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AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THEMES
IN THE POETRY OF
MA'RŪF AL-RUSĀFĪ

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Submitted for the degree of Ph.D. in the
Faculty of Arts in the University of Glasgow,
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SUMMARY

Ma'rif al-Ruṣāfi, 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 Dīwān (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 Dīwān. He also composed another Dīwān, Al-Shi'r al-Makshūf, 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-Rusāfī 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 Dīwān 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-Nasīb poetry is very infrequent in his Dīwān, 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 'Abd al-Ghanī Mahmūd, known later as al-Ruṣāfī, was born in 1875 in Baghdad, in the al-Qaraghūl quarter of al-Ruṣāfa ¹. 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 ². Later he became a student in the al-Ruṣḥdiyya 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 ³. Al-Ruṣāfī studied in these schools many kinds of religious, linguistic, and literary topics, and he remained for 12 years in al-Ālūsī's religious schools in Baghdad ⁴. Because of his great interest in, and vast knowledge of, religious studies, al-Ālūsī called him al-Ruṣāfī on the analogy of Ma'rūf al-Karkhī ⁵, the well known Persian sūfī of al-Karkh. ⁶

1. 'Alī, M. Muḥadrāt 'An Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī., 1
2. 'Alī, M. Muḥadrāt 'An Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī., 1
3. Tabāna, B. Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī., 40
4. Baṭṭī, R. Loghat el-'Arab (1927) 7, 386
5. Al-Khattāt, Q. Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī., 44
6. Ibn Khallikān, 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 ¹. 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 Fahmī al-Mudarris were distinguished members ². In 1912, al-Ruṣāfī became a member of the Council of al-Mab'ūthān in Constantinople, representing the al-Muntafiq district of Iraq ³. During this time he married to a Turkish woman whom he divorced afterward ⁴. Besides his work as a member of parliament, he was appointed as a lecturer in Arabic literature in the Higher Royal School in Constantinople ⁵. During the First World War, he was a lecturer in Arabic Rhetoric in the al-Wa'izīn school there ⁶. In 1919, he left Turkey for Iraq. Because of the political confusion in Iraq and the closing of its frontiers ⁷, 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 Faysal. Many responsible leaders in this government were Iraqis ⁸. Al-Ruṣāfī was received there with utter neglect and contempt.

1. Baṭṭī, R., Al-Adab al-'Asrī Fī'l-'Irāq al-'Arabī. 1, 70
2. Al-Khaṭṭāt, Q., Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī., 55
3. 'Alī, M., Muḥadḍrat 'An Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī., 6
4. Baṭṭī, R., Al-Adab al-'Asrī Fī'l-'Irāq al-'Arabī. 1, 72
5. Baṭṭī, R., Loghat el-'Arab (1927)., 7, 386
6. 'Alī, M., Muḥadḍrat 'An Ma'rūf 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-Iṣlāḥiyyīn 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 Shukrī Ghānim, claimed that the Lebanese were not Arabs but Phoenicians. Accordingly, al-Ruṣāfī 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 Mā Hākadhā, consisting of 43 verses, in which he directly attacked them.

ما كنت أحسبهم ، قوما مناكيبا	لو كان في غير باريز تألبهم
ترنو الى الشام تصعيدا وتصوبيا	لكنّ باريز ما زالت مطامعها
تلقي العراقيل فيها والعراقيبا	ولم تنزل كل يوم من سياستها
جيش يدك من الشام الأهاضيبا	هل يأمن القوم أن يحتلّ ساحتهم

2,268-269

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

و هل تعمّد " حقي العظم " فعلته
 اذ راج يستنجد الافرنج منتصفا
 لما نبى خيرا " للطان " مكذوبا
 كأنه حمل يستنجد الذيبا

2,267

Did Haqqī al-'Azum 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-Ruṣāfī therefore tried to stimulate all Arabs and Muslims against this group and even asked them to kill these dishonest people.

يا أيها القوم لا يغرركم نغر
 جاءت رسائلهم بالشر مغرية
 ضجوا بباريز افسادا و تشعبيا
 تفتن في المكر أسلوا فأسلوا
 تسطو عليهم تمزيقا و تأريبا
 فطالعوهن بالأيدى مطالعة

2,269

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-Iṣlāhiyyīn 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 Fī Layla Nābiḥiyya, 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.

العار يرحل معهم أينما رحلوا
والخزي يهبط معهم أينما هبطوا
الخلق كالخط لا تقرأ لثامهم
واشطب عليهم بنعل انهم غلط

2,274, 275

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-Iṣlāhiyyīn at their first meeting in

Beirut. This is to be seen in his poem about them, Fī Ma'rad al-Sayf 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-Hamīd al-Zahrāwī, 'Abd al-Karīm Khalīl, Shukrī al-'Asalī, 'Abd al-Ghanī al-'Arīsī, Sālim 'Abd al-Hādī, Shafīq al-Mu'ayyad, Sa'id 'Aql, Salīm al-Jazā'rī, 'Alī al-Armanāzī, Hāfiz al-Sa'id, and others. Most Arab poets participated in this event with great and effective poems. Al-Zahāwī, in his poem Al-Nā'ihā, 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 Shafīq al-Mu'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. Battī, R. Al-Adab al-'Asrī Fī'l-'Irāq al-'Arabī. 1., 18

4. Al-Khattāt, Q. Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī., 87

faithful to Turkey, such as Yemen, the Arab tribes of Libya, and the Rashids of central Arabia ¹. In the following verses al-Ruṣāfī attacked Sharīf Ḥusayn, Ḥusayn Kamil, the Khedive of Egypt, and Ḥusayn Ruṣhdī, his minister.

<p>ففي الحجاز حسين ثالث لهم وبغي ذلك أخزى البيت والحرما ويا سماء عليه أمطرى نقما لم ينقض العهد أولم يخفر الذمما</p>	<p>دع الحسينين في مصر وقد بغيا هذان قد أخجل الأهرام بغيمما فأنت يا أرض ميدى تحته جزعا قالوا الشريف ولو صحت شرافته</p>
---	---

2

Leave the two Ḥusayns in Egypt, where they have injured the people; there is another Ḥusayn like them in Hijāz.

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-Sharīf, though his nobility is true, has not broken promises, or observed compacts.

Al-Ruṣāfī attacked Sharīf Ḥusayn also in his poem, Qad Yatfaḥ al-Lu'm ³, Amīr Faysal, the son of Sharīf Ḥusayn, and later

1. Ienczowski, G., 47

2. Al-Wā'iz, R., 163

3. D.2., 306

King of Iraq, did not forget this unfriendly act of al-Ruṣāfī.

Whilst al-Ruṣāfī was in this critical position, he was asked to be a lecturer in Arabic literature in Jerusalem¹. He left Damascus with great sorrow, passion, and regret. This is fully expressed in his poem, Ba'd Barāh al-Shām.

حَتَّام تذهب في المنى وتثيبض	قد صحَّ عزمك والزمان مريض
عظم يقلقل في حشاك مهيبض	ما بال همك في الفؤاد كأنه
ما للظلام بفجرها تقويض	كم بتَّ معتلج الهموم بليقة
ضاقت سماوات بها وأروض	كبرت لنفسك في الحياة لبانة
فالهول تركب والصعاب تروض	ما زلت تقتحم المهالك دونها
أم أيّ معترك الخطوب تخوض	لله أنت فأى هول تمتطي
بمفاخر العرب الكرام تفيض	قد كنت أنبط للقريض قريحة
محيى فيه على التوى معروض	ولكم وقفت من السياسة موقفا
اذ كان فيهم فترة ورسوخ	مستنمضا بالشعر قومي للعلى
قبلي ولم ينشد هناك قريض	أيام لم ينطق بذلك شاعر
خاب القريض وعاد وهو جريض	حتى اذا دار الزمان مداره

2,306-308

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'īd, A., 18

Your soul's desire ⁱⁿ ~~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-Ruṣāfī found respect and attention in Jerusalem. This appears from his poem Fī ʿIlyā'¹. When Ṭālib al-Naqīb and 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Gaylānī wished to publish a paper to make propaganda against Faysal, they asked al-Ruṣāfī to become its chief editor. Accordingly he turned to Iraq². Immediately Ṭālib al-Naqīb was exiled to India and Faysal arrived in Iraq as a candidate for the throne. Al-Ruṣāfī 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'id, 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.

<p>وقاطعين الى ما أبتغي طريقي وما علمت الذي ترضون من خلق حتى يكون لديكم حائز السبق أو كان حمق فعندي أحمق الحق بما تريدون من طيش ومن نسزق فلست معكم على شيء بمتفسق اني بتدنيس عرضي غير مرتزق</p>	<p>يا بعدى بظلم عن مناصبهم علمت كل خفي من ضمائركم ماذا يوافقكم من شأن صاحبكم ان كان عقل فاني عاقل فطمن فجربوني تفوزوا عند تجربتي وان أبيتم سوى من عرضه دنس لا أبعد الله غيري عن مناصبكم</p>
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2,532-533

O you who drive me away from your positions, and
who put difficulties in my way,

I knew every secret of your hearts, but I did not
know what type of character you were looking for.

What do you require in a person, so that he may
have priority with you?

If you want intelligence, I am intelligent and
clever, and if you want foolishness, I have a lot of it. [?]

So test me and you will find what you want of
thoughtlessness, and rashness.

If you refuse any except one whose honour is
sullied, I do not agree with you in anything.

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-Ruṣāfī left Iraq in 1922, intending to spend the rest of his life in Beirut. In his poem Ba'd al-Nuzūh, which was published there, he fully expressed his feeling about this.

<p>مثل الحوادث أبلوها وتبليسي أما أصادف حراً فيه يشكيني نزلت منها ببيت غير مسكون نوائب الدهر بالأنياب تدميني وتارة في الطواي فوق مشحون فعمت فيهن من صبرى بدلفين وان يك الماء منها ليس يرويني أشجى الأناشيد في أشجى التلاحين بالورد ما بين أزهار البساتين أستنشق الطيب من نفع الرياحين وكان تنعابه بالبين يوديني وما غدوت طريدا للشواهين تركت من نرجس فيها ونسرين عني وعنهما الليالي في الداوين على جوانب واد ليس يرويني قوي بكيت على من سوف يبكينني وأن أكون بها في قبضة الهون وأن أسأم بعيشي جدع عرينني على الزراعة في بحبوحة الهون لعل بيروت بعد اليوم تووينني</p>	<p>هي المواطن أدنيها وتقصيني قد طال شكواي من دهر أكابد كأنني في بلادى ان نزلت بها حتى متى أنا في البلدان مغترب فتارة في المواصي فوق موقرة كم أغرقتني الليالي في مصائبها أنا ابن دجلة معروف بها أدبي قد كنت بلبلها الغريد أنشدها حيث الغصون أقلتني مكللة فبينما كنت فيها صادحا طربا اذ حل فيها غراب كان يوحشني حتى غدوت طريدا للغراب بها فطرت غير مهال عند ذاك بما ويل لبغداد مما سوف تذكره لقد سقيت بفيض الدمع أربعها ما كنت أحسب أني مذ بكيت بها أفي المروءة أن يعتز جاهلها وأن يعيش بها الطرطور ذا شمم علام أمكت في بغداد مصطبرا لأجعلن الى بيروت منتسبي</p>
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2,320-325

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 ^athe 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 ^{part of murū'a}right that the ignorant should be respected
there, and I live there ⁱⁿthe 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'rūf al-'Azīma addressed to al-Ruṣāfī,
which was published in the paper Dijla.¹

وأنا الضمين بأن تفوز و تظفرا
في الشرق تكبر من صنيعك ما جرى
في فاس في بغداد في أم القرى
أمل اليك بشأن تثوب و تصدرا

معروف راجعها العزيمة مرة
هذا قرارك قد أثار حفاظا
في تونس في مصر في سوريا
هبت أعظمها تفور و كلمها

1. Shaybūb, H., 137-138

M'arūf, 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 Ila Abnā' al-Waṭan, written on this occasion, he speaks of the speed of his return.

آب السافر للديار على اضطراب في ايايه
لوكان يجنح لاييه ب لما تمجل في زهايه

1,210

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. 'Ali, M., Muhādarāt 'An Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī, 8

appointed a member of the Arabic Scientific Council in Damascus and chairman of the committee of Scientific terms ¹. 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.

أقمت ببلدة ملئت حقودا	عليّ فكل ما فيها مريبٌ
أمّر فتنظر الأبصار شزرا	التي كأنما قد مرّ زيب
وكم من أوجه تبسدى ابتساما	وفي طيّ ابتسامتها قطوب
سكنت الخان في بلدى كأنسي	أخوسفر نقا زفه الدروب
وعشت معيشة الغرباء فيه	لأنّي اليوم في وطني غريب

1,395

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. Battī, R. Loghat el 'Arab (1927) 7, 387

the head of the 'Arabistan tribes, that he was not able to get his proper place in Iraq.

أبا الأُمراء الصيّد جئتكَ شاكيًا
أجرني رعاكَ الله منها فانها
أترضى واني صقر بغداد أنسي
اليك جنایات الزمان الممازق
رمت كل عظم فيّ منها بعارق
تقدمني فيها فراخ العقاعق

1,139

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

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

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

'Abd al-Muhsin al-Sa'dūn, the prime minister of Iraq, succeeded in reconciling King Faysal and al-Rusāfī and accordingly al-Rusāfī became a member of parliament in 1928¹. A few months later al-Sa'dūn killed himself and al-Rusāfī fell out of favour. In the following verses, al-Rusāfī describes his changeable life.

ترى مقلتي ما ليس تملكه يدي
أرى باب رزقي من بعميد مفتحا
وأياس أحيانا وأرجو فلم أكن
وما زلت أسمى منفض الكفّ محوجا
فأتيه ولاجا فألغيه مرتجا
لأملك من شيء سوى اليأس والرجا

2,592

1. Al-Khatṭāt, Q. Ma'rūf al-Rusāfī., 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-Ruṣāfī 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 ¹. 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 ². There were many psychological reasons for his isolation. According to his friend Amīn Sa'īd, in this year he was very disturbed and concerned about his changeable life ³. 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-Ruṣāfī's *Dīwān*, Ila al-Jawāhirī ⁴, and Munājāt wa-Shakwa ⁵, in which he answered al-Jawāhirī and explained to him the reasons for his isolation.

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

1. 'Alī, M., Muḥāḍarāt 'An Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī, 8
2. 'Alī, M., Muḥāḍarāt 'An Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī, 8
3. Sa'īd, A., 19
4. D.1., 757
5. D.1., 486

اني عهدتك للاخوان معوانا
 أنت الوفي اذا ما صاحب خاننا
 من التحايا تمجّ العطر ألوانا
 قد أوسع الشعر اعراضا وهجرانا
 استبرقا مشرق الألوان فتّاننا
 أبهى من السروض في أيام نيساننا
 از كنت ترسل ألحانا فألحاننا
 ملكت ألبابنا شيبا وشباننا
 عطفيه وانسجت أنغام دنياننا
 وشاطرتك يبت السدوح أحزاننا
 عليك ساهمة الخدين محزاننا
 قلّادا نضدت دّرا و عقياننا

أ مصطفى بن علي يا أخا ثقتي
 أنت الصفي اذا الاخوان قد كدّروا
 أبلغ عليك القوافي كسل خالصة
 ما باله حرس الرحمن مهجته
 من بعد ما كنت تسديه وتلحمه
 صببت منه على أم العلى حلا
 وأنت زينة واديننا وبهجتته
 ان قلت قافية عصما * بارعة
 اذا تغنيت هزّ المجد من طرب
 وان بكيت بكى السوادى وساكنه
 وجدت أم المعالي جدّ عاتبة
 عودتها قبل هذا أن تحلّينا

1.

O Muṣṭafa Ibn 'Alī, 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 Umm al-'Ulā, ornaments of it
 more beautiful than gardens in the days of April.

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 ^{leaves of the} large and lofty trees share with you in your sorrow.

I find Umm al-Ma'ālī 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-Ruṣāfī answered Tāhā al-Rāwī with a poem sent also to Mustafā Ibn 'Alī. In this poem, al-Rusafi tried to explain the reasons which compelled him to abandon poetry and to live a lonely life.

ضمنتها من شجون النفس ألواننا	اليك يا مصطفى غراء شاردة
يعجّ فيها القريض الغرض سكراننا	الذي أبلغ أبا هاشم عنني مغفلة
تحكي الفريد وان فاقته أثماننا	أبد قد جاءني (مصطفى) منكم بمألكة
وهيجت في سواد القلب أشجاننا	قد فضمت لي جرحا غير مندمل
لك العلى مأربا والصدق ديدانا	فرضني عهدتك حر النفس متخذا
بما به زدت من حسن الظن احسانا	انما أحسنت ظنك بي اذ جئت تمد حنسي
بما به زدت من حسن الظن احسانا	أحسنت ظنك بي اذ جئت تمد حنسي
وهل أطيق لحب النفس هجراننا	ظننتني قد هجرت الشعر مذ زمن

مني وصيرته للمجد عنواننا
 طيب المنام وبت الليل سهراننا
 واستحي حمله ان مات وشوانا
 سواى له في ارتشاف الكأس ندما بنا
 لم ألف الاجنبه عنهم سلواننا
 صدرى يجيش به كالبحر أحياننا
 في معشر أوغلوا في المين طغياننا
 ولا يقيمون للأفكار أوزاننا
 سدوا الخناق به بغيا وعدواننا
 لا يفسحون لحر الفكر ميداننا
 أن لا أكون عليه اليوم غيراننا
 أني رفعت به للمجد بنياننا
 أدامك الله للأحرار معواننا
 جاءت لذهنك في الابداع برهاننا
 كالزهر في الروض فواحا ورياننا

ذاك الحبيب الذى أوسعته مقلة
 قد شغني حبه حتى هجرت لسه
 فمحو إذا لم يحو ليهو ليلتيه
 سله اذا شئت عني هل رأى أحدا
 ان الهموم بصدري ان هي اعتلجت
 ما زلت منه بأفكارى على صلوة
 لكني اليوم أبى أن أبيع بـه
 يستنكرون من الأحرار لهجتهم
 وكيف أنشد شعرا في سواسية
 وأى معنى لشعر في ذوى صلف
 وهل يجوز وقد راموا تبذلسه
 هم أنكروا موقفي فيه وهم علموا
 فاقبل (أبا هاشم) في الشعر معذرتي
 خذها (أبا هاشم) بكرا مخدرة
 تطابق اللفظ والمعنى فكان بهما

1,

I send to you, Muṣṭafa, a beautiful, unique
 rhyme, into which I have put all kinds of sorrow of
 the soul.

Give Abū Hāshim (Ṭāhā al-Rawī) 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 ^{habit} 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 Hāshim, may God preserve you as a helper for the liberals.

Take it Abū Hāshim, ^{sheltered} ~~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 Ṭahā al-Rāwī 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 A'zamiyya in order to earn his living. He used the following two verses as an advertisement for his shop.

دخن سيجارة غازی بوقفه واجتياز
وجازی نصحي بخير ان كنت ممن تجازی

1

Smoke Ghāzi 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-Ruṣāfi died from illness in a house in al-A'Zamiyya in Baghdad. The news of his death was announced on the radio, and he was buried two hours later. Hikmat Sulaymān, held a funeral party for him at which Ṣāliḥ Baḥr al-'Ulūm and Akram Ahmad eulogized him ².

The way al-Ruṣāfi 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 'Abbās al-Ṣāliḥī in a poem delivered in the occasion of the reception of Hilāl Nāji for his edition of the Mu'jam Mutakhayyir al-Alfāz of Ahmad Ibn Fāris, found in Baghdad in 1972.

اذا تبغون أمثلة لقولي اليكم جئت بالأمر العجيب
فمعروف الرصافي وهو فخر لأهل الفكر والأدب الخصب

1. Al-Khattāt, Q. Al-Hilāl (1972) 7, 74

2. 'Alī, M. Al-Ruṣāfi, 34

تمزق قلبه داي النيبوب
 اذا ما جاء بالرأى المصيب
 تشن عليه ألوان الحروب
 وتنبذه كشيطان مريب
 اليه كل فرد في قطوب
 كما اقترف الطغاة من الذنوب
 ويدفن تحت طائلة الرقيب

قضى أيامه الحيرى التياعا
 يكابد شرّ كينذ و اضطهاد
 وان أفتى بأفكار عظيمة
 تطارده عصابات التجنسي
 اذا ما سار في الطرقات يرنو
 فتى العلياء ما اقترفت يداه
 يموت بدونما كفن وحيدا

1

If you want examples for my speech, I have brought you a wonderful one.

Ma'rūf 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~~ ^{Scheming} 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 comitted non of the crimes comitted by those who opposed him.

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

The present Iraqi national government erected a bronze statue to al-Ruṣāfi in al-Amin 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.

SECTION 2 HIS CHARACTER

During the period under discussion, poetry played a very important role in the awakening of people in the Arab World ¹. 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 conservatism, 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 Khalīl Muṭṭarān used historical injustices to refer indirectly to the injustice and persecution of the Ottomans ². Other poets addressed the people frankly but they used a false name, like Al-Zahāwī during 'Abd al-Hamīd's II rule ³.

Al-Rusāfī 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-Manāzir of Na'ūm Labkī stated that al-Rusāfī

1. See Khouria, M. See also Jabra, I.J. Journal of Arabic Literature,

2. Dayf, Sh., 130

3. Battī, R. Al-Adab al-'Asrī Fi'l-'Irāq al-'Arabī, 1, 10

was pseudonym for some great Arabic poet ¹. His poems al-Sijn Fī Baghdād ², al-Yatīm fī'l-ḥ-d ³, Īqāz al-Ruḥūd ⁴, Ruḡayyat al-Sarī ⁵, Āl-al-Saltana ⁶, or Tanbīh al-Niyām ⁷ 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.

لذاك جعلت الحق نصب مقاصدى وصيّرت سرّ الرأى في أمره جهرا
وجردت شعري من ثياب رياءه فلم أكسه إلا معانيه الفسرا

1,142

1. Al-Wā'iz, 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.

والشعر ليس بنافع انشاده حتى يكون عن الحقيقة معربا

2,139

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

ولست من الذين يرون خيرا بابقاء الحقيقة في الخفاء

1,523

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.

وتكبره نفسي أن أكون مخادعا
وما المجزأ إلا أن أكون مكاتما
لأدرك نفعاً أو لأدفع ضائرا
إذا ما تقاضتني العلى أن أجاهرا

1,380

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.

تمودت انشادي القريض المهذبها ونزهت نفسي فيه أن أتكذبا
ومن أجل حبي للحقيقة لم أكن مع الزمن الغاوي اذا ما تقلبا

2,654

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.

الحرمن خرق العادات منتهجا نهج الصواب ولو ضد الجماعات
ومن اذا خذل الناس الحقيقة عن جهل أقام لها في الناس رايات

1,321

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.

أحرّيتني اني اتخذتك قبلة وجهي كل يوم لها عشرًا
وأمسك منها الركن مستسلما له وفي ركنها استبدلت بالحجر الحجرا

1, 145

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
rule¹. 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-Ittihād, al-I'tilāf.

أقول ولو يسوء القوم قولي بياننا للحقيقة واعترافنا
قد اختلف البرية و اختلفنا فكنا نحن أسوأها اختلفنا
فلا تغررك أحزاب شداد بأن لهم أقاويل لطفنا

1. Such as Hizb al-Nahḍa, Hizb al-Hurr, Hizb al-Ahālī, Hizb al-Sha'ab,
and Hizb al-Ikhā'.

فان بسواطن القوم احتراص
وان أبدت ظواهرهم عفانا
وما اختلفوا لمصلحة ولكن
ليأكل أقبواؤهم الضعافا

2,282-284

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-Ālūsī's school which held more liberal attitudes than the orthodox religious. He was also influenced by the movements of al-Afghānī and 'Abduh. 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-Ruṣāfī 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.

ولست أبالي أنني عامم الغنى إذا كان جدى في العلى غير عاثر

1,226

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 البلدان طورا مشرقا أروم العلى فيها وطورا مغربا

2,634

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:

وأدمعها رقاقة في المحاجر	تقول ابنة الأتوام وهي تلومني
أما تستلذ العيش غير مسافر	الى كم تجد البين عني مسافرا
منوط مداها بالنجوم الزواهر	وقلت لها اني امرؤ لي لبلانة
والأرى الا بهيئة ثائسر	تعودت أن لا أستنيم الى المنى
بطي الفيا في أوبخوض الدياتر	وأن أمضي الهمم الذي هو مقلقي

1,224-226

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:

فيا أم صبرا ان لابنك همة
لقد صغرت بغداد عن أن تضمها
الى المجد تربي أوالى المجد تسبق
وما وسعتها بعد بغداد جلق
x x x

2, 166-167

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.

ونحن العرب نأبى غير عز
ونطمح في الحياة الى السموك

2,91

We are Arabs, who refuse anything except honour,
seeking loftiness in this life.

ورم العـلا * مخاطرا فيما تحاول من لبابه
والمجد ليس يناله الا المخاطرفي طلابه

1,204

Seek glory adventurously when you try to
obtain its marrow.

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

لا تسأمن اذا حاولت منزلة فيها يرف عليك المجد والكرم
ان الخصال التي تسمو الحياة بها عزم، وحزم، واقدام، ومقترحم

2,365-366

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.

أشربت حب بلاد ما نشأت بها الا لأدفع عنها كل عدوان
أخلصت حبي لها حتى نسيت به نفسي وأهلي وأحبابي وخلاني
يا موطننا لست منه في موادة عشر بعد موتي عشر الوادع الهاني

وكلُّ أبناءك الأعداء اخواني
 آذائك بالمزعجات الدهر آذاني
 ان ان كنت أنت جليل القدر والشان
 ان ان لم تكن أنت ذا عزّ وسلطان
 أن لا أقابل نعماء بكفرا ن
 بالنصر أول أنصار وأعوان

فكل من فيك تعينني سعادتهم
 ان سرك الدهر يوم سرتي و اذا
 ما ضرتني أن كل الناس تحقرني
 وليس ينفعني عزّ ولا شرف
 آليت منذ بلغت الحلم في وطني
 وأن أكون له عوناً أو زره

1,479-480

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.

تبسّمت البلاد بكل أرض
فها هومن تكاسل قاطنيه
فيا لهفي على بغداد أمست
سأبكي ثم أستبكي عليها
وما زال العراق به قطوب
تجرّ عليه كلكها الخطوب
من العمران ليسرلها نصيب
إذا نضبت من العين الغروب

1,710-711

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:

انما هذه المواطن أم
ان خدمنا فلا نريد جزاء
مستحق لها علينا السوا
ومن الأم هل يراد جزاء

2,116

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:

اني أرى هجر الرجال بلادهم شيئاً يضيع كرامة البلدان
انيواضاعة الوطن العزيز جنابةً ضنّ الزمان بها عن الغفران
واضاعة الوطن العزيز جنابةً ضنّ الزمان بها عن الغفران

1,655-656

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 to bear the insults and the humiliation that were the price of success.

أبيت لنفسي أن تحلّ مكانةً ××× من العيش الا فوق عزّ مؤسس
فلا أبتغي بالذل عيشاً مرفهاً ولوعشت في العزّ بقول مدّمس
إذا ابتسمت لي عفتي ونزاهتي ××× فلست أبالي بالزمان المعبّس

2,424

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 Fūl Mudammas

in honour.

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

العز أعم للانسان من شيع والذل أقتل من جوع لجوعسان
فالذل يقتل نفسا منه باقية والجوع يقتل منه جسمه الفاني

1,481

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.

ورب أخ أوقرت قلبي بحبه فكنت على قلبي بحبه جانيا
أراد انقيادى للمهوان وما درى بأني حر النفس صعب قياديا
اذا ما سمائي جاد بالذل غيئها أبيت عليها أن تكون سمائيا

1,348

How often have I filled my heart with love of a
brother and comitted 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 Tijāh al-Rihānī,
written to his friend Amīn al-Rihānī states this.

اني لاتف أن أبوح بضمري إلا لمقتدر على تحصيله

2,319

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.

وطني حياتك للمكارة وارتقب
كل الأماكن للأداة مظنة
كدر الموارد ان صفا لك مشرب
حتى السماء تدب فيها العقرب

2,514

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.

لحا الله دنيا كل يوم بأهلها	تهتّد حصون أو تثلّ عروش
تروح سهام العيش فيها طوائشا	وللموت سهم لا يكاد يطيش
لعمرك ان الدهر تغلي خطوبه	وان عويل الصارخين نشيش
كأنّ جيوش الموت رافقة بنا	فتزحف منا للحروب جيو ش
ومن نظر الدنيا بعين اعتباره	تساوت مهود عنده ونعوش

2,613-615

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 ~~like~~ will see that

both cribs and biers are the same.

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

فلو كنت في هذا الوجود مخيراً وفي عدي لاخترته غير نادماً

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
فلا يطمعن في مغنم من مناره
ومن لم يهن صرف الزمان برحلة
تهنه صروف الدهر في عقرداره

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-Ālūsī (1857-1924), Fī Mawqif al-Asā.

حوادث الدهر فيه شرٌّ منقلب
فصار رأساً وصار الرأس في الذنب
من كان يشرب رنق الماء بالعلب
من عاش فيه دعا بالويل والحرب
وتطرب القوم فيه رنة الكذب
لم يلق منه سوى المسطور في الكتب
فيهم وهم بين نفاخ ومحتطب
لكن تراوغ بين الجد واللعب
تلقى القوارص فيها ذات مصطب
ما شدّ منها عن خطّة الأديب
كأنما الشتم مدعاة الى الطرب
كما استلذ بحكّ الجلد ذوجرب
كأنهم غير مخلوقين من عصب
كأنما القوم منجورون من خشب

لقد ترحلت في يوم بنا انقلبست
حتى تقدم ما في القوم من ذنوب
وبات يحسوا الطلا بالكأس من ذهب
فاذهب نجوت رعاك الله من زمن
تستثقل الصدق فيه أذن سامعه
والخير قد ضاع حتى ان طالبه
أما الرجال فنار الشر موقدة
أفعالهم لم تكن جدا ولا لعبا
اذا جلست اليهم في مجالسهم
أرقى الصائف فيما عندهم أديبا
قد يطربون لشم المرء صاحبه
ويستلذون من قوم سبابهم
لا يغضبون لأمرعهم بساطله
وليس تندى من النكرا أوجههم

2,28-30

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 enraptures 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-Kāzīmī.

أنا جرّبتهم إلى أن تساوى إليهم
 غرّى الناس بالهوى فضلال
 هم عندي سبابهم والثناء
 كل ما يفعلونه أوريا

2,113-114

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.

رمانى القوم بالاحاد جهلا
 ألا يا قوم سوف يجدّ جلى
 فمن ذا منكم قد شقّ قلبى
 فعند الله لي معكم وقوف
 يقينى شرّ فرّيتكم يقينى
 وقالوا عنده شكّ مسريب
 وسوف يخيب منكم من يخيب
 وهل كشفت لكم في الغيوب
 اذا بلغت حناجرها القلوب
 بأن الله مطلع رقيب

1,711-712

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

O, 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.

<p>قد أظهروا فيه منهم غير ما كنتموا كأنه ليس الا آلة لهم فأنت في رأيهم بالكفر متهم فأنت في زعمهم بالدين تصطدم لم يحسنوا الرد بل من عجزهم شتموا شدوا عليك وردوا قبلما فهموا يقل بأشغال هذى تمسخ الأسم</p>	<p>x x x</p>	<p>لا تردد رجال الدين انهم واستعملوه كما تهوى ما ربههم اذا سلكت الى الاصلاح مسلكه وان تصادمت بالمعادات تنكرها وان أتيت ببرهان فأعجزهم وان تقل لهم قولا لتقنعهم خلأق كظلام الليل من يرها</p>
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2, 370-371

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 ^{on religious matters} for example:

أرانا اذا رما بيان حقيقة عزينا معاذ الله فيها الى الكفر

1,515

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

أضمنه معنى الحقيقة عاريا فيحسبه جهالة منطلقا هجرا
ويحملة الغاوى على غير وجهه فيوسعني شتما وينظرني شزرا

1,142-143

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-Ruṣāfī 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, Hāfiẓ Ibrāhīm,
and al-Zahāwī lost their enthusiasm for Islam and praised the
forces of occupation; al-Zahāwī going so far in his support for

the British authorities that he became known as Shā'ir al-Ingilīz ¹.

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

لَقَنْتَ فِي عَصْرِ الشَّبَابِ حَقَائِقًا فِي الدِّينِ تَقْصُرُ دُونَهَا الْأَفْهَامُ
ثُمَّ انْقَضَى عَصْرُ الشَّبَابِ وَطَيْشُهُ فَإِذَا الْحَقَائِقُ كُلُّهَا أَوْهَامُ

2,494

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.

ولست من السذيين يرون خيرا بابقاء الحقيقة في الخفاء
ولا ممن يرى الأديان قامت بوحى منزل للأنبياء
ولكن هنّ وضع وابتداع من العقلاء أرباب الدهاء

1,523

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.

• بأن الروح تخرج للسماء	• ولست ممن الأبي وهموا وقالوا
• وما تلك السماء سوى الفضاء	• لأن الأرض تسبح في فضاء
• لما وعدوه من حسن الجزاء	• ولا من معشر صلوا وصاموا
• على الصلوات بالحوار الوضعا	• ولا من يرون الله يجزى

1, 524-525

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.

• خفيا لا تبين له رسوم	• أرى للروح بالبدن اتصالا
• ولا روح بلا جسد تقوم	• فلا جسد يقوم بغير روح
• اذا محيت من الجسد الرسوم	• ولست أظن أن الروح تبقى
• ولكن غير شاعرة تدوم	• ورتما يكون لها دوام
• من الغبراء أنبتها الحكيم	• وما هبطت من الخضراء لكن

1, 532-533

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 intellegentsia in this period was not of course a new phenomenon. Ibn Sīna¹, Ibn al-Shibl al-Baghdadī, 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.

لو أن عقل المرء يغلب حسه
لولا جمود في الشرائع مهلك
لأنفس لم يلجأ إلى الأديان
لتغيّرت بتغيّر الأزمان

1, 520

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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Introduction

During the nineteenth century, poets in Iraq continued to imitate classical models, Ṣāliḥ al-Tamīmī (1761-1832) ¹, ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-‘Umarī (1774-1849) ², and ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Akhras (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-‘Alawī. 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-Sūfī. 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. Kāzīm al-Uzarī, Ḥayder al-Ḥillī, 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, Ṣ., Dīwān
2. Al-‘Umarī, ‘A.B., Dīwān
3. Al-Akhras, ‘A. Gh. Dīwān
4. Al-Shibībī, M.R. Al-Hilāl (1942), 122
5. Lāzīm, ‘A.T., 19

and the close connection with the West. Al-Ālūsī 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. Jamīl Ṣidqī al-Zahāwī, (1863-1936) and Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī (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-Dīwān and Apollo ². Generally this was neglected in Iraq, and poets maintained the classical form of a poem.

1. Al-Shībībī, M.R. Al-Hilāl (1942), 122

2. See al-Zubaidī, A.M.K. 5., 17

SECTION 1. POETICAL OBJECTIVES

Al-Ruṣāfī 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 ¹. 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-Dīwān school, headed by al-ʿAqqād, al-Māzinī and Shukrī ², 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 ³. The poet in their eyes was one who taught men to love beauty; this beauty would incline their feelings towards freedom and advance ⁴. Al-Ruṣāfī 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., Faḥḥ al-Khātir. 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.

وما الشعر الا أن يكون نصيحة
وليس سرى القوم من كان شاعرا
فعلّمهم كيف التقدّم في العلى
وتنشط كسلانا وتنهض ثا ويا
ولكن سرى القوم من كان هاديا
ومن أى طرق يبتغون المعاليا

1,353

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.

وما ينفع الشعر الذى أنا قائل
ولست على شعرى أروم شوية
اذا لم أكن للقوم في النفع ساعيا
ولكن نصح القوم جلّ مراميا

1,352

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.

تركت من الشعر المديح لأهله ونزهت شعري أن يكون قذاعاً

1,356

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.

إذا رمت نصحا جئت بالنصح واضحا وما كان من شأني الكلام المعقد

1,214

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.

وأجود الشعر ما يكسوه قائله لا يحسن الشعر الا وهو مبتكر
بسوشي ذا العصر لا الخالي من العصر وأي حسن لشعر غير مبتكر

1,183

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".

1. 'Alī, M. Al-Rusāfi., 43

B. Meaning and Word

Since the Abbāsīd period, many books had been written discussing which was more important in poetry, words or meanings, such as al-Muwāḏna^α by al-Āmidī, al-Yatīma by al-Tha‘ālibī, Akhbār Abī Tammām by al-Ṣūlī, al-Sinā‘atayn by al-‘Askarī and Dalā’il al-Ī‘jāz by al-Jurjānī¹. Some of these critics regarded artistic excellence as consisting in beautiful, brilliant, and selected wording such as al-‘Askarī and al-Āmidī². 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-Jurjānī, al-Ṣūlī and al-Jāhīz³. According to Ibn Rashīq, the Arabs regarded the following verses of Abū al-‘Atāhiyya as unequalled for their easiness, clearness, and comeliness⁴.

يا من رأى قبلي قتيلا بكسى
 بسطت كفي نحوكم سائلا
 من شدة الوجد على القاتل
 ماذا تردون على السائل

4

Who has seen, before me, a killed man
 weeping for his great passion for his killer?
 I extended my hand towards you, what will
 you answer a beggar?

1. Amīn, A. Al-Naqd al-Adabī. 2, 445-
2. Cantarino, V., 107
3. Al-Jāhīz, A. Al-Bayān wa'l-Tabayīn. 1., 76
4. Al-Qayrawānī, R., 1, 105

The real function of a poet, in al-Ruṣāfi's opinion, is to transfer his feeling and thought to his audience without any difficulties to prevent them understanding. ~~as possible~~. He, therefore, gave great heed to meaning rather than words.

ظ جزافا لكي يصيب جناسه	لست بالشاعر الذي يرسل اللفـ
ما جرى في سهولة وسلاسه	أنا لا أبتغي من اللفظا لا
واضح يأمن اللبيب التباسه	انما غايتي من الشعر معنى

2,43

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.

ولا تجريا في القول الا على الطبع	ألا خلياني في الكلام من السجع
والا فما يجدى لسمعكما قرعي	وان أنا أرسلت الحديث فأصغيا

1. Amin, A. Fayd al-Khatir. 2, 244

فاني ما أطلعت شمس حقيقة لمستمع الا لتغرب في السمع
ولست أبالي بعد افهام سامعي أكان بخفض لفظ ما قلت أم رفيع

2,130

Abandon saj* 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.

طابقت لفظي بالمعنى فطابقه خلوا من الحشوم ملو* من العبر
اني لأنتزع المعنى الصحيح على عرى فأكسوه لفظا قد من د ر ر

1,182

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.

تطابق اللفظ والمعنى فكان بها كالزهرة في الروض فواحا وريانا

4

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. A., Al-Bayān wa'l-Tabyīn. 1, 115
3. Ibn Qutayba, A., 35
4. Al-Hilāl (1945) 2, 273 - 274

B.1. Obscure Words

According to al-Maghribī, the great Syrian philologist, al-Ruṣāfī used as few obscure words as most other poets of his generation used plain words, and al-Ruṣāfī used them on purpose in order to enlarge the vocabulary of the Arabic language on which he was a great authority ¹. For example he used some words in an unusual sense such as أَلْفَان which means "Zebra", used it as "artist".

أما المصور فهو فنان يرى ما كان من صور الحياة دقيقا

1,233

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

وقد يفتري المال الفضائل للورى وليس لهم مما افتراه نصيب

1,14

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

بدت كالشمس يحضنها الغروب فتاة راع نضرتها الشحوب

1,154

Within his poems in which he tried to immitate the classical

1. Al-Maghribī, 'A.ḡ, 16

models, he used also some obscure words which perhaps are obscure only to the ordinary reader, such as :

حتى اذا مخضوا آراءهم ظهرت للناس زبدتها ثأيا وتخبيبا

265

ثأيا means "weakness" and تخبيبا means "deceit"

اذا شئت أن تسري بكافرة الصوى يدوي بقطريها هزيم الرواعد

1,621

كافرة الصوى means "dry desert"

وأصيد مأنور المكارم في الوري يريك اذا يلقاك وجه فتى حر

1,27

وأصيد means "arrogant"

اذا جمش البحر النسيم تهللت أسارير فيها للضياء وثوب

1,10

جمش means "titillate"

حتى اطمأنت قلوب الناس هادئة وكل قلب لكم من غيظة نـازى

2,286

نـازى means "leap out".

ان التمدح من عجب ومن أشـر والمرء في العجب ممقوت وفي الأشر

1,456

أشـر means "dissatisfaction".

أمست تكابد من فقر ألم بها الأم عيش بشيع الطعم مذروح
ترنو الى الناس بالشكوى فتحسبها ظمان يشكولال حرقه اللوح

1,593

مذروح means "poisoned", آل means "mirage" and اللوح
means "thirst".

وراح بمعد الصلح يجمع شملـه كمن راح بين النون يجمع والضب

2,198

النون means "whale".

B.2. Repetitions

He appears to have had certain favourite expressions, which he used a number of times. For example he used ولست أبالي in his poems ذكرى فتى السعدون and بعد البين ، السى زحله

ولست أبالي أني عادم الغنى اذا كان جدى في العلى غير عاشر

1,229

فلمست أبالي بعد أن جدّ بينهم زجرت كلابا أم قحمت سباعا

1,339

ولسنا نبالي دون احيا * مجدنا أعشنا على وجه البسيطة أم متنا

2,81

الدهر والنحيق به He used مرّ / كرّ الجديدين in his poems الأرمله المرضعه and في مندى التهذيب ، الجرائد

ضلال على مرّ الجديدين لم تنزل منارنا من أمره كالمشارق

1,136

جدال على مرّ الجديدين دائم بتفنيد رأى أو بتزييف ناقد

1,622

أخلقنا كـرّ الجديدين ضلّة ولم نتقص فيهما ما تجسدا

1,218

كـرّ الجديدين قد أبلى عباؤها فانشق أسفلها وانشق أعلاها

1,570

في ايليا * نفضت يدي in his poem and الدهر والحقيقه He used the phrase

نفضت يدي من أبنا * دهرر أهانوا الشهم واحترموا الزريسا

1,389

نفضت من الدنيا يدي لأنني تعرفت منها ما بها من خلائق

1,136

In his poem ومن نظر الدنيا and وقال he used the phrase نقش على الماء

ومن نظر الدنيا بعين اعتباره تساوت مهود عنده و نعوش

2,615

ومن نظر الدنيا وجرب أهلها رأى الغدر من أشداقها يتحلب

2,631

حقيقتي السلبية and الى غرة آل سعدون In his poems
he used حسوا في ارتغلا

صريح في مقاصده اذا ما أسر القوم حسوا في ارتغلا

1,605

فما خادعت من أحد بأمر ولا أضمرت حسوا في ارتغلا

1,523

السد في بغداد in his poems لو بلغت زهر النجوم يدى He used
and وا شيخاه

تالله لو بلغت زهر النجوم يدى من كل جرم بصدر الليل موتلق

1,644

لو أنني بلغت زهر النجوم يدى نختها لك بعد الموت تشا لا

2,25

العالم شعر ، in his poems أنجم زهـر He used
المهجـوره and ما وراء القبر ، خواطر شاعر

فيا لك من ليل قرأت بوجهه نظيم البها في نثر أنجمه الزهر

1,21

وان رقيت نحو السما * فحذا اذا أصبحت مأوى لها الأنجم الزهر

1,506

وقد قيل ان السروح تبقى فهل لها عروج الى الأعلى، الى الأنجم الزهر

1,517

اذا ابتسمت في ظلمة اليأس أشرقنا فعدنا من الآمال في أنجم زهر

2,152

and ميتة البطل الأكبر He used سطين للدمع in his poem

وا شيخاه

خلت العراقين خديّ ثاكل وهما سطران للدمع في الخدين قد سطرنا

2,67

أما (العراق) فأمسى (لرافدين) به سطين للدمع في خديه قد سالا

2,23

السجايا فوق العلم وفوق العلم and في معرض السيف In his poems

he used

تمسخ الأمم

والمعجز كالجهل في الأزمان قاطبة دا * تموت به أو تمسخ الأمم

2,259

خلائق كظلام الليل من يرهما يقل بأشغال هذى تمسخ الأُمم

2, 371

He used رؤوس القوم in his poems السجن في بغداد ,
and مظاهر التعصّب في عصر المدينه .

تدور رؤوس القوم من شمّ ننتها فمن يك منهم عادم الشم يحسد

I, 128

ودارت رؤوس القوم فيها توجما وحزنا كما دارت بسكران جريال

2, 336

B.3. Influences and Quotations

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

In his poem أم اليتيم al-Ruṣāfi says:

وأصبح قلبي وهو كالشعر لم تدع له شعراء القوم من متردم

1, 111

Cf 'Antara Ibn Shaddād:

هل غادر الشعراء من متردم أم هل عرفت الدار بعد توهم

1

In his poem السحن في بغداد al-Ruṣāfi says:

وجوه عليها للشحوب ملامح تلوح كباقي الوشم في ظاهر اليد

1, 128

Cf Tarafa. b. 'Abd :

لخولة أطلال ببرة شهمد تلوح كباقي الوشم في ظاهر اليد

1. 'Antara Ibn Shaddād., 166

In his poem موقف الأسي في al-Rusāfī says.

أفعالهم لم تكن جدًّا ولا لعبا لكن تراوغ بين الجدِّ واللعبِ

2, 29

Cf Abī Tammām:

السيف أصدق أنباء من الكتب في حدِّه الحدِّ بين الجدِّ واللعبِ

2

In his poem تجاه الرياحي al-Rusāfī says:

وأضرب في البلاد بغير مكث أجوب من المهامة ما أجوب¹

1, 396

Cf al-Buhturī :

فكيف بسيرٍ متخلات تجسوب من الفياقي ما تجوب²

3

1. Tarafa.b. 'Abd., 31

2. Abū Tammām .H.1., 45

3. Al-Buhturī . A.'A.1., 26

In his poem العلم والعلم al-Ruṣāfī says:

قد علمتني الليالي في تقلبها
أن الموفق فيها السيف لا القلم

2,364

Cf al-Mutanabbī:

حتى رجعت وأقلامي قوائل لسي
المجد للسيف ليس المجد للقلم

1

In his poem في المعهد العلمي al-Ruṣāfī says:

تعودت تصريحي بكل حقيقة
وللمرء من دنياه ما يتعود

1,213

Cf al-Mutanabbī:

لكل امرء من دنياه ما تعودا
وعادة سيف الدولة الفتك بالعدا

2

In his poem نسا ونسا al-Ruṣāfī says:

1. Al-Mutanabbī, A., 497

2. Al-Mutanabbī, A., 370

ولست أبالي بعد انهما م سامعي أكان بخفظ لفظ ما قلت أم رفع

2,130

Cf al-Mutanabbī:

ولست أبالي بعد ادراكي العلى أكان تراث ما تناولت أم كسبا

1

In his poem القطار al-Rusāfī says:

كئيب كأن الدهر لم يلق غيرهم عدوا فآلى لن يهادنه حريسا
يقل كروبا بعضها فوق بعضها اذا ما رمى كريا رأى تحته كريبا

1,563

Cf al-Mutanabbī:

رمانى الدهر بالأرزاء حنسى فوآدى فى غشاء من نبال
فصرت اذا أصابتنى سهام تكسرت النصال على النصال

2

In his poem الغنى غنى النفس al-Rusāfī says:

1. Al-Mutanabbī, A., 326
2. Al-Mutanabbī, A., 265

كم بات ذا الحق خلوا في مضاجعه وسات ذوالعقل فيها كاسف البال

2,596

Cf al-Mutanabbī:

ذوالعقل يشقى في النعيم بعقله وأخوال جهالة في الشقاوة ينعم

1

In his poem مشهد الحريق في أم الطفل al-Ruṣāfī says:

ومن تك الحال فيها لا تساعد فليسعد النطق ان لم تسعد الحال

1,803

Cf al-Mutanabbī:

لا خيل عندك تهديها ولا مال فليسعد النطق ان لم تسعد الحال

2

In his poem نحن على منطاد al-Ruṣāfī says:

فمتاع الحياة أحقر من أن يستفز القلوب بالأحقاد

1. Al-Mutanabbī, A., 571

2. Al-Mutanabbī, A., 486

1, 51

Cf al-Mutanabbī:

ومراد النفوس أصفر من أن نتمادي فيه وأن نتفاني

1

In his poem الى أبي هاشم , al-Ruṣāfi says:

ألا أبلغ (أبا هاشم) عني مغلغلة يعجّ فيها القريض الغضّ سكراننا

2

Cf Ḥassān Ibn Thābit:

ألا أبلغ أبا سفيان عني فأنت مجوّف نخب هوا

3

In his poem رقية الصريع , al-Ruṣāfi says :

ما بالننا نخاف القتل ان قمنا أما سنموت ان لم نقتل

1, 455

1. Al-Mutanabbī ,A ., 474

2. Al-Ḥilāl (1945) 2,274

3. Ḥassān Ibn Thābit ., 18

Cf 'Antara Ibn Shaddād :

كفى ملامك يا أميمة واعلمي
اني امرؤ سأموت ان لم أقتل

1

In his poem السجن في بغداد , al-Ruṣāfī says:

تقدمنا قوم فأبعد شوطنهم
وقد كان عنا شوطنهم غير مبعود

1, 31

Cf al-Tuḡhrā'ī :

تقدمني أناس كان شوطنهم
وراء خطوى لو أمشي على مهل

2

In his poem حكومة الانتداب , al-Ruṣāfī says:

أننا بالحكومة والسياسة أعرف
أألام في تنفيذها وأعنف

2, 403

Cf al-Ma'arrī:

1. 'Antara Ibn Shaddād. Kitāb 'Antara bin Shaddād .1., 98

2. Al-Tuḡhrā'ī. H., 21

أنا بالليالي والحوادث أخبر سفر يجد بنا وجسر يعبر

1

In his poem وقفه عند شراغان al-Ruṣāfī says:

أشكو إلى الله قلبا لا يطاوعنسي ألا أكون على الأوطان غيرانا

1,795

Cf al-Ma'arri:

أشكو مهجة لا تطيعنسي وعالم سوء ليس فيه رشيد

2

In his poem ذكرى الشيخ الخالصي al-Ruṣāfī says:

لا لاني أراه فيها ملوما بل لاني أعيب فعل الساسه
ليس في هذه الهنات السياسية ت الا ما ينجلي عن خساسه

2,40

Cf al-Ma'arri:

1. Al-Ma'arri, A.A., 1, 445
2. Al-Ma'arri, A.A., 1, 317

يسوسون الامور بغير عقل
فأف من الحياة، وأف مني،
فينقد أمرهم : ويقال : ساسه
ومن، ومن رئاسته خساسه

1

In his poem العالم شعر al-Ruṣāfī says:

وما المرء الا بيت شعر عرضة
مصائب لكن ضربه حفرة القبر

1,17

Cf al-Ma'arrī:

وأعمارنا بيت شعر كأنما
أواخرها للمنشدين قوافي

2

In his poem كلمة معتبر al-Ruṣāfī says:

لله در الموت من خطبة
فيها استوى ذوالعيا والمصع

1,65

Cf Abū Nuwās:

لله در الموت من خطبة
فيها استوى الأحق والداهي

1. Al-Ma'arrī, A.Ā., 2, 35

2. Al-Ma'arrī, A.Ā., 2, 161

1

In his poem الدهيسر al-Ruṣāfī says:

فقتله بالنعل ضربا فلم تنزل يدأى به حتى اطمأنت غواريسه
الدهيسر

1,201

Cf Al-Buhturī:

إذا انقطع اليم استخف وان يقل أغير على السرح اطمأنت غواريسه
الدهيسر

2

In his poem في معرض السيف al-Ruṣāfī says:

ان الحقيقة قالت لي وقد صدقت لا ينفع العلم الا فوقه علم
في معرض السيف

2,258

Cf al-Tuḡhrā'ī:

ان العلى حدثني وهي صادقة فيما تحدث أن العز في النقل
في معرض السيف

3

1. Abū Nuwās, H. 2., 169
2. Al-Buhturī, A. 1., 23
3. Al-Tuḡhrā'ī, H., 19

In his poem شكوى الى الدستور al-Ruṣāfi says:

ولولا يد شدت لساني بنسمة لبحث بسر كالشجا هوفي حلقي

2, 255

Cf 'Abd Yaghūth al-Hārithi:

أقول وقد شدوا لساني بنسمة أمعشر تيم أطلقوا عن لساني

1

1. See al-Bayān wa 'l-Tabayīn .4., 45

B.4. Rhetorical Devices

Although al-Ruṣāfi 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".

واني جبان في فراق أحبتي وان كنت في غير الفراق شجاعا

1,357

ليوث اذا ما عبست في لمسة تبسمت الدنيا تبسم ناصر

1,226

وما كان حظي وهو في الشعر ضاحك ليظهر الا في سوى الشعر باكيما

1,348

He sometimes produces the Jinās "pun":

قف بالديار المدارس وحيتها واقر السلام على جادر حيتها

1,733

حيتها in the first hemistich means greet her and in the second means her quarter.

فـالـيـك يا (شـكـرى) عـلـى هـذا الصـنـيع عـظـيم شـكـرى

2,599

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'tazz¹ is of three kinds. First, the first word in the verse is from the same root as the last word in it:

شـكـوت من خـصـرها ضـعـفا وقلـت لـها مـلـيـكة الحـسـن هل عـطـف عـلـى الشـاكـي

2,619

صـابـنا أـمس فـظـيـما بـها يـارب ما أـنـظـع هـذا المـصـاب

2,378

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

عـلـى أن قـلـبي لـم يـعـد عـنـه صـابـر أـلا لا أـمـال اللـه قـلـبي الـى الصـبـر
اذا أـشـرقت شـمـسـي تـنـاسـيت ذـكـره وـان جـن لـيـلي بـت مـنـه عـلـى ذـكـر

2,155

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

1. Ibn al-Mu'tazz, A., Kitāb al-Badī'.

واستحلقتني على قلبي فقلت لها يهواك ان وجمال الحسن يهواك

2,620

لو كان في السدأما كل عيوبه بيل بعضهن لانتن الدأما

2,639

He also used al-Muqābala al-Badī'iyā;

كأنك لم تبصر سواد قلوبهم فهل أنت مغرور ببئس المسافر

1,486

تضحك الجوفي الصباح طلوعا ثم تبكيه في المساء غروبيا

1,558

وما غرني ذو ظاهر متودد إذا كان فيه باطن متلصص

1,599

In the following verses he used al-Muṣarrafa, 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:

لا تبك أربعمهم ولا الأطلالا واربأ بحبك أن يكون خيالاً

1,594

ورأتك فافتنت بك المذال

رقت بوصف جمالك الأقول

2,617

أوما تمضك هذه النكبات

بغداد حسبك رقدة وسببات

1,304

تلاه فوق الغصن الرطيب
لم تهوا لا حسن الطيب
أحسن بذاك الحسن البديع

سمعت شعرا للمندليب
ان قال نفسي نفس ربيع
عشقت منها حسن الربيع

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 ^{divergence} ~~denation~~ from which was regarded as a grave literary fault ¹. Bashshār bin Burd, (d.167), Abū Nuwās (145-199), Abū Tammām (188-231) and Ibn al-Rūmī (221-284) introduced novelties Badi' into their poetry, and were severely criticised for doing so ^e ^h ². This Badi', however, fell again into disuse, and ^{poets reverted to an earlier manner of writing} ~~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-Ruṣāfī was the first Iraqī poet to employ novel expressions of this kind. For example:

كم نشرب الظن فلا نرتوى ونأكل الحدس فلا نشبع

1,60

أرى أنف الحوادث مشمخرا غدا يتشم الحدث الجرافا

2,281

انما هذه الحياة جروح أشخنتنا والموت مثل الضماد

1,49

ومن رام في سوق المعالي تجارة فليس سوى بيض المساعي نقودها

1. Dayf, Sh., 195

2. Franke, F.K., 26

1, 303

ومن نظر الدنيا وجرب أهلها رأى الغدر من أشدائها يتحلب

- 2, 631

وما الدهر الا للخلائق منضج له مرجل بالحادثات يجيش
كان جيوش الموت رافقة بنا فتزحف منا للحروب جيوش

- 2, 614-615

قد يحسب الانسان آماله والموت مصغ نحوه يسمع

1, 63

لو كان للقسوة عين وقد رأتها كانت عينها تدمع

1, 62

وبيت بكت فيه الحياة نحوسة ولاحت بوجه العابس المتجهم
به ألت الأيام أثقال بوسها فهاجت به الأحزان فاغرة الغم

1, 111-112

جرت سفن الأيام مشحونة بنا على بحر عيش بالردى متلاطم

1, 398

D. Proverbs and Sayings

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

وكن صليبا اذا عضتْك حادثة تعضّ منك بعود ليس ينعجمُ

2,366

انّ البلاد اذا تخاذل أهلها كانت منافمها هي الآفاتُ

1,308

بالسعي تزدهر الحياة وانما لكون الحياة بغير سعي كامسدُ

1,463

تجهّز من الحسنى بما أنت قادر عليه ولا تقبل سوى العقل مرشدا

1,219

فلا تأمنوا الأيام ان صروفها كما هي اذ أودت بعماد وجرهم

1,365

من ليس يبيكه من أبناء جلدته بكأوهم فهو من جنس التماسيحِ

1,590

ولا تهملوا الأوقات فهي بسواتر تقطع أوصال الحياة شباها

1,647

لا خير في العيش يغدو فيه صاحبه وأنفه باحتمال الذل مزدلم

2,368

قد يطلب الحق طيَّاش فيطلبه ما كل طالب حق نال مظلوما

1,265

كيف السعادة في الحياة وللورى في قوس كل ضغينة تنبيض

2,311

وإذا الفتى عمدت به أفعاله أعياء بالنسب الرفيع نهوض

2,312

ان اللثيم دفين قبل ميتته وما الكريم وان أودى بمدفون

2,324

لا يؤنسك أن الحر محتقر عند اللثام وان الوغد محترم
فالعقل يتهم الدهر المسي بذرا وما يعيبك أن الدهر متهم

2,366

وأشقى الورى نفسا وأضيعهم نهى لبیب یدارى فى نهاه رعاعا

1,356

فماز الذى كان فى أحواله وسطا فالمر يعقى وان الحلو يستمر ط

2,273

لا تستهينوا بنا من ضعف قوتنا فكم ذبابة غاب أزجت نمر ا

2,73

SECTION 2. MEANING OF POETRY

Al-Ruṣāfi'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 ¹.

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

الشعر فن لا تزال ضروريه تتلو الشعور بألسن الموسيقى

1,232

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 Shi'r Manthūr which the East knew long before the West; the Arabs even regarded the holy Qur'ān as poetry and the prophet as a poet ². To him this kind of poetry which was recently used for the first time in Iraq by al-Zahāwī^{3,4}, was a

1. Al-Ruṣāfi, M., 103
2. Al-Sha'rubāf. R., 371
3. Loghat e'l 'Arab (1929) 5, 392
4. Loghat e'l 'Arab (1927) 10, 577

"silent" poetry. That it is to say that it could not be sung¹.

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

<p>تنظّم أبياتاً كما تنظّم الدرّ يكون على فعل اللسان لها قصر كما رنحت أعطاف شاربها الخمر مهيجا كما يستنّ في المرج المهر على أيقة يشجي المشوق لها هدر على الزهر في روضه ابتسم الزهر بها قد شكا للوصل ما فعل الهجر بنجلاء تسبي القلب في طرفها فتسر مفعمة أودى بسواحدها الدهر تعاور مجرى صوته الخفض والنيسر</p>	<p>ولست أخصّ الشعر بالكلم التي وذاك لأن الشعر أوسع من لغا وما الشعر إلا كل ما رنح الفتى وحرك فيه ساكن الوجد فاغتندى فمن نغثات الشعر سجع حمامة ومن نغثات الشعر حوم فراشة ومن نغثات الشعر دمة عاشق ومن نغثات الشعر نظرة غادة ومن نغثات الشعر رنة ثاكل ومن نغثات الشعر ترجيع مطرب</p>
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1, 508-509

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 ^{expressed in} ~~inspired by~~ the cooing of a pigeon on a bush, who saddens the one who longs with her

1. Al-Rusāfi, M., 101

complaint.

And poetry is ^{expressed in} ~~inspired by~~ the hovering of a butterfly around flowers in a garden in which flowers smile.

And poetry is ^{expressed in} ~~inspired by~~ the tear of a lover by which he complains of what separation has done to his love .

Poetry is ^{expressed in} ~~inspired by~~ the glance of a beautiful damsel having a large languid eyes by which she captivate hearts.

Poetry is ^{expressed in} ~~inspired by~~ the wailing of a bereaved woman afflicted with the death of her child.

Poetry is ^{expressed in} ~~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 ¹.

During the twenties a new literary current appeared, known as al-Adab al-Bākī. This was full of sad feeling. Some critics such as Amīn al-Rīḥānī, attacked it believing that it may colour ~~the~~

1. Al-Ruṣāfī, M., 101

life with ^ablack view and lead to disappointment ¹, While others welcomed it, believing that there are many ~~compassions~~ ^{compassions} in ~~the~~ life, The kinds which stir up ~~the~~ sadness, and the kinds which stir up pleasure, and both are good in literature, though their values are different.

In al-Ruṣāfi'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 ².

يا شاعرا تطرب الدنيا نشاءد ه	كيف ابتدعت نشيدا أهاج أشجاني
شعر يفيض شعورا قد نكأت به	قرحا بقلبي قديما كان أدماني
ان كان بالشجن الماضي يذكرنني	فانه عن شجون اليوم سلانني
هذا لعمرك شعر قد سررت به	وان يكن هاج بي شجوا فأبكاني

1,478,479

O 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-Ruṣāfi, 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.

وان النهى معدودة من قيونته	لعمرك ان الشعر صمصام حكمة
ومسلي فؤادي عند وري شجونته	وما الشعر الا مؤسسي عند وحشتي
اذا الدهر أبكاني بريب منونته	تقوم مقام الدمع لي نفائسه
فيظهر لي فيها خيال شئونته	وأجعله للكون مرآة عبسرة
بما دار في الأحقاب من منجونته	فأبصر أسرار الزمان التي انطوت
الى الغيب لا ستشففت ما في بطونته	وللشعر عين لو نظرت بنورها
سمعت بها منه حديث قرونته	واذن لو استصغيتها نحو كاتم

1, 546-547

By your life, poetry is the sword of a wisdom,
and intellect is one of its ^{smiths} 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.

ان رمت عيشا ناعما ورقيقا فاسلك اليه من الفنون طريقا
 واجعل حياتك غضة بالشعر والتثيل والتصوير والموسيقى
 تلك الفنون المشتهاة هي التي غصن الحياة بها يكون وريقا
 وهي التي تجلو النفوس فتمتلي منها السجوه تلالوا وبريقا
 وهي التي بمذاقها ومشاقها يمي الغليظ من الطباع رقيقا

1,229

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

وما كان دوح الشعر يوماً لتجتني بغير اليد الطولى ثمأر غصونه
ولم يستقد الا لذى المعية يكون كراى العين رجم ظنونه

1,545

The fruit of the branch of the tree of poetry
may never be gathered except by a long hand.

Poetry does not yield to any one except the
talented one whose intuition is like the sight of
others.

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-Jawāhirī,
written to his friend al-Jawāhirī, who was asking him to return to
his poetry which he had deserted in the last few years of his life.

وما الشعر بالحبل الذى قد ذكرته ولكنه برق تموّج دائرأ
فما الشعر الا من بروق دوائر تدورأ واليهأ لتلقى الأواخرأ

1,764

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 Husayn ¹, King Fayṣal ², al-Khalisī ³, al-Khalidī ⁴.

Although, he was the one who says:

تريد لي الأيام أن أتقيدها وأطلب فيها أن أكون المجددا

1,217

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: ز، ض، ج، ن

س ، ط .

1. D.1., 89
2. D.1., 105
3. D.1., 38
4. D.1., 33

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 Diwān 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 metre and rhyme, but he followed modern ^{Arabic} 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 يروق انسجامه فيحسبه الصفي لانشاده نثراً

1,142

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 *Dīwān*, which begin with his own praise, like his poems, *Fī Haflat Shawqī*¹, *Nahnu wa'l-Mādī*², *Fī'l-Ma'had al-'Almī*³, *Siyāsa Lā Hamāsa*⁴, and *Fī Muntadā al-Tahdhīb*⁵.

1. D.1., 379

2. D.1., 93

3. D.1., 212

4. D.1., 181

5. D.1., 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-Sijr Fī Baghdād in which he imitated Tarafa .b. Abd.

على كل مفتول السباليين أصيد	بلاد أناخ الذل فيها بكل كسل
فهل هو من بعد الضلالة مهتد؟	معاهد عنها ضلّ سابق عزّها
الى أن محتها معهدا بعد معهد	أحاطت بها الأرزاء من كل جانب
مطلّا عليها صائتا بالتهديد	وحلق في آفاقها الجور بازيا

1, 121

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 Fī Mashhad al-Harīq, he imitated
the manner of Imru' al-Qays.

هل خفّ بالقوم عنها اليوم ترحال	ما للديار تراءى وهي أطلال
واليوم لا سؤ فيها ولا ضال	كانت بها السموات الخضراء هيامة
تغير فيهن أبكار وأصال	ما بالها وهي أنقاض مبعثرة
أوهّد بنيانها من تحت زلزال	هل هدّ بنيانها من فوق صاعقة

شبّ الحريق بها ليلاً مشيّدة فما أتى الصبح إلا وهي أطلال

1,797,798

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 dāl 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.

رمت سمعي ليلاً بأنة مؤلم	فألقت فؤادي بين أنياب ضيفم
وباتت توالي في الظلام أنينها	وبتّ لها مرمى بنهشة أرقم
فيه فو بقلبي صوتها مثلما هفت	بقلب فقير القوم رنة درهم
إذا بعثت لي أنة عن تيه جم	بعثت اليها أنة عن تيه جم
فيه فو بقلبي صوتها مثلما هفت	بقلب فقير القوم رنة درهم
إذا بعثت لي أنة عن توجع	بعثت اليها أنة عن ترحم
تقطع في الليل الأنين كأنها	تقطع أحشائي بسيف مثلهم
يهزّ نياط القلب بالحزن صوتها	إذا اهتزّ في جوف الظلام المخيم
تردده والصمت في الليل سائد	بلحن ضئيل في الدجّة مبهم
كأن نجوم الليل عند ارتجافها	تصيح الى ذاك الأنين المجمع
فما خفقان النجم الا لأجلها	وما الشهب الا أدمع النجم ترتسي

1,109-110

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 Ila al-Qizwini, he imitated producing a
faithful copy of a Classical Qasida, which begins in the traditional
way:

قف بالديار الدارسات وحيها واقر السلام على جادر حيها

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

He followed this with anasīb:

وسل المنازل هل علمن بأنسي	قد شف جثماني الهوى بظبيها
يا قلب أي هوى أصابك عندما	أصميت باللحظات من ثعلبيها
رشاً اذا أبدى ابتسامة شائق	أجرى المدامع من عيون عصبيها
شغل القلوب بحبه ولظالما	فتكت ضعاف لحاظه بقويها

1,733-734

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 Thu'al 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, Mā
Hākadha, Fī Layla Nabighiyya, al-Jarā'id, and Liman al-Diyār. 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-Ruṣāfi's political manner. For example, the following verses come from a poem published in 1952¹.

ما تشائون فاصنعوا	فرصة لا تضيعوا
فرصة أن تحكموا	وتحطوا وترفعوا
وتدلبوا على الرقاب	وتعطوا وتمنعوا
ما تشائون فاصنعوا	الجماهير هطع
ما الذي تستطيعه	مستضامون جوع

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. Jābra, F..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-Ruṣāfi, al-Jawāhiri's sarcastic poems
against the rules of Iraq had the same effect as al-Ruṣāfi's had as,
for example, the following verses in which he imitated him ¹.

حرسك آلهة الطعام	نابي جياع الشعب نامي
من يقظة فمن المنام	نابي فان لم تشعبي
يهدا ف في عسل الكلام	نابي على زيد الوعود

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 words.

Another Iraqi poet who tried to copy al-Ruṣāfi's political
manner completely, especially in its frankness, was Akram Ahmad (b,
1906) ².

1. Jabra, I. J. Al-Hilāl (1970) 1., 109

2. Al-Rāwī, H. T., 123

هل يفك الشعب في يوم اساره فلقد قاسى من الأسر مراره

 انه حرأرادوا سوقه بالعصا والحر تكفيه الاشاره

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

خست انجلترا والله أعمى مقلتيها
 قبرها كل أرض حفرتة بيديها
 سجننتني دون ذنب غير لعني أبويها

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-Husayn al-Huwayzī, another Iraqi poet was influenced
also by al-Rusāfī's political style ¹.

1. See al-Jubūrī, 'A., 196

SECTION 4. THE INFLUENCE OF WESTERN CULTURE

A. Turkish Literature

During the reform period known as al-Tanzīmāt, Turkish literature was influenced by the classical French school ¹. A new literary current that appeared encouraged a nationalistic trend in literature. Ibrāhīm Shīnāsī and Nāmiq Kemāl were the principal poets of this current ². 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. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥamīd ³ and Tawfīq Fikrat ⁴ were the principal poets of this literary current. As well as other educated Iraqis, al-Ruṣāfī was influenced by these new literary currents, especially as he had a close connection with educated Turkish figures in the society Turkiyya al-Fatāt, which had a great role in spread over these new national current. It began as a literary society rather than a political society⁵. Because of al-Ruṣāfī'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-Wā'iz, R.
5. Ramsaur, E.E., 4

schools. Its tune was put by the Lebanese^{ese} musical Wadī Sabra¹.

نحن خَوَّضُوا غَمَارَ الْمَوْتِ كَشَفُوا الْمَحْضَنَ
 مَا لَنَا غَيْرَ اِكْتِسَاءِ الْعِزِّ أَوْ لِبَسِ الْكَفَنِ
 نَبْذِلُ الْأَرْوَاحَ نَفْدِيهَا لِأَحْيَاءِ الْوَطَنِ
 هَلْ سِوَى الْأَرْوَاحِ لِلْأُوطَانِ فِي الدُّنْيَا ثَمَنٌ
 يَا ضَلَالًا لِلْأُولَى لَمْ يَكُونُوا الْغَدَى
 إِنْ نَمَتْ نَحْنُ فَلْتَحْيِ أَوْطَانَنَا
 نحن لم نخلق لحمـل الجور أو لبس الهمـوان
 بل خلقنا للعمل والسبق في يوم الرهان
 هذه أوطاننا فاقت فراديس الجنان
 كيف لا نفدى لها الأرواح في الحرب العموان
 يا ضلالا للأولي لم يكونوا الغدى
 ان نمت نحن فلتحي أوطاننا

2

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-Khafājī, M.A., 308

2. *Alī, M., Muhādrāt 'An Ma'rūf al-Rusāfī, 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, Tawfīq 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-Ruṣāfī translated this poem
freely. Some of its verses were published in his Dīwān.

كلوا يا أيها الساه	كما تنكروا العاه
كلوا من مطبخ الدستو	رأكل السياسة القاده
كلوا بالسبعة الأمعا	حتى تنفذوا زاده
كلوا لا تخشوا الناس	فان الناس منقاه
كلوا لا تخشوا الدهر	فام الدهر قواده

2,503

O leaders, eat greedily as custom does not allow.

Eat from the kitchen of the constitution as
politicians and leaders ~~should~~ 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 procuress.

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 ¹. 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-Sharūnī, Y., 134.

earlier conditions when their country was the centre of culture, and with present western conditions. For instance:

كلّ به سائر طلقا و منسلك	هلا نظرتم لما في الغرب من سنن
ولم تجد حرمة للعلم تنتهك	لم تلق للحق وجهها فيه محتقرا
من في القبور فهل في سمعكم سلك	في الغرب أصوات علم يبعثون بها
حجابها عند أهل الغرب منتهك	فشهروا يا رجال الشرق عن همم
ولا أحاول منكم ترك ما تركوا	ولست أطلب منكم فعل ما فعلوا
ثم اسلكوا في المعالي أية سلكوا	بل فاذكروا أوليكم كيف قد سلفوا

2,239-240

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' Fī Mīzan al-Shi'r, 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 سوى كريمة معشر فالعرق دسّاس من الطرفين
أوما ترى أن النتيجة دائما تبع الأخر من المقدمتين

1.

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 poetry².

1. 'Alī, M., Al-Ruṣāfī, 204

2. Dayf, Sh., 73

In his poem, Mi'tarak al-Hayāt, al-Rusāfī tried to relate people's lives and the theory of natural selection.

تجمعت الأحياء بين أطواره	خليليّ ان الأرض غربال قدرة
لمحوضيف أو لاثبات فاره	تميد به كفّ الزمان تحركا
كما يسقط الأوهى رهين اندثاره	فيبقى به الأقوى قرين ارتقائه
قديرا على دفع الأذى والمكاره	فلا عيش في الدنيا لمن لم يكن بها

1,101

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.

يجرّ تجافينا الينا التصافيا	أأرب شرّ جرّ خيرا وربما
لرحنا من الطوفان نشكو الغواديا	فلو أن ماء البحر لم يك مالحا
نجوم بأفلاك لهسن جواريا	ولولا اختلاف الجذب والدفع لم تكن
إذا هي في الاثبات لم تلق نافيا	وكيف نرى للكهرباء ظواهرها
ويحيين ما دام التباين بساقيا	تموت القوى ان لم تكن في تباين
ألم تر في الكون التنافر ساريا	فلا تعجب من أننا في تنافر

1,350,351

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.

وما اتقدت نار الحمية منكم
ولولا اتحاد العنصرين لما غدا
لغدا اتحاد فاستطال خمودها
من النار يذكولوعلمتم وقودها

1,301

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.

ضاع جذر الحياة عنا فخلينا أنها كالأصم في الأعداد

1,48

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.

خف من غاص في الخور كما في لجة الماء خفتل الجماد

1,50

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.

يا قوة الجذب اطلقيني من ثقله أوجبت عنائي
لولاك لولاك يا شكالي لطرت كالنور في الفضاء

خفيت عن عين كل را *	أنت عماد السماء لكن
بعضا ببعض ربطت اعتنا *	ربطت كل النجوم فيها
كأنها ألسن فوق ما *	فدرن في الجو جاريات
بأننا من بني السماء *	نحن بني الأرض قد علمنا
أرضي سماء بلا اعترا *	لو كنت في المشتري لبانت
ولا اعتلا لذى اعتلا *	فليس فوق وليس تحت
نحيا محاطين بالهوا *	وانما نحن فوق نجم

1, 38-39

O 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.

In his discussion of scientific theories, he did not give

any conclusive opinions. The scientific truths he reflected were still shrouded in doubt. For example in the following verses he considers the sky.

فنحن نخاله بعدا شطونا
 فهل أبعاده بك ينتهينا
 اليك استشرف المشوفونا
 يحل بك الفناء فتذهبنا
 فهل صدقوا أو ارتكبوا المجونا
 فهل أبناء بنتك يصدقونا
 أثير في الفضاء أبى السكونا
 بعلم كيانك المترصدونا
 ولا (غاليل) أنبأنا اليقيننا
 أبانك يا نجوم تجاذبيننا
 ومن جرّك ندرع الظنونا

أبينى ما وراءك يا درارى
 قد اتسع الفضاء لك اتساعا
 وصغر ابتعادك فيه حتى
 خوالد في فضاءك أنت؟ أم قد
 وقالوا ما لعدتك انتها
 وقالوا الأرض بنتك غير مين
 وقالوا ان والددك المفدى
 ترصدك الأنعام وما اتانا
 (فهرشل) ما شفى منا غليلا
 و(كبلر) قد هدى أو كساد لما
 الى كم نحن نلبس فيك لبسا

1,73-75

O 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 Keppler 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:

خبر في الأرض أوحته السما لأولي العلم برسـل الفكر
ان هذى الأرض كانت أ ولا ما ترى بحرا بها أو جبلا
أوسهولا أو ريا أو سبلا أو رياضا زهرها الغضنما
من سحاب جادها بالمطر
انما كانت كتلك الأخوات من نجوم سائرات دائرات
حول شمس هي احدى النيرات كن من قبل عليها سدما
كتلة واحدة في النظر

ثم بعد انفصلت من ذا السديم قطع منها صغير و جسيم
ضمن أفلاك بها الدور تديس فاستقر الكل فيها أنجما
حول غير الشمس لم يستدر
أولا " نبتون " منه انفصلا ثم " أورانس " يهدى زحلا
ثم للمشتري مريخ تـلا ثم هذى الأرض فالزهرة ما
بعدها غير أخيها الأشهر
وأخوالزهرة بالشمس اقتدى ولها أقرب سيّار غدا
وهي سارت خلفه طول المدى فأمام الأرض دان انتظما
خلفها المريخ ثم المشتري
أرضنا كانت لظن مشتعلته مذ من الشمس غدت منفصلته
لم تنزل في دورها منتقلته كتلة فيها اللهب احتدم
وهي تروي في الغضا بالشرر
كان فيح النار منها مصعدا وهجا في الجوعنها مبعدا
حيث لا يمكن أن ينعددا فوقها منه بخار ديمما
هاطلات بالحيا المنهمر
بقيت حيننا وهذا أمرها وهي بالاشعاع يخبو حرها
واثنى يبرد من ذا ظهرها فاكتست قشرا يحاكي الأدمما
واستمرت بطنها في سمر
ثم قد صار على مر الزمان قشرها يفلظ آنا بعد أن
بيد أن النار عند الهيجان قد أعادت قشرها منخرمما
بصدوح مد هشات البصر

1,76-80

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, ^{which} 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.

عَمَّهَا السَّيْلُ فَغَطَّى حِينَ سَالَ سَطَحَهَا مَجْتَرِفًا مِنْهَا الرَّمَالُ
فَطَمًا الْمَاءُ وَلَكِن الْجِبَالُ شَخَصَتْ فِي الْمَاءِ لَمَّا أَنْ طَمًا
وَعَلَتْ كَالسَّفْنِ فَوْقَ الْإِبْحَارِ

1, 82

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.

ما نرى اليوم من الماء الحميم والبراكين التي تحكي الجحيم
 ومن الزلزال ذى الهول العظيم دلّ أن الأرض فيما قدما
 ذات جرم ذائب مستمر

1, 88

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.

ثم ان الأرض من قبل الجمود ولدت منها وليست بالولود
 قمر دار عليها بسمود وجلا في الليل عنها الظلما
 فهي بنت الشمس أم القمر

1, 89

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 Sīnā Al-Urjūza Fī'l-Ṭibb
2. See Al-Alfiyyah of Ibn Mālik

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL POETRY

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL POETRY

SECTION 1. EDUCATION

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

إذا ما الجهل خيم في بلاد رأيت أسودها مسخت قرودا

1,99

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

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

بالعلم تنتظم البلاد فانه ليرقي كل مدينة مرقاة

1,307

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.

ان كان للجهل في أحوالنا علل فالعلم كالطب يشفي تلك العللا

1,250

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.

كفى بالعلم في الظلمات نورا	يبين في الحياة لنا الأُمور
فكم وجد الذليل به اعتزازا	وكم لبس الحزين به سرورا
تزيد به العقول هدى ورشدا	وتستعلي النفوس به شعورا

1,147

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.

لا يبلغ المرء منتهى أمره	الأب علم يجد في طلبه
فأو الى ظلّه تعثر رغدا	عشا أمينا من سوء منقلبته
وانّ للعلم في العلى فلكا	كل المعالي تدور في قطبه
فاسع اليه بعزم ذى جلد	مصم السراى غير مضطربه
لا تتكل بعده على نسب	فالعلم يغني النسيب عن نسبه
كل فخار أسبابه انقطعت	الأفخارا يكون من سببه

1,262-264

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-Ruṣāfī regarded the uneducated as lifeless.

أنت يا جاهل من قبل الممات ميت يمرح ما بين البيوت
أو ما تعلم في هذي الحياة أن رب العلم حي لا يموت

1,187

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 his poem Fī'l-Qiṭār written in 1898 in Constantinople.

هو العلم يعلو بالحياة سعادة
فكلّ بلاد جادها العلم أمرعت
متى ينشئ الشرق الذى اغبر أفقه
فإن دبور الذل ألوت بمسزّه
تبصّر اذا دارت رحى الشرق هل ترى
ويجعلها كالعلم محمودة العقين
ريساها وصارت تثبت العزّ لا العشا
سحابة علم تمطر الشرف العذبا
وكادت سموم الجهل تحرقه جدبا
سوى الجهل في أثناء دورتها قطبا

1,568

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 ¹.

Consequently, a great number of Muslims in Iraq were

1. Lenczowski, G., 215

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.

وليس التقى في الدين مقصورة على صلاة وصل أو على صوم صيّم
 وليولكنها ترك القبيح وفعل ما يودى من الحسنى الى نيل مغنم
 ولكفتوى الفتى مسعاه في طلب العلى وما خصت التقوى بترك المحرم
 فتقوى الفتى مسعاه في طلب العلى وما خصت التقوى بترك المحرم

1,364

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.

اذا ما عقق موطنهم أناس ولم يبنوا به للعلم دورا
 فأن ثيابهم أكفان موتى وليس بيوتهم الا قبورا

1,147-148

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-'Umimi, written in 1910, he demanded the building of more schools from the new Ottoman Council, for the sake of their great effect on society.

حتى تقوم وطود الجهل مؤتفك	أما المدارس فلترفع قواعدها
فاضت بسيل الدواهي حولها بر ك	منابع العلم ان غاضت بمملكة
سجنا لمن أفسدوا في الأرض أوفتكوا	من شاد مدرسة للعلم هدّ بها
تهطالهن دم في الأرض منسك	وكم أثار تريح الجهل من سحب
هذا الفسوق وذاك الغوز والنسك	فالعلم والجهل كل البون بينهما

2,240-241

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.

<p>اليها وأنتم جاهلون سبيل على الكون فيكم والحياة دليل يجود على تشييدها و يطول أكول شروب للحياة قتل ولكن كثير الجاهلين قليل</p>	<p>تريدون للعليا سبيلا وهل لكم أناشدكم أين المدارس انها وأين الغني المرتجى في بلادكم بلاد بها جهل وفقير كلاهما أجل انكم أنتم كثير عديدكم</p>
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2,250

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.

أمست تعدّ اليوم بسالآلاف
 في الحكم واحدة لدى الأسلاف
 من كل علم بالزلال الصافي
 من كل فنّ بالنصيب الوافي
 منه بنو الأمصار و الأرياف
 بالعلم كان مهتد الأطرف

الأرض مسجدنا فقيم مساجد
 كان الصلاة بمسجد و بغيره
 هلا جعلن مدارساً فياضة
 ينتابها أبناؤكم كي يأخذوا
 فيفيض فيض العلم حتى يرتوى
 ان لم يكن شرف البلاد محصناً

1,472

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-Ruṣāfī 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.

لا تجعلوا العلم فيها كل غايتكم بل علموا النشء علما ينتج العملا
هذي مدارسكم شروى مزارعكم فانبثوا في ثراها ما علا و غلا

1,251

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.

ليس في أروس الرجال دماغ هاضم في ذكائه كل علم
فمن النقص أن تحاول أن تضرب في كل ذى العلوم بسهم
حسن فهم الأخص أكثر نفعا لذويه من قبح فهم الأعم

1,436

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.

ربوا البنين مع التعليم تربية يمسي بها ناطق الأخلاق مكتملا

1,252

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.

فليس للعلم مهما اعتز جانبه	نفع اذا ما السجايا الغرّ تنعم
اذا استحالت سجايا القوم فاسدة	فليس ينفعهم علم ولا علم
وليس يختل جبل الملك مضطربا	الا اذا اختلت الأخلاق والشيم
لولا سجايا على حب العلى جبلت	ما سادت الناس لا عرب ولا عجم

2,367-368

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.

فلا تستنفعوا التعليم إلا إذا هذبتم الطبع الشرير
إذا ما العلم لا يبر حسن خلق فربح لأهله خيرا كبيرا

1,150

Your education has no advantage unless you rectify
your nature.

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

داء التأخر منا في خلائقنا قد فشا الداء حتى استفحل السقم
كانت خلائقنا للمزماننة حتى فسدن فزال العز والشمم

2,369

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.

وجنبوهم على فعل معاقبة ان العقاب اذا كررته قتلا
ان العقاب يزيد النفس شرها وليس ينكر هذا غير من جهلا

1,252-253

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.

واى نفع لمن يأتى مدارسكم ان كان يخرج منها مثلما دخل

1,254

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.

ان كان جهل الناس مدعاة غيهم فليس سوى التعليم للرشد سلم
فلوقيل من يستنهض القوم للعلى اذا ساء محياهم لقلت المعلم
معلم أبناء البلاد طبيهم يداوى سقام الجهل والجهل مسقم

وما هو الا كوكب في سمائهم به يهتدى السارى الى المجد منهم
 فلا تبخسن حق المعلم انه عظيم كحق الوالدين واعظم
 فان له الحجي وهو جوهر وللوالدين العظم واللحم والدم

2,541-542

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-Qaṣṣāb, al-Qaysī and al-Ālūsī, the last of whom he elegized in two elegies, Wā Shaykhāh¹ and Fī Mawqif al-Asa. The following verses are from the first of these:

1. D.2., 21

2. D.2., 27

وأبكينك ابكارا وآصا لا	لأشكرنك يا (شكري) مدى عمري
بها اكتسيت من الآداب سرها لا	فأنت أنت الذي لقتني حكما
شفيت من الجهل داء كان قتا لا	أوجرتني من فنون العلم أدوية
من علة الجهل أوجعا وأوجا لا	فصحّ عقلي وقبلا كنت مشتكيا
ولو ملأت عليك الدهر اعوا لا	أنا المقصر عن نعمك أشكرها

2,25-26

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-Ruṣāfī:

أيا سائلا عننا ببغداد أننسا	بهائم في بغداد أعوزها النبت
علت أمة الغرب السماء وأشرققت	علينا فظللنا ننظر القوم من تحت
وهم ركضوا خيل المساعي وقد كبا	بنا فرس عن مقنب السعي منبّت
فنحن أناس لم نزل في بطالة	كأننا يهود كل أيامنا سبت

1,448

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 ^{كسرت} 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 ¹, and there was abundant water in the rivers that flowed through it, only a very limited area was under cultivation ². The rivers were not used

1. Hollingworth, C., 61

2. Kirk, G.E., 138

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 ¹.

وحواليك قاحلات البوادي	أيها الماء أين تجرى ضياعا
بك سقيا موات هذي البلاد	فمتى تظن النفوس فيحييا
لحصدنا النضار يوم الحصاد	لوزعنا بك البقاع حبوبا
فمه منك بالبع بازدراد	أفيدري خليج فارس ماذا
لو أتينا الامور باستعداد	أنت والله عسجد ولجين

1, 56

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 ¹, 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 Sū' al-Munqalib, 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.

فتراهم جمعاً وهم أشتنا ت	قوم أضعوا مجدهم وتفرقوا
سعيًا مغتبهً تركه الاعنات	لقد استهانوا العيش حتى أهملوا
خسفاً على حين الرجال أباة	يا صابرين على الأمور تسومهم
ان دام ضاقت دونه الفلوات	لا تهملوا الضرر اليسير فإنه
والماء تجمع سيله القطرات	فالنار تلهب من سقوط شرارة

1,305-306

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 offerings¹. 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 Awliyā'.²

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:

نزل الكتاب وجاءت الآيات	تالله ان فعالكم بخلافه
هذى الحياة توكل و تقاة	أفتزعمون بأن ترك السعي في
أوقام عندكم الدليل فهاتوا	ان صحّ نقلكم بذاك فبينوا
في حالة فكأنكم أموات	لم تلق عندكم الحياة كرامة
فلها بكم ولكم بها غمرات	شقيت بكم لما شقيتم أ رضىكم
فترادفت منكم بها العثرات	وجهلتم النهج السوى الى العلى

1,306-307

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

1. Amin, A. Zu'mā' al-Islāh fī'l-'Aṣr al-Hadīth., 8
2. Amin, A. Zu'mā' al-Islāh fī'l-'Aṣr al-Hadīth.

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-Ruṣāfī tried to urge the people to earn their livelihood by their endeavours and energy.

لعمرك ما هذى الحياة بطلبس لمن حيك من عجز نسيج شعاره
ولكن لمن أمسى بسأيد وقوة يجر على الأيام فضل ازاره

1,102

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.

والعجز كالجهل في الأزمان قاطبة
والمجد يأتل حيث البأس يدعمه
وان شأو المعالي ليس يدركه
داء تموت به أوتسخ الأمم
حتى اذا زال زال المجد والكرم
عزم تسرب في أثناءه السأم

عزم تسر

2,259

Incapacity 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 ¹ and it interfered with the work of the nation, particularly in rural areas.

بلاد جفاها الأمن فهي مريضة
فان لأهلها عليك لئمة
ولا تنس مغبر العراق وأهله
فدجلة أمست كالديجيل شحيحة
وان "الفرات" العذب أمسى مرتقا
سل "الحلة" الفيحاء عنه فانها
فيا ويل قوم في العراق قد انطوا
فحقق لها من طب رأيك أن تشفى
وملك من راعي الذمام ومن وفسى
فان البلاء الجم من حوله احتفا
فلا أنبتت زرعاً ولا أشبعت ظلفاً
به الماء يجفوا وبه الماء قد جفا
حكى شهداء "الطف" ان نزلوا الطفا
على النذل ان أمست قلوبهم غلفاً

1. Longrigg, S.H., 52

رواقا على هام الكواكب قد أوفى
 يقاسون أهوالا به تجدع الأنفا
 ومن يحمل الدبوس أو يضرب الدفا

ولم يذكروا مجدا لهم كان ضاربا
 وكانوا به شتم المرانين فاغتدوا
 يرجون من أهل القبور رجاء هم

1,329-331

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 Jamāl al Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad 'Abduh, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, Amīr 'Alī, and Muḥammad bin 'Abd 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 Dīwān, for instance, the following verses:

<p>حتى الجمادات تشكو وهي في ضجر ذؤابة الشرف الوضاح من مضر ولا كرامة لولا الشمس للقمر ناموا عن الأمر تفويضا الى القدر</p>	<p>له في على العرب أمست من جمودهم أين الججاج ممن ينتمون الى قوم هم الشمس كانوا والسورى قمر راحوا وقد أعقبوا من بعدهم عقباً</p>
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1. Glubb, J.B., 127

2. Kadourie, E., 203

3. Longrigg, S.H. and Stoakes, F., 37

1, 184

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 Muḍar?

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 ¹.

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

أرى مستقبل الأيام أولس	بمطمح من يحاول أن يسود ا
فما بلغ المقاصد غير ساع	يسرد في غمد نظرا سديدا
فوجه وجه عزمك نحو آت	ولا تلفت الى الماضين جيدا
وهل ان كان حاضرا شقيا	نسود بكون ماضينا سعيديدا
تقدم أيها العربي شوطا	فان أمامك العيش الرغيدا
وأشرفي بنائك كل مجد	طريف واترك المجد التليدا

1. Amin, A., Faḥd al-Khāṭir. 1, 203 - 204

فشرّ العالمين ذوو خمّول اذا فاخرتهم ذكروا الجدودا
 وخير الناس ذو حسب قديم أقام لنفسه حسبا جديدا

1,97-98

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.

ولست أذكر الماضين مفتخرا لكن أقيم بهم ذكرا لمدكر

1,184

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.

أنشقى بأمر الدين وهو سعادة اذن فاتباع الدين يا قوم خسران
ولكن جهل الجاهلين طحا بهم الى كل قول لم يؤيده برهان

1,367

Do we suffer in the name of religion, when it is happiness? In this case, following of religion, O 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.

وما ترك الاسلام للمؤمنين ميةزة على مثليه من لآدم ينتمي
فليس لمر نقصه حق ممدوم ولا عربي بخسه فضل أعجم

ولا فخر للانسان الا بسعيه ولا فضل الا بالتقى والتكريم

1,363

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 Sultān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II, demanding the promised reform which was determined by the Treaty of Berlin after the war between Turkey and Russia. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd 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 ¹. 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

وهل هو يأتينا مساء بمطعمهم
 وأنفاسها يقذفن شعلة مضرم
 الى الموت لا يرجى له يوم مقدم
 به في مهاوى الموت ضربة مسلم
 أتت بحزازات الى الدين تنتمي
 تخوض منها الأرمنيون بالدم
 بنفسي من أتعاب عيش مذمم
 عن الموت أن يودي بأمك مريم
 فأنتك ترمين الفؤاد بأسهم
 من القوم في قتل النفوس المحرم
 فان أنت أدركت الحقيقة فاحكمي
 ولكنه جهل وسوء تفهم
 فهم أجرهوا والدين ليس بمجرم

سلي ذا الفتى يا أم أين مضى أبى
 فقالت له والعين تجرى غروبها
 أبوك ترامت فيه سفرة راحل
 مشى أرمنيا في المعاهد فارتمت
 على حين ثارت للنوائب ثورة
 فقامت بها بين الديار مذابح
 ولولاك لاخترت الحمام تخلصا
 فأنت الذي أخرت أمك مريما
 أمريم مهلا بعض ما تذكرينه
 أمريم ان الله لا شك ناقم
 أمريم فيما تحكمن تبصرى
 فليس بدين كل ما يفعلونه
 لئن ملأوا الأرض الغضا جرائمها

1,116-118

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.

لقد جمعوا الجموع فمن نصارى
ومن هود هناك و مسلمينا
فكانوا الجيش ألف من جنود
مجندة ومن متطوعينا

تراهم فيه متّحدين عزمًا وما هم فيه متّحدين دينًا
هي الأوطان تجعل في بنينها اخاء في محبتها رصينًا
وتتركهم أولي أنف كبارا يرون حياة ذى ذل جنونًا
وأن الموت خير من حياة يظل المرء فيها مستكينًا

2,218

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-Is̄lāhiyyīn, 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, Mā Hākadhā, he attacked them, believing that
their demand was a cause of national disunity in the Arab countries.

راموا الصلاح وقد جاءوا بلائحة خرقاء ترك شمل الشعب مشعوبا
عدّوا النصارى وعدّوا المسلمين بها ونحن نعمدهم طرا أعاريبا
قد حكموا الدين فيها فهي معرسة عما يكون لسدعوى القوم تكذيبا
أو في مصالح دنياهم وهم عرب جاءوا على حسب الأديان ترتيبا

ما ضرهم لو نحا في الأمر جامعة
لكنهم أمة تآبى مشاربهم
تنفي الكنائس عنها و المحاربيسا
الا التعصب للأديان مشروسا

2,264-265

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, ^{in this world} when they are Arabs, that they ~~who~~ classify according to religion. x

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 ^{nature} ~~rejects~~ rejects anything but ~~nature is~~ the love of religious fanaticism. x

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.¹ In his poem addressed directly to Christians, Ila Ikhwānina al-Masīhiyyīn, 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

وان التعمادى في الديانة عد وان	علام التعمادى لاختلاف ديانة
فتعمربلدان وتأمين قطنان	وما ضرر لو كان التعماون ديننا
فماذا علينا أن تعمّد أديان	اذا جمعتنا وحدة وطينية
لسان وأوطان وبالله ايما ن	اذا القوم عمّتهم امورثلاثة
بها قال انجيل كما قال قرآن	فأى اعتقاد مانع من اخوة
على رسله الا ليسعد انسان	كتابان لم ينزلهما الله ربنا
فدعواه في أصل الديانة بهتان	فمن قام باسم الدين يدعو مفرقا

1,366-367

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 ¹. In 1941, al-Fallūja 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-Ruṣāfī's poem written on this occasion, al-Fallūja.

يوم عانت ذئاب آثور فيها عيشة تحمل الشنار سميجه
فاستهنتم بالمسلمين سفاهها واتخذتم من اليهود وليجه

2,413

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-Ruṣāfi 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.

أنت كالوعل ناطح الصفوان	قل لمن رام صدعنا بشقاق
وحدة مثل وحدة السرحان	ويك ان الاسلام أوجد فينا
هو جبل الاخاء والايمان	فاعتصمنا منها بحبل وثيق
ة الا اتحادنا في الكيان	ليس معنى توحيدنا الله في الملئ
نحن دننا بوحدة الديان	فلهذا نعم لهذا، لهذا
من صروف الدهور والأزمان	وحدة لا يفلها المتوالي
مرسل بالكتاب والفرقان	وحدة جاءنا من الله فيها
واحد، عنده القرون ثواني	فهدانا بها اله قديم
غير سلطان خالق الأكوان	ما نرى سلطة علينا لخلق

2,437,438

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'ān 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.

خاب قوم أتوا وفي العيش عسراً من سلاحي تعاون واتحاد
قد جفتنا الدنيا فهلاً اعتصمنا من جفاء الدنيا بحبل واداد

1,51

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
متخالفوننا
rope of love?

Or the following verses of his poem Aliknī yā Diya'.

فيا أمّ النجوم وأنت أمّ
وهل فيك الحياة لها وجود
وهل بك مثل هذى الأرض أرض
وهل هم مثلنا خلقاً وخلقاً
وهل هم في الديانة من خلاف
أيولد فيك كالأرض البنينوننا
فيمكن للردى بك أن يكوننا ؟
وفيها مثلنا متخالفوننا ؟
هناك فياً كلون و يشربوننا ؟
نصارى أ و يهود و مسلموننا ؟

1,71-72

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?

SECTION 4. SOCIAL EQUALITY

Al-Ruṣāfī demanded, social equality as a result of the political changes and intellectual developments in the last few years of Sultān 'Abd 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 'Abd 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 ¹. 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 Āl al-Saltana, for example in the following verses:

وانا انا لهم قصور مشالة	هم يعمدون بالمشات ذكورا
ونعيم ورفعة و جلاله	ولهم أعبد بها واما
نيا وعاشوا على الرعية عاله	تركوا السعي والتكسب في السد
أعين السعي من نعيم البطاله	يتجلى النعيم فيهم فتبكي
أعوزتهم سخينة من نخاله	يا كلون اللبات من كد قوم
كي تنال النعيم تلك السلاله	فكان الأنام يشقون كدا
س لمحيا آل السلاطين آله	وكان الآله قد خلق النسا
ثم زادوا أ صهارهم و الكلاله	حملونا من عيشهم كل عب
ش فكانوا ضغنا على ابساله	فكفينا أ صهارهم مؤنة العيب
ة الامن الأمور المحاله	ليس هذا في مذهب الاشتراكي
ضاء كفر برينا ذى الجلاله	وهو في الملة الحنفية الببي

1. 'Alī, M. Muhādrāt 'An Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī., 54

2,276-279

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 Sakhina 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 iqṭā' was a serious problem in Iraq from
the period of native control. This system was ^{reintroduced} ~~created~~ by the British

according to a particular system

mandatory government^s; they handed the land over to the Shaykh, although by custom and tradition it was the property of the whole tribe ¹. When the national government came to power, they continued to conform this system and handed over large estates to their supporters .

Al-Rusāfī was one of the reformers who strongly attacked this system, believing that it was unjust. In his book, al-Risāla al-'Irāqiyya, which he wrote in Fallūja in 1940, he urged the people to protest against this system ². He also attacked it in the following verses:

أرى كل ذي فقر لذي كل ذي غني	أجيرا له مستخدما في عقاره
ولم يعطه الا اليسير وانما	على كدّه قامت صرح يساره
ويلبس من تذليله العزّ ضافيا	وينظره شزرا بعين احتقاره

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. Izzeddin, N., 201
2. 'Alī, M., Al-Rusāfī., 211

عندنا اليوم في الحياة نظام
 حيث يسعى الفقير سعي أجيـر
 فترى المكثرين في طيب عيش
 وترى الغائصين في البحر أسي
 وترى المعسرين في كسل أرض
 أكثر الناس يكدهون لقوم
 واحد في النعيم يلمهو وألف
 حالة في معاشنا سلكتنا
 فترانا بعضا لبعض لبسنا
 تلك عادات مستهجنات ورثنا
 فالى كم نشقى وحتى م نبقى

قد حوى كل باطل ومحال
 لغني مستأثر بالفلال
 أرغده لهم يد الاقلال
 لسواهم ما أخرجوا من لآلي
 كعبيد والموسرين موالى
 قعدوا في قصورهم والعملا لى
 في شقاء وأبوس واعتلال
 طرقات المخاتل المحتال
 من حياتنا مسوح الثعال
 ها قديما من العصور الخوالى
 هكذا في عماية و ضلال

1,497-499

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.

انما الحق مذهب الاشتراكية فيما يختص في الاموال
 مبدأ ذو مقاصد ضامات ما لأهل الحياة من آمال
 موصلات الى السعادة في العيش هواد الى طريق التعالي

1,499

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 be sentenced to death ¹, 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.

مذهب قد نحى اليه أبوزر² قديما في غابر الأجيال
ليس فضل الزكاة في الشرع الا خطوة نحو مبتغاه المالى

1,499

It is a creed which Abū Dharr in past time inclined to,

The pre-eminence given to Zakāt in the Shari'a 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.

كلّ ما في البلاد من أموال ليس الا نتيجة الأعمال
وان يطب في حياتنا الاجتماعية عيش فالفضل للعمال

1,497

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-Sahartī, M.A., 258

2. See al-Shurbāsī, A., 13

He also encouraged them to become more powerful through co-operation and unity.

أيهما العاملون ان اتحادا	بينكم مرخص لكم كل غلال
ما لعيش تشقون فيه سقاما	بسوى الاتحاد من ابلال
فليكن بعضكم لبعض نصيرا	ومعينا له على كل حال
واذا قلت انكم انتم النسا	س جميعا فلا أكون مغال
واذا قلت انكم انتم كسالى	وارقبوا ما به ستأتي الليالي
ثم قولوا معي مقالا رفيع الصوت ،	فلتحسي زهرة العمال

1,501-502

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-Ruṣāfī 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.

وما مدنيّة الأقبوام الأ	وتعاونهم على غرّ المساعي
ولم يصلح فساد الناس الأ	بمال من مكاسبهم مشاع
تشاد به الملاجن لليتامى	وتتمار المطاعم للجياع
وتبنى للعلوم به مبان	تفيض العلم موّلق الشعاع
والا فالشقاء لهم حليف	وما حمل الشقاء بمسطاع

1,238

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 Dār al Aytām, written on the occasion of the establishment of Dār Shanillār in Jerusalem around the year 1921.

لدار شنلر في القدس فضل	به تنسى تيتهمها اليتامى
ويحمده من الفقراء طفل	يذمّ لفقد والده الحما
بها يجد اليتيم له مقاما	اذا ما الدهراً فقد المقاما
يرى عن أمه أمّا عطفوا	عليه وعن أبيه أبا هماما
ويدخلها يتيم القوم طفلا	فتخرجه لهم يفما غلاما
عليها بالحياة يسير فيها	على علم فيخترق الزحاما
وقد لبس الفضيلة وارتداها	وشدّ عليه من حزم حزاما

1,268-269

The Dār Shanillār 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 youngman,

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.

وَمَا هَذِي الْحَيَاةُ سِوَى صِرَاعٍ	يَتَمُّ بِفَوْزٍ مَفْتُولِ الْبُذْرَاعِ
وَمَا سَادَتْ شُعُوبَ الْخَلْقِ إِلَّا	بِتَهْيِئَةِ الْبَنِينَ لِمَا لَدَا الصِّرَاعِ
إِذَا لَمْ يَمَعْنَ بِلَا طِفَالٍ قَوْمٌ	فَهَضْبَةٌ مَجْدُهُمْ رَهْنُ انْصِدَاعِ
وَلَا تَزْكُو الْمَنَاشِيُّ فِي أَنْسَابِ	يَسْرُونَ الطِّفْلَ مِنْ سَقَطِ الْمَتَاعِ

1,239

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-Ruṣāfī 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.

شرفبازخ لنا و علاء	ربّ من مات منهم مات معه
نبغ منهم نوابغ أذكيا	ليس موت الأطفال هينا فقد ي
لست تدري : درّ بها أم خلاء	انما هم كمثل أصداف بحر
مات عقل بموته و دها	ولعل الطفل الذي مات منهم

1,468

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-Ruṣāfī published his poem Al-Ihsān, in which he tried to indicate to the people that charity is a religious duty.

لعبدت من دون الاله المحسنا	لو كنت أعبد فانيا في ذى الدنيا
سرا وفهت له بشكري معلنا	وجعلت قلبي مسجدا لتعبدي

غرسا سوى الاحسان حلو المجتنى	فسي مجتنى غرس الخليفة لم أجسد
الا أعزَّ الله ذاك الموطنا	ما ان تظلل موطن بظلاله
فسي الغرب لم نزلت وقلت عندنا	لم أدر والآثار منه كثيرة
في الشرق نشأته ربيبا بيننا	أفحن نجهله وقد علم السورى
بالعدل والاحسان أن نتديننا	أوما أمرنا في عظمات كتابنا

1,616-618

If I were to worship anything transitory in this life, I would worship, ^{apart} ~~a part~~ 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 Ila Humāt al-Atfāl,

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.

<p>لولا موانع يعترضن حوالسي ما فاق نول الرافدين نوالسي ما جال أقوى العاملين مجالسي ما زلت من أعوانكم بمقالسي</p>	<p>اني أحاول أن أكون معينكم لو أن ذات يدي استطاعت رفدكم ولو أن أيادي تجود بصحتي ان لم أعنكم بالفعال فانني</p>
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1,740

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-Qaṣṭulānī. 5., 67-69

2. Zaydān, J. 5., 77

3. See the holy Qur'ān Surat, al-Talāq, and al-Nisā'

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, Tahīr al-Mar'a (1898), and al-Mar'a al-Jadīda (1900 - rewritten 1911), at first with women was launched by Qāsim Amin, in his two books, Tahīr al-Mar'a the help of foreign women, but soon this movement took a native - born leader in Huda Sha'rawī (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-Nisā'iyyāt, 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.

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 'Abduh¹ 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.

فأول درستهذيب السجايا	يكون عليك يا صدر الفتاة
فكيف نظنّ يا لأبنا خير ا	اذا نشئوا بحضنّ الجاهلات
وهل يرجى لأطفال كمال	اذا ارتضعوا ثديّ الناقصات

2,146

The first lesson in rectifying natural dispositions is your responsibility, O women.

How can we expect good for children if they grow up in the care of ignorant mothers ?

And is there any hope for the 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 ^{and it continued} ^{1,} 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 ².

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 ³.

Al-Ruṣāfī says regarding this group:

من الأنام نسيجا من خرافات	عناكب الجهل كم ألفت بأدمغة
وشوهوا وجه أحكام الديانات	فحرّموا وأحلّوا حسب عاداتهم
عند النساء وان كنّ العفيفات	حتى تراهم يرون العلم منقصّة
خافوا عليهنّ من عار الجهالات	وحجبوهن خوف العار، ليتهم

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. Lāzim, A.T., 55 and Tachatt, 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 them¹. Al-Ruṣāfī tried hard to convince people that there was no religious basis for this ban.

وقالوا ان معنى العلم شيء	تضيق به صدور الفانيات
وقالوا الجاهلات أعفّ نفسا	عن الفحشا من المتعلمات
لقد كذبوا على الاسلام كذبا	تزلو الشم منه مزلزلات
أليس العلم في الاسلام فرضا	على أبنائه وعلى البنات
وكانت أمنا في العلم بحرا	تحلّ لسائلها المشكلات
وعلمها النبيّ أجلّ علم	فكانت من أجلّ العالمات

2,148

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 (Khadīja al-Kubrā) 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.

فلا تقل فيه شي غير مكتسب	فكل ما هو في الانسان مكتسب
للابن اخرى بأن يدعى أعمى أ ب	اني أرى أسوأ الآباء تربية
وليس ينبت نبع منبت الغرب	والمرء كالنبت ينمو حسب تربته

1,728

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 be described as the most undutiful father.

The human being is like a plant, and grows according to its soil; the Nab will not grow where the ^{gharb} ~~popular~~ grows.

And because of this belief, he insists on female education:

هي الأُخلاق تنبت كالنباتات	إذا سقيت بماء الكرمات
تقوم إذا تعهدتها المرستى	على ساق الفضيلة ثممرات
ويوتنعمش من صميم المجد روحها	بأزهار لها متضوّعات
ويولم أُر للخلائق من محلّ	يهذبها كحوض الأمهات
ورفضن الأم مدرسة تسامت	بتربية البنين أو البنسات
فحسب أخلاق الوليد تقاس حسنًا	بربيّ أخلاق البنساء الواليدات
وأخلاق الوليد تقاس حسنًا	بأخلاق النساء الواليدات
وليس ربيب عالية المزايا	كمثل ربيب سافلة الصفات
وليس النبت ينبت في جنان	كمثل النبت ينبت في الفلاة

2, 144-145

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 ganāt 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 preminent
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 up - bringing. This may best be illustrated by the following verses:

على الذلّ شبّوا في حجور اماء
 تحمل جور الساسة الغربا
 ألم ترهم أمسوا عبيدا لأنهم
 وهان عليهم حين هانت نساؤهم

2,127

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 fi'l-Sharq, 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.

هل يعلم الشرقي أن حياته
 وقضى لها بالحقّ دون تحكّم
 فالشرق ليس بناهضاً إلا إذا
 تعلوا إذا ربّ البنات وهذبنا
 فيها وعلمها العلوم و أدبنا
 أدنى النساء من الرجال و قرّبنا

فأذا ادعيت تقدما لرجالها جاء التأخر في النساء مكذبا
 من أين ينهض قائما من نصفه يشكو السقام بفالج متوَصِّبا

2,138

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 woman 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. 'Izz 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 Ilā Ṣāhibat Majalat al-Khidr.

<p>ويدلون فيما هم يقولون بالسمع وما أنا في انكار ذلك بالبسوع ضعيفا فليس اللوم عندي على الطمع بمنبت سوء فالنقيصة في الجذع ولو انها كانت من الدين في درع تسرين من الآراء في الرد والردع من العلم أسبابا تجل عن القطع على من نعى نقص النساء الى الطبع</p>	<p>يقولون لي ان النساء نواقص فأنكرت ما قالوه والعقل شاهدي اذا النخلة العيظاء أصبح طلعمها ولكن على الجذع الذي هو نابت أمزق دعواهم اذا ما طعنتمها ألا فاصدعي يا ربة الخدر بالذي فأنت مثال للكمال الذي حوى أدامك رب الناس للناس حجة</p>
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2,133

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-Khidr, 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.

ولست من الذين يرون فضلا كبيرا للرجال على النساء
ولكن دالت الأيام حتى تهاون هؤلاء بهؤلاء

1:525

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-Zahāwī 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.

<p>أ فتعلمون بما جرى تحت العبا وحجابها في الناس أن تهذبها أغنى فتاة الحي أن تنقبها</p>	<p>قل للأ لي ضربوا الحجاب على النساء شرف المليحة أن تكون أديبة والوجه ان كان الحياء نقابه</p>
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2,137-138

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.

<p>أوانس كاتبات شاعرات يرحن الى الحروب مع الغزاة ويضمدن الجروح السداميات عذاب الهون في أسر العداة الى أسلافنا بعض التفات</p>	<p>ألم تر في الحسان الغيد قبلا وقد كانت نساء القوم قدما يكنن لهم على الأعداء عوننا وكم منهن من أسرت وذاقت فماذا اليوم ضرر لو التفتنا</p>
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2,149

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.

<p>وان وصفوا لدينا بالجفا حواسر غير ما متريبات يمرّ مع الجداية والمهارة لمن ألقوا البداوة في الغلاة</p>	<p>فدى لخلائق الأعراب نفسي فكم برزت بحبيهم الفواني وكم خشف بمريمهم و ظبي ولولا الجهل تمّ لقلت مرحى</p>
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2,150-151

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 Nazīra Zayn al-Dīn, published her book Al-Sufūr wa'l-Hijāb in Beirut.¹ Al-Rusāfī 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.

<p>من بعد سفر للسفور ميين عنكم " نظيره " بنت " زين الدين " تركت ذبا بكم بغير طنين ما كان حصن عنادكم بحصين</p>	<p>قل للحجابيين كيف ترونكم كشفت به ما كان من حجب العمى سفر أقام على السفور أدلة يا لاجئين الى العناد خصومة</p>
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1. 'Azmi, M. Al-Hilāl (1928) 8, 925

هل من نظير بينكم لنظيرة هدمت (نظيرة) ما بنت عاداتكم
أتمكثون على العناد وقد بدأ نحن السفوريين أعلم بالذي
أ يكون ما شرع النبي محمد ان اعتزالكم النساء ترفعا
حتى رجال الصين تحترم النساء كلاً ولكن عادة همجية
أومن فقيه مثلها و فطين من كل سجن للنساء مهيين
من بعد ليل الشك صبح يقين شرع النبي محمد من دين
شيئا يخالف شرعة التمدين؟ أمر يناقض حكمة التكوين
أف نحن ننقص عن رجال الصين؟ جعلتكم حرياً لكل حسين

2, 157-158

Ask those who believe in veiling, what will you say after the publishing of a clear book for unveiling?

In it Nazīra bint Zayn al-Dīn 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 Nazīra? or any intelligent person or scholar like her?

Nazīra 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-
Rusāfi's contemporaries and fellow - countryman, 'Abd al-Husayn al-Uzarī,
(1880 - 1957) in which he protests against al-Rusāfi's advocacy of
unveiling in his poem al-Mar'a fī'l-Sharq¹.

نهج المخالف بيئة الزوراء	أكرامة الزوراء لا يذهب بك الـ
ان الخيال مطيئة الشعراء	أو أو يخدعك شاعر بخياله ،
ان الذى حصروه عين الداء	حاصروا علاجك بالسفور وما دروا
كالماء لم يحفظ بغير اناء	أو أولم يروا أن الفتاة بطبعها
مما يجيش بخاطر السفهاء	من من يكفل الفتيات بعد ظهورها
عن خدع كل خريفة حسناء	و من الذى ينهي الفتى بشبابه
فالعلم لم يرفع على الأزياء	ليليس الحجاب بمانع تهذيبيها
للمسلمين تبرج العمذراء	نصنع الكتاب على الحجاب ولم ييح
ما ما في الحجاب سوى الحياء	فهل من التهذيب ان يهتكن ستر حياء
لوأصدقك ضمائر الجلساء	هأهل في مجالسة الفتاة سوى الهوى

Daughter of al-Zawra', do not let yourself be

1. Batti, R. Al-Adab al-'Asri fī'l-'Irāq 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 thoughtlessness¹.

1. Al-Jubūrī, 'A., 204

من طيشهن الى لذائد تسفل
 فجنى عليهن الحجاب المسبيل
 ماذا عليهم لو يباح و يبذل
 ويصان عرضاً ويشرف منزل
 هي كل ما ترجوا النفوس و تأمل
 عن لذة الدنيا يحول ويفصل
 وأعود في الأفواء لحمايوكل
 عرضي بعرضك وافر لا يثلل
 جاءت بها فئة الضلال تحجل
 لا يسمعنك غيته المستبذل
 يزكوبه الشرف الرفيع ويحفل
 ربي بنيك على الفضيلة ينبلوا
 شهواتهم فيها تعيث وتوغل

يتآمرون على الناس لينفذوا
 قالوا: لقد أسر الرجال نساءهم
 صانوا الجمال عن العيون تعففا
 يأبون أن تسمو الفتاة عن الخنا
 يا ويحهم حسبوا لذاذات الهوى
 أفنسط الشرف الرفيع لأنه
 ويحي أهدر يا فتاة كرامتي
 يا خير من صانته في الدنيا يدى
 صوني جمالك عن قبيح دعاوة
 أعقيلة الشرف المدل بخدرها
 لا تعبثي بكرامة هي كل ما
 أم البنين لأنت مدرسة لهم
 يا ويح طائفة تخالك متمعة

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 Ḥamza Qufṭān, 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.

• رويدكم ما النصح منكم سجيّة	• فنصفي وهل في النار جرعة ما
• قفوا نبؤونا ما أردتم فأننا	• واياكم في الحكم غير سوا
• حكمتم على الشرق احتسا دوائكم	• وأنتم على ذا الشرق أكبر د ا
• أيمنع أن تمشي الى العلم حرّة	• محجّبة في برقع و رد ا
• وهل سدّ مجرى الماء في الغصن يرتوى به انه في قرفة و لحا	• طلاب العلى عنها صباح مسا
• ترسج وتغدو ما الحجاب بمانع	

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.

x x x x x

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 ^{advancement} (knowledge). 7

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 ¹.

Iraqi women remained veiled until recently, and even now the majority of women are veiled.

1. Al-Tanāhī, 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-ʿIrāqiyya¹.

This belief in dowries encouraged wealthy old men to get married to very young women, which they could do by paying bigger dowries. Al-Ruṣāfī says regarding this:

بالمال لكن بالمحبة يجتبي	قلب الفتاة أجل من أن يشتري
بعض المتاع وهن في عهد الصبا	أتباع أفئدة النساء كأنها
من عاشرنا شرف وكان مهذبنا	هذا لعمر الله يأبى مثله
بالمال لا بالحب عاد مخرّبنا	بيت الزواج اذا بنوه مجدنا

2,136

Girl's heart is too important to be sold for money, but it can be gained by love.

Are women's hearts to be sold as if they were merchandise, when they are still young?

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.

ظلموك أيتها الفتاة بجهلهم	از أكرهوك على الزواج بأشييا
طمعوا بوفر المال منه فاجلوا	بفضول هاتيك المطامع أشعبيا
فاذا رفضت فما عليك برفضه	عاروان هاج الولي وأغضبيا
ان الكريمة في الزواج لحررة	والحرر يابن أن يعيش مذذبيا

2, 135

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)¹ 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 woman 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, A, 4., 236

Al-Rusāfi tried to draw the attention of fathers to this important point.

يا من يساوم في المهور مغاليا ويميل في أمر الزواج الى الحبا
أقصر فكم من حرة منذ أنزلت في منزل الرجل الغني بها نسا

2,136

You, who bargain very high with dowries and regard the dowry as ^{de cisi ve} ~~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.

ان الزواج محبة فاذا جرى بسوى المحبة كان شيئا متعبا
لا مهر للحسنة الا حبها فحبها كان القران محببا

2,136

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

marriage.

وإذا الزواج جرى بغير تعارف
هو عندنا ربي الشباك بلجّة
أو مثل محتطب بليل دامس
وتحبّب فالخير أن نترهبنا
أصيب أخبث أم تصادف أطيّبا
أ يدوس أفعى أم يلامس عقربنا

2,137

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'ān, 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 الزوج ، ورق حتى يكاد اذا 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-Mutallaqa¹ 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 لموقعيه
غلوتم في ديانتكم غلوًا
بما في الشرع ليس له وجوب
يضيق ببعضه الشرح الرحيب

1. D.1., 154

أراد الله ، تيسيرا ، وأنتم
 وقد حلت بامتكم كروب
 من التعسير عندكم ضروب
 لكم فيهن لا لهم الذنوب

1,162

Tell those who imposed divorce in a way which is not justified by the Shari'a.

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 ¹. 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-Murdi'a ², al-Faqr wa'l-Siqām ³, al-Yatīm fi'l-Īd ⁴ and Min Waylāt al-Harb ⁵.

To al-Ruṣāfī work is essential for women in order that they may be able to obtain their living as members of society.

ما تصنع المرأة محبوسة	في بيتها ان أصبحت معدمه
ضاقت بها العيشة ان دونها	سدت جميع الطرق المعلمه
كم في بيوت القوم من حرة	تبكي من البوس بعيني أمه
قد لوحت نار الطوى وجهها	وأعمل الفقربه ميسمه
عاب عليها قومها ضللة	أن تكسب القوت وأن تطعمه
من أي وجه تبتغي رزقها	وطرقها بالجهل مستبهمه

2,141

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 proverty, 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.

من بعد ما قد ولدت توأمه	وكم فتاة فقدت بعلمها
وأصبحت للبيوس مستسلمه	فانقطعت في العيش أسبابها
لا قمر الليل ولا أنجمه	تبيت لم تحمد لفرط الجوى
ما جلّ أودقّ ولو سمسه	من حيث لا تملك من دهرها
فاضطرها ذلك أن تظمه	جفّ على مرضعها نديها
لبسه الدهر ولا مطعمه	فعاشر عيش الأم لم يوفه
يشكو من الدهر الذي أيتمه	فشبّ منهوك القوى مثلها

2, 142

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.

فقد سلكو بهنّ سبيل خسرو وصدّوهن عن سبيل الحياة

2,147

They have directed them to an evil way, and they
have prevented them earning their living.

Around the year 1929, al-Ruṣāfī 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:

وما العار أن تبدوا الفتاة بمسرح وتمثل حالي عزة وإبساء
ولكن عارا أن تنزى رجالكم على مسرح التمثيل زى نساء

2,127

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-Shibībī¹.

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 hands²; this is reflected, for example, in the following:

واللوم أجمع أن تكون نساؤنا مثل النعاج وأن نكون الأدوا

2,138

1. Tabāna, B., 180 - 181

2. Al-Hilāl (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-Zahāwī, 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-Zahāwī tried to incite women to unveil.

واسفري فالحياة تبغي انقلابا	مزقي يا ابنة العراق الحجابا
ك فقد كان حارسا كذابا	مزقيه واحرقيه بلا ريب
مزقيه حتى يكون هبابا	مزقيه وبعد ذلك أيضا

1

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-Ruṣāfī tried directly to urge the woman to get despite of her family's wishes, was her right in marriage.

SECTION 7. POETRY OF MISERY

According to al-Ruṣāfī, misery in Iraq¹ society was the main cause that stirred his poetical gift¹. This humanitarian feeling may best be illustrated by his own words:

ان لي ان سمعت أنفة محزو ن أنينا مرجعا في فوادى
ان نفسي عن همها ذات شغل بهموم العباد كل العباد
لا أحب النسيم الا اذا هب على كل حاضرأوبا د

1,52

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 *Diwān* there are seven poems in which he depicts different picture of misery in society; Umm al-Yatīm, al-Faqr wa'l Sigām, al-Yatīm Fī'l-Īd, Umm al-Tifl Fī Mashhad al-Harīq, al-Mutallaga, Min Waylāt al-Harb, and al-Armala al-Murdi'a. These poems form 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 fī'l-ʿĪd, 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-Ruṣāfī analyses the spiritual situation of the orphan on the first day of a feast when every other child enjoys the celebration.

فيقطف فقر من حواشيه مدقع	عليه دريس يعصر اليتيم ردينه
غباريه هبت من اليتيم زعزع	على يليح بوجهه للكابسة فوقه
كأن لم يكن للطبل ثمة مقرر	يد على كقرقرع الطبل تلقاه واجما
فلم يلفرجعا للجواب فيرجع	علم كأن هدير الطبل يقرع سمعه
تكاد لها أحشاؤه تنقطع	ويرد ابتسام الواقفين بحسرة
وما هو بالباكي ، ولا العين تدمع	ويبرسل من عينيه نظرة مجهش
على جانب والجوبالبرد يلسع	له رجفة تنتابه وهو واقف
وما شوب بدي ، ووه الكاسين يدمع	ويبرسل من عينيه نظرة مجهش
على جانب والجوبالبرد يلسع	له رجفة تنتابه وهو واقف
على البرد من برد به يتلفع	يرى حوله الكاسين من حيث لم يجد
لدى حسرات منه كالجر تلذع	فكان ابتسام القوم كالثلج قارسا

1, 170-171

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-Ruṣāfi 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.

فعدت وقلبي جازع متوجع
 ألا ليت يوم العيد لا كان انه
 وجئت الى ميادنا عند صاحبي
 فأطلعتمهم طلح اليتيم فأفغوا
 فقلت دعوا التأفيف فالعمار لاصق
 ألسنا الألي، كانت قديما بلادنا
 فما بالننا نستقبل الضيم بالرضا
 شربنا حميم الذل مل بطوننا
 نهوضا الى العز الصراح بعزيمة
 وقلت وعيني ثرة الدمع تهمع
 يجدد للمحزون حزننا فيجزع
 وقد ضمه والصحب ناد ومجمع
 وخبرتهم حال السجين فرجعوا
 بكم واتركوا الترجيع فالأمر أفضع
 بأرجائها نور العدالة يسطع
 ونعنولحكم الجائرين ونخضع
 ولا نحن نشكوه ولا نحن نيجع
 تخرلرهاها الطفافة وتركع

1,178-180

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 ^{pronounced the taqdir} ~~praised God~~.

I told them, "Stop this murmuring, because the disgrace is yours, and ^{leave the taqdir} ~~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
apressors will fall down and kneel.

Al-Ruṣāfī 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 country¹. 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 children². 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.

تمشي وقد أثقل الاملاق مشاهها
والدمع تذرفه في الخد عيناها

لقيتها ليتني ما كنت ألقاهـ
أثوابها رثة والرجل حافية

1. Sa'īd, J., 73

2. Loghat el 'Arab (1929) 2, 146

واصفرَّ كالورس من جوعٍ محياها
 فالدهر من بعده بالفقر أشقاها
 والهيم أنحلها والغم أضناها
 والبوس مرآة مقرون بمرآها
 فانشق أسفلها وانشق أعلاها
 حتى بدا من شقوق الثوب جنبها
 كأنه عقرب شالت زباناها
 كالغصن في الريح واصطكت ثناياها
 حملا على الصدر مدعوما بيمنها
 في العين منشرها سمج ومطواها
 تشكوا إلى ربها أوصاب دنياها
 هذى الرضيعة وارحمي واياها
 ان مسها الضرح حتى جف ثناياها
 كزهرة السروض فقد الغيث أضماها
 والأم ساهرة تبكي لمبكاها
 تبكي وتفتح لي من جوعها فاها
 وبت من حولها في الليل أرهاها
 ولست أفهم منها كنه شكواها
 ولست أعلم أي السقم آذاها
 بالفقر واليتم آها منهما آها
 وموت والدها باليتم ثناها
 منها فأثر في نفسي وأشجاها
 وأدمعي أوسعت في الخد مجراها
 أشارك الناس طرا في بلاياها
 في قالة أوجعت قلبي بفحواها
 ما في يدي الآن استرضي به الله
 دراها كنت أستبقي بقاياها
 بأخذها دون ما من تغشاها

بكت من الفقر فاحمرت مدامعها
 مات الذي كان يحميها ويسعداها
 الموت أفجعها والفقر أوجعها
 فمنظر الحزن مشهود بمنظرها
 كسر الجديدين قد أبلى عباها
 ومزق الدهر، ويل الدهر مثرها
 تمشي بأطمارها والبرد يلسعها
 حتى غدا جسمها بالبرد مرتجفا
 تمشي وتحمل باليسرى وليدتها
 قد قمطتها بأهدام ممزقة
 ما أنس لا أنس أني كنت أسمعها
 تقول: يا رب لا تترك بلا لبن
 ما تصنع الأم في تريب طفلتها
 يا رب ما حيلتي فيها وقد ذبلت
 ما بالها وهي طول الليل باكية
 يكاد ينقد قلبي حين أنظرها
 ويلمها طفلة ياتت مروعة
 تبكي لتشكو من داء ألم بها
 قد فاتها النطق كالعجم أرحمها
 ويح ابنتي ان ريب الدهر روعها
 كانت مصيبتها بالفقر واحدة
 هذا الذي في طريقي كنت أسمعها
 حتى دنوت اليها وهي ماشية
 وقلت: يا أخت مهلا اني رجل
 سمعت يا أخت شكوى تمسين بها
 هل تسمح الأخت لي أني أشاطرها
 ثم اجتذبت لها من جيب ملحفتي
 وقلت يا أخت أرجو منك تكرمتي

فأرسلت نظرة رعشاء راجفة
وأخرجت زفرات من جوانحها
وأجهشت ثم قالت وهي باكبة
لوعمّ في الناس حسّ مثل حسّكلمي
أو كان في الناس انصاف و مرحمة
تسري السهام وقلبي من رماياها
كالنار تصعد من أعماق أحشاها
وأها لمثلك من ذى رقة وأها
ما تاه في فلوات الفقر من تاهها
لم تشك أرملة ضنكا بدنياها

xxxx

هذى حكاية حال جئت أذكرها
أولى الأنام بعطف الناس أرملة
وليس يخفى على الأحرار مغزاها
وأشرف الناس من في المال واساها

1,569-574

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 rents.

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-Ruṣāfi tried by these humanitarian stories to move the
feelings of those conservatives who were against any social and
political reform. Al-Ruṣāfi 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-Rusāfī 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.

<p>فنبسط من أسلافنا كل مفضل وكم عبرة فيمن تقدم للتالي فقد درست الأبقية أطلال</p>	<p>ألا لفتة منا الى الزمن الخالسي تلونا أناسا في الزمان تقدموا ألا فذكروا يا قوم أربح مجدكم</p>
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2, 170

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 O people, remember the dwellings of your glory;
they are all obliterated except for some ruins.

In his first historical poem, he recalled al-Rāzī, the great Arab scientist, philosopher and doctor, who composed many books in medicine ¹, such as al-Hawī ², in order to draw Arab's attention to knowledge, endeavour, and good morals. This poem is a complete biography of al-Rāzī, in 104 verses³.

In another poem, he tried to encourage the Iraqis in

1. Ibn Khallikān, A., 2, 114

2. Al-Rāzī, A.B.M., Al-Hawī 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 ¹ and was with the al-Mustansiriyya 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 Hūlāgū in 1258 ². This is well reflected in al-Rusāfi's poem Hūlāgū wa'l-Musta'sim. In the following lines he explains the reason for this tragedy and how it happened. ³

<p>على شيعة في الكرخ بالقتل والنهب تجبرن من تحت النياط على القلب على الحقد مدفوعا الى الغش والكذب مواربه اذ كان مستضعف الارباب وشتتهم من اوب ارض السى اوب مغلغلة يدعوه فيها الى الحرب تملكتها من غير طعن ولا ضرب كتائب خضر تضرب السهل بالصعب من الارض الاعاد ملتهب الجدد وتعرك في تسيارها الجنب بالجنب سما على ارض العراق من التراب على رغم فتح الدين قائده الندب تعصبها عض الثفاف على الكعب وغصت بكرب يا له الله من كرب</p>	<p>جرت فتنة من شيعة الكرخ جلحت فقامت لدى ابن العلقى ضفائن فأضمر للمستعصم الغدر وانطوى وخادعه في الأمر وهو وزيره فأبعد عنه في البلاد جنوده ودس الى الطاغى هلاكو رسالة وقال له ان جئت بغداد غازيا فثار هلاكوبا المغول توومه وقاد جيوشا لم تمر بمخصب جيوش ترد الهضب في السير صففا فما عتمت حتى بنت بغيرها ولما ابادت جيش بغداد هالكها اقامت على اسوار بغداد برهة فضاق عليها بالحصار خناقها</p>
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1. Ibn Khālikān, A. 1., 202. See also Zaidān, J. 3., 203

2. Phillips, E.D., 90

3. For more references see Zaidān, J. 4., 209

2, 195-197

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'sim, 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'sim 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 Hūlāgū, 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 Hūlāgū 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'sim's control,
his deceitful minister persuaded him to make a truce with Hūlāgū,
claiming that this was only the chance of saving himself and Baghdad.

<p>وأنت ترى ما للمنول من الخطب نذلّ ونشقى في الدفاع وفي الذبّ وهم قد أقاموا راصدين على الدرب على هدنة تبيك ملتئم الشعب نردّ هلاكوا بالقتال على العقب</p>	<p>وقال له قد ضاق بالخطب ذرعنا فكم نحن نبقى والعدو محاصر وماذا عسى تجدى الحصون بأرضنا فدع يا أمير المؤمنين قتالهم ولسنا " وان كانت كبارا قصورنا "</p>
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2, 197

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 Hūlāgū by fighting.

Al-Mustaʿsim was eventually seduced by his minister's words and fell into Hūlāgū's trap. To al-Ruṣāfi the main responsibility for this tragedy lay with al-Mustaʿsim, the weak caliph who neglected his country's affairs and devoted his time to pleasure.

فدارت على ابن العلقمي رحي الشغب	تشاغل بالذات عن حوط ملكه
على ترف والد هريقظان ذو ألب	أطال هجودا في مضاجع لهوه
ولم يد ر أن الليث يربض للوثب	لقد غره أن الخطوب روابيض

2, 194

He occupied himself with pleasure to the neglect of the affairs of his kingdom, so that Ibn al-ʿAlqamī 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 Dulāmā, the comical poet of al-Manṣūr,¹ mentioned above.

In the second stage of his career, he composed another historical poem Qaṣr ʿl-Hamrāʾ. In this poem he recalled the glory of the Alḥambra in Granada.

1. See Ṭabaqāt al-Shuʿarāʾ al-Muḥdathīn., 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.

<p>ولا يستغزىك الكلام المشقق يغصبه العقل السليم و يشرق رواه من الآثار ما ليس ينطق بأكرمها قال عنه الخورنق</p>	<p>مسطر هذا ذيك لا تحفل مقال مورخ كذاب على وجه الطروس مسطر فدع عنك لغو الناطقين وخذ بما فان ذكروا النعمان يوما فلا تثق</p>
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2, 168

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-Nu'mān, do not believe anything more than al-Khawarniq says about him.

SECTION 9. POETRY FOR CHILDRENA. Tamā'im al-Tarbiya wa'l-Ta'lim

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 *Dīwān* ¹.

انظر لتلك الشجره	ذات الغصون النضره
كيف نمت من بذرة	وكيف صارت شجره
فانظر وقل من ذا الذي	يخرج منها الثمره
وانظر الى الشمس التي	جذوتها مستعمره
فيها ضياء وبها	حرارة منتشره
وانظر الى الليل فمن	أوجد فيه قمره
وزانه بأنجم	كالسدر المنتشره
وانظر الى المرء وقل	من شق فيه بصره
من ذا الذي جهزه	بقوة مفتكره
ذاك هو الله الذي	ويصل لمن قد كفره

1. Chiekho, L. *Al-Machriq* (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

عين دينا البصيره	انما الشمس النيره
من بني الارض بصيره	وبها يبصر كل
وجه حسنا غريره	يجتلي في الصبح منها
مرسلا مثل الغديره	ونرى فيها شعاعا
في الاعالي مستديره	انها كتلة نار
قدرة الله القديره	في الفضاء قد علقتها
هي البنت الصغيره	ان هذى الارض للشمس

من قديم ولدتها بمد أولاد كثيره
 انما الأحياء في الأرض ضالى الشمس فقيره
 ان للشمس بهذا الجو
 كالمها تنشر في الأبعاد ناراً مستطيره
 كل هذى الأنجم الزهر شمس مستنيره
 صغرت في العين لكن هي في العقل كبيره
 لا تكون الشمس هذى عندها الا حقيقه
 كل نجم في الفضاء السرحب قد والى مسيره
 ولقد دار وكان الله في الجو مسديره
 فهذا تتجلى قدرة الله القديره

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 الاحسانا	ما أحسن الدينار لو كنا به
نكسو العراة ونطعم الغرثانا	ما أشرف الدينار لو كنا به
وابتغ لك في الورى شكرانا	يا حامل الدينار أحسن صرفه
أحسنت موضع صرفه شيطاننا	واعلم بأنك حامل الأاذا xxx
أيقن بأنك كاسب خسرانا	يا كاسب الدينار من غير التقى
فاجعله فيما ينفع الأوطانا	فاذا أردت به انتفاعا خالدا
فاجعله في سبل الفخار مهانا	واذا أردت به التعمز والعلسى
أعيا العقول وحيّر الأذهانا	فطبيعة الدينار أمر معضل
ويعزّ صاحبه ان هانا	ان عزّه ان الدهر صاحبه به

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 Dīnār 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 Dīnār 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 درسيهم

فإذا تعبتم بالدراسة فالعبوا	جدوا بدرس العلم حتى تتعبوا
متعلم إلا اجتهد متعب	فاللعب ليس يبيحه يوما السي
من درسيهم حق لهم مترتب	وملاعب الطلاب بعد فراغهم
وتريح من أذهانهم ما أنصبوا	فهي التي تنعي لهم أبدانهم
لعب يعاد به النشاط ويكسب	والفكر منهكة وان شفاء
كالما من طول الركود يطحلب	والجسم يكسل عند طول جماعه
في العيش راحتنا التي تتطلب	لولا متاعنا لما حصلت لنا
لولا المشاغل مرة لا تعذب	كل الحياة مشاغل لكنهم

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

أنا غائش في ظلّ جنّته المديد وساكن
وماثر لجدودنا ومحاسن
في غيره أني غريب ظاعن
وغبطت من هوفيه حلّ ساكن
أني تبطني سرور باطن
وبدت مبان منه لي وأماكن
لما أشاهدها به فاعاين
أضرله حبّ قلبي كامن
من أن يقارنه سواي مقارن
بدي له دفع المهاجم ضامن
من يقاتل دونه ويطاعن
حدث ومكتهل وشيخ طاعن

وطني هو القطر الذي
وظلال جنّته مفاخر أمّتي
وطني الذي أحسست عند اقامتي
وحسدت هبة كل ربح نحوه
وأحس حين أرحل اليه آيبا
وأظل مبتهجا اذا شارفته
وتسرّني أكواخه وقصوره
هذا هو الوطن الذي منذ الصبا
اني أغار عليه إذ أحببته
واذا يهاجمه العدو فانني
فليعلم الثقلان طرا انني
ويقول مثل مقالتي أبناؤه

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.

رأيت الديك يأخذ في الصباح	إذا ما الفجر آذن بالصباح
ومن طرب يصفق بالجنح	يصيح إذا الصباح دنا سرورا
فكان دنوه سبب ارتياح	كأن له لدى الأصباح وعدا
يرنّ إذا تموج في الرياح	وان له بجوف الليل صوتا
إذا أصدت بصيحه النواحي	يشقّ صدها صمت الليل وهنا
أتدرى ما يقول بهذا الصباح؟	ألا فاسمع له ان صاح صباحا
فان النوم يقبح في الصباح	يقول لنوم في الصبح هبوا
لتنهضكم وتغرب في الرواح	وان الشمس تطلع في غدو
وقوهوا مسرعين الى الفلاح	فخلوا النوم منتفضين منه
فان السعي من شرط النجاح	ألا فليسع من يبغي نجاحا

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.

كسل شي يتكلم

لا شي مما نعلم	الا ليه تكلم
تكلم مختصر	يفهمه من يفهم
فهو لقوم واضح	وهو لقوم مبهم

xxxx

ان الغراب قد غدا	يقول غياق غياق
فكان معنى قوله	في نظر الحداق
من قام مثلي باكرا	لم يبلى بالاملاق

xxxx

ان السذاب قائل	بصوته الخيزاز
مقاله فسترها	لنا زوو الالغاز
من لم يعز نفسه	لم يحظ بالاعزاز

xxxx

قد أخذ العصفور من	بمد وضوح الفلق
يقول قولا واضحا	بصوته المزقزق
ان رمت رزقا طيبا	فاسع وجدد ترزق

xxxx

وكم سمعنا صرصرا	في ليللة المعتكسر
يقول فيما مدّه	من صوته المصصر
من يسهر الليل لكي	يصير بدعا يصير

xxxx

و ضفدع مسرتطم ما بين ماء و لثق
 قال بمنستقمه وهو ينق في الغسق
 ما خاب قط من صدق ولا نجا من اختلسق

xxxxx

والطبل عند ضربه يخرج صوتا دم دم
 فكان معنى صوتيه كما رواه مرد م
 ان تفعل الخير فلا تدعه لكن دم دم م

xxxxx

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 Ghāq Ghāq.

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-Shitā', al-Bulbul wa'l-Ward, Ighrūdat al-'Andalīb, Qasr 'l-Hāmra',
Fī Mal'ab Kurat al-Qadam, al-Talighrāf, al-Sā'a, and Haqq al-Mu'allim.

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

B. Al-Anāshīd al-Madrasiyya

In 1920, he published his book al-Anāshīd al-Madrasiyya, in Jerusalem. This book consists of school odes and anthems. There is only one anthem from this book published in his own Dīwān, al-Nashīd al-Waṭanī. The others are not published in his Dīwān or found elsewhere.

After 1920, he composed other anthems in Iraq which are also not published in his own Dīwān. The following are some examples of these. Al-Ruṣāfī insisted that every one of them should have its own tune in order to make it more effective ¹.

نشيد العلم

يا علم الأمة أنا معك حتم علينا أن نتبعك
مرنا بما شئت فأريخنا يكفل مالك أن نسمعك

xxxx

وسرالى ما رمت من سودد فالواجب الأقدس أن نتبعك
فيك شيات أربع لم تنزل توضح للناس بها منزعك

xxxx

تعترف الناس لنا بالعلی اذا رأت أعينهم أربعك
هن رموز لعصور مضت بالعزل للشعب الذى أبدعك

xxxx

يا علم العرب وسعت العلی ما أضيقت الدهر وما أوسعك
أودعك الخالق تأريخنا فاخفق على الأرض بما أودعك

xxxx

1. 'Alī, M. Muhāzrat 'An Ma'rūf al-Ruṣāfī, 134 - 138

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.

ند الاستنهاض

يا قومنا قوموا الى
واينسوا لنا المجد على
كسب الممالي و العلى
أساس مجد غابري

xxxx

ان شتموا عز الوطن
فالعلم في هذا الزمن
فاسموا الى العلم ان
للمرء أقوى ناصر

xxxx

علم الأوالي والأدب لم يحييه إلا العرب
فالعلم لولاهم ذهب ذهب

xxxx

انما خلقنا للولا لا للتعادى والقلبي
اذ نحن ابنا الأولي سادوا على الحواضر

xxxx

كم أشرقت منا نجوم في كل آفاق العلوم
تهدى بها أهل الفهوم الى نرى المفاسر

xxxx

كم قد كشفنا غمّة وكم فرّجنا أزمه
اذ نحن أمضى عزيمة من الحسام الباتر

xxxx

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 وطن العرب أ لا أبشر بنيل المنى
ان لم نذ عنك العدا فلا بلغنا العلى

xxxx xxx

يا وطن العرب الذى نهواه مل الحشا
ان منك الدهر بما يوزى فتحن الفدى

xxxx

نحن الألى قد بلغوا بالعلم أعلى الذرى
أقلامنا قد أوضحت للناس نهج الهدى

xxxx

نحن الألى قد بلغوا الأصار فيما مضى
أيماننا مشهوره عند جميع السورى

xxxx

نحن الأسي قد أخضعوا بالسيف كل العدى
أعلا منا خفاقة بالنصر يوم الوغى

xxxx

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.

العلم والسيف
ما العلم والسيف عند قومي الا طريقان للتماسي
ما لم تبتن العرب بيت مجسد الاعلى العلم والموالي
لم تبتن العرب بيت مجسد ^xاعلى العلم والموالي^x

xxxx

قد مرّ للعرب عصر عَزَّز يمدّ من أشرف العصور
فوجدنا خالد قديم يساق إلى آجر الدهور

xxxx

أنفسنا حرة رفيعة تصبوا إلى الصورة البديعة
تزيدنا في العلى نشاطا محاسن الكون والطبيعة

xxxx

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.

المعمار

لي قطع من خشب ألهـوبها في اللعب
أبني لكم دارا بها حاوية كل البها

xxxx

أصفها فتنظّم
فـاعترفوا لي بالفطن ثم جيمها تنهدم
أست معمارا ان

xx

فانظر لما أوُسِسَ انبي أنا المهندس
جميع أهل حارتي تعجبهم مهارتي

xxxx

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.

لعبة الأزهار

ما أحلاها من أزهار طيبة فريحة
إذا فانتها الأنظار تعرف بالريحة

xxxx

هلمّي يا زهرتي وانشقينني الطيبا
لاضحى في لعبتي غالبا مغلوبا

xxxx

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.

نشيد الشمس

في الليل بعد المغرب؟	الولد: يا شمس أين تذهبي
أنا في الليل أنا؟	فهل تنامين كما
لكنني من القدم	الشمس: كلاً، فاني لم أنم
وفي السماء أنتقل	مثل السراج أشتعل
يمسي الهواء مظلماً؟	الولد: وأين أنت عندما
أرض تضيئني بها؟	هل لك غير أرضنا
طلعت عند غيركم	الشمس: إذا غربت عندكم
هناك صبح وسنا	ان السماء ههنا

xxxx

The Boy; O 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-Ruṣāfi composed them under the influence of Western literature, which paid ^{more} special attention to children's poetry ^{than Arabic} at that ~~time~~ ^{literature had ever done} time.

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. " العلم في الصغر كالنقش في الحجر "

1. Amīn, A. Fayd al-Khābir. 6., 284
2. Al-Jāhiz, A. Al-Bayan wa'l-Tabyīn. 1., 257

CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICAL POETRY

CHAPTER FOUR
POLITICAL POETRY

SECTION 1. FREEDOM

Al-Ruṣāfī believed that Freedom is an essential thing for any country. It is the key to the progress of any nation.

منى كل نفس وصلها ووفودها	ألا إنما حرّية العيش غادة
وتبسد والمعالي حيث أتلع جيدها	يضي دجّنات الحياة جبينها
أناسا تمنّى الموت لولا وعودها	لقد واصلت قوما وخلّت وراها
فما ضرّها والبهفتا لو تعودها	وقد مرضت أرواحنا في انتظارها

1,298-299

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.

إذا لم يعش حرّاً بموطنه الفتى فسمّ الفتى ميتا وموطنه قبراً

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-Ḥamīd'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 ¹. Al-Ruṣāfī continually attacked him, in spite of the presence of some of the 300,000 spies whom he had distributed throughout ².

أما إن أن يفتش البلاد سعودها ويذهب عن هذى النيام هجودها
متى يتأتى في القلوب انتباهها فينجاها عنها رينها وجمودها

1. Gibb, H.A.R., Whither Islam., 42

2. Morris, J., 24

أما أسد يحيى البلاد غضنفر
 برئت الى الأحرار من شرّ أمة
 سقى الله أرضاً أمحلت من أمانها
 جرى الجور منها في بلاد وسيمعة
 فقد عاث فيها بالمظالم سيدها
 أسيرة حكام ثقال قيودها
 وقد كان رواد الأمان ترودها
 فضاقت على الأحرار ذرعا حدودها

1,296-297

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-Ruṣāfi'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.

عجبت لقوم يخضعون لدولة
 وأعجب من ذا أنهم يرهبونهم
 إذا وليت أمر المباد طغاتها
 يسوسهم بالمواقات عميدها
 وأموالها منهم ومنهم جنودها
 وساد على القوم السراة مسودها

وأصبح حر النفس في كل وجهة
 وصارت لثام الناس تملو كرامها
 فما أنت إلا أيها الموت نعمة
 يردّ مهانا عن سبيل يريدها
 وعاب لبيدا في النشيد بليدها
 يعزّ على أهل الحفاظ جحودها

1,297-298

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 ¹. Al-Rusāfi
 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 ².

1. Lewis, B., The Middle East and the West., 48

2. Marlowe, J., 14

هبيّ وفي مرالمسوك تأملني
منصوص في آي الكتاب المنزّل
من حاد عن هدى النبي المرسل
ولسواك عن قصد السبيل الأفضل
خسفا وينقم منك أن لم تقبلني
ويريد شرك وهولم يتفضل
حتى صبرت لفتكه المستأصل
تستخدمين لغيبه المسترسل
حمقا فهل هو من صحيح تعقل
1,452-453

يا أمة رقدت فطال رقادها
أيكون ظل الله تارك حكمه الـ
أم هل يكون خليفة لرسوله
كم جاء من ملك دهاك بجوره
يقضي هواه بما يسومك في العري
ويروم صبرك وهو يسقيك الردي
وقد استكنت له وانت مهانة
بات السعيد وبت فيه شقية
تلك حماقة لا حماقة مثلها

O 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-Ruṣāfi 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 dethrone-
ment of 'Abd al-Ḥamid, and he was the First Arabic poet who ventured to
demand this.

كشفت عماية قلب كل مذلّـل
أبدت لهم حق الزمان الأـوّل
نبرج نسوج الى الحضيض الأسفل
حرية العيش الرغيد المنضـل
نرضى ونقتنع بالمعاش الأـرذل
تالله أهون منه صمّ الجندل
لجج البحار ونحن لم نتبدل
لم يأت من نسج الكلام بهلـل
دامت تجرّعنا نقيع الحنـضل
وتسوينا سوء العذاب الأـهول
كالغأر مرتعدا تجاه الخيـطل

انّ الحكومة وهي جمهورية
سارت الى نجع العباد بسيرة
فسموا الى أوج العلاء ونحن لم
نالوا وصال من النفوس وانها
أفبعد هذا يا سـراة مواطني
الغوث من هذا الجمود فانه
قد أبحرت شمّ الجبال و أجبلت
ما ضركم لو تسمعون لناصح
حتّام نبقي لعبية لحكومة
تنحوبنا طرق البوار تحيفنا
هذا ونحن مجدّلون تجاهها

ما بالناس منها نخاف القتل ان قمننا أما سنموت ان لم نقتل ؟

1,453-455

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-Ḥamīd's II government towards the importance of representative rule, pointing out the likely consequences of autocracy.

حكومة شعبنا جارت وصارت علينا تستبد بما أشارت
فلا أحدا دعته ولا اشتشارت وكل حكومة ظلمت و جارت
فبشرها بتمزيق الحدود

1,337

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-Rūsāfī pointed out to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd personally the error of his ways.

أقول وليس بعض القول جدا لسلطان تجبر واستبد
تعمدي في الامور وما استعمدا الا يا ايها الملك المفدي
أقول وليس بعض القول جدا لسلطان تجبر واستبد
انم تعمدى في الامور وما استعمدا الا يا ايها الملك المفدي
ومن لولاه لم نك في الوجود
أط
انم عن أن تسوس الملك طرفا أقم ما تشتهي زمرا و عزفا
أطل نكر الرعية، خل عرفا سم البلدان مهما شئت خسفا
وارسل من تشاء الى اللحد

فدتك الناس من ملك مطاع ابن ما شئت من طرق ابتداء
 ولا تخش الاله ولا ترع فهل هذى البلاد سوى ضياع
 ملكته أو العباد سوى عبيد
 تنعم في قصورك غير دار أعاش الناس أم هم في سوار
 فانك لن تطالب باعتذار وهب أن الممالك في دمار
 أليس بنا "يولدز" بالمشيد

1,343-344

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; O 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 ^uYong 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.

أكرم بتموز شهرا ان عاشره	قد كان للشرق تكريما وتعزير ا
شهر به الناس قد أضحت محررة	من رق من كان يقفوا شر جنكيز ا
سل أهل باريز عن تموز تلق لهم	يوما به كان مشهودا لباريز ا
كانت لهم فيه لما نار ثائرهم	بسالة هدت البستيل ميزوز ا
في شهر تموز صادفنا لما وعدت	بيض الصوارم بالدستور تنجيز ا
هي المساواة عمنا فما تركت	فضلا لبعض على بعض وتمييز ا
أمست لنا قسمة بالملك عادلة	حكما وكانت على علاتها ضيزي

2,233-239

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.

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 ¹. For example, Shawqī ² and Ḥāfīz Ibrāhīm ³ 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 ⁴, that imposed this constitution on the Sultan.

من قائدین ولم نملك عكاكيزا	كنا من الجور عميانا وليس لنا
عصابة بسرت في المجد تبريزا	حتى نهضنا الى العليا * تقدّ منا
بالسيف منقلنا والرمح مهزوزا	قمنا على الملك الجبار نفرعه
ألقت ضراما على الطاغين مأزوزا	حتى تركناه في هيجا * معضلة
حتى نهوز في الهيجا * تهويزا	اننا لنأبى على الطاغى تهضمنا
كمضغنا التمر برتيا وسهرينزا	ونأكل الموت دون العز نهضفه
بقا * بعضي النذل موكوزا	لا عاش من لا يخوض الموت مرتضيا

2,234-235

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.

1. Cheikhō, L. Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lughā al-ʿArabīyya., 37
2. Shawqī, 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 Suhrīz 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 historical poem Fī Salānīk ¹, al-Ruṣāfī joyfully described the dethronement of the Sultan, having been present at the time. In his poem Waqfa 'Ind Yildiz ², he again and again attacked 'Abd al-Hamīd II, expressing his own rejoicing at his dethronement, while other poets, Shāwqī 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 ³.

وَعَنَّتْ لَنَا الدُّنْيَا تَهْنِئَةً عَزْفًا	سَقَتْنَا المَعَالِي مِنْ سَلَاةِهَا صَرْفًا
فَأَهْلًا بِمَا زَفَّتْ وَشَكَرًا لِمَنْ زَفَّاهَا	وَزَفَّتْ لَنَا الدُّسْتُورَ أَحْرَارَ جَيْشِنَا
وَقَدْ كَانَ قَبْلَ الْيَوْمِ لَا يَشْكُرُ السِّيفَا	فَأَصْبَحَ هَذَا الشَّعْبُ لِلسِّيفِ شَاكِرًا
بِبَعْضِ هَتَا فَا يَصْعَقُ الظُّلْمَ وَالْحَيْفَا	وَرَحْنَا نَشَاوِي العِزِّ يَهْتَفُ بِعِضِنَا
أَمَا طَلَّتْ لَنَا الْأَحْرَارُ عَنِ وُجْهِهَا السَّجْفَا	وَلَا حَتَلْنَا حُرِّيَّةَ العَيْشِ عِنْدَمَا
وَنَحْنُ أَنَا نَحْسُنُ النُّشْرَ وَاللِّفَا	نَشَرْنَا لَهَا مِنْ لَفِيفِ اشْتِيَاقِنَا
وَقَمْنَا عَلَى الْأَقْدَامِ صَفًّا لَهَا صَفًّا	حَلَلْنَا الحُبَّ لِمَا أَتَتْنا كِرَامَةً

1. D.2., 217

2. D.2., 226

3. Ramsaur, E.E., 137

فكنا لها الفيا وكانت لنا الفيا	عقدنا لها عقد اللوا * تعشقا
ورحنا على صرف الزمان لها حلفا	رفعنا لولا * النصر يهفو أمامها
وان كان بعض القوم أبدى لها عنفا	فلم تر غير الرفق فينا سجيبة

1,323-325

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 furlled 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-'Umūmī, assembled in Constantinople; it consisted of 288 members, 147 Turks, 60 Arabs, 27 Albanians, 26 Greeks, 14 Armenians, 10 Slavs, and 4 Jews ¹. Al-Ruṣāfī hastened to support this new council and regarded it as the basis of democracy, as is reflected in his poem al-Majlis al-'Umūmī.

<p>أحكامه الناس من عاشوا ومن هلكوا تبدو من العدل في آفاقها حبيك حرية العيش بسج والنهى فلك على الرعيمة لا يستأثر الملك</p>	<p>هذا هو المجلس الرحب الذي وسعت هو السماء التي تعلو السماء بها دارت بها شمس عز الملك حيث لها قد أصبح الأمر شورى بيننا فيه</p>
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2,238

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-Shūrā.

1. Ergil, D., 82

هذا الذى جاءنا الدين الحنيف به وحيًا من الله مبعوثًا به الملك
هَذَا بِهِ نَهَضَ الْإِسْلَامَ نَهْضَتَهُ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ قَامَ يَسْتَوْلِي وَيَمْتَلِكُ

2,239

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 ¹. Some of the religious authorities encouraged by 'Abd al-Hamīd ², headed this reactionary movement in the name of religious zeal. They claimed that this new political system was contrary to the Shari'a and would lead Muslims into error.

Al-Ruṣāfi strongly attacked this religious group, believing that they opposed the constitution for their own benefit.

فقد هاجوا على الدستور شرًّا بدار الملك كي يستعبدوننا
هم الأشرار باسم الدين قاموا فمأثوا في المواطن مفسديننا
فما تركوا من الدستور (شورى) ولا أبقوا لنعتمه (طيننا)

2,219

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 Shūrā from the constitution, and they left no Tanīn (sound) to its song.

(Shūrā 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 ¹.

Al-Ruṣāfī, who warmly supported this government, being also the chief editor of the Arabic part of their paper Baghdād which was published in Baghdad ², and their paper al-'Arab which was published in Constantinople ³, strongly attacked them for their tyrannical new policy. In his poem Shakwa ila'l-Dustūr which was published in the Egyptian paper al-Mu'ayyad in 1910, he exposed their new deceitful and arbitrary rule.

وسدوا على من حولهم منبع الرزق	قد استأثروا بالحكم وارتزقوا به
وكم مخضوا أوطاننا مخضة الرزق	كأننا لهم شاة فهم يخلبوننا
ولم يتركوا لساكنيها سوى المسدق	وهم يأخذون الزيد من بعد مخضها
وتصبح للباقيين حبرا على رق	أترضى بأن تختص بالحكم معشرنا
سوى نغبة من بعض سورهم الرنق	وهم يرودون الصفونك ولم نرد
كساق يرينا الماء عذبا ولا يسقي	فما نحن الا كالضمائم وانهم

1. Tachau, F., 26

2. Baṭṭī, R. Al-Ṣaḥāfa Fi'l-Īrāq., 22

3. Al-Mīsrī, H.M., 318

ألم تر أننا طول عهدك لم نقم
ولم نك ندرى لاهتضام حقوقنا
ولم نستغذ الا سقوط وزارة
وما ضرهم لو أسقطوا نهج سيرهم
ألم يبصروا للعدل غير طريقهم
وماذا عسى يجدى سقوط وزارة
مضى كامل من قبل حلبي وان جرى
وما الهم عندي بالذي قد ذكرته
ولكن وراء الستر كفف خفية

نسابق أهل المجد في حلبة السبق
أنحن من الأحرار أم نحن في رق؟
وتأليف أخرى مثل تلك بلا فرق
وساروا بمنهـاج التبصر والحدق
فان طريق العدل من أوضـح الطرق
اذا لم تقم أخرى على العدل والصدق
كما جرىا حقى فمثلهما حقى
وان كان يشجيني ويدعوالى الزعق
تزحج من شاءت عن الأمر أو تبقي

2,253-255

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 sāqī 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?

Kāmil went before Ḥilmī, and if Ḥaqqī 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

ولكن نناديهم وندعو الى الحق
 وبينكم في الجل منه وفي الدق
 والا فيا سحق المعاند من سحق
 وشيب وشبان على ضمير بلق
 بعزم من السيف المهند مشتق
 بوجه يلاقي الموت مبتسم طلق
 بديع معاني الحسن في الخلق والخلق

ولسنا نريد اليوم حكما عليهم
 تعالوا الى امر نساويه بيننا
 فان يفعلوا هذا فيا مرحبا بهم
 سنطلب هذا الحق بالسيف والقنا
 بكل ابن حرب كلما شد هزها
 تراه اذا ما عبس الموت وجهه
 من العرب مطبوع الطباع على العلى

2,256

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-Muhannad 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-Ruṣāfi'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.

ولولا يد شدت لساني بنسمة لبحث بسر كالشجا هو في حلقي

2,55

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-Ruṣāfī did not attack this government as severely^e 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^r
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.

الى قائم الدستور والعدل والحق	شكابة قلب بالأسى نابض المرق
لها الحكم دون الناس في الفتق والرتق	ملكوك على كل الملكوك ثلاثة
مطيما ولو من أجلها ضربت عنقي	وأقسم أني لا أكون لغيرها

2,252

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 state¹, 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.

من المسكن لا اضطرابه	لا بسد للوطن العزيز
بالتامل في ما به	من مجلس للشعب ينظر
ان صادقوه على منابه	وينوب عن ابنائه
د به يعود الى نصابه	حتى نرى امر البلا
والشعب ليس له بابيه	أبهت حكومتنا له
ونحن نعرض عن طلابه	أترى الحكومة تتغيبه
يدعو الحليم الى انتخابه	هذا لعمرك ما
سارعين الى انتخابه	هلا يقوم القاعدون
صرف الزمان له بنايه	كي ينقذ الوطن الذي

1,208-209

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 ¹. He set up the first press, which produced the first paper, al-Tanbīn ². Under the rule of Muḥammad 'Alī an Albanian soldier who became master of Egypt in 1834 ³, publication increased considerably ⁴. He greatly encouraged authorship and translation ⁵, and established another press in Egypt; this published 243 books and journals between 1822 and 1842 ⁶.

In Iraq the first paper press al-Wilāya was established by Miḥḥat Pāshā in 1869 and published the first paper al-Zawra' ⁷. Before this press there had been insignificant press al-Tabrīzī press established in 1861 by Kāmil al-Tabrīzī ⁸.

As a result of the severe censorship during 'Abd al-Hamid's rule, the press was hampered and restricted by the government ⁹, 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
4. Gibb, H.A.R. Arabic Literature., 160
5. Al-Rāfi'ī, 'A.R., 33
6. Lewis, B. The Arabs in History., 172
7. Batti, R. Al-Ṣahāfa Fī 'l-'Irāq., 12
8. Batti, R. Al-Ṣahāfa Fī 'l-'Irāq., 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.

أ يا حرية الصحف ارحمينا فأنّا لم نزل لك عاشقين
 متى تصلين كيما تطلقيننا عدينا في وصالك وامطليننا
 فأنّا منك نقنع بالوعود
 فأنت الروح تشفين الجروحا يحجّ فقدك البلد الفسيحا
 وليس لبلدة لم تحو روحا وان حوت القصور أو الصروحا
 حياة تستفاد لمستفيد

1,342

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 narrow a wide country.

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 ¹. 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.

لهيب خلا فبينها غير خامد
أطافت بنقص في الحقيقة زائد
وما بين مجحود عليه وجاهد
فريقين من ذى حجة ومعاند
بتفنيد رأى أو بتزييف ناقد
وآخر رام سهمه نحو ذائد
من الصحف يدعواتيا بالشواهد
بها مدّ للدنيا حباله صائد
وعقبى ضياع الحق سود الشائد
مبادئه منقوضة بالمقاصد
لهم في مجال القول غير المفاصد
وكلّ له في الحق نغمة ما رد
مع الحق أنى دار بين المعاهد
فتأتى بها مشحونة بالفوائد
وتنوير أفكار وانهاض قاعد
وتغضون عن اضرارها ألف واحد
وما جاز في حكم النهى كذب رائد
بها تتجلى روحهم للمشاهد
و ديوان أخلاق لهم وعوائد

1, 622-625

جرائد في دار الخلافة أضرمت
ولم يكفها هذا الخلاف وانما
فما بين مكذوب عليه و كاذب
ترى في فروق اليوم قرآء صحفها
جدال على مرّ الجديدين دائم
فذائد سهم عن ربي يردّه
وهذا الى هذى وذاك لغيرها
وما هي الا ضجة كل صائت
أضاعوا علينا الحق فيها تممدا
ولم أر شيئا كالجرائد عندهم
يقولون نحن المصلحون ولم أجد
وكيف يبين الحق من نغاتهم
وما الصحف الا أن تدور بنهجها
وأن تنشر الأقوال لا عن طماعة
والآ تعاني غير نشر حقائق
أتبغون في تلفيقها نفع واحد
ألا ان صحف القوم رائد نجحهم
لعمري ان الصحف مرآة أهلها
كما هي ميزان لوزن رقيهم

Papers in the city of the Caliphate have lit an
inextinguishable flame of disagreement between them-
selves.

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-Ahwā'¹.

In order to direct attention to this important matter, he compared generally the papers in the East and in the West.

<p>به الصحف في طرق العلى والمحامد كما يهتدى السارى بضوء الفراقيد مع الغرب حتى في شئون الجرائد فاني عليكم خائف غير حاقد فان تجدوا منها فلسا واجد</p>	<p>ألا تنظرون الغرب كيف تسابقت بها يهتدى القراء للحق واضحا ولكن أبسى الشرق التعميس تقدما فلا تحملوا حقدنا على ما أقولسه وما هي الا غيرة وطنية</p>
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1,625

Do you not see how the papers in the West compete in the ways of glory and good deeds?

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 ¹. 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 ², because al-Ruṣāfī's article was frank and not satisfactory to the rulers. Many Iraqi papers ceased publication during this time, such as al-Istiqlāl, al-Rāfidān and Sadā al-Istiqlāl.

1. Izzeddīn, N., 190

2. Loghat el-'Arab (1931) 1, 71

C. Freedom of Thought

Al-Ruṣāfī was strong in his demands for freedom of thought, believing that it had a positive role in the awakening of the people.

إذا كان في الأوطان للناس غاية فحرية الأفكار غايتها الكبرى

1, 144

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.

وما هذه الأوطان إلا حدائق بها تنبت الأفكار من أهلها زهرا

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 a help of a friend ¹, during the 'Abd al-Hamīd'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-Sijn Fī Baghdād, he gave a complete picture of this prison.

زر السجن في بغداد زرة راحم لتشهد للأنكاد أفجع مشهد

1. Al-Wā'iz, R., 134

فان زرتة فاربط على القلب باليد
 بخمس مئين أنفس أو بأزيد
 فلم تكتحل من ضوء شمس بمروود
 كأنك في قطع من الليل أسود
 لصلوا بها ظهرا صلاة التهجّد
 فلم تحظ من وصل النسيم بموعّد
 على كل حيزوم صفائح جلمعد
 بحبل اختناق محكم الفتل محصد
 وخادمهم في ذله مثل سيّد
 خباثت مهما يزدد الحر يزدد
 فمن يك منهم عادم الشم يحسد
 سكارى ولكن من عذاب مشدّد
 وما هو من دود بها متولد

محلّ به تهفو القلوب من الأسي
 مقابر بالأحياء غصّت لحودها
 وقد عميت منها النوافذ والكوى
 تظنّ اذا صدر النهار دخلتها
 فلو كان للعباد فيها اقامة
 يزور هبوب الريح الأ فناءها
 تضيق بها الأنفاس حتى كأنما
 وحتى كأنّ القوم شدّت رقابهم
 فسيدهم في عيشه مثل خادم
 يخوضون في مستنقع من روائح
 تدور رؤوس القوم من شمّ ننتها
 تراهم سكارى في العذاب وما هم
 وتحسبهم دودا يعيش بحمأة

1,22-129

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-Ruṣāfi's view, this savage treatment of liberals occurred because there was no justice or liberality in Baghdad; he

therefore advocated revolution against the Sultan.

<p>يقود بنا قود الذلول المعبّد به غير مأمون الوشاية ينتدى ببغداد ضاع الحق من غير منشد وقلت لأن العدل لم يتبغدد من الذعر أسراب النعام المطرّد لتبنوا لكم بنيان مجد موطّد وقد كان عنا شوطهم غير مبعّد فأجحف بالفورى والمتنجّد بجند من الخطب الجليل مجنّد ويا رب خفف من عذاب مشدّد</p>	<p>×××</p>	<p>ألا ربّ حرّ شاهد الحكم جائرا فقال ولم يجهر ونحن بمنتدى على أى حكم أم لأية حكمة فأد نيت للنجوى فبي نحوفمه رعى الله حيا مستباحا كأنه نهوضا نهوضا أيها القوم للعلى تقدّنا قوم فأبعد شوطهم وسدّ علينا الاعتساف طريقنا أفي كل يوم يزحف الدهر نحونا فيا رب نفس من كرب عزيمة</p>
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1, 129-132

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.

انّ الكلام محرّم	يا قوم لا تتكلموا
ما فاز الاّ النّوم	ناموا ولا تستيقظوا
يقضي بأنّ تتقدموا	وتأخروا عن كل ما
فالخير الاّ تفهموا	ودعوا التفهّم جانبا
فالشر أن تتعلموا	وثبتوا في جهلكم
أبدا والاّ تتقدموا	أمّا السياسة فاتركوا
لو تعلمون مطلقا	انّ السياسة سرّها
ح من الحديث فجمعوا	واذا أفضتم في المبدأ
والظلم لا تتجهموا	والعدل لا تتوسموا
مكرّم	من شاء منكم أن يعيش اليوم وهو
بصرلديه ولا فم	فليمس لا سمع ولا
الا الاّصمّ الاّبكم	لا يستحقّ كرامة
هي في الحياة توهم	ودعوا السعادة أمّا

فالعيش وهو منعكم كالعيش وهو منكم
فارضوا بحكم الدهر مهما كان فيه تحكمكم
واذا ظلمتم فاضكوا طربا ولا تتظلموا
واذا أهنتكم فاشكروا واذا لطمتم فابسموا
ان قيل هذا شهدكم مر، فقولوا : علقم
أوقيل ان نهركم ليل، فقولوا : مظلم
أوقيل ان نمدكم سيل، فقولوا : مغمم
أوقيل ان بلادكم يا قوم سوف تقسم
فتحمدوا ، وتشكروا وترنحوا ، وترنموا

2,374-375

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^{of} Muntadā
al-Tahdhīb, he openly expressed his belief in liberality and insisted
 that a revolution of armies accrued always after a revolution of
 thought.

فأوطانكم لن تستقل سياسة إذا أنتم لم تستقلوا بها فكسرا
إذا السيف لم يعضده رأي محرر فلا تأملن من حدّه ضربة بكرا

1, 144-145

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-Dhimam¹, he defended 'Abd al-'Azīz Jāwīsh when the ministry of Ahmad Mukhtār Pāshā al-Ghāzī handed him over to the Egyptian government. Jāwīsh was an active member of the Hizb al-Waṭanī in Egypt, the owner of the paper al-Hidāya there², and the chief editor of the paper al-Hilāl al-'Uthmānī³ in Constantinople, which opposed the Egyptian government. His series Dānishway against the British Authorities in Egypt is well known⁴.

In his poem Yāsīn Pāshā⁵ he supported Yāsīn al-Hāshimī, an anti-British politician, when the government of Syria supported by the British Authority there, arrested him in al-Ramla.

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' 120

5. D.2., 396

In 1925 Taha Husayn, with the help of the British orientalist D. S. Margoliouth, published his book Fī'l-Shi'r al-Jāhili in which he claimed that most pre-Islamic poetry had been forged¹. He was severely attacked by the government, azharists, and many educated figures, for they regarded him as a renegade and as against Islam². Although al-Ruṣāfī 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 Fī Haflat Shawqī, presented on the occasion of Shawqī'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.

تقيم على الأحرار في العلم حاجر ا	اذا احتفلت مصر بشوقي فمالها
عليًا وطه حاصبا متطاييرا	فقد أسمعتنا ضجة أمطرت بها
وما بال هذا عدّ في مصر كافر ا	فما بال هذا عدّ في مصر مارقا
فليس لمصر أن تكرم شاعرا	اذا لم تك الأفكار في مصر حرة
ويوضع قدر العلم ينطق نائرا	أيرفع قدر العلم ينطق ناظما
ويقذف بالتجهيل من جاء فاكرا	ويختص بالتبجيل من جاء منشا
اذا كان عمّا يبلغ العلم قاصرا	ألا ان هذا الشعر ليس بطائل
اذا لم تكن فيه النفوس حائرا	كما أن هذا العلم ليس بنافع
لمن كان عن حرية الفكر جائرا	وتكريم ربّ الشعر ليس بمفخر
له السبق في تكريم من كان شاعرا	والا فعصر الجاهلية قبلنا

1,382-384

1. Monroe, J., 1 and Husayn, T. Fī'l-Adab al-Jāhili

2. Al-Naqqāsh, R. Al-Hilāl (1966) 2, 164-165

If Egypt fetes [^]Shawqī, why does she, on the other hand, put restrictions upon liberals in knowledge?

She let us hear the uproar that she 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-Rusāfi continued to demand liberalisation and to complain of its absence even during the last few years of his life.

بليّاتها علينا الظلم والظلم	نمشي من الجهل في ظلما * ظالمة
والحرّ منا مهان ليس يحترم	حرّية الفكر فينا غير جائزة

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. INDEPENDENCEA. 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.

وان لقي الشرق منه الكروب	دع الغرب ينعم في باله
فعهد التمدين عهد كذوب	ولا تسألنه بأفعاله
ولكننا بعد هذى الحروب	فنحن اغتررنا بأقواله
فأما الفناء وأما البقا	سنأبى عليه أشد الابا
ونرقى وان صعب المرتقى	ونركب من عزمننا مركبا

2,459-460

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 1911¹, 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.

يقولون ان العصر عصر تمدن	فما باله أمس عن الحق مزورا
الى الله أشكوفي السورى جاهلية	يعدون فيها من تمدنهم عصرا
أتتنا بشوب العلم تمشي تبختسرا	الى الخير لكن قد تأبطت الشرا
فلا تلتمظفي مدحها متمطقا	فان أظهرت حلوا فقد أبطنت مرا
لقد ملك الافرنج أرض مراكش	قد ملكا من قلبها تمنس الخضرا
لقد ملك الافرنج أرض مراكش	وقد ملكوا من قلبها تونس الخضرا
فجاجنا الطليان من بعد ملكهم	لكي يسلبونا في طرابلس الأمر
وقالوا ألم تأت الفرنجة تونسنا	وهذى جيوش الأنكليزأتت مصرنا
فخلوا لنا ما بين هذى وهذه	والا قسرناكم على تركها قسرا
فقلنا لهم اننا أحق بملكها	فقالوا: ولكن زندقوتنا أورى
أهذا هو العصر الذى يدعونه	فسحقا له سحقا ودفراله دفرا

1. Rustow, D.A., 11

2,454-455

They say that the age is an age of civilization;
so why has it deviated from the right?

I complain to God of a Jāhiliyya 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 Morōcco, 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.

أيها المسلمون لستم من الغرب
 إنما أنتم لدى الغرب قوم
 فاذا ما وسعت الناس حلما
 وإذا ما ملأتم الأرض عدلا
 وإذا ما فعلتم الخير يوما
 وإذا زلّ لكم دفن الدهم
 وإذا ما افتري عليكم عدو
 وإذا ما جنى عليكم أناس
 رحم الله أمة أصبح الغرب
 ب بحال تستوجبون احتراماً
 خلقوا عن سوى الشرور نياماً
 عدّه الغرب شرّة و عراماً
 عدّ جواراً أو مفخراً عدّ زاماً
 حسبوه جنابة واثاماً
 رأملّوا بنبشها الأقلاماً
 أيّدوه وصدّقوا الأوهاماً
 سكتوا عنهم ومروا كراماً
 ب يرى كل زنبها الاسلاماً

2,341-342

O 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 the West has come to believe is Islam.

Because of this belief, al-Ruṣāfī supported the Ottomans during the First World War when the Arab Revolt began in 1916¹.

<p>فانضوا الصوارم واحموا الأهل والسكنا ممن نأى في أقاصي أرضكم ودينا من يسكن البدو والأرياف والمدننا به تقيمون دين الله والسنننا صدق العزازم في تدميرهم جنننا عار الهزيمة حتى تلبسوا الكفننا متم أذلاء فيها ميتة الجبننا في هوشة ذل فيها كل من وهنا</p>	<p>يا قوم ان العدا قد هاجموا الوطننا واستنفروا لعدو الله كل فتى واستنهضوا من بني الاسلام قاطبة واستقتلوا في سبيل الذود عن وطن واستلثموا للعدا بالصبر واتخذوا واستنكفوا في الوغى أن تلبسوا أهدا ان لم تموتوا كراما في مواطنكم لا عذر للمسلمين اليوم ان وهنوا</p>
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2,465-466

O 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 tumult in which all who are cowardly are humiliated ~~what life is there for the one who is cowardly?~~

When Baghdad collapsed in 1917¹, and British troops occupied it, al-Rusāfi blamed the Ottomans for having left it in the hands of the enemy. He wrote a poem on this sad occasion Nawāh Dijla, trying to provoke the Ottomans to return to Baghdad.

نهبة في يد العدو وراحوا أفجداً براحهم أم مزاح ألم ما تطيقه الأرواح لبكوا مثلما بكيت وناحوا يوم بانوا ولا الصباح صباح بجيتوم بانوا ولا الصباح صباح لم بجناح وأين مني الجناح ف بجيشه تغص البطاح بعدها وثبة له وكفاح نت بقلبي ممن أحب جراح	أين أهل الحفاظ هل تركوني برحوا وادى السلام عجا لا تركوني من الفراق أقاسي لو رأوني سبياً بأيدي الأعدى لا مسائي بعد البعاد مساء أتمنى بأن أطيّر اليهم أنا أدري بأنهم بعد هجرى بسل هم اليوم عازمون على النزح ان تأنوا فريضة الليث تأتي أنا باق على الوفاء وان كا
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1. Wilson, A.T., Mesopotamia, (1917-1920), 105

2,303-305

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, 1918¹, were widely reported
in the Arabic papers in Iraq and all other Arab countries². He

1. Longrigg, S.H., 114

2. Wilson, A.T., Mesopotamia (1917-1920), 102-103

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-Ruṣāfī 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.

قال قولا به استحقّ احتراماً	وتعداه فاستحقّ ملاماً
رجل قد تنكب الحقّ قوساً	ومن البطل ظل يري سهاماً
كان منه المقال نورا فلما	حان حين الفعل كان ظلاماً
مدّ ولسون في السياسة حبلاً	جمع النقض فيه والبراماً
فلبعض الأنام كان عصاماً	ولبعض الأنام كان خصاماً
ملاً الدهر في فيومة فخراً	وبأزمير أخجل الأياماً
ان أزمير صيّرت مالولاً	سون من الفخر في فيومة زاماً
فهل الحقّ عنده في سوى الغر	ب حقير أقلّ من أن يحامى
أم هل الشرق وحده في الأقسا	ليم مباح أن يستبى و يضاماً
أم هل القوم عاهدوا الله في أن	لا يراعوا للمسلمين زماماً
مالهم أرهقوا بني الشرق ظلماً	وعلى الترك أشلّوا الأرواماً
فاستباحوا حرّيم أزمير نهيباً	واستحلّوا من الدماء حراماً
حيث جاسوا خلالها بجنود	ركبت في عتوّها الأثاماً

2,337-339

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 Gouraud¹ in Beirut in which he mentioned that the French war in Syria was continuation of the Crusaders was positive evidence of Western fanaticism. Al-Ruṣāfī attacked him in his poem Mazāhir al-Ta'assub Fī '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

من الأمر فاستأمت عصور وأجيال
 بها اليوم قد تمت لقومك آمال
 بما قلته فاهتاج بالشرق بلبال
 تشابه كردينالها والجنيرال
 لأنحى علينا بالتعصب عذال
 وان خالفوا وجه الصواب بما قالوا
 بما هو للدنيا وللدين اخجال
 لقومك فيما أحرزوه وما نالوا
 خيولا لها في حومة الحرب تجوال
 فكم فتحت فيها من القدس أقفال
 وهم بمقام البيت لا شك جهال
 قديما لحالت دون ذا النصر أهوال
 فحالت لعمرى منهم اليوم أحوال

أسأت الينا بالذى قد ذكرته
 ذكرت لنا الحرب الصليبية التي
 وتلك لعمرى قرحة قد نكأتها
 فيا عجباً من أمة قادت جيشها
 ولو أننا قلنا كما أنت قائل
 وقالوا لنا أنتم أولو جاهلية
 فلا تصمن الحرب بعد انقضائها
 ولا تنس فضل الشرق إذ كان ناصرا
 فقد قادت الأعراب نحو عدوكم
 وقامت لكم منهم بمكة رايعة
 لقد أغضبوا البيت الحرام ورسوله
 ولو أن عهد المسلمين كعهدهم
 ولكنهم باعوا الديانة بالدنا

2,333-335

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-Ruṣāfi appealed to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī.

<p>أصيب بها قلب العلى فهو مغتال وحزنا كما دارت بسكران جريا ل بها غدوات كالحات وأصال فترعاه من سرح المعادين آبال</p>	<p>الك صلاح الدين نشكو مصيبة ودارت رعو من القوم فيها توجعا وقطبت الأيام حتى تشابهت وأسى حتى الاسلام تنتاب روضه</p>
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To you Ṣalāh al-Dīn 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 ¹. In his poem al-Haqq wa'l-Quwwa,
al-Ruṣāfī incited the Iraqi nation to revolt on behalf of their
independence.

تذلل لها الأعناق قهرا وتندق	يقولون ان الحق في الخلق قوة
ولا يتحاشى عن ظلامته الخلق	فما باله يمسي ويصبح شاكيا
تعارض في أوصافها الكذب والصدق	الى الله نشكو الأمر من مدينة
بأشياء من بطلانها ضحك الحق	وكم قد سمعنا ساسة الغرب تدعي
أجازوا لهم أن يشمل الأمم الرق	فهم منعوا رق الأسير و انما
من الأسر مشدودا بأعناقها ربق	ألم تر في القطر العراقي أمة
من العنف لم يمرر بساحتها رفق	قد اختط فيه السيف للقوم خطية
بكأس من العدوان ليس لها مذق	وأوجرهم سما من الذل ناقما
تعاف، لأن الماء في حوضها رنق	فدجلة من وقع الشوائب أصبحت
من الضيم غور ما لأوشاله عمق	وان الفرات الغمر أمس و ماو ^ه x x x
تفاقم هول الخطب واتسع الخرق	سلام على وادي السلام الذي بسسه
ونبذل حتى لا نغيب ولا غلق	سنغديه حتى لا حياة عزيزة

1. Izzeddīn, N., 210

وندرک فيه ثأرنا بكتائب
وانّ اللیالی بالخطوب حوامل
فتنتج حربا ما یبغ سعیرها
بکل أخي عزم کأنّ مضاء
تلقّ رایات العلی بسواعد
فاما المنايا نستطبّ بطبّها
اذا نحن لم نملك علی الدهر أمره
لها نسب من صلب یعرب مشتق
ولا بد یوما أن سیأخذها الطلق
وتستنّ فی میدانها الدهم والبلق
مشطبة بیض و مسنونة زرق
لهنّ بتصرف القنا فی الوغى حدق
واما منی فیها یتّم لنا السبق
فلا دام فینا نابضا للعلی عرق

2,291-294

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-Rusāfi denounced their declaration, claiming that British imperialistic policy in all their colonies depended on oppression, injustice, and deceit.

ولم يعملوا غير الكوارث والكوارث	يقولون اننا عاملون لسعدكم
ولم يعملوا غير الكوارث والكوارث	يقولون اننا عاملون لسعدكم
تعمل في أهوالها ساعة البعث	فكم بعثوا في الشرق حربا ذميمة
على الناس يشتدون بالنبش والنبش	وكم أرسلوا دسا جواسيس مكرهم
ولم يتركوا للقوم فيها سوى الغش	وهم سلبوا أرض العراق سمينها
رققت لهم تبكي على القوم أو ترثي	إذا ما رأيت القوم في فح مكرهم
فلا بد في الأيام للعهد من نكث	فلا ترح في الدنيا وفاقا لعهدهم

2,418-419

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 al-Harb al-Muqaddasa (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-Ruṣāfi'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 Dīwān. Al-Zahāwī did not support this rising either, and moreover he called on Percy Cox to repress it ⁴.

عد للمراق واصلح منه ما فسدا واثبت العدل وامنح أهله الرشدا

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 Hāfiẓ 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. Al-Hilāl (1972) 11, 38

ب وأنبل الأقسام غايته	أنتم أطباء الشعوب
د لكم من الإصلاح آياته	أنس حللتهم في البسلا
فوق الروية والهداياته	رسخت بنساية مجدكم
نيسا وفي المعدل الكفايته	وعدلتهم فملكتم السد

1

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.

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 ¹. Al-Ruṣāfī, 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-Raḥmān Al-Gaylānī was formed, under the control of the British authority, it was called the national government or the government of the mandate. Al-Ruṣāfī, believing that it was acting on behalf of the mandate, ironically welcomed its formation, in his poem Ghādat al-Intidāb he described it as a beautiful damsel, wearing a wonderful clothes made in England, with a false crown on her head.

واسمع الى الأمر العجيب العجائب	دع مزج اللوم واخل العتاب
تضحك بل تدعو الى الانتحاب	من قصة وا قصة غصة
يوما فتاة من ذوات الحجاب	في الكرخ من بغداد مرت بنا
وكفها مشبعة بالخضاب	لبتها موقرة بالحلى
عنا ظلام من سواد النقاب	ووجهها يطمس سخنا

1. Longrigg, S.H. and Stoakes, F., 83

مشية احدى المومسات القحاب
 وكل ما يصدر منها خلاب
 يلمع في الظاهر لتمع الشهاب
 وهو اذا حققته من سخاب
 موشية الثوب بوشي كذاب
 في أنها من معمل الانتخاب
 منسوجة في منسج الاغتصاب
 وكل ما يدعوا الى الارتياح
 من هذه الغادة ذات الحجاب؟
 حكومة جاد بها الانتداب
 وما سوى (جنبول) تحت الثياب
 والويل في باطنها والعذاب
 يا رب ما أفضح هذا المصلح
 نحو على الأروس كل الترايح

تمشي المرضي فسي جلابيها
 تختلب الناس بأوضاعها
 قد وضعت تاجا على رأسها
 يحسب من درر بتمويهها
 كاسية الجسم أرق الكسي
 قد غولط الناس بأثوابها
 وهي لممرى دون ما ريبها
 فالغشفي لحتها والسدى
 قال جليسي يوم مرت بنا
 قلت له تلك لأوطاننا
 تحسبها حسنا من زينها
 ظاهرها فيه لنا رحمة
 مصابنا أمس فظيما بها
 تالله قد حق لنا أننا

2,376-378

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
 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 Iraq¹. 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 Hukūmat al-Intidāb, al-Rusāfī put this before the people.

علم و دستور و مجلس أمة	كل عن المعنى الصحيح محرف
أسماء ليس لنا سوى ألفاظها	أما معانيها فليست تعرف
من يقرأ الدستور يعلم أنه	وقال لك الانتداب مصنف
من ينظر العلم المرفرف يلقه	في عز غير بني البلاد يرفرف
من يأت مجلسنا يصدق أنه	لمراد غير الناخبين مؤلف
من يأت مطرد الوزارة يلفها	بقيود أهل الاستشارة ترسرف

2,404

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. 'Aziz, 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.

كَمَا تَمَوَّهَ لِلوَرَى وَتَزَخَّرَفُ	أَفْهَكَذَا تَبْقَى الْحُكُومَةُ عِنْدِنَا
كَالطَّبْلِ يَكْبُرُ وَهُوَ خَالٌ أَجُوفٌ	كَثُرَتْ "دَوَائِرُهَا" وَ قَلَّ فِعَالُهَا
عَمِلَ بِمَنْفَعَةِ الْمَوَاطِنِ مَجْحُفٌ	كَمْ سَاءَ نَا مِنْهَا وَمِنْ وَزَرَائِهَا
تَجْتَنِحُ أَمْوَالَ الْبِلَادِ وَتَتَلَفُ	تَشْكُو الْبِلَادَ سِيَاسَةَ مَالِيَّةِ
فِي غَيْرِ مَنْفَعَةِ الرِّعْيَةِ تَصْرَفُ	تَجْبِي ضَرَائِبَهَا الثَّقَالَ وَانْمَا
أَمَّا عَلَى الدِّخْلَاءِ فَهِيَ تَخْفَفُ	حَكْمَتٌ مُشَدَّدَةٌ عَلَيْنَا حَكْمَهَا
كَادَتْ لِفَرْطِ حَيَاتِهَا تَتَقَصَّفُ	هَذِي كِرَاسِي الْوِزَارَةِ تَحْتَكُمُ
كُلَّ بِسُلْطَتِهِ عَلَيْكُمْ مَشْرِفُ	أَنْتُمْ عَلَيْهَا وَالْأَجَانِبُ فَوْقَكُمْ
فَرِحَا عَلَى الْكُرْسِيِّ وَهُوَ مَكْتَفٌ ؟	أَيَعِدُ فَخْرًا لِلْوِزِيرِ جُلُوسَهُ

2,404-405

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-Ruṣāfī also attacked King Faysal the First, who was crowned King of Iraq on 23 August, 1921, by the Cairo Conference¹. Al-Ruṣāfī believed that he was acting entirely in the British interest. He claimed that he was imposed as King, with British support.

لها غير سيف التيميين عاصبا	لهم ملك تأبى عصابة رأسه
وقد ساء لهم من حيث أسر الأجانبا	لقد عاش في عز بحيث أذلهم
يعدد أياما ويقبض راتبها	وليس له من أمرهم غير أنه
ولا كان في يوم له الشعب ناخبا	تبوا عرش الملك لا بحسامه
فكانت علينا من شواظ سحائبها	ولكن بطيئات قوم تطايرت

1

They have a king^{who} refuses 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-Sahartī, M.Ā., 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-Ruṣāfi's idea regarding kings in general is summed up in the following two verses:

عجبت للناس في الدنيا فحالتهم	مع الملوك صريح العقل يجدها
ان الملوك لكالأصنام مائلمة	الناس تنحتها والناس تعبد هلا

2,540

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 king¹. For this

1. Izzeddin, N., 191

reason al-Ruṣāfi regarded him the real King in the country.

في الجانب الشرقيّ من بغداد ملك عن الزوار غير محجب
والجانب الغربيّ فيه مفوض فوق الحكومة لندنيّ المنصب
والأمريين كليهما متردد والناس بين مشرق ومغرب

1

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 ².

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 ³. For the common people of Iraq it was a step towards full independence ⁴.

1. Al-Wā'iz, 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 Rupee¹, there were three million Indians in Iraq², and the only arms were carried by Indian and British troops.

<p>وأوطان وليس لها حدود³ ومملكة وليس لها نقود³ تعلق في الديار لنا البنود الى ما الأجنبي به وجود وأما ابن البلاد فلا يسود وأشرف من بني قومي الهندود تراهم سادة وهم العبيد على أبناء جلدتهم أسود وان كتبت لنا منهم عهدود وكيف يعاهد الخرفان سيد وما كتبوه من عهد قيود لما رضيت قرابتنا القروود</p>	<p>لنا ملك وليس له رعايا وأجناد وليس لهم سلاح أيكفينا من الدولات أناس وانا بعد ذلك في افتقار تجوز سيادة الهندي فينا اذن فالهند أشرف من بلادى وكم عند الحكومة من رجال كلاب للأجانب هم ولكن وليس الانكليز بمنقذينا متى شفق القوى على ضعيف ولكن نحن في يدهم أسارى أما والله لو كنا قروودا</p>
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2,399

1. Longrigg, S.H., 140

2. Izzeddin, N., 212

3. The two verses above are not published in his Diwān. See al-Sahartī, M.A., 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 ¹. Consequently Percy Cox banned the Shi'ite political parties, Hizb al Nahda and al-Hizb al-Watani, and exiled their chiefs al-Khālīsī and Muḥammad al-Ṣadr to Iran ². Al-Ruṣāfī attacked Hizb al-Hurr, which was also known as Hizb al-Hurr al-Mu'tadil, over this.

هل أنت من بعد نفي القوم معتدل	قولوا لحزب تسمى الحر معتدلا
عيناك أم أنت فرح جـذ ل	وهل لما حل بالحزبين باكية
وانما أنت للحكام متمسل	تالله ما أنت حـرفي مطالبة

2,544

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-Raḥmān al-Naqīb, the prime minister. In the following verses, al-Ruṣāfī 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

قال ذو الحزب از أناه مقالي نحن لسنا بما يقال نبالي
 صادق في الذي ادعاه وأنسى يألّم الميت من جرح النصال
 انما تجزع الكرام من الذمّ وتخشى الأمجاد لذع المقال

2,545

The leader of al-Hizb 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 succinetly expressed:

ان الوزارة "لا أبالك" عندنا ثوب يفصل في معامل لندننا
 لا يرتديه سوى امرى أضحى له طبعا و داد الانكليز و ديدنا

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-Ruṣāfī 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-Riḥānī, written on the occasion of a reception for al-Riḥānī

in Baghdad in 1923.

من أين يرجى للعراق تقدّم
لا خير في وطن يكون السيف عند
والرأى عند طريده والعلم عند
وسبيل ممتلكيه غير سبيلسه
د جبانه ، والمال عند بخيلسه
د غريبه ، والحكم عند دخيلسه

2,318

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, 'Adb 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-Ruṣāfī 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.

يا أهل لندن، ما أرضت سياستكم
ان اتدابكم في قلب موطننا
أهل العراقيين لا بدوا ولا حضرا
جرح نداويه لكن لم يزل غبيرا

تخيف صورته الأشباح والصورا
 للغش خلف ستار النصح مستترا
 حتى غدا يقتل الآراء والفكر
 وان رأى فتنة مشبوهة نعر
 وكم بذور من التفريق قد بذرا
 نزداد منها على أوطاننا خطرا
 حتى اذا ما مسنا عودها انكسرا
 كأنما نحن منكم ننقر الحجر
 عن مين من مان أو عن غدر من غدرا
 لا فخر للصقر في أن يقتل النغرا
 فكم ذبابة غاب أزعجت نمر

وللمشورة في أوطاننا شبح
 يجول في طرقات البني محتقبا
 لم يكفه أنه للحكم منتصب
 اذا رأى نهضة للمجد أقعدهما
 فكم ضغائن بين القوم أوجدها
 في كل يوم لنا معكم معاهده
 جفت بها سرحة استقلالنا عطشا
 تقسوقلوبكم لما نفاوضكم
 أما مواعيدكم فهي التي انكشفت
 لا تفخروا ان كسرتم غرب شوكتنا
 لا تستهينوا بنا من ضعف قوتنا

2,71-73

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-Sa'dūm, he urged the nation to revolt in order to gain their full independence.

بذلك لاستقلالنا سنة سنّا	فيا بطلا بالنفس ضحى وانما
على كل قوم حاولوا شرف المغنى	فعلّمنا أن التفادى واجب
بصادق عزم ينكر الضعف والوهنا	سنسعى الى ما قد سمعت من العلى
اذا أنكر استقلالنا منكر ثرنا	وانّا لقوم مستقلون فطرة
ولسنا بحكام أبينا بها السكى	فلو جعلت تبرا سبيكا بيوتنا
نصلّب في الأعواد أوندخل السجنا	يهون علينا في السياسة أننا
أعشنا على وجه البسيطة أم متنا	ولسنا نبالي دون احياء مجدنا

2,80-81

O, 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.

ماذا ستفعله من بعدك الوزير ا	فسوف تحمدك الاوطان شاكرة
أم هم سيقضون من مطلوبك الوطر ا	أيتركون الذى قد كنت تطلبه
وليس يقبل عذرا من اعتذرا	فالشعب منهم يريد ما أردت له

2,75

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'dūm, 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, Nūrī al-Sa'īd, the British High Commissioner and Foreign Minister, signed a new treaty between Iraq and Britain ¹. Although this treaty reaffirmed British intentions to support Iraq's admission to the League of Nations in 1932, it was firecly attacked by nationalistic Iraqi elements. It was full of harsh conditions giving Britain extensive rights in Iraq ², which represented a considerable impediment to Iraq's attainment of full independence. Al-Ruṣāfī 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.

قيد يعرض بأرجل الآمال	نشروا المعاهدة التي في طيها
لكن موهة بالاستقلال	قد أبلعنونا حبة استعبادنا
كالمهد بين الشاة والرثيال	والعهد بين الانكليز وبيننا
بتودد حملا من الأحمال	من ذا رأى ذهب الذئاب مصافحا
فاستوثقوا منهم بالأفقال	لكنهم خافوا انفكاك قيودنا
وضعوا بها قفلا على الأغلال	كتبوا لنا تلك العهود وانما
حلت عليهم لعنة الأجيال	شلت أكف موقعيها انهم
أفيا منون تقلب الأحوال	هب أنهم أمسوا انفكاك قيودنا

2, 523-524

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, 1932¹, al-Ruṣāfi was still agitating for a revolt. He did not believe that the British were acting in good faith.

1. Davis, H.M., 149

ولكن على وجه لنا معبد
 قيودا بها استقلالنا يتقيد
 به ساخر كل امرئ ومندد
 يجرد للارهاب طورا و يغمد
 على أنه في الحكم لفظ مجرد
 اذا لم يكن في حكمه يتفرد
 عليه رجال خائون وأيدوا

تبدلتم استقلالنا بانتدابكم
 خلقتم لنا من كل عهد موه
 الى أن غدا استقلالنا ضحكة الوري
 وصار سيف قاطع في أكتفكم
 غررتم به الأعرار والله شاهد
 وهل يستقل الشعب في حكم نفسه
 فما هو الا المين فيكم أعانكم

2,421

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.

سل الانكليزي الذي لم يزل له
 أنت وزيراً عميد وزارة
 فهل أنت ملقاة اليك أمورنا
 وتأخذ منا راتباً كموظف
 أنحمل منك اليوم عبء تحكّم
 وما شأن ذيك السفير الذي له
 بدست وزير الداخلية مقعد
 نراك اليها كل يوم تردد
 تحل لنا ما شئت منها وتعقد
 وهذا لعمر الله أنكى وأنكد
 وندفع فيه الأجر منا وتنقصد
 على الجانب الغربي قصر مشيد

2,420-421

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-Ruṣāfī'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.

<p>كأزيز القدر في الفوران مستفيض على ظلام الأمان شفقا من ضيائه الأرجواني ر انقلابا يعم كل مكان ويلوح القاصي به وهو دان ويكون المهان غير مهان ق ويمسي الظلوم في خسران من عداة العيوق والدبران ض علينا بمدله والحنان وتضي البلاد بالعمران</p>	<p>نسمع اليوم للخطوب أزيزا انني مبصر تباشير صبح ليس تلك الدماء في الحرب إلا انني استشف من غير الده سيلوح الداني به وهو قاص ويكون المعز غير معز وسيفدو الضعيف محترم الحد والثريا ستعتلي في أمان يتجلّى رب السموات والأر فييو "المستعمرون" بخسر</p>
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2,434-435

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.

م اذا ما تم انقلاب الزمان
من جديديه مقلتي يقظان
واستخفوا بحفظه في حواني
واستغلوا دفائن الاوطان
لاحتشاد الجنود والطيران
ن فسادا في سوحها والمانسي
هم بها آخذون بالسكان
ن بزعم من عندهم وامتنان
ناطقات من امركم بلسان
ليس هذا لكم سوى احسان

معشر العرب أين أنتم من القو
أنيام والدهر يفتح فيكم
نقض القوم عهدكم قبل هذا
واستهانوا بالوعد ان أخلفوه
وأقاموا بها قواعد جو
ثم بثوا بها العيون يعيشو
ثم ساروا بحكمها سير فلك
كل هذا وأنتم مستقلو
قيدوكم لنفمهم بمهود
أوثقوكم بها اسارا و قالوا

كعهد الذئاب للحملان
أنفنا من مسيهم بهوان
حزبهم بالمشطّب الهندواني
في جيوشنا لها الخاققان
كالذى كان دونه القمران
عاليا لا يحله المتواني

ليس تلك اليهوديا قوم ا لا
أفلا تذكرون في أوليكم
يوم ساروا والعز فيهم يماشي
وتعمالت راياتهم خاقتات
فانهضوا القوم مستجدين مجدا
ان للمجد في المساعي محلا

2,435-437

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, Yā banī al-Rāfidayn, to
the people of Iraq; urging them to seize this opportunity. It is
not published in his Dīwān.

يا بني الرافدين مالي اراكم	في اباطيل كلكم مبغضوها
فعل الانكليز فيكم فعلا لا	قد رضوها لكم ولم ترتضوها
تشككون في السياسة منها	ثم انتم تآبون ان ترفضوها
وعدوكم من قبل ملكة	العرب اجتلوها باليمين وافترضوها
قبلة زخرفت لكم بالاماني	هم بنوها لكم وهم قوضوها
حركوا للقتال فيكم عروقا	بسا كاذيب وعدهم انبضوها
يوم هجتم على ذويكم بضرب	بسيوف ما جاز ان تنتضوها
فلما لا تنقضون عهدا	بمهود هم قبلكم نقضوها

People of al-Rāfidayn, 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-Sa'īd, the Prime Minister, was replaced by
Rashīd 'Alī al-Gaylānī, a man hostile to the British. Al-Gaylānī and
his military group, known as the Golden Square ¹, 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-Ruṣāfī 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 ². This, too,

1. Arberry, A.J. and Landau, R., 58

2. Al-Wā'iz, R., 188-189

is not published in his *Dīwān*.

<p>وتطربني بالحمد منك الألسنا از قام فيك على البلاد مهيمننا لزعيمه العالي الرشيد مذعنا بالله والنصر الموزر مؤمننا كزعيمه حب المواطن ديدنا بالجيش للعز المجلل بالسنا بالأسم والهيم الرفيعة والكنسى الا ذرى العز الموثل مسكننا وتغياً والشرف الشهي المجتمى أعلى المفاخر بالصوارم والقنا</p>	<p>اليوم قرى يا مواطن أعيننا فلقد وفك الجيش حقك سابغنا وسعى يحوطك بالصوارم طائعا جيش اذا اقتحم المخاطر واثقا متوشحا عز الشهامة جاعلا سرياً زعيم الشعب غير منازع وأعد لنا عهد الرشيد وحاكه اننا لمن قوم أبت أحسابهم غرسوا الفخار على مسيل دماهم وفوا المواطن حقها وتسوموا</p>
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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 its chief Rashīd 'Alī.

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-Rashīd; 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 primeminister, Nūrī al-Sa'īd the regent, 'Abd al-Ilāh, and two members of the cabinet, 'Alī Jawdat al-Ayyūbī, and Jamīl al-Madfa'ī, who had all escaped to TransJordan¹.

كفروا بأنعمها وهم أبناءؤها	فلذلك بساءوا بالفضيحة في الدنيا
نشأوا بها مثل العقارب دأبها	نفث السموم فمن هناك ومن هنا
وغدوا لهم عوناً علينا ظاهراً	يتحينون لنا الشقاق تحيناً
تركوا مواطنهم تنسوا بمبئهم	وتقولوا بالمين عنها والخنس
فليرجفوا بعد النزوح فما هم	إلا الذباب قد استطار مططننا
وليخسأوا إن البلاد جميعها	تقفو الزعيم وترتضيه مهيمنا
تباً لمن قد خان عرش مليكه	وبني أبيه ونفسه والموطننا

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.

نوحى على المجد التليد يا نفس والحكم الرشيد
 نوحى على أبطاله وكمالاته الغر الاسود
 عصفت بهم ريح الطفاعة وهدم حكم السعيد
 قال السفير وما لكم يا قوم بالجيش العديد
 يكفيكم جيش الهند وهل أبر من الهندود
 سن الذباب تراه يزخر بالفيالق والبنود
 فلكموا وناموا واستريحوا من عنا الجيش الشديد
 يا (كورنوالس) قد نطق الحق في عصر الجمود
 ليس العراق بأمة تنسى على الماضي المجيد
 وشبابه لا يصلحون لغير تلوين الخدود

لو كان في هذى المواطن من يضحى بالوجوه
لرأيت وادى الرافدين يمس في بـرد جديد

(1)

Weep, O my soul, for inherited glory and the
rightly guided rule.

Weep for its noble, brave and lion-like heroes.

The wind of the appressors has carried them away,
and al-Sa'id's rule has destroyed them.

The (British) ambassador said:

Why do you need a large army, O people?

The Indian army is enough for you; are there any
people more faithful than the Indians?

You see Sin al Dhubāb (the British Camp) overflowing
with army corps and flags.

So, eat and sleep and take rest from the troubles
of a strong army.

O, 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-Rāfidayn walk
proudly in a new garment.

On this sad occasion, he also attacked Nūrī al-Sa'id constant

ally of the British and the regent, threatening that one day Iraq would be free of their treacherous rule.

قل لي بربك ياسعيد ولست بالرجل السعيد
 ممن للمراق يصوننه من كل جبارعنيـد
 جرّدته ممن أسده فندا العرين بلا اسود
 لكم ممن الأيام يوم يستجير به قصيـدى
 لنن يخذل الله المراق وان غدا ملهى القـرود

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

وزوجها الانكليسي	زفت الينا المروس
فيه الشقا والنحوس	زفت الينا زفافا
والعرس حرب ضروس	المهر منّا دما *
وكم أضيعت نفوس	كم مزقت حرّمات
من المنايا كـوس	وكم اديرت علينا
بالعمل تلك العروس	وكل هذا لتحظي
يوم كـريه عبوس	يوم المروس لعمرى

2,242

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-Ḡaylānī's four confederates Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Ṣabbāgh, Muḥammad Salmān, Kāmil Shabīb, and Fahmī Sa'īd¹. They all were executed in Baghdad, and al-Rusāfī bitterly mourned them

1. Al-Ta'rikh al-Hadīth.,54

in his elegy al-Ufūl al-Mushriq.

<p>ثم دسّوا جسومكم في الرموس أن تكونوا في ربة الانكليس خاليات القرون في ابليس</p>	<p>شنقوكم ليلا على غير مهمل شنقوكم لأنكم قد أبيتم فاستحقوا اللعن الذي كررته</p>
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1,770-771

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-Ruṣāfī 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.

<p>سؤالاً له أرجو الجواب تفضلاً فلم يخش فيه الحر أن يتقوا لا تخيلت فيلا بالحديد مكبلاً فيضي بأعباء الأجانب مثقلاً له أنه من ثقل ما قد تحملاً فيضي على رغم القيود مهرو لا تكون له ، لو شاء من ذاك موثلاً</p>	<p>اليك زعيم الهند أورد ههنا فنحن هنا في مجلس ذي أمانة إذا ما سمعت الهند في قول قائل تزجيه كفاً الأجنبي مسخراً ويبيرك أحياناً على الأرض رازحاً وينخس أحياناً فتعلوه رجفة واني أظن الغيل صاحب قوة</p>
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فلوقام هذا الفيل واستجمع القوى
 ولو لم تكن بالفيل عندي علاقة
 لنا حمل وهو العراق نظنه
 فان ينج هذا الفيل من قيد أسره
 فان لم يكن هذا صحيحا فما الذي
 ومن بعد هذا يا محمد انسي
 لهز بها شم الجبال وقلقلا
 لما رمت عن هذا جوابا مفضلا
 غدا من وراء الفيل للذئب مأكلا
 نجونا والآن أصبح الأمر معضلا
 ترون سوى هذا عليه المعمولا ؟
 أحبيك باسم الناهضين الى الملا

2,379-380

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 ^{forces} ~~drives~~ ^{on} 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, Muhammad, 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 ¹. 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.

إذا ما الشعب كان أسير فقرر
أصبح في سياسته طليقا
فما تجدى السياسة و الحماسه
أسير أوجب الفقر احتباسه ؟

2,686

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.

لوجعلنا كل شىء وطنيا
ولمشنا اليوم في أوطاننا
لقطفنا ثمر المجد جنيا
مستقلين بها عيشا رخييا

1. Wilson, A.T. Loyalties Mesopotamia (1914-1917), 154

2,521

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-Bārūdī established in Damascus Sharikat al-Mansūjāt al-Waṭaniyya, al-Ruṣāfī wrote in his poem Fī Sabīl al-Waṭaniyya.

<p>في حالتى عدم له ووجود لا يستقل بنقده المنقود وجب انحلال لوائه المعقود وسواه منها قاطف المنقود مما زرعتم حب كل حصيد وتنبهوا من غفلة ورقود فليسع سعي معزها البارود ي</p>	<p>ان السيادة تستدير مع الغنى لا يستقل بسيفه الشعب الذى من كان محلول المعرى في ماله يا قومنا انتم كفارس كرمة كم تزرعون بأرضكم ولغيركم فتبصروا يا قوم في أحوالكم من شاء منكم أن يعزب لاده</p>
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1,244-245

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, O people, consider your condition and awake
from your sleep.

Any of you who wants to honour his country should
do like al-Bārūdī, who honoured it.

He also supported Ṭalʿat Ḥarb, the economic chief of Egypt,
when he visited Iraq in 1936 with an Egyptian delegation. In his
poem Wafd Miṣr al-Shaḳīqa¹, he detailed the good results of Ṭalʿat's
efforts in this direction, his establishment of the Bank Miṣr and its
various branches in Egypt, and his setting up of many factories in al-
Maḥalla al-Kubra.

He also supported al-Sīnamā al-Waṭani², which was opened in
Baghdad, encouraged the people to go to it instead of to foreign films.

Despite al-Ruṣāfi'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 assistance³. 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

رويدا فان رمت من الشعب ودد ه
 وكونوا له عوننا على ما يهـمه
 فخلّوا له الأمر الذي يتقلّد
 يكن لكم عوننا على ما يهـمّد
 والا فأنتم ظالمون وانما
 أخو الظلم مأخوذ بما يتعمد

2,422

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'dūn Mīṭat
al-Bāṭal al-Akbar, Manẓar al-Rāfidayn.

هذي البلاد اغرسوا فيها هود تكم
 نكن لكم حلف صدق في سياستكم
 ثم اقطفوا من جناها وددنا ثمرا
 نمشي الى الموت من جرائمكم زمرا
 لسنا بقوم اذا ما عاهدوا نكوا
 ولا نحالف أحلّا فخذلهم
 ولو لبسنا المنيا دونهم أزرنا
 ونحن أرفعهم في المكرمات ذرنا
 فنحن أوفى الوري بالعهد شنشنة

2,73

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-Ruṣāfi's *Dīwān*, once in 1929, after the death of al-Sa'dūm 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 'Abduh (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-Ruṣāfi 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 يخلع أثواب الخمول ولا نوابه يلبسون الصدق قمصانا

1,796

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-Ruṣāfī was a propotient of peace, pointing out the bad effects of wars on society.

دارت لتغتصب الحقوق ألا لا	قالوا كرهت الحرب قلت لأنهم
أبدا لهم سوى الخمر مشا لا	وأجلت فكري في الحروب فلم أجد
ورست مآثمها الكبار جبا لا	طاشت منافعها الصفار عن السورى
تحسو النفوس وتأكل الأموا لا	ما أجشع الحرب الضروس فانها
ويل الدماء فزادها امحا لا	كم سحّكم سحّ زهج الحروب على الرى
منها لأبقت الرى ابقا لا	لولا الحروب ومحرقات صواعق

2,204-205

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 Ṭahā Ḥusayn, believed that war had a great role in the advance of any country. Ḥusayn had a long argument on this subject with Ḥusayn Haykal, in the Egyptian paper, al-Sufur in 1915¹. Al-Ruṣāfī rejected this, insisting that knowledge was the basis of any advance.

ان جرت الحرب الكمال لامة
ان الحياة كيرة أعمالها
فالعلم أحرى أن يجركمالا
فدعوا الانام و حاربوا الأعمال

2,205

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.

والحرب أغنت أناسا غنية عجيبا
ومعشرا أسكنتهم في الذرى غرفا
وآخرين رمتهم بالمجاليس
ومعشرا بطن ملحود ومضروح

1,592

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. Mubarak, Z. Al-Hilāl (1939) 1, 71

In his view, wars were inhumane phenomena which had no place in modern civilization.

<p>لديكم على غير الخديعة والكذب أمن ذلكم قتل النفوس بلا ذنب على الأرض والجرحى يئنون في الحرب ويخجلكم شنّ الاغارة للغصب بأغظية قدّت من الحجر الصلب تقدّ لها الأوداج بالصارم العضب</p>	<p>أيا زعماء الغرب هل من دلالة تقولون ان العصر عصر تمدن ألم تبصروا القتل تميح دماءها أفي الحق أم في العلم ألا يسوءكم وهل أغلفت هذى العلوم قلوبكم كذبتم فان العصر عصر مطامع</p>
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2,448

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.

<p>تحصل شرّ ثالث و تولد مديد و صار الشرفي الناس سرهدا سوى أن يظل السيف في الغمد مغهدا أشار الى أسيفه متهددا</p>	<p>إذا دفع الشر القبيح بمثله وأمت دواعي الشر ذات تسلسل فما الرأي عندي أن تمضت الوغى وأن تجمع الدنيا على رد طامع</p>
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1,219-220

If one evil action is repelled by another evil action a third evil action will be created;

The causes of evil follow in succession and the evil becomes eternal among people.

So, I believe that when war is stirred up, swords should remain in their sheaths,

And that the whole world should join to oppose the ambitious who point threateningly to their swords.

He stated that wars occurred as a result of the political and personal ambitions of rulers.

<p>باسم السياسة تستجيش قتالا كانوا على طلب الوفاق عيالا بعضا ليدرك غيرنا الآمالا قتلوا الرجال و يتّموا الأطفالا</p>	<p>في كل يوم للمطامع ثورة ما ضرّ من ساسوا البلاد لوأنهم أمن السياسة أن يقتل بعضهم لا دردرّ أولي السياسة انهم</p>
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2,203-204

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, Iqāz 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 Sa'ūd in 1901¹. 'Abd al-Hamīd II sent a large number of soldiers to help his ally². 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 Sanghāfūra, he referred to the war between Britain and Japan, believing that their rulers imposed this war upon the nations, who were against it.

وَجِنُوا فِي تَنَاحِرِهِمْ جَنُونَا	لَقَدْ خَرَّبُوا الْبِلَادَ وَدَوَّخَوْهَا
فَأَوْقَدَ نَارَهَا الْمُرْتَسُونَا	وَلَمْ تَرُدَّ الشُّعُوبَ لَهَا اتِّقَادَا
أُولَاكُ هُمُ الْبَغَاةُ الطَّامِعُونَا	أُولَاكُ هُمُ الْجَنَاةُ بِهَا عَلِينَا

2,427

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.

سفيها لمطمع طامع وضلالا	أمن العروءة أن نريق دماءنا
يوما وهل مني لقيت نكالا	هل كنت من قبل اللقاء رأيتني
أم هل خربت بحيتهم آبالا	أم هل طرقت خيام قومك جانبا
مما يجر خصومة وجدا لا	ماذا جرى بيني وبينك قبل ذا
ضربا يقطع مني الأوصالا	حتى شهرت علي سيفك تبتغي
زحفوا جنونا للوفى وخبالا	فاريا بنفسك أن تكون من الألي

2,209

Is it from manliness that we shed our blood
stupidly and vainly for the ambition of the ambitions?

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.

حقا وكل حقيقة تتمالسي	فرأى الكبيّ مقالَه متماليا
سيفا أجادته القيون صقلا لا	فعلنا وأذعن للحقيقة مغمدا
رح بالأمان فلا لقيت وبلا لا	ولسوى العنان من المطهم قائللا
زادا تعلق بالسموط مثالا لا	فمشى إليه أبو دلامة مخرجا
أكرم أخاك بوقفة امهالا لا	ودعاء يابن ولي المكارم راشدا
في ذا الشواء ألا تحبّ اكالا لا	اني لأرجو أن تكون موأكلسي
وهما على فرسيهما اقبالا لا	فتدانيا متخالفين وأقبالا لا
بعد الوداع ووليا الأكلالا لا	حتى اذا أكلا شواء أدبرا

2,210-211

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.

والمهر يجفل تحته اجفلا لا	رجما فسارأبودلامة طافرا
كسب ترجل دونه اجلا لا	حتى اذا وافى الأمير وقام عن
اني كفيتك قرني الرثيلا لا	وغدا يقول وكان روح ضاحكا
والحرب أحرى أن تكون مقالا لا	وقتلته بالقول لا بمهندي
ألا يمود ينال الأبطالا لا	وأخذت في الهيجا عليه موثقا

2,211

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 Waylāt al-Ḥarb, which was written during the First World War, is also a plea for peace ¹.

In his unpublished book al-Shakhsiyya al-Muhammadiyya, written between 1933-1941, he is said to claim, in the section 'Ibra Lī Ahl al-ʿAsr', 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-Ashhur al-Hurum, while the West with all its power and its continual peace conferences was unable to stop war even for one day ². 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.1., 587
2. 'Alī, M., Al-Ruṣāfī., 264

strong army.

نحن لا نقصد الحروب ولكن
أرايتم ملكا بغير جنود
نبتغي الذود عن تراث الجدود
انما الملك قائما بالجنود

2,360

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 Yazidīs, north of Mosul who engaged the government in a war over this in 1935¹. At the same time, a military school was founded in Baghdad. Al-Ruṣāfī loyally encouraged the young men of Iraq to volunteer for this school.

أيها القوم ما لكم في جمود
كلما قد هززتكم لنهوض
طال عتبي على الحوادث فيكم
فمتى سعيكم وماذا التواني
أنا غريد شاردات القوافي
كنت قبلا أثني عليكم لأنني
فانتقوا اليوم صولة من يراع
أيها القوم نحن في عصر علم
جعل الحرب تدرس اليوم فنتا
ان للعلم في حروب بني العص
از بدا بأسه الأشد فأنسى

أوما يستفزكم تغنيدي
عدت منكم بقسوة الجلمود
مثما طال مطلبها بالوعود
والى كم أحكم بالنشيد
أفلم يشجكم بها تغريدي
أبتغي الحث بالثناء الحميد
واقف في مواقف التنديد
جعل الحرب في طراز جديد
مغنيا عن شجاعة الصنديد
ر لبأسا يفوق بأس الحديد
كل يأس من الحديد شديد

1. Al-Hasanī, 'A.R., 98

أيها القوم فادخلوا المسجد الحر بي طوعا وانضوا ثياب الجمود
 واستعدوا لرد كل عدو أنكر الحق ناقضا للمهود
 وأعزوا الملك الذي نبتغيه بجنود مبشوشة في الحدود
 قد دعتمكم أوطانكم فأجيبوا دعوة الآمرين بالتجنيد

2,358-360

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
 just as they have for a long time postponed fulfilment
 that have happened to you, of their promises.

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.

O 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.

O 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 ¹. 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 ² and was adopted by Ataturk later ³. Turkish literature and journalism both began to recall ancient Turkish glories ⁴, and the highly respected Turkish paper Iqdām glorified the Turks at the expense of the Arabs. ⁵ 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

آها فآها على ما كان من شرف
 أيام كانوا وشمل المجد مجتمع
 كانوا أجلّ الورى عزّا ومقدرة
 وأربط الناس جأشا في موافقة
 قوم اذا فاجأتهم غمة بدروا
 على الحصافة قد لبثت عمائمهم
 قضاوا أعاريب أقحاحا وأعقبهم
 جار الزمان عليهم في تقلبته
 دبّ التباغض في أحشائهم مرضا
 فأصبح الذل يمشي بين أظهرهم
 لليعربيين قد ألقى به القدم
 والشعب ملتئم والملك منتظم
 اذا الخطوب بحبل البغي تحتزم
 من شدة الرعب فيها ترجف اللمم
 وأوفزتهم الى تكشيفها الهمم
 وبالحرزامة شدت منهم الحزم
 خلف هم اليوم لا عرب ولا عجم
 حتى تبدلت الأخلاق والشيم
 به انبرت أعظم منهم وجف دم
 مشي الأمير وهم من حوله خدم

2,259-261

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-Ruṣāfī openly demanded Arab unity, trying to convince all Arabs that without it no success could be achieved.

فقد بسدا الصبح وانجابت دجا الخطر	يا أيها العرب هبوا من رقادكم
والعود ليس له صوت بلا وتر	كيف النجاح وأنتم لا اتفاق لكم
يا أكر الناس عدا غير منحصر	ما لي أراكم أقل الناس مقدره

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.

رجاء اتحاد في طريق سياسة	نعم مراميهما بني يعرب طرا
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2,298

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.

ألا نهضة علمية عربية فتتعرش أرواح بها وبقول

2,251

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 nahjaha, written in 1929.

ثم انهجوا في بلاد العرب أجمعها نهجا على وحدة التعليم مشتملا
حتى اذا ما انتدبنا العرب قاطبة كنا كأننا انتدبنا واحدا رجلا

1,245

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.

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, Fī Tariqī ila Halab.

أقصد منه حلبا فيمن قصد	جئت الى الدير ضحي يوم الأحد
تطلب تصديق جوازي في الصد	فاعترضتني شرطة ذات رصدد
حتى ثيابي فتشوها والجسد	أقار كالقاتل قيد للقود
ما أنا ممن جرّ جرمًا فشرد	كأنني سارق مال مفتقد
كلّا ولست جانبا على أحد	ولست ممن سيم حقًا فجدد
والحكم قد جار عليهم واستبد	لكنما الأمر لديهم قد فسدد
عنهم، وأما سعدهم فقد خمد	فالقوم: أما حظهم فقد رقد
وقد أضعوا مجدهم الى الأبد	منهم، وأما نحسهم فقد وقدد
	وقد وقد ، وقد وقد ، وقد وقد

2,400-402

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 committ 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!

Al-Ruṣāfī says regarding this division:

فنحن على الحقيقة أهل قرى
وان قضت السياسة بالبعاد

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.

يقرَّبها حوران عينا و لبنان	ستنهض للمجد المخلد نهضة
وتهتز من أرض العراقين بغداد	وتعتز من أرض الشام دمشقها
وترتاح في البيت المحرم أركان	وتطرب في البيت المقدس صخرة
فيحمدها مفت ويشكرها مطران	وتحسن للمرب الكرام عواقب

1,370-371

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 Mufty and Archbishop.

Before 1912, al-Ruṣāfi 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-Iqlimi (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-Misri ⁴ was again strong among such writers as Amin al-Khūli, Sallāma Mūsa and Abū Shādī. This trend was not appreciated

1. Loghat el.- Arab (1927) 8, 492
2. Loghat el-Arab (1928) 5, 382
3. Al-Naqqāsh, R. Al-Hilāl (1968) 5, 118
4. Mubarak, Z. Al-Hilāl (1939) 5, 129-131

elsewhere in the Arab World, as it was felt to be contrary to the tendency towards Arab unity ¹. Al-Ruṣāfī strongly attacked this partiality in literature.

من جور مصر على العروبة أنها	تعمد التصير في آدابها
وتحيد عن آداب كل قبيلة	لم تنتحلها مصر في أنسابها
فالشاعر المصري فيها فاضل	وسواء مفضل وان يك نابها
وكانما أمست مواهب رينا	مقصورة فيها على كتابها
هذا لعمر الله جور عده	من فرط ضلتها أولوالبابها
آداب كل معاشر كعلومهم	من فرط ضلتها أولوالبابها
للعلم والآداب في كل الوري	لجلت عن الأوطان في استنسابها

1,474-475

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-Sharqāwī, 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 Bahī al-‘Urūba, which is not published in his Dīwān.

الى متى نحن نشكوا صولة النوب
وقد لعمري انقلبنا شر منقلب
حق لكم بيد الأعداء مغتصب
فنشوة الخمر لا تغني عن العنوب
واستمعوا باتحاد محكم السبب
أعداءهم قددا في قبضة الرهب
فانه بسوى ما قلت لم يجيب
اذ فل جيش العدا بالقتل والهرب
بقتل (رستم) رب العسكر اللجب
من أفق وحدتهم لم يبق من عجب

بني العروبة هبوا من مراقدكم
فقد لعمري افترقنا شر مفتسر ق
أما تغارون يا أهل الحفاظ على
لا تكتفوا بافتخار في أوائلكم
بل فانهضوا للمعالي مثل نهضتهم
كانت أوائلكم في وحدة تركت
سلوا بذلك (اليرموك) واديه
عن (خالد) بطل الأبطال يخبرنا
و (القادية) عن (سعد) محدثة
اذا علمنا بأن النصر طالهم

1.

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.

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-Yarmūk about this; it will
answer you as I have said.

It will tell us about Khālīd, the hero of heroes,
when he defeated the enemy army by killing and running
away.

Al-Qādisīyya will tell us about Sa'ad 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-Rusāfi 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 ¹.

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-Āmiyya as a literary language ². Other writers,

1. Arberry, J.A., 175

2. Rafā'īyya, Y., 34

such as the Lebanese poet Sa'īd 'Aql ¹, and the Egyptian writer Sallāma Mūsā ², claimed that classical Arabic was ^{an} unsuitable medium for study in the university since it could not express the new scientific terms ³, 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 ⁴. Many Arab figures faithfully defended classical Arabic, such as Aḥmad Timūr ⁵, Ṣādiq al-Rāfi'ī, Qāsim Amīn, Muḥammad 'Abduh, al-Afghānī, Zakī Mubārak, who strongly attacked Cairo university for its use of the English language ⁶, al-Fārūqī al-Raḥḥālī ⁷, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, and Ṭāhā al-Rāwī.

Al-Ruṣāfi belonged to those who demanded the simplification of classical Arabic according to the Islamic principle "

"ربّي يسّر ولا تعسر", that is to say that they recommended the dropping of the I'rāb without vowel. Al-Ruṣāfi use the idiom known as al-Wustā. ⁸

Al-Ruṣāfi believed with many others, that classical Arabic was great enough to express any kind of new term since its grammar was based on Tasrīf, Ishtiqāq, Ta'rib, Naḥt, Tarkīb, Qiyās and Majāz.

This he explained in his book Rasā' al-Ta'liqāt. He also wrote two books on al-'Amiyya: Daf' al-Murāq Fī Kalām Ahl al-'Irāq, and Kitāb al-'Ala wa'l Adāt.

1. Al-Jamālī, F., 30
2. Al-Shak'a, M., 35
3. Rafā'īya, Y., 34
4. Shak'a, M., 34
5. Khayrī, Sh., 251
6. Mubārak, Z. Al-Hilāl (1939) 129-131
7. Al-Raḥḥālī, F., 122
8. Al-Jamālī, F., 28

CHAPTER FIVE

OTHER GENRES

CHAPTER FIVE

OTHER GENRES

SECTION 1. DESCRIPTIONA. Poetry of Nature

Al-Ruṣāfī loved the beauty of Nature and regarded it as a source of inspiration.

وانظر الى حسن الطبيعة انه حسن يفيدك في الحياة كما لا
حسن يقيد من رآه بحبه ويفكّ من أفكاره الاغلا لا

1,594

Look at the beauty of Nature; it is a beauty that gives you ~~more~~ perfection in life.

A beauty that ties up, with its love, him who sees it, and unties shackles from his thoughts.

أردد بين البدر والبحر ناظري فيصعد طرفي مرة ويصوب
تأملت في حسن العوالم موهنا فجاش بصدري الشعر وهو نسيب
كأنني وعلويّ العوالم عاشق أطلّ من الأعلى عليه حبيب

1,11

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 nasīb, 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 Dīwān 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 Dīwān on Lebanon, consisting of 149 verses; Lubnān ¹, Qaṣr al-Baḥr ², Maḥāsin al-Ṭabī'a ³, and Dhikra Lubnān, from which come the following verses.

لبنان تفعل بالحياة جنانه	فعل الزلال بغلة الضمان
وترد غصن العيش بعد ذبوله	غضا يمد بفرعه الفينان
فكان لبنان عروس ازغدا	يزهو بنشر غدائر الاغصان
وكانما البحر الخضم سجنجل	بيدي خيال جمالها الفتان
تهفو الغصون به النهار وفي الدجى	تهفو عليه زواجب النيران
وترى النجوم على نراه كأنها	من فوقه درر على تيجان
لله لبنان الذى هضباته	ضحكت مغازلة مع الوديسان

1. D.1., 657

2. D.1., 708

3. D.1., 713

يجرى النسيم الغض بين رياضه
 مرخي الذبول معطر الأردان
 جلت الطبيعة في رياه بدائعا
 تكسو الكهول غضاة الشبان

1,649-650

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 ¹, ~~was~~ ^{were} generally coloured with sadness being affected by his humanitarian feelings, as for example in his description of the sunset:

1. See al-Baghdādi, H.A., 62 and See also al-Hamawī, Y., 461

نزلت تجرّ الى الغروب زيولا صفراء تشبه عاشقا مبتولا
 تهتز بين يد المنيب كأنها صبّ تلمل في الفراش عليلا
 ضحكت مشارقها بوجهك بكرة ×××× وبكت مغارمها الدماء أصيلا
 غربت فأبقت كالشواظ عقيها شفقا بحاشية السماء طويلا
 شفق يروح القلب شاحب لونه كالسيف ضحّ بالدماء مسلولا
 يحكي دم المظلوم ما يج أدمعا هملت بها عين اليتيم همولا
 لم أنس قرب (الأعظمية) موقفي والشمس دانية تسريد أنفولا
 وعن اليمين أرى مرج مزارع وعن الشمال حدائق ونخيلا
 وترجع قلبي للسدوالي نعمة في البين يحسبها الحزين عويلا
 وورا ذاك الزرع راعي ثلثة رجعت توّم الى المراح قفولا

1, 549-552

She has descended, drawing her long train to
the west ~~side~~, 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-A'zamiyya,
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 ~~thirsty~~ to their pen.

• وشكت يبوستها به الأشيا	• جاء الصيف فجفت الأنداء
• فتلمّظت بلعابها الصحرا	• وتوقّدت عند الهجيرة شمسه
• ملء الفضا حرارة وضيا	• وعلى الديار تراكمت من شمسه
• غضبي تجيش بصدرها الشحنا	• فعلى من الشمس المنيرة أصبحت
• ولو أن غارة هيفه شعوا	• اني لأغفر للصيف ذنوبه
• ولذا تحبّ قدومه الفقرا	• فالصيف أرف بالفقير من الشتا
• أيامه والأغنيا سوا	• قلت به الحاجات بالفقرا في
• فالصيف ملحفة له وكسا	• من كان أعوزه كسا منهم
• من دون منّ والسما غطا	• والأرض ان طلبوا الرقاد وطاؤهم

1,677-679

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-Baṣra¹, in which he gave an unfavourable picture of the city² that is famous for its natural beauty, and in his poem Yā Dār Qusṭantīn³ in which he described Constantinople's weather, Yā Dār Qusṭantīn 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 poetry⁴.

رَنُو ظَمَانَ السِي مِنْهُلِ	فَظَلَّ يَرْنُو مَسْتَدِيمَ النَّظَرِ
مَحْمَرَةٌ مِنْ نَظَرٍ مَخْجَلِ	وَهِيَ غَدَتُ مَا بِيهَا مِنْ خَفَرِ
يَعْلَنُ لِللَّوْدَةِ أَشْوَاقَهُ	ثُمَّ تَمَادَى غَرْدًا صَادِحًا
وَهِيَ الَّتِي تَفْعَلُ انْطِاقَهُ	يَنْطِقُ بِالْحُبِّ لَهَا بِأَحْسَا
كَأَنَّهَا تَقْصِدُ انْشَاقَهُ	وَتَنْشُرُ الطَّيِّبَ لَهُ نَافِحًا
فِي حَبِّهَا مَنْطِقُ الْمَقُولِ	حَتَّى غَدَا الْبَلْبُلِ مِنْذُ الصَّفَرِ

1,672

1. D.2., 632

2. See Zaidān, J., 2, 42

3. D.1., 696

4. Al-Misrī, H.M., 364

1,672

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:

انّ حياة المرء ما عاش ترى أحوالها مختلفات السروى
كالنهر الجارى الذى تغيّرت أوضاعه في الأرض كلما جرى

1,576

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.

ونحن كالما * جرى نابعا لكن علينا خفي المنبع

1,59

We are like water that flows out, but our
source is hidden from us.

ليت الغنى كالبدري في النشأة اذ عاد هلالا كل شهر فمما
أوليته كالشجر النابت اذ يورق في الصيف ويعرى في الشتاء

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-Ruṣāfi 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 ¹, the aeroplane ², the phonograph ³, the telegraph ⁴, and the train ⁵. His poem on the train was the most distinguished example of this kind of poetry in his generation ⁶. He painted a lively picture of it.

<p>وتملاً صدر الأرض في سيرها رعباً وجوف به صار البخار لها قلباً قطاراً كصف الدوح تسحبه سحباً وطوراً رخاء كالنسيم إذا هباً فما استسهلت سهلاً ولا استصعبت صعباً لتنهب سهل الأرض في سيرها نهباً ويعترض السوادى فتجتازه وثيباً وقد وجدت من تحت قبته نقباً إذا ولجت في جوفه النفق الرحباً تقول بها: يا طود خل لي الدرماً تري أفعواناً هاشجاً دخل الثقباً فتغلب بالدفع الذى عندها الجذباً</p>	<p>وقاطرة تربي الفضا بدخانها لها منخر يبىدى الشواظ تنفساً تمشّت بنا ليلاً تجر وراءها فظورا كعصف الريح تجرى شديدة تساوى لديها السهل والصعب في السرى تدكّ متون الحزن دكاً وانها يمرّ بها العالي فتعلو تسلقاً وتخترق الطود الأشمّ اذا انبرى يرنّ بجوف الطود صوت دوتها لها صيحة عند السولج كأنها وتمضي مضي السهم فيه كأنما تغالب فعل الجذب وهي ثقيلة</p>
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1, 565-566

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 breaths fire, and a belly in which steam is its heart.

She carried us at night, pulling behind her a train like a line of Dawh-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 ¹, of Italy with Tripoli ², of the Balkan States with the Ottoman Empire ³, of the allies with the Ottoman Empire ⁴, and of British with Japan ⁵. He also described the great flood that happened in Baghdad during the last years of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid II's rule ⁶. 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 Ridā, the President of the parliament of the Young Turks, the second was in the al-Fātiḥ quarter, and the third was in the Ishāq Pāshā quarter. They were all described by al-Ruṣāfī ⁷, 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

قوم وكان بها البسفور مزداننا
ورصّعت من رؤوس المهضب نيجاننا
أبكيت في البحر أسماكاً وحيثاننا
ولا لدى القوم أبقى عنك سلواننا
يا للعجائب كالأطواد جدراننا
تدكّ منك على الأركان أركاننا
حتى نخالك منها صرت بركاننا
نهمتسز بالحزن أرواحاً وأبداننا
ونحن نملأ صدر الأرض أحزاننا
مطابقاً لك تجرى الدمع غدراننا
يسعى بجعلك للنواب ديواننا
بانث عواقب ذاك السعي خسراننا
ضحكا على من بسوء الرأي أبكاننا

1,793-795

يا درةً في ضفاف البحر ضيّعها
كم قد أضاعت بوجه البحر مشرقة
يا أيها القصر مذ أوسيت محترقا
لم يبق منك لهيب النار باقية
معاول من شواظ النار هادمة
قمنا أمامك والنيران صائفة
كم هدّة لك بين النار تفزعنا
يهتزّ فيك لهيبه حين نبصره
فأنت تملأ صدر الجو أذخنة
ما أشرف القوم لو كانت مداهم
ويل لمرتثس قد قام مجتهدا
حتى اذا كنت للنواب مجتمعا
للنار فيك حسيس كنت أحسبه

O pearl on the sea-shore, lost by a people as an
ornament to the Bosphorus!

How often did it shine brightly on the face of
the sea and adorn the tops of the hills with crowns.

O 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-Rusāfī'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 Layla Fī Malha, written in 1898, in Constantinople describe a dancer:

خطرت والجمال يخطر منها	في حشا القوم جيئة زهوما
وعلى أروس الأصابع قامت	تخطى تاخترا ووشوما
يعبس الأثر أن تروح زهابا	ويعيد ابتسامه أن تتوسا
فهي ان أقبلت رأيت ابتساما	وهي ان أدبرت رأيت قطوسا
حيرتنا لما أرتنا عجيبا	ف عجيبا من رقصها ف عجيبا
شابته عطفة الغصون اثنا *	وحكت خطرة النسيم هبوسا
تلفت الجيد للرجع انصاعا	كفطيم رأى على البعد زيبسا
تثب الوثبة الخفيفة كالبر	ق صعودا في رقصها وصبوسا
حركات خلالها سكتات	يقف العقل بينهم سليبسا

1,557-558

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).

أمة وحدها بهذا الزمان	أم كلثوم في فنون الأغاني
صريحا بصوتها الفتان	في الأغاني تعقل الحب تمثيلا
ولون الوصال والهجران	يتجلى في لحنها مشهد الحب
بلحون مطابقت المعاني	تنشد الشعر في الغناء فتأتي
تغنى به بلا ترجمان	تفهم الروح منطق الحب
تترك السامعين في هيجان	نبرات في صوتها مشجيات

2,575

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 ¹, he described a drinking place. This kind of poem is very rare in his Dīwān. There are seven, consisting of 94 verses ². There is also a special collection of this kind of poetry al-Shi'r al-Makshūf, 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 ³, an office, ⁴, al-Rashīd street in Baghdad ⁵, the Beylik quarter of Constantinople ⁶, the Zoo in Beirut ⁷, Yildiz ⁸, 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 Dīwan based on imagination, like Ṭhawra fī'l-Jahīm of al-Zahāwī 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 Dīwān 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-Ālūsī.

They both make a great immediate impression on the reader.

أزمت عنا إلى مولاك ترحالا لما رأيت مناخ القوم أوحا 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 خشيت عليها من يد العطب

1,27

To whom have you left the arts of knowledge and
literature? do you not fear that the had of destruction
will seize on them?

These two elegies have been mentioned earlier. His three elegies on 'Abd al-Muhsin al-Sa'dūn; the prime minister, which have also been mentioned are also effective, and show his patriotic consciousness, for example:

شبه الأسي في قلوب الشعب مستعرا يوم ابن سعدون عبد المحسن انتحرا
يوم به كل عين غير مبصرة ان كان انسانها في الدمع منهمرا

يوم به البرق جّ الرافدين أسى
 فلو ترى القوم قاموا في ضفافهما
 غداة أدّى الى أقصاهما الخيرا
 واستنزفوا من شتون الدمع ما غزرا
 سطران للدمع في الخدين قد سطر
 خلت العراقيين خدى ناكل وهما

4,67

Sorrow blazed up in the hearts of the people on the day Ibn Sa'dūn 'Abd al-Muhsin 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-Mutanabbī, Durayd .b. al-Ṣimma, or al-Khansā'. An example of this is found in the following verses in which he elegized his best friend Muḥī al-Dīn al-Khayyāt (1875-1914).

نمائه لي الناعي فكان كأنه
 ولولم يكن شدى الحيازيم دونه
 لدى نعيه أهوى الي بخنجر
 خرت كما خر الصريع لمنخر

خليلي عوجا بي على قبر ماجد بيروت يحوى كل فضل و مفسر

2,9

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-A‘lā¹, in which he elegized Maḥmūd Shawkat Pāshā, the prime minister who was killed by a group of Hizb al-Mukhālifīn in Constantinople; and his elegy on Ibn Jabrān²; 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 Rūḥī al-Khālidi, Dhikrā al-Rijāl Fī Hayāt al-Umam, which consists of 27 verses, only 6 of which are actual elegy. Al-Ruṣāfī confessed that he was asked by ‘Ādil Jabr, a friend, to write this poem on al-Khālidi, whom he had not met, for the occasion of his public eulogy.

1. D.2., 11

2. D.2., 82

دعانا ابن جبر أن نلّم بذكره
 فقمنا لذكرى مجده بعد موته
 ونستشهد الدنيا على حسناته
 واني وان لم أظ منه بروية
 لدى محفل قد ضمنا وهو حاشد
 نباهي به أحياءنا و نماجد
 وقد كبرت فيها عليها الشواهد
 ليشهد لي من (عادل) فيه شاهد

2,35

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-Mulūk¹, in which he elegized Sharīf Ḥusayn, Dhikra al-Shaykh al-Khālīsī², in which he elegized al-Khālīsī, a Shi'ite jurisprudent, and Fī Yawm Abī Ghāzī, in which he elegized King Faysal³.

According to Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, the most difficult kind of elegy to write is that on to a woman or to a child⁴, and there are none of these in al-Ḥusāfī's Dīwān. The elegy that combines pleasure and sadness type is also considered by al-Qayrawānī

1. D.2., 89

2. D.2., 38

3. D.2., 105

4. Al-Qayrawānī, R., 2, 147

as difficult ¹. An example of this is found in al-Ruṣāfī'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-Ruṣāfi'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 Ḥazim Bey, the

Turkish governor of Iraq who rebuilt the al-Ḥarbawa dam on the Turkish governor of Iraq who rebuilt the al-Ḥarbawa dam on the Euphrates that had caused the great flood in al-Karkh.

عزم الحصف لما يحوى من الزلق	ثبت عزمك في أمر يذلّ به
وتقطع الليل بالتدبير و الأرق	تقضي النهار برأب الثأى مجتهدا
سدّا عليه رصينا غير منقلب	حتى بنيت وكان النهر منقلبا
أصل مع الموج تحت الماء معتنق	أرسيته جبلا قامت ذراه على
والنهر ينساب بين الغيظ والحنق	فراحت الناس تمشي فوقه طريسا
كالنور يرجع معكوسا الى الحدق	وصار معكس فخر أنت مرجعه
لوعار يسلك تحت الأرض في نفق	ودّ الفرات حياء منك يومئذ
نقشا على الصخر لا رقما على الورق	لك الثناء علينا أن نخلد ه
من كل جرم بصدر الليل مؤتلق	تالله لو بلغت زهر النجوم يدي
سطرا بمدحك مكتوبا على الأفق	رتبتها حيث كسل الناس تقروها

1,641-644

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 ~~every~~one 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-Sa'dūn ¹, 'Abd al-Latīf Pāshā al-Mandīl ², and Muḥammad Āl 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 ¹.

For example, the following short poem was recited in Lebanon when he visited it with a delegation in 1936.

المجد والفضل منشوران في علم	على بيوت بناها آل عزا م
لما حللنا ضيوفا في مراتبهم	نلتنا بها كل اعزاز واكرام
فسوف نشكرهم شكرا نخط به	لمجدهم سطر اجلال واعظام

2,650

Both glory and honour are spread on a flag on houses built by the Āl 'Azzām.

When we stopped at their places as guests, we were given there all respect and generosity.

We will thank them by writting for their glory a line of exaltation and aggrandizement.

Among these occasional poems is a poem of ten verses ² in which he praised Nuri al-Sa'īd, the prime minister of Iraq on the occasion of his investiture by King Faysal with the al-Rāfidayn medal in Baghdad in 1933. Directly after this poem, al-Rusāfi satirized Nuri al-Sa'īd ³.

1. See 'Abbūd, M.,

2. D.2., 557

3. See al-Wāfi, R.,

SECTION 4. SATIRE

Throughout his life, al-Ruṣāfī faced continual attack from his adversaries, but, on the whole, he refused to use satire in his poetry as a weapon against them.

يا لاهجين بشتمي في مجالسهم
لولا ترفع نفسي في سفاهتكم
ناموا على الأمن في أحضان غفراني
أحرقتم من لظن هجوى بنيران

1,482

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.

وإذا يخاطبك اللئيم فصم سمعك عن خطابه
وإذا انبرى لك شامسا فاربأ بنفسك عن جوابه

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 *Dīwān*, 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-Ātā, as a disbeliever, for interrupting the Friday sermon in the al-Wazīr mosque in Baghdad, demanding the people's co-operation with the new government of Union and Progress ¹. In his poem Fāsiq Murā'ī ², he attacked him.

When he produced his poem Fī Masrah al-Tamthīl, 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.

مهلًا فقد جئت بأمر نكير	يا أيها المفتي بتكفيرنا
علمت يا جاهل ما في الضمير	بأى جهل فيك مستأصل
الا يد الله العليم القدير	وذاك أمر ليس تتناشه
هجاننا الأيام نار السعير	لو كنت ذا مجد لأصلتك من
وهكذا كل لثيم حقيير	بل أنت وغد لا تبالي الهجا
بقدر ما تغتاظ منه الحمير	وانما تغتاظ من هجوننا

2,515-516

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'liqāt in 1944, he strongly attacked by the religious leaders, who asked the government to hang him ¹.

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.

<p>وما قبل النصيحة من نصيح تباع اليه بالثمن الربيع وكان الشتم أجدر بالمبيح كما كان اليهود من المسيح فلسيت من الهجاء بمستريح يعدّ الهجو فيك من المديح</p>	<p>وزى سفه أكبّ على المخازي ترجّح المخزيات لديه حتى أطاف بغيّه وأباحت شتمني وأغراه الضلال فكان مني فمت في نار غيظك مستشيطا تجمّعت المخازي فيك حتى</p>
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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.

SECTION 5. AL-NASĪB

Al-Ruṣāfī said that he had no particular beloved, for he had given his heart to all beautiful women.

وقفت عليكنّ قلبي السني يمرّ به الحب مرّ السحاب
ومنكنّ أحببت هاتي وذي وألفت عذبا بكنّ العذاب

1,705-707

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.

لقيتها في الطريق عابره يهصر من قدّها تبخرها
أعجبها منظري وأعجبني بالحسن عند اللقاء منظرها
فصار قلبي بالحب يأمرني وقلبها بالفراغ يأمرها
وحيث مسرت والشوق يسكرني بخمره تارة ويسكرها
لفتّ جيدي أرى أتنظرني والتفتت لي ترى أنظرها
فقلت والشوق فيّ ملتهب ان عذرتني فسوف أعذرها

2,512

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.

<p>وحتام نار البين في القلب تلهب ودمع له في عارضتي تصيب سوى دمعته فهو الدواء المجرّب عليّ به يوم شديد عصبصّب محيّا له كلّ المحاسن تنسب وشمس الضحى في ضوءه تتحجب وأنت كما شاء الجمال محبب نسيم وأبكي كلما لاح كوكب ويعزب عني الصبر أيان تغرب</p>	<p>الى كم تصبّ الدمع عيني وتسكب أبيت ولي وجد يشبّ ضرامه وهل لمشوق خانة الصبر عنكم ألا ان يوما جرد البين سيفه فيا ليت شعري هل أفوز برويتي وعينيك لا أسلوك أو يصبح السها فاني كما شاء الهوى بك مغرم أحسن الى رؤياكم كلما سري وأذكركم للشمس عند طلوعها</p>
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2, 630-631

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 Suhā 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.

هو الشعر لا أعتاض عنه بغيره ولا عن قوافيه ولا عن فنونه
ولو سلبتنيهِ الحوادث في الدنيا لما عشت أو ما رمت عيشا بدونه

1,548

It is poetry, its rhymes and its diversity, which I can replace with nothing else.

If events in my life deprived me of it, I would not live, or desire to live, without it.

كم قلت والليل جئل الشعر فاحمه شعرا به كعاد فرع الليل ينمط
ينجاب ليل العمى عن قلب سامعه كالفجر ان لاح فالظلماء تنكشط

2,271

How often have I recited, while the night had thick black hair, poetry by which night's hair locks were almost plucked out.

The Night of blindness would be cleared from its audience's heart, as when the dawn breaks, darkness passes away.

He was also very proud of his great ability in using the most difficult rhymes in appropriate places.

فأقبلت وهي تمشي مشي معتذر
 فرحت فيهن أجرى جرى مقتدر
 وأينما سرت سارت تقتفي أثر
 أعرف الناس سحر السمع والبصر
 وكنّ فيها مكان الماء في الثمر
 إذا تنوشدن بين البدو والحضر

دعوت غر القوافي وهي شاردة
 وسلمتني عن طوع مقادتها
 إذا أقمت أقامت وهي من خدمي
 صرفت فيهنّ أقالق ورحت بها
 سقيتهن المعاني فارتوين بها
 كم تشرب لها الأسماع مصغية

1, 181-182

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.

يقول سخيّف الشعر وهو مقلد
 تنقصه في الشعر حماد عجرد

ولا عجب ان عابني الشاعر الذي
 فان ابن برد وهو أكبر شاعر

1,

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 Hammād 'Ajrad.

On the other hand, al-Ruṣāfi'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-Ma'arrī.

شاعر يملأ الفضل	نفسه صعبة الرضا
دوناه كل من مضى	دوناه كل من غبى
حل في ذروة الأدب	أتينا منه بالعجب
لا تقل شاعر العرب	إنه شاعر البشر
عقري بشعره	عالمي بفكره
يعريني بنجره	تشرف العربان ذكره
هو بالشعر أن شدا	يتجلى لك الهندي
مدركا أبعاد المدى	بالمعاني التي ابتكر

1,742

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 al-Ruṣāfi, 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-Ma'arri's philosophical
poetry, and he greatly admired his work. On the other hand, he tried
to avoid the obscure poetic manner by which al-Ma'arri'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 لهمم
أبي امرؤ جدّه الأعلى أبوالبشر
قالوا : فهل نال مجداه قلت واعجبي
أتسألوني بمجد ليس من ثمسرى

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 Dīwān al-Ma'arri

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?"

فيا شعراء القوم كفوا وذاكُم فشرح العليٰ في بعض شعري ملخصُ
 دعوا كشف مكنون الصدور لغظنتي فاني بهذا من دونكم متخصصُ

1,599

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.

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