

Al-Rusafi:

See (Amin Rayhani, Butti, Anis al-Maqdisi, Sa'd Mikhail, Shawqi Dayf, Muhammed Suhrawardi, Marun 'Abud, 'Abdu Latif Saharti, Brockel-mann, Bell, Encyclopaedia of Islam, Yusif, Salloum, also:

Ahmad Tabana: Ma'ruf al-Rusafi, Baghdad, 1947.

Khalil Dahir: Al Sh'ir wal Shu'ara', New York, 1933.

Mustafa 'Ali: Al-Rusafi, Cairo, 1948.

Mustafa 'Ali: Adab al-Rusafi, Cairo, 1947.

Nu'man Mahir: Al-Rusafi fi Ayyamihi al-Akhira, Baghdad, 1950.

Bulletin of S.O.A.S. Vol. XIII, Part 3, London, 1950 "Ma'ruf al-Rusafi"
by Dr.S.A. Khalusi.

Al-Zahawi:

Amin al-Rayhani Qalb al-'Iraq, Beirut, 1930.

Amin al-Rayhani: Muluk al-'Arab.

Abbas al-'Aqqad: Sa'at Bayn'l al-Kutub, Cairo, 1950.

Anis al-Maqdisi: Al-awamil al-Fa'ala Fi al-Adab al-Arabi, Cairo, 1939.

Abdul Latif al-Saharti: al-Shir al-Muasir 'ala daw al-Naqd al-Hadith,
Cairo, 1948.

Butti, R.: Al-Adab al-'Asri fi al-'Iraq al-'Arabi, Cairo, 1922.

Butti, R.: Sihr al-Sh'ir, 1928.

Brockelmann: Geschichte der Arabischen Literature.

Bell (Lady): Letters of Gertrude Bell, London, 1927.

Dalil (al) al-Iraqi (Annual Iraqi publication) Baghdad, 1935-6.

Muhammad al-Suhrawardi: Lub al-Albab, Baghdad, 1933/1351.

Marun 'Abud: 'Ala al-Mihakk, Beirut, 1946.

Nasr al-Hani (Dr.) Muhadarat 'an Jamil al-Zahawi, Baghdad, 1954.

Shawqi Dayf: Dirasat fi al-Shi'r al-'Arabi al-Muasir.

Sa'd Mikhail: Adab al-'Asr fi Shu'ara' al-Iraq wa Sham wa Misr.

Salloum, D. (Dr): Tatawwur al-Fikra wa'l Islub.

Ubaydi, M.: Haqiqat al-Zhawi, Baghdad, 1947.

Yusif Izziden (Dr.): Al-Sh'ir al-'Iraqi, Baghdad, 1960.

Encyclopaedia of Islam.

Die Welt des Islam, Band 17, 1935, pp, 1-19 (Der Iraqische Dichter Gamil
Sidqi al-Zahawi aus Baghdad).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Anis al-Maqdisi: Al- Awamil al- Fa alafi'l Adab al-Arabi, Cairo, 1939.
2. Daud Salloum (Dr.): Tatawur al-Fikra Wa'l Islub Fi'l Adab al-Iraqi Fi'l Qarn al-Tasi' Ashar wa'l 'Ishrin, Baghdad, 1959.
3. Daud Salloum (Dr.): Al-Adab al-Mu'asir Fi'l Iraq(1938-1960) Baghdad, 1962.
4. Jamal al-Din-al-Shayal(Dr.): Tarikh al-Tarjama wa'l Haraka al-Thaqafiyya fi 'Asr Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, Cairo, 1951.
5. Lewis Shykho: Al-Adab al-'Arabiyya Fi'l Qarn al-Tasi' Ashar, vol.I, Beirut 1924, vol.2 Beirut, 1926.
6. Lewis Shykho: Al-Adab al-'Arabiya Fi'l Rub al-Awa Min'l Qarn al-Ishrin, Beirut, 1926.
7. Longrigg, S.H.: Four Centuries of Modern Iraq, Oxford, 1925.
8. Longrigg, S.H.: Iraq (1900-1950), Oxford, 1953.
9. Yusif Izzidyn(Dr.): Al shir al-Iraqi, Ahdafuhu Wa khasa' isuhu Fi'l Qarn al Tasi Ashar, Baghdad 1958.

He can play with words easily like a painter who mixes his colours. In one word he can shape the suggestive picture which he would like to convey to the reader's mind. We do not find much of the erotic poetry in his diwan because he sacrificed his life to his country and society. He was not of a romantic type. His disposition is a very sensual one. The reader of his unpublished poem '*Bada'a la Khala'a*' can easily recognize that.

Al-Rusafi's proud, arrogant and angry soul in his political poetry represents the feelings of his generation and his countrymen in more than half a century. He loved his country more than any other Arab and he fought for it more than anybody else until he died hungry and sick because of that great love!

woman only. He had remained a bachelor and suspicion hanged over him as to whether or not he was perverse. The evidence is strong and we are inclined to believe that he was so.

Although he loved peace, yet he believed in power as the only means to safeguard freedom and independence. This was a result of the Arabs' bitter experience in politics. In his poetry many scientific views and theories were reflected here and there. This was due to the influence of the era. Sometimes he repeated al-Zahawi's ideas unconsciously.

Valuation of al-Rusafi's poetry:

When reading al-Rusafi's poetry one can divide it in two parts.

