A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FREE VERSE IN

ARABIC AND KURDISH : THE LITERARY

CAREERS OF AL-SAYYĀB AND GŌRĀN.

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To the memory of my eldest brother

Kāka Gharīb

To my wife and my son Dijwār.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This study comprises, to the best of our knowledge, the first attempt to examine the modern poetry of Iraq, in both Arabic and Kurdish.   The development of poetry in both languages has been to some extent parallel and to some extent quite different.   In both, poets have revolted against classical forms, and the twentieth century has seen a progression from the Classical, through the Romantic period into Realism and Social Realism.   The two principal figures in the two literatures in Iraq, Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb in Arabic, and Gōrān in Kurdish, had, to a considerable degree, similar careers.   Both were pioneers in their respective fields, although particularly in the case of al-Sayyāb, there has been some dispute as to his real position.   Both devoted a substantial part of their lives to communism, and both eventually grew disillusioned with this political philosophy.

However, their experimentation with Free Verse (Shi^{c}r ḥurr) and their establishing it as the most important modern medium in the literatures of both languages were, without doubt, their most significant contributions, and it is on these aspects of their poetry that this study concentrates.

The chapters of the thesis deal with:

1.   The historical roots of the Shi^{c}r ḥurr movement in Iraq.

2.   The beginning of modern Kurdish Poetry in Iraq.

3.   Metre and rhyme in Kurdish poetry.

4.   A comparison between al-Sayyāb and Gōrān.

5.   The influence of European literature on Al-Syyāb and Gōrān.

6.   Myth and symbol in the poetry of Al-Sayyāb and Gōrān.

7.   Politics and Poetry.

TABLE OF KURDISH TRANSLITERATION

ء	'	ڤ	v
ئـ	a	ق	q
ا	ā	ك	k
ب	b	گ	g
پ	p	ل	l
ت	t	ڵ	ḷ
ج	c	م	m
چ	ch	ن	n
ح	ḥ	ه	h
خ	x	و	w
د	d	و	u
ر	r	وو	ū
ڕ	r̲	ۆ	ō
ز	z	ی	y
ژ	j	ی	ī
س	s	ی	ê
ش	sh		i
ع	c	Neutral vowel	
غ	gh	not representing	
ف	f	in writing	

CHAPTER ONE - THE HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE SHI^CR ḤURR MOVEMENT IN IRAQ

In investigating Shi^Cr ḥurr, it is clearly of the greatest importance to discover precisely what is meant by the term. Unfortunately scholars and literary critics differ as to the precise definition of this kind of poetry, and they refer to it by different terms: al-Shi^Cr al-ḥurr , used by Nāzik al-Malā'ika, al-Shi^Cr al-jadīd, used by al-Nuwayhi, in the title of his book Qaḍiyat al-shi^Cr al-jadīd, al-Shi^Cr al-ḥadīth, used by many poets; al-Shi^Cr al-talīq, used by Niqūlā Fayyād; al-Shi^Cr al-mursal, used by other poets, among them al-Zahāwī; Shi^Cr al-taf^Cīla, used by ^CIzz al-Dīn Amīn.

Amīn al-Rayḥānī (1876-1940), who followed Walt Whitman, says in the second volume of his Rayḥānīyyāt (1923) that the term Shi^Cr ḥurr is a literal translation of the Western terms 'Vers libre' in French, and 'Free Verse' in English:

"This type of new verse is called in French
'Vers libre' and in English 'Free Verse',
that is al-Shi^Cr al-ḥurr or rather al-
Muṭlaq. It is the latest stage at which
poetic development has arrived among
the Europeans, especailly among the
English and Americans. Milton and
Shakespeare liberated English poetry
from the chains of rhyme while the American
Walt Whitman liberated it from the
chains of prosody such as conventional

measures and the common metres. Nevertheless, this free verse has a new and special measure and the poem may come in various and different metres"[1].

Obviously, Shi^{c}r ḥurr differs from metrical patterns of the Classical poetry which is mostly constructed on the system of two corresponding units (Shaṭr: usually translated hemistich) in each of which there are either two feet as in hazaj and muḍāri^c, three feet as in kāmil and sari^c, or four feet as in mutaqārib and basiṭ[2]. Shi^{c}r ḥurr, however, is constructed on a single unit that varies in length, and whose metre varies from one verse to another[3]. The link between the Classcial Arabic metres and Shi^{c}r ḥurr is to be found in the feet that in both the foot (taf^{c}īla) is the real basis of metre. Thus, Arabic, Shi^{c}r ḥurr strictly adheres to the Khalīlian system of metres. Nāzik al-Mala'ika states that the traditional Arabic poetic forms apply equally to Shi^{c}r ḥurr:

> "The fact is that Shi^{c}r ḥurr follows the Arabic metrical rules, adhering fully to them. Its novelty lies only in the fact that it combines full lines with half-lines or parts of lines. This is proved if we take any good Shi^{c}r ḥurr poem and separate the half-lines from the parts of lines; we will end by having two poems in the Arabic style, without anything strange to them"[4]

This does not affect the reality of Shi^cr ḥurr as
poetry or its status as an innovative linguistic art
(fann lughawī badī^c); for there are to be found in it
restrictions imposed by the metre employed, in that this is
founded on the taf^cīla, as a prosodical base for a poem.
Furthermore, deviation from Khalīl's system of prosody does
not prevent a poem being categorized as "poetry".[5] There
is perhaps a precedent for the use of a freer form of verse
even as early as the end of the 8th Century. Some poems
were composed at that time based on one single foot.
According to Ibn Rashīq the pioneer of this kind of poetry
was Salm al-Khāsir (d. 802 A.D.) who used to compete with
Marwān ibn Abī Ḥafṣa in eulogising the Caliph and the
Barmakids.   He was also a good friend of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī
and Abū al-^cAtāhiya.[6] An example of his poetry is this
short urjūza in praise of the Caliph al-Hādī:

ثم انهمر   ألوى الدرر   غيث بكر   موسى المطر
دكم قدر   ثم غفر   ثم ايتسر   كم اعتسر
خيرٌ و شرْ   نفع وضر   باقى الأثر   عدل السيرْ
(7) بدرٌ بدرْ و المفتخر   فرع مضر   خير البشر

This sequence, as it stands, is majzū' (ie. a foot is
omitted from each verse). Two alternative arrangements
are possible: we may read it as mashṭūr (ie. with three feet
in each shaṭr, but still rhyming), thus:

ثم انهمر   غيث بكرْ   موسى المطر

ثم اليَسَرْ	الوى المررْ كم اعتَسَرْ
عدل السِّيَرْ	وكم قدرْ ثم غفرْ
نفع و ضرْ	باقى الأثرْ خير و ثرْ
بدرّ بدرْ	خير البشر فرع مضرْ

والمفتَخَرْ ..

Or as <u>masdūs</u> (i.e. with only one foot in each unit), thus:

موسى المطر

غيث بكر

ثم انهمر

الوى المرر

كم اعتسر

ثم ايسر

وكم قدر

ثم غفر ...

Umar Farrūkh says that these lines can be arranged as
<u>Shi^cr ḥurr</u>[8]:

موسى المطر غيث بكر ثم انهمر

الوى المرر

كم اعتسر ثم ايسر

وكم قدر ثم غفر عدل السير

باقى الأثر

خير و ثر نفع وضر

خير البشر فرع مضر بدرّ بدرْ

والمفتخر ..

It is perhaps tempting to see in the Muwashshah
an ancestor of Shi^cr ḥurr. This verse-form is certainly
considered to have exercised a considerable influence on
a number of the Mahjarī poets. Jayyusi, however, deals
with the matter in a definitive way:

> "The influence of this form (muwashshaḥāt)
> on free verse is limited to the fact that
> the revival of the art of muwashshaḥāt in
> modern times was a link in the chain of
> experimentation with the form of the Arabic
> poem, for the muwashshaḥāt provided an
> example of the possibility of having
> Shaṭrs of different lengths in the same
> poem. But the muwashshah....is not a
> free form of verse. In fact, it can
> well be said that it is even more re-
> stricted than the two hemistich form in
> its rigidity and elaborate composition,
> and when comparing it, from a prosodical
> point of view, with modern verse, one
> must remember its fixed and often
> intricate pattern. Another point to
> stress here is the connection and dependence
> of the muwashshaḥ on music. What at
> first sight would appear to the casual
> observer to have been a great revolution
> in poetic form was in fact nothing more

than the diligent attempts by the muwashshaḥ
poet to apply Arabic words to certain
tunes.... The muwashshaḥ will be found
basically different in several points.
Firstly, a great many muwashshaḥāt deviate
from the metres known to the Arabs, while
free verse does not. Secondly, the
classical type of muwashshaḥ is directly
dependent on music, whereas free verse
is completely divorced from singing.
Thirdly, it had to conform to a great
number of conditions, whereas free verse
enjoys a freedom unprecedented in the
history of Arabic poetry. Fourthly, the
muwashshaḥ, thanks to its dependence
a fixed pattern and on music, was given
to themes more suited to the spirit of
merriment and leisure, and much frivolity
dominates most muwashshaḥāt. Free verse
on the other hand, represents a movement
towards a greater seriousness in subject
matter and has been linked, right from
the beginning, with the modern experience
of the Arab individual and nation, in
its most crucial and tragic aspects"[9]

There is, however, another early literary phenomenon
that deserves serious consideration as a fore-runner of
Shi^{c}r ḥurr. This is <u>band</u>, a form which emerged in Iraq
in the 11th Century A.H. This is a type of poetry very
close to Shi^{c}r ḥurr, although written in prose form; the
dominant metres are <u>hazaj</u> and <u>ramal</u>, as being <u>buḥūr</u>
<u>mufrada</u> or <u>ṣāfiya</u>, that is, based on the repetition of the
same <u>taf^{c}īla</u> throughout. It units are of various lengths,
since the foot constitutes its basis rather than the
hemishich (<u>shaṭr</u>). Many poets and literary critics have
refused to regard it as a type of poetry at all[10].
According to Khulūsī, it lies between poetry and prose,
although tending rather towards poetry[11]. According to
Jayyusi:

> "In the band the writer does not commit
> himself to a pre-defined number of feet
> (tafā^{c}īl) as in the traditional metres
> of the two hemistic form, or in other
> classical verse from such as al-muwashshaḥ,
> but gives himself the freedom to vary
> the number of these feet between each
> unit".[12]

Yūsuf ^{c}Izz al-Dīn, referring to it in the magazine
<u>Yaqīn</u> of 16th April 1922, says:

> In its first volume this magazine published
> samples of Iraqi <u>band</u>. Ibn Durayd tried to
> eradicate it, but he failed. This magazine

has established that it is of Iraqi origin.
It has also mentioned that al-Akhras,
al-ʿAshārā, Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Ḥillī and
Ibn al-Khalfa were fond of employing it.
It published in the volume referred to
a sample of Ibn al-Khalfa:

أيها اللائمُ في الحب ،
دع اللوم عن الصبّ ،
فلو كنت تَرى الحاجبي الزُّجَّ ،
فوق الأعين الدُّعْجْ ،
أو الخد الشّقِيقي ،
أو الريق الرحيقي ،
أو القد الرشيقي،
الذي قد شابه الغصن اعتدالاً و انطَفانا ..{13}

Nāzik al-Malāʾika, in Qaḍāyā al-shiʿr al-muʿāṣir
(1962), discussed the question of whether the Iraqi poets
of Shiʿr ḥurr had imitated the style of band. Her ultimate
verdict was that they had not:

"When I first started composing Shiʿr ḥurr
in 1947, I knew only the name of band.
I had never read band before 1953. No
wonder, because band was never mentioned in
literary books which we read or studied.
None of the literary figures outside
Iraq had heard of it, until the publication
of this book (Qaḍāyā) in 1962....

I very much doubt whether Badr al-Sayyāb,
who graduated from the English department,
would have heard of it by 1946, because
I ... ... lf, regardless of my thorough
knowledge of Arabic tradition, heard
about it only after 1953. Therefore,
Shi^cr ḥurr is in no way the son of band
regardless of the overlapping between
them..... Moreover, band is a mere
development of the metres of Arabic
poetry. Though it added to these metres,
it did not violate them."[14]

Even in the same work, however, a certain ambivalence
of attitude appears:

"There is a great similarity between Shi^cr
ḥurr and band. In fact, band is shi^cr ḥurr
because:

1. It depends on the taf^cīla rather than
   the hemistich. 2. Their units are of
various lengths. 3. They have different
rhymes which the poet can vary at will"[15].

Thus she appears to argue that Shi^cr ḥurr originated
in the 11th century A.H. The principal difference between
the two, it seems to me, is the basic dependence of Shi^cr
ḥurr on one metre, while band employs a mixture of two.
All the same, it is not unknown for practitioners of Shi^cr

ḥurr to employ more than one metre in the same poem. For
example, Fu'ād Rafqa in his poem al-Qaṣīda al-ḍā'i^ca,
which was published in Shi^cr (1958), used three metres,
hazaj, ramal and rajaz[16], and al-Sayyāb, in his poem
Jaykūr ummī, also used three metres, Khafīf, ramal and rajaz:

تلك أُمّي ، وإن أُجبّها كسِيحا

لزمأ أزهارها والماء فيها ، والترابا

ونافضاً ، بمقلتي ، أُعشاشها والغابا :

تلك أطيار الغد الزرقاء والغبراء يعبرن السطوحا

أو ينشرن في بويب الجناحين : كزهر يفتح الأوفافا .

ها هنا ، عند الضحى ، كان اللقاء·

وكانت الشمس على شغافها تكسّر الأطيافا

و تسبغ الضياء،

كيف أُمشي ، أجوب تلك الدروب الخضرَ فيها وأطرق الأبوابا ؟

أطلب الماء فتأتيني من الغبار جِرّه ... (17)

Muḥammad Ḥasan al-A^crajī sees no connection between
the two:

> "In spite of the suitability of band as a
> new musical form, in that it was based on
> a system involving individual feet rather
> than an extended metre, and it adopted
> the principle of Saj^c in varying the lengths
> of the units, destroying the monorhyme,
> no-one continued to employ it or to develop
> it in the period of the Nahḍa (revival).
> It remained in the same state as it had
> appeared and did not have any influence on
> the music of Arabic poetry"[18]

Jayyusi is non-commital:

> "The metrical freedom achieved in the
> bands is the same freedom enjoyed by
> the modern Free-verse poet... the band
> is the first sustained through inad-
> vertent experiment which liberated metre.
> Any modern poet claiming precedence in
> this attempt ignores their early exper-
> iment. In fact, acknowledge of these
> bands would have saved the poet exper-
> imentalists before the late 'forties
> much laborious effort. But it is
> extremely difficult to know how well
> bands were known by the more fortunate
> Iraqi poets who finally succeeded in
> establishing free verse"[19].

The question of the possible or probable influence of
band, however, while interesting, must still remain speculative.
As we approach the twentieth century, we come to considerably
firmer ground. According to Anwar al-Jundī, Muṭran's plea,
in the magazine al-Majalla in 1900, for the liberation of
poetry from the restrictions of the classical forms,
influenced by contemporary European literary movements in
general and that of French in particular, can be regarded
as the first of its kind for the renewal of Arabic poetry[20].
It is generally accepted that it was Muṭrān whom the Dīwān
and Apollo schools in Egypt were following:

"Muṭrān brought about a revolution in
Arabic poetry and established a school
of followers and admirers who continued
his methods of treating new themes of
epic, dramatic and romantic poetry under
the influence of Western literature....
His approach has spread throughout most
of the Arab countries up to the present
day. In Egypt his followers included
Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī, Mukhtār al-Wakīl,
Ṣāliḥ Jawdat, Ibrāhīm Nājī, ᶜAli Maḥmūd
Ṭāhā, Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī and Muḥammad
ᶜAbd al-Muᶜṭī al-Himsharī.... [21]

Abū Shādī (1892-1955), himself one of the pioneers
of modern Arabic poetry, had no doubt of the importance of
the achievement of Muṭrān:

"The development of al-Shiᶜr al-mursal (blank
verse), al-Shiᶜr al-ḥurr, everything we
have achieved through our liberation
movement in composition, and the human-
istic and universal subjects which we now
deal with, are but a natural development
of the message of Muṭrān" [22].

However, both ᶜAbbās Maḥmūd al-ᶜAqqād (1889-1964)
and ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Shukrī (1886-1958) who, with ᶜAbd al-Qādir
al-Māzinī (1880-1949), established the Dīwān School, denied
Muṭrān's influence on their work. ᶜAqqād claimed:

".... Muṭrān is a poet who belongs to the
generation of Aḥmad Shawqī and Ḥāfiẓ
Ibrāhīm. He had no influence on the
Egyptian poets who came after him. These
poets were well acquainted with ancient
Arabic poets and were in strong contact
with European literatures, particularly
English literature. Thus they were able
to learn their language from ancient
Arabic poets and the new trends of poetry
from the European poets. Muṭrān does
not represent a link in either of these
cases. Unlike Muṭrān, the new poets
were readers of English..... and in their
criticism they did not look to French
criticism or follow Musset, Lamartine
and other French poets who were regarded
as the masters of eloquence in the form-
ative years of Muṭrān"[23].

Traces of Muṭrān's influence of the Dīwān school are,
in fact, obvious in the first Dīwān of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Shukrī,
Ḍaw' al-fajir (1909), in which he wrote a poem entitled
Kalimāt al-ᶜawātif, subtitled Qaṣīda min al-shiᶜr al-mursal[24].
He was, however, not the first Arab poet to attempt Shiᶜr
mursal :

"Under the impact of the West, some Arab
poets tried to introduce new poetic

diction, metaphors, and themes, and to
find new forms and music which suited
them, in order to be able to avoid what
they considered the enslaving style, and
the sonorous and declamatory tone of
classical Arab poetry.... Many critics
tried to discover who had been the
first Arab poet to use unrhymed verse
in modern Arabic literature. In an
article written by Durrīnī Khashaba
in al-Risāla, entitled 'al-Shi°r al-mursal
and our poets who experimented with
it', the writer said that he could not
decide whether the first poet in Egypt
and the Arab world to start writing in
Shi°r mursal had been °Abd al-Raḥmān
Shukrī or Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd...
Al-°Aqqād tried to answer this difficult
question and emphasized that the three
poets Tawfīq al-Bakrī (1870-1932) in
his poem Dhāt al-qawāfī, Jamīl Ṣidqī
al-Zahāwī in a poem in al-Mu'ayyad, and
°Abd al-Raḥmān Shukrī in his poems in
al-Jarīda were the first to try their hand
at it... In my opinion the first
experiment in blank verse in modern
Arabic literature took place before the

opening of the twentieth century, when
these experimetns were proceeding. This
was by Rizq Allah Ḥassūn (1825-1880) in
his versified translation of the eighteenth
chapter of the Book of Job in his Ash^{c}ār
al- hi^{c}r in 1869.... Al-Zahāwī can be
accepted as the first poet in the twentieth
century who tried to introduce 'blank
verse' into Arabic literature. Twice at
least, al-Zahāwī declared himself to be
the first poet to write Shi^{c}r mursal. In
1922 he said of rhyme in Arabic poetry...
"I am the first to reject it"; and in his
introduction to his Ba^{c}d alf ^{c}ām 'After a
thousand years',in al-Hilāl in 1927,he
said of the poem,.....'it is in blank
verse, which I introduced into Arabic
poetry, freeing it from the chain of rhymes'.

However in the second article he referred
to a poem publsihed in al-Mu'ayyad before
1908 as the first poem which he wrote in
Shi^{c}r mursal. It seems that al-Zahāwī is
referring to his poem entitled al-Shi^{c}r al-
mursal which he included in his anthology
al-Kalim al-manzūm.....[25].

Whatever may be the case with Arabic literature in
general, it seems, at any rate, reasonably certain that

al-Zahāwī was the first Iraqi poet to attempt Shi^c r mursal.
^c Abbās Tawfīq argued that al-Zahāwī not only revolted
against the restrictions of the rhyme but also that he was
dissatisfied with the monotony of the Khalīlian system of
metrics in general. He advocated that this system should
be developed, in the sense of creating new metres which
should emerge and spring up from the vernacular and every-
day language. To al-Zahāwī the classical metres were
capable of conveying the feeling and emotions of classical
poets adequately because they were the outcome of their own
native and everyday language[26]. However, Tawfīq concluded
that the classical metres did not suit the modern Arabic
language nor the feelings and emotions of modern poets.
In fact, he maintained that strict adherence to the classical
metres had a negative effect on modern poetry[27]. al-
Zahāwī produced an immature type of Shi^c r mursal, in which
he adhered to the two-hemistich lines:

> Al-Zahāwī was not aware of the possibility
> of the run-on line. The enjambement,
> one of the main techniques of English
> 'blank verse', was still unfamiliar to
> him because in classical poetry tadmīn
> is forbidden. His advocacy of blank
> verse reveals his conventional attitudes,
> and his misunderstanding of its nature...
> he rejected the organic unity of the poem
> which other poets tried to introduce into
> Arabic poetry"[28].

The greater success of the Egyptian poets who followed al-Zāhāwī's attempt at Shi^c r mursal in this genre may be attributed to the influence of Western literature on them, which enabled them to reach a better understanding of its techniques[29]. It should be pointed out that al-Zāhāwī was influenced in his new approach by the new Turkish literary movement of the 1860's, which in turn was much affected by European, particularly French literature and culture[30]. Al-Zāhāwī spent two years in Istanbul (1896-98), during which he met many distinguished Turkish poets such as ^c Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥāmid (1851-1937), Tawfīq Fikrat (1867-1917) and Muḥammad Ra'ūf (1875-1931), who were deeply influenced by French vers libre[31]. At the same time, he was influenced by Syrian and Lebanese poets who also revolted against the classical forms of Arabic poetry[32]. It is likely that he knew Sulayman al-Bustānī's translation of the Iliad, in which he had used a monorhyme at the beginning and had then employed various different forms of Western prosody, including blank verse[33].

In addition to Shi^c r mursal, which clearly has a place in the ancestry of Shi^c r ḥurr, we should also consider Shi^c r manthūr, which is

"Poetry organised to the cadence of speech
and image patterns rather than according
to a regular metrical scheme"[34]

Shi^cr manthūr is without metre, and is usually
rhymeless, but may employ rhyme sometimes as a decoration[35].
Some literary critics consider that Shi^cr manthūr differs
from the prose poem[36], because whilst Shi^cr manthūr is
written in lines, the prose poem is written like any ordinary
prose writing, having no distinctive layout, but depending
for its effect on variation of short and long sentences as
units and on variation of rhythm from one sentence to another:

> "There is a marked difference in rhythm
>
> between al-Shi^cr al-manthūr and the
>
> prose poem, especially noticeable when
>
> the two are read aloud. The sentence
>
> is also varied according to the mood"[37].

Most authorities consider that the first attempts
to write Shi^cr manthūr in Arabic were those of the Lebanese
poet Amīn al-Rayhānī, whose name was one of the first to
become well-known in the Mahjar group. His first experiment
in this new type of verse was a short prose poem al-Hayāt
wa-l-mawt, which he published in al-Hilāl, vol. 2, October
1905. Jurjī Zaidān, the editor wrote an interesting
introduction to al-Rayhānī's poem, which he referred to as
being in Shi^cr manthūr[38]. Many Arab critics have held the
view that the influence of al-Rayhānī's attempt at Shi^cr
manthūr can be traced in many modern Arabic poets in a number
of ways:" in the unity of theme; the division of the piece
into shorter or longer stanzas; the use of short sentences,
repetitive phrases and invocations, and of images, and
metaphors taken from nature."[39]. It was not unitl 1911

that this poetic experiment reached Iraq, where it was
received with little initial enthusiasm, owing, no doubt,
to Iraq's isolation from Western culture[40]. Nevertheless,
a number of Iraqi poets were subsequently influenced by
al-Rayḥānī. This poem by Wilyam Dayyāb Niᶜma, which was
published in the newspaper Ṣadā Bābil (1911) under the
title Shiᶜr manthūr, expresses feelings that seem to have
been fairly widely shared:

ليس ما نجهله يجعلنا جهلاء
بل ما ندعيه
ليس ما نراه به يجعلنا ودعاء
بل ما نقصده
ليس ما ننشره يجعلنا أدباء
بل ما نفعله
ليس ما نعمله يجعلنا أتقياء
بل ما نرتاضه (41)

Literary activity in Iraq did not remain stagnant
for very long. The visit of al-Rayḥānī in 1922 brought
new life to it, and Iraqi poets began to experiment more
generally with Shiᶜr manthūr and its techniques. According
to Yūsuf ᶜIzz al-Dīn, al-Rayḥānī's visit to Iraq can be
regarded as providing the greatest impetus of modern times
to Iraq's cultural development[42]. Rufā'il Buṭṭī (d.1956)
was perhaps one of those who were most deeply influenced by
al-Rayḥānī. In an article published in al-Ḥurriyya, he
said:

"The master Amīn al-Rayḥānī followed the
method of the American poet Walt Whitman
in the liberation of poetry from the chains
of metre and rhyme. He originated the style
of <u>Shiᶜr manthūr</u> in Arabic, and many poets
imitated his method, particularly those
in the Mahjar. In the time of Dr. Niqūlā
Fayyāḍ..... he started a new intellectual
movement which created a new style in
Arabic poetry"[43]

Yūsuf ᶜIzz al-Dīn gives several examples of <u>Shiᶜr</u>
<u>mursal</u>, <u>Shiᶜr manthūr</u> and <u>Shiᶜr ḥurr</u> published in Iraqi
magazines and newspapers during the period between 1911
and 1945. Among these he quotes two which were published
in the magazine <u>al-Ṣaḥīfa,</u> vols. 3 and 4, 6-21, February
1925. One was entitled <u>Ayyatuha l-fatāt</u>, by "Samīr al-
Kawākib",who was probably Muḥammad Basīm al-Dhayyāb[44].
The Second, entitled <u>Ishtakā</u>, by the same poet, was
clearly a close imitation of Nasīb ᶜArīda's poem <u>al-Nīhāya</u>:

كفنوه .

و اسكنوه

لمزة اللحد العميق .

فهو شعب ميت ليس يفيق

التي منها :

اشتكى : اشتكى لكن الى من اشتكى ؟

اخبري : اخبريني انت يا نفس أخبري !

واجبرى : واجبرى قلبى الكسير المشتكى

أشتكى للريح هبت فى السحر ؟
لرعود السحب ، أم قطر المطر ؟
لخرير الماء واغصان الشجر ؟

أم لأمواج البحار الهائمه
فاتركى : اتركينى بين أحزانى اتركى
أشتكى : أشتكى لكن الى من أشتكى

كلها تشكو : فتغريد الطيور (45)

The structure and method of al-Nihāya were also
imitated by other poets. Among them we may mention Anwar
Shā'ūl, whose poem, published in the newspaper al-ᶜIrāq
(1929), under the title Min ughniyātī lahā, employs the
same metre (ramal) as ᶜArīda's poem, there are
some differences between the pattern of this poem and that
of Arīda's:

> Anwar Shā'ūl informed me (Moreh) that in the
> first couplet he was influenced both
> by Nasīb ᶜArīda's poem, and by his uncon-
> ventional attitude in developing new
> forms"(46)

The following example illustrates this:

اسمعيني

أنصفيني

أسعفيني بالوداد

قبلما يصحو فؤاد

أسكبي في القلب حبا

سائغاً مثل العسل

سكراً مثل الأمل

--- ---- ----

ولتكوني مثلما قد كنت أو سوف أكون

مثلا للعاشقين

واذا ما غبت يوماً فليكن طيفي بجنبك

باسماً أحلى ابتسام

ناثراً زهر السلام

عازفاً لحن الغرام

منشداً : يا حبذا لو تخلد الروح بقربك (47)

The newspaper al-Istiqlāl in 1926 published a poem
by Abū Salmā which was described as Shi^cr mursal:

نسمة الصبح اذا زرت الشآم

سحرا

فاخشعي واهدي الى ربعى السلام

عطرا

والثرى تربتها فهي نديه

قد غدت من دم أبنائها رويه

هي أرض المجد مثوى الشمم

يا أخلائى قفوا وابكوا الربوع علنا (48)

Again, during the period 6-18 May 1930 Istiqlāl
published four poems, namely: Ilā fatāt al-sharq by Madḥat
which he designated as shi^c r mursal, and three by Khidr
Ṣāliḥ, Jihādī fī bilādī, which he designated as Shi^c r mursal,
Ifānī wa-l-mamāt and Ḥabībatī wa-l-ḥubb, which he designated
as naẓm ḥurr.[(49)] Some poets did not pay much attention to
these experiments, arguing that the Arab ear and taste were
not used to unrhymed verse, and claiming that rhyme was an
essential element[(50)].

The early experiments are merely the harbinger of the
more sophisticated shi^c r ḥurr which, coming into prominence
in 1946-7, quickly came to dominate Arab poetry. The
efforts of the Mahjar, Dīwān and Apollo schools were immature
compared with those of the Iraqi practitioners of Shi^c r
ḥurr such as al-Malā'ika, al-Sayyāb, al-Bayyātī, al-Ḥaydarī,
^c Abd al-Wāḥid, al-Ḥillī and Mardān. According to al-Malā'ika,
those who wrote Shi^c r ḥurr before 1947 did so accidentally,
without being in a position to explain the importance of
what they were doing[(51)]. Without doubt, she was the one
who effectively established this genre. In an interview
about its pioneers, she said, somewhat extravagantly:

> "When in 1947 I composed the poem al-Kūlīrā,
> which was the first free poem in [Arabic
> poetry], my father, the literary historian
> Ṣādiq al-Malā'ika, made fun of it and
> ridiculed it, forecasting that no Arab
> reader would accept it. I defiantly

replied that this poem of mine would turn

a new page in Arabic poetry, because I

felt that I had discovered a splendid

new poetic style of great significance...

At that time, I did not realise the ground

work of this form had been laid by a

group of poets, each of whom had composed

one poem. For this reason I wrote my

article entitled "Ḥarakat al-shi^{c}r al-ḥurr

fī l-^{c}Irāq", pubished in the Lebanese

magazine al-Adīb in 1954, in which I

stated that Shi^{c}r ḥurr was born in

Iraq, from where it spread to the rest

of the Arab countries.... This theory,

perhaps, remained acceptable until it

became clear to all of us that the Shi^{c}r

ḥurr form had roots that extended to

earlier Arab poets. The experiments

of those colleagues, however, did not

attract any poet to employ it in his

poems, or cause any excitement. No

one praised the attempt and no one

was infuriated by it. These attempts

passed away like a rose swept away by

a stream, leaving no trace. My free

poems which appeared in my collection

Shaẓāyā wa ramād, published in 1949,

attracted attention immediately and caused
furious arguments in the newspapers.
In fact, soon after its publication, young
poets began to respond to my call and to
publish their first free poems, many of
them dedicating them to "Nāzik al-Malā'ika".
This establishes the fact that they heard
of Shi^{c}r ḥurr from me, not from any of
my predecessors. In addition, to this,
even if I was anticipated in Shi^{c}r ḥurr
by the 'groundwork' that I have spoken of,
I was, at any rate, the first to call
officially for its use, in the introduction
to Shaẓāyā wa ramād. This was the call
which caused excitement and attracted
attention to Shi^{c}r ḥurr"[52].

It was her poem, and one by al-Sayȳāb, published
almost simultaneously, that astonished the critics and laid
the corner-stone of Shi^{c}r ḥurr in Arabic. in Qaḍāyā al-shi^{c}r al-
mu^{c}āṣir, she claims al-Kūlīrā as the first example of Shi^{c}r
ḥurr in Arabic peetry. She composed it on 27th October
1947 and had it published by the Beirut magazine al-Urūba
on 1st December 1947. It reached Baghdad on the same
day[53]. The date of its composition is stated in several
places, particularly her article Ḥarakat al-shi^{c}r al-ḥurr,
her book Qaḍāyā al-shi^{c}r al-mu^{c}āṣir and the introduction
to this by ^{c}Abd al-Hādī Maḥbūba. The circumstances of

its composition are mentioned in a footnote to the poem,
which is repeated in the first chapter of Qaḍāyā entitled
Bidāyat al-Shi^cr al-ḥurr wa ẓurūfuhu:

> "I composed that poem (al-Kūlīrā) to express
> my deep concern for Egypt which was stricken
> by a cholera epidemic. I wrote it to
> depict the pounding of the horses' hooves
> as they pull the carts full of the dead
> in the Egyptian countryside. In order to
> express myself emphatically and effectively
> I discovered shi^cr ḥurr"[54].

Al-Malā'ika has tried to show that she was the original
pioneer of Shi'^cr ḥurr in the Arab world and to deprive
other poets of this title. While we may accept her influential
role in the formation of this genre of verse, we should
not, at the same time, ignore the role of other poets who
participated significantly in its development. There are
some who deny that the poem is in Shi^cr ḥurr at all:

طلع الفجر
اصغ الى وقع خطى الماشين
في صمت الفجر ، اصخ ، انظر ركب الباكين
عشرة اموات عشرونا
لا تحصى اصخ للباكينا
اسمع صوت الطفل المسكين
موتى ، موتى ، ضاع العدد
موتى ، موتى ، لم يبق غد

في كل مكان جسد ينديه محزون

لا لحظة اخلاد لا صمت

هذا ما فعلت كف الموت

الموت الموت الموت

تشكو البشرية تشكو ما يرتكب الموت (55)

In this extract we notice that al-Malā'ika employs a single foot (taf^{c}īla) of Khabab (fa^{c}lun). Thus, the first line contains two feet, the second four, the third six, the fourth, fifth sixth, seventh and eighth four, the tenth, eleventh four, the twelvth three and the thirteenth six . She also feels free to change the rhyme according to the sense; so, in the second stanza of the poem; a, bb, cc, b, dd, b, eeee.

In the very same month as in which al-Kūlīrā was published, al-Sayyāb published his first Dīwān Azhār dhābila (Withered flowers). A poem in this collection entitled Hal kāna hubban (was it love?) was as al-Sayyāb himself describes it in a footnote, a new attempt at verse which has varying rhymes and metres, as in most Western poetry particularly the English[56]. The Dīwān was published in Egypt in 1947 and reached Iraq in December of that year. It seems that this poem was written two months before the date of publication. When he later published his Dīwān Azhār wa asātīr (Beirut n.d.), he again included Hal kāna hubban, which he dated 29 November 1946; this is compatible with the date suggested above. Here is the second stanza of the poem:

العيون الحور، لو أصبحن ظلاً في شرابي

جمّت الأقداح في ايدي صحابي

دون أن يحظين حتى بالحباب

هيئي، يا كأس، من حاناتك السكرى، مكانا

تتلاقى فيه، يوما، شفتانا

في غفوه و النهاب

و ابتعاد شاع في آفاقه ظلُّ اغتراب (57)

This irregular poem is composed in the <u>ramal</u> metre.
It consists of four stanzas, like al-Malā'ika's, though in
al-Sayyāb's poem the line-lengths and the rhyme scheme are
different in each stanza, while al-Malā'ika uses the same
pattern of both.   The first line of the extract consists
of four feet, the second of three, the third of three, the
fourth of four, the fifth of three, the sixth of two and
the seventh of four.   The poem consists of four stanzas
with variations in rhyme as follows:

Stanza 1:   aaa, bb, aa

Stanza 2:   bb, c, aa, ac

Stanza 3:   b, cc, aaaa

Stanza 4:   aaa, d, b.

Nājī ^CAllūsh states, rather strongly, in his intro-
duction to al-Sayyāb's Dīwān vol. 1:

"A thorough study of the poem indicates that
al-Sayyāb did his best to follow a varied
pattern but failed to achieve this"[38]

Thus he asserts that al-Kūlīrā is closer to Shi^cr ḥurr than Hal kāna ḥubban, but that the poems that al-Sayyāb wrote from 1948 are more representative of this genre that those of al-Malā'ika[59].

Rufā'il Buṭṭī, however, commented in the introduction to al-Sayyāb's Azhar dhābila:

> "Al-Sayyāb is attempting a new form in his
> poem Hal kāna ḥubban ?. He is using various
> metres and changing rhyme, imitating
> European poetry. We hope that he carries
> on in this way"[60].

Al-Sayyab himself described this poem in the intro-
duction to his second Dīwān, Asāṭīr:

> "I observed through my readings in English
> poetry that there is a beat (ḍarba) which
> is equivalent to our foot (taf^cīla),
> and the hemistic (shaṭr) or the verse
> (bayt) which consists of similar kinds
> of beat in the rest of the verse, but
> it varies in number in some poems -
> I found that it is possible to keep
> the harmony of music in the poem, in spite
> of the diversity of the music of verses,
> by using the metre which has integral
> feet on condition that the number of
> feet changes from verse to verse. My

first experiment of this kind was in the

poem <u>Hal kāna ḥubban</u> contained in my

first collection <u>Azhār dhābila</u>. This

type of music was received with approval

by several young poets, among them the

outstanding poetess Nāzik al-Malā'ika"[61]

Ṣalāḥ ᶜAbd al-Ṣabbūr commented on the poem:

"This poem was the starting point that

paved the way for contemporary Arab poets.

Badr's ambition is the reasons for his

success as well as failure... he has the

right to claim the title of pioneer of

the new literary movement without dispute"[62]

However, concerning the question as to who the pioneer

of Shiᶜr ḥurr in modern Arabic was, al-sayyāb himself wrote

an article entitled Taᶜlīqān (two comments) published

in al-Ādāb (1954) in which he mentions the attempt of ᶜAlī

Aḥmad Bākathīr (d.1969) to translate Shakespeare's <u>Romeo</u>

<u>and Juliet</u> in verse. This was published in Cairo in 1946,

ten years after he had translated it, according to what

he says in his preface. He referred to his translation

as a mixture of <u>Shiᶜr mursal</u> and <u>Shiᶜr ḥurr</u>[63]. In the

same article, al-Sayyāb discusses al-Malā'ika's article

<u>Ḥarakat al-shiᶜr al-ḥurr fī l-ᶜIrāq</u>, which he represents as

misleading for the history of the development of Shiᶜr ḥurr:

"Miss Nāzik claims that the newspapers

published no Shiᶜr ḥurr between the

time of the publication both of my Dīwān
Azhār dhābila and of her poem al-Kūlīrā
which is not shi^cr ḥurr - and the publication
of her Dīwān Shaẓāyā wa ramād. This is
not true. I myself published during that
time no less than five poems in Shi^cr ḥurr
in the Baghdadi and Najafī newspapers.
Also Buland al-Ḥaydarī (b.1926) published
one more poem in the magazine al-Adīb. It
is a fact that no one can ignore that the
contemporary Arab poets who have written
in Shi^cr ḥurr have not followed in the
steps of Nāzik or Bākathīr, but in the
steps of the present writer"[64].

He suggests that al-Kūlīrā is, in fact, a type of
muwashshaḥ[65]. Moreh agrees:

"It is true that Nāzik al-Malā'ika's first
experiment in her al-Kūlīrā was not free
verse.... It seems to me that this is
the type of strophic verse known in English
as monostrophic ode..... In fact this form
is far from free".[66]

Various literary critics have offered varying opinions
concerning the identity of the pioneer of Shi^cr ḥurr.
According to Iḥsān ^cAbbās:

"The two qaṣīdas that have been described
as being the beginning of the new departure
in poetry, that is Nāzik's qaṣīda "al-kūlīrā"
and al-Sayyab's "Hal kāna ḥubban", cannot
be taken as a strong indication of anything
except a partial change in structure. The
first is a musical trot for that dreadful
cortege that death portrays, and an
external description of the achieving of
the arousal of fear - without the ability
to do so - by means of the selection of
scenes through which an attempt is made to
portray the horror of calamity. The
point of departure of the second is an
attempt to define the concept of love,
whether it is lamentation and similing,
or the fluttering of the ribs at meeting..
were it not for a minute difference between
the various units, this qaṣīda would never
be mentioned in the history of modern
poetry"[67].

Elsewhere, ᶜAbbās supports Nāzik's claim:
"Al-Sayyāb composed one poem before 1948
in which he claimed to have discovered
a new form (of poetry). This qaṣīda,
however, diverges only in trifling

respects from the ancient form, and it
did not greatly inspire anyone, while
Nāzik, in 1949, published a Dīwān most
of which followed this new form; in it
was an attempt to embark upon novelties
and variation within this very form. It
also had a precise critical intorduction...
Al-Sayyāb's introduction to his Dīwān
Asāṭīr (1950), on the other hand,
represents a childish confusion and
superficiality of understanding of
English poetry... Al-Sayyāb is deceiving
himself when he claims to have been the
one to have originated a style in
which others have imitated him"[68].

On the other hand, Yūsuf al-Ṣā'igh says that al-Malā'ika
preceded al-Sayyāb in her claim to be using Shi^cr ḥurr,
which she was encouraged to do by European poetry[69].
It does not greatly matter whether al-Sayyāb or al-Malā'ika
was the first poet to introduce shir^cr ḥurr into Arabic
literature. What does matter is that both of them developed
a pattern of verse structure for shi^cr ḥurr, without regular
metre and usually without rhyme, and that their invention
of a new model was greatly influenced, indirectly, by
European culture through their reading of the Mahjar, Dīwān
and Apollo School, and directly, by their study of English
literature.

However, the question which poses itself here is
this: can we regard this poetical experiment in Iraq as
the real beginning of Shi^{c}r ḥurr for the whole of the
Arab world ? Argument on this subject is lively.
According to Jalāl al-Khayyāṭ, Egyptian poets were pioneers
in Shi^{c}r ḥurr and Shi^{c}r mursal in the early twenties[70].
Similarly, the Iraqi poet Kāẓim Jawād believes that al-
Malā'ika was not the first Arab poet to write Shi^{c}r ḥurr,
and that there were many poets who employed it before her,
such as Nasīb ^{c}Arīḍa, Khalīl Shaybūb and al-Sayyāb[71].
Moreh has made a comprehensive investigation of the
development of Shi^{c}r ḥurr in the Arab world. He mentions
several poets who used this type of versification in the
period from 1924 to 1947, among whom are Aḥmad Zakī Abū
Shādī (1892-1955), Khalīl Shaybūb (1892-1951), Abū Ḥadīd
(1893-1967), Niqūlā⁻ Fayyāḍ(1874-1958), Maḥmūd Ḥasan Ismā^{c}īl
(b. 1910), Anwar Shā'ūl (b. 1904), Bākathīr (1910-1969),
al-Sayyāb (1926-1964), al-Malā'ika (b.1923)[72]. Salmā
Jayyusī, on the other hand, does consider that the movement
of Shi^{c}r ḥurr began formally in Iraq with the publication
of the second Dīwān of al-Sayyāb Asāṭīr (1950), although
she is not unaware of the various experiments earlier in
the century[73].

Al-Zubaidī attributes the beginning of Shi^{c}r ḥurr
to Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī in his significant work al-Shafaq
al-bākī in 1926[74].

Similar forms were also used by Lewis ^CAwaḍ (b. 1915) in some of the poems which were published in his collection "Plutoland and other poems from the poetry of the Elite" (Cairo, 1947):

> "It is clear from the dates of ^CAwaḍ's poems that they were written several years before both al-Malā'ika and al-Sayyāb wrote their two isolated poems which appeared in 1947 and were considered as the earliest comp- ositions of the free verse poets. Without exaggerating the importance of such precedence in time in discussing the emergence of a movement whose origins are too complex to be traced back to a given point in time and place, it is evident that, historically, ^CAwaḍ's work lies at the root of the movement".[75]

Nāzik al-Malā'ika acknowledges that there are many poems in Shi^Cr ḥurr which had been published by 1935; she does not reproduce any of these poems, but she gives the names of some of the poets such as ^CAlī Aḥmad Bākathīr, Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd, Maḥmūd Ḥasan Ismā^Cīl, ^CArār and Lewis ^CAwaḍ[76]. She also found a poem written in Shi^Cr ḥurr by Badī^C Ḥaqqī which was published before her and al-Sayyāb's first experiments. She quotes an extract from this poem in her Qaḍāyā:

أيّ نسمة

حلوة المفنى عليله

تمسح الأوراق في لين ورحمه

تهزّ الرعشةَ في طيّات نفمه

وأنا في الغاب أبكي

أملأ ضاع وحلماً ومواعيد ظلله

والمنى قد هربت من صغرة الفصن النميلة

نامحى النور وهام الظلّ يحكي

بعض وسواسي واوهامي النميله (77)

Yūsuf ^{C}Izz al-Dīn refers to another poem, entitled Ba^{C}da mawtī, which was published in the supplement to the newspaper al-^{C}Iraq, no. 350, 2nd July 1921, which the poet designated al-Naẓm al-ṭalīq. The author (B.N.) of this poem seems to have been afraid that people would not like his poem and so refrained from putting his name on it. As quoted by Yūsuf ^{C}Izz al-Dīn, it runs as follows:

اتركوا نعشى ملاك المهجر يحملني الى

مقرّى

هو يحملني اليها

ويواريني فيها

إنه

حمل الهم الى

طول عمرى

سيسقيني المنيه

أنا ادرى

فاتركوه ، ليتم فعله نحوى ولا

تزجروه

بعد موتى (78)

Al-Malā'ika accepts this poem as a forerunner of Shi^{c}r ḥurr[79]. It probably had, however, no real influence on other poets of the time[80].

According to al-Malā'ika, at all events, none of the poems that were published before 1947 satisfy the conditions for being accepted as shi^{c}r ḥurr. She lists these:

1.   The poet should have devised a new form and rhyme scheme that would have an impression on the public.

2.   He should have prefaced his work with an explanation its prosodic basis that would encourage other poets to imitate him.

3.   His work should have been received with strong enthusiasm by the literary public, who should have been stimulated to express their positive or negative attitudes to it.

4.   Other poets should have immediately accepted his new form and begun to imitate him, not only in his own homeland, but in the whole of the Arab world[81].

This is a quite extraordinary statement. Many of the experiments that preceded al-Malā'ika and al-Sayyāb exhibit a substantial understanding of this form. The influence exerted by a work is hardly a criterion for its eligibility to be considered as belonging to a particular genre.

Haddāra beleives that psychological and social reasons were the main factors in the popularity of Shi^cr ḥurr. He claims that the Arabs, having shaken off the foreign domination that they had suffered for centuries and having obtained some degree of freedom, saw a less rigid style of poetry as an appropriate medium for the expression of the feelings that this new situation evoked[82].

Most of the Iraqi poets of the Shi^cr ḥurr movement proper were young, in a phase of life characterised by the building up of hopes and desires. The leftist parties provided them with a framework into which they could set the problems of Iraq and the Arabs in general. Social realism was making a considerable appeal[83]. A freer verse form may make it easier for the poet to move from the romantic world to the realistic world[84]. Above all, though, it is in these young poet's growing awareness of modern European poetry, particularly English and American, that we should look for the principal impetus for the taking off of this movement at this particular time.

> "Human values needed to be released and
> expressed in modern terms and a stronger
> relationship with the inner experience
> of the nation, the whole Arab nation,
> had to be established. It so happened
> that these foreign fields were mostly
> the English-speaking countries, and so
> it was poets like T.S. Eliot rather than

St. John Perse who were henceforward to

have the greatest influence in Iraq

after 1948 where some of the most

progressive talents in the Arab world

were now reaching maturity"[85].

" But although he has been perhaps   the greatest single influence
on poetry, he was by no means the only one, whether in
England or elsewhere, from whom the younger poets learnt a
method or derived an inspiration."[86]   The numerous
influences that are evident in much of al-Sayyāb's work are
discussed elsewhere.   Similar influences are apparent in
al-Malā'ika from the time of the publication of her first
Dīwān, ᶜĀshiqat al-layl (1947).   She comments in the intro-
duction to her collected poems, vol. 1 (1971):

"At that time, I used to read English poetry

a lot.   I was impressed by its long poems

and I wished for us to have something

similar."[87]

ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayyātī had a similar experience:

"I will never forget how I was impressed

by the writing and poetry of Auden, to

which we had access before that of Eliot"[88].

The Iraqi press also played an important part in
launching the movement.   Papers, such as al-Ra'y al-ᶜāmm,
al-Siyāsa, Ṣawṭ al-ahālī , al-Ḥikma, al-Amānī, Venus,
al-Wamīḍ, al-Kalām, al-Inqilāb, and magazines, such as

^CAṭārid and al-Majalla⁽⁸⁹⁾, the number of which had steadily increased, both raised the level of their reader's awareness of foreign literary trends and provided an outlet for their native writers. After the Second World War, a number of foreign magazines became available in Iraq, such as the Egyptian monthly scientific and literary magazine al-Hilāl, and the weekly literary magazine al-Risāla, the Lebanese al-Adīb and the Syrian al-Ṭarīq⁽⁹⁰⁾.

In the fifties there was even an Iraqi opposition press. Papers such as Ṣadā al-ahālī, al-Istiqlāl, al-Jabha, al-Waṭaniyya and al-Bilād had a considerable intellectual and ideological impact. These too provided an outlet for aspiring poets. Furthermore, from the fifties onwards, many Iraqi scholars who had been to the West in the thirties and forties to study began to return home and to play an influential role in the cultural and literary life of Iraq.⁽⁹¹⁾ Among these were: ^CAbd al-Fattāḥ Ibrāhīm, Salīm Ṭāhā, Qāsim Ḥasan, Ibrāhīm Kubba, ^CAlī Jawād Ṭāhir, Shākir Khaṣbāk, Ṣafā' Khulūṣī and Khālid al-Jādir.

All these factors, not all of which al-Malā'ika mentions in Qaḍāyā al-shi^Cr al-mu^Cāṣir, worked together to produce the appearance of this literary phenomenon in Iraq.

CHAPTER TWO - THE BEGINNING OF MODERN KURDISH POETRY IN IRAQ

This chapter is intended to give some account of the conditions in which Kurdish poets have produced their works. However, even the moet summary account of this topic is a matter of great difficulty. This is mainly because of sheer lack of information.

Considerable obscurity shrouds the earliest period of Kurdish literature. In spite of claims that remnants remain of poetry from as early as the 4th Century B.C., Thomas Bois's summary of the situation may be taken, for our present purposes, as adequate:

"The origins of Kurdish literature are obscure and uncertain. Indeed, historians cannot always agree on the dates of some poets. In general, Kurdish authors tend to date works far back into the past, a chronology which cannot always be proved. It is the same regarding the authorship of some poems. For example, according to Mr. Socin, the epic of Dimdim is by Mela Ahmed of Batê (1417-1495), which is impossible, since the events to which it refers took place as late as 1608. Similarly Fekiyê Teyran cannot have lived between 1307 and 1375, since he is the author of an elegy on the death of his master Melayê Cizrî who died in 1481. Again it is very difficult to agree that Elî Jermukî, the Kurdish

Ronsard, is of the XIth century. This is
something which is unknown to many historians,
and those who do refer to it only repeat one
another. Only a serious study of the poet's
vocabulary and style can clinch the question.
But the original texts were lost at the time
of the bombings of Berlin. And then some
Kurdish editors have no hesitation in bringing
up to date the texts of ancient authors in
order to make them more comprehensible to modern
readers, and by this very achievement preclude
any critical study. Although the four
Mystical Quatrains of Baba Tahir of Hamadan
are in a mixed and archaic language, the Kurds
consider them as belonging to their literature,
something in the way that the Chansons de
Gestes form part of French Literature. But a
real course of training is essential if they
are to be a read to advantage. What is
certain is that some Gorani poets, like Sheik
Ahmed Tekhti (towards 1640), and Sheik Mustafa
Besarani (1641-1702) and others besides were
of his school.

Whatever else may be in doubt, the classical
age of Kurdish literature begins in the XVth
Century with a whole galaxy of excellent
poets. At their head and clearly outclassing
them, comes Sheik Ahmed Nishani better known

by the name of the Mullah of Jezireh (1407-1481),
whose mystical Diwan, very difficult to be
understood by the uninitiated, treats of
themes from Persian Sufism. Following him
and of his schook, there are Mela Ahmed of
Batê already mentioned, famous for his Mewlud,
often republished, Elî Herîri (1426-1495) and
Mir Mauhamed of Muks or Fekiyê Teyran, known
for his "History of the Sheik of Sinna" and
his "History of the Black Charger". After an
eclipse of more than a century, a new star
shone forth in the firmament of Kurdish
literature: Ahmed Khani (1650-1706), originally
of Hakkari. He is the author of what might
well be called the Kurdish national epic,
Memozin, in which he deals with the theme of
Memê Alan adapting it to conform with the
classic literary rules and with the spirit
of Islam. His disciple, Ismail of Beyazid
(1654-1709), as well as numerous ghazel
compiled a Kurdish-Arabic-Persian lexicon in
verse, entitled "The Rose Garden", Gulzar.
Siyapush is the pseudonym of another poet,
his contemporary. The XVIIth century is not
particularly brilliant, but one can, however,
mention the Hakkari Sherif Khan of Julamerg
(1688-1748), Murad of Beyazid, (1736-1778),
and the Mullah of Erivas, who in 1790 wrote

a medical treatise, perhaps unique of its
kind in the Kurdish tongue.   At the same
period there was a blossoming of religious
verse in the Gorani language with Khananê
Qubadi (1700-1750) and his Sdewatname, and
the lyric poet Mahzuni (1783)[1]

What concerns us here is the process of modernisation
that Kurdish poetry has undergone in recent years, and a
number of questions connected with this, namely, the date
of the beginning of modern Kurdish poetry, the identity
of the real pioneer in this field and the nature of this
modernisation: did it comprehend both form and content, as
with modern Arabic poetry ?   Thus, it is necessary to
review briefly the progress of Kurdish poetry from its
classical period, which lasts until c. 1920, through its
Romantic period from c. 1920 to the Second World War, to
its so-called Realist/Social-Realist period, from the
Second World War to the 1960s.

- The First Period:

It would be a fruitless effort to talk about modern
Kurdish poetry without special reference to the outstanding
classical Kurdish poets such as Nālī (1797-1855), Sālim
(ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ṣāḥibqirān, 1800-1866), Kurdī (1809-1849),
Mawlawī (1806-1882), Maḥwī (1830-1904), and Ḥācī Qādirī Kōyī
(1815-1892), without whom such poets as Pīramêrd (Ḥācī
Tawfīq, 1867-1950), Shaykh Nurī Shaykh Ṣāliḥ (1896-1958),
ᶜAbdullah Gōrān (1904-1962), Aḥmad Mukhtār Cāff (1897-1935),

Fā'iq Bêkas (1905-1948), Rashīd Najīb, Zêwar (1908-1952),
Dildār (1918-1948), would never have appeared.

Not only does each nation have its own distinguished
literature, but within each nation each period differs from
the one which precedes it and the one which follows it.
A look at the form and content of contemporary Kurdish poetry
or novels, for instance, shows that there is a quite clear-
cut distinction between them and these of the previous
periods. As already indicated, Classical Kurdish poetry
developed primarily under the impact of Arabic, and later
of Persian literature. In fact it may be said that the
traces of this influence in Kurdish go as far back as the
9th Century A.D., when the poet Bābārōx Hamadānī (d.841 A.D.)
wrote the first piece of poetry known to have been written
in the Kurdish language[2]. The syllabic verse-forms,
which are thought to be of considerable antiquity, remained
in use after the Arab conquest of Kurdistan for many years,
though only very exceptionally in classical poetry (e.g.
Mulla Parêshān, Faqe Tayrān). Gradually, these forms were
abandoned under the influence of Arabic poetry, and Arabic
prosody was adopted in their place. Only comparatively
few Arabic metres, however, seem to have been commonly used,
Sarī^c, Khafīf, Hazaj, Ramal and Muḍāri^c. Rhyme in classical
Kurdish poetry also follows Arabic and Persian models, with
the typical Arabic monorhyme, or more commonly the Persian
Mathnawī, which is more convenient, and less monotonous,
for longer poems. We also find Khumāsī, Tarjī^c band and
Mustazād. In addition, the Rubā^{c}ī is of frequent occurrence,

with varying rhyme - schemes: aaab, abab, aaba, aaaa. All
the forms, themes, techniques and conventions of classical
Arabic and Persian poetry were known to Classical Kurdish
poetry. The content, as well as the form, was virtually
identical.

Within this static literary tradition, it may be said
that a burgeoning took place in the nineteenth century.
The names of Nālī, Mawlawi, Sālim, Maḥwī, Kurdī and Kōyī
stand out as supreme practitioners in what, by this period
had become a highly polished and melodious medium. The
themes remain much the same as they have always been:
encomium, religious themes and ghazal, which is also used to
express metaphorically the passionate devotion of the mystic.
Thomas Bois may again be cited here:

> "With the XIXth century and up until the
> First World War there are poets in plenty.
> Two trends can be discerned. First, the
> religious and mystical current which continues
> this tradition in the writings of many
> sheiks and mullahs desirous of conveying
> their mystical teaching through the verses
> of their Diwan, not without a great deal
> of repetition and imitation. The influence
> of the classical Persian poets is manifest.
> Such are Mewlana Khalid (1777-1821) who
> introduces the Order of Nakshbendi to
> Kurdistan, Sheik Marûf Nuri (1755-1837)

with his twenty volumes of religous works,

Mullah Khalil of Seert (towards 1830), Mullah

Yehya Mizûri, the counsellor Mir Kor of

Rowanduz (1826-1889), Nuredīn Bifirkî (died

in 1846) and Evdereham Akhtepi (1884), who

imitated Khani and wrote in praise of the

prophet and Kurdistan.   There is too a whole

group of Sheiks of Sulaymaniyah: Salem (1845-

1909) who bewails the misery of life in the

world here below, the Nakshbendi Mahwi (1830-

1904), an exponent of Sufi theories, in which

is imitated Herik or Mullah Salih (1851-1904).

In Iran the poets were very prolific, Seyi

Vako (1808-1881), for example, with his 20,000

verses; a polyglot like Fatah Jibarû (1806-

1876) who wrote in four languages: Kurdish,

Arabic, Turkish and Persian; innovators like

Mullah Rehin Tewagozi, called Mewlewi (1806-

1882), who introduced new ideas and the first

to compose stanzas of alternative rhymes....

A second trend becomes apparent in the XIXth

century. Lyricism blossoms forth and patriotism

makes its appearance for good and all. We

may mention briefly Shah Pirto of Hakkari

(1810); Muhamed Agha Jaff at the same period,

known for his "Elegy of Love and Friendship"

Kurdi (Mustafa Sahibkiran 1809-1849); Salim

(Abdirahman Sahibkiran (1800-1866; Mifti

Zehawi (1792-1890), who was a master in many

kinds; Wafa'i (Mirza Rahim 1836-1892); the

subtle Edeb (Evdelah Beg Mishbah 1859-1912)

are both renowned for their lyrical, mystical

and patriotic verses. Nali (Mela Khizer)

of Shahrizor (1797-1855) extolled his father-

land of Kurdistan, and the agnostic Haji

Kadir Koyi (1815-1892) is full of the

reactions, inspired in him by the progress

of science, against the intellectual torpor

of the mullahs and sheiks and the lack of

adaptability of the latter to modern life"[3]

These classical poets nevertheless reveal certain romantic

traits in their poetry, particularly Mawlawī, who may be

regarded as the first Kurdish poet to give a realistic and

lively picture of the beautiful and constantly changing natural scenery of Kurdistan. These earlier romantics, however, did not revolt against the Classical forms of Arabic poetry. There is a case for maintaining that the seeds of Romanticism were sown in Kurdish literature independently of European.

- The Second Period:

After the First World War, the spirit of the self-determination of peoples, as proclaimed by the British Government, prevailed in the minds of Kurdish intellectuals. On the 14th of September, 1922, Shaykh Maḥmūd al-Ḥafīd initiated the independence movement with the publication of the proclamation of independence, with the help of the British. In November of the same year he proclaimed him-self King of Kurdistan[4]. Soon, two newspapers Bāngī Kurdistan (Call of Kurdistan) and Rōjī Kurdistan (Sun of Kurdistan) began to publish works with literary pretensions. They still emphasised encomium, love and nature as the standard subjects of poetry; at the same time, however, they did introduce a certain note of realism. It was only natural that Kurdish poetry should follow the political current, and the younger Kurdish poets found that they had things to say that could not be expressed within the framework of Classical poetry. However, Classical forms were not immediately jettisoned; at first, the new features that distinguish this period were grafted on to them. Much of this poetry is nationalistic in theme; both this type

of theme and the manner of expressing it were inspired
largely by foreign example.   It is now that a Kurdish
national consciousness, as opposed to a merely local
and tribal consciousness, really appears for the first time.

It is clear, too, that it was largely foreign influence
that produced a new conception of nature in many of the
poets of this period - nature either from a purely aesthetic
point of view, or as serving as an object-lesson for
humanity.   This influence was, by and large, Romanticism,
discovered, at this time, only at second hand, in its
Turkish guise.   In Turkey it had found many exponents,
such as those associated with the journal Servet-i Fünün
(The treasurer of the Arts), founded in 1891, including
ᶜAbd al-Ḥaqq Ḥamid (1852-1937), Tawfīq Fikrat (1867-1915),
Muḥammad Ra'ūf (1975-1931), and Aḥmad Ḥikmat[5].

Though there were many Kurdish poets who were
influenced by, and contributed to, this Romatnic movement,
what concerns us here is those who may be regarded as
having been fully committed to it, and who succeeded in
constructing a native Kurdish Romantic poetry.   These
were Gōrān, Shaykh Nūrī Shaykh Ṣāliḥ, Pīramêrd, Dilzār,
Dildār, Bêkas, Baxtiyār Zêwar, and later Aḥmad Hardī,
Kāmarān, and M.Ḥ. Barzancī, all of whom developed their
Romanticism in both form and content and used images from
nature in a metaphorical fashion.   As has been mentioned,
most of these poets at first filled their poetry with
patriotic sentiments and expressions of indignation at

the injustices perpetrated by the regime. Like other
poets, these Kurdish poets set out deliberately to break
with the past, its forms, rigid metres, rhymes and scansion.
They advocated the revival of the traditional national
metres , Hījā; this, however, as we have already mentioned,
did not occur immediately, and there was no abrupt break with
Classicism. The metres and vocabulary of Classical poetry
continued for some time to exist side by side with the revived
Hījā and the more colloquial diction that was being intro-
duced. Gōrān comments:

> "In composing our poems we used the metres
> sarī^c, khafīf, hazaj, and we used źawāḥif
> and ^{c}ilal. We changed the unity of the rhyme,
> and we believed in the organic unity of the
> poem rather than the unity of each single
> verse."[6]

The actual birth of this new movement in Kurdish poetry
may be considered to have occurred when Shayk Nūrī Shaykh
Ṣāliḥ published his first article on traditional metres in
the newspaper Jiyān in 1926. Next came Gōrān, who experimented
with the new forms in his poems published in the 1930's and
afterwards. These were the two principal pioneers of the
new literay movement, which had two salient characteristics;
a more colloquial style, divorced from the classical
Arabic-Persian style, and a content that was influenced by
ideas imported from abroad. Their break with classicism
was occasioned largely by their coming in contact with

what was then known as the new movement in Turkish literature,
particularly represented by the Ūdaba-i Fecri Ati school.
This is confirmed by Gōrān:

"Bahasht u yādgār (Paradise and Remembrance) is
a collection of poetry from my Dīwān entirely
concerned with the subjects of beauty and
love. Some of them were composed about
twenty-five, or perhaps more, years ago....
Many of the old poems [Yādgārī Kōn - old memories]
were written in [Arabic] prosody, and in an
old form of Kurdish, in which there is an
admixture of foreign languages [Arabic,
Persian, Turkish]. They are either in a
classical style, like that of Nālī and Sālim
or in a style like that of M. Nūrī [Shaykh
Nūrī Shaykh Ṣāliḥ] and his friends, which
they took over from recent Ottoman Turkish
writers, during the period 1920-1930, when
they were reviving Kurdish poetry in the
district of Sulaimāniyah". [7]

Writers and poets particularly Shaykh Nūrī,
Rashīd Najīb, and myself were influenced
by Turkish literature and wrote in the same
style as one another. It was only Shaykh
Nūrī who published his poems; I did not.
Meanwhile, there appeared a new Turkish
school of poetry called Udabā Fajrī Ātī
(Fecri Ati) whose pioneers were Tawfīq Fikrat
and Jalāl Sāhir. Another Turkish writer

also appeared, [C]Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥāmid; he did not
belong to the same group, but we were still
influenced by him as well.   Thus we all
based ourselves on a common source.
However, we may regard Shaykh Nūrī as the
real founder of this school because: 1 - he
published a great deal. 2 - the publication
of his works undoubtedly greatly influenced
Kurdish literature."[8]

From this we may conclude:

1- Modern Turkish literature was the main source for the
modernisation of Kurdish literature.

2- The real founder of the new school was Shaykh Nūrī
Shaykh Ṣāliḥ, who is generally regarded by Kurdish critics
as the leading poet of the twenties, and by his admirers
as unrivalled.   Though it would be churlish to deny that
Shaykh Nūrī was the founder of this school, it is clear
from his published poems that he did not continue in this
style.   He and his fellows, Rashīd Najīb, Rafīq Ḥilmī Bag
and [C]Abd al-Raḥmān Bag Nifūs gradually reverted to composing
poetry in the classical manner, and so their new literary
experiment quickly faded away.   It was Gōrān who continued
and developed the new style.   This can be seen in the
poems that he wrote between 1925 and 1937, while he was
teaching outside Sulaimāniyah.   In these he liberates
Kurdish poetry from its total dependence on Arabic and
Persian poetry and gives it an identity of its own, in

both form, i.e. metre and rhyme and vocabulary, by sub-
stituting Kurdish elements for Arabic and Persian:

> "I made constant efforts in this direction..
> I took the Hījā metres and used them."[9]

From the beginning of the present century, Western
literature, and particularly English romantic poetry,
gradually came to be known in the Middle East. The most
notable proponent of the English Romantics was undoubtedly
Gōrān . He did not, like many of his contemporaries, primarily
aim to imitate Turkish poetry.   In his early poems,
particularly those whose subjects are love and natural
beauty, there is a sense of the permanent brooding presence
of nature, awaiting its interpreter.   This emerges very
clearly in his first Dīwān Bahasht u yādgār (Paradise and
Remembrance).   It was perhaps because of this aspect of
his work then Pīramêrd in 1935 called him: the hope of our
literary future[10].   We should not, in fact, lose sight of
the contributions in this field of Pīramêrd himself, who
has been ungratefully ignored by Kurdish writers and critics.
A glance at his Dīwān makes it clear that he had a romantic
tendency from the very beginning of his poetic career.   One
may well feel that romantic traits dominate his philosophical,
political and gnomic poems.   At the same time, he tried to
liberate Kurdish poetry from the domination of classical
forms. ᶜIzz al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Rasūl considers:

> "The basis of his creativity was romantic
> imagination; romanticism is evident even in

his early poetic works and he succeeded in
freeing himself from the chains of classical
form. Pīramêrd even tackled classical
subjects in a romantic spirit. He expressed
his own ideas in a romantic way, freeing
himself from the slavery of classical pro-
sody and form, employing, at the same
time, his own distinguished style which
he derived from the metres of folk poetry
"Hijā"."[11]

Pīramêrd was older than the other Kurdish poets just
mentioned. He completed his advanced military and legal
studies in Istanbul, under the Ottoman Empire, and he held
a number of official appointments, the last of which was
that of Governor of the district of Amasya in Turkey. After
the First World War, he returned to Iraq, where he spent
the remainder of his life working in journalism and liter-
ature. He was the founder and editor-in-chief of the
newspaper Jīn (life), which was published continuously for
thirty nine years until it was closed down on 8th of April,
1963[12]. He had a good command of Turkish, Persian, and
Arabic, and he kept in touch with Turkish poets while he
was in Istanbul. It seems quite probable that he thus
received an early exposure to European Romanticism, through
the medium of Turkish translations, a number of which were
already in circulation.

- The third period:

This period is called the Realist or Social-Realist
period by many Kurdish critics. It dates from the outbreak

of the Second World War, at which time, dissatisfaction with the idealistic stance of Romanticism was leading many writers to adopt Realism. The seeds of Realism had gradually sprouted in Europe until it become perhaps the dominant feature of nineteenth century literature[13]. Realist novelists and playwrights regarded the social and political circumstances in which they found themselves as the main sources from which to draw their material. Most of their characters, therefore, were either from the petty bourgeois or working class. According to Muḥammad Ghunaymī Hilāl, although Socialist Realism differs philosophically from Capitalist Realism, it overlaps with it in many respects. He believes that while Capitalist Realism limits itself to a description of problems as it perceives them, regardless of how horrifying they may be, Socialist Realism advocates that writers should suggest remedies for solving them.[14]

Kurdish literature now began seriously to concern itself with the struggle of the people and their hopes, and also began to reflect the conflict between the various literary movements that existed in Europe. Romanticism ebbed away, giving place to Realism. The poets of this period were inspired by social and political principles. They all adopted one ideology, namely the unity of the struggle of the deprived masses against the great repressive powers of the world, although they were divided into two distinct groups, the Nationalistic and the Communists. At the end of the war, however, the Socialists and Communists

confronted the democratic Nationalists,and much bitter
opposition was provoked.   Gōrān's imprisonment in 1951 was
perhaps the most obvious example of Nationalist reaction.
At all events, Kurdish poets in general were turning away
from the Romantic preoccupation with their own sensibilities
towards a more objective apprehension of the outside world.
The political poetry of [C]Abd al-Wāḥid Nūrī (1904-1944)
was a healthy beginning for Kurdish Social Realist
literature.   Dilzār, Hardī, Dīlan, [C]A.Ḥ.B., Qadrī Cān,
Ma[C]rūf Barzancī and Gōrān, all regarded him as an example.[15]

The young poets tended to concentrate on particular
social problems.   For instance, Baxtiyār Zêwar (1908-1952)
devoted a number of his poems to the Kurdish farmers, who
revolted many times against the feudalist regime, in an
attempt to liberate themselves and their land:

كێڵگەی وڵات بۆ میرو بەگ ناكێڵم
بێشم كۆژن ، زەوی خۆم جێ ناهێڵم
تۆو ئەوەشـــــێنم ، ئاڵتونە ، شوێن هــــــێلم
زۆردار واز دێنێ ، بسكەی دێ سمێڵم
گەنم و جۆی خۆم نادەم بیكەن بە عەمار
گرانی پێ ســـاز بكەن ســـەرمایەدار

(16)

I will not plough the soil of the land for either Emir or Bey;

I will not leave my land, even though they kill me.

I sow seeds; my furrow is gold.

If the tyrant leaves me alone, I will smile with gratification.

I will not give my wheat and barley for them to put in their stores,

For the rich to use in time of famine.

And again:

ئەی بەستێزەی پرشنگدار
رێ نیشاندەری رێبوار
ئەی هاوڕێکەی شەوەگارم
من بێستو شەو بێدارم
گوێ بگرە لە هاوارم
تێ بگە لە ئازارم
ئەم عەردەی تۆ ئەبینی
پڕ هەڵاڵا یە و خۆر بینی
هەر ئازاد و قورسەر
بێ بارو ، بێ یاریدە دەر
کەچی بەیادی خاوەن زەر
بێ بەزەیی ، بێ خەبەر

(I7)

O bright star !

A guide for the traveller,

O friend of my nights !

I am silent, and sleepless at night.

Hear my cry !

Understand my pain !

This earth that you see

is full of shouting and selfishness.

Only the poor and unfortunate

are helpless and unaided,

While the rich

are pitiless and ignorant.

Similarly, Aḥmad Hardī (born 1922), who advocated that
land should be possessed by the farmers, made common
cause with all who fought feudalism in the world. According

to him, freedom would only be actualized if farmers
owned their lands and liberated themselves from the
dominance of feudalism.   Hardī regarded Imperialism,
reaction, and feudalism as the main enemies of freedom.
Hence, real freedom could only be achieved by eradicating
these three enemies, through patriotic resolution.   His
Āzādī Xuwāī Kurdīn 'êma (we are the freedom of the spirit
of the Kurds) provides as good example of his attitude:

ئازادی خوای کوردین نێمه

شورای پۆلاو بهردین نێمه

پشتی جوتیاری زهبونین

ئالای بهرزی چون یهک بونین

--- --- --- ---

ئاغاو بهگزادانی زۆردار

جهردهی گیانی گهلی ههژار

خوێن خۆری ئهم نیشتمانهن

ئالهتی دهستی بێگانهن

رۆژی خۆی گیانیان دهردێنین

تولهی گهلیان لێ ئهستێنین (I8)

We are the freedom of the spirit of the Kurds;

We are a rampart of steel and rock;

We are the support of the weak peasant;

We have the same high banner;

---   ---   ---

The tyrannical Agha and chiefs,

Are robbers of the life of the poor people;

They suck the blood of this land;

They are a tool in the hands of the foreigner;

We shall kill them when the time comes;

We shall take revenge for the people.

Thus, much modern Kurdish poetry has been devoted to depicting the miseries and hardships of farmers in villages under the arbitrary power of the feudalists. That the emphasis has been on this class, rather than on an urban proletariat, is attributalbe to the essentially agricultural nature of Iraqi society. This theme is repeated many times in modern poetry. Another example is to be found in Yūnus Ra'ūfs' Tutnawān (Tobacco farmers), in which he represents the miserable situation of the struggling farmer, who works day and night for his feudalist master:

که پرنیکی دارگهز ، ناپرلِک دامهزراو

به پوشـــش و گهلای چرو سهرگیراو

بۆ پاییزگاری خۆرهتاو تۆز

به چینیکی شـــهر سی دهورهی دراو

کونیا که ووتی : سهلامهت نبی

وهکویرایی چاو ، ده ملی شکیاو

کوا توتن ، کوانی رسـتهیی وشکت

کوانی چارداخت ، ههی کردان باوگاو (19)

A hut of tamarisk wood, crudely constructed,

Thickly roofed with grass and leaves,

for protection from the strong sunlight and the dust,

Surrounded by a torn screen of reeds.

The boss says: Bad luck to you !

May you go blind and break your neck !

Where is the tobacco, where are the dried strings (of tobacco)?

Where is your hut, you son of a bitch ?

A certain amount of attention, however, was also paid
to other workers. For example, his La binī bīrā (at the
bottom of the well), Gōrān depicts the miserable life of
a worker in the oil fields.   Here, rather than describing
a predicament from outside, Gōrān assumes the persona of
the worker himself, in order to present an impressionistic
tableau:

وهك قرئزانگ و وهك مشك و مار

بهم کونهدا هاتووه خوار

به چنگ ، به پی ، به باج ، به دان ..

ههڵنهکهم بۆ خۆم زیندان !

تا ههڵکهم رۆژر ئهچم !

ههی قوڕ به سهر کورو کهم !

بۆ رهنجهی من بژیان ئهدهم

نیکی وهشکیان ناگاته دهم !

ـــــ ـــــ ـــــ

بهری رهنجی عومری درێژ

گشت کردته لای ئارهق نهرێژ

کردهم بردهی کومپانی بوو :

هم رهنجم چوو ، هم نهرتم چوو ! (20)

Like a crab, a mouse or a snake,

I am crawling down this hole

With hand, with foot, with mattock, with tooth,

I dig a dungeon for myself,

The more I dig, the deeper I go.

Alas for the mud splashing my son and daughter

Through the labour that I expend for them !

Not even a dry morsel of food reaches their mouths.

--- --- ---

The fruit of labour of a long life

has all gone to one who has not sweated.

I did the work and the company reaped the benefit.

Both my toil and my oil have gone.

Another example is his treatment of unemployment among the working class, in which the new concepts which figure in his poems at this period appear to be fully represented. His poem Nāḻaī bêkār (the cry of the unemployed person) depicts the life of a farmer who is forced to desert his land because of the tyranny of the feudalist, and goes to the town, in search of a job, without success. At that time there were no laws to protect the rights of workers or farmers, but only tribal laws to protect the interests of the feudalists and capitalists[21]. Gōrān felt the pain of such predicaments deeply, and in this poem in particular he attempted to mirror reality:

، تا هێزی بزووتن له لهشما به گۆر بوو ،

من کوپ بووم بۆ ئاغاو ئاغا باوکی کوپ بوو ؛

لە (ماندوونبوون) ی سەرایشم واق وپ بوو ،

عەماری لە بەری تەقەلام پپ - پپ بوو ...

«ناسه خوا ! » و «ئافەرین ! » سەری لێ شێوانم ،

دلسۆزی بۆ ئاغا ئەوەندەی رەتانم :

تا پادەی ئەو بەری شەکەتیی گەیاندم !

پەکم کەوت .. نە خۆشی لەشی تیك شكانم !

نە خۆشی ناوجێ بووم : بێ شۆربا ، بێ دەرمان ،

بۆ زمان تەپکردن « نەختێك ئاو ! » ئەمنالّان ،

بەر گوێم کەوت ـــ باوکی کوپ (نەك نێستا ، هیی جاران !)

قیژاندی : بۆ نایبەن فریێ دەن لە کۆلّان !

--- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---

فرمانی ، ئەی کۆسلّ ! فرمانی .. فرمانێ ..

بۆ دەردی بێ کاری چارەیك ، دەرمانێ ،

زۆر شدرمە لە چەرخی بیستا ئێنسانێ

بێ ئێش بێ وسکی خۆی حل لووشێ بۆ نانێ ! ...(22)

As long as the strength to move actively was in my body

I was a son to the Agha and the Agha was the father of the son;

He was astonished at my tiredlessness in my work,

His storehouse was quite full - with the fruits of my labour.

"Bravo " and "well done" confused me,

Loyalty to the Agha drove me on

until I became thoroughly worn out.

I became a wreck.... illness broke my body.

I lay sick in bed without soup or medicine.

To moisten my tongue, I moaned: ' A little water ! '

I heard the father of the son (not now but previously)

Shout: "Why do you not throw him out in the street ?"

---   ---   ---

A job, O society, a job... a job...

A cure and a drug for the disease of unemployment !

It is a great disgrace that in the twentieth century a human being

Should be without work and swallow his own belly for bread.

The miserable situation of the working class stimulated
many poets to urge the people to revolt and throw off their
fetters.   Another example is to be found in Salām's (Shaykh
Salām Aḥmad ᶜĀzabānī) <u>Bō yādī dêwānaī banāwbāng al-Bagīyawa</u>
(to the memory of the well-known vagrant al-Bagī), which
represents the poor conditions in which the workers live
and encourages both farmers and other workers to untie and
fight for their independence and freedom through the erad-
ication of imperialism and feudalism:

خەريكى ئێش و كار ئەبم   كرێكارى بەكار ئەبم
دور لە دەردو ئازار ئەبم   پشتیوانى هەژار ئەبم
ناچمه سجن و ناچمه زیندان
خزمەت ئەکەم بۆنیشتمان (23)

I will be diligent in my work; I will be an active worker;

I will be removed from my illness and pain; I will be the support

of the poor;

I will not go the the prison or to dungeon;

I will serve our country.

Another prominent figure is Muhammad Husayn Burzancī
(born 1923) who, from his earliest poetic attempts, has
waged war on Romanticism and espoused Realism and Social
Realism.   In his <u>Ay kōrpalaī hajār</u> (oh, poor child), he
expresses the struggle of the people to attain prosperity
and equality:

بلێن کوانی لرنریا
لرئایـسـنا، له دینا
ژه مریش بێ له خواردنا
هر چژن بێ له مردنا
بهشتی نیمهی بهش خواد
نیمهی دهربه دهرد کراو
کوانی مافی برسیان
کوا بهگوێزهی ئیش ژیان (24)

Say where in life

in ritual, in religion

is poison itself in eating

Whatever is in dying

We are deprived of our portion

We are vagabonds

Where is the right of the hungry ?

Where is the life proportionate to the work ?

After the war, poetic, and general literary activity
increased, in both the Socialist and Nationalist schools.
Factors that contributed to this included the downfall of

Fascism, the development of the patriotic movement in Iraq,
enthusiasm for democracy, and wider opportunities for
education. At the same time, foreign literature became
more generally accessible. As a result of these various
influences, Gōrān, at this time, was developing a new
perception of the purpose of his writings and growing closer
and closer to Socialist Realism; his Romanticism had rapidly
withered during the war. A new sense of internationalism
is evident in his poetry, almost from the very beginning
of the war. In Diyārī Xuwāī sharr (the gift of the god
of evil).He describes the inhuman and horrifying sufferings
that Hitler is inflicting upon mankind. He urges all the
struggling people of the world to unite in an effort to
stop this horrible war. He uses the image of the god of
evil to connote Nazism:

دیاری خوای شــــه‌ر به‌بخوو ئازار ،
مه‌رگی له‌شــکر ، وێرانیی شــار ؛
بۆ دایک : ئاقانه کوشــــتن ،
بۆ کوربه‌ی ناز : هه‌تیو خستن !
--- --- --- --- ---

بلامارده ، ده‌ستـــ و بردکه ،
گبره ، ببره ، بدره ، وردکه ؛
قولا ، ته‌لبه‌ن ، شورا ، سه‌نگه‌ر ؛
حیوان ، ئینسان ، ثاری ، عه‌سکه‌ر ،
ژن ، پیاو ، پیر ، جوان ، ده‌ستـــ ، تاج ، سنگ ، سه‌ر ...
بێ شێیل که هه‌ر چیت دێته به‌ر ! (25)

The gift of the god of evil is suffering and pain;

The death of an army, the destruction of a city;

For the mother: the killing of her only child;

For the beloved infant: making him an orphan.

    ---   ---   ---

Attack ! hurry !

Seize ! cut ! tear ! shred in pieces !

Fort, fence, rampart and trench;

Animal, human, civilian and soldier;

Woman, man, old, beautiful, hand, foot, chest and head.....

Carry on, whatever may happen to you !

For the first three decades following the war, it is safe to say that the majority of Kurdish poets were Socialist and Internationalist, deeply committed to the peace movement and principles of justice, humanity, and democratic equality. At the same time, they contrived also to see these issues as they applied, in particular, to their own nation. Poets like Kāmarān, Dīlān, Hardī, Kākaī Fallāḥ, ᶜA.Ḥ.B. , all concentrated on these themes. In 1954, Gōrān wrote a poem entitled <u>Paul Robeson</u> in which he denounced the U.S. Government's attitude towards the singer, who was prevented from visiting the Soviet Union and other Socialist Countries:

ئەی بلبلی ئاشتی خوازی ، پۆل رۆبسن !

ئەو ستیانەی لە خوێندنت ئەترسن

دەمیان گرتی ، نیازیان هەبوو ئاوازە

قەدەغە كەن لەگوتنەكەى دنياى تازە ..

هەر نەگبەر بۇيان لە رۇتر ... ناچار بوون

رنى فرىنت لى بەستن بۇ دەرچوون !

ئەوشىتيانەى سازدكەمان ئەشكىنن ،

بلبل ئەگرن ، پەرى بالى دەردىنن ،

ناپەلن بنى ، بۇ گەلانى رۇژە لات

بەستە بلىنى ، تىژكەى ئاگرى خەبات

— — — — — — — — —

بمانگەينى و بە ئاوازەى وەك هەنگوين

لەناومانا بخوينى بۇ : ئامشتى و ژين !

دا بخوينى كەسپى و زەرد لەگەل بەش

گوتت بۇ شل كەن وەك يەك دڵ و وەك يەك لەش !

(26)

— — — — — — — — —

O peace-loving nightingale - Paul Robeson !

Those madmen fear your singing.

They have gagged you; they intended to forbid the song

to the ears of a fresh world.

They did not succeed then.... they were obliged to

block your flight to escape.

Those madmen break a violin,

They trap a nightingale, they clip the feathers of its wing.

They do not allow you to come to the Eastern nations,

to sing, to stimulate the fire of the struggle.

— — —   — — —   — — —

Come to us, and with a song like honey

Sing among us for peace and life.

Sing ! until white and yellow together with black

listen attentively to you, like one heart and one body.

Dīlān wrote a poem entitled <u>Min insānim</u> (I am a
human being), in which he presented the love of man for his
fellows, defending the rights of the struggling masses,
regardless of their race or colour. He associated his own
sufferings and hopes with those of the Africans and the
Chinese. Humanity, he claimed, had but a single problem
and purpose:

<div dir="rtl">

به لام ... منى كورد ئينسانم

وهكو تۆ ئەى براى رەشم

خاوەنى نزكو هەستانم

هەرچەنده ئێستا دابەشم !

منيش وهكو تۆ ئينسانم

ئەى (كاكە) ئەى براى زەردم

دۆستى گەلانى جيهانم

(27) رێزى سەيدان و نەبەردم ..!

</div>

But..... I, a Kurd, am a human being

Like you, O my black brother.

I have sobs and feelings

Although I am now divided,

I myself am a human being like you,

O Kāka (big brother), o my yellow brother !

I am a friend of the nations of the world;

I am a hero of battle and combat.

It is noticeable that, during this period, the use
of myth and symbol, which had been foreshadowed, to a limited
extent, and in an unsophisticated way, in pre-war poetry,
increased very greatly.   The myths and symbols that pre-
dominated were those of Kurdish folklore, with a certain
admixture, on the part of those who had been expressed to
European literature, of those of Greece and Rome.   We shall
discuss the whole subject in a separate chapter.   This
tendency in Kurdish poetry came to quite an abrupt end in
the 1970s.   It has, generally, been replaced by a pre-
dominantly nationalist poetry.

CHAPTER THREE - METRE AND RHYME IN KURDISH POETRY

The earliest form of metre that we know of in Kurdish
poetry was - like that of Turkish - a simple regularity in
the number of syllables in each line. This was, and is
called Hījā (alphabet). Newer terms are either birga
(syllable) or panca (finger-alluding, of course, to the
method of counting the syllables). The ictus coincided with
the natural stress of the words. This was used both for
folk-poetry and for the earliest examples of more sophisticated
poetry. After the Muslim conquest, Kurdish, like the other
languages that came within the sphere of Islam, adopted the
Arabic metres and verse-forms wholesale. Nevertheless, the
traditional syllabic forms survived, side by side with the
foreign forms, at least for a while. For instance, the
poet Bābārōx Hamadānī (d. 841 A.D.), who may be considered
as the first nationalist poet in Kurdish literature, satirized
the Abbasid caliphate in syllabic verse[1], and Bāba Tāhir
Hamadānī (ᶜUryān), 935-1010) composed his rubāᶜīs in this
form. However, the Arabic forms were used exclusively from
about the 11th Century until the beginning of the 1920s,
when they were gradually again supplanted by the revived
native forms. A parallel step towards the emanicipation
of the Kurds from the domination of Arabic took palce in the
language itself. Classical Kurdish poetry contains a great
many Arabic and Persian words and phrases. In the
following extracts from poems by Malāī Cazīrī (1407-1481)
and Shukrī Fazlī, more than half of the vocabulary is Arabic
or Persian:

" د أقلمی سخن میرم ، دِ شـــعری جهانگیرم ! "

" وتعلو موکب العشاقی اعلامی و رایاتی ! " (2)

Regionally I am the lord of language, poetically
I am the world-conquerer.
My standards and banners fly above the procession
of lovers.

مەکەن لۆمەم ئەمینـــــت دا نەزانی

" متی اضع العمامة تعــــرفونی " (3)

Do not blame me, for I did not know how things were.

When I put off my turban, you will know me.
Early in the 20th Century, when Kurdish unity and strength
reached its highest point, and Sulaimāniyah became the
political and cultural capital of Kurdistan, Kurdish, like
Turkish, and later Persian, attempted to purge itself of
its foreign elements.   To a considerable extent this was
successful, although a substantial quantity of Arabic and
Persian words still remain, not always immediately recognisable
in their adapted form; in some cases, the foreign term is
considered to be more literary (or learned) than the native
synonym, in others, a satisfactory synonym has not been found
(or coined).   An attempt has also been made to substitute
the Latin script for Arabic, this has not been particularly
successful, and the modified Arabo-Persian orthography is
still in general use.

The nationalist revolutionary fervour of Shaykh Maḥmūd, in the twenties, is reflected in the contemporary efforts to reform Kurdish poetry. The pioneers in this were certainly Shaykh Nūrī, Gōrān, Pīramêrd, ᶜAlī Kamāl Bāpīr and Rashīd Najīb, although the revival of the traditional Kurdish verse-forms has as yet been little studied, and there is considerable differnece of opinion concerning its course. According to ᶜIzz al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Rasūl, this revival may be attributed to the influence on the poets mentioned above of the Turkish Romantic poets, such as Tawfīq Fikrat (1867-1915)[4]. Similarly, Dilshād ᶜAlī asserts:

> "It is a well established fact that Kurdish
> poetry up to the appearance of Romanticism in
> Kurdish literature, between the First and
> Second world wars, was influenced by Persian
> literature, from which it took the rules
> of Arabic prosody. After the First World War,
> however, Kurdish literature was influenced
> greatly by Turkish poets. This influence
> stimulated Kurdish poets to abandon Arabic
> prosody and begin to use native Kurdish metres"[5]

As a result of the twenty-five articles which Shaykh Nūrī published in 1926-27 in the newspaper Jīyān (life), Kāmil Ḥasan al-Baṣīr considers him to have been the principal innovator, uninfluenced by anyone at all, and merely

"following the laws of historical and scientific development
at that time".[6] Gōrān, on the other hand, in commenting
on his own use of traditional forms in the introduction to
his first Dīwān <u>Bahasht u yādgār</u> (Paradise and Remembrance),
appears to stake a claim for himself:

> "I found it absolutely necessary to use
> native metres in my work, because they are
> truly representative of our identity and
> language."[7]

Rafīq Ḥilmī Bag accepts this claim:

> "Gōrān is one of the greatest Kurdish poets; he
> laid down new guidelines for the composition
> of Kurdish poetry for other Kurdish poets to
> follow"[8]

as does Kākaī Fallāḥ:

> "The poet's instinctive talent and personal
> poetic experience realized that he should
> use these traditional metres. Gōrān was
> convinced that the content of the new poem
> demanded these metres"[9]

In examining this question we should not forget Mawlawī
(1806-1882), who composed most of his poems using the
traditional <u>Hījā</u> metres, particularly the ten-syllable form.
Ḥusayn ᶜAlī Shānōf asserts that his works were not widely
known[10], but there is evidence, as we have seen in

Chapter 2, that a number of those who popularised the
traditional verse-forms in the 20th Century were acquainted
with him.

While still writing in the Classical (Arabic) metres,
the modern poets tended to confine themselves to the simpler
ones: hazaj, the basic element of which is mafā^{c}īlun ⏑ _ _ _,
repeated three times in each miṣrā^c; ramal, fā^{c}ilātun _ ⏑ _ _,
repeated three times in each miṣrā^c; basīt, mustaf^{c}ilun _ _
⏑ _ , alternating with fa^{c}ilun _ ⏑ _; muḍāri^c, mafā^{c}īlun,
fā^{c}ilātun, mafā^{c}īlun ⏑ _ _ _, _ ⏑ _ _, ⏑ _ _ _.In Arabic,
hazaj and ramal have six taf^{c}īla in each bayt, but in
Kurdish and Persian they have eight taf^{c}īla, as, for example,
in a line of hazaj by Hācī Qādirī Koyī (1817-1897):

لە وەختی خۆی هەموو شا بوون ، سەرا پایان فرۆشا بوون

لە بەخشین حاتەمی طائی ، لەــــــــەودا رۆستەمی مەیدان(II)

At one time they were all kings, fortunate from head to
toe(completely),
In seniority, they were like Ḥātm Ṭā'ī - in bravery,
they were like Rōstam the warrior.

لە/وەخ/تی/خوی/هه /موو/شا /بوون/سه /را /پا /یان/خ/رۆ/شا /بوون

_ _ _ ⏑ _ _ _ ⏑ _ _ _ ⏑ _ _ _ ⏑

mafā^{c}īlun   mafā^{c}īlun   mafā^{c}īlun   mafā^{c}īlun

لە/بە خ/شین/حا/ته /می/طا/ئی/له /سه/ر/د ا/روس/ته /می/مه ی/د ان

_ _ _ ⏑ _ _ _ ⏑ _ _ _ ⏑ _ _ _ ⏑

mafā^{c}īlun   mafā^{c}īlun   mafā^{c}īlun   mafā^{c}īlun

Arabic prosody was applied to Kurdish in much the same
way as it was to Persian. The metres that were used were
the ones that most allowed the natural stresses of the
word and the sentence to coincide with the metrical stresses.
Here are some examples:

سەرنجی ڕێ ئەدەم ڕەنگا هەمووی شێوەی ئەوی تیایە
دەکو دنیا لە ناو جوانی ئەوا توابێتەوە وایە (I2)

I look at the road, and I find her form everywhere on it,
As though the world had dissolved in her beauty.

سە /ڕن/جی/ڕی/ئە /دە م /ڕی/گا /هە /موو /شێ/وە ی/ئە /وی/تیا /یە

‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿

mafā^{c}īl   mafā^{c}īlun   mafā^{c}īlun   mafā^{c}īlun

وە /کو/دن/یا /لە /نا /جو ا/نی/ئە /وا /تو ا/بێ/تە /وە /وا /یە

‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿

mafā^{c}il   mafā^{c}īlun   mafā^{c}īlun   mafā^{c}īlun

Each <u>misrā^{c}</u> contains four <u>taf^{c}īla</u>, each consisting of
one short and three long syllables . In the final
foot of the second shaṭr, a naturally short syllable appears
to be lengthened in a stressed position.

هەموو ڕۆژێ لە بەر سەیری بتی ئەو بەژن و باڵایە
لە سەر ڕێ یا ئەوە ستم من هەتاکو ئادی پێم دایە (I3)

Everyday, in order to look at her beautiful form,
I will stand in her way till I become weary.

هە /موو/ڕۆ/ژێ/لە /بە ر/سە ی/ری/بە/تی/ئە و/بە ژ/نو /با /ڵا/یە

‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿

maf^Cūlāt   mafā^Cīlūn   mafā^Cīlūn   mafā^Cīlūn

لـه /سه ر/ری/یـا /ئه /وه س/تم /من/هه /تـا /کو /ئـا /وی /پیّم /د ا /یه

‿ ‿ — ‿ — — — ‿ — — — — ‿ — — — ‿

maf^Cūlāt   mafā^Cīlun   mafā^Cīlun   mafā^Cīlun

In the final foot of each <u>shaṭr</u>, a naturally long syllable appears to be shortened in an unstressed position.

لـ ترسے تـه‌لعتت رۆژ هه‌ر ده‌کوو شیّت
بـه‌رۆو زه‌ردی هه‌لاتــــ د که‌وته کیّوان (I4)

In fear of your appearance, the sun, like a madman,
Runs away, pale-faced towards the mountains.

لـه /تر/سی/تـه ل‌/عه /تت/رۆژ/هه ر/وه /کوو /شیّت

— ‿ ‿ — — ‿ — ‿ — — ‿

fa^Cūlun   mafā^Cīlun   mafā^Cīlun

بـه /رۆو/زه ر/دی/هه /لا /تو /که و /ته /کیّ/و ان

— — ‿ — — — ‿ — — ‿

fa^Cūlun   mafā^Cīlun   mafā^Cīlun

In view of the fact that the natural word stresses and the metrical stresses do not, in fact, always coincide in these examples, it would be possible to argue that the poets still retained some memory of the traditional syllabic verse-forms. On the other hand, it is well-known that a certain conflict of word stress and ictus is considered desirable in many forms of poetry, so this argument should

probably not be given too much weight.

In rhyme, as in metre, classical Kurdish poetry
followed Arabic and Persian models.   In the qaṣīda and
the ghazal, monorhyme was used.   The rubāᶜī form, however,
introduced by Bābā Ṭāhir ᶜUryān, was perhaps the most
popular verse-form until modern times.   Bābā Ṭāhir ᶜUryān's
rubāᶜiyyāt differed somewhat from the well-known Persian
forms, and have a wider variety of rhyme-schemes.   The
mathnawī form also established itself, as in Persian poetry,
as being both a convenient medium for longer poems, such
as epic and didactic poems, and a form more suited to an
Indo-European language than the monorhymed qaṣīda.   Modern
poets, like Pīramêrd, and Gōrān himself, in his earlier
period, also composed poems in the mathnawī form:

لەنزیر مێژووەڕا مەلای نووشتاوە ،

پەیشی بۆ سەر سنگ پرش و بلاوە ،

تیافەت پەرپووت دەک کتێبی کۆن ،

زمانی شیرین ، سیمای نەختێ مۆن ،

بازی ڕۆحی چەش بەشیعر و ئەدەب ،

بەلام شێوەی ڕووی عەجەم و عەرەب ..

بۆ میوان بێ مایەی تەسلا

لەکۆری شەدا : مەلا یەو مەلا !

تۆو مەلاو شیعرو فەلسەفەی ئیسلام

گوێ ڕاگرتنی تاو تاوی عەوام

بەبێ زیادو کەم دێنێتە پێش چاو :

سەرنجی گۆران لە ناسی نووسراو ! .. (15)

Beneath a spreading turban see the bowed Mulla,

His beard unkempt scattered over his breast,

His face all wrinkled like an ancient tome,

His tongue full of sweetness, his aspect glum,

A hawk unhooded in verse and letters

Though in the old fashion of Persian and Arab.

If for the guest there be a source of consolation

In the evening circle it is the Mulla, the Mulla -

Thou and the Mulla and verse and doctrine of Islam.

The fitful attention of the common herd

Exactly demonstrates, neither more nor less,

The degree of the heed of the blind for the scripture.

Another essentially Persian verse-form that was used, to
some extent, during the 19th Century, was the <u>mustazād</u>,
which is "formed by adding to each <u>misra</u>[c] or hemistich in
a piece of verse a short line called the Ziyāda or
'complement', which may be either read or omitted, the poem
making equally good sense in either case"[16]. The following
example is by Nālī:

<div dir="rtl">

" ئەی تازە جوان پیرم و افتادە کردووم
تا ماوە حیاتم "

" دەستی بدەرە دەستی شکستم کرد دەس چوودم
قوربانی وە فانم "

" تۆ یوسفی نەو حوسنی لەسەر میسری جنانی
من پیرم و فانی "

" لەم کولبەی ئەحزانە نە دیندووم و نە مردووم
هەر دا بە تەماتم " (17)

</div>

Oh fresh young (girl), I am old, and I have become decrepit,

For the remainder of my life.

Give your hand to my broken hand, for I am lost,

May I be a sacrifice to your faithfulness.

You are the beautiful Joseph (Yūsuf) in the Egypt of the heart,

I am old and fading away.

In this cell of sorrows I am neither alive nor dead,

Thus, I wait for you.

The ziyādas of these four shaṭrs, when put together,
constitute an independent mathnawī bayt:

تا ماده حیاتم ، قوربانی وه فاتم

من پیرم و فانی ، حمر وا بهته ماتم

Modern Kurdish poetry, as has already been implied, has
drawn aside from both its classical heritage and from
modern Arabic poetry, and has revived the traditional
syllabic metres.   The part played in this revival this by
Shaykh Nūrī and Gōrān, in the 1920s, has been of the utmost
significance for all subsequent Kurdish poetry.   Tradition-
ally, the range of the number of syllables possible in a
shaṭr was considered to be from five to sixteen, although
not all numbers were used.   In modern times the most
frequently used version has been the ten-syllable, which is
regarded by ᶜIzz al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Rasūl as the native metre:[18]

بنجینی مزگوت نیشتوّ ته ناو چم ،

برو به روو قیبله ، پشت له جه هنم !

مزگوتی کانی چیشــــتە نگاوی چۆڵ :
دەڵ مردوو کفنی بێ دەنگی بەکۆڵ !
سوورە چناری لتی و پۆپ درێژ
ستیەر ئەکا بۆ خەوی بەرده نوێژ !
جار جار ئیمای تەنیای گۆشەی حەوز :
سەرستنگ ماچ ئەکا ڕیشی بە دەنوز ! (I9)

The mosque's foundations sink into the stream,

Its face towards Mecca, its back turned on hell,

The empty mosque of breakfast time

Like a corpse wrapped in the shroud of silence.

A plane with spreading bough and branch

Casts its shade for a nap on the smooth prayer-flags.

Now and then the Imam, alone at the corner of the cistern,

Nods for his beard to kiss his breast.

IO = بن/چی/نه ی/مز/گه وت/نیش/تۆ/ته /ناو/چه م

IO = ڕوو/به /ره و/قیب/له /پشت/له /جه /هه /نه م

IO = مز/گه و/تی/کا /تی /چێش/ته ن/گا /وی/چۆڵ

IO = وه ك/مر/دوو/کف/نی/بێ/ده ن/گی/به /کۆڵ

IO = سوو/ره /چ/نا /ری/ل/قو /پۆپ/د/رێژ

IO = سێ/به ر/ئه /کا /بۆ/خه /وی/به ر/ده /نوێژ

IO = جار/جار/ئی/ما /می/ته ن/یای/گۆ/شه ی/حه وز

IO = سه ر/سنگ/ماچ/ئه /کا /ڕی/شی/به /وه /نه وز

The eight-syllable version has been the next most

popular:

تازه بویت به ملی قهنهس
بۆ چیمه نامه ئیتر بهس
نامهوێ من تۆ لهو کوره
داگیرکهم دڵی زۆر پره (20)

You have just become a cage-bird,

What use are your letters to me now ! Enough !

I do not wish to take you from that boy whose

heart is so anxious.

تا/زه/بویت/به/مه/لی/قه/فهس   =   8

بۆ/چی/مه/نا/مه/ئی/تر/بهس   =   8

نا/مه/وێ/من/تۆ/له/و/کو/ره   =   8

دا/گیر/کهم/د/لی/زۆر/په/ره   =   8

Apart from these, the seven-syllable, eleven-syllable

and five-syllable versions have enjoyed some favour:

ئهمه تۆی کچی جوان
ئهی گوڵی باخی ژیان (21)

Is it you, beautiful girl,

Rose of the garden of life ?

ئه/مه/توی/ک/چی/ج/وان   =   7

ئه‌ی/گو/ڵی/با/خی/ژی/یان   =   7

قوڵ و مهچهك سانه وسپی دهڵ شووشه ،
سهر پهنجهكان باقوتیك بوون به درش ،
بێینه سهر چاو : چاوێك .. بڵێم چ چاوێك ؟
كانیی سیحر ، دهریای عیشوه ، گێژ داوێك ،(22)

Her arms and wrists are smooth and white as crystal,

The tips of her fingers are ruby-like in their gleaming.

Let us come to her eyes - eyes do I say! What eyes ?

A magic spring, a sea of coyness, a whirlpool.

قوّ/لّو/مه /چه ك/سا /فو /س/پی/وه ك/شوو/شه   =   II

سه ر/په نـ/چه /كان/يـا /قو/تيك/بوون/به /ِوور/شه   =   II

بێ/نه /سه ر/چاو/چا/وێك/بـ/لێم /چ/چا/وێك   =   II

كا/نی/سیـ/حر/ده ر/يـای/عیش/وه /گێـز/د ا/وێك   =   II

كوانێ زوڵفی ڕه ش ؟

كوڵێ ئاڵ و گه ش ؟ (23)

Where is the black tress,

The red delightful cheek ?

كوا/نێ/زوڵ/فی/ڕه ش   =   5

كوڵ/می/ئا/ڵو/گه ش   =   5

Rarely, twelve-syllable and six-syllable versions
have also been used.

When the syllable metres were first revived, the shaṭrs
of each poem were invariable of the same length.   It was
Gōrān who took the experimental step, now common in
contemporary poetry, of using shaṭrs, or perhaps we should
now say lines, of varying numbers of syllables.   For
example:

لـ/ژێـر/ئـاس/مـا/نی/شیـ/نا   =   7   لـۆ ژێرِ ئاسمانی شـینا ،

لـ/پاڵ/لـووت/كه ی/به ف/ریـ/نا   =   7   لـپاڵ لـووتكهی بـه فرینا ،

کوردستان گەڕام ،   کور/دس/تان/گە/ڕام = 5

دۆڵاو دۆڵ پێوام ؛   دۆ/ڵاو/دۆڵ/پێ/وام = 5

****** ******

نە لە شارو نە لە دێ :   نە/لە/شا/رو/نە/لە/دێ = 7

نە مدی کەس   نە/مدی/کە س = 3

وەك تۆ جوان بێ !   وەك/تۆ/جوان/بێ = 4

تۆیت و بەس   تۆ/یت/تو/بە س = 3

کچە کوردێك دل پێی شاد بێ ،   کچە/کور/دێك/دل/پێی/شاد/بێ = 7

وەك فریشتە و پەریزاد بێ !   وەك/فریش/تە و/پە/ری/ز اد/بێ = 7

****** ******

نە باریکی ، نە گۆشتن ،   نە/با/ری/کی/نە/گۆش/تن = 7

نە کۆڵۆڕی ، نە شا ژن ،   نە/ک/چۆ/لە ی/نە /شا/ژن = 7

نە زۆر چاو ڕەشی   نە /زۆر/چاو/ڕە /شی = 5

نە نێچکاڕ گەشی   نە /ئێج/گار/گە /شی = 5

بەڵام بەنیگای شیرین :   بە/ڵام/بە /نی/گای/شی/رین = 7

نە مدی کەس   نە مدی/کە س = 3

وەك تۆ بەتین ..   وەك/تۆ/بە /تین = 4

تۆیت و بەس ! (24)   تۆ/یت/تو/بە س = 3

****** ******

Under the blue sky,

Beside the snowy peaks,

I wandered Kurdistan;

I measured it from valley to valley,

But neither in town nor in village,

Did I   see anyone

as beautiful as you;

You are the only one.

A Kurdish girl, in whom the heart delights,

Like an angel and the daughter of a fairy,

- - -   - - -

Neither thin nor fat,

Neither a flapper nor a matron,

Her eyes not too black,

Not too light,

But with a sweet glance.

I did not see anyone

as striking as you;

You are the only one.

سه‌ره‌/ره‌/تـای/هه‌/موو/پا/ی‌/زیّ = 8   سه‌ره‌تای همو و پا یزیّ

وه‌/ختّ/پۆل/پۆل/ئه‌و/مه‌/لا/نه‌ی = 8   ده‌ختیّ پۆل پول ئود مه‌لانـدی

به‌/دوا/ی/عه‌ش/قی/گه‌ر/مه‌/سیّر/دا = 8   بـه دوای عه‌شقی گه‌رمه‌ سیّردا

رو/وه‌و/با/شوور/کۆچ/ئه‌/که‌/نو = 8   پروه‌و باشوور کۆچ ئـکن و ،

جیّ/مان/دیّ/لن = 4   جیّان دیّلن

ئه‌و/رۆ/ژا/نه‌ = 4   ئـود ـرۆژانـه

له‌/ناو/باخ/چه‌ی/ئا/ژه‌/له‌/کا/نی/با/کوور/دا = I2   لـنادبافچـی ئـاژه‌لـکانـی - باکوورد ا

سه‌/رنج/ب/ده‌ن = 4   سـه‌رنج بدهن

ئه‌/بی/نن/و/ئا/وه‌/لّی/ئه‌و/با/لّن/دا/نه‌ = I2   تـبین وا : ئـاوه‌للّی ئـو بالّنداـنـه

زیند/ه‌ا/نـ/یه‌/کان = 5   زینداـنیـکان

زیـ/زو/مـا/تن = 4   (25) نـیـزو مـاتـن

At the beginning of each autumn,

When those birds mirgrate, flock by flock,

Towards the south, drawn by desire for their

warmer winter habitat,

And they leave us -

In those days,

In the north - the zoological gardens -

Look !

You will see the friends of those birds

imprisoned,

Anxious and downcast.

It may be noted, in passing, that in modern poetry a number of lines can consist of only 3 or 4 syllables; the classical prosodists considered that such short lines could not be used. At the same time as introducing irregularity in the number of syllables in each line, irregularity of rhyme, not unnaturally, also appeared.   Gōrān's poem, above, consists of seven stanzas, with the following rhyme-scheme:

Stanza 1:   aa bb

Stanza 2:   cd cd cc

Stanza 3:   ee ff ed ed ff

Stanza 4:   gg bb cd cd bb

Stanza 5:   hh bb fd fd bb

Stanza 6:   dd bb cd cd

Stanza 7:   bb ii ee cd cd cc.

Clearly, metres that depend only on syllable-counts,
regardless of the quantity of the vowels involved, are much
easier to manipulate than complicated quantitative metres.
The motives for their revival were probably largely national-
istic; once revived, however, they seem not to have presented
the necessary challenge to the poet's ingenuity, or, perhaps,
to have offered sufficient variety. It was, one may guess,
for these reasons that the irregular patterns were introduced
under the influence, to be sure, both of European and modern
Arabic poetry.

CHAPTER FOUR - A COMPARISON BETWEEN AL-SAYYĀB AND GŌRĀN

The similarities between modern Arabic and Kurdish literature are striking. The geographical and historical circumstances which earlier influenced the two literatures may have been different, but in more recent centuries the same social and political problems have confronted both peoples.

Both al-Sayyāb and Gōrān witnessed important cultural developments, as well as developments in the technological, social, political and ideological fields. There was social and political uprising against backwardness, imperialism, tyrannical regimes, and social repression. Young people started to revolt against traditional values. There was a spiritual leap which led to a growing national conciousness. All these factors had a great influence on the Iraqi people, both Arabs and Kurds. After the Second World War, Iraq witnessed social, economic, political and ideological changes. There were also radical developments in literary movements, from classical to romanticism, then from romanticism to realism and thence to social-realism. In the hands of some talented young poets, this latter managed to achieve a balance between the objective and the subjective, opening up new horizons in the world of literature in general and poetry in particular. These developments inevitably came about as the result of their experiences of life at this time. It would be too much to suggest that social, economic, political, cultural and ideological factors directly

affected poetry, because these are autonomous worlds. However, since it is axiomatic that poets are more sensitive than other people, they may be supposed to be more aware of the effects of these factors.   The Second World War brought about great changes in the map and inflicted tragedy and hardship on many parts of the world, including Iraq.   The young generation of Iraqis was brought face to face with unprecedented problems.   The majority of poets used their pens as weapons in the battle for liberation and change.   The comment of Muḥammad al-Tunjī, concerning al-Sayyāb, is relevant here:

> "Al-Sayyāb appeared in an environment and
> at a time in which poets had started to adopt
> a new approach to literature.   He was one
> of the revolutionary poets who devoted their
> poetry to the cause of the people. He shared
> their yearnings, their struggle and took part
> in the cleansing of the pollution, inflicted
> by the tyranny of tiem, which had tarnished
> society"[1].

In the previous chapters an account has been given of how Arab and Kurdish poets attempted to change both the form and content of Arabic and Kurdish poetry, and it is clear that among the principal pioneers in this attempt Gōrān and al-Sayyāb occupy a prominent position.   The backgrounds of both were similar, as far as the social and

political circumstances of the north and south of Iraq
were concerned, even if their physical surroundings were
very different.   Their poetry concentrated on similar
themes: the beauties of nature, the beauty of women, and
the struggle of the oppressed masses.   Even their poetic
development followed a similar pattern: al-Sayyāb started
composing poetry when he was seven years old and reached
his poetic maturity at the age of twenty when he published
his first Dīwān, Azhār dhābila (Withered flowers) in 1947;
Gōrān also started composing poetry in his early youth and
attained his poetic maturity by the late twenties.   Both
were also influenced by their acquaintance with Turkish and
English literature, and both made translations, of prose and
poetry, into Arabic and Kurdish respectively.   The primary
influence on both of European literature, particularly in
their earlier periods, was of Romanticism.   This is evident,
in al-Sayyāb's poetry, even in his first collection, and
certainly in his first experiments with Shi^{c}r ḥurr; in Gōrān's
case, it is equally detectable in the works that he produced
from the thirties onwards.

Both came to employ myths and symbols in their poetry,
and both were influential in introducing the extensive use
of these elements in the poetry of their respective lang-
uages.

At the end of the Second World War, both turned in
their writings to a whole-hearted expression of the Communist
ideology.   Both suffered loss of employment, imprisonment
and exile.   Both eventually became disillusioned with

Communism (in the case of Gōrān, only at the very end of
his life) and reverted to Nationalist views.

Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb

Near the Shaṭṭ al-^CArab, to the south-east of Baṣra,
is located the district of Abu l-Khaṣīb. It comprises many
villages, among them Jaykūr, about three Km from Abu l-Khaṣib
itself, with a population, according to Nājī ^CAllūsh, of
somewhere between five and twelve hundred. Most of the
inhabitants of Jaykūr are members of the al-Sayyāb family
(the name means "green dates"). When Karīma in 1925
married her cousin Shākir they moved from Jaykūr to al-Baqī^{-C},
where they lived in the house of ^CAbd al-Jabbār Marzūq al-
Sayyāb, the father of Shākir, ^CAbd al-Qādir and ^CAbd al-Majīd,
and a man of some standing in the community.

In 1925 or 1926 Karīma gave birth to Badr. In 1932
she died while giving birth to her fourth daughter. Badr
was to refer frequently in his poetry to the effect that
this early loss had upon him. It was not long after her
death, in 1935, that his father decided to remarry. The
orphaned Badr went to live with his grandmother, Amīna.

There was neither a goverrnment nor private school in
Jaykūr. Therefore, al-Sayyāb was obliged to go to school
in the nearby village of Bāb Sulaymān. Unfortunatley, this
village school provided only four years of teaching, and he
had to transfer to the al-Maḥmūdiyya School in Abū l-Khaṣīb,
to complete the last two years of his primary education. In
1938, he completed his primary studies and started his

secondary education in Baṣra, where he lived with his other
grandmother. When he graduated in 1943 he went to Baghdad
and joined the D̄ar al-mu^{c}allim̄in al-^{c}āl̄iya. There, he was
admitted as a student in the Arabic Department, but he later
transferred to the English Department.

In 1945 he joined the Iraqi Communist Party and remained
a member for eight years. He was dismissed by the college
authorities on the 2nd January, 1946, because he had formented
strike action by the students at the end of 1945. He
returned to Baghdad, however, after the summer vacation, to
participate in the demonstrations and riots that were going
on in protest at the British attitude towards Palestine. He
was arrested, together with many other demonstrations and
imprisoned for some weeks. His dismissal was eventually
commuted to one year's suspension, in view of his poetic
ability and the fact that he had committed no other breach
of discipline during his three years.

After five years' study in Baghdad, he obtained his
B.A. in English Language and Literature - and he was sub-
sequently appointed as a teacher - at the al-Ramād̄i Secondary
School. However, his membership of the Communist Party
caused him to lose this post after only three and a half
months, on 25th January, 1949. He was further prohibited
from teaching for ten years. On returning to Baṣra he
was arrested and imprisoned. After leaving prison in 1949,
he obtained various jobs, both in Baṣra and in Baghdad, with
the Iraqi Datë Company and the Iraqi Oil Company in Baṣra

and finally,in 1951, through the help of some friends, with
the Directorate of General Imports in Baghdad. On 22nd
November 1952, he participated in the huge demonstration
in Baghdad, led by the students of the College of Pharmacy,
which led to the resignation of the government of Nūrī al-
Sa^cīd. The organizers of these demonstrations made a number
of demands; the abrogation of the 1930 Treaty of Portsmouth,
free elections, respect for the law, freedom, and a limit-
ation on the amount of land any individual could possess.
The ruling regime, however, agreed to none of these demands;
on the contrary, they made a large wide number of arrests
in Baghdad. Al-Sayyāb fled to Iran to escape arrest·From
there he went to Kuwait, where he remained for some time.
He subsequently, however, returned to Baghdad, to work on
the newspaper al-Difā^c whose editor-in-chief was Sādiq
al-Bassām. Later, on 23rd December, 1953 he was re-appointed
to the Directorate of General Imports. In the years
between 1951 and 1954 he composed four great masterpieces,
which were regarded as new departure in Arabic poetry:
Fajr al-salām (1951), Ḥaffār al-qubūr (1952), al-Mūmis al-ʿ
^camyā' (1954), al-Asliḥa wa-l-aṭfāl (1954).

In 1955 he married a girl from Abū l-Khaṣīb called
Iqbāl Ṭāhā ^cAbd al-Jalīl, who had graduated from Dār al-
mu^callimāt two years previously. Although she was not
related to his family, her sister had married his uncle
^cAbd al-Qādir.

In September, 1958, he was re-appointed as a teacher

at the al-A^czamiyya Secondary School in Baghdad; on 20th
November, 1959, however, he was transferred to the Directorate
of General Commerce.

At the end of 1960, he thought of going back to Jaykūr,
and he began work in the Directorate of General Ports in
Ma^cqal, also becoming an editor of the Journal al-Mawānī'.
At this time, he began to suffer from disease, in addition
to political repression; he had bad pains in the lower part
of his back, and it became hard for him to move his right
leg.   From then on, the concept of death dominated his
world.   He had earlier written much about death, but it had
then been to him a symbol of sacrifice, life-giving and
fertility.   In his last days, he loved death, because it
was his sole hope of release from his ceaseless terrible
pain, in the hospitals of Baghdad, Beirut, London, Paris
and Rome.   As one example of this outlook, we may cite
one of his last poems:

تَحيليني ، بلا ردىّ ، حطام
سفينةٌ كسيرةٌ تطفو على المياه ؟
هاتِ الردى ، أريد الى أُنام
بين قبور الهلى المبعثره
وراء ليل المقبره
رصاصة الرحمة يا الله !

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فبأى آمال اعيش اذن

و أدبّ حيّا بين احياء

لولا مخانة ان يما قَبني

عدل السماء لعنت آبائي

ولعنت ما نسلوا وما ولدوا

مِن بائُسِين ومِن أذلاء

————— —————— ——————

موتٌ يجئ كأنه سنة

دعيس آلامي فينهيها " (2)

In the spring of 1964 he was sent to the al-Amīrī
Hospital in Kuwait, where he remained for about six months.
His disease was diagnosed as Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis.
Finally, on 24th December, 1964, he died there; his body
was taken to Baṣra and it was buried in the cemetry of al-
Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in Zubayr.

Gōrān

Gōrān was ᶜAbdullāh Bag son of Sulaymān Bag son of
ᶜAbdullāh Bag.   He was born in 1904 or 1905 in the district
of Halabca which is part of Sulaimāniyah. He was of the
family of Bagzādai Mīrān Bagī from the area of Marīwān.
Both his father and grandfather were poets. His grandfather,
according to Rafīq Hilmī Bag, achieved fame as a poet of his tribal
Dīwān (council) in both Kurdish and Persian. ᶜUthmān Pāshā,
the chieftain of theᶜAff tribe gave him the title of Kātibī
Fārsī (Persian writer), and appointed him tutor to his sons.
After his death, his son Sulaymān Bag took over this position,
having also impressed ᶜUthmān Pāshā with his poetry.

Sulaymān Bag had three sons, ^cAlī Bag, Muḥammad Bag and ^cAbdullāh Bag, and one daughter, Shamsa Khān. ^cAlī Bag and Shamsa Khān died young. The name Gōrān refers to a famous Iraqi Kurdish tribe. The reason why he called himself by this name is uncertain. According to Rafīq Ḥilmī, in the summer of 1930 Rashīd Najīb published some of Gōrān's poems in _Jīyān_ (life) and perhaps gave him this pen-name then. Ḥusayn ^cAlī Shānōf believed that the poet called himself by this name in an attempt to reconcile his own tribe, Caff, with the tribe Gōrān, with whom it had always been at enmity.

In 1919 the family left Halabca, when it was occupied by the British, and settled in the area of Biyāra near Halabca. They returned, however, later that year. Gōrān's father died in 1919, and at the end of the year his brother, Muhammad Bag, sent Gōrān to al-Madrasa al-^cllmiyya in Kirkuk. He spent only three years there, for in 1921 his brother Muhammad Bag was killed, and in 1922 he was obliged to leave school and return to Halabca. The next three years he passed in considerable hardship and poverty. In 1925, however, he was appointed as a teacher in Halabca, through the help of some kind-hearted friends, and he remained in this job until 1937. Then, having become dis-enchanted with teaching, because of the chaotic state of education and the low standard of living enjoyed by the profession, he succeeded, with some difficulty in getting a position in the Directorate of Construction in Sulaimāniyah.

In September 1942, he went with a group of friends to Jaffa,
where he was appointed Director of the Kurdish Department in
the radio station established by the British to broadcast
anti-Nazi propaganda in the Middle East. He remained there
until the end of March, 1945, when he returned to Iraq and
worked as an accountant in Erbil. In 1951, he was imprisoned
for the first time, for having publsihed a poem praising
North Korea, entitled Lāwkī sur bō Kōreaī āzā (the red tune
to brave Korea). When he left prison in 1952, he was
appointed editor-in-chief of the Kurdish newspaper Jīn in
Sulaimāniyah. He used this newspaper as an organ for anti-
imperialist and pro-peace views. He did not remain long
in this position, however, because followers of Pīramêrd
who had established the newspaper in 1924, assumed control
and forced him to relinquish the editorship, in 1954. On
17th November, 1954 he was again sentenced to one year's
imprisonment and one year's exile, for an offence similar to
that for which he had previously been imprisoned. He
spent his imprisonment in the prisons of Sulaimāniyah, Kirkuk,
Kūt, Bacquba and Nugra Salmān, and passed his exile in Badra
near Kūt. When he was set free, on 22nd September, 1956,
he attempted to find a job in Sulaimāniyah, but without
success. He went to Baghdad, where he became a foreman
in a construction company. No sooner had he got this job,
however, than he found himself in front of the military
court at Kirkuk, on political charges, the nature of which
cannot now be discovered. He was sentenced to three years'
imprisonment or the payment of a fine of one thousand dinars.

Being too poor to afford the fine, he was sent to prison,
where he remained until the outbreak of the Revolution; of
14th July, 1958.   On his release, he visited the Soviet
Union as a member of the Iraqi peace delegation.   At the
beginning of 1959 he was appointed editor-in-chief of the
magazine Shafaq in Sulaimāniyah.   He held this post until
mid-1960, when he was dismissed for being absent without
permission, having participated in the Second Conference of
the Teachers of Kurdistan in Shaqlāwa.   Shortly after this
he left Sulaimāniyah and was appointed a lecturer in the
Kurdish Department of the College of Arts in Baghdad
University.   At the same time, he became a member of the
editorial board of the newspaper Āzādī (Freedom).

In summer 1962, he visited the Soviet Union for the
second time, this time for medical treatment, since he was
suffering from cancer of the stomach.   He remained there
for about three months, and then returned to Iraq.   He
died in Sulaimāniyah on 18th November 1962.   He was buried
in the cemetry of Saywān in Sulaimāniyah.

It is a very difficult matter to trace the early
development of Iraqi poets before the Second World War.
In the first place, many of their early poetic attempts
remained unpublished and were often not preserved.   Secondly,
when they were published, the dates of their publication
are frequently difficult to ascertain, so that it is
impossible to establish to what stage of the poet's careers
they are to be ascribed.   Thirdly, we learn from their

own accounts that they commonly rewrote and modified their work for a considerable time before publishing. Certainly, al-Sayyāb says that he did this on a number of occasions. Gōrān, on the other hand, apparently was not in the habit of altering his poems, once composed. He says in the introduction to his first Dīwān Bahasht u yādgār (Paradise and Remembrance).

> "When I first collected my early poems in
> Vol.1, and got them ready for publication,
> I could have changed many traditional, weak
> and stilted expressions. I thought of
> changing them for genuine Kurdish expressions,
> so as almost to recompose the whole poem....
> but I refrained from doing so lest scholars
> and literary critics investigating the
> development of Kurdish literature should miss
> the early stages of the development of the
> Kurdish literary langauge. Therefore, I
> realised that the disadvantages of making
> such modifications were greater than the
> advantages. So I preferred to leave the
> style of the poems for the readers as I first
> wrote them."[3]

However, most of our poets were less spontaneous, and their poems were worked over. Some, not satisfied with altering themselves, would get other poets too to revise them, even with respect to the rhymes and metres. Much of our two poets' early work, then, is lost, and it is often

impossible to establish a date for that which survives.
Something, however, can be said, about their earlier
productions. Al-Sayyāb apparently began to compose poetry
while still a pupil at primary school. According to
Muḥammad CAlī IsmāCīl, a friend of him from his early years:

> "When al-Sayyāb was in the primary school he
> used to recite poetry. He composed a poem in
> which he described the battle of al-Qādisiyya.
> This poem so impressed al-Sayyāb's teacher that
> he carried him round on his shoulders encouraging
> him to recite the poem"[4].

It was at this time that al-Sayyāb, as Nājī CAllūsh
tells us, issued a newspaper, in his own handwriting, called
Jaykūr , the place of publication of which was the house
of CAbd al-Jabbār Marzūq al-Sayyāb. He distributed copies
of this newspaper to his young friends[5]. One of the most
important elements in literature during the thirties was
still religion. As a youth, al-Sayyāb was a frequent visitor
at the small mosque in his village. He often used to
attend the instruction of the Shaykhs and theologions in
his mosque before and after prayer. He would listen
attentively, and perhaps sadly to the epics of the ShīCī
imams,[6] such as the tragedy of Karbalā'. When he was
at the secondary school in Basra, he was impressed by the
piety of his teacher, Muḥammad Yūsuf, and he continued to
go to the mosque to pray regularly, with his friend Muḥammad

^{c}Alī Ismā^{c}īl[7]. Further, ^{c}Abd al-Laṭīf al-Sayyāb claims that he still remembers some religious verse that al-Sayyāb composed during that period[8]. Unfortunately, I have not had access to any poems of this kind, and I have been unable to find any trace of religious themes in his very early poetic experiments. Certainly, such themes appear in his later poetry, but they are used as symbols for very different ideas, as we shall see, and not as direct expressions of religous feeling. Any religious poetry that he may have composed in his youth he must have discarded, either because he was later ashamed of having written any such thing, or simply because it was not of a sufficiently high standard to be worth preserving. What we do find evident in his youthful work is a great love of nature. Very early in his career he began to compose poetry, in both colloquial and standard Arabic, celebrating the beauty of nature in Jaykūr:

> "I composed the first poem while I was in the
> first year of my primary school in colloquial
> language , and I composed the first poem in
> standard Arabic while I was in the fifth year
> of my primary school. I called it Waṭanī
> (my country)."[9]

It is hardly surprising that this poem has not survived, because al-Sayyāb himself says that it was full of grammatical mistakes[10] and that he then knew nothing of the form and structure of Arabic poetry.

According to Iḥsān ᶜAbbās, while al-Sayyāb was at secondary school, he composed a nostalgic poem about Jaykūr[11]. I have been able to discover nothing about this poem, and it is unlikely that ᶜAbbās has seen it, since he does not quote from it or give the date of its composition. It is certain, however, that al-Sayyāb composed some of the poems in which he described Jaykūr in the years 1942 and 1943, for example, Yawm al-safar (1942), Dhikrayāt al-rīf (1943), al-Dhikrā (1943), Tanahhudāt (1943), Taḥiyyat al-qarya (1943).

In addition, Iḥsān ᶜAbbās relates that, at this time, while al-Sayyāb was sharing accommodation with Muḥammad ᶜAlī Ismāᶜīl, they used to go to Abū l-Khaṣīb, which inspired him to compose a poem[12]. The following extracts will exemplify the type of poetry that he was writing at this period:

لِنزعِ الأَوامِ ازاهِرَ الدَّمَل

فَذَرَت كما يذوي بنا المُقَل

كانت تعير النهر حمرتها

فيضيئُ منه الموجِ كالشُّعَل

كانت تعير النهر حلَّتها

فيسيرُ في وشيٍ من الحلل

كم زينت بالأمس لبَّته

بقلائدَ المرجان، و القَبَل

و اليوم اطفئَ نورها وخبا

نكأنها لم تند أو تمل ..

و اليوم اصبح عقدها بَدَداً

فرأيتَ جيدَ النهرِ في عطل

ولكم مررت بزهرة ذبلت

فبكيت ، حين بكيتها ، أملي

و سقيتها بالراحتين كما

تسقي السحابة تربة الطلل (I3)

Al-Sayyāb was fond of this poem and often used to
recite it to his friends and acquaintances. However, he
was not satisfied with it and added some more verses to it
in 1944[14]:

لرجوت ـ لو دامت غضارتها ـ

وصل التي وعدت فلم تصل

قد كان وشك ذبولها أجل

للملتقى فجعت بالأجل

ولكنت آمل ان أقبلها

و اعب خمرة حسنها الثمل

أما وقد ذبلت ، فلا أمل

لي باللقاء نكمين بالقبل (I5)

It seems clear from the second volume of al-Sayyāb's
Dīwān, particularly the chapter al-Bawākīr (first fruits), that
he began systematically to write poetry in 1941. He does
not mention the date of compsoition of some of these bawākīr,
but we can confidently ascribe them to the years 1941 to
1944[16]. The first dated poem (1941) that we have, ᶜAlā
al-shāṭi' (on the bank), may serve as an example of this
period of his work:

طواها الموج يا حب   على الشاطئ أحلامي

غدا بخم الهوى يخبو   و في حلكة أيامي

عزاءً قلبي الدامي

وذا الفجر بأنواره   رمى الليل واطفأنه

شدا الطير بأوكاره   وهزّ الورد اعطانه

دني غمرة أوهامي

دني نقظة آلامي

بكى محبوبه القلب

عزاءً قلبي الدامي

وعن بعد سرى زورق   فهل فيه التي أهوى

و ذا قلبي هوى يروه   عسىٰ أن يجد السلوى

ومن آهات انغامي

أتتني رمت الرامي

مضى الزورق يا ربّ

عزاءً قلبي الدامي (I7)

The next few years were fertile ones, his poetry
became more mature and his talent bloomed.   During this
time he was in touch with Khālid al-Shawwāf, M. ^CAlī Ismā^Cīl,
Muḥī al-Dīn Ismā^Cīl, Ṣāliḥ Fāḍil, Muḥammad Nūrī Salmān,
^CAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rammāḥ, who were interested in poetry,
prose fiction and modern culture in general; at the same
time, poetry conferences were held at the Secondary School,
in which these young poets used to indulge in good-natured
competition[18].

Obviously, too, the social and political consequences
of the Second World War, and the horror of the war itself,
had an effect on al-Sayyāb.   He was too young yet to adopt

any specific philosophical or ideological outlook, but he
was deeply concerned, in a youthfully nationalistic way,
about Rashīd ᶜAlī al-Gaylānī's uprising of 1941, in which
he demanded independence for Iraq from the British Government.
When the uprising was suppressed and its leaders sentenced to
death, he wrote an elegiac poem about them.   The romantic
tendency of this poem may be thought to display the influence
of the Dīwān, Mahjar and Apollo schools:

شهيد العُلا لم يسمع اللوم نادبه

وليس يرى باكيه من قد بها ثبه

طواه الردى غالكون للمجد مأتَم

مشارقه سورة ومغاربه

فتى قاد ابناء الجهاد الى العلا

وقد حطمت بأس العدو كتائبه

فتى همه أن يبلغ العزّ موطنه

غدا كل باغٍ دون خوف يوارثه

فتى يعرف الاعداء فتكة سيفه

قد فتحَت فتحاً مبيناً مغاربه

فتى ما جنى ذنبا سوى انه انتضى

حساماً بوجه الظلم ما لا جانبه

اذ ذكروا في جحفل الحرب « يونساً »

مشى الموت للاعداد حمراً حبائبه

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رشيد ويا نعم الزعيم لأمة

يعيث بها عبد الإله وصاحبه (19)

It was during this period that Arabic Romanticism,
which between the wars had been little more than a blind
imitation of English Romanticism, began to associate itself
with human suffering in the world, and the aspiration of the
Arabs.   This was something that happened rather later in
Iraq than in some other Arab countries, and it happened there
precisely as a result of the leadership of such poets as
al-Bayyātī, Nāzik al-Malā'ika, Mardān, Būland al-Ḥaydarī and
al-Sayyāb himself.   These poets, who did a great deal to
develop romanticism in Arabic poetry, were as has been
suggested, at least partly influenced by the earlier experiments
of the Dīwān, Mahjar and Apollo schools.   In al-Sayyāb's
case, in addition to this undeniable influence, we may suggest
a number of more personal circumstances that stimulated the
Romantic tendencies latent in him:

First, the war, which clearly had the general effect
of rousing Iraq from its lethargy.   ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd Jīda's
assertion that the war had no effect on Iraqi poets, who
were affected solely by the innovations of their Egyptian
and Lebanese counterparts,[20] can hardly be substantiated.
It appears to be based on a misunderstanding of ᶜAlī ᶜAbbās
ᶜAlwān's remark:

> "The Iraqi Romantic poets during the time
> between the two world wars were more imitating
> the Egyptian and Mahjar poets than European
> Romantics"[21].

Second, the early loss of his mother (his father
seems not long to have survived her). This was a dep-
rivation that he felt very keenly throughout his life. In
the introduction to Asāṭīr (1950) he says:

"I lost my mother while I was very young.
Thus, I grew up deprived of woman's love and
kindness. During all my life, I have been
searching for a particular woman who can fill
this gap. I have always been dreaming of
having a family in which I could find comfort
and content. Also I have the feeling that
I will not live long"[22].

In an early poem, he speaks of the loneliness that he
suffers as a result of the loss of his parents:

خيالك من أهلي الأقربين   أبرّ ، وان كان لا يعقل

أبي ... منه قد جردتني النساء

وأمي ... طواها الردى المعجل

وما لي من الدهر إلا رضاك

فرحمانك خالدهر لا يعدل .. (23)

Furthermore, it would seem that his grandmother, who
adopted al-Sayyāb, died when he was fifteen or sixteen years
old. Her death shocked al-Sayyāb, and he wrote in a letter
to his friend Khālid al-Shawwāf dated 23rd November 1942:

"Are tyrannical fate and time now satisfied,

with the death of my grandmother, at the end

of this summer of 1942 ? I have now been

deprived of the last heart that bears

love and kindness towards me".[24]

He composed this elegy for her, Rithā' jaddatī (1942):

اسلمتني أديري القضا للشجون ِ   اذ قضى من يرّدني لسكوني

درى بهمه بقية آمالي   نخرّت صريعة من عيوني

وودعت أذن قولي أنغامي   وآبت الى الفناء لحوني

حبّتي ...

وهي كل ما خلف الدهر ُ من الحب و المنى و الظنون

ورجاءٌ بدا فألهاني الصغر وخفت أنواء لحنيني

قد فقدت الأم الحنون فأنستني وصاب الأم الرؤوم الحزينه

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أيها القبر كن عليها رحيمًا   مثلما ربّت اليتامى بليني ..

أيها القلب هل كلام شمالي   والتي تفعل الذنوب بعيني ؟

لا تلمني خلست قد علم الله   أردّ القضاء لو يأتيني

ولمِ الموت والزمان الذي يسلب ما ترتجيه غير حنين

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آه لو لم تعوّديني على العطف وآه لو لم أكن أو تكوني .. (25)

Third, not unconnected with the second, his constant

quest for a woman's love. Like so many poets, with their

sensitivity and highly cultivated emotions, he was unsuccess-

ful in this respect. ᶜAlī ᶜIzzat says:

"Women greatly dominated al-Sayyāb's world.
Actually, he was obsessed by them. He was
always engaged in a ceaseless search for love,
but all in vain".[26]

In fact, he fell in love with many women. Perhaps
the first was a girl from his own village whom he met while
in the last grade of secondary school[27]. He told his
friend Khālid al-Shawwāf about his love for the shepherdess
Hāla in a letter, dated 9th March, 1943, with which he enclosed
a poem entitled Marīḍa, dated 15th January, 1943:

وللقلوب التي ضنت معاصرها   مريضة ؟ لك ربي يا ـ هويل ـ وطي
غالروح مثلك عاد الداء وافذها (28)   مريضة ؟ لم ينلك الداء واحده

This girl made a great impression on al-Sayyāb,
inspiring him to copmose a number of poems celebrating her
beauty and tenderness, and expressing his passionate longing
for her. These can be easily seen in Hamas al-hānī,
Dhikrayāt al-rīf, Ughniyat al-rāʿī.

When he went to Baghdad, he fell in love again, this
time with Labība, his fellow-student in the college; she
was seven years older than him and he called her Dhāt al-
mandīl al-aḥmar. He affirms his love for her in many poems
such as Khayāluki, Arāhā ghadan, Ughrūda and Fī l-masā!
Unfortunately, Labība rejected his love and married another

man. Nevertheless, he still remembers her in Aḥibbīnī, which he wrote on 19th March, 1963, twenty years after her leaving him:

ظلالاً عن مدحريهٍ : آه نسّلك باعتنى بمأمون
لدُجل المال ، ثم صحا فطلقها وخلّاها .
وسَلك .. لأنها في العمر أكبر أم لأن الحسن أغرالها
بأني غير كفءٍ ، خلفتنى كلما بشرب الندى ورده
ونتحُ برعم شلتها وشممت ريّاها ؟
و أمسى رأيتها في موقف للباص تنتظرُ
فباعدتُ الخطى ونأيتَ عنها ، لا أريد القرب منها ،
لها الويلت ؟ ثم عرفتها : احسبتَ ان الحسن ينتقم
على زمن تحطم سور بابل منه ، و العنقاء
رماد منه لا ينكي بعث فهو يستقر ؟
وسلك كأن في غمازتيها يفتح السحر
عيون الفلُ و السُبلا، بها ، عافتنى الى مصر وصحاره
إلى زوج تغير منه حالٌ ، فهو في الماره   (29)

After Labība's departure, al-Sayyāb fell in love with Daisy al-Amīr, whom he used to call al-Ughūwana and Dhāt al-ghamāzatayn. Once again, he celebrated his love for her in many poems such as Dīwān shi'r, 'Awdat al-dīwān, al-Warda al-manthūra, Maqta' bi-lā 'unwān. Later, again he appears to have fallen in love with the poetess Lamī'a 'Abbās 'Imāra, a Sabian, who admired his poetry. However, they could not get married[30]. This quest for women's love did not cease even after his marriage to Iqbāl, though

he claimed that women had no longer any place in his poetic horizons[31]. This was clearly not the case; his poems written after his marriage, no less than those written before, clearly indicate that women were always his main source of inspiration. Even during the last days of his life he did not desist from expressing his passionate longings for them, although those he has loved had left him without bidding him farewell. As we have indicated, he was somewhat unfortunate in this respect:

وما من عادتي نكرانُ ماضيَّ الذي كانا ،

ولكن .. كل من احببت قبلك ما أحبوني

ولا عطفوا عليَّ ؛ عشقتَ سبباً كنتِ احيانا

ترنّ بشورهنّ عليَّ ، تحملني إلى الحسين

بهدايا من عطر نهورهنّ ، اغوصُ بي بحر من الأوهام والوجد

فالتقط المحار أظنّ فيه الدرَّ ، ثم تظلني وحدي (32)

Fourth, his early physical environment. He was born and brought up amidst some of the most beautiful countryside in the South of Iraq, which he celebrated in many lyrical poems; he became particularly renowned for his poetry of this kind, not least for than in which he immortalized the natural beauties of Basra. The best examples occur in his Dīwān Azhār dhābila and Asāṭīr, in which Romantic features are prominent. In these, lyrical and sententious elements are interwoven in an imagery so disciplined that many Arab poets have called them "inspired". The image

of the village of Jaykūr and the natural beauty of Basra
are over and over again uniquely sketched, as he recalled
them while in Baghdad.   His Tammuzite period did not
represent a complete break with Romanticism.   To him
nature was always endowed with vital characteristics, as
may be clearly seen in his Dīwān Unshūdat al-maṭar.   An
example from his romantic period is to be found in his
poem Dhikrayāt al-rīf, composed on 9th April, 1943:

عدنَني ليالي الصيف من ذا يعيدها

هوىً الوهم و الذكرى لأسوان حائر

فيا حبذا لي جلسةَ هوم شاطئ

الوذُ به إن مسّني ظلمٌ جائر

أراقب من المرج يسري بزورره

نبتتْ فيه من تعذ اليها مشاعري

يسير بجمدانيه في النهر أشبها

ذراعي مشوقٍ مدّتا في الدياجر

كأن رشاش الماء ـ يعلو ـ أزاهرٌ

نثرن عليها من أليفٍ مسامر

تروّح عنها بالشراع نسائمٌ

ويرتادها ضوء النجوم الزواهر

سها النجم انهلاكاً له حين شاقها

فتابعها في انفه كلُّ دائر

ومن حولها مرج تضيئُ كرامة

وتعكس من ألوانها كلَّ باهر

تغيرها الأسماعِ كالكأس خطمتْ

وكا لقلب اعياه اعتساف المقادر(33)

Fifth, a general sense of loneliness and depression,
aggravated by economic and political circumstances. The
result of these is perhaps best encapsulated in <u>Gharīb</u>
<u>^calā l-Khalīj</u>, written in 1953, when he was a refuge in
Kuwait:

وعلى الرمال ، على الخليج
جلس الغريب ، ليسرِّح البهر الحيِّر في الخليج
ويهدَّ اعمدة الضياء بما يبعد من نشيج
" أعلى من العباب يهدر رغوةٌ ومن الضجيج
صوت تفجَّر في قرارة نفسى الثكلى : عراق ،
كالمدّ يصعد ، كالسحابة ، كالدموع الى العيون
الريح تصرخ بي : عراق ،
والموج يعول بي : عراق ، عراق ، ليس سوى عراق !
البحر أوسع ما يكون وأنت أبعد ما تكون
والبحر دونك يا عراق .
بالأمس حين مررت بالمقهى ، سمعتك يا عراق ...
وكنت دورة الطوانه
هي دورة الأفلاك من عمري ، تكرِّر لي زمانه (34)

As with so many Romantics, self-centredness is perhaps
the most noticeable characteristic of al-Sayyāb during his
Romantic period. He was never entirely free from this,
but clearly, in moving towards Realism and Social Realism,
he became more aware of and concerned with social and
political problems in general, both those of Iraq and the
Arab countries and also of the world at large. It is

perfectly possible, however, to regard such commitment
in a writer, particularly one with a history such as his,
as merely a developed aspect, an extension in a sense, of
this self-centredness. Only too often, it is the writer's
reaction to the injustices and atrocities that he denounces
that is the subject of real concern to him.

For Gōrān's part, he was born into the world of
poetry[35]. As has been mentioned, he too started to
compose poetry when he was very young. His father used to
give him instruction on its construction, explain its
obscurities and compare different poems for him[36]. He
induced him to read and study the classics of both Kurdish
and Persian literature. Before he started at primary
school, Gōrān had already learnt the whole of the Qur'ān
by heart; eventually he became a religious student in the
Pāshā mosque at Halabca. A little later he was for some
time known as Faqê (theological student) ᶜAbdullāh[37].
According to Kamāl Mīrāwdalī, Gōrān began to write poetry
when he was only six years old; when he disagreed with his
fellows, he would use poetic turns of phrase to make fun
of them[38]. From his autobiography, which he sent to
Husayn ᶜAlī Shānōf in the Soviet Union, it is clear that
Gōrān began to write poetry while he was a pupil at primary
school. Shānōf elaborates:

> "Gōrān mentioned that while he was at
> primary school he started to compose

love-poems, in the manner of classical

Kurdish poetry. He used to recite them

to his father, who was impressed by them

and encouraged his son to continue to

compose them"[39].

Rafīq Hilmī Bag says:

"When Gōrān was twelve or thirteen years

old he began to read and comprehend Persian

and Kurdish poems. At that time, he started

to compose poems similar to Classical ones"[40].

Gōrān himself said that the first poem he composed
constituted four or five verses, of which he could remember
only two; these he did not wish to write down[41],
because at the time that he composed them, he had had no
poetical experience. No one, as far as is known, has
ever heard or seen anything of this poem.

Again, Rafīq Hilmī says that the first love-poem
which Gōrān composed, at the age of twelve, consisted of
seven verses. Gōrān, however, preserved only two of
these, which Hilmī published in the second volume of his
work Shi^cr u adabiyāti kurdī (1956), and reprinted in the
first volume of Gōrān's Dīwān (1980):

لە تاوی فیرقەتی یارم دلّم دائیم پەرێشانە

دەکوو مەجنوونی ھەی وەیلی کە ئەو دەشت و بیابانم (42)

Because of my beloved leaving me, my heart is constantly distracted;

Like the madman of a tribe, I wonder through hills,plains and deserts.

His early poetic experiments were no more than
simple imitations of classical Persian, Turkish and Kurdish
poetry, as we discover from the collection Yādgārī kōn
(old memories). In one of these poems Aī shawqī galāwêj
(O the brightness of the Sirius), an early work, he says:

ئەی شەوقی گەلاوێژی بەیان نووری نیگا هەت !

ئەی عیففە تەکەت داغی حەسەد بۆ دڵی جیبریل ،

هەر بۆ هەوەس وعیشوه یە خۆ لارە کولا هەت !

چون مەحکەمەی عەشق نەدا حەق بە جەمالت ؟

خەندەی لەبی مەعصوومە ئیغادانی گەواهەت !

وەک بلبلەکەی فەجری ئەزەل دیردە ئەی یار :

بۆ ئەوگوڵ وا خەڵقی ئەکا حەمدی ئیلاهەت !

بێ عەشقی هەوای پایزه بۆ قەلبی مسەردەم ،

ئەی یۆژری بەهار مەرحەمەتی تینی پەناهەت

بێداری یەکەم ظلمەتی شەو بردی قەراری ،

تەو زوڵفی پەشـــــیۆ دەرێخە سا چیهرەی ماهەت ! (43)

O the brightness of the Sirius of the morning-light of your glance !

O your purity that makes Gabriel's heart burn with jealousy !

Your headress inclines only to affection and playfulness.

How can the court of love not give your beauty its rights !

The smile of your sinless lips is the giving of your testimony.

O beloved, I supplicate, like the nightingale of the dawn of eternity,

for that flower which your praise of God creates.

Lovelessness is the wind of autumn to my anxious heart,

O sun of spring !(I ask for) the favour of your hidden heat.

The darkness of the night took away the stability of my wakefulness,

Show your disordered tresses like the face of the moon.

His poetic talent began really to show itself in the
twenties, at a time when radical developments, in both
form and content, were beginning to take palce in Kurdish
literature. These developments were due largely to the
impact that foreign literature, both in translation and in
the original, was having. Gōrān entered on his Romantic
period, without immediately, however, abandoning all the
Classical conventions. Some of his earlier Romantic poems,
which are subjective and sentimental, reaching the heights
and depths of emotion, are nevertheless composed in the
manner of Ottoman poetry, for example <u>Madaniyyat</u> (Civilisation):

مەدەنییەت : گوڵی بەهاری حەیات ،

مەدەنییەت : هەوای نەشئەو نەما ،

مەدەنییەت : وەسیلەی نیجیبا ،

بۆ هەموو میللەت و عومومی وڵات !

مەدەنییەت ، ئەلکتریك ، تەدەر

ئەی ضیا بەخشی حاڵی نەوعی بەشەر !

تەدمی کوردی هەژاری بێچارە

وێڵی تەبیهی جەهالەت ، هاوار !

ماندوو ، مردوە غەدرتی لۆز وغوبار

طەی ئەکا ئەم موحیطی ئەسرارە ! (44)

Civilization: the flower of life's spring;

Civilization: the air of growth and increase;

Civilization: the means of revival

for all nations and all countries.

Civilization: electricity, moon;

O you who shed light on the condition of the human race !

The miserable helpless Kurdish people

is the deprived vagabond of ignorance; help !

It is tired, dead, sunk in dust and mist.

It enfolds this comprehender of secrets.

It was really only after the publication of his
Yādgārī kōn (old memories) that he divorced himself completely
from the classical style.

Circumstances seem also to have accelerated
his taking up with Romanticism.   Born into a qasi-feudalist
and educated family, of a tribe that played an influential
political and social role in Kurdish Society, his life
early on suffered a complete reversal, with the sudden death
of his father, the killing of his brother, and his unwilling
departure from Halabca, in search of his livelihood.
Although deeply affected by this, he did not despair; he
was a strong-willed person and thrived on challenges:

"These black days will never hold me back
from my course in life"[45].

The first manifestation of a Romantic tendency in
him was a prose article published in 1921 in the newspaper
Pêshkawtin (Progressive), entitled Asafī maḍī u andêshaī
istiqbālim (My regret for the past and my apprehension for
the future). In this piece Gōrān depicts his suffering
and loneliness, while demonstrating his mastery of metaphor
and simile in the classical manner.

In the year in which he went to Kirkuk, to continue
his studies, he composed a poem dedicated to his mother,
in which he expressed his sadness at being separated from
his homeland and his family:

$$\text{ئەی دایە ، ئەگەر ئەپرسی حاڵم :}$$
$$\text{» ئێ : تۆڵیش وەکو باقی بێ رەحم نیت ،}$$
$$\text{تۆز تاڵێ ، کەمێ رەحم ئەزانیت ! «}$$
$$\text{راستی شەوو رۆژ هەر دەناڵم !}$$
$$\text{دێگریم و دەسووتێم هەر وەکوو شۆم ،}$$
$$\text{ناهم ئەگاتە گۆشی گەردوون ؛}$$
$$\text{ماتــــــــو کزو مەلوول و مەحزوون}$$
$$\text{بۆ خاڵی غەریبی ، بێ کەســــی خۆم ! ...}$$ (46)

O mother ! if you ask how I am
(For you are not pitiless like the others;
You know a little, at least, of pity),
I am, in fact, groaning day and night;
I am weeping, and burning like a candle,
My lamentations reach the upper spheres of heaven —
Silent, despondent, wearied and grieving
for my estranged condition and my loneliness.

In the thirties, his Romanticism was developed both
by his attachment to the English Romantics and by his
discovery of the dynamic Turkish poetry.   Throughout the
period, though, it was largely dominated by enthusiasm
and hope for his country; see, for example, Shahīd (The
martyr), Bō Halō Bag (For Halō Bag), Bō Maḥmūd Jawdat
(For Maḥmūd Jawdat), Lāwānawaī sara ṟê (Lamentation on
the highway):

هەنارد نۆ صەدو سی بوو ، شەشی ئەیلوول کە ڕۆژ هەڵهات :
غەریوی ویستی حەق کەوتە ناو شاری سلێمانی ؛
(هەڵۆ بەگ) ئەو جوانەی پڕ دڵی بوو بۆ وەطەن ماوات ،
لەپێش جەمعێکەوە تا بەر سەرا ڕووی هەڵەتی هانی .
لەگەڵ یارانی ئەیوت : ((ئەی حوکوومەت ! تا ئێمەی تەثبیت
حوقووقی کوردە واری ، نایەوی کورد ئێنتیخابا نات ؛
ئەوانەی بانگ کران و تۆ بە قوەت دەربیان ئەگریت :
دەنی و تازاجی پەرستن ، هیچ نەبێ پێیان موبالانت !
ــــــ ــــــ ــــــ ــــــ ــــــ
بڵێ بوو بووکی تازەی یەک شەوەم گەر هاتە سەر نەعشم ،
نەبێ خۆی بۆ وەطەن کوشت و لەرێی عاشقی منا مەبرێا ..
وەظیفەم بوو لە پێناری دڵاتەبکا سەرم بەخشم :
کە تۆی پەروەردە کرد بۆ من لە داوێنی چیاد کەشا ! ... (47).

It was the sixth of September, 1930 when the sun rose:

Voices demanding rights arose within the city of Sulaimāniyah,

Halō Bag - that youth's heart was full of yearning for his homeland;

In front of the crowds he made an attack on the Sarā (square).

He and his comrades said: O Government ! until you confirm

the rights of the Kurdish nation, the Kurds do not want your elections.

Those whom you have invited and strongly protected

are worthless and selfseeking and have no regard for you.

- - -   - - - -   - - -

Tell my new bride of one night, if she comes to my bier -

Do not say that I sacrificed my life for my country and did

not live for my love.

It was my duty to give my head for the sake of my country,

which nurtured you for me at the foot of mountain and hill.

Unlike al-Sayyāb, he lived through both world wars; it was, however, the second that affected him, too, more deeply.

For the most part, however, Gōrān was a poet of nature and women. His most important poetry celebrates the beauty of women, upon whom he lavished his Romantic feelings and poetic talent. He was prepared to pursue love, wherever it might be, regardless of set-backs:

لـه‌چ باخێك گوڵێكی ســـوورم دەبێ ،

بۆی چوۆم هـزار درك لـپێم چدبیێ ! (48)

If ever I have seen a red flower in any garden,

I have gone to it, even though a thousand thorns have pricked my feet.

His Romantic poem Bō gawra kichêk (to the eldest girl) indicates that Gōrān first fell in love in his early youth. His first marriage was not a love-match. It would seem that his mother forced him to marry one of his relatives[49]. Ajī Gōrān has related an earlier disappointment:

> "Before his first marriage, Gōrān fell in love
> with an aristocratic girl. His relationship
> with her was very strong. Unfortunately,
> his financial problems and the tragic
> circumstances that had befallen him were
> obstacles that kept him from his loved one.
> The pain of this remained in his heart
> from that time until he poured it out in
> a poem Būkêkī nākām (Disappointed bride),
> which he composed in 1951".[50]

The following exerpt from this poem substantiates Ajī Gōrān's statement:

لە ژێر تاڕای سوورەچنا مەڕە جوانی دنّ ،

(دکی جوتیار !) بەرەو کۆشکی ئاغا کردتە ڕێ ...

کۆشکی ئاغا گرچ کاری یە ، ئاوێنە بەندە ،

کرس نازانی بە ژمارە ، بەنجەرەی چەندە !

صەد و غوارەی حەوشی میردی ، باخچە وچیمەنی

بەسەر ناخّی مەرگیز سەوزی و گوڵی دەگمەنی ! ...

جوانی لادێی پهووتی وهکوو تهڵی وه نزو شه
به ئماوریشمو و به ئاڵتوونی ئهم کۆشك و حهوشه :
له تووتی سهر تا بهری پێ پهرداخت و پۆشته ،
سهوارکراوه ، شۆخ و نازدار وهکو فریشته ..
ڕاوهتی پێ بۆ پهردهی ئهتڵهس و گوهروون ،
بۆ باخهڵی ئاغای پێش چاو به چل چرا بووون

———— ———— ———— ————

کچی جووتیار بۆ بهههشتی ژین و دڵداری ،
لهگهڵ کوڕی شوان بهستبوی پهیمانی یاری !

(51)

Under the bridal veil of S̄urmachin (red-gold material), the

most beautiful girl of the village,

the farmer's daughter, is leaving for the Agha's Palace.

The Agha's palace is plastered with gypsum and decorated

with mirrors;

No-one knows how many windows it has.

Marble cisterns, fountains and courtyards, gardens and meadows

whose greenness and rare flowers are never at an end.

The beautiful rustic girl, naked like a single violet,

In the silk and gold of this palace and courtyard:

Elegant and well-dressed from the crown of her head to the

soles of her feet,

Mounted, merry and bright, like an angel.

She is leaving for the curtains of Satin and Ḡurūn ,

to the arms of Agha, facing the brilliant chandeliers.

- - -   - - -   - - - -

The farmer's daughter, to a paradise of life and love -

although she had made compact of love with the shepherd's son.

Gōrān does not mention the name of any woman for
whom he composed poetry, so we do not know for whom he
wrote: Āfrat u cuwānī (woman and beauty), Āwātī durī
(Distant hope), Bastaī dildār (Song of love), Halbastī
Pashīmānī (Verse of regret).   According to Dīlān the
following verses refer to a girl who worked in a bookshop
in Jaffa, with whom Gōrān fell in love:[52]

هەرچین بکەم ، ئەو خەیاڵەی پێی مەستم ،
بۆم ناگرێتە ناو چوار چێوەی هەڵبەستم ! (53)
——————— ———————— ——————

بەڵام ئەوەی لێی وەرووژاندم هەستم ،
ئەو کتێبی شیعرەیە داتە دەستم ! (54)

Whatever I do, that image has intoxicated me.
I cannot put it inside the frame of my verse.

The thing that exited my emotions
was that book of poetry which you handed me.

This, however, is as close as we ever came to discovering
the identities of the objects of his passion.

Gōrān was brought up in Hawrāmān which is famous for
its natural beauty, its rivers, mountains, snows and green
plains.   He was greatly fascinated by these phenomena,
and he devoted many of his poems to the celebration of
nature.   Excellent examples are provided by the two famous
poems in which he immortalizes the natural beauty of
Hawrāmān and Qaradagh:

کۆمەڵ شاخێك سەخت و گەردن كەش ،
ئاسمانی شنی گرتۆتە باوەش !
سەرپۆشی لووتكەی بەفری نێزر سپی ،
بە دارستان رەش ناو دۆڵی كپی ...
حەۆگەی ئاوەكان تیایا قەتیس ماو :
هەر شیرۆون ناكەن پێچی شاخ نەواو .
هاوار و هاژەی كەف چەرەنیی چەم
بۆ تەنیایی شەو لایەلایەی خەم !
نەولەیەتی باریك ، تووناد تۆون پشكن
پێبوار ئەخاتە ئەندێشەی بێ بن ...
ناو رێگا تەق تەق ، لابیّ بەردی نل
كە هێشتا گەردوون پێی نەداوە تل ! (55)

———————   ———————   ——————

A mountain mass, wild and definat,

Has gathered blue heaven in its embrace;

The mantle of its peak very white snow,

Dark with forest its silent dales.

Waters imprisoned in their runnels

Flow on, nor cease their windings round the hills;

The roar and hiss of foam, the shrill song of the brook,

Lullabies for grief in the solitude of night.

The narrow footpath, feeling its way from tunnel to tunnel,

Throws the wayfarer into anxiety without end;

On the track rocky stairways, on the side great boulders

That heaven has not yet sent rolling down.

سوار بووین ، کوتینه بناری ســـیوان ،

رووی دنیا روونناك ، بیانی ذۆر جوان !

شـــینایـیی دەشــتی (تۆکیه) و بەرەو خوار

پاراو بوو چیشـــنی ئەگریجەی نازدار !

گوڵ بەبۆژەی تمر زەردی چاو کاڵ ،

مل کچ وەستابوو : سەرگەردی خەیاڵ !

لە سەر قەبرەکان داری ئەرخەوان ،

وەڵ بوورکی تازا سەوزی ئاو دامان   (56)

We mounted and left for the foot of Saywān.

The face of the world bright and the morning most beautiful.

The green plain of Takya, and downwards from there,

was fresh like the side-locks of the beloved.

The sunflowers, golden-haired with light-brown eyes,

were standing with bent heads, intent on their imaginings,

Over the grave the judas trees

were like veiled brides in long green dresses.

Like al-Sayyāb, Gōrān was essentially subjective and self-centred in his early work. His turning towards wider issues may perhaps be said to begin in 1932, with his poem Shahīd (the martyr), which he wrote in commemoration of the events of 6th September, when the Kurds in Sulaimāniyah rejected the false elections of the ruling regime. Later, at the beginning of the war, he became deeply involved in internationalist politics, which he afterwards wished to

apply to the Iraqi situation.   After he joined the Iraqi
Communist Party, in the fifties, he used his poetry to
preach peace and love among the people of the world.   However,
his political activities and their connection with his
poetry are discussed in greater detail elsewhere.

It may perhaps be remarked, in passing, that al-Sayyāb's
Romantic period was of shorter duration than that of Gōrān.
The Romantic phase in Iraq, in general, although of
considerable significance, was not long-lived:

> "In Iraq the Romantic period was very short.
> The new poets started in imitation of the
> existing romantic schools and themselves,
> quite suddenly, abandoned the Romantic
> style and in response to the changing
> situation after the war al-Sayyāb and
> al-Bayyātī created the basis of the neo-
> classical school in Iraq with a new
> poetry which was to sweep aside the
> already moribund Romantic school".[57]

CHAPTER FIVE - THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN LITERATURE ON AL-SAYYĀB AND GŌRĀN

It is a well established fact that a learned poet cannot avoid the influence of both local and international literature on him. Ample studies have been made of this topic, and it is beyond the scope of the present research to go into it fully. It suffices to quote the Arabic version of Kalīla Wa-Dimna (Pañchatantra) which has been translated into many languages[1]. To highlight this point further, it is worthwhile quoting La Fontaine's (1621-1695) comment in his introduction to the second volume of his fables, which appeared in 1678, ten years after the first collection[2]. The fables of the second volume are regarded as some of the finest manifestations of the art of the Seventeenth Century; he took the greater part of the subjects of those from a fresh source of inspiration, the Indian philosopher Pilpay or Bidpay, the original of Kalīla Wa-Dimna[3]. This can be illustrated by the works of La Fontaine himself:

> "Pour peu que le lecteur y prenne garde,
> il le reconnaîtra lui-même; ainsi je ne
> tiens pas qu'il soit nécessaire d'en
> étaler ici raisons, non plus que de dire
> ou j'ai puisé ces derniers sujets.
> Seulement je dirai, par reconnaissance,
> que j'en dois la plus grande partie a
> Pilpay, sage Indien."[4]

It seems that La Fontaine had access to this book, after the appearance of his first volume in 1668,[5] when it was translated into French (1644) by David Shahid of Isfahān, and edited and commented on by Gilbert Gaumen[6].

The same can also be said about Alf layla wa-layla (The thousand and one nights). This book, which was translated into many languages, had a great effect on many famous poets and literacy men such as Tennyson, Voltaire, Montesquieu[7]. It was first translated into French by Antoine Galland at the beginning of the eighteenth century and published in 12 volumes (Paris) between 1704-1717. During the eighteenth century this French translation was re-translated into many other European languages[8]. In the nineteenth century, the work was translated into many European languages directly from the Arabic text[9].

Another example is the epic of Mam u Zīn by the Kurdish poet Aḥmadī Xānī (1650-1706). This epic, which goes back as far as the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries[10], had some influence in the East and in the Soviet Union. It was translated into Russian by M.B. Rodinco in 1962, and into Arabic prose by al-Shaykh Muḥammad Saᶜīd Ramaḍān al-Būṭī. It is from this epic that the Syrian poet Aḥmad Sulaymān al-Aḥmad derived his novel in verse Mam u Zīn[11]. It should be said that this epic contains 2661 verses. It relates the love-story of the princess Zīn, the sister of the ruler of Bōtān, and of Mam, the son of one of the latter's subjects[12].

Influences of European literature are quite evident

in Arabic and Kurdish literature in the twentieth century.
This is partly due to the rise of the Romantic movement at
the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth
centuries in Europe, which greatly affected Arabic trends of
thought as Arab poets began to read European literature in
general, both in the original and in translation. English
literature, for instance, inspired both Arabic and Kurdish
poets, who did their best to imitate its style, images, and
artistic techniques. It should be emphasised that Arab poets
were principally influenced by the stylistic and artistic
techniques of European literatures, rather than by their
philosophical or intellectual trends. However, in 1920-1921
the Arab immigrant poets of North America established a
society called al-Rābīṭa al-qalamiyya (the pen association),
whose founders were Gibrān Khalil Gibrān (1883-1931), Amin
al-Rayḥānī (1876-1940), Mīkhā'īl Nuᶜayma (b.1889), Nasīb
ᶜArīda (1887-1946) and Ilyā Abū Māḍī (1890-1957). The
precepts of this society included the renunciation of
classicism, belief in the prevailing of humanity over nation-
alism, the expression of deep religious feeling and the use
of dynamic techniques to convey their ideas.[13]. Later,
between 1932-1933, Arab immigrant poets in South America
established their own society al-ᶜUṣba al-Andalusiyya, which
advocated the revival of Andalusian literature, Arab national-
ism, and devotion to classical Arab techniques of poetry[14].
The pioneers of this society were Fawzī al-Maᶜlūf (1889-1930),
Shafīq al-Maᶜlūf (b.1905), Ilyās Farḥāt (b. 1893), Rashīd
Salīm al-Khūrī (b. 1887)[15]. Nonetheless, according to
ᶜUmar Farrūkh , these poets had neither a deep and broad

education, nor a rich Arabic vocabulary which would enable them to write poetry worth considering.[16] However, they were influenced by, and imitated, European and American literature which was quite new to them. Their experiments were confined to those of style, and they tried to reproduce the involuted subjectivity of English Romanticism. Partly as a result of the immense influence of European literature and particularly English, the Apollo School was established in Egypt in 1932 by Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī (1892-1954) who was the most daring Arab poet to experiment with poetic form, being a close student of the development of contemporary English and American poetry[17]. One may feel that F.T. Palgrave's The Golden Treasury (1861) should be regarded as one of the principal sources on which most of the Arab and Kurdish poets depended. It was the main anthology which introduced English poetry, and it was a text book in many Arab colleges.

Similar influences soon made themselves felt in Iraq, and many Iraqi poets such as al-Sayyāb, al-Bayyātī, al-Malā'īka and Gōrān, were affected by them, both in style and subject matter. In the forties a new literary trend was initiated in Arabic poetry in Iraq which was characterized mainly by the abandonment of the restrictions of classical poetry and the imitation of European romantic poets. There can be little doubt that what most attracted Iraq's first modern poets was the fact that poets of contemporary literature in the West could be counted important in their

societies; in addition, of course, a number of the ideas
of the modern European poets - social justice, political
persuasion, the stream of consciousness and the rest, had
a great attraction; realist drama, too, which contrasted
completely with the Romantic, had a profound effect. However,
I cannot better summarize this matter than in the words of
Moreh:

> "The influence of Western poetry on Arabic
> poetry from 1947 until the present day has
> been more profound and revolutionary than in
> the whole period from the second quarter of
> the nineteenth century until 1947. The reason
> is that in the earlier period it was the
> subject matter of poetry that was influenced;
> the effect on form and technique was not great
> or decisive. The works of the great Western
> poets, starting with Shakespeare and the
> English, French, Russian and German Romantics,
> were translated into Arabic and influenced
> Arabic poetry, but their impact was restricted
> to subject-matter, i.e. the ideas and
> content, to the rhetorical and metaphorical
> forms, and the depth of the sentiments
> expressed. This led to the use of expressive
> poetic images, to personification, to
> expressing ideas through narrative poetry,

to striving towards an organic unity of idea

and sentiment, and to borrowing ideas from

life (proverbs, metaphors, etc.)."[18]

The effort of European literature on Kurdish has been less than that on Arabic. It seems that Gōrān was the first Kurdish poet who was influenced by European literature and particularly English. This conclusion, however, has to be taken with caution because we have little information to rely on, apart from two important articles by ^cUmar Barzancī Gōrān u adabī Inglīzī (Gōrān and the English literature), which he published in the Journal Rōjī Kurdistān (Sun of Kurdistan) - 1976-1978 -, and one by Kamāl Mīrāwdalī (Mamand) Sirūsht u cuwānī la shi^crī Gōrān (Nature and beauty in Gōrān's poetry), which he published in the Journal Nusarī Kurd (The Kurdish writer) - 1973 - .

Before attempting to investigate the effect of European, and particularly English literature, on Gōrān and al-Sayyāb, we may perhaps cite Darwīsh al-Jundī, in al-Ramziyya fī al-adab al-^cArabī, concerning the reasons for, and the results of, the connection of the East with European cultures. According to him, there were six reasons for this connection, of which we shall mention only the three that seem most important:

1.   Colonialism:

At the end of the eighteenth century Napoleon led his campaign of invasion against Egypt. From that time,

onwards, the East was opened up to the West and was exposed
to an unfamiliar culture under the influence of French and
British colonialism.   This eventually led, among many other
results, to the appearance of many patriotic poets in Iraq
and other Arab countries[19].   It seems that the British
Government in Iraq granted the Iraqis a limited freedom,
which the latter exploited to its utmost to express their
repressed views[20].   Thus, the British encouraged education
in Iraq and established the Directorate of Education Dā'irat
al-ma^cārif[21].

2.   Scientific scholarship

In 1826 Muḥammad ^cAlī sent the first Egyptian scientific
mission to France[22].   Subsequently, students from other
Arab countries habitually studied in the West; when they
returned home they brought with them Western culture, and
some of them even started preaching Western ideology[23].
It is of interest to note that no Kurdish students were sent
abroad except Gōrān, Rafīq Chālāk and Ramzī Qazāz, who were
sent to Palestine in the forties.   It is not known under
whose auspices they were sent.

3.   Translation:

In Egypt Rifā^ca al-Ṭahṭāwī recommended the establishment
of a school for translation and languages, which was approved
by Muḥammad ^cAlī. Soon, Arabic, English, French, Italian,
Turkish and Persian were being taught in this school[24].
The impact of this activity in Egypt can be found also in
Beirut, which was the centre of translation in the Levant;
there the American University started teaching all topics in

Arabic, which obliged its teaching staff to translate their works into Arabic[25]. In Iraq, from the thirties onwards, translation into Arabic was very active, and many European masterpieces were translated, such as The Mother by Gorky, some of Chekhov's short stories and Nāzim Hikmat's work[26].

There are possible other factors that Darwīsh al-Jundī did not consider:

1.   The fact that both Gōrān and al-Sayyāb lived in the most beautiful parts of Iraq made them in harmony with English romantic poets, who loved and celebrated nature in their poems.   It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that any poet who lives in beautiful natural surroundings should necessarily be influenced by European literature; there are many Arab and Kurdish poets who have enjoyed living in such surroundings without being influenced by any European poet. Gōrān and Al-Sayyāb, however, were at the same time educated enough to have access to European literature, which both enabled them to enrich and cultivate their poetic talent, and drew their attention to the rich resoruces of nature; it thus suggested to them botb a fertile new field on which to exercise their poetic imagination and the means to give artistic expression to the results.   Wordsworth (1770-1850) was famous for his deliberate choice of precise and expressive words to depict the beauties and the majesty of nature. To him it was a symbol of permanence and profound tranquility.   Thus, he used it to ridicule the emphemeral inanities of human society[27]. Byron's (1788-1824) and

Shelley's (1792-1816) consciousness of nature was not dis-
similar[28], but their poetic power lies more in the
impassioned lyricism which sustains their magnificent odes
and in the lucidity of the didactic and analytical material
of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage (1812) an Epipsychidion or
The Triumph of life[29]. Gōrān and al-Sayyāb assimilated
their Romantic approaches to nature, and thereby contributed
strongly to the technical development of Iraqi poetry.
While classical poets concerned themselves with the depiction
of the beauty of nature through the employment of flowery
rhetorical devices, Gōrān and al-Sayyāb went back to the
essence of nature, which inspired them to formulate genuine
ideas and images.

2.   It is impossible to separate education from any form
of human activity in an advanced society. Poetry, which is
a means of expression, is strongly associated with education,
knowledge and awareness, i.e., it is associated with all the
characteristics of a society of which the poet is part and
parcel.   Further, the great poet should be aware of the
fact that talent alone is not sufficient to create genuine
poetry.   His education, knowledge, assimilation of tradition
and awareness of the various influential factors on society
all work together to make a creative and authentic poet.
Al-Sayyāb was quite aware of this fact when he said:

> "The time during which people used to think
> that education is not necessary for a genuine
> poet has gone forever.   Talent is no longer
> enough to create poets such as Edith Sitwell
> and T.S. Eliot"[30].

Before starting at the <u>Dār al-mu^callimīn al-^cāliya</u> ,
apart from composing poetry, al-Sayyāb did his best to read
and comprehend as many different kinds of literature and
arts as possible.   This point can be illustrated by the
words of Iḥsān ^cAbbās:

> "Reading - after the writing of poetry - was
>
> his second occupation.   The evidence indicated
>
> that his cultural scope widened and began to
>
> influence his thinking and his comparative
>
> judgements.   He knew Ibn al-Rumī, or at least
>
> he knew some of his poems which he admired,
>
> in particular his elegy on al-Bustān, the singing
>
> girl..... He read in the Dīwān of Mihyār al-
>
> Daylamī, and he memorized much of the poetry
>
> that Ibn Qutayba included in his <u>Kitāb al-</u>
>
> <u>shi^cr wa-l-shu^carā'</u>.   He also read Aḥmad
>
> al-Ṣāwī Muḥammad's book on Shelley and tried
>
> to understand some of his poems in their
>
> original English".[31]

It was during this period that al-Sayyāb became
fascinated by Shelley and Keats; at the same time, he adored
<u>Le Lac</u> by Lamartine (1790-1869), which was translated into
Arabic by the Egyptian poet ^cAlī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā [32].

> Al-Sayyāb himself says:

> "It was through ^cAlī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā and Aḥmad
>
> Ḥasan al-Zaiyyāt's translation of the works
>
> of·Alfred De Vigny, De Musset, and Percy Shelley

that I became fascinated by Western literature
which I started to imitate. Meanwhile, I tried
to read English poetry, though I had to
consult an English dictionary twenty or thirty
times in each poem"[33]. .

When Al-Sayyāb came to Baghdad for the first time in 1943
to join Dār al-mu^callimīn al-^cāliya, he thought of Baghdad
as a symbol of ambiguity, magic, imagination and dreams.
Soon he became acquainted with literary men and found him-
self in the midst of the world of literature.[34]. In
Baghdad, at that time, clubs, cafes, newspapers were all
devoted to literature, and al-Sayyāb became a member of this
literary society[35]. According to Ihsān ^cAbbās, he used
to accompany his friend Khālid al-Shawwāf to the society of
Muslim Youth (Jam^ciyyat al-shubbān al-muslimīn)[36]. Once,
in al-Zahāwis' cafe, he met for the first time the critic
Nājī al-^cUbaydī, who was the editor of the newspaper al-
Ittihād, and who published al-Sayyāb's first poetic work
in his newspaper. During this period, al-Sàyyāb spent most
of his time either in the college or in the cafes. One of
his friends describes him as follows:

"Often we saw him in the Mubārak Cafe, sipping
tea, and reading the Dīwāng of al-Mutanabbī,
Abū Tammām and al-Buhturī. He was so fond
of the poetry of Abū Tammām that he used to
memorize his long poems, analyze their images, and
live their atmosphere"[37].

When he joined the Iraqi Communist Party in 1945, he found a psychological and intellectual satisfaction. It should not be understood, however, that his membership of the party actually created his poetic talent. It seems that the party furnished the poet in his early poetic experiments with accumulated and rich experience on various levels.

As has been mentioned, al-Sayyāb was deeply influenced by a number of classical and modern Arab poets such as al-Mutanabbī, Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, Aḥmad Shawqī, Ilyas Abū Shabaka, al-Jawāhirī and ᶜAlī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā. This last fascinated him for a time, making him think of widening his poetic knowledge by reading European literature:

> "I had been under the influence of the Egyptian
> poet ᶜAlī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā al-Muhandis (1902-1949)
> for a long time. It was this poet who
> opened new horizons in my life when I started
> reading his translations. This stimulated
> me to learn English so as to read international
> literature"[38].

His specialization in English language and literature in Dār al-muᶜallimīn al-ᶜāliya made him more familiar with English poetry. Under the influence of English Romantics and symbolists, he discarded the classical Arabic forms in favour of new style poetry in the Western manner. Concerning his reading, he said in a letter to his friend Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā dated 15.10.1963:

"Among my reading were <u>Taras Bulba</u> by Gogol,
<u>To Have and Have Not</u> by Ernest Hemingway,
<u>Lady Chatterley's Lover</u> by D.H. Lawrence,
<u>Letters from the House of the Dead</u> and
<u>White Nights</u> by Dostoevsky. In addition I
read some Chinese and Soviet novels, and
various other works"[39].

Like al-Sayyāb, Gōrān was an educated man. He
became famous for his contribution to the language. His
mastery of Kurdish has already been referred to, and his
poetic diction is considered a model which contemporary
Kurdish poets aspire to imitate. The influence of classical
Kurdish poetry on his early work is even greater than that
of classical Arabic poetry on that of al-Sayyāb. <u>Yādgārī kōn</u>
(old memories), for instance, is a close imitation of
classical Kurdish poets such as Nālī, Sālim, Mahwī, Kurdī,
Mawlawī. However, he soon gave up his imitation of class-
ical poetry, and abandoned its heavily Arabized and Persicized
vocabulary, doing his best to use Kurdish words only; he
wrote many interesting articles on this subject.[40]

He wrote mostly in the <u>Sōrānī</u> dialect, although he
introduced items of vocabulary from other dialects. Gōrān's
interest was not restricted to his native language; while
he was very young, he managed to acquire a good knowledge
of Turkish and Persian as well. This enabled him to trans-
late a lot of Persian and Turkish poetry, which he did in a
very free manner, departing from the metrical forms and

rhymes of the originals. This can be easily seen in the following poems; Xayyām(from Persian), <u>Pirsyārêkī Nāsir Xosraw</u> (A question of Nāsir Khosraw - from Persian), <u>Āhangī Mughān</u> (Mughān concert - from Persian), <u>Tarcī^c bandêkī banāwbāng</u> (The famous Tarci^c band - from Persian), <u>Dāstānī Hayās u ^cĀbidīn</u> (the epic of Hayās and ^cĀbidīn - from Persian), <u>Hêzī gal</u> (the people's power - from Persian), <u>Xabātī gal</u> (the people's struggle - from Persian), <u>Bit</u> (Idol - from Persian), <u>Harwak Karam</u> (like Karam - from Turkish), <u>Hawrakān têaparin</u> (a cloud will pass - from Turkish), <u>Insānī gawra</u> (a great human being - from Turkish).

He was not satisfied with knowing these languages and literatures; he wished always to learn more:

> "At that time, while I was fond of Persian and
> Turkish literature.... Modern Arabic poetry and
> English poetry were spreading... I adopted
> the theory of Art for Art's sake and started
> reading the poetic works of those who advocated
> this literary trend, such as Jōhn Keats and
> Oscar Wilde."[41]

Attention should be drawn to the fact that Gōrān, at the beginning, had access to English literature only through Turkish into which the works of Shelley, Keats, Byron, Oscar Wilde, Robert Herrick, Wordsworth and Coleridge were translated[42]. Gōrān had no formal instruction in English at school, but while he was a student in Halabca,the learned

poet Aḥmad Mukhtār Bagī Cāff (1897-1935), who had a good
command of English, began to teach it to him[43]. This gave
him a foothold in English culture, and opened new vistas in
front of him, both in the original and in translation:

> "At the beginning I read some of Shelley and
> Byron's work which was translated into Turkish.
> But after the downfall of the Ottoman Empire,
> and the developing of my individual ambition,
> I started reading English literature in the
> original"[44].

3.   It should not surprise us to find that both poets were
fond of travel, which introduced an exotic note into their
works; it is by this trait that they are linked with many
other literary men and poets.   To an educated literary man
travel is not a mere interest, or a means of earning a living,
but a means of discovery which enables him to find what he
has been searching for.   Al-Sayyāb's travels to Iran,
Kuwait, Syrian, Lebanon, Rome, London, and Paris enriched his
poetic and intellectual experiences, opened new horizons to
him, and made him for the first time familiar with the worlds
of freedom and democracy.   His love for freedom was not
limited to political freedom, but embraced freedom of
literature as well.   During his time abroad he was enabled
to meet the most outstnading modern Arab and European poets
and writers, such as Mīkhā'il Nuᶜayma, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Maḥmūd
Amīn al-ᶜĀlim, Yūsuf al-Khāl, Adūnis (ᶜAlī Aḥmad Saᶜīd),

Unsī al-Ḥajj, Muṣṭafā Badawī, Jabrā I. Jabrā, Salmā Jayyusi, Simon Jargy, Bint al-Shāṭi', Paolo Minganti, Ignazio Silone, Stephen Spender, Martino Moreno and Luc Norin. It seems that the latter strongly affected him, and gradually a great and lasting friendship formed itself between them. There is extant a letter from al-Sayyāb to Simon Jargy, which displays the enthusians with which he regarded her:

> "I miss you, but honestly I miss her more.
> She is my poetess, friend, princess of my
> imagination and poetry. I could not write
> even one verse after the two poems (Layla fī
> Bārīs and Aḥibbīnī) which I composed in Paris...
> I would attribute this to the atmosphere that
> dried up the spring of my poetry."[45]

It was Norin's promise to visit al-Sayyāb in Iraq and even to visit his own village, Jaykūr, that inspired the composition of Layla fī Bārīs:

وذهبتِ فأسحب الضياء ،
احسستَ بالليل الشتائيُّ الحزين ، وبالبكاءْ
ينثالُ كالشلال من أنوفٍ تحطمه الغيوم .
احسست وخزَ الليل في باريسَ ، واختنق الهواء
بالقهقهات من البغايا ... آه ! ترتعش النجوم

وذهبت فأسحب الضياء .
لو صحَّ وعدكِ يا صديقه ،
لو صحَّ وعدك . آه لانبعثتْ وفيّه

من قبرها ، و لعاد عمري في السنين الىٰ الوراء .

تـأـتيـن انتَ الىٰ المـراه ؟

أمدُّ من قلبي طريقَه

فـأَشـي عليـه . كأنّما هبطـت عليـه من السماء (46)

Gōrān's travels took him to Jaffa, Tel Aviv, the Soviet
Union, China and North Korea.   In 1942, he went to Jaffa,
where he was appointed the director of the Kurdish Department
of the broadcasting station in the Middle East which was
established by the British government.   He was already
strongly imbued with his principles of nationalism and
patriotism and we can see the beginnings of his inclinations
towards Communism in his celebrating the heroic victories of
the Red Army against the troops of Fascism, even though he
was not yet a member of the Iraqi Communist Party.   In Jaffa
he had the opportunity of meeting a number of English literary
figures, and it is likely that he acquired most of his
English at that time[47].

In 1958, he visited the Soviet Union as one of the
representatives of the Iraqi Society for peace.   Ḥusayn
ᶜAlī Shānōf says of this visit:

> "The big cities of Russia such as Baku were
> happy to welcome Gōrān into their bosom.
> Then he went to China and Korea.   Later he
> came back to Iraq through Moscow.   This trip
> left the poet with some very magnificent
> memories which he expressed in the poems he

composed in Baku and Moscow. During this trip,
he was elected an active member of the society
of International Peace"[48].

4.   There is no need to examine in great detail the events
that occurred during the two poet's life times. It is
sufficient to suggest that a number of political and social
factors affected both of them.   As young people they witnessed
the devastating effects of the two World Wars, at the end of
the Second of which Iraq was pregnant with Marxism.   Both
men adopted Marxism and became zealous advocates of its
principles, though, in fact, only for a short period.   The
poetry of both, during that era, is full of symbols and myths.
According to Boullata, the major function of al-Sayyāb's
imagery is to symbolize his vision of the predicament of
civilization in the Arab world[49].   Iraq in the fifties
was reduced to the most abject condition, a prey to poverty,
frustration, paralysis, depression and destruction. The
country was full of police agents, many families were home-
less, disease and death were rife among workers and peasants,
and innocent people were thrown into prison[50].   Therefore,
as many critics believe, Gōrān and al-Sayyāb used myths and
symbols in their work to express their pent-up feelings and
at the same time to disguise their real intentions from the
monarchist regime.

    There has been an intensive debate during this century
about the influence on modern Arab poets of European
literature, and comparative critical studies have been made

in an attempt to demonstrate to what precise extent they were influenced by it. Some attribute this undeniable, but unquantifiable, influence exclusively to the advance of education. Others believe that it has depended mainly on the individual poet's taste and feeling and his evaluation of the aesthetic, artistic and literary values of a certain piece of art[51]. It is needless to emphasize that it is beyond the scope of this thesis to make a comprehensive comparative study between the whole poetical corpus of al-Sayyāb and Gōrān and the whole of English poetry. It is reasonable, therefore, to concentrate on certain particularly influential English poets, and try to demonstrate their effect on these two poets.

From the early twenties, the same revolution that had occurred in European literature at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century began to occur in Kurdish and Arabic literature. A comparison of the earlier poetical works of Gōrān and al-Sayyāb, particularly those which celebrate the beauty of nature and of women, and those which exhibit their philosophies, with Romantic European poetry reveals considerable similarities, and suggests a decisive influence.

Before joining the English Department in Dār al-muᶜallimīn al-ᶜāliya, al-Sayyāb used to read avidly the available translations of Victor Hugo (1802-1885), Lamartine (1790-1869), Alfred de Musset (1810-1857), Alfred de Vigny (1797-1863), Baudelaire (1821-1867), Edmond Rostand (1868-1918)

and Paul Valéry (1887-1945). This may explain why he
dedicated the following poems to the spirits of Wordsworth
and Baudelaire: Dhubūl azāhir al-difla, Jadwal jaffa mā'uhu,
al-^CAysh al-mahjūr, Amīr shaṭṭ al-^CArab, Majrā naẓīr al-
ḍīffatayn ,Bayna al-rūḥ wa-l-jasad. In 1944, he sent the
last poem to ^CAlī Maḥmūd Ṭāhā, so that he might write an
introduction to it, but he died before he could do so[52].
He became familiar with Baudelaire through the translations
of the works of the latter into Arabic. He read some of
Les Fleurs du Mal and some of the biography of the poet.
He immediately wrote Bayna al-rūḥ wa-l-jasad, which depicts
sinful, physical love, while disapproving of it[53].

His second collection to be published was Asāṭīr
(1950), which brought him even more fame than his first,
Azhār dhābila (1947). Most of the poems of this collection
were in the manner of English Romantic poetry, particularly
that of Shelley and Keats. He had even translated an
extract from Keat's "Bright star! .... ", which he
interpolated in his poem Dhikrā liqā' (1948):

<div dir="rtl">

ومّدت يمناك نحو الكتاب   كمن ينشد السلوة الضائعة

فتبكى مع العبقري المريض   وقد خاطب النجمة الساطعة

» تمنيت يا كوكب

شبابا كهذا ـ أنام

على صدرها في الظلام

وأننى كما تغرب « (54)

</div>

There can be no doubt that the phrase al-^cAbqarī al-marīḍ (the sick genius) denotes Keats, who died young.

When the time came for him to leave college (1948), al-Sayyāb resolved, perhaps influenced largely by Keats' example, to devote himself to poetry. In Ri'a tatamazzaq, composed at this time, we find many echoes of Keats' Ode to a Nightingale:

الداء يُثلج راحتي، و يُطفئُ الغد .. في خيالي
و يشلُّ انفاسي، و يطلقها كأنفاس الذبال
تهتزُ في رئتين يرقصُ فيها شبح الزوال
مشدودتين إلى ظلام القبر بالدَّم و السعال ..

————— ————— —————— ——————

كم ليلة ناديتُ باسمكَ ايها الموت الرهيبُ
وددتُ لا طلع السرور عليّ إن مال الغروب
بالأمس كنتُ أُرى دجاكَ احب من خفقات آل
راقصن آمال الظماء .. فبلها الدم و اللهيب !
بالأمس كنتُ أصيح : خذني في الظلام إلى ذراعك
و اعبر بي الأحقاب يطويهن ظل من شراعك
خذني إلى كهفٍ تهوّم حوله ريح الشمال .. (55)

My heart aches, and a drowsy numbness pains
My sense, as though of hemlock I had drunk,
Or emptied some dull opiate to the drains
One minute past, and Lethe-wards had sunk;

- - -   - - -   - - -   - - -

Darkling I listen; and, for many a time
I have been half in love with easeful Death,
Call'd him soft names in many a mused rhyme,
To take into the air my quiet breath;
Now more than ever seems it rich to die,

To cease upon the midnight with no pain,

While thou art pouring fortb thy soul abroad

In such an ecstasy !

Still wouldst thou sing, and I have ears in vain -

To thy high requiem become a sod [56].

Keat's influence on al-Sayyāb is abundantly clear, but
we have some evidence that he also knew Shelley's work.
There are reminiscences of Shelley throughout his earlier
work, but perhaps the clearest references are to be seen
in Itbi^cīnī written in 1948; compare:

اتبعيني

فالضحى رانت به الذكرى على شط بعيد،

حالم الأغوار بالنجم الوحيد

و شراع يتوارى ، و « اتبعيني »

همسة في الزرقة الدنيا .. و ظلٌ

من جناح يضمحلُّ

في بقايا ناعسات من سكون

في بقايا من سكون

في سكون !

لهذه الأغوار يغشاها خيالُ ؛

هذه الأغوار لا يسبرها إلا ملالُ

تعكس الأمواج ، في شبه انطفاء ،

لون المهجور في الشط الكئيب ،

في صباح و مساء ؟

و أساطير سكارى .. في دروب ،

في دروب الحفأ الماضي سراها

و طواها .

فاتبعيني ... اتبعيني .

اتبعيني .. ها هي الشطآن يلوها ذهول

ناصل الألوان ،كالحلم القديم

عادت الذكرى به - ساطع كأشباح نجوم

نسي الصبح سناها و الأصول

في سهاد ...، بين جفونه !

في وجوم الشاطئ الخالي ، كعينيك ، انتظار

و ظلل تصبغ الريح ... وليل نهار

صفحة زرقاء تجلو ، في برود

وابتسام غامض ، طلّ الزمان

للمراغ المعتب البالي على الشط الوحيد . (57)

with Prometheus Unbound:

A SIA.

Thine eyes are like the deep,blue,boundless heaven

contracted to two circles underneath

Their long, fine lashes;dark, far,measureless,

Orb within orb, and line through line inwoven.

PANTHEA.

Why lookest thou as if a spirit passed ?

ASIA

There is a change:beyond their inmost depth

I see a shade, a shape: 'tis He, arrayed

In the soft light of his ownsmile, which spread

Like radiance from the cloud-surrounded moon.

Prometheus, it is thine ! depart not yet !

Say not those smiles that we shall meet again

Within that bright pavilion which their beams

Shall build on the waste world ? The dream is told

What shape is that between us ? Its rude hair

Roughens the wind that lifts it, its regard

Is wild and quick, yet tis a thing of air

For through its grey robe gleams the golden dew

Whose stars the noon has quenched not.

DREAM.

Follow ! Follow !

PANTHEA

It is mine other dream.

ASIA

It disappears.

PANTHEA

It passes now into my mind. Methought

- - -   - - -   - - -

Low,sweet,faint sounds, like the farewell of ghosts,

We heard: O, FOLLOW, FOLLOW, FOLLOW ME !

And then I said:"Panthea, look on me."

But in the depth of those beloved eyes

Still I saw, FOLLOW, FOLLOW !

ECHO.

Follow, Follow!

PANTHEA.

The crags, this clear spring morning,mock our voices

As they were spirit-tongued.

ASIA.

It is some being

Around the crags. What fine clear sounds!O, list!

   - - -   - - -   - - -

ECHOES.

O, Follow, Follow,

As our voice recedeth

Through the caverns hollow,

Where the forest spreadeth;.[58].

Iḥsān ᶜAbbās and Lewis ᶜAwaḍ remark that al-Sayyāb's early poetry is more or less an unthinking imitation of these English poets, with little or no personal experience making itself felt in it[59]. Almost certainly, al-Sayyāb did not really understand the intentions of the poets whom he imitated at this stage; this would perhaps account for the poor opinion that is held of his imitative work. We may look upon this period as a natural stage in any poet's development: one that should not be taken too seriously. An example of his work on this time is his poem Ahwā' (Desires) in which he incorporated an adaptation of some lines of John Lyly (1554-1606):

صباها بِ ، يلعبان الوردة   وبالحب و الغادةِ المستبد

فألقى سهام الهوى والمنية   وكيف استكان الاله الصغير

(60)   وورد الخدود ، ونور الحدقة   رهاناً ، رمى ثم غماز تيه

Cupid and my Campaspe play'd

At cards for kisses; Cupid paid:

He stakes his quiver, bow,and arrows,

His mother's doves, and team of sparrows;

Loses them too; then down he throws

The coral of his lip, the rose

Growing on's cheek (but none know how);

With these, the crystal of his brow,

And then the dimple of his chin;[61].

During his Realist and Social-Realist period, al-Sayyāb
seems to have been influenced by Stephen Spender (b. 1909),
W.E. Henley (1849-1903), W.H. Davies (1871-1940), Rupert
Brooke (1887-1915) and Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849). At about
the same time, he was also greatly influenced by T.S. Eliot
(1888-1965) and Edith Sitwell (1887-1964). After the
Second World War, the poetic influence of Eliot became wide-
spread in literary circles in the Arab world, particularly in
the wake of al-Sayyāb. It is not hard to explain why the
modern poet whom the Arabs found most congenial was Eliot.
Commenting on this, Nazeer El-Azma says:

> "The disciples of Eliot's poetic ideology and
> technique are many in various parts of the world.
> In this regard the Arab poet is no exception.....
> Eliot's poetry, and more specifically "The Waste
> Land" and the works which followed or developed its
> theme, have been received by the Arabic intell-
> igentsia as not only an expression of the
> decaying spirit of the West but also as a torch
> to illuminate the decay of their own... It can
> be seen that "The Waste Land" has left its mark

on al-Sayyāb's major themes. Remarkably he employed not only the Eliotic theme but also his images, monologue and even his poetic vocabulary. And while Eliot from a religious standpoint elevated his vision to the tragic level of a cultural crisis, al-Sayyāb's vision was framed by the political, social and economic conditions of his environment."(62)

The attractiveness of Eliot's poetry to a world-wide audience may perhaps be attributed to his command of many languages, his wide general knowledge and his employment of historical motifs from early religions. It is relevant here to consider this great poem. According to B.C. Southam:

> "Eliot's immediate Waste Land is the world, as he saw it, after the First World War. The 'waste' is not, however, that of war's devastation and bloodshed, but the emotional and, spiritual sterility of Western man, the 'waste' of our civilization. Eliot does not regard this as a single moment in history, particular to the West in the twentieth century, and the poem is organized to present an inclusive, comparative vision, a perspective in history in which (by succinct allusions and references) twentieth-century forms of

belief and disbelief, of culture and of life,

are kept in a continuous and critical relation-

ship with those of the past. The theme of

the poem is the salvation of the Waste Land,

not as a certainty but a possibility; of

emotional, spiritual and intellectual vitality

to be regained. Eliot develops this theme

drawing upon related patterns in nature, myth

and religion; the cycle of the seasons; the

ancient fertility myths of Egypt, India and

Greece, in which the God must die to be re-

born, to bring fertility to the soil and

potency to the people; a pattern known to us

again in the life, death and resurrection of

Christ[63].

It seems that the reasons that stimulated al-Sayyāb

and his fellows on the one hand, and Eliot on the other, to

employ symbols and myths in their works, were very similar.

Both used these myths to find a solution for the crisis of

the contemporary individual and re-assess the values of

humanity for their time, which was full of cultural pre-

dicaments[64]. The rapid technological development in the

West brought about unhealthy human relationships which,

naturally, had their effects on literature. Modern

Iraqi poets imitated and absorbed Eliot's dissatisfaction

with the outcome of Western industrialization. At the

beginning of this influence, al-Sayyāb had neither Eliot's

cultural depth nor his politico-religious attitude. But
it may be suggested that "the Waste Land", as far as al-
Sayyāb's ideology and technique were concerned must have
helped in shedding light on the loss of his civilization,
and the decay of the Arab culture[65]. The same symbols,
Adonis, Tammuz, Attis, Osiris, Aphrodite, etc., which took
a firm hold on Eliot's poetry, can be found in much of
al-Sayyāb's Tammuzite poetry. For instance, in his poem
Unshūdat al-maṭar (1953), he depicted the complete sterility,
of the Iraqi people by his use of the image of drought, which
has, as Jayyusi: describes it , "the aridity of Arab life
after the 1948 disaster in Palestine and the aridity of
the land in the fertility myths, saved from complete waste
only by death and the spilling of blood, analogous to the
falling of rain over a parched land."[66] He trusted that
the thunder, lightning and heavy rain over the mountains
would overcome the aridity, and would carpet the earth with
greenery, implying thereby his belief in general revolution,
national resurrection and the victory of the people:

كنشوة الطفل اذا خاف من القمر !
كأن أقواس السحاب تشرب الغيوم
و قطرة فقطرة تذوب في المطر ...
وكركر الأطفال في عرائش الكروم ،
ودغدغت صمت العصافير على الشجر
انشودة المطر ...
مطر ...
مطر ...

مطر ...

تثاءب المساء ، و الغيومُ ما تزال

تسحُّ ما تسحُّ من دموعها الثقال.

كأن طفلاً بات يهذي قبل أن ينام :

بأن أمه ــ التي أفاق منذ عام

مطر ...

مطر ...

مطر ...

وكم ذرفنا ليلة الرحيل ، من دموع

ثم اعتللنا ــ خوف أن نلام ــ بالمطر ...

مطر ...

مطر ...

ومنذ أن كنّا صغاراً ، كانت السماء

تغيم في الشتاء

ويهطل المطر ،

وكل عام ــ حين يعشب الثرى ــ نجوع

ما مرَّ عام و العراق ليس فيه جوع .

مطر .. (67)

The repetition of the word <u>maṭar</u> (rain) in this poem can be
paralleled in Eliot's poem "the Waste Land:"

                    If there were water

        And no rock

        If there were rock

        And also water

        And water

        A spring

        A pool among the rock

> If there were the sound of water only
>
> Not the cicada
>
> And   dry grass singing
>
> But sound of water over a rock
>
> Where the hermit-thrush sings in the pine trees
>
> Drip drop drip drop drop drop drop
>
> But there is no water
>
> - - -   - - -   - