is free, and the free one refuses to live unstably.

This obligatory marriage had a bad effect on society. Many families were destroyed, for many women ran away from their husbands to their own families, leaving behind their children.

1. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, 4, 236
Al-Rusafi tried to draw the attention of fathers to this important point.

You, who bargain very high with dowries and regard the dowry as decision in fixing the marriage,

Cease that! for how often have free women, when once established in rich men's houses, found it intolerable.

To him the dowry was not an essential part of successful marriage.

Marriage is love, so if it occurs without it, it will become a tiresome thing.

A woman should have no dowry except her love; with her love marriage will become more desirable.

He believed that both the woman and the man should know each other before marriage, believing that this would give them a chance for better selection, and that this would lead to a successful
If marriage is to take place without acquaintance and love, we should do better to become monks.

To us it is like throwing a net into deep water; it may catch something bad or something good.

Or it is like one who cuts wood on a dark night; he may step on a snake or touch a scorpion.

For twenty years now, although, in general, young Muslim women and men still do not join in social activities together, academic association in the mixed universities has been permitted, and it is becoming more common for a young man to see his wife before marriage, though not to know her very closely.
D. Divorce

Due to a misunderstanding of the commandment in the holy Qur'an, divorce increased, in Iraq as in other Muslim countries, and this caused the destruction of many families and left many children homeless. Women were afraid of this situation and thus had little confidence in the security of their marriages. This is expressed by al-Ruṣāfī in the following verse:

وهي حبل الزواج، ورق حتى يكاد إذا نفخت له يذوب

1,163

The rope of marriage has become so weak and thin that if you blow on it, it will dissolve.

His narrative poem al-Mar'a al-Mutallaga 1 gives a clear and expressive picture of this matter.

Divorce is the most hateful of lawful things to God in Islam and it can be permitted only under special conditions which ensure the welfare of the family. These conditions were abused by the religious leaders whom al-Ruṣāfī considered responsible for the decline of the integrity of the family.

ألا قل في الطلاق الموتى عليه غلوم في ديانتكم غلوة

1. D.10, 154
Tell those who imposed divorce in a way which is not justified by the Sharī'ā.

You have gone too far in your religion - a distance that the most generous explanation cannot deal with.

God wants to make things easy, but you have many ways of making them difficult.

Great distress has come upon your nation, which you are responsible for, not your nation.

Divorce at the present time occurs less than previously, as a result of social consciousness.
E. Work

Muslim townswomen in Iraq were prevented taking up work. Work was considered as unsuitable for the Muslim woman of good family. As a result, she depended for her living on the support of her father, her brother, or her husband. Consequently, she faced great difficulties in her circumstances, particularly when she had lost her supporter. This is well reflected by al-Ruṣāfī in his narrative poems, al-Armala al-Murda'a, al-Faqr wa'l-Sigām, al-Yatīm fi'l-Fid and Min Waylāt al-Ḥarb.

To al-Ruṣāfī work is essential for women in order that they may be able to obtain their living as members of society.

1. Wilson, A.T., Mesopotamia (1917-1920), 173
2. D.I., 569
3. D.I., 273
4. D.I., 165
5. D.I., 587
What can the women do when as a prisoner in her house when she become very poor?

Life becomes very hard for her, because all ways of earning have been closed in her face.

How often in the homes of the people a free woman cries from poverty, like a bondmaid.

In his poem al-Mar'a al-Muslima, he reflected the misery of the family when they lose their supporter, for example the following verses.

وكم فتاة فقدت بعلها
وأصبحت للبؤس مستسلمٌ
لا قمر الليل ولا أنجمٌ
ما جلّ أوقل وعُسْمٌ
فاضطرها ذلك أن تطمّع
لبه الدهر ولا تطمّع
يشكو من الدهر الذي أيتمه

How often has a girl lost her husband, after having had twins.

So she has lost the source of her living, and has surrendered herself to misery.

She passes the night awake, without praising, because of her great grief, either the moon or the stars of night.

For she possesses, from the whole of
her life, not even a sesame seed.

Her breast has become dry for her nursing child, so she has been compelled to wean him.

Then he lived like his mother; time gave him neither clothes nor food.

He has grown up feeble like her, complaining of destiny which made him an orphan.

The denial of this right to women compelled some of them who were not trained to turn to prostitutes as a means to support themselves and their children, and some died of hunger or of illness. This caused serious problems for the country.

They have directed them to an evil way, and they have prevented them earning their living.

Around the year 1929, al-Rusafi demanded the right for women to appear on the stage. This was totally unacceptable to the people, and as a result men acted female roles. He debated the matter in the following verses:
It is no shame that the girl appears on the stage acting roles of honour and pride,

But it is shame that your men wear women's clothes on the stage.

Although women in Iraq at the present time have won most of their rights, they still remain aloof from the stage, for fear of their reputation, as a woman who works on it is considered dishonourable and people look down upon her.

Al-Ruṣāfī wanted rapid progress towards full rights for women, believing that this would hasten the development of his country. Many of his literary contemporaries were also in favour of women's rights, but opposed him in advocating a more gradual advance, such as al-Shibībī 1.

Al-Ruṣāfī and many other figures in Iraq, like King Faysal the First, believed that those who were against the liberation of women were motivated by selfishness and wished to keep control of society in their own hands 2; this is reflected, for example, in the following:

واللَّهِ أَجِبَتْ أَنْ تَكُونَ نَسَاءٌ مِّنَ النَّعَامِ كَأَنْ نَكُونَ الْأَدْمَجَّا

2,138

1. Ṭabaña, B., 180 - 181
2. Al-Hilālī (1939) s, 86 - 87
Selfishness insisted that our women become like ewes, and that we become wolves.

In his advocacy of the emancipation of women, he tried mainly to convince men and religious leaders. He realized that women alone cannot obtain their required progress if their society stands against them. On the other hand, other poets of his generation, such as al-Zahawi, tried to urge the woman herself to break her tradition despite her family's wishes. Undoubtedly, this method leads to great problems in society; for example in the following verses al-Zahawi tried to incite women to unveil.

Daughter of Iraq, tear the veil, and take it off for life requires revolution.

Tear it and burn it, very soon, for it was a false guard.

Tear it and then tear it again until it becomes dust.

The only right that al-Rušâfî tried directly to urge the woman to get despite of her family's wishes, was her right in marriage.

1. Loghêt el-'Arab (1928) 8, 622
SECTION 7. POETRY OF MISERY

According to al-Ruṣāfī, misery in Iraq's society was the main cause that stirred his poetical gift. This humanitarian feeling may best be illustrated by his own words:

ان لي ان سمعت أنسى محز و
بهلم العباد كل العباد
لا أحب النسم الا اذا هببت
أني مرجعاً في نواد

When I hear the groans of someone grieving, a groaning reaches in my heart.

My soul pays no attention to its own troubles, being busy with those of all mankind.

I do not like the gentle breeze, unless it blows to every town-dweller and nomad alike.

In his Diwan there are seven poems in which he depicts different picture of misery in society; Umm al-Yatīm, al-Faqr wa’l-Siqām, al-Yatīm Fī’l-I’d, Umm al-Tīfī Mashhad al-Harīq, al-Mutallaga, Min Waylāt al-Karb, and al-Armala al-Murdi‘a. These poems from a distinctive genre in his social poetry both for their narrative manner and their historical importance, in that they reflected some of the political, social and economical injustice of the period 1896-1926. Superficially these poems have a humanitarian aim, in promoting

1. Tabāna, B., 171
charity and sympathy, but basically they aim at both political and social reform because he puts the responsibility for misery in society on both political and social injustice. For example in his narrative poem *al-Yatīm fi l-Fīl*, consisting of 83 verses written around the year 1897 he depicts the misery of a poor orphan child on the first day of the feast. This child has lost his father and most of his relatives in one of the epidemics that swept Iraq during that time because of lack of health services in the country. His mother has been left to support both of them without anything, even a job. His uncle has supported them, but has been put in jail unjustly by the authorities.

In the following verses, al-Rūṣāfī analyses the spiritual situation of the orphan on the first day of a feast when every other child enjoys the celebration.

He is wearing a dress whose sleeves were squeezed by orphanhood; dropping from its sides was
abject poverty.

His face reflects sadness, covered with dust blown by the violent wind of orphanhood.

Despite of the beating of drums everywhere, you see him silent as if there were no beating of drums there.

As though the drums roar strikes his hearing and does not find an answer, so it returns.

He answers the smiles of children who are standing around him with grief, by which his heart is almost torn apart.

And he sends from his eyes the look of one who wants to cry, but he is not weeping and his eyes do not shed tears.

He shivers continually while standing on one side, bitten by the cold weather.

He sees around him the children dressed, while he cannot find for himself a simple dress to protect himself against the cold weather.

To him the people's smiles were like biting snow beside his grief that burns him like embers.

Al-Ruṣafī followed this orphan and learns his story from one of his neighbours. Then he returned to his friends who are waiting for him and tries to inspire them to revolt against the rulers whom he regards as mainly responsible for this social tragedy.
I returned with a grieved and painful heart, and
said, with my eyes shedding tears:

"I wish that the day of the feast might never
come, because it renews the sorrow of him who sorrows
and makes him grieved".

I arrived at the place where I had arranged to
meet my friend, who had gathered a whole group of
other friends,

And revealed to them the story of this orphan.

They murmured, and when I informed them about the
imprisoned uncle, they praised God.

I told them, "Stop this murmering, because the
disgrace is yours, and stop praising God, because the
matter is more serious than that".

Are we not the people in every part of whose
country the light of justice shone in the past?

So why do we now accept injustice with acquiescence
and endure the rule of tyrants and submit to them?
We have drunk our bellies full of the hot water of humiliation and we do not complain of it or feel pain.

Rise up to pure glory with a resolve at which the oppressors will fall down and kneel.

Al-Ruṣafī showed a special interest in these poems in widows and orphans. This interest was directed later to his advocacy of the emancipation of women. He was the first modern Iraqi poet to pay great attention to misery in the country. He was distinguished by his great ability to describe the sorrow of someone who was in misery, to reflect his thoughts, and to express his aspirations; these poems came to be regarded almost as if they were real stories.

The last narrative poem of this kind is al-Armala al-Murdi'a written in 1929 in Baghdad on the occasion of the establishing of the Society for the protection of children. The poem is an artistic picture of a widow who is living with her baby, without food, in very bad conditions. He used his poetical skill to stir up the feelings of the people to support society and to look after the poor. Besides, he tries to show the people the importance of the emancipation of the woman and her right to work to support herself and her family in case of her husbands death. This poem is one that all Iraqi students used to be made to learn by heart.

 сейчас ни в чем не смущайся
 длинные волосы, а ножки
 вечнею зеленью

1. Sa'īd, J., 73
2. Loghat el 'Arab (1929) 2, 146
بكت من النقر فاحترت مدامها
مات الذي كان بميدها وسعدها
الموت أرفعها بالقمر أرفعها
فخندر الحزن مشهد بخندرها
كرر الحدثين قد أبلي عبدها
ورق الدهر، ورق الدهر شردها
تمشي بأطرافها والبرد يلسعها
حتى غدا جسما بالبرد ورتجها
تمشي وتحمل بالبرد وأداها
قد قطعتها بأهدام ممزقة
ما أنس لا أنس أي كنت سمعها
تقول: يا رب لا ترك بها لبسن
ماصنع الف في تسبب طلقتها
يا رب ما حيلتي فيها وقلت ذلقت
ها بالها وهي طول الليل باكية
بكد بندق قلبي حين أنظرها
ويلها طيلة يانت مروحة
تيك لتشكو منها دل الله بها
قد فاتها النطق كالفجاء أرجها
ويج بتي ان ربد الدهر رهمها
كانت محييتها بالقمر وحيدة
هذا الذي في طرقي كنت أسمعه
حتى دنوت البها وهي ممشية
وقلت: يا أخت ميلا ابني رجل
سمعت يا أخت شكون تهسنين بها
هل تسح الالحلي أي أشاطرها
ثم اجتذبت لها من جيب طفحتي
وقلت يا أخت أرجو منك تحاسنني.
I met her - would that I had not met her - while she was walking; destitution made her steps heavy.

Her clothes were shabby and her feet were bare, and her eyes shed tears on her cheeks.

She wept from her poverty until her eyes became red, and her face from hunger became yellow like turmeric.

The one who supported her and helped her died, and destiny, after his death, made her miserable through poverty.

His death had distressed her, poverty had pained her, sorrow had emaciated her, and grief had exhausted her.

In her the sight of grief itself appears, and to see her is to see misery.
The days had worn out her cloak, and it was torn top and bottom.

And destiny had torn her dress, woe to it, so that her flanks appeared through its lents.

She was walking in her tatters and the cold was stinging her as if it were a scorpion that had raised its claws.

Until her body shivered with the cold like a branch in the wind and her teeth chattered.

She was walking, holding her child in her left arm on her chest, supported with her right hand.

She had swaddled her with torn clothes the folding and unfolding of which were disgusting to the eye.

Whatever I forget, let me never forget that I heard her complaining to her God of her misfortune.

She was saying: "O God, do not leave this suckling without milk, give me and her your mercy!

What can a mother do to rear up her child when she is so harmed that even her breasts become dry?

O God, what can I do with her when she has faded like a garden flower which lack of rain has dried up?

What is wrong with her, that she cries all night, and her mother stays awake all night weeping because of her weeping.

My heart almost breaks when I see her weeping and opening her mouth to me asking for food.

Woe to her mother, a child who spends the night terrified and I spend my night around her awake to look
after her.

She cries, complaining of a disease that has affected her but I do not know of what she is complaining.

She cannot speak, pity her; she is like a dumb animal, and I do not know which disease has harmed her.

Woe to my daughter, the uncertainty of fate has frightened her with both poverty and orphanhood; what hard things they are.

Her affliction with poverty was one misfortune but the death of her father brought a second on her with orphanhood".

This what I heard from her on my way; it affected and distressed my heart.

Until I came near her while she was walking, and my tears were widespread on my cheeks.

And I said: "O sister, gently, I am a man who sympathises with all people in their afflictions. O sister, I heard your complaint which you whispered in a way that pained my heart by its meaning. Will my sister allow me to share with her equally what I have in my hand, to satisfy God?"

Then I pulled from the pocket of my cloak some dirhams which were all that I had left.

I said to her: "O sister, will you kindly honour me by taking them without any thanks?"

She looked at me with a shaking, trembling look that shot arrows into my heart.
And she issued deep sighs from her heart, like fire coming from her soul.

Then she cried, and said, while she was weeping:
"O God for a person like you with such kindness.

If your feeling for me were general among all people, no one would wander in poverty.

Or if there were among people equity and mercy, no widow would complain of distress in her life".

This is the story of a state of things that I set out to mention; its moral will not be hidden from the liberal.

The person most worthy of sympathy is a widow, and the most honourable of people is the one who helps her with money.

Al-Ruṣāfī tried by these humanitarian stories to move the feelings of those conservatives who were against any social and political reform. Al-Ruṣāfī abandoned this kind of poem during the twenties as a result of his deep involvement in politics and social reform; he reverted to it only to write al-Armala al-Murdi‘a.
SECTION 8. HISTORICAL POETRY

In the first stage of his career al-Rusafî composed many historical poems in which he recalled the past glories of the Arab and Muslims. In the following he explained his aim in these poems.

لا لغة هنا الى الزمن الخالصي
وكم عصرة فمن تقدم للشمالي
فقد درست البقية أطلاع

Shall we glance at the age gone by and envy every outstanding one of our ancestors?

We came to this life after an advanced people, how many examples can the successor take from his predecessors?

So 0 people, remember the dwellings of your glory; they are all obliterated except for some ruins.

In his first historical poem, he recalled al-Râzî, the great Arab scientist, philosopher and doctor, who composed many books in medicine ¹, such as al-Hawî ², in order to draw Arab's attention to knowledge, endeavour, and good morals. This poem is a complete biography of al-Râzî, in 104 verses ³.

In another poem, he tried to encourage the Iraqis in

1. Ibn Khallikân, A., 2,114
2. Al-Râzî, A.B.N., Al-Hawî Fi 'l-Tibb
3. D.2, 170
particular to regain their past glory, which derived from knowledge and endeavour, by recalling the achievements of the al-Nizāmiyya school. This school was built by Nizām al-Mulk on Tigris and was with the al-Mustanshiriyah school in Baghdad one of the chief centres of knowledge in the Muslim world.

One of the most painful historical events to all Arabs and Muslims, was the sack of Baghdad by Hulagu in 1258. This is well reflected in al-Rusāfī's poem Hulagu wa'īl-Mustāsim. In the following lines he explains the reason for this tragedy and how it happened.

1. Ibn Khaldūn, A. 1., 202. See also Zaidān, J. 3., 203
2. Phillips, E.D., 90
3. For more references see Zaidān, J. 4., 209
Strife was caused by a group in al-Karkh who attacked another group in al-Karkh, killing and plundering.

Rancour arose in Ibn al-Alqamī (one of the group that was attacked) but was imprisoned in his reins and kept from reaching his heart.

So, he entertained perfidy to al-Musta‘ṣim, but he concealed his hatred, confining it to deceit and lies.

So he deceived him, although he was his minister, using devious means, for al-Musta‘ṣim was indecisive.

And he kept his armies away from him throughout the country, scattering them far and wide.

And he smuggled out a furtive letter to the tyrant Hūlagū, in which he invited him to make war.

He said to him: if you come Baghdad as an invader, you will possess it without fighting.

So Hūlagū stirred up his group, the Mongols green squadrons which found nothing an obstacle.

He led armies which never passed through fertile lands without leaving them burning with sterility.

Armies which reduced hills to plains in their progress and left havoc on every side.

It was not long before they had erected, with their dust, a sky of dust over the land of Iraq.

When they had completely destroyed the army of Baghdad, despite his leader Fath al-Dīn, whom he had appointed,
They remained for a while on Baghdad's ramparts, boring into them like an awl into an ankle bone.

So the strangling cord was tightened on Baghdad by this siege, and she choked in agony—Oh what agony!

When things became completely out of al-Musta'ṣim's control, his deceitful minister persuaded him to make a truce with Hulagū, claiming that this was only the chance of saving himself and Baghdad.

Then he said to him: our power is too weak for this misfortune, and you can see what misfortunes the Mongols have produced.

How long can we remain, surrounded by the enemy, humiliated and suffering in defence?

What is the profit of the forts in our land, when they are waiting for us in the way?

So, Commander of the Faithful, give up fighting them and make a truce that will maintain you with all rifts healed.

For although our castles are great, we can not repel Hulagū by fighting.
Al-Mustaṣim was eventually seduced by his minister’s words and fell into Hulagu’s trap. To al-Rusafī the main responsibility for this tragedy lay with al-Mustaṣim, the weak caliph who neglected his country’s affairs and devoted his time to pleasure.

He occupied himself with pleasure to the neglect of the affairs of his kingdom, so that Ibn al-‘Alqamī had a chance to cause disruption.

He remained lounging luxuriously in the bed of his dalliance, while destiny was awake collecting its forces.

He was deceived because he saw things kneeling down, but he forgot that the lion crouches to spring.

He tried in this poem to draw attention to the great importance of a wise ruler in a country and to the role of national Unity in a nation’s life.

Because of his great belief in peace, he retold the famous story of Abū Dulāma, the comical poet of al-Mansūr, mentioned above.

In the second stage of his career, he composed another historical poem Qasr ‘al-Hamrā’. In this poem he recalled the glory of the Alhambra in Granada.

1. See Tabaqāt al-Shu‘arā’ al-Muhdathīn, 17
Generally, he depended for his historical knowledge on physical remains and on extant scientific and literary works. He had not trust in history books.

Pay no attention to what historians say and do not be excited by their random words.

They are lies written on paper, on which a sound intelligence will choke when it bites.

So leave the foolish talk of those who can speak, and depend on what is told by remains that do not speak.

If one day they mention al-Nufīmān, do not believe anything more than al-Khawarniq says about him.
SECTION 9. POETRY FOR CHILDREN

A. Tamā'īm al-Tarbiya wa'l-Ta'ālīm

This is a poetical message composed in 1922 in Constantinople for students. According to his introduction, he composed it in order to participate in their intellectual and educational upbringing, for he believed that the nation's future depended on them. This message consists of 34 groups of poems on different subjects, which will teach the students patriotism and good morals, spur them on to knowledge and endeavour, accustom them to have regard for God's creatures, and implant in them whatever is good for their souls and sets them on the right path towards becoming useful and effective members of their country. The following poems are not published in his Diwan 1.

1. Chiekh, L. Al-Nachriq (1923) 6*, 429-433
Look at that tree which has blooming tender branches.
How it grew from a seed, and how it became a tree.
Look at it and wonder who brought forth its fruit.
And look at the sun whose brand is always burning.
There is light in it and heat, which spreads out.
And look at the night; who placed the moon in it,
And decorated it with stars like scattered pearls?

And look at man and wonder who created his eyes,
And who provided him with the power of thinking.
It is God, and Woe to thou who do not believe in Him.

الشمس
عيننا الشمس النضر
وهي يصرّ كل
يتمثل في الصباح منها
ونرى فيها شعاعا
انها كثرة نصار
في الغضّة قد علقتها
قدرة الله القدير
هسي البنت الصغير

ان هذى الأرض للشمس
The shining sun is the seeing eye of our world.

By it every human being beholds his destiny.

In the morning we see the face of a beautiful damsel appearing from it,

And we see in it rays flowing like tresses of hair.

It is a round mass of fire in the upper sky.

The great power of almighty God hung it up in space.

This earth is the youngest daughter of the sun.

Long ago it bore her, after many children.

All creatures on this earth need the sun.

There are many suns like our sun, in space.

They all spread scattered fire to great distances.

All these shining stars, are in fact, lighted suns.

They are small to the eye, but they are large to
the intellect.

And even our son, compared with them, is insignificant.

Each star in this wide space has long pursued its own course.

It has turned, and God has been its turner in space.

It is through this that the great power of almighty God is revealed.

الدينار

نقضي الحقوق ونسلك الأحسانا نكسوالمرأة ونظم الأشقاء
وابتع لنك في الورى شكرانيا
أحسنت موقف صرفه شيطانا
ايق وبأنك كاسب خسائرنا
فاجعله فيما يبتغ. الأوطانا
فاجعله في سبيل الفخار مهانا
أعم الشق وحبر الأذهان
ويFacade صالح ان هانا

How good is the Dīnār, if we grant rights with it, and follow the path of charity!

How honourable is the Dīnār, if we clothe the naked with it and we feed the hungry.

You who carry the Dīnār, spend it well and buy for yourself thanks with it among men.

And be sure that you are carrying a devil, unless you spend it in the right place.
You who obtain the Dinār without godliness, be sure that you are acquiring loss.

If you wish to achieve lasting benefit with it, use it so as to benefit countries.

And if you want to achieve honour and glory with it, make it contemptible in the paths of glory.

The nature of the Dinār is a puzzling matter, which has exhausted intellects and baffled brains.

If it is considered precious, time will consider its owner of no account, and if it is considered of no account its owner will be considered great.

أولاد المدارس بعد درسهم

فاذوا بدرس العلم حتى تعبوا فاللعب ليس بيجه يوم السبب

وملاعب الطلاب بعد فراقهم فين التي تغي لهم أبدانهم

والفقر شهبة وان شفاه والجسم يكمل عند طول جماله

لولا منعتنا لما حصلت لنـا كل الحياة مشاغل لكنـا

Exert yourselves in study, until you get tired; when you are tired with study, then you can play.

Only tiring effort permits a student to play at any time.
Students' sports are their absolute right, after they finish their lessons.

For they make their bodies grow and rest their minds when they are tired.

Thought exhausts, and its cure is play, by which energy is restored.

The body also becomes lazy with prolonged inactivity as water becomes full of green moss when it remains stagnant.

Were it not for our hardships, we should not get our required rest in life.

All this life is troubles, but were it not for these troubles, it would be bitter, without sweetness.

الوطن

وطني هو القطر السدري
وظل جنته خاير أمتي
وطني الذي أحسته عند اقامتِي
وحسته حبّة كل رجح نسمه
وناحي حين أرحل إليه يبسا
وأظل متهجا إذا شارنته
وئضتي أكواخه وقصوره
هذا هو الوطن الذي منذ الصبا
اني أغارت عليه إذ أحبتُه
وإذا يهانه العدو قاني
فليعلم النقبان طرزاً انتني
ويقول كل مقاتلي أبنا ورُه
My country is the land in the extended shadow of whose paradise I live and dwell.

The shadow of its paradise are the glories of my nation, and the memorable deeds and virtues of our forefathers.

When I have stayed in any other country but mine, I have felt myself a stranger and a transient.

I felt jealous of every wind that blew towards it, and I envied everyone who was settled there.

And when I return to it, I feel that my soul is full with pleasure.

And I am always happy when I come near it and its buildings and places appear to me.

Both its huts and its castles make me happy when I behold them in it.

This is the country love of which has been hidden in my heart since my childhood.

I feel jealous for it when anyone but I compares it with another country, because I love it.

And when the enemy attack it, I guarantee to repulse them with my blood.

Let all men and jinn know that I will battle and fight for it.

Every one of its sons will say as I do, youths, middle-aged men, and old men.
When dawn announces the morning, you see the cock begin to crow.

He crows happily when morning approaches and he flaps his wings with joy.

As though he has an appointment with morning, so that its coming is the reason of his happiness.

He has, in the depths of the night, a crow which rings out when wavering in the winds.

Its echo breaks the silence of the night weakly, when all directions reverberate with his cry.

Hear him, when he crows in the morning, Do you know what he says this morning?

He says to those who are still sleeping in the morning; "Wake up, because sleep is hateful in the morning".

The sun rises in the morning in order to wake you, and then it sets in the evening.
So leave the sleep, shaking it off, and rise to hurry towards prosperity.

Let him who seeks for success make efforts, for effort is one of the conditions of success.
Everything we know in this creation has speech.

It is concise speech, which can be understood only by him who understands.

So to some people it is clear, and to others it is unclear.

The crow has started the day saying Ghãq Ghãq.

The meaning of what he says, in the opinion of the intelligent, is:

One who wakes up early like me will never be afflicted by poverty.

The fly says in his buzzing voice

a saying interpreted for us by those who understand riddles:

Once who does not respect himself will never get respect.

When dawn appears, the sparrow started,

to say clearly in his cheeping voice:
If you desire good fortune, you must toil and
labour to get it.

How often have we heard a cricket, on a stormy
night,
Says loudly in his strident voice:
One who spends the night awake in order to
become a great one, will do so.

A frog who was wallowing between water and mud,
Said in his swamp while he was croaking in the
dusk:
One who tells the truth will never be disappointed,
and one who tells lies will never be saved.

A drum says, when we play on it, dum dum.
The meaning of its voice, as Murdum says, is:
If you do good, you should not stop but do it
continually.

These are a few examples of this poetical message. There
are also many poems from it published in his own Dīwān, al-Sayf, al-
Shīṭā’, al-Bulbul wa’l-Ward, Ighrūdat al-‘Andalīb, Qasr ‘l-Ḥāmrā’,

Al-Rusāfī was the first poet in Iraq who gave attention to
children's literature; according to him, this kind of poetry is very
difficult because the poet should go down to children's level, and
this needs a special ability ¹.

¹ ‘Alī, M. Al-Rusāfī, 113
In 1920, he published his book *al-Anāšīd al-Madrasiywa*, in Jerusalem. This book consists of school odes and anthems. There is only one anthem from this book published in his own Diwān, *al-Nashīd al-Watani*. The others are not published in his Diwān or found elsewhere.

After 1920, he composed other anthems in Iraq which are also not published in his own Diwān. The following are some examples of these. Al-Rusafī insisted that every one of them should have its own tune in order to make it more effective 1.

O flag of the nation, we are with you. Make it our duty to follow you.

Order us to do whatever you desire; our history guarantees that we will obey you.

Seek what dominion you wish; holy duty requires that we follow you.

You contain four signs with which you continually explain to people your aims.

All people acknowledge our glory, when their eyes see your four signs,

Which are signs of the glorious past of the nation who created you.

O flag of the Arabs, may you encompass glory!

how narrow time is and how wide you are!

God has entrusted you with our history, so wave over the earth with what he has entrusted to you.
O people of our country, arise to obtain glory and renown:

And build for us splendour on the foundation of past splendour.

If you are seeking your country's honour, then strive for knowledge!

For knowledge at this time is the strongest helper for a man.

Only the Arabs revived the knowledge of elementary principles and learning.

But for them, knowledge would have passed away like yesterday.
We were created for faithfulness, not for hostility and hate.

We are sons of those forefathers who ruled the civilized nations.

How often stars shone from us on every horizon of knowledge.

Guiding the people of understanding to the peaks of pride.

How often did we remove a grief, and how often did we resolve a crisis.

Because our resolution is more sharper than a sharp sword.

نشيد الوطن

يا الوطن العظيم لا
ان لم ننهوا مسألة الحشائش

يا الوطن العظيم الذي
ان سأك المهربما

نحن الآني قد بلغوا

بالعلم أطلسي الذري

للمناس نهج الهدي

نحن الآني قد بلغوا

الاصفار فيما مضى

أيامنا مشهورة عند جميع السموات
O Arab homeland, hope to gain your desire,

If we do not drive enemies away from you we shall not attain glory.

O Arab country, which we love from all our hearts,

If destiny brings harm to you, we will be your sacrifice.

We are the people who have reached in knowledge the highest peak.

Our pens have made clear the right way for all people.

We are the people who conquered the countries in the past,

Our battles are well known to all mankind.

We are the people who humbled, with our swords, all our enemies.

Our flags waved in victory on the day of battle.
Knowledge and the sword are to my people two ways to glory.

The Arabs never built a house of splendour, except upon knowledge and swords.

An honourable age has passed for the Arabs which is considered one of the most honourable ages.

Our glory is ancient and everlasting; it will remain until the end of time.

Our souls are free and lofty, desiring beautiful pictures.

The beauties of the universe and of nature increase our efforts for glory.

المعمّار

لي قطع مـن خشب ألبومـهـا في اللعب حـسنـاً كـل البهــا

أصـبّـــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــ~~
I have pieces of wood with which I amuse myself in play.

I build a house for you with them which contains all kinds of beauty.

I arrange it and it becomes ordered; then it is all pulled down.

So acknowledge that I am intelligent; am I not a builder?

Look at what I have built, I am indeed an engineer.

All the people of my quarter are delighted with my skill.

How beautiful are these flowers, lovely and
perfumed.

If the eyes do not see them, they will be known by their perfume.

Come, my rose, and let me smell your perfume,
In order that I may be, in my game, victor not vanquished.

The Boy; 0 sun, where you do go in the night after sunset.

Do you sleep at night as I sleep?

The Sun: No, I have never slept; from the beginning,
I have been like a lamp flaming and moving in the sky.
The Boy: and where you do go when darkness falls?
do you have another earth apart from ours
in which you shine?

The Sun: When I go down in your world, I rise
in another;
evening here is morning and light there.

These odes were distinguished by their clearness, easiness,
simple words, and particular poetical music which stimulated the
students' desire to understand them and to follow the wise examples in
them. Al-Ruṣāfī composed them under the influence of Western

Since that time the nationalist elements in Arab countries
have encouraged this kind of juvenile poetry ¹, because of its value in
giving students a proper direction in life.

They believe the old Arab proverb "Knowledge in youth is
like carving on stone" ².

1. Amīn, A. Fa'yāl al-Khābir. 6., 284
2. Al-Jāḥiz, A. Al-Bayan wa'l-Tabyīn. 1., 257
CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICAL POETRY
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POLITICAL POETRY

SECTION 1. FREEDOM

Al-Raṣāfī believed that Freedom is an essential thing for any country. It is the key to the progress of any nation.

Freedom of life is a damsel whose arrival every soul has desired.

Her brow illuminates life's darkness, and glories appear wherever she raises her neck.

She has been to some people, and has left behind her men who would have desired death but for her promises.

Our souls have become ill waiting for her; what harm would it do her, alas, to return to them?

Freedom is also a basic right of every citizen.

اذٰا لم يعش حكرا بموطنه الغنني فسَّ الغنني ميتا وموطنه قبر

1,298-299
If a man can not live free in his country
consider him dead and his country grave.

He therefore held the torch of revolution against every
form of autocratic rule, trying to direct attention towards democracy,
which he regarded as the only means by which freedom can be attained.

To him freedom is a political term referring to individual's
freedom within the group to obtain their political rights through a
representative government that works through a constitution, and to
obtain their rights of freedom of publication and thought both
limited by the law.

A. Representative Government

Al-Ruṣāfī first advocated the formation of a representative
government during the reign of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamīd's II, when the
Arab countries, as well as other Ottoman vilāyets were suffering
greatly from the neglect of the central government, because of the
Sultan's preoccupation with his own gratification and the corrupt
state of his administration. Al-Ruṣāfī continually attacked him,
in spite of the presence of some of the 300,000 spies whom he had
distributed throughout.

1. Gibb, H.A.R., Whither Islam, 42
2. Morris, J., 24
Is it not time yet that happiness should reign in the country, and that these sleeping people awake? When will hearts awake and their rust and lethargy vanish? Is there no strong lion who will defend the country? because her wolf has iniquitously ravaged her. Would I were guiltless of the evil done to free men by a nation which is a prisoner of rulers whose shackles are heavy. May God water a land which has suffered a dearth of security, although the scouts of security have gone round it.

Tyranny has ranged widely in it, and its frontiers have become too narrow for the free.

In al-Rasîfî's opinion, the people are the principal force in a country on which rule depends. They are not slaves, accepting the tyranny of their rulers, as the Sultan believed.
I wonder at a people who yield to a government whose chief governs them with atrocities.

And more surprising than that is that they fear it, while although it is they who supply it with both men and money.

If oppressors rule the people, and those who were ruled rule the noble magnanimous,

And a free man is repulsed in scorn from every direction that he tries to take,

And base-born people become higher than noble people, and a stupid man criticises Labid's poetry,

O death, you are then merely a grace, which it is hard for loyal people to refuse.

After the period of the Orthodox Caliphs, the Caliph and later the Sultan was the sacred leader of all Muslims. Al-Ruṣāfī tried continually to convince the people that this system was contrary to the original principles of Islam, which was a democratic religion that gave the people the right to choose a ruler who would faithfully serve his subjects.

1. Lewis, B., The Middle East and the West., 48
2. Marlowe, J., 14
0 nation, who have slept for a long time, rise
and consider the matter of kings.

How can someone be the shadow of God, when he does
not follow his orders defined in the verses of the
revealed book.

And how can he be the successor of God's
messenger, when he turns aside from the guidance of
the prophet?

How often has a king troubled you with his
oppression and turned you from the right way,

Achieving his desire by your humiliation among
men, and if you refuse, taking revenge upon you.
He seeks your patience while he gives you death to drink, and he wants your thanks while doing you no favour.

You have yielded to him and you are scorned, until you have come to endure his wholesale murdering.

He has become happy and you have become miserable because of this, used for his persistent error.

This is unparalleled foolishness. Is it reasonable?

Because he believed that people cannot obtain their political rights under a monarchy, al-Ruṣāfī demanded a republican type of government during this period and regarded it as the main source of the greatness of western culture. He actually demanded the dethronement of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, and he was the First Arabic poet who ventured to demand this.
Republican government has uncovered the blindness of every misled man's heart.

She has led the people to progress by a way which has shown them the foolishness of the older time.

They have risen up towards the highest point of glory, while we still plunge into the lowest depths.

They have obtained their souls' desire, that is the freedom of soft and easy living.

Shall we, after this, O gentlemen of my country, remain satisfied and content with despicable living?

God save me from this rigidity; by God, hard stones are easier than it.

Great mountains have changed into seas, and deep seas have changed into mountains, but we have not changed.

What harm is there in listening to the advice of an adviser who has produced no flimsy fabric in his weaving of words.

How long can we remain as a play thing to a government that continually makes us swallow an infusion of colocynth?

It drives us unjustly towards destruction, and humiliates us with great suffering.

All this, while we lie on the ground in front of it, like a mouse trembling in front of a cat.

Why are we afraid that it will kill us if we rise?
shall we not die even if we are not killed by it?

At the same time he tried to direct the attention of 'Abd al-Hamid's II government towards the importance of representative rule, pointing out the likely consequences of autocracy.

The government of our nation has treated us unjustly, imposing her orders arbitrarily upon us.

There is no one whom she has called or consulted.

Tell every government that has been unjust and tyrannical that its frontiers will be torn down.

Moreover, al-Rusāfī pointed out to 'Abd al-Hamīd personally the error of his ways.
I say to an unjust and arrogant Sultan something not all of which is to be taken seriously,

He passed the bounds of propriety in various matters and he did not prepare; 0 beloved King without whom we would not be in existence,

Sleep instead of giving attention to your rule, and play whatever music you desire.

Continue to ignore your subjects, do not follow the law or tradition, humiliate the countries with any kind of humiliation you desire, and send any one you wish to the grave.

What a well-obeyed King you are; create freely any new devices that you wish.

Do not fear God and do not pay attention to his orders, because these countries are only part of your property and these people are your slaves.

Live luxuriously in your palaces, not knowing whether the people are alive or destroyed,

Because noone will ask you for excuse; and suppose that the countries are in ruins, is not Yildiz (the greatest Royal Palace) being built?

When the Yong Turks on 10th July, 1908, compelled the Sultan
to re-establish the constitution of 1876, al-Ruṣāfī as well as all other people in the Empire, greatly welcomed it, believing that the time of freedom, justice, and equality had come. He wrote his poem Tammūz al-Hurriyya, consisting of 26 verses, on this historic occasion.

July is a noble month; its tenth day has brought to the East both respect and honour.

A month in which the people have become free from the slavery of those who followed Chingiz.

Ask people of Paris about July; you will find that they have in it a notable day.

They showed on it, when their rebel rebelled, a bravery that broke up and destroyed the Bastille.

In July we have seen the accomplishment of the constitution which sharp swords promised.

Equality reigned among us, leaving no difference or preference between us.

We gained a just equal share of rule in the Kingdom, while it had been, as it was, unjust.

1. Glubb, J.B., 54
On this occasion, al-Ruṣāfī was the only Arab poet who reflected the historical truth that this constitution was announced in spite of the Sultan's desire. For example, Shawqi and Hāfīz Ibrāhīm claimed that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was pleased to grant the nation this constitution, trying to glorify him. Al-Ruṣāfī, on the other stated that it was the unjustly treated nation, supported by a liberal military group, the Third Army Corps, encouraged by the Young Turks, that imposed this constitution on the Sultan.

—we were blind because of tyranny, having no leaders or staffs.

Until we rose to glory, headed by a group that was prominent in honour.

We revolted against the tyrant king, fighting him with unsheathed sword and brandished spear,

Until we left him in a difficult battle which cast bubbling fire on the oppressors.

2. Shawqi, A. 1., 358
3. Ibrāhīm, H. 1., 21
4. Ramsaur, E.E., 94
We refuse to let the oppressor humiliate us, and we will fight him until we die in battle.

We eat the death to protect our honour, and we chew it as we chew Barnī and Suhīz dates.

May he not live who will not rush willingly towards death, but survives and allows humiliation to push him along with its stick.

In his historic poem ١ al-Ruṣāfī joyfully described the dethronement of the Sultan, having been present at the time. In his poem Waqfa‘Ind Yildiz ٢, he again and again attacked 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II, expressing his own rejoicing at his dethronement, while other poets, Shawqī for example, lamented his fall believing that he was the sacred ruler of all Muslims.

In the following verses al-Ruṣāfī, like all poets of his generation, described the great joy that reigned among the people in the Empire when the constitution was announced. Turks, Arabs, Bulgars, Greeks, Romanian, Jews and Armenians all welcomed it rapturously ٣.

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١ Ramsaur, E.E., 137

٢ Ramsaur, E.E., 137

٣ Ramsaur, E.E., 137
Glory gave us a drink from its pure wine and the world sang for us, delighting us with its music.

Liberals of our army announced the constitution to us; welcome to what they announced and thanks to those who announced it.

So this nation became thankful to the sword, while before this day it had not been thankful to it.

We became fuddled with glory, cheering each other with cries that strike down tyranny and injustice.

Freedom of life appeared to us, when the liberals removed the veil from its face.

We spread for it our furled desire; we are people who both spread and furl well.

We untied our turbans when it came to us, honouring it, and we stood for it rank by rank.

We tied the flag for her, in love, so we became friends of one another.

We raised the flag of victory, waving in front of her, and we became her allies against the vicissitudes of time.

She saw nothing except kindness in us, although some people received her with unkindness.
On 17th December, 1908, the first Ottoman council, al-Majlis al-'Umumi, assembled in Constantinople; it consisted of 288 members, 147 Turks, 60 Arabs, 27 Albanians, 26 Greeks, 14 Armenians, 10 Slavs, and 4 Jews. Al-Ruşāfī hastened to support this new council and regarded it as the basis of democracy, as is reflected in his poem al-Majlis al-'Umumi.

This is the wide council whose laws have included all people both living and dead.

It is the sky which the sky raises on high, and the orbits of justice appear on its horizon.

The sun of the greatness of rule circles in it, so that freedom is its sign and reason its sphere.

Rule has become consultation between us on it over the people. Dominion is not monopolised.

His demand for constitutional government was not in imitation of the West. It was due to his belief that it was a right in Islam, which was based on al-Shūra.

1. Ergil, D., 82
This is what the true religion has brought us,  
as an inspiration from God, sent by his angel.  
This is that which caused Islam to rise before,  
when it conquered and ruled.

On 13th April, 1909, a conspiracy against the constitution  
was discovered. Some of the religious authorities encouraged by  
'Abd al-Hamîd, headed this reactionary movement in the name of  
religious zeal. They claimed that this new political system was  
contrary to the Sharī'ah and would lead Muslims into error.  

Al-Ruṣāfī strongly attacked this religious group, believing  
that they opposed the constitution for their own benefit.

They evilly attacked the constitution, in the  
capital, in order to enslave us.  
They are the wicked men; they rose in the name of  
religion and created harm in the country.

1. Brockelmann, C., 385  
2. Ramsaur, E.E., 137
They left no Shūra from the constitution, and they left no Tanīn (sound) to its song.

(Shūra and Tanīn are the names of newspapers whose offices were damaged).

Instead of the hoped for and promised freedom, equality and justice, the Young Turks quickly disappointed the people and denied them their political rights, employing the constitution for their own benefit.

Al-Ruṣūfī, who warmly supported this government, being also the chief editor of the Arabic part of their paper Bağhdād which was published in Baghdad, and their paper al-Arab which was published in Constantinople, strongly attacked them for their tyrannical new policy.

In his poem Shakwa ʿila l-Dustūr which was published in the Egyptian paper al-Muʿayyad in 1910, he exposed their new deceitful and arbitrary rule.

1. Tachau, F., 26
2. Baṭṭī, R. Al-Sabīra Fiʾl-Īrāq., 22
3. Al-Misrī, H.M., 318
They have arrogated rule to themselves and tried to obtain their livelihood by it, while closing the source of livelihood for other people around them.

It is as if we were a ewe to them, so that they milk us; how often have they churned our country like a churn.

Then, after churning, they take the butter, leaving nothing to its inhabitants except buttermilk.

Are you content, O constitution, to make rule that peculiar to one group and to become to others just ink on parchment?

They want the pure part of you, while we get only a gulp from the muddy remains of their drink.

We are like thirsty people and they are like a saqī who shows us the sweet water and does not give it to us.

Do not you see that throughout your time we have
not risen up to contend with the people of glory in the stadium?

And we have not known, because of our denied rights, whether we were free or slaves.

We have obtained no advantage except the collapse of a cabinet and the forming of another which is no different from the first.

What harm would it do them if they left the way that they were following and followed the way of perspicacity and cleverness?

Have they seen no other path but their own for justice? Indeed the path of justice is one of the clearest paths.

What is the advantage of the collapse of a cabinet if another does not arise based on justice and truth?

Kâmil went before Hîlmi, and if Haqqî follows their policy he will be like them.

It is not what I have mentioned that really concerns me, though it saddens me and makes me scream,

But there is a hidden hand behind the veil of rule that removes and retains whom it wants.

In the same poem, he urged all Arabs to struggle for their political rights at a time when the new Turkish government was particularly hostile to the Arabs, who had been ever since the Ottoman occupation, debarded from political posts. ¹

¹ Landau, R., 237
We do not want, today, to rule them, but we call on them demanding our rights.

Come, let us together solve a problem, in both its large and small details.

If they do so, they are welcome; if not, to hell with him who refuses!

We will demand this right with sword and lance, with old and young men on piebald horses.

With every fighter who, the fiercer he becomes, the more he brandishes them with a determination as strong as an al-Muhammad sword.

You see him, when death lowers, encountering it with a smiling and happy face.

From among the Arabs, naturally inclined to glory, wonderfully beautiful, physically and morally.

Despite al-Ruṣāfī's frankness and patriotism, he did not reveal the secrets of this government, even though he was in position to do so because of his close connection with its members.
Were it not for a hand that has tied up my tongue with a gag, I would reveal a secret that is like a blockage in my throat.

Al-Ruṣafī did not attack this government as severely as he had attacked Abd al-Ḥamīd II. This was a result of his Islamic feeling; the Empire was threatened with collapse, and he preferred their tyrannical rule as it was, to the dismantling of what represented the remains of the Caliphate by the West.

His determination to gain political rights for all the people was because of his belief that no-one had the right to rule unless he did so by means of the constitution.

The complaint of a heart throbbing with sadness to the protector of the constitution, justice, and right.

They are three kings greater than all kings; have they the right to govern men in all matters.

I swear that I will obey no others but them even if I lose my head on their account.
In 1923, when the mandatory government in Iraq determined to create an elected council, to establish the basic law of the state, the people decided to interrupt the election believing that it would be impossible to obtain a free election under the supervision of the British Military Authorities. Al-Ruṣāfī tried to persuade them to participate in this election, as one of their duties towards their country. In his opinion, although there might be only a few national representatives in this new council, they would at least have a chance in it to draw attention to conditions in Iraq and to continue the struggle against British despotism.

It is essential for the beloved country to become calm after its disorder,

And to have a council for the nation to consider its restoration,

And to its sons, if they agree to be represented by it.

1. Izzeddin, N., 191
In order that we may see the country's affairs restored by it to what they were.

The government has given attention to it, but the nation has ignored it.

Do you believe that the government wish for it, and we turn aside from demanding it?

This is, by your father, what makes the patient one weep for it.

Will not those who sit idle rise up and hurry to vote for it?

In order to save the country which is aroused by the vicissitudes of time.

On 22 October, 1924 this law was published and was known as "The electoral law for the Chamber of Deputies" ¹.

Al-Ruṣāfī continued his demands for representative government and elected councils during this period, either in the Iraqi press or in parliament when he became a member.

¹ Davis, H.M., 132
B. Freedom of the Press

It is from the landing of Bonaparte in Egypt in 1798 that printing and publication in the Arab World date. He set up the first press, which produced the first paper, al-Tanbīn. Under the rule of Muhammad 'Ali an Albanian soldier who became master of Egypt in 1834, publication increased considerably. He greatly encouraged authorship and translation, and established another press in Egypt; this published 243 books and journals between 1822 and 1842.

In Iraq the first paper press al-Wilāya was established by Midhat Pasha in 1869 and published the first paper al-Zawra. Before this press there had been insignificant press al-Tabrīzī press established in 1861 by Kamīl al-Tabrīzī.

As a result of the severe censorship during 'Abd al-Ḥamid's rule, the press who hampered and restricted by the government, not only in Iraq, but everywhere in the Empire, except in Egypt which was under Ottoman power only in name. Consequently, the countries in the

1. Marlowe, J., 7
2. Al-Hilāl (1940) 1, 150
3. Marlowe, J., 7
5. Al-Kāfī, 'A.R., 33
6. Lewis, B. The Arabs in History., 172
7. Battī, R. Al-Sahāfa Fi 'l 'Iraq., 12
8. Battī, R. Al-Sahāfa Fi 'l 'Iraq., 14
9. Brockelmann, C., 393
Empire were almost completely isolated from the cultural developments taking place around them.

Al-Ruṣāfī advocated the freedom of the press believing in its great role in the awakening of the people. To him its restriction was a great loss to the country.

Freedom of the press, be kind to us, because we are still in love with you.

When will you arrive in order to set us free? promise us your arrival and then put off your promise; we will be satisfied with your promises.

You are the spirit that heals our wounds, your loss makes a wide country narrow.

No country which has no spirit, even though it has many castles and palaces, has a life which gives profit to anyone.

Between the years 1910 and 1914, the papers had a much greater freedom of expression in the Ottoman Empire. To al-Ruṣāfī journalism could not play its effective role unless it reflected the truth in all matters. In his opinion, journalism was the principal leader that guided the nation towards progress and success. Accordingly, he attacked the papers of Constantinople for their

1. Longrigg, S.H., 44
partiality and fabrications.

Papers in the city of the Caliphate have lit an inextinguishable flame of disagreement between themselves.

This disagreement was not enough for them, so they have encompassed a greater deficiency of truth.
Some people are lied to, others lie; some people are denied their rights, others deny them.

You see, today, in Farūq (Constantinople), that the readers of her papers are two groups, one has proof of what they say and one is obstinate.

A continuous argument about the refutation of an opinion or the declaring false of a critic.

One wards off an arrow aimed at him and returns it, and another shoots his arrow at one who defends himself.

This one advocates this paper, and that one advocates another, bringing evidence.

It is, indeed, nothing but the noise of everyone shouting there, who has spread out for the world a hunter's snare.

They have lost our rights there, on purpose, and the result of the loss of rights is always severe troubles.

I have seen nothing like their papers, whose principles are violated by their objectives.

They say that they are reformers, but I can only find corruption in what they say.

How can the truth appear in their publications, when each of them has his own independent effusion concerning the truth?

Papers should make their paths follow the truth wherever it may turn.

And they should not publish the news out of greed, but should present it full of benefits.
And they should be concerned only to publish truths, to illumine thoughts and to stimulate the inactive.

Do you seek by fabrication of news the benefit of one person and disregard the harm that it does to thousands?

The papers of the people are the leader who leads them to success, and in the rule of reason a leader may not lie.

By my life, papers are the mirror of their people by which their spirit is reflected to the observer.

They are also a measure of their advancement, and a record of their morals and habits.

He also attacked the papers of Constantinople in his poem Mu'tarak al-Ahwa'.

In order to direct attention to this important matter, he compared generally the papers in the East and in the West.

Do you not see how the papers in the West compete in the ways of glory and good deeds?

1. D.2, 385
Readers are rightly guided by them as clearly as
the night traveller is rightly guided by the stars of
Ursa Minor.

But the miserable East has refused to advance with
the West even in the matter of papers.

Do not bear spite against what I say, because I
am afraid for you, not spiteful to you.

What I say is nothing but national zeal, so if
you are angry with me for it, I am not angry with you.

During the mandate, freedom of expression was suppressed, and
the press was under strict control. Only three official papers, one
in each of the principal cities, were allowed. Even these were
working under special terms. An editor who broke any of these terms
could be fined or sent to prison, and his paper could be closed down.
For instance, when Rafā'īl Baṭṭī published in his own paper al-Bilād
in 1929 an article written by al-Ruṣāfī, he was fined five hundred
Rupee, because al-Ruṣāfī's article was frank and not satisfactory to
the rulers. Many Iraqi papers ceased publication during this time,
such as al-Istīqlāl, al-Rāfidān and Sādā al-Istīqlāl.

1. Izzeddīn, N., 190
2. Loghāt al-Ārāb (1931) 1, 71
Al-Ruṣāfī was strong in his demands for freedom of thought, believing that it had a positive role in the awakening of the people.

If people in the countries have a goal, freedom of thought is their greatest goal.

In his opinion a country without freedom of thought is an unproductive country.

These countries are simply gardens in which people's thoughts grow like flowers.

Because of his interest in the freedom of thought, al-Ruṣāfī visited the prison of Baghdad, with the help of a friend, during the 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's rule, in order to see those liberals who had been imprisoned side by side with murderers. In his narrative poem of 62 verses, al-Sījīn fī Bādhād, he gave a complete picture of this prison.
Pay a compassionate visit to the prison of
Baghdad and you will see the most distressing view of
misfortunes.

A place in which hearts are weak with suffering,
so, if you visit it, tie up your heart with your hand.

Graveyards of living men, whose graves are filled
each with five hundred souls or more.

Its windows and apertures are blind, so it has not put
the kuhl of sunlight on its eyes with a mirwad.

When you enter it during the day, you think you
are in a black section of night.

If worshippers were settled in it, they would
pray there the prayer of night in the middle of the day.
The blowing wind visits everywhere except its courtyard; it has had no chance to have an appointment with the gentle breeze.

Men in it can hardly breathe, as though there were on every chest slabs of rock.

And as though the people had their necks tied up with strong deadly rope for strangling.

Their master in his life is like a servant and their servant in his humiliation is like a master.

They wade through a swamp of evil smells, which increase the more the heat increases.

Because of the stink of its rottenness, people's heads become dizzy, so the one who can not smell is lucky.

You think that they are drunk in their torture; they are not drunk, but it is the result of severe torture.

You think them worms living in mud, but they are not worms that can generate themselves in it.

In al-Ruṣāfī's view, this savage treatment of liberals occurred because there was no justice or liberalty in Baghdad; he
therefore advocated revolution against the Sultan.

Many a free person has seen tyrannical rule in our country leading us like a camel who is easily guided,

And has said, but not aloud, when we were in a place at which those meet who cannot be trusted not to publish slander.

"For what reason or with what wisdom has right perished in Baghdad with no one asking about it?"

I brought my mouth close to his ear to talk confidentially and I said: "because justice has not yet come to Baghdad".

God protect a place in which tyranny is allowable, and people from fear are like a pursued flock of Ostriches.

Arise, Arise, O people, to greatness, in order to build for yourselves a firm building of glory.
Some people have surpassed us and their way has become far removed from us, although it had not been so.

Oppression has closed our way and injured everyone who goes to low land or to high.

Is it every day that destiny creeps towards us with an army recruited from great mishaps.

O God, relieve us from great misfortunes and O God, lighten our great suffering.

He more and more attempted to point out the importance of liberality in a country as in his famous poem *Hurriyyat al-Must`mirin* in which he described ironically the repression of the Iraqi people by the mandatory government.
People of Iraq, do not speak, for speech is forbidden.

Sleep and do not wake up, for no one can win except those who are asleep.

Stay behind anything which leads you to progress.

Put your understanding aside, because it is good for you not to understand.

Be confirmed in your ignorance, because it is bad for you to learn.

Leave politics alone, otherwise you will regret it.

The secret of politics, if you know, is perplexing.

If you want to dilate in permissible speech, speak incoherently.

And do not examine justice closely, and do not look angry at injustice.
Any one of you who wants today to live respected,
Should become without hearing, sight, and mouth.
No one is worthy of respect, except the deaf-mute.
Leave happiness, it is just imagination in this life.
The comfortable life is like the uncomfortable.
So, be satisfied with destiny's decision, whatever arbitrariness there is in it.
If you are treated unjustly, laugh joyfully and do not complain.
If you are scorned, give thanks, and if you are slapped, smile.
If it is said that your honey is bitter, say that it is like colocynth.
And if it is said that your day is night, say that it is very dark.
And if it is said that your puddle is a torrent, say it is overflowing.
And if it is said that your country, O people, will be divided,
Give praise and thanks, reel and chant.

In 1927 on the occasion of the opening ceremony, Muntadā al-Tahdhīb, he openly expressed his belief in liberality and insisted that a revolution of armies accrued always after a revolution of thought.
Your countries will never get political independence, unless you become independent there in your thoughts.

If the sword is not supported by free opinion, do not hope for great blows from its edges.

Al-Ruṣāfī was the most distinguished defender of liberals in the Arab countries. For example, in his poem Ikhfār al-Dhimam, he defended ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Jāwīsh when the ministry of Aḥmad Mukhtar Fāshā al-Ghāzī handed him over to the Egyptian government. Jāwīsh was an active member of the Ḥizb al-Ṭawāni in Egypt, the owner of the paper al-Hidāya there, and the chief editor of the paper al-Hilāl al-ʿUthmāni in Constantinople, which opposed the Egyptian government. His series Dānishway against the British Authorities in Egypt is well known.

In his poem Yāsīn Fāshā he supported Yāsīn al-Ḥāšimi, an anti-British politician, when the government of Syria supported by the British Authority there, arrested him in al-Ramlā.

Al-Ruṣāfī supported liberals not only in the political sphere, but also in the social field, in which religious leaders generally attacked every liberal idea.

1. D.2., 392
2. Al-Jundī, A., 83 and see also al-Zayyāt, A.H., 465
3. Al-Misrī, H.M., 319
4. Al-Qabbānī, A.A. 120
5. D.2., 396
In 1925 Taha Husayn, with the help of the British orientalist D. S. Margoliouth, published his book *Fi'īl-Shi'r al-Jahili* in which he claimed that most pre-Islamic poetry had been forged. He was severely attacked by the government, azhadists, and many educated figures, for they regarded him as a renegade and as against Islam.

Although al-Ruṣūfī disagreed with Husayn in his view of pre-Islamic poetry, he tried to defend him, believing it was Husayn's right to express his thoughts. This is reflected in his poem *Fi Haflat Shawqi*, presented on the occasion of Shawqi's celebration in Egypt in 1927.

In the same poem he tried also to defend 'Alī 'Abd al-Ruzzāq, the author of the book *al-Islām wa-Uṣūl al-Hukm*, which caused a great stir in the Arab world by its free discussion of Islam and the Caliphate.

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1. Monroe, J., 1 and Husayn, T. *Fi'īl-Adab al-Jahili*
If Egypt fetes Shawqi, why does she, on the other hand, put restrictions upon liberals in knowledge? She let us hear the uproar that the poured upon Tāhā and 'Alī.

Why was Tāhā considered an apostate in Egypt? and why was 'Alī considered an infidel?

If thoughts in Egypt are not free, she has no right to glorify a poet.

Does one who speaks in verse honour knowledge and one who speaks in prose debase it?

And does one who chants poetry receive deference? and is one who thinks called ignorant.

This poetry indeed, will not be useful, if it cannot reach as far as knowledge,

Just as knowledge is not useful if thoughts are not free in it.

The honouring of a poet is no boast for one who shies away from freedom of thought.

Otherwise, the Pre-Islamic period before us has pre-eminence in honouring poets.

Al-Ruṣāfī continued to demand liberalisation and to complain of its absence even during the last few years of his life.
We walk through our ignorance in tyrannical darkness, the tribulations of which upon us are both tyranny and darkness.

Freedom of thought among us is not allowed, and a liberal among us scorned, not respected.
SECTION 2. INDEPENDENCE

A. War and Occupation

Al-Ruṣāfī’s demands for Independence began with the beginning of the second Balkan war in the end of 1911. They increased with the increasing of Western occupation of the East in general, and reached their highest extent during the First World War, when the Allies occupied the Arab World. During this critical historical period, the Ottoman Empire lost its remaining vestiges of power and also lost a number of its vilayets. Al-Ruṣāfī strongly encouraged the people to oppose the Western occupation, in order to obtain their own independence. In this case, he was talking of the Freedom of a country and its right to govern itself, believing that the Western authorities were imperialist, while, during Ottoman control he was talking rather of the Freedom of individuals. Accordingly, from 1911, Al-Ruṣāfī conducted an attack on the Allies warning the people against believing their frequent promises to help the Arabs and themselves of Ottoman domination.

For example, his poem Adarna, was written on the occasion of the Bulgarian occupation of Edirne.
Let the West live peacefully, even though the East is afflicted by it with calamities.

Do not ask it about its deeds, for the era of civilization is a false era.

We were deceived by its words, but after these wars,

We will strongly oppose it, and we shall either perish or survive.

We shall embark on a ship of our determination, and we shall go upstream even though it is difficult.

When Italy occupied Libya in 1911, al-Ruṣāfī urged both Arabs and other Muslims to defend it from the enemy trying to convince them that the time was a time of power and ambitions, not a time of civilization and justice as the West claimed.

1. Rustow, D.A., 11
They say that the age is an age of civilization; so why has it deviated from the right?

I complain to God of a Ḩāhiliyya among men, which they count as an era of civilization.

It came to us swaggering in a garment of knowledge in order to lead us to good, but it carried evil under its arm.

Do not lick your lips in praise of it, because if it displays something sweet it hides something bitter.

The French have taken the land of Morocco, and before that they took green Tunis.

Then after that, Italy suddenly attacked us, in order to rob us of rule in Tripoli.

They said: "Have not the French come to Tunis, and the English armies come to Egypt?"

So, leave to us this country which is situated between Tunis and Egypt, otherwise we shall compel you forcibly to leave it".

We told them: "We are more worthy to possess it".

They said: "But we are more powerful than you".

Is this the age they claim it to be? To Hell with it!

He had no faith in any foreign authority. He believed that the West in general was unfriendly to Muslims.
Muslims, you are, to the West, not worthy of respect.

You are, to the West, people created oblivious to anything but evils.

So if you spread clemency widely among the people the West regards it as tyranny and oppression;

If you fill the earth with justice, it is regarded as tyranny; if you fill it with honour, it is regarded as disgrace.

If you do good one day they regard it as crime and evil.

If time has buried some lapse of yours, they weary their pens digging it up.

If an enemy fabricates a lie against you, they agree with him, believing his fantasies.

If people commit a crime against you, they keep
silent, paying no attention to it.

God’s mercy on a nation whose whole sin in the West has come to believe is Islam.

Because of this belief, al-Ruṣafī supported the Ottomans during the First World War when the Arab Revolt began in 1916.

0 people, enemies have attacked the country, so unsheathe swords and defend both your families and your dwellings.

Stimulate every man to hasten to fight the enemy of God, every one, those who are in the distant parts of your land and those who are near.

And stir up Muslims, all without exception, those who live in the deserts, in the fields, and in the towns.

1. Morris, J., 42
And hazard yourselves for sake of a country in which you establish God's religion and law.

And arm yourselves with patience to fight the enemy, and take true resolution as shields for their destruction.

And disdain to wear in the war the disgrace of defeat until you wear shrouds.

If you do not die honourably in your countries, you will die in them humiliated, the death of the coward.

There is no excuse for Muslims if they are cowardly in a result in which all who are cowardly are humiliated what life is there for the one who is cowardly?

When Baghdad collapsed in 1917 \(^1\), and British troops occupied it, al-Russafi blamed the Ottomans for having left it in the hands of the enemy. He wrote a poem on this sad occasion Nawār Dījāl, trying to provoke the Ottomans to return to Baghdad.

\(^1\) Wilson, A.T., Mesopotamia (1917-1920), 105
Where are the faithful people? have they left me (the Tigris) as spoil in the enemy's hand and gone. They quickly left the Valley of al-Salām; is their leaving serious or a joke? They left me to endure, by their desertion, such pain that souls are unable to bear it. If they see me captive in the enemy's hands, they will weep as I wept and lament. After their parting, my evening is not evening, and my morning is not morning. I wish that I could fly to them on wings, but where are my wings? I am sure that they could not sleep or rest after leaving me. And they are today determining to advance with an army with which country will be crowded. I will stay faithful to them, although there are wounds in my heart from those whom I loved. If they have delayed, it is because the lion crouch before he springs.

The high principles of President Wilson, declared in the Anglo-French declaration on 7 November, 1918 \(^1\), were widely reported in the Arabic papers in Iraq and all other Arab countries \(^2\). He

1. Longrigg, S.H., 114
promised all Arabs complete freedom and self-determination. In the meantime the Arab countries were placed under the control of the Allies, and the West continued its attack upon the East. In the following verses al-Rūṣāfī tried to warn the people against Wilson's promises, believing that they were valid only in the West, not in the East, especially when the Greeks were allowed to occupy Smyrna.

وَتَعْدَاءَ فَنَسْتَحْقِقُ مَلاَمَا
وَمِنَ البَطِلِ فَلَيْ يَرِي سِهَامًا
جَانُ حِينَ الْفَالِقِ كَانَ تَلَامِا
جَمِيعُ النَّقْيِفٍ وَالْإِبَراْمَا
ولِيِّ بِعْضٍ الأَنْثَامِ كَانَ خَصَامًا
وَبَأَمْسِرُ أَخْجَلُ الأَبْنَامَا
سُنُّنَ مَنَ النَّفْتُ فِي فَيْوَةٍ ذَامَمَا
بِحَقِهَا أَقْلُ مِنْ أَن يُحَامِمَا
لِمْ يَبْحَ أَنْ يُسَبِّبَ وَيَضَامَا
لَا يَرَاعُوا لِلسَّلِيْمِينَ ذَامَمَا
وَعَلَى الْتَرِكِ أَشْتَهَا الأَرْوَامَا
وَأَمْسِرُ مِنَ الدَّمَا حَرَامَا
رَكِبَ فِي عَاضِيَّهَا الأَنْثَامَا

He said something because of which he became worthy of respect; then he violated it and became worthy of blame.

A man who shoulders the right like a bow, but continually shoots arrows of falsehood.

His declaration was a light, but when the time for
action came, it became darkness.

Wilson stretched out a rope which joined violation and ratification.

To some people he was a protector, and to others he was an adversary.

He filled time with glory in Fiume but in Smyrna he made the days ashamed.

Smyrna made Wilson's glory in Fiume disgrace.

Is right to him inconsiderable and not worthy of defence, except in the West?

Or is the East only, among countries, permitted to be captured and humiliated?

Or did the people make a compact with God that they would not observe the Muslims' rights?

Why have they treated the people of the East unjustly and set Greeks against Turks,

And considered the women of Smyrna as lawful plunder, and made forbidden bloodshed permissible?

For they occupied it with soldiers who arrogantly committed crimes in it.

The speech of General Gouraud in Beirut in which he mentioned that the French war in Syria was continuation of the Crusaders was positive evidence of Western fanaticism. Al-Ruṣafī attacked him in his poem Mazāhir al-Ta'assub Fi 'Asr al-Madaniyya in which he tried also to urge Muslims against the Western authorities.

1. Gouraud, is general Henri Gouraud, the French high Commissioner,

See, Tibawi, A.L., 305
You have displeased us by the matter that you have mentioned, and many ages and generations have been displeased too.

You have mentioned to us the Crusaders by which, to day, your people have gained their hopes.

That is, by my life, a sore that you have opened again and anxiety has been stirred up by your words, in the East.

What an extraordinary nation it is whose army you have led, whose Cardinal and General are the same.

If we had said what you are saying, critics would charge us with fanaticism,

And say to us: "You are people of al-Jāhiliyya"
even although they will not be right in what they say.

So do not dishonour this war, after its termination, by something which is a disgrace to both life and religion.

Do not forget the favour of the East when it supported your people in achieving their victory.

The desert Arabs led towards your enemy squadrons of horse that roved about in the fray of battle.

In Mecca a flag was raised for you by them, and how many locks of Jerusalem were opened by it.

They had displeased both al-Bayt al-Ḥarām and its God, and without doubt they were ignorant of the great position of al-Bayt.

If the condition of the Muslim's is as it was before, great difficulties will hinder this victory.

But they sold religion for this life, so that their condition, to day, has changed for the worse.

At the end of this poem al-Rusafī appealed to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī.
To you Salah al-Din we complain of a calamity which has struck glory's heart and murdered it.

In it people's heads swam with pain and sorrow, just as a drunkard's swims with wine.

The days are frowning, so that morning and evening are alike in gloom.

The meadows of Islam's defence are continually violated; camels protect it from the roaming of the horses.

Instead of obtaining self-determination, the Iraqis found themselves under firm allied rule. In his poem al-Haq wa'l-Qwaw, al-Ruṣāfī incited the Iraqi nation to revolt on behalf of their independence.

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1. Izzeddīn, N., 210
They say that right among men is power by which necks are forcibly humbled and broken.

So why has it come day and night to complain, while men do not cease to wrong it?

To God we complain of a civilization in which truth and untruth contradict each other.

How often have we heard the politicians of the West, claiming things at the falsehood of which right has laughed.

They have prevented the slavery of the captive, but they have allowed for themselves the slavery of whole nations.

Have not you see in Iraq a captive nation, with her neck tied with a lasso?

The sword has devised there for the people a plan of harshness, through the arena of which no kindness has passed.

It poured out for them poison infused with humiliation in a cup of enmity in which was no dilution.
So the Tigris, by means of the fall of impurities, became disgusting, because the water in its basin was muddy.

And the waters of the brimming Euphrates came to have no depth, for it seeped away because of injustice.

Pity the Valley of Peace, in which fear of calamity has grown immense and gone beyond all bounds.

We will sacrifice everything for it; even our lives and we will give everything even what is most costly precious.

And we will take our revenge there with armies that are of true Arab origin.

The nights are pregnant with calamities, and certainly one day their birth pains will come upon them.

It will produce a war whose fire will never subside, and both black and white horses will run in its field.

With every man of resolution, the energy of which is like a white sword or a blue lance.

Take the flags of glory with arms that have great ability in handling the spear in battle.

So either we shall be treated with the medicine of fate or we shall surpass in achieving our desire.

If we cannot defeat destiny, let our struggle that pulses for glory not continue.

When the British in Iraq announced that they came as
emancipators not as occupiers, al-Rusāfī denounced their declaration, claiming that British imperialistic policy in all their colonies depended on oppression, injustice, and deceit.

They say: "We are working for your happiness;"
but they have produced nothing except calamities and disaster.

How often have they created in the East a hateful war, like the moment of resurrection in its terror?

How often have they sent the spies of their craft, by stealth, who have burdened the people with their poking and prying?

They have taken the best of Iraq, leaving nothing for its people except worthless things.

When you see the people in the trap of their craftiness, you will have pity for them, crying or lamenting.

So do not expect that they will fulfill their promises in this world, because there is no doubt that they will break them.
In 1920, the Iraqis rose against the British authorities, and a fierce war, known as \( \text{al-Harb al-Mugaddasa} \) (the holy war) \(^1\), ensued. This happened as a result of the heightening of national consciousness and the reluctance of the Iraqi tribes to submit to any authority except their own Shaykhs \(^2\). These tribes, (notably Shammar) had been the most remarkable warriors under the Ottoman Empire.

Despite al-Ruṣāfī's national feeling and his hatred of the British authorities, he did not share the general enthusiasm for this rising, which had a great role in the establishment of native control, and in obliging Britain to modify her policy in Iraq \(^3\). There is no mention of it in his own \( \text{Dīwān} \). Al-Zahawi did not support this rising either, and moreover he called on Percy Cox to repress it \(^4\).

\( \text{عد للعراق واصح منه ما فسدنا وانتي العدل وانع أهله الرشد} \)

Come back to Iraq and repair what is damaged in it, establish justice and grant its people the right guidance.

During this period many poets, such as Hāfīẓ Ibrāhīm, greatly praised the British regarding them as angels of mercy to the Arab countries.

1. Arberry, A.J. and Landau, R., 55
2. Glubb, J.B., 124
3. Longrigg, S.H., 122
4. "Izz al-Dīn, Y. \( \text{Al-Hilāl} \) (1972) 11, 38
You are the doctors of the people and the most noble of people in your objective.

Wherever you settle in countries, you leave a mark of reform.

The building of your glory is firmly fixed upon deliberation and right guidance.

You have acted justly and so have taken possession of the World, and justice is enough.

1. Dayf, Sh. 21
B. The Mandate and Native Control

Many non-political people welcomed the mandate, believing that it was a step towards independence and an assurance that security and progress could be expected. Al-Rusafi, as well as a great number of Iraqi nationalists, received it with complete dissatisfaction. He regarded it as a shift by which the British were trying to rule Iraq indirectly. In his opinion it was worse than occupation, since Britain could more easily achieve her ambitions through her agents in the country. He totally dedicated his poetry during this period to attacking the mandate and stimulating the people's desire for the complete independence of their country.

In 1921, the first Iraqi government, headed by 'Abd al-Rahman Al-Gaylanî was formed, under the control of the British authority, it was called the national government or the government of the mandate. Al-Rusafi, believing that it was acting on behalf of the mandate, ironically welcomed its formation, in his poem Ghâdat al-Intidâb he described it as a beautiful damsel, wearing a wonderful clothes made in England, with a false crown on her head.

1. Longrigg, S.H. and Stoakes, F., 83
Leave troublesome blame and reproach, and listen to a wondrous matter,

Of a painful story, which causes laughter or rather leads to weeping.

One day in al-Karkh in Baghdad, a veiled damsel passed us.

Her neck was decorated with jewels, and her hands were dyed with Henna.

Her face was covered by the darkness of a black veil, so we were not able to see it.

She was walking voluptuously in her array like a prostitute.

She was captivating people by her postures;
everything that she did was coquetry.
She had put a crown on her head, which was shining like a star.
By its appearance it was of pearl, but when you examined it it was false.
She was wearing the thinnest of clothes, decorated with lies.
The people were deceived by her clothes into believing that they were from the workshop of the election.
But they were, by my life, undoubtedly woven made in the factory of invasion.
Deceit was in their warp and weft and everything which causes doubt.
My companion said the day she passed "Who is this veiled damsel?"
I told him; "This is a government given freely to our country by the mandate."
You think that she is a pretty woman because of her beautiful clothes, but under her clothes there is only John Bull.
Her outward appearance indicates that she brings mercy for us, but within her is misery and suffering for us.
Our misfortune has become dreadful through with her; O God, what a dreadful misfortune.
By God, it is better for us to throw all of the dust on our heads.
Between the year 1920 and 1923, there were (2906) British advisers and officers in Iraq. Every ministry had a special adviser, and the governor of every district had a special English administrative inspector. The Iraqi government was responsible for its acts to these British officers, who were the real administrators of the country. In his poem *Hukumat al-Intidāb*, al-ʿAsāfī put this before the people.

A flag, a constitution and a national parliament, each of them is far away from the right idea.

They are names for which we have only the words, while their meanings are unknown to us.

He who reads our constitution knows that it was composed in the mandatory document.

He who see our flag flapping finds that it does not flap for the honour of our country.

He who comes to our council believes that it is not composed for the wishes of the electors.

1. ʿAzīz, M., 96
He who comes to the ministry finds it chained
with the shackles of consultants.

This powerless government could not work seriously to
achieve reform, particularly in fiscal policy of which the country was
complaining.

Is it like this that our government will stay, as
inlaid and decorated words for the people?

Its departments multiply and in deeds decrease as
a drum is big but it is empty and concave.

How often have she and her ministers displeased us
by unjust deeds for the benefit of other nations.

The country complains of a fiscal policy which is
destroying and damaging the national wealth.

Its heavy taxes are collected, but they are not
spent for the people's welfare.
It has made its rule severe on us, but light on foreigners.

These are the chairs of the ministry; they almost break under you because of their great shame.

You are sitting on it while the foreigners are above you, each one is watching you with his authority over you.

Is it accounted an honour that a minister sits happily on the chair of the ministry while tied up.

Al-Ruşafī also attacked King Faysal the First, who was crowned King of Iraq on 23 August, 1921, by the Cairo Conference. Al-Ruşafī believed that he was acting entirely in the British interest. He claimed that he was imposed as King, with British support.

They have a king/ refusing to bind his head except with the sword of the British (as a fastening for the 'iqāl).

He lived with honour when he humiliated them, and he displeased them when he pleased the foreigners.

1. See al-Saḥartī, M.A., 273
He has no role in his country, except to count
days and to receive a salary.

He did not succeed to the throne by his sword,
neither was elected by the nation.

But by means of the aircraft of a people that
have flown about in all directions and been like
clouds of splinters over us.

Al-Ruṣāfī's idea regarding kings in general is summed up in
the following two verses:

I wonder at people in this world; a free minded
person would reject their attitude to kings.

Kings, indeed, are like idols; people sculpture
them and people adore them.

Neither the king nor the government had an effective role in
the country. The real power in the state was with Percy Cox, the
British High Commissioner. He controlled all government departments,
both military and the civil. He had the right to exile nationalists
who opposed the mandate or to dissolve national parties who were
against his policy, without reference even to the king. For this

1. Izzeddin, N., 191
reason al-Ruṣāfī regarded him the real King in the country.

In the Eastern part of Baghdad, there is a King unveiled to visitors.

In the Western part, there is a Commissioner over the government appointed by London.

The rule hovers between them, and the people are confused between East and West.

During this time Britain tried to realise the object that she had had since 1916 of making Iraq a colony, controlled from India.

In order to appease the nation, Britain initiated the treaty of 1922, the first treaty between Britain and Iraq. For Britain it represented an easier means of exercising the mandate, as stated by Fisher, the British delegate in Geneva.

For the common people of Iraq it was a step towards full independence.

1. Al-Ṯāṣrī, R., 174

2. Wilson, A.T. Loyalties, Mesopotamia (1914-1917), 154

3. Lenczowski, G., 219

4. Lenczowski, G., 219
Al-Ruṣāfī was one of the nationalists who opposed this treaty, believing that it was another shift by Britain to consolidate her rule. In the following poem he pointed out to all Iraqis that there was no advantage in this treaty since the country was completely subjected to British control and it retained none of its own. During this period, Britain and France were quarreling over Mosul, the currency was Indian Rupee, there were three million Indians in Iraq, and the only arms were carried by Indian and British troops.

1. Longrigg, S.H., 140
2. Izzeddin, N., 212
3. The two verses above are not published in his Diwan. See al-Sahartī, M.272
We have a king who has no subjects, and countries which have no frontiers,
And armies who have no arms, and a kingdom which has no currency.
So, is it enough for us, that they just put terms, in our country?
And we are after that in need of what the foreigners give us freely.
The rule of the Indian is allowable in our country, but the rule of the native is not.
In that case, India is more honourable than my country, and the Indians are more honourable than the people of my country.
How many men are there in the government, who, while you think that they are masters, are slaves.
They are dogs to the foreigners, but they are lions to their nation.
Indeed the English are not our saviours, though they wrote us such promises.
When does the strong one feel pity for the weak and how can the wolf make a covenant with the sheep?
But, we are their captives, and the compact that they wrote, is shackles.
By God, if we were monkeys, the monkeys would refuse our relationship.

The treaty was fiercely attacked by a great number of Iraqi political elements, chiefly by the Shi‘a, for it was full of conditions
that tied Iraq with Britain. Consequently Percy Cox banned the Shi'ite political parties, 
*Hizb al-Nahda* and *Hizb al-Watani*, and exiled their chiefs al-Khalisi and Muhammad al-Sadr to Iran. Al-Rusafi attacked *Hizb al-Hurr*, which was also known as *Hizb al-Hurr al-Mu'tadil*, over this.

Say to a party called *Hizb al-Hurr al-Mu'tadil*, are you really Mu'tadil (moderate) after the exile of these people? Are your eyes weeping because of what happened to these two parties or are you happy? By God, you are not free to make any demand, but you are the ruler's agent.

The leader of this party was the eldest son of 'Abd al-Rahman al-Naqib, the prime minister. In the following verses, Al-Rusafi again satirised him when he heard that he had paid no attention to his attack against his party:

1. Lenczowski, G., 219
2. Longrigg, S.H., 140
The leader of al-Ḥizb said, when he heard what I said: "We pay no heed to what is said".

He right in his claim, because how can a dead person be hurt by sword wounds.

Only noble people are grieved by dispraise and only the glorious avoid the bite of words.

His ideas of the Iraqi ministers in general during the mandate could be succintly expressed:

The ministry, may you have no father, in our country is a garment made in the factories of London.

No one can put it on except a person to whom love of the English has become part of his nature.

Al-Rusafī believed that conditions for the required progress in Iraq could not be fully met except by British evacuation and the termination of the mandate. He worked very hard to convey this idea to the nation, and took every opportunity to do so, as in his poem Tijah al-Rihārī, written on the occasion of a reception for al-Rihārī
in Baghdad in 1923.

How can we expect progress for Iraq, when the way of its rulers is not its way?

There is no good in a country in which the coward has the sword and the miser has the wealth,

The exile has the judgement, the stranger has the knowledge and the foreigner has the rule.

On 13th November, 1929, 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Sa'dūm, the prime minister, committed suicide, after a conflict with the British authority in Iraq over their refusal to grant the nationalists' demands. His suicide was conclusive proof to al-Fuṣāfī that the British authority in Iraq had deliberately deceived the people by the creation of the mandate and the treaties. He used the occasion of the meeting to eulogize al-Sa'dūm to present this idea to the people.
People of London, your policy has not satisfied
the people of Iraq, either nomad or settled.

Your mandate in our country's heart is a wound
which we try to treat but it still reopens.

Your advice in our countries has a spectre, the
likeness of which frightens both ghosts and likenesses.

It goes around the ways of wrong, collecting for
deception, covered by the veil of advice.

It was not enough for it that it forcibly took the
rule, but it is now killing opinions, thoughts.

When it sees a movement towards advance, it puts
it down, and when it sees kindled sedition it makes
a clamour.

How often has it created ill-will among the
people, and how often has it sown seeds of separation
among them.
Every day we have a treaty with you, the danger to our country increases.

Through it, the tree of our independence has become dry, so that if we touch its wood it breaks.

Your hearts harden against us when we negotiate with you, and it is as if we were cutting stone.

Your promises are exposed as the lies of a liar and the deceit of a deceiver.

Do not be proud of breaking the sharpness of our spike; there is no honour to the hawk if it kills a Bulbul.

Do not despise us because of our weakness, for how often has a forest fly troubled a leopard.

In his other elegy for al-Sâdûm, he urged the nation to revolt in order to gain their full independence.

فيا بطلا بالنفس ضحى وانما فعلنا أن التفاضد واجب سنعى إلى ما قد سميت من العلي وانما لقوم مستقلون فطرة فلما جعلت تيسرا سبيكا بيوتنا يهون علينا في السياسة انما ولسنا نبالي دون احياء مجدنا

0, hero, you sacrificed yourself, but by this sacrifice you prescribed a rule for our independence.

You taught us that sacrifice is a duty to any nation.
who try to reach the honour of the one who is hymned.

We will strive for the glory for which you strove with a firm purpose, denying our weakness.

We are people who are independent in our nature, and if any one denies our independence, we revolt.

If our homes were made into smeltred gold, we should refuse to live in them, if we were not rulers.

We consider it nothing to be crucified or imprisoned for our policies.

We do not care, for the sake of the revival of our glory, whether we live or we die.

He also tried to stir up the Iraqi ministers against the British authority.

The countries will praise you, thanking you for what the ministers will do after your death.

Are they going to leave what you demanded, or they will accomplish your desire?

The nation wanted from them what you wanted, for it, and it will not accept any excuse.
After the death of al-Sa’ādūn, national consciousness in Iraq greatly increased. The nation began to demand the British evacuation at the same time as Britain was seeking to stabilize her rule in the country.

On 30th June, 1930, Murî al-Sâfîd, the British High Commissioner and Foreign Minister, signed a new treaty between Iraq and Britain. Although this treaty reaffirmed British intentions to support Iraq's admission to the League of Nations in 1932, it was fiercely attacked by nationalistic Iraqi elements. It was full of harsh conditions giving Britain extensive rights in Iraq, which represented a considerable impediment to Iraq's attainment of full independence. Al-Rūṣūfī fiercely attacked it when its terms were published in the Iraqi papers, regarding it as another treaty imposed by a strong power upon a weak one.

1. Lenczowski, G., 219
2. Davis, H.M., 143
They have published the treaty in which there are shackles that bite into the legs of our hopes.

Through it, they have made us swallow the pill of our enslavement, but it is covered with independence.

The compact between the English and us is like the promises between the sheep and the wolf.

Who has seen a wolf shake hands in love with a lamb?

They are afraid of breaking of our shackles, so they have reinforced them with locks.

They have written these compacts for us, but with them they have put a lock on our fetters.

May the hands of those who signed it, be paralyzed; the curse of the generations has fallen upon them.

Supposing that they feel secure from the breaking of our shackles, are they secure from the change of circumstances?

In this year he became a representative of the district of al-'Umāra and he delivered a statement in parliament in which he discussed the terms of this treaty; he claimed that British aimed to change the mandate by means of this treaty.

Even after the entry of Iraq into the League of Nation, on 30th May, 1932 \(^1\), al-Ruṣāfī was still agitating for a revolt. He did not believe that the British were acting in good faith.

1. Davis, H.M., 149
You exchanged your mandate for our independence,
but in a way that made us slaves,
You created for us from each false compact
shackles by which our independence is shackled,
Until it became a laughing stork to people, each
of whom mocks at it and criticises it captiously.
It became like a sharp sword in your hands, now
drawn to terrify and now sheathed.
You deceived the simple people by it, but God is
witness that (self) rule was just a word without meaning.
How can a nation be Independent in governing
itself if it cannot govern alone?
It is nothing but a lie; traitors helped you and
supported you to achieve it.

The real power, he insisted still lay with the British
advisers.
Ask the English man who still sits in the chair of the Minister of the Interior:

"Are you a minister or the head of a ministry, that we see you frequenting it every day?

Are our affairs submitted to you, to loose and bind as you wish?

And you take a salary from us as an employee; this by God is a painful and insulting thing.

Do we carry today the burden of your control and pay you fees for it, and you receive it in cash?

And what is the function of that ambassador who has a palace built on the Western side.
C. Second World War

Despite al-Ruṣārī's belief in peace, he drew a good omen from the Second World War, believing, with many Western and Arab reformers, that it was a natural stage through which humanity had to pass in order to attain complete peace and happiness. It would also, he thought, put an end to the confusion in the Middle East and permit the occupied countries to achieve their independence.

Nous entendons aujourd'hui un éboulement de catastrophes qui ressemble à une bouillante marmite, je vois la première lueur d'une matinée s'étendant sur le noir des espoirs. En effet, le sang de la guerre est un éclat de sa couleur rose, j'attends de la situation d' образом révolution.

We hear today a bubbling of calamities which is like the bubbling of boiling pots.

I see the first glimmer of a morning spreading on the darkness of hopes.

In fact that blood in the War is only a glow of its pink light.

I expect from the vicissitudes time a revolution
which will be common to every place.

By which the remote will become near, and the near will become remote.

And the respected will no longer be respected, and the despised will no longer be despised.

And the weak will have his rights regarded and the tyrannical will lose.

And the Pleiades will rise safely from the hostility of Capella and Aldebaran.

The Lord of the heavens and the earth will appear to us with his justice and kindness.

The Imperialists will return with loss, and the country will shine with prosperity.

He once again urged all the Arabs to revolt against the Allies.

لا تصدَّرَ العرب أي أنتم من القوَّة
أنتم والدهر يغتَّب فيكم
تُقضى القُوم علىكم قيل هذا
وأستناهم بالجد ان أخفَفوه
وأقاموا بها قواعد جَوُّ
ثم بينوا بها العيون يعيشون
ثم ساروا بحكمها سير ذلك
كل هذا وأنتم مستقلون
قد كُوِّم لتفعلهم بمهولة
أختُوكم بها أسارا وقاموا

م إذا ما تتم انتقالة الزمان
من جديد مليء يقظان
واستخرجوه في حواسٍ
 والاستثناء دفائن الأوطان
لاحتشاد الجنود والطيران
ن فسادا في سوتها والشام
هم بها أخذون بالسكان
ن بزمن من عندما وامتنان
ناطقات من أدركم بلسان
ليسمى هذا لكم سى إحسان

مَعَشَّرَ العرب أي أنتم من القوَّة
أنتم والدهر يغتَّب فيكم
تُقضى القُوم علىكم قيل هذا
وأستناهم بالجد ان أخفَفوه
وأقاموا بها قواعد جَوُّ
ثم بينوا بها العيون يعيشون
ثم ساروا بحكمها سير ذلك
كل هذا وأنتم مستقلون
قد كُوِّم لتفعلهم بمهولة
أختُوكم بها أسارا وقاموا
People of the Arab countries, what will be your position if the times change?

Are you sleeping while the destiny opens in you day and night the eyes of a wakeful person?

The people have broken their pact with you before this; they think it unimportant in their hearts to keep it.

They disdained the promise when they broke it, and they exploited the buried treasures of the countries.

They also established air bases in it, for the concentration of armies and air craft.

Then they scattered spies in it, causing havoc in its squares and buildings.

Then they controlled it like a ship, holding the inhabitants as the rudder.

With all this you are independent, according to their claim, with thankfulness.

They bound you for their benefit with compacts that spoke glibly of your rule.

They fettered you with it as captives, then they said "This is a favour to you".
Those compacts, O people, are like compacts between wolves and lambs.

Do you not remember that your forefathers were disdainful, not accepting any humiliation?

When they walked with honour side by side with the band of them, with great swords.

And their flags rose waving among armies to which the East and the West had yielded.

So awaken the people to regain a glory like that which was higher than the sun and the moon.

Glory has in endeavour a place that the slack cannot reach.

He directed one poem in particular, Ya bani al-Waṣf, to the people of Iraq, urging them to seige this opportunity. It is not published in his Diwan.

1. Al-Waṣf, R., 267
People of al-Hafidáyn, why do I see you living with falsehoods which are hateful to all of you?

The English did things among you, which pleased them but did not please you.

You have doubts about the policy of them but you refuse to oppose them.

They promised you before the Arab kingdom; they revealed it by lies and imposed it.

A dome decorated for you with hopes; they built it for you and they demolished it.

They moved your desire for the fight, agitated you by their false promises,

When you were stirred up against your rulers with swords which you were not allowed to unsheath.

So why you do not break compacts in exchange for compacts that they have broken before you?

In 1941, Nūrī al-Sāʿīd, the Prime Minister, was replaced by RashīdʿAlī al-Gaylānī, a man hostile to the British. Al-Gaylānī and his military group, known as the Golden Square, took the opportunity of the British entry into the Second World War to make Iraq fully independent. They depended in their revolution upon Iraqi national consciousness of Iraqis and upon the promised help of Germany.

Al-Rūṣāfī was the first Iraqi poet to support this revolution. He wrote an enthusiastic poem which was broadcast from the Iraqi broadcasting station many times during the first days. This, too,

1. Arberry, A.J. and Landau, R., 58
2. Al-Wā'iz, R., 188-189
is not published in his Diwan.

Today, O country, take rest, and chant with praise,

Because the army has given you your right completely when it arose controlling the country.

And it hastened to defend you with swords, obediently following it chief RashīdʿAlī.

An army which, if rushing into danger, trusts God and believes in his victory-giving support;

Adorned with nobility, making love of country its characteristic, like its chief.

Go on, O chief of the nation, without equal, directing the army towards sublime glory.

And bring back to us the time of al-Rasḥīd; copy its name, its high resolutions, and its characteristics.

We are of a people whom self-esteem refused to
live anywhere but on the peaks of deep-rooted glory.

They planted glory upon their flowing blood, and they shaded themselves under the desirable glory that they had gathered.

They gave the countries their rights and they ascended the heights of glory with their swords and spears.

In the same poem, he attacked the prime minister, Nūrí al-Sa‘īd the regent, ‘Abd al-Ilāh, and two members of the cabinet, ‘Alī Jawdat al-Ayyūbī, and Jamīl al-Ma’dfa‘ī, who had all escaped to Transjordan 1.

They were ungrateful for their country’s favours, although they are its sons; therefore, they returned with disgrace in this life.

They lived in it like scorpions, which habitually spit out their venom everywhere.

1. Lenczowski, G., 225
They became openly helpers of the British against us, taking any opportunity to disunite us.

They left their countries to bear their burden, and they spoke lies against it, with foul language.

Let them shiver after their escape; they are nothing except buzzing flies.

Let them be off! All the people in the country follow the chief and accept him as master.

Evil come to him who has betrayed his king’s throne, the people of his race, himself, and his country.

Rashid 'Ali’s revolution collapsed after one month. This was the result of a number of internal and external political difficulties, but principally of the inability of the nation’s enthusiastic as much of it was, to support it. The following poem was written directly after its collapse.
Weep, 0 my soul, for inherited glory and the
rightly guided rule.

Weep for its noble, brave and lion-like heroes.

The wind of the oppressors has carried them away,
and al-Sa'îd's rule has destroyed them.

The (British) ambassador said:
Why do you need a large army, 0 people?

The Indian army is enough for you; are there any
people more faithful than the Indians?

You see Sin al Dhubâb (the British Camp) overflowing
with army corps and flags.

So, eat and sleep and take rest from the troubles
of a strong army.

0, Cornwallis (the British Ambassador), you have
spoken the truth, in an era in which there is no life.

Iraq is not a nation able to build on past glory.
And its youths are fit only to paint their cheeks.

If there was in this country one who would
sacrifice himself for it,

You would see the valley of Al-Râfidayn walk
proudly in a new garment.

On this sad occasion, he also attacked Nûrî al-Sa'îd constant

1. Al-Khaṭṭât, Q., Mafîrî al-Rasâfî., 159-160
ally of the British and the regent, threatening that one day Iraq
would be free of their treacherous rule.

Tell me; by your God, O Sa'īd, you who are
not Sa'īd (happy).

Who will protect Iraq from every stubborn
tyrant?

You deprived it of its lions, and so the lair
has become without lions.

You all will face a day with which my poetry
will seek refuge.

God will never forsake Iraq, though it becomes
a monkey's playground.

'Abd al-Ilāh, the regent, returned to Baghdad on 1st June,
under the protection of the British authorities 1. Al-Ruṣāfī
sarcastically described his entry into Baghdad emphasising that the
regent was an agent of the British.

1. Longrigg, S.H., 76
The bride was led to us with her English husband.

She was led to us with a feast full of misery and misfortunes.

Her dowry was our blood, and her wedding was murderous war.

How many sacred things were violated, and how many souls were destroyed.

And how many glasses of death passed around us!

All this, in order that that bride may gain that husband.

The day of this bride, by my life, was a hateful and miserable day.

The Iraqi government captured al-Gaylanî's four confederates Salah al-Dîn al-Šabbâgh, Muhammad Salman, Kâmil Ṣabîb, and Fahmî Saïd. They all were executed in Baghdad, and al-Rusafi bitterly mourned them.

1. Al-Tarîkh al-Ḥadîth, 54
in his elegy al-Ufūl al-Mushriq.

They hanged you quickly during the night, and then they bundled your bodies into graves.

They hanged you because you refused to yield to the British.

They have deserved the curse which the past ages have repeated against the devil.

Al-Rūṣāfī believed that the main reason for the British occupation of Iraq was to guarantee her commercial routes to India. He therefore looked forward to India's independence. He expressed this in his poem al-Fīl wa'l-Hamal, recited in 1929 in Baghdad on the occasion of the reception for Muhammad 'Alī Janāh an Indian leader, who later became the founder of Pakistan.
To you, the leader of India, I put a question; would you please answer it?

We are here in a peaceful place in which a liberal can speak freely.

When I hear anyone mention India, I imagine an elephant chained with iron.

The hand of the foreigner drives him for his profit and he goes burdened with their burden.

Sometimes he kneels down collapsing, groaning because of his heavy burdens.

And sometimes he is urged on, and trembling comes over him, and he moves quickly despite his chains.

I think that the elephant has strength that with it can support him, if he wants that.

If this elephant rises and gathers his strength, he will shake and stir the proud mountains.

If I have no connection with the elephant, I would not seek to have a detailed answer to this question.

We have a lamb which is Iraq, and we think that it has become prey for the wolf because of this elephant.
Therefore, if this elephant becomes free from the chains of its captivity, we will be saved, otherwise the matter will be difficult.

If this is not true, on what do you think we have to rely.

After this question, I salute you, Muḥammad, in the name of those who rise up to glory.

He also believed the country's wealth was one of the principal reasons for British designs on it. Wilson of Iraq admitted this. Iraq's oil was a great obstacle to independence from the British point of view. Al-Ruṣāfī was convinced that no nation could be politically independent without economic independence.

If a nation is the prisoner of poverty, what use are politics and enthusiasm?

Can a prisoner, imprisoned by his poverty, be free in his politics?

Because of this, he always tried to encourage home manufactures.

If we made everything in our country we would reap the fruits of glory,
And we would live today in our countries, independent and in comfort.

Al-Ruṣāfī took a great interest in this, and supported anyone in the Arab countries who set up home manufactures. For example, when Fakhrī al-Barūdī established in Damascus Sharikat al-Mansūjāt al-Watāniyya, al-Ruṣāfī wrote in his poem Fī Sabīl al-Watāniyya.

Mastery always goes with wealth, in its absence and presence alike.

The nation that is not independent in its currency will not be independent in its sword.

The nation that is weak economically must also be weak militarily.

O people, you are like a person who plants a grape-vine and others pluck the bunches of grapes from it.
How often have you sown in your land and others have taken every seed of your produce.

So, 0 people, consider your condition and awake from your sleep.

Any of you who wants to honour his country should do like al-Barūdī, who honoured it.

He also supported Tal'at Harb, the economic chief of Egypt, when he visited Iraq in 1936 with an Egyptian delegation. In his poem Wafd Mīr al-Saqīqa, he detailed the good results of Tal'at's efforts in this direction, his establishment of the Bank Mīr and its various branches in Egypt, and his setting up of many factories in al-Mahalla al-Kubra.

He also supported al-Sinamā al-Watani, which was opened in Baghdad, encouraged the people to go to it instead of to foreign films.

Despite al-Rušāfī's hostility to the British, he accepted their friendship. He believed with others, that Iraq, as a new state, was in need of their technical advice and assistance. On the other hand, he made one condition of this friendship that these British advisers should serve the country as officials in the Iraqi government without becoming involved in the country's politics.

1. *D.2.* 684
2. *D.2.* 521
3. Landau, R., 261
Slowly, if you seek a nation's friendship, leave it to deal with what it has undertaken.

Help it in its affairs, and it will help you in many things.

Otherwise, you are tyrants, and the tyrant is hoist with his own petard.

The same idea is found also in his elegy on al-Sa'ūdīn Mīlāq al-Batāl al-Akbar, Manzar al-Hāfīdayn.

Plant your friendship in this country, then you will gather our friendship as your fruit.

We shall become your sincere allies in your policies, and shall walk in groups to death for your sake.

We are not people who break their promises, though
our blood should run like a river.

And we do not ally ourselves with people and then desert them even though we should wear death as shirts for their sake.

Because we are naturally the most faithful of people and we are the loftiest people in noble deeds.

This idea of friendship with the British appears only twice in al-Ruṣāfī's Dīwān, once in 1929, after the death of al-Saʿdūm and once during the thirties.

During the nineteenth century some Arab reformers, such as Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-1897), advocated political reform before social reform, believing that there was no chance for any progress under a despotic rule. Other reformers, such as Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905), advocated social reform before political reform, considering that there was no advantage in having good rulers and at the same time an ignorant nation unable to understand its rights. In order to achieve rapid progress, al-Ruṣāfī demanded both social and political reform side by side. This is to say, he put the responsibility for the nation's backwardness on both rulers and people, and directed the attention of both sides to this.

لا الشعب يخلص أئوابة الخميل ولا نوابه يلبسن الصدق قضانًا

Neither does the nation take off the garments of indolence, nor do its representatives put on shirts of truth.
It is thus very difficult to separate his social and political advocacy, though he regarded the rulers as the principal cause of the country's decline.
SECTION 3, PEACE

In order to create a free, happy, and advanced country, al-Raşāfī was a proponent of peace, pointing out the bad effects of wars on society.

They said: "You hate war". I said: "Because it comes forcibly to seige men's rights".

I have considered wars and have not found anything similar to them except wines.

Their small advantages are fickle towards men, but its great crimes remain firm like mountains.

How greedily fierce war is, for it drinks souls and ears wealth.

How often from the dust of wars has a heavy shower of blood flowed down upon the mills and made them more barren.

Were it not for wars and their burning thunderbolts, the lands would be fertile.
Some of his contemporaries such as Taha Husayn, believed that war had a great role in the advance of any country. Husayn had a long argument on this subject with Husayn Haykal, in the Egyptian paper, al-Sufur in 1915 1. Al-Ruṣāfī rejected this, insisting that knowledge was the basis of any advance.

If war brings perfection to a nation, knowledge is more likely to do so.

There are many different tasks in this life, so let people live in peace, and fight with the tasks.

If there are advantages in war, those are restricted to particular groups.

War has made some people amazingly rich and struck others with poverty.

And made some people to live in high palaces and others in graves.

1. Mubārak, Z. Al-Hilāl (1939) 1, 71
In his view, wars were inhumane phenomena which had no place in modern civilization.

أيا زعماء الغرب هل من دالة تقولون ان العصر عصر تمددن ألم تبصروا القتل تج دماء ها أني الحق أم في العلم ألا يسوكم وهل أظلمت هذى العلم قلوبكم كذبتم فان العصر عصر مطامع

O leaders of the west, have you guidance to anything except deceit and lies?

You say that the age is the age of civilization; is it for this reason that you kill people for no fault?

Do you not see the blood of the killed flow on the earth and the wounded groaning in the war?

Is it because of justice or science that you are not troubled or ashamed at going to war in order to usurp?

Have those sciences covered your hearts with covers carved from hard stones?

You have lied, for the age is the age of covetousness, for which jugular veins were cut with sharp swords.

War raised an evil-spirit among people that led to more
animosity and destruction. He therefore, recommended peaceful negotiation between rulers as a means of solving disagreements.

He stated that wars occurred as a result of the political and personal ambitions of rulers.

Every day, because of ambition, an upheaval in the
name of politics provokes a battle.

Would it have harmed those who ruled the countries, if they had depended on a search for agreement.

Is it politics that we shall kill one another in order that others may achieve their own desires?

How bad are the actions of the politicians in killing men and orphaning children!

He had previously written a long poem, Igāz al-Ruqūd, on this theme. This was inspired by Ibn al-Rashīd's asking the Turks in 1904 for a military aid to restore his rule in Najd, which had been taken by Ibn Saʿūd in 1901. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II sent a large number of soldiers to help his ally. Most of these soldiers were from Iraq. The army went unwillingly to the war, since they were going to fight another Muslim army, for no good reason.

In his poem Yawm Sāḥāfūra, he referred to the war between Britain and Japan, believing that their rulers imposed this war upon the nations, who were against it.

1. Ismael, T.Y., 352
2. Ismael, T.Y., 352
They destroyed the country and vanquished it, and they became mad in their internecine strife.

The nations did not want to set fire to it (the war) but the rulers lit it.

They are the ones who committed this crime against us, they are the oppressors and the greedy ones.

In his narrative historical poem *Abū Dulāma wa'l Mustaqbal* he illustrated the idea that negotiation and mutual understanding perhaps lead to more effective results. The following verses reflect Abū Dulāma's views when he was ordered to engage in personal combat with the leader of the enemy.

سِنِّبَةٌ لِمَطَعٍ طَابِعٍ وَضِبَالًا
بيِّما وَهِلْ هِنِّي لَقِيتْ نَكَّالًا
أَمْ هَلْ خَرَتْ بِهِمْ آَبَٰتَالًا
سَمَا يَجْحَرْ خَصْوَةٌ وَجُدَّدًا لا
ضَرِّيْا بِقَطْعِ هَنِّي الأَصَالَا
زَحَفْوا جَنُونًا لِلْخُنِّى وَخَبَالَا

2,209

Is it from manliness that we shed our blood stupidly and vainly for the amition of the amitions?

Have you ever seen me before this meeting, or have I caused any injury to you?

Or have I committed any crime in your people's tents, or have I stolen camels in their camp?

What has happened between you and me before this
to cause any quarrel or dispute?

That you should have drawn your sword on me in order to cut off my limbs.

Consider yourself above becoming one of those who march foolishly and madly to battle.

Abū Dulāma is able to convince the leader of the enemy not to fight with him.

The hero (of the enemy) found that what he said was lofty and right, and indeed, every truth is always lofty.

So he gave way and yielded to the truth, sheathing a sword that the smiths had polished well.

And he turned the reins of his great horse, saying: "Go in safety; may you meet with no harm!"

Abū Dulāma went producing provisions wrapped in a cloth, as an example.


And he called to him: "Son of noble people, rightly guided one, grant your brother a respite!

I hope that you will eat this roast meat; with me, do you not wish to eat?

So they approached each other from different sides and came up to each other on their horses,

Until, when they had eaten meat, they turned away, after taking their farewells, and wheeled their horses round.

Then Abū Dulāma returns to his band, the leader of which is Rawḥ, very happy with his victory.

They returned, and Abū Dulāma sprang on, and the foal beneath him shied,

Until, when he was near the prince, he dismounted out of respect for him.

Saying, while Rawḥ was laughing: "I have saved you from my equal, 'the lion.'

I have killed him with words, not by the sword; war indeed should be carried on with words.
And I have taken promises from him in the battle that he will never again fight with heroes.

His narrative poem *Min Wavlāt al-Harb*, which was written during the First World War, is also a plea for peace.

In his unpublished book *al-Shakhṣiyā al-Muḥammadīyya*, written between 1933-1941, he is said to claim, in the section *Ibra Ḥād Al-ʿAṣr*, that the people of *al-Jāhiliyya* were more successful than the people of science and culture today, in that they designated certain months for peace *al-ʾAshṣūr al-Hurūm*, while the West with all its power and its continual peace conferences was unable to stop war even for one day. Through this he hoped to encourage both the government and the people to put a stop to the wars which were almost continuous at that time.

His belief in peace did not mean that he agreed with those Muslim ideologists who believed that people should yield to the injustice of rulers, leaving judgement to God. In his opinion, if people were unable to obtain their rights by peaceful means, they should struggle for them and gain them by force. This we have seen at length in his political poetry. He also demanded the creation of a strong army because he believed that the nation alone was not enough to defend its right or the country, particularly in a period of power, politics and ambition.

In the following two verses he justified his demands for a

1. D.I., 587
2. ‘Alī, M., *Al-taşbīḥ*, 264
We do not want wars, but we want to defend the heritage of our forefathers.

Have you seen rule without soldiers? Indeed, rule depends on them.

In 1934, Iraqi government introduced Conscription. Many tribes fiercely resisted it, such as the Yazidis, north of Mosul who engaged the government in a war over this in 1935. At the same time, a military school was founded in Baghdad. Al-Rusafi loyally encouraged the young men of Iraq to volunteer for this school.
O people, why are you still inactive? does my violence not stir you?

Whenever I rouse you, recoil from your rock-like hardness of hearts.

For a long time I have blamed you— for the calamities that have happened to you,

When are you going to make an effort, and why are you so slack, and how long must I urge you with my songs?

I am the singer of rarest rhymes; has my singing not affected you?

Before, I praised you, because I was seeking to encourage you by praise.

So beware today of the attack of a pen which has turned to criticism.

0 people, we are in an age of science which has given war a new style;

It has made war today study an art that is a substitute for the valour of the warrior.

Science in the wars of this age has a power more effective than the power of iron.

When its greatest power appears, all the great
power of iron is forgotten.

0 people, volunteer for the military school and put off the clothes of inactivity.

And get ready to oppose every enemy who denies the right and breaks his compacts.

And strengthen the rule that we desire with soldiers scattered on the frontiers.

Your country has called you, so answer the call of those who command you to perform your military service.
SECTION 4. ARAB UNITY

Al-Ruṣāfī became a propagandist for Arab Unity in the last decade of Ottoman rule, as a result of the racial policy that was followed by the Young Turks during this period. The Young Turks tried to fuse together the Arabs and the other minorities in the Empire, aiming to create a Turkish empire. This trend was known as Pan-Turanianism and was adopted by Atatürk later. Turkish literature and journalism both began to recall ancient Turkish glories, and the highly respected Turkish paper İqdam glorified the Turks at the expense of the Arabs. During this period, political tendencies in the Arab World were divided into two groups: those who demanded Arab Unity and separation from the Ottoman empire, believing that this was the only way to achieve the required progress, and those who demanded Arab Unity and decentralization within the Ottoman Empire, motivated by their Islamic feelings. Al-Ruṣāfī belonged to this second group.

During this time, al-Ruṣāfī began to direct the attention of the Arabs towards the importance of their overall Unity, pointing out that the early Arabs had acquired their power, honour and glory through their Unity.

1. Rustow, D.A., 12
2. Ismael, T.Y., 60
3. Tachau, F., 29
4. Al-Hilāl (1939) S., 21
5. Brockelmann, C., 392
Alas, for honour of the Arabs, that has faded away with time!

In days gone by, their glory was secure, the people united and the kingdom well ordered.

They were the greatest of people in honour and ability, when matters were bound with the rope of will.

And they were the most unperturbed of people, able to face extremes of fear at which all others would tremble.

A nation, who if are subjected to sudden distress, hastened to remove it, urged on by their resolution.

Their turbans remained on their heads through their discretion, and their belts were tied by their resolution.

There are no longer pure Arabs, they have been succeeded by those who are neither Arabs nor non Arabs.

Time oppressed them in its revolutions, until
their morals and their customs changed.

Mutual hatreds spread through their entrails like a disease that caused their bones to swell and their blood to dry up.

So humiliation walked among them like a prince, and they surrounded it like servants.

In 1913, at a meeting of al-Muntadā al-Adabī (an establishment in Istanbul), al-Rušāfī openly demanded Arab unity, trying to convince all Arabs that without it no success could be achieved.

وَمَمَّا أَبَيْتُها الْعَرَبُ هِيَّاَمُ رَقَادُكُمُ

1,185

O Arabs, rise from your sleep, the morning has appeared and the darkness of danger disappeared.

How can you succeed when you are disunited? The lute has no sound without strings.

Why do I find you the people of least power when you are the people of greatest number, uncountable?

When political trends became very diverse during the inter-

war period, he called for political unity.

راجعَ اِحَادَّ فِي طَرِيقَ سِيَاسَةٍ تَعْمَّ مَرَّمِيَّ بَيْنيَ عَربٍ طَرَأً
We hope for a unity in politics that will encompass all the Arabs without exception.

He also demanded the adoption of unified educational policies in all the Arab states.

Can there not be an Arab renaissance of learning, to reanimate both spirits and minds?

During the Mandatory government, he reaffirmed his belief in the unity of education, as he explained in his poem *Al-Madāris wa nəhjəha*, written in 1929.

Then follow, in all the Arab countries a scheme which includes unified education.

So that, if we delegate all Arabs, it will be as if we delegated one person.

After the war, the Arab countries were divided by the Western occupation forces into different regions according to the secret Sykes-Picot agreement between France and Britain.

1. Ismael, T.Y., 35
This involved the establishing of definite borders and obliged the Arabs to obtain special permits to travel from one country to another. This caused much hardship to many Arabs who were accustomed to move about freely. When al-Ruṣāfī went to Aleppo and was subjected to an extensive investigation by the territorial police, he bitterly expressed his conviction that this division was artificial, in his ironic poem, Fi Tariqī ila Halab.

I came to the convent early on Sunday morning, in order to go with those who were going to Aleppo.

The police who were supervising stood in my way demanding verification of my passport.

I was taken like a murdered led to punishment; even my clothes and my body were searched.

As if I was the thief of lost money. I am not one to commit crime and run away.

And I am not one was given a right and denied, no, and
I am not one to commit a crime against anyone.

But things have become rotten with them, and rule has oppressed them and overwhelmed them.

So the people's luck sleeps, and their good fortune has subsided, and their ill luck has blazed up and they have lost their glory for ever, and, and, and, and, and, and, and.

Al-Ruṣāfī says regarding this division:

蔽 願 于 歸 于 世 教 于 民 于 大 主

We are indeed relatives, although politics imposes separation.

He insisted that, in order to achieve political unity and independence, all Arabs should bury their differences and act and think as one.

بِغْرَبِهِ حَوْلَانَ عِمَانَ وَلِبْنَانَ يُصْرَفُ وَإِلَيْهِ نَظْرٌ وتَرَبُّعُ فِي الْبَيْتِ الْمَجْدٌ أَرْكَانُ نَفْحَدَا هِئْلِيَ يَشَكُّ هْا مَلَءٌ وَمِا ن

We will rise towards eternal glory in a way which will please Hawrān and Lebanon,

Which will make great Damascus in Syria, and make
Baghdad in the land of the two rivers tremble with pleasure;
Which will delight the Rock in Jerusalem and give ease to the corners of the Sacred House.
Which will bring good consequences for the noble Arabs and be praised by Mufti and Archbishop.

Before 1912, al-Ruṣāfī had advocated Imperial unity for everyone, Arabs and non-Arabs, Muslims and non-Muslims alike; he considered himself a citizen of the Ottoman Empire, even though his Arab sympathies were very clear.

In the twenties a new literary tendency appeared this was known as al-Adab al-Iqlīmi (regional literature), and was pioneered by Shawqī 1.

Thus, in Egypt, literary works by non-Egyptians were neglected and failed to find publishers. Works by Egyptians, on the other hand, were published, regardless of quality 2.

During the thirties, the literary influence of Egypt on the Arab countries was considerable. Egyptian poets during this period concentrated on Egyptian themes and neglected Arab subjects.

They did not participate with other Arab authors in the anti-Imperialist campaign 3. In the forties emphasis on Egyptian literature Al-Adab al-Misrī 4 was again strong among such writers as Amin al-Khūlī, Sallāma Mūsa and Abū Shādī. This trend was not appreciated

1. Logḥat el-ārab (1927) 8, 492
2. Logḥat el-ārab (1928)5 , 382
3. Al-Naqqāsh, R. Al-Hilāl (1968) 5, 118
elsewhere in the Arab World, as it was felt to be contrary to the
tendency towards Arab unity. Al-Ruṣāfī strongly attacked this
partiality in literature.

Part of Egypt's oppression of Arab Nationalism,
is that she intends to make her literature Egyptian,
And she turns away from the literature of any
tribe that she has not embraced in her genealogies,
So the Egyptian poet in Egypt is excellent, and
others are inferior even if they are distinguished,
It is as if the gifts of God were restricted there
to her writers.

This, by God, is a tyranny, created by her
intellectuals in their great delusion.

The literature of all societies is like their
science; it is too great to be attributed to individual
nations.

1. Al-Sharqī, M., 30
Both science and literature, among all mankind, have a sacred house the door of which may not be closed.

During the last stages of his career he persisted in his plea for Arab Unity, pointing out again and again to all the Arabs that their forefathers attained their glory by their unity, and that they themselves would never obtain full independence unless they became united. An example of this is his poem *Bahr al-ʿUrubā*, which is not published in his *Dīwān*.

> بنى العربية هبّوا من مواقكم وقتكماء افترقتنا شرّ متشارق قاما تحارون بأهل الحفاظ لا تكثروا بالافتحار في أوائلكم بل فانهضا للمصالح مثل نهضتهم كانت أوائلكم في وحدة تركت سلوا بذلكم (البرموك) ودُبّجه عن (خالد) بطل الأبطال يخبرنا و(القادسية) عن (سعد) مجدّدة اذا علمنا بأن النصر طالعبهم

1. Tabāna, B., 272

O Arabs, arise from your sleep! how long shall we complain of the assault of misfortunes?

My life, we have separated, and, by my life, we have changed, and both of these things are bad.

1. Tabāna, B., 272
O noble people, do you not feel jealous, for your right which is usurped by the head of your enemies.

Do not be satisfied with pride in your ancestors, for the effect of wine does not enable us to do without the grape.

But rise as they did and cling to firm unity.

Your forefathers had a unity which left their enemies slivers in the hand of fear.

Ask the valley of al-Yarmuk about this; it will answer you as I have said.

It will tell us about Khālid, the hero of heroes, when he defeated the enemy army by killing and running away.

Al-Qādisiyya will tell us about Saʿad when he killed Rustam, the lord of a great army.

If we know that they got the victory by their unity, we will not be surprised.

Al-Rusafī believed that the essential elements of Arab unity were common history, a common feeling, and a common language. He was known as the principal spokesman for Arab unity.

During the twenties a strong attack was made on Classical Arabic. Some Arab writers claimed that it could be understood by the ordinary people only with difficulty and accordingly they demanded the adoption of al-Amīyya as a literary language. Other writers,

1. Arberry, J.A., 175
2. Rafaṣṣiya, Y., 34
such as the Lebanese poet Sa‘īd ‘Aql, and the Egyptian writer Sallāma Misā, claimed that classical Arabic was an unsuitable medium for study in the university since it could not express the new scientific terms, and accordingly they demanded that it be written in the Latin alphabet.

At this time a new current also appeared in Egypt which advocated a return to ancient Egyptian language, such as Ḥusayn Haykal. Many Arab figures faithfully defended classical Arabic, such as Ahmad Timūr, Ẓādiq al-Rafī‘ī, Qāsim Amīn, Muḥammad ‘Abduh, al-Afghānī, Zāki Mubārak, who strongly attacked Cairo university for its use of the English language, al-Fārūqī al-Rāḥīlī, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, and Tāhā al-ʿAlwī.

Al-Ruṣāfī belonged to those who demanded the simplification of classical Arabic according to the Islamic principle "ربَّيَ يَسِرَّ وَأَهْسَرَ", that is to say that they recommended the dropping of the ʾIrāb without vowel. Al-Ruṣāfī use the idiom known as ʾal-Muṣṭa. 8

Al-Ruṣāfī believed with many others, that classical Arabic was great enough to express any kind of new term since its grammar was based on ʾAṣrīf, Isḥiqāq, Taʿrīb, Naḥt, Tarkīb, Qiyās and Majāz. This he explained in his book Rasā’l al-Taʾlīqāt. He also wrote two books on al-ʿAmiya: ʿDafʿ al-Murāq Fī Kālam Aḥl al-ʿIrāq, and Kitāb al-ʿAla waʾl-Adāt.

1. Al-Jamālī, F., 30
2. Al-Shak’a, M., 35
3. Rafāʾīyya, Y., 34
4. Shak’a, M., 34
5. Khayrī, Sh., 251
7. Al-Rāḥīlī, F., 122
8. Al-Jamālī, F., 28
CHAPTER FIVE

OTHER GENRES
CHAPTER FIVE

OTHER GENRES

SECTION 1. DESCRIPTION

A. Poetry of Nature

Al-Ruṣāfī loved the beauty of Nature and regarded it as a source of inspiration.

حسن يفيده في الحياة كما لا وينكف من أفكاره الأعلاق

Look at the beauty of Nature; it is a beauty that gives you perfection in life.

A beauty that ties up, with its love, him who sees it, and unties shackles from his thoughts.

أردت بين البدر والبحر ناظرٌ ـ نظرت في حسن العوالم وهى جاش بصدري الشعر وهو نسيب أطلَّ من الأعلى عليه حبُب

I look now at the moon and now at the sea; my glance goes now up and now down.

I considered the beauty of the worlds at midnight,
and poetry, a *nasib*, surged in my heart.

As though I were a lover, with those worlds above me: a lover on whom his beloved was looking down from on high.

In his *Diwan* there are sixteen poems, besides other scattered verses, in all amounting to 461 verses, on Nature, full of colours, tunes and emotion.

In this field he did not confine his art to Iraq. He tried to give a pleasant picture of Turkey, where he lived for many years. But neither Iraq nor Turkey moved his imagination like Lebanon, which he loved in all its changes and seasons. There are four descriptive poems in his *Diwan* on Lebanon, consisting of 149 verses; *Lubnān* ¹, *Qaṣr al-Bahr* ², *Maḥasin al-Ṭabīʿa* ³, and *Dhikra Lubnān*, from which came the following verses.

لبنان تفعل بالحياة جنائمه
وترد غصن العيش بعد نبؤته فكأن لبنان عروس اذغدا
وكانما البحر الخضم ستجمل
تهفو الغصن به النهار وفي الديج
وترى النجم على ذرا كأنها
له لبنان الذي هضائمه

1. D.1, 657
2. D.1, 708
3. D.1, 713
Lebanon's paradises affect life as fresh and pure water affects the burning thirst of a parched man. It revives the branch of life, making it fresh after being withered, swaying with its luxuriant foliage. It is as though Lebanon were a bride, shining with spreading locks of branches. And as though the great sea were a mirror, showing the image of its charming beauty. Branches float on it during the day and during the night tresses of fire float on it. You see the stars on its peaks as though they were pearls on crowns above it. How wonderful Lebanon is, whose mountains have laughed flirting with its valleys. A tender breeze blows in its gardens with trailing trains and perfumed sleeves. Nature in its hills has revealed wonderful things that clothe the old in the tenderness of the young.

His descriptions of nature, in Iraq, which has been a source of inspiration for poets before and after him, generally coloured with sadness being affected by his humanitarian feelings, as for example in his description of the sunset:

1. See al-Baghādādi, H. A., 62 and See also al-Ḥamawī, Y., 461
She has descended, drawing her long train to the west, yellow, like an ardent lover.

She trembled at the point of setting as though she was enamoured and ill, moving restlessly in bed.

Her rising laughed at your face in the morning, but her setting wept blood in the evening.

She set, leaving behind her, like a flame, a long glow in the margin of the sky.

A sickly glow that frightens the heart, like an unsheathed sword anointed with blood.

It resembles the blood of the oppressed, mixed with tears shed by the eyes of the orphan.

I have not forgotten my stopping near al-Ażamiyya, when the sun was low and about to set.

On the right side I saw cultivated fields and on the left side gardens and palm-trees.

The roar of the norias excited my heart; at a
distance it thought it someone moaning in grief.

Behind those crops there is a shepherd of flocks that have returned to their pen.

Summer has come and the moisture has dried up, leaving things complaining of dryness.

Its sun has blazed at midday and the desert has licked its lips.

From its sun great heat and light everywhere accumulated on the houses.

With whom has the shining sun become angry with, animosity stirring in its heart?

I pardon Summer's sins, although the raid of its parching wind spreads devastation everywhere.

For summer is more merciful to the poor than winter, and for this reason they like its coming.

Want has decreased in it; poor and rich are the
same during its days.
If any of them needs clothing, summer is a
wrapper and a dress for him.
The earth is their bed that they do not have to
be given, when they want to sleep and the sky is a
cover.

In his poems on al-Ba§ra 1, in which he gave an unfavourable
picture of the city 2 that is famous for its natural beauty, and in
his poem Ya Dar Qustantin 3 in which he described Constantinople's
weather, Ya Dar Qustantin characters of the inhabitants to their climate.

In his descriptive poem, al-Bulbul wa'l-Ward, consisting of
27 verses, he wrote in a romantic manner about the love of a Bulbul
and a rose; in this he imitated the Persian and Turkish poets who
often used this theme in their erotic and mystical poetry 4.

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1. D.2., 632
2. See Zaidan, J., 2, 42
3. D.1., 696
4. Al-Misrî, H.M., 364
He stayed looking at her as a thirsty man looks at a spring.

Because she was shy, she blushed at his embarrassing gaze.

Then he went to extremes in warbling and singing, declaring his longing to the rose.

He sang, revealing his love to her; she was the one who made him warble.

She diffused perfume for him, as though she wanted to make him inhale it.

Until the Bulbul became, from his youth, fluent in speaking of his love for her.

He often related natural scenery and people, as for instance:

ان حياة المرء معاشرت ولاية عوامل مختلفة الشروئ كالنهر الجارئ الذي تغييرت أوضاعه في الأراضي معاير

The circumstances of a man's life are seen to change as long as he lives,

Like a running river which continually changes the surroundings through which it runs.
We are like water that flows out, but our source is hidden from us.

I wish that man were like the full moon that returns as a crescent every month and grows.

Or I wish that he were like a growing tree that puts forth leaves in the summer and loses them in the winter.

Although al-Rušāfī had great poetic ingenuity in this field and his descriptive poetry of Nature is distinguished by its accuracy and completeness, he did not give it the attention that he gave to political and social poetry. He was a realistic poet and even here his imagination remained firmly in touch with reality.
B. Modern Inventions

His descriptions of modern inventions reflected the spirit of the time and his interest in modern culture. He described the car, the aeroplane, the phonograph, the telegraph, and the train. His poem on the train was the most distinguished example of this kind of poetry in his generation. He painted a lively picture of it.

1. D.1., 581
2. D.2., 98
3. D.1., 25
4. D.1., 684
5. D.1., 565
6. Al-Shak'a, M., 24
An engine that hurls its smoke into space and fills the earth's breast with fear as it proceeds.

It has a nose which breathes fire, and a belly in which steam is its heart.

She carried us at night, pulling behind her a train like a line of Dawk-trees.

Now running very quickly like a blast of wind, and now gently like the blowing of a soft breeze.

Both plain and mountain are the same to her in her progress, so she neither considers the plain easy nor the mountain difficult.

She strongly stamps down rugged ground, and runs quickly over level ground.

If a high place passes her, she climbs it; if a valley stands in her way, she jumps it.

She pierces through a great mountain when it defies her; she has found a hole under its peak.

The sound of her roar rings inside the mountain when she penetrates the wide passage in it.

As she enters, she cries out, as though saying to the mountain: "Leave the road to me!"

She passes through it like an arrow, as though you saw an agitated snake enter a hole.

She strives against the force of gravity, although she is heavy, and she conquers it with her impetus.

In the last verses of this poem, he exhorted the people to pay attention to science.
C. Calamities.

During the period under discussion, the Muslim World witnessed many calamities, such as wars, fires, floods, political disorder and social decline. Al-Ruṣāfī described some of these in his political and social poetry. He described the war of the Russia with Japan ⁰, of Italy with Tripoli ¹, of the Balkan States with the Ottoman Empire ², of the allies with the Ottoman Empire ³, and of British with Japan ⁴. He also described the great flood that happened in Baghdad during the last years of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid II's rule ⁵. Directly after the declaration of the Ottoman constitution in 1908, three great fires occurred in Constantinople. The first one was in the Sharāghān palace, the greatest royal palace, built by Sultan 'Abd al-'Azīz, which later became a parliament building through the efforts of Ahmad Riğā, the President of the parliament of the Young Turks, the second was in the al-Fāṭih quarter, and the third was in the Išāq Pāsha quarter. They were all described by al-Ruṣāfī ⁶, and linked with patriotic sentiments. The following describes the first fire in the Sharāghān palace.

1. D.2., 186
2. D.2., 441, 449, 472
3. D.2., 456, 461
4. D.2., 465
5. D.2., 427
6. D.1., 304
7. D.1., 791, 797, 804
O pearl on the sea-shore, lost by a people as an ornament to the Bosporus!

How often did it shine brightly on the face of the sea and adorn the tops of the hills with crowns.

0 palace, since you burned down, you made the fish and the whales in the sea weep for you.

The fire's flame completely destroyed you, leaving no consolation to the people.

There were pickaxes of the fire's flames - wonderful to relate - destroying your walls, like mountains.

We stood before you, while the fire was attacking you, demolishing one corner after another.

How often were we frightened by crashes from you
in the fire, until we thought that you had become a volcano.

When we saw flames trembling in you, we trembled with sorrow, both our souls and our bodies.

You filled the breast of the air with smoke, and we filled the breast of the earth with grief.

How honourable are people! if their tear-ducts could have extinguished you, they would have done so, for they made the tears flow in streams.

Woe to a chief, sought to make you a chamber for the deputies,

Until, when you became a parliament for them, the result of his efforts was a loss.

The fire in you made a sound which I thought it was laughter at him who made us weep by his bad judgement.
D. Places of Entertainment

This genre gives a picture of al-Ruṣāfī's personal life as a poet. He loved places of entertainment, believing that they were essential for providing recreation. He also regarded some of them as participating in the fine arts such as music, acting, painting, and singing.

He had a special ability in depicting a dancer or a singer on the stage, and representing the effect of their dancing and singing on their spectators. The following verses from his poem Leyla Fi Malha, written in 1898, in Constantinople describe a dancer:

She swayed and her beauty swayed in people's hearts as she comes and goes.

She stood on the tips of her fingers, excelling in her prancing and jumping.

People frowned if she went, and smiled if she
came back.

So if she advanced you saw smiles, and if she retired you saw frowns.

She perplexed us when she showed us wonder after wonder of her dancing.

When she bent she looked like bending branches; when she swayed she looked like the blowing of a gentle breeze.

She turned her head to return like a deer that sees a wolf from a distance.

She jumped lightly, like lightning, going up and down in her dancing.

She made such movements and among them such stillnesses, that she captivated our minds.

In the following verses he described the singing of Umm Kulthūm, the most famous singer in the East (d. 1974).

Umm Kulthūm in the arts of singing is a nation alone, at this time.
In songs she describes love frankly through her captivating voice.

Love can be seen in their melodies, and also the hue of union and separation.

She recites poetry in her singing and fits appropriate tunes to the words.

The soul understands the speech of love from her singing without a translator.

There are inflexions in her voice that sadden and leave her hearers in a ferment.

In his poem Layālī al-Uns, he described a drinking place. This kind of poem is very rare in his Diwan. There are seven, consisting of 94 verses. There is also a special collection of this kind of poetry al-Shīr al-Makshuf, which is unpublished.

Besides these genres of description, there are many other poems in which he described different objects or places, such as a watch, an office, al-Rashīd street in Baghdad, the Beyāl quarter of Constantinople, the Zoo in Beirut, Yildiz, or a

1. D.2., 604
2. D.2., 552, 566, 575, 604, 643, D.1., 556, 702
3. D.1., 645
4. D.2., 621
5. D.1., 416
6. D.1., 631
7. D.1., 725
8. D.2., 525
human face 1.

The best descriptive poetry that he composed by him was in the Poetry of Misery, where he described miserable people in a very effective manner. This is discussed earlier under his social poetry. Examples can be found on page 208 and 212 of this thesis.

Although he has imaginative skill, he has no long poem in his Diwan based on imagination, like Thawra fi'l-Jahim of al-Zahawi 2, in which he imitated Risālat al-Ghufrān of al-Ma‘arrī 3.

1. D.1., 511
2. See Abū al-Anwār, M., 78-85
3. See al-Ma‘arrī, Risālat al-Ghufrān
SECTION 2. ELEGY

In al-Ruṣāfī's Diwan there are twenty-eight elegies consisting of 263 verses. He wrote them for teachers, friends, contemporary poets, politicians and social reformers.

The best elegies are the two written for his teacher al-Ḫūṣī. They both make a great immediate impression on the reader.

أزمعت عننا إلى مولاك شرحالا لما رأيت مناخ القوم أروحا لا
1,21

You decided to depart from us to your God, when you saw that the people were living in a morass.

لمن تركت فنون العلم والأدب أما خشيتي عليها من يد العطب
1,27

To whom have you left the arts of knowledge and literature? do you not fear that the hand of destruction will seize on them?

These two elegies have been mentioned earlier. His three elegies on ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Saʿdūn; the prime minister, which have also been mentioned are also effective, and show his patriotic consciousness, for example:

شبط الأسي في قلوب الشعب مستعراء

يوم ابن سعدون عبد الحسن انتحرا

يوم به كل عين غير مبصرة

اذ كان انسانها في الدموع مهرا
Sorrow blazed up in the hearts of the people on the day Ibn Sa‘dūn ʿAbd al-Muḥsin committed suicide. A day on which no eye could see, because its pupil was flowing with tears. A day on which the Telegraph shook al-Rāfidayn (the two rivers) with sorrow, when it spread this bad news to their uttermost ends. If you saw the people standing on their banks, exhausting the most abundant tears, You would think that (the Iraqis were) the cheeks of a bereaved person, and that the two rivers were two lines of tears flowing on those cheeks.

When his relations with the person elegized were close, his elegy was more effective and expressive. In some poems of this kind, he wrote in a more traditional manner, philosophizing on life and death, introducing archaic phraseology and exaggerating his sorrow, so that they resembled the elegies of al-Mutanabbi, Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, or al-Khansā'. An example of this is found in the following verses in which he elegized his best friend Muḥammad ʿAl-Dīn al-Khayyāt (1875-1914).
When I heard the announcement of his death, it was as though I had been stabbed with a dagger.

If I had not girded myself with patience to bear it, I would have fallen down like a slain man on my nose.

O my friends, turn aside with me to the grave of a noble one in Beirut that contains all excellence and honour.

In two of his elegies he adopted a more modern manner: Fī al-Malakūt al-Ālamīn, in which he elegized Mahmoud Shawkat Fāshā, the prime minister who was killed by a group of Ḥizb al-Mukhālifīn in Constantinople; and his elegy on Ibn Jabrān; the Lebanese poet. In both of them he used a narrative style, describing the event as a dream.

When, for one reason or another, he was obliged to elegize a person whose death did not affect him personally, his writing often became somewhat divorced from the spirit of the occasion. This is well illustrated in his elegy for Fī al-Khālidī, Dhikrā al-Rijāl Fī Hayāt al-Umm, which consists of 27 verses, only 6 of which are actual elegy. Al-Ruṣāfī confessed that he was asked by ʿĀdil Jabr, a friend, to write this poem on al-Khālidī, whom he had not met, for the occasion of his public eulogy.

1. D.2., 11
2. D.2., 82
Ibn Jabr asked us to speak about him, in a crowded assembly.

So we rose to glorify him, after his death, in order to make him compete with the living in glory,

And to make the world witness of his good actions, there are many proofs of these in it.

Although, I had not the fortune to meet him, let 'Adil witness for him to me.

The same forced note is found in his poems Abū al-Mulūk, in which he elegized Sharīf Ḥusayn, Dhiqra al-Shaykh al-Khālisi, in which he elegized al-Khālisi, a Shi'ite jurisprudent, and Fī Yawm Abī Ghāzi, in which he elegized King Faysal. According to Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, the most difficult kind of elegy to write is that on to a woman or to a child, and there are none of these in al-Ḥusaynī's Diwan. The elegy that combines pleasure and sadness type is also considered by al-Qayrawānī
as difficult 1. An example of this is found in al-Rusāfī's elegy for King Faysal 1, just referred to, when his son Ghāzī was enthroned as king after his death.

1. Al-Qayrawānī, R., 2, 147
SECTION 3. PANEGYRIC

Al-Rušāfī's panegyric is found within his social and national poems, and in also short occasional poems. Much of it was lavished on Iraqi nationalists for their reforms in the country, but he also devoted a separate poem, of 38 verses, to Ḥāzim Bey, the Turkish governor of Iraq who rebuilt the al-Ḥarbawa dam on the Euphrates that had caused the great flood in al-Karkh.

You determined to do a difficult and risky thing, by which the resolve of the judicious man is overcome.

You spend the day exerting your self, patching scars, and you pass your night awake, managing the country's affairs.

Until you built a strong dam that will not burst on the river which had broken out.
You fixed it like a mountain whose peak stood on a foundation that embraced the waves beneath the water.

The people walked happily and securely on it, while the river was flowing angry and enraged.

It became the reflection of a glory the source of which you are, as light is reflected to the pupil of the eye.

The Euphrates, that day, wished that it could plunge into the earth flowing through a tunnel, being shy of you.

We owe you praise, and we should immortalise it, not in writing on paper, but in carving on stone.

By God if my hand could reach the stars that shine most brightly of any in the night, I would arrange them in lines so that everyone could read your praise written in the sky.

He also praised his friends who helped him when he was in adverse circumstances. Although he did not use his poetry as a means of earning a living by flattery, he did write three poems in which he asked his close friends al-Se‘dūn ¹, ‘Abd al-Latīf Fāshā al-Mandīl ², and Muhammad al-Jamīl ³, for help.

1. D.1., 601
2. D.1., 693
3. D.1., 668
His occasional panegyric is virtually devoid of poetic spirit. This is hardly surprising, seeing that most of it was written to order. For example, the following short poem was recited in Lebanon when he visited it with a delegation in 1936.

المجد والفضل منشوران في عسته
لما حللنا ضيوفاً في مرابعهم
لمجدهم سطر أجلاء وأعظام

Both glory and honour are spread on a flag on houses built by the Al-Azzām.
When we stopped at their places as guests, we were given there all respect and generosity.
We will thank them by writing for their glory a line of exaltation and aggrandizement.

Among these occasional poems is a poem of ten verses in which he praised Nurī al-Seʿīd, the prime minister of Iraq on the occasion of his investiture by King Faysal with the al-Rafidayn medal in Baghdad in 1933. Directly after this poem, al-Rusāfī satirized Nurī al-Seʿīd. 

1. See ‘Abbūd, M.,
2. D.245, 557
3. See al-Wāfī, R.,
SECTION 4. SATIRE

Throughout his life, al-Rūṣāfī faced continual attack from his adversaries, but, on the whole, he refused to use satire in his poetry as a weapon against them.

You, who continually insult me in their assemblies, sleep peacefully in the embrace of my pardon.

Were it not that my soul disdained your impudence, you would burn in the flame of my satire.

He believed that satire was not a noble thing.

If a base person talks with you turn him a deaf ear to what he says,

And if he defies you with insults do not lower yourself by answering him.

Nevertheless, there are many short poems and scattered verses of satire in his Diwan, 185 verses in all. Most of these were
addressed to religious leaders with whom he was in contact. In 1908, he was charged by Mufti of Baghdad, Yusif al-Ata, as a disbeliever, for interrupting the Friday sermon in the al-Wazir mosque in Baghdad, demanding the people's co-operation with the new government of Union and Progress. In his poem Fāsiq Murāf, he attacked him.

When he produced his poem Fi Masraḥ al-Tamthil, demanding the emancipation of women, he was again charged by one of the religious leaders as a disbeliever. In the following verses he satirized this man.

You who have given a decision concerning my unbelief, gently, for you have broached an unacceptable matter.

By what ignorance deeply rooted in you could you know, O ignorant one, what was in my heart?

This is something which no one can reach except the hand of God, the all-knowing and almighty.

1. See al-Khattāt, Q., Al-Hilāl (1964) 5, 121-125
2. D.2., 586
If you had honour, the days would grill you in
the fire of our satire.

But you are a miserable creature, who do not care
for satire; as every mean and despicable person is
like that.

You are annoyed by our satire only as much as a
donkey would be.

When he published his book *Rasā'il al-Ta'llqāt* in 1944, he
strongly attacked by the religious leaders, who asked the government
to hang him.

He was also attacked by other enemies, who charged him with
dishonesty in his patriotic and Arab sentiments. In the following
verses he attacked one of these persons.

> وَمَا قَبِّل النصيحة مِن نصِيحَة
> تباع اليه بالثمن الرخيص
> وكان الشتم أجد بالبيس
> كما كان الهمود من السيف
> فقت من الهجاج بسرير
> يعد الهجو نفك من المديح

2,641-642

There was a foolish person who devoted himself
to disgraceful things and would not accept the advice
of any adviser.

1. For more detail, See al-Khattāt, Q., Al-Hilāl (1964) 5, 121-125
Disgraceful things were always in demand with him, so that he bought them for a high price.

He was totally absorbed in his error and publicly insulted me; he was the one who was more worthy of being insulted.

Error incited him and so he became to me as the Jews were to Jesus.

Die, flaring up in the fire of your rage; you will not have us rest from my satire.

Disgraceful things have accumulated in you, so that satirizing you is considered praise.

Satire was not something that came naturally to him. He did not enjoy inflicting pain on his victims, even to defend himself.
Al-Ruṣāfī said that he had no particular beloved, for he had given his heart to all beautiful women.

وقت١ علِيْكُمْ قلبِي الْبَنِيٍّ
بسرّ به الحُمِّ السحابِ
ومنكُنْ أحببتِهِاتي وذِئٌ وألفِتُعذبًا يكُنَّ العذاب

I bequeathed to you my heart, through which love passes like clouds.

I loved, among you, this one and that, finding that suffering was sweet with you.

Because of this his poems in this field are charming but inconsiderable; he sought in them to imitate the ancient poets.

لقيتهاً في الطريق عابَةٍ
أعجبها منظرها وأعجبهَا
فصاء قلبي يُلفح يُفُرَنَّس
وحينِ مرت الشوق يسكنُهَا
فلقت جيدًا أرى أنتظرنِي
فقدت والشوق في طهَرُب

I met her passing by me in the way, her proud gait bending her figure.

She was pleased by my looks, and I admired her
beauty, when I met her.

My heart ordered me to love her, and her heart ordered her to love me.

Then when she passed and longing was intoxicating now me and now her.

I turned my head to see if she was looking at me, and she turned her head to see if I was looking at her,

I said, while longing was flaming in my heart, if she forgives me, I will forgive her.

There is only one really effective poem in his Dīwān in which he expressed his passionate longing for his beloved. It may have been addressed to his wife. He gives the object of the poem no name.

How long will my eye be shedding tears, and the fire of separation burning in my heart?
I pass the night with passion the fire of which blazes in my heart and tears that stream on my cheeks.

Is there any consolation for a man who longs and has been cheated of you by his patience, except his tears, which are the tested cure?

Is not a day in which separation drew its sword on me, a critical day?

Would that I knew if I should succeed in seeing again a face to which all beauties are ascribed.

By your eyes, I cannot forget you; (I pass the night thinking of you) until Суха appears, (one of the stars in Ursa Minor) and the early sun is veiled by its light.

Indeed, I am greatly in love with you, and you are very beautiful.

I yearn for a vision of you whenever a breeze blows at night, and I weep whenever a star appears.

I mention you to the sun when it rises, and I lose my patience when it goes down.
SECTION 6. AL-FAKHR

Al-Ruṣāfī's poetry was the source of his reputation and popularity, and therefore he greatly loved it and was very proud of it.

He was also very proud of his great ability in using the most difficult rhymes in appropriate places.
I called to the best rhymes as they were running away, and they came walking like one wants to apologise.

They gave me their leading ropes willingly, so I came to follow a course with them like one who has ability.

When I stay, they stay, as my servants, and wherever I go they follow my footsteps.

I have used my pens on them and have come to make people know through them magic of hearing and beholding.

I have irrigated my ideas with them, and these were watered; they were in them like water in fruit.

How people stretch their hearing in order to listen to them when they are recited, both Bedouins and non-Bedouins.

Because of his belief in his poetic ingenuity, he paid no attention to those who criticised his poetry.
It is no wonder that a poet whose poetry is weak and imitative should criticise my poetry.

For Ibn Burd, the greatest poet, was belittled by Ḥammād ʿAjrad.

On the other hand, al-Rūṣāfī's pride in his poetry did not mean that he denied others poetic genius. He has many poems in which he acknowledged the greatness of other poets, both ancient and modern. For instance he wrote the following verses on al-Maʿarrī.

A poet who fills space, whose soul was difficult to please.

All poets in the past are less than him, and all poets in the future will be less than him too.

He settled on the peak of literature, and he

1. See . . . .RifāʿI, A.F., 252
produced wonderful things from it.

Do not say that he is the poet of the Arabs; he is the poet of mankind.

He was ingenious in his poetry, international in his thoughts.

He was Arab in his origin, and the Arabs are honoured if he is mentioned.

When he sings his poetry, the right way appears to you.

He reaches the uttermost limit by the new ideas which he created.

Al-Ruṣāfī was greatly influenced by al-Maʿarri's philosophical poetry, and he greatly admired his work. On the other hand, he tried to avoid the obscure poetic manner by which al-Maʿarri's poetry was characterised ¹.

His pride in his work made him also very proud of his personality, and he was especially contemptuous of those who boasted of their genealogies.

قالوا ابن من أنت يا هذا: فقلت لهم: أبي اسمرو جدٌ الأعلى أبو البشْر
قالوا: نهل نال مجدًا قلت واعجبني: أنسَلُني بمجد ليس من نسرى

1,460

They said: "Whose son are you?" I said: "My father is a man whose remotest forefather is the father of all mankind".

1. See Mattock, J.N., 59, See also Diwan al-Maʿarri
They said: "Did he obtain glory?" I said:

"What a wonder! Do you ask me about a glory that was not gained by my efforts?"

Poets of the people, stop your clamour, for the explanation of glory is summarised in some of my poetry.

Leave the revelation of the hidden truth of hearts to my intelligence, for I am distinguished in this and you are not.
‘Abbûd, M.
Abû al-Anwâr, M.
Abû Nuwâs, H.
Abû Tammâm, H.
Al-Akkâs, 'A. Gh.
Al-Rûshârî, Cairo 1949, 1st ed.
(1) Al-Rûshârî, Cairo 1949, 1st ed.
(2) Muhâdârât ‘An Ma‘rûf al-Rûshârî, Cairo 1954.
(1) Fayd al-Khâtir 1, Cairo 1953, 3rd ed.
(2) Fayd al-Khâtir 2, Cairo 1950, 3rd ed.
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(4) Fayd al-Khâtir 7, Cairo 1953, 2nd ed.
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