First, the philosophical and social trend, and second, the political trend. The first trend is more obvious in his poetry until 1920. In the first edition of his diwan in 1910 one would have thought of the poet's wonderful future which lies ahead but the political surroundings forced al-Rusafi to leave out philosophy. In the first stage of his life he decided to leave out elegy and eulogy and to write about truth and scientific facts but he was forced to take a contrary step. The surroundings, the political situation and the Arabs' state of affairs are to be blamed for the loss of his genius thinker. His mental energy was wasted amid sentimental and political subjects. Because of persecution and starvation he was forced to flatter people who are not worthy, and his ability was therefore wasted away. We have to say that his political poetry does not last long because of the dated values of its subjects.

In the social field he wrote ballads about certain social characters. His ballads deal with children, widows, divorced women and poor people. The quality of these ballads is not high. He was not able to picture his characters as nicely as al-Zahawi did. Also he used these ballads for social preaching. Al-Rusafi's language also is not fit for such a type of ballads. Al-Rusafi's mastery of the Arabic language was excellent. His ability was great and it puzzles the reader to think about his matter of word and rhyme.

Other Views:

In his philosophical ideas one can notice the influence of Al-Khayyam's philosophy. He also believed in predestination and that human beings are bad by nature. The human nature tends towards "evil" more than towards "good". He embraced also the Mutazilite's idea which says: "It is impossible to do better than that which it was done already in nature". It means what we have in nature of both good and evil are necessary to the existence of this world. No change can make the world better than what it is already. He inclined towards simple living; he abandoned European dress late in the thirties and wore the native Iraqi dress. He had a humanist and a socialist outlook. It seems that he admired the social system in Russia. Indeed he once advised Iraqis to be communists to get rid themselves of the English imperialism. He believed in the republic as a political institution for governing. He opposed the royal rule and he thought that Kings are man-made idols and human beings worship them after they have created them.

He called for a social unity without making allowances for religion, creed or colour. He defended the woman and warded off enthusiastically attacks from conservative groups and he was an adherent of women's emancipation. He attacked theologians on the ground that they distorted religion. He also put forward questions about the value of pilgrimage and he denied the revelation in religion. Yet al-Rusafi defended Islam vigorously. He believed in God and his justice. He loved man and defended the weak. He spoke with passion about the young. Children to him are very precious beings not to be lost because of poverty, disease and ignorance. He loved knowledge and he called in his poetry and writings for extensive education. He was against corporal punishment in schools and called for unified teaching system among the Arabs.

Al-Rusafi's relationship with women is very ambiguous. He loved his old mother passionately and he admired his niece but he did not marry. He said that all women attracted him, therefore he could not marry "one"

human being. He said about himself that he wrote poetry in different metres: easy and difficult. He condemned eulogy and said: "What I wrote of it was a disguised satire of the praised person and the age because I was forced to follow this way to earn my own living"(1). He believed that his poetry is the best and the strongest. This idea about his poetry is justified. He used poetry as a means for social and moral reform.

He also wrote something about music, singing, acting and painting. Music and singing with him are healers of the disturbed emotion. Good music is a standard for judging a civilized nation and a primitive one. The duty of the stage is a moral duty, that is to say, to preach human and moral teachings.

The painter is an imitator of nature. Some painters can express themselves better than a poet. His duty is to teach us to have a refined character and polished manners. In his book *Durus Fi' Tarihha Adab'l Lugha al-'Arabiyya*, he laid down a number of suggestions about the study of language and literature. He spoke in one of the chapters about the relationship between the work and the personal character of the author. He said that a work of Art must be considered on its own merits. Writings of obscene literature do not mean always that the author is morally bad and vice versa. It is not required of literature to teach morality and moral excellence. On the contrary, a lot of the written literature is bad if we judge it by moral values. The writer as a mirror reflects society as such and he is not a moralist or a lawgiver of social rules. The writer's aim is to influence and affect the reader in the same way in which he was influenced and affected and nothing more is required of him. Literature, therefore, no social duty although all literature is a depicted picture of life in itself. We notice here a mixture of the influence of both the theories "Art for Arts Sake" and "Art for Society". The fact about al-Rusafi's literature is that it is a literature of social and political trends.

1. *Al-Rusafi: Diwan, Vol. I*, p. 122.

Between 1930 and 1940 he did not work but lived on what he got out of his friends. When Iraq declared war against England in 1941 he doomed himself by attacking Prince Abdul Ilah when he fled the country. When the prince returned to Baghdad by the help of the English a month later everything turned against the poet. He remained in seclusion in the small city of Faluja .He was forgotten completely by his admirers and wrote very little. In 1945 he returned to Baghdad as a very poor and sick man. He died in Baghdad in the same year because of hunger and disease in a room that had no curtains and no chairs .All there was in it was a very cheap bed made out of plam trees' bough.

Two reasons were responsible for al-Rusafi's misery . First his unstable political ideas which earned him many enemies . Second, his personal proud character which he inherited from Arabic culture and education . His generation is blamed for part of his misery .They were a group of people with no human decency who prevented him from earning his bread because he did not respond to their capricious whims and fanciful wishes. After the revolution in July 1958 his memory was commemorated in a meeting of the literary men and a postal stamp was issued with his picture on it .

Al-Rusafi's Artistic Ideas:

One can deduce al-Rusafi's literary and artistic ideas from his diwan and his academic works. His idea about poetry is the most important among other ideas. He thought that poetry is the result of singing and music and therefore the metre is very necessary for it. Al-Rusafi did not limit the poet to the classical metres only but he believed that there are metres as much as there are songs. He also thought that studying the classical metres is a necessity to complete the writer and the critic's education: In his diwan his views on the subject are contradictory and not clear and they are mixed with much self-esteem. Poetry to him must be consistent and easy like clear prose and it must contain the truth. It also must reveal the spirit of the age. He defined it as the pure emotion of the

Through this period he attacked dictatorship and monarchy but after the declaration of the world war he turned pro-Turkish and pro-Muslim again . He also wrote a satire about King Husain b. Ali who revolted against Turks on the side of the English . By that he earned the hatred of the Royal Family who were rule in Iraq .

In 1918 he left Turkey for Syria but King Faisal did not welcome him there .The English in Palestine took the opportunity and invited him to Jerusalem to teach Arabic. The English made their best in welcoming him and he was given the monthly salary of 30 pounds . From there he attacked the nationalists in Syria because they were endangering the English and the French interests . The personal feelings in such an attack also must be counted for. There was personal enmity between Faisal and the poet who insulted the King's father. The poet was also not on good terms with the nationalists in Syria .

Al-Rusafi's love for his country and people is not doubted at all. When he returned to Baghdad and Faisal came to Iraq to be crowned as King, the poet wrote a satire and mocked the coming prince, but after a short time he was invited to one of the parties which were given in the honour of the prince and he wrote a panegyric for the King to be. The relationship between King Faisal I and al-Rusafi is interesting to the literary historaian Faisal did not forget his old hatred and al-Rusafi fulfilled none of his ambitions and kept on swearing at the person who stood in his way and prevented him from getting what he wanted. His relationship with the politicians of the era' also showed no stability in his political ideas . He praised and attacked the same people on different occasions . All this moral unrest can be attributed to the unfulfilled ambitions .

In 1922 he wrote a poem blaming the politicians because they did not give him a share of the public booty which they were devouring . All that he got were minor jobs as a teacher in a high college until 1930.

the sun does not draw the earth but it propels it away; the earth too does not draw the moon but it propels it away. The theory proved to be false after man went into space in our modern era. He has many views about light and the reflection of pictures on the human eye and so on. They, without doubt deserve observation and discussion.

Al-Rusafi (1867-1945)—(1292-1365):

Maruf b. Abdul Ghani al-Rusafi was born in al-Rusafa part of Baghdad. This happy event for literature was in 1876. He studied in a children religious school and in his youth he entered the Military Rushdyya school but he left it soon afterwards for the study of Arabic literature and jurisprudence. Among his teachers were al-Na'ib, a famous teacher of the era, and Shukri al-Alusi, the well-known historian and theologian. When he finished his high studies in religious schools he taught in a primary school and later in a secondary school till the declaration of the constitution in Turkey. What he wrote before the constitution reflects the influence of the political ideas of the era which preached the political decentralization of the Arab world in the Turkish Empire.

He was an enthusiastic adherent of modern and social ideas. He revolted against many of the social taboos. He even changed his religious dress and turban by a modern European dress and Turkish Turbush. After the constitution had been declared he was called to Constantinople. There he taught Arabic literature in the high institutes. He published his diwan in Beirut in 1910.

It is not easy at all to find out an exact standpoint for al-Rusafi's political belief. Before the constitution he was against the caliphate system. Also he was against the idea of religious segregation. But when the Christian Arabs who were in Paris and Beirut fell under the political influence of the French imperialism he attacked them and explained the danger of the French interests in Syria. He told them also about the sacrifice of the Muslim Arabs for the Christian Arabs' sake.

"I have no exact knowledge about communism or any other moderate form of socialism. I heard that communists are extremists. They eliminate inheritance of wealth and kill the desire to work...Its adherents claim that the reason of disturbances in the human society is need...I want to say a word about the social problem because it is important. I think the poor class is larger than the rich. Need might unite them and therefore they will be a great force...I think the war between the rich and the poor will break out when most of the factory owners will use the atom to manage their factories without the need to a great number of workers. Workers therefore will revolt against them...Most wars in the future will be world wars and the nations always will be divided into two parties and after one party gains victory over the other, the victorious party will be divided again in two groups and war will break out again. I imagine the republic of the future as something different from our own. In it all citizens will be equal in rights and duties but again they will differ in ability and they will be paid accordingly. Its government will prepare for each class all its needs. Crimes which are caused by need and hunger will disappear. In this republic the creative class will have its own privileges and this fact makes one work and invent"(1).

After 1930 it appeared as if al-Zahawi had committed himself to the growing group of discontented young men who disapproved of the monopoly by the old politicians of the governmental jobs. The old poet was turned into a political and social preacher.

Al-Zahawi's Scientific Ideas:

It might be unknown to the reader of this book that al-Zahawi had his own views in science. He read much about the scientific matters and he was interested in astronomy. He had a theory about gravity which he had published in his book "*al-Jadhibiyya wa ta'lyalaha*. He turned Newton's theory upside down and said there is no such thing as "gravity" but there is a contrary force which he called "propulsion". To explain this he said

1. *Al-Zahawi: al-Mujmalima Ara*, p, 1.

This part of his poetry is the most beautiful and the most important among all his other achievements. His ballads on the whole, were governed by a realistic trend and it is possible that he was influenced by Zola's attempt in France to make a full study of the human society and to picture all the human vices and excellences. It is strange to note that most of his ballads were written in two years period between 1904 and 1905. What were the reasons which encouraged al-Zahawi to turn from political to social poetry? We think that al-Zahawi read some of the European ballads in Turkish and he was, also a contemporary of the silent films era. His plots are sometimes similar to those plots which were treated in such films. Al-Zahawi was an enthusiastic film-goer. Indeed, he died in a cinema at the age of seventy-three! One can recognize in his ballads always the evil and the good or what critics call in story writing the protagonist and the antagonist, in a very simple and clear way as it appeared in the old silent films.

Al-Zahawi's Social Ideas:

Al-Zahawi's social ideas sprang from his love of justice and equality. He reflected in his poems socialistic ideas long before the Revolution in Russia. He was influenced in this outlook by French Revolution which had influenced Arabic society in the 19th century. After the Russian Revolution, al-Zahawi looked towards the workers' regime there. He inquired about it. He warned the Arab government against the social injustice and demanded social equality. By that he was far ahead of the communists in Iraq. He also believed in the brotherhood of man. His socialistic ideas were stronger after his disappointment in the rule in Iraq and when he felt that he would not be rewarded for services to his society.

Because of the existence of the classes in Iraqi society and because of poverty which existed among the lower class he gave his own opinion about the future social state in the world. In his book *al-Majmal Mimma Ara* which was published in Cairo in 1924 he says:

its long and ancient history such a vast and varied collection of nationalist verses which were written for the sake of one's own country. The change of ideals and the shift from region to nationalism was a phenomenon of our modern time.

It is rather astonishing to notice that the nationalistic verses dominated all other achievements in modern poetry. It is now the most important feature with any modern poet. This type of poetry sometimes spoiled the abilities of some of the young poets and made them inefficient. This was so because they evaded the human or social sides of life and plunged themselves into these narrow fields. Both al-Zahawi and al-Rusafi were influenced by the modern currents of thought and both of them were adherents of the theory of "Art for the Society". Because of the quarrel between East and West and among Arabs, Western and Turkish imperialism, this poetry grew quicker than it should. Most of the poets' collections if not all contain much of this national poetry. It differs in quality and excellence from one poet to another.

The critics who preferred the poets who wrote the nationalist poetry were unjust to al-Zahawi by not conferring on him the same honour which was bestowed on others .

His nationalist poetry, which he wrote in the period of Turkish imperialism and the Sultan's dictatorship, was most vivid and bore strong emotional and sincere national feelings. His love for Iraq was above reproach although he was an individualist in character and did not believe in violence and did not feel happy about the Iraqi revolution of 1920 . After the revolution and the boycott of society and government of him a trend of socialism appeared in his poems. It was a way of personal revenge more than it was a deep rooted belief. The most important of the qualities of his poetry is his introduction of modern ballads in Arabic poetry.

The next generation will look on al-Zahawi as a social thinker and aliterary critic. He was like any great man who suffers always for his ideas in his life and only to be respected after his death.

Valuation of al-Zahawi's Poetry:

Al-Zahawi was the first Iraqi poet to cut down dirges and eulogy to the minimum. He also abandoned personal satire completely; and this proved to many of his generation that he was above the average of poets of his age. The quarrel among the critics over al-Zahawi's ability as a poet deserves no attention at all. Of course, he was a poet and a good one too. In his varied experiences he outstriped all other poets of the modern and contemporary era. What are the qualities of al-Zahawi's poetry? And what is new in his poetry?

The main quality of his poetry is simplicity, clarity and the simple and well-chosen words and phrases. Many of his similes are new descriptions and a new way of reflecting life. He was the first modern poet to introduce the symbol in Iraqi poetry. We do not mean by that symbolism as such; we mean the creation of ideas and giving them girls' names. His erotic poetry, therefore, is not sensual but a symbolic love. The beauty of freedom to him is like the beauty of a woman. He wrote symbolic love poems about Freedom, Justice, Home and Truth. The names which he gave to these ideas are many such as May, Suda and Layla. The last is among his best known names which he used for country or the Truth.

Among other qualities of his poetry is his philosophy which appeared with his elegies which are imbued with pessimism which was influenced by Abu'l Ala' Alma' ari, the blind philosopher of Syria and al-Khayyam whose Rubayat were translated by al-Zahawi into Arabic. His basic belief in Philosophy is the predetermination of the life of men. He did not believe in the freedom of man's destiny and in that he was influenced by al-Khayyam. The new thing which al-Zahawi and al-Rusafi created in modern verse is the nationalist poetry. Arabic poetry did not know in

tion for support. Indeed the present generation of Iraqi women must be thankful to that free social thinker who endangered his life for their liberation.

Forthly: The Artistic Reason

In the twenties there was a literary argument going on about who was the best among the poets of the age in the Middle East. Some preferred Shawqi in Egypt and some preferred al-Rusafi and others al-Zahawi. Attacks on al-Zahawi were very strong and cruel. He was accused of using unpoetical style and his poetry was described as a prose-like poetry; some of them attacked his usage of scientific material astronomic knowledge and philosophical theories in his verses. Indeed there are examples of this type of poetry which has no beauty and they are a source for information more than for enjoyment. Al-Zahawi, also wrote extensive amount of poetry which made his weakness appear more and often. In the face of the cruel attacks, al-Zahawi laid down his own points of view about criticism, poetry, its writing and its purpose. In the introduction of his diwan he says:

“Poetry must be written after the poet’s feeling of the experience. Poetry is a musical combination which moves the hearer. It cannot be subjected to any rule. I prefer my poetry to be natural and without exaggeration and I avoid the unrealistic. I believe that it is better to imitate nature. I try to make my poetry as logical as possible and without implying too much rhetoric. I see no objection to changing the rhyme after each few verses. Also I permit the poet to compose his poetry in any metre he chooses whether it is al-Khalil’s metre or not. I do not encourage an Arab poet to imitate the western poetry because each nation has special feelings and expressions which differ from those of another nation. I permit no one to commit grammatical errors but a good poet can form new words in the language which he uses. Poetry which has eternal values will never die,”(1).

1. *Diwan al-Zahawi, Introduction.*

He punishes the evil and rewards the good in the resurrection day: Al-Zahawi was not able to accept this simple picture but again he did not deny it! He put forward many questions and gave no answer. His ideas about the soul were contradictory. In his poetry he showed the inclination towards the annihilation of the soul. He reflected also, the idea of the soul's eternal life somewhere in a far away star. He denied the resurrection of the body but again he inquired about the unpunished wrong doer in this world and had asked: Will such a man be safe from punishment for ever? This argument led him to believe in the existence of a power which punishes the one who escapes the punishment in this world. He denied also the existence of Hell. In his last diwan which was published after his death the same perplexity appeared and he said that he did not believe all that he had said in his diwans. He accepted Darwins' Theory of Evolution! He suffered much for this religious contradiction of belief but no one can be sure about the poet's exact belief in the existence of God or eternity of the soul.

Thirdly: The Social Reason

One of the reasons for the backward position of the East is the oriental traditional taboos. In the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries some of the social reformers tried to incite the Eastern people to change this attitude towards their social traditions. The main problem was women's emancipation and education. One of these social free thinkers was al-Zahawi and he had suffered very much for it. He campaigned for more freedom for the Iraqi women and attacked the authority which men hold over women. He attacked also the interference between the woman and her choice of the man she wants to marry. He criticized the dowry system and attacked the idea of forcing a girl so fair and so young to marry an old man because of his money. He thought to give the right of divorce to man only is wrong because man misuses his rights.

On this issue the attack was strongest against the poet. The rabble who were incited by theologians tried to kill al-Zahawi because he demanded the women's right to be educated. He was depending on the young genera-

Muslims. The Sultans' dictatorship made it more difficult for him to find out the true impulses of his opposition, whether they were coming from the liberal group or the pro-western group.

Al-Zahawi was against the Sultan's authority from a very early period. It seems that al-Zhawī's opposition to the Sultan was because of the influence of English agents who tried to encourage the Arabs to revolt against the Turks. Many others had also fallen under such influence, such as Nuri al-Sa'id, who was a student in a military school, Yasin al-Hashimi and al-Rusafi.

The Arabs who were in France were under the influence of the French. Al-Zahawi therefore praised the English and their justice and he had earned for attacking the Caliph the theologians' enmity in Islamic and Arab countries, because of the theologians' dependence on the Sultan's authority. To them the Sultan was God's shadow on earth. His attacks excited rabbles against him in Baghdad but he was not killed. The history was on the side of al-Zahawi and the English were by 1918 in Baghdad. Throughout the occupation period he was free and was working for the (mandate) Government; he was also a correspondent at *al-Muqattam* a pro-English newspaper. Miss Bell called him in her letters "our poet". In 1920 he gained the enmity of the pro-Sultan theologians as well as the nationalists because he took no part in the revolution against the English. The reasons were his individual outlook and his passion for the English. After the constituting of the Iraqi Government the English supported him no more and Faisal I was against him. No one can give a clear cut idea of al-Zahawi's policy towards the different authorities under whose rule he lived under (their rule) but his love for his country is very deep, strong and sincere.

Secondly: The Religious Reason

Islam is a simple religion. Its belief is summarized as follows: There is a creator called Allah. He created the world and the human body and soul.

The poet's psychological trait after he was let down by all the people around him was reflected clearly in his *Rub'aiyat* which appeared day by day in al-Iraq newspaper. The opposition treated him harshly and he felt it was time to leave Iraq as others had done. He left in 1924 by road to Egypt and passed by Damascus and Beirut where he was received honourably. His *Rub'aiyat* was published in Beirut at the expense of some of his admirers. In Egypt he published his poetical collections "*Diwan al-Zahawi*". It contained his new compositions and his old collections "*al-Kalim al-Manzum*" which had appeared before that in Beirut in 1911/1377 .

His love for Iraq overcame his hatred for the opposition; he therefore returned once more to his country. His relationship with the court became watered down. In 1928 he published his fourth poetical collections *al-Lubab*; (then the posthumous diwan) *al-Thumala* (which) appeared posthumously in 1939. The poet died in 1936.

The reader of al-Zahawi's poetry feels the poet's bitterness. He complained against the people and accused the society of cruelty against him and of depriving him of the honour which was due to a poet and a thinker of a good quality. It is a fact, al-Zahawi was the best Iraqi mentality of the (transferring) period in modern (literary history). Why was al-Zahawi deprived of what he deserves?

There are different reasons for this:

First: political reason

Al-Zahawi admired European civilization, European science and culture. He was one of the early Iraqis who were influenced by modern ideas which originated in Europe and had passed to Turkey through journalism, translated books and the disciples of European way of life. It was also possible that al-Zahawi had fallen under the influence of the western agents who were working against the interest of Turkey and the

When the constitution was declared he returned to Constantinople and was appointed as a teacher of Islamic philosophy in al-Jami'a al-Malayiyya and later as a teacher of Arabic literature in Dar al-Funun in the beginning of 1908. His disease which paralysed him later had attacked him again and he found it necessary to return to Baghdad and there he was appointed a teacher of religious law in the College of Law. In 1908 he published an essay in an Egyptian newspaper about women's emancipation which excited the rabble of the streets against him. They were encouraged by theologians and tried to kill the poet; so he found it necessary to remain in his house for a week. To calm the angry rabble the Turkish Authority in Baghdad ordered him to discontinue his lectures in the college.

The Egyptian and Syrian writers assisted the poet and he was restored later to his old job. He was elected also as representative of al-Muntafiq liwa in parliament in Constantinople.

Throughout the First World War he was in Iraq. He remained in Baghdad when the English had occupied the ancient city. Some of his enemies tried to incite the English to put him in prison. Because of his being a correspondent of the pro-English Egyptian newspaper, *Al-Muqattam* he was left free. He was very moderate in his opposition to the English Authority. This earned him the hate of the nationalists. Throughout the occupation period he was appointed as a member in Ma'jlis al-Ma'arif. In 1916 then he was appointed the head of the translation committee. The committee translated about seventeen Turkish laws. In 1920 he took no part in the Iraqi Revolution against the English Authority. After the foundation of the Iraqi Government he lost the English support and earned for ever the nationalists' enmity and with them the conservative people and religious men. When Faisal came to Iraq he tried to use the poet for his own services as the English did but the poet refused his generous offer and resented the idea of being a poet in the Bedouin King's court.

As a punishment for the stubborn poet he deprived him of his job in the Ministry of Justice which earned him about 700 rupees.

PART I
MODERN SCHOOL OF IRAQI POETRY

Chapter 1

AL-ZAHAWI AND AL-RUSAFI

Al-Zahawi: (1863-1936!) (1219-1355)

Jamil b Muhammed Faidi al-Zahawi was born of Kurdish parents from the Baban tribe but his ancestors were the descendants of the famous Arab leader Khalid b'l Walid and they had married in a Kurdish family. His father was the Mufti of Baghdad. He was called al-Zahawi because his grandfather had lived at the village of Zahaw. It is situated in the north of Iraq. The poet was born in Baghdad in June 1863/1279.

He studied in a religious school; then he was appointed in his youth as a member of Majlis al-Ma'arif of Baghdad in 1885. Later he was appointed in 1888 the director of the Wilaya Press and the Arabic editor of the official newspaper al-Zawra. In 1890 he was appointed a member of the Court of Appeal. When he was 33 years old he went to Constantinople. Sultan Abdul Hamid's Intelligence Service informed the Sultan that al-Zahawi was against him and his rule. To get rid of him he was sent away to Yemen as a member of the reforming mission in 1910/1328 A.H. and after a year he returned to the capital and was given a medal for his services for the Turkish Empire.

In Constantinople he contacted the Turkish Liberals and the Sultan was forced to put him in prison and was later sent away to Iraq under guard. In Baghdad he was forced not to leave the city and he was paid amonthly pay of 15 Turkish Dinars.

experiences in one narrow side of their love life as a subject for some of their works. Among the poets of this school are: Baland al-Haydari, Husain Mirdan, Musa al-Naqdi, Mahmud al-Rifi and Nazik al-Mala'ika.

The political school before the Revolution on the 14th of July 1958 represented one aspect. That was the opposition of the authority in Iraq at that time. The authority before the 14th of July was a public menace and hedious institution which took orders directly from the imperialistic powers. After the Revolution the political direction was very clear. The school divided itself in more than one group. Each group sided with a certain political belief. Poets became disciples of political ideas. They no longer expressed the peoples' desires.

The same arrangements into groups is true of the school of story-writers. Modern Iraqi story began in the 20th century. It was written first in verse, as seen in the poetry of al-Rusafi and al-Zahawi and their school. Then it began to be written in prose from 1920, when Ahmad al-Sayyid began to publish his works (ever written in the modern Iraqi story).

state of mind lies in the education of these young poets. Most of them, as we shall see, do not read or speak more than Arabic. Some of them have a slight knowledge of English but is not enough to enable them to read and influence their literary education, or to make them give up the stiff rules and obligation of the old Arabic poetical art. Most of these poets are students and admirers of the classical Arabic poetry. Some of them also were influenced on a narrow scale by Persian or American literatures. Some of the poets of this school are Nu man Mahir al-Kan ani, Dr. Yousif Izziden (before his study in Europe), Hilal al-Naji, Ata al-Azami, and Dr, Salih Jawad T uma (before his study in America).

Secondly, the social school: the main features of this school are that it takes society as a subject for its compositions, either as a whole or in part. Also, this school has written, to a certain extent, love-songs and political compositions. Another feature in the production of this school is the freedom which some of the poets adopted in departing from metre and rhyme.

Thirdly, the Independent School: we turn now to a very modern and young school. Their production began to appear in 1946. There are four features in the production of this school. The first is the influence to a great degree, of western literature, either by reading it directly in its own language, or by translations, and the nearness of their style and feelings to the western poets. The second is the weakness of the productions of some of them from the grammatical or the philological point of view by using unclassical words or by using wrong style, more than the normal in order to express their ideas. The freedom which some of the poets of this school give themselves more than the other schools in their departing from the metres and rhymes can be added as a third quality.

The fourth quality is that they followed generally the theory of "Art for Art's Sake". Their productions generally are reflective and personal considerations of themselves or any universal matter. They tried to philosophise and sophisticate their feelings. Some of them made their own

The Second World War was a signal of the rise of New Schools in Iraqi poetry and story. These young writers and poets became inclined towards specialization in their subject matter. The literary qualities of these schools are: the change in the form and, with some, breaking away from the old metres and rhyme.

The factors which have led to this new situation are the change of the educational system and the influence of other Arab poets especially in America. The most important factor is the influence of European literature in thought and form on the minds of the young Iraqis. Since the Second World War (till now) a large number of Iraqi students returned home from Europe bringing with them new ideals and new ideas. In Iraq, today, many schools and colleges teach different European languages which leave their stamp also. Many books in literature, psychology, sociology, philosophy and science were translated into Arabic and such a large amount of works have their influence on our contemporary literature.

It is possible to divide the group of young poets into three schools. The following divisions are not absolutely decided and definite because one can find quality of some school in the poetry of a poet belonging to another school:

First. the school of love-songs and political poetry: two important features appear in the production of this school and here two features are inherited from Al-Rusafi and al-Zahawi's school. First is the political duty of the poet and his standpoint according to the society. All the poets of this school follow the theory of 'Art for society's sake'. Some of the poets began with the last-mentioned outlook in their first production but soon afterwards they changed their course. Some of them followed the two courses at the same time, with preference for the theory: "Art for the society" and they leave freedom to the poet to choose and try all his different abilities. The second feature in the production of this school is conservatism and the upholding of the old Arabic metres as they were laid down for the first time by al-Khalil b. Ahmad. The reason for this

by the ancient and religious educational system. It continued its existence automatically from 1900 until 1939. Even now some of its men are still living but the school influence is diminishing in the bustle of modern life. In the present political and social struggle they are out of the way. They are utter strangers to the new ideas and the standards of modern literature. Before we speak about the schools of contemporary literature we like to quote the following text from Longrigg's History of Iraq, 1900-1950. He speaks in it about the condition of literature after the Second World War. He says "The output of original literary work was small. The modern Linotype Presses installed since the Second World War produced mainly Governmental or institutional works or pamphlets largely educational. Western publishing methods were not in use; books were printed at the author's expense and sold with difficulty through a bookseller; workmanship in book production, especially in binding and illustration, was notably poor. The lack of demand (especially after the Jewish exodus) (see!), the unwillingness of the rich to patronize letters; and at times a capricious censorship, had discouraged writers. There were but humble traces of creative effort and these confined to the fields of poetry (in which Iraq had always held its own in the Arab world) and to a lesser extent of fiction writing; women writers had earned a place in both.

"Interest in contemporary Arabic literature other than newspaper was slight, and the study of earlier Arabic works, though regarded as something of a national asset, did not greatly attract a younger generation who preferred the writing of Modern Europe,"(1).

Al - Rusafi's death in 1945 was a sign of the end of modern school which pays attention to the word more than to the idea. There are still poets who represent this school but their literature find not the same acclamation as it used to do. Indeed, the victory of this school in the beginning was due to the strong and colourful personalities of al-Zahawi and Rusafi more than to the actual value of such a literature.

(1) Longrigg : Iraq 1900-1950 P. 388

beginning of the 20th century. Love songs notwithstanding, need a happy society and restful environment where the man and women live together in peace and contentment. Our modern troubles in politics, economics, education and society forbade this for a while. The fifth quality shows the modern theories in different sciences, names of well-known European personalities in every field of education and in political names of invention which were Arabicised and entered the language. All these attracted the poets of the era. The poems of al-Zahawi, al-Rusafi and their school were filled with these subjects which are of no importance for the poet or his poems if we are searching for a better ideal in poetry, that is to say the beauty of the experience of the poet in all its aspects namely in thought, rhyme words and metre, etc. The sixth quality is that this period in the history of Iraqi literature is characterized either by taking from foreign poets their ideas only, or by a full and literal translation. Arabic literature thereby, began to enrich itself eagerly as it will appear in the second period (1939-1962) of contemporary Iraqi literature. The seventh quality is that the poets have no poetical language of their own in the construction of the sentence, its meanings, in the style and in the poetical inspiration of the word. Indeed, al-Rusafi's poetry is, sometimes, very near to the colloquial but often there is in it an archaic vocabulary which forces the reader to use the dictionary to understand it well.

The important poets in modern school are: al-Zahawi and al-Rusafi. They are without doubt the greatest poets of modern literary school in Iraq.

A large number of poets followed in the trail of the Two Masters but none of them was able to achieve the same standard of excellence and the variety of experience. Important names in this school are: Kazimi, Rida al-Shab(b)i, Baqir al-Shabibi, Ali al-Sharqi Muhammad Bhar al-Ulum and Mahmud al-Habbubi. Most of the poets of this school will be studied in the present work. In the shadow of modern life between 1900 and 1939 lived the remains of the 19th century school which was influenced

Yemen, Aden, Umman, Kuwait and Bahrain. Many young writers were influenced by western ideas and the influence of Egyptian and Iraqi literature on the minds of these young writers is immense. To conclude, we say a modern poet is the one who lived in the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century. Those who remained faithful to the poetical ideals of the Renaissance period among the living ones are counted among the modern poets as well.

By Mu asir (i.e, contemporary) we mean the literature which developed after the First World War and which was influenced by the political and social upheaval in the First and the Second World Wars. It also represents the anxiety of the present generation and describes faithfully their perplexity, anger and fears. Contemporary literature depicts also the modern political institutions and reflects the different attitudes of these institutions towards literature. Most important in a contemporary poet is that he is a living person not dead yet.

We feel a description of Modern Iraqi Poetry must be given and the qualities must be described.

The first quality of modern literature is that new fields were opened to the poets and on a larger scale for describing and discussing modern political relations between the Arabs and the Turks. Their poems became also an echo of the collision of West and East in politics. The poets' production also showed their bitterness because of the backward position of their country in politics and science. The second quality is that the poets turned their attention to the social field. Their new studies came by translations from Europe to Turkey and Egypt and concentrated on the description of the poor class of society with deep feeling and hopes.

This appears clearly enough in the collections of al-Zahawi and al-Rusafi poems. The third quality is that the love-songs of the modern era especially from nineteen hundred until nineteen hundred and thirty-nine, are in general fewer than we saw before Arabic Literary History. This is due to the political changes and the disturbed surroundings of the poet since the

influence in each other was unavoidable. What, then do we mean by Modern and Contemporary Arabic Literature?

The word *Adab* (i.e. literature) means, for the critics in Iraq and other Arab countries today, poetry and prose. There are different types such as: essays, short stories, novels and plays. Some of the historical works can be considered as a form of literature if the style is clear and beautiful.

By *Arabi* i.e. Arabic, we mean the work of the Art and not the author or his nationality or race. Shawqi in Egypt, al-Rusafi and al-Zahawi in Iraq were not Arabs but their literature is Arabic. It was written, in Arabic language and caused by Arabic culture. The impulses of this literature sprang also from the Arabic surroundings. The race, religion and political belief are not a standard for judgement of the poet's achievements anymore.

By Hadith (i.e. modern)we mean the literature which was written after the renaissance in the Arabic world. That was after the East had contacted the West and the two were very close to each other. We give, of course, no day or hour for the beginning of such a renaissance. Most of the historians, as we mentioned before, agreed that Napoleon's occupation of Egypt in 1892 was the beginning of it. Nevertheless, the renaissance differed from one Arab country to the other. It started in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon earlier than in Iraq. Also, it was in Iraq earlier than in Sudan and North Africa because of English and French Imperialism. The French tried without success to Frenchify and christianize the Muslim Arabs of their territories. They were, of course, successful in delaying the development and the change of the old literature which remained faithful to its Arabic origin in narrow religious schools. Unfortunately, some of the best cultured people in North Africa today think and write in French. The Southern part and the Middle of the Arabian Peninsula was also delayed in developing their literature because of the English imperialism and the Sheikh's theocratic rule. But, again, a new light began to shine from

office in the shrine of Abdul Qadir and while he was in office as a *Dafterdar*. When he was the Pasha of Baghdad he took pleasure in reading with small group of Alims till the plague occurred in Baghdad in 1830. He also helped the students and employed the intelligent ones in his offices. He tried, somehow to modernize his capital and schools and founded a printing press. He ordered a history book to be written in Turkish. It was called "*Dawhat al-wuzara*", and it was printed in Baghdad in 1246/1830.

Later, Madhat Pasha came to Baghdad in 1869 and founded a press and the first Iraqi newspaper *al-Zawrea'* which was published both in Turkish and Arabic . Later on, books became no longer rare in the hands of special persons or some families . Many books were printed between his time and the end of the 19th century. If we add that the Egyptian press helped in the publicity of the books it will be understood why we have taken Daud's period as the beginning of the rising in modern literature.

The modern system of teaching which appeared in the 19th century and was helped by the modernist Turkish rulers hastened this renaissance. Modern school followed a modern way in teaching and taught modern science and new theories. The foreign languages which were taught in them opened a wider horizon for the Iraqi student . The result of all this is a political awareness and a adesire to better the lot of the Arabs under the rule of their Turkish masters. This political awareness was followed by a change in the mental attitude of the young Arabs towards the existing political institutions.

New terms and words floated on the poems and essays of this modern period, such as : *watan* for home, *Shab* for nation, *Barlaman* for parliament, *Dustur* for constitution and *Jumhuryya* for Republic. Most important was the famous phrase : Justice, brotherhood and equality i.e. *Abdl, Ukhuwa wa Musawat*.

Modern literature, therefore appeared in the midst of the process of modernity, in the time when East had drawn near to the West and the

in journalism made the writers cut themselves adrift from the old style and throw all the dead material of the past centuries away and find an easier way to express their ideas in a new style of writing. Newspapers and magazines not only trained the modern and young writers but also, helped the evolution of Arabic style to meet the requirements and daily needs of the press. This eager need of the press helped to extend the capacity of some of the Arabic words and added new shades to the meaning of some of them. To satisfy the great need of the Arabic language in its classical and colloquial forms, writers and speakers of this language have adopted hundreds of words from different European languages. The new material inventions from Europe invaded not only the Middle Eastern market but their names invaded, also the spoken language and often the written literature.

Western Ideas and Thoughts enriched the modern literature, This happened after some hundreds of books were translated into Turkish and Arabic. Ideas and thoughts which appeared late in the 19th century in al-Rasafi and al-Zahawi's poems were those of the French Revolution Ideas. The influence of the Russian mind on Turkish literature through the Russian writers of the 19th century must also be considered. One can cite names such as Tolstoy, Tchekhov and others. Their influence appeared later in the style and spirit in Iraqi literature in the early period of the 20th century.

When did the Literary Renaissance begin in Iraq? Who were the patrons who helped it? And what were its results in literature?

Daud Pasha (1767-1851), the Turkish Vizier and Ruler of Baghdad was the patron of literature in the 19th century. No historian can cite another personality in this century who did more than Daud Pasha for literature and men of letters. This will be clear if we know that Daud Pasha spoke Arabic and wrote it and he was a poet himself. He knew quite well what the hard life of the Mullas and the Alims had meant. He, also, admired the Arabic education which was at the same time the way to understand religion. He taught the students when he was out of

THE TWO MASTERS OF MODERN IRAQI POETRY

Dr. D. Salloum

University of Baghdad, College of Arts.

Introduction:

The literary renaissance in Iraq was far behind the literary awakening of the Arabs in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. Historians fixed the date of Napoleon's occupation of Egypt in 1892 as a starting point of such an awakening. Many of the statements which were made about the importance of Napoleon's Military Invasion were exaggerated. The occupation of Egypt benefited the French imperialism and European interests more than it benefited the Egyptians or the Arabs on the whole.

Turkey was already in contact with Europe early in the 19th century. A group of its writers and free thinkers began to absorb the Western free thinking. The French Revolution and its ideals helped to increase the political awakening of the minorities in the Sick Man's Empire.

The political Movements for unity in Italy, Germany and the seceding of Greece and some other European territories from the Turkish Empire had a similar reaction among the young Arabs who were in Turkey and Europe.

The direct literary influence which helped in changing the old and worn out style came from the first group of Arab students who went to Europe to study there. The first of these literary missions were those who had been sent to Paris by Muhammed Ali Pasha, the Governor of Egypt, in 1826. When those students returned home they translated many books in literature, politics and science. The students of the Egyptian school which was founded for translation in the 19th century translated about 2,000 books into Arabic and Turkish.

Newspapers and magazines in Turkey and the Arab world, also, had a share in speeding up the development of style and thought. The need which appeared for a new style of easily understood thoughts and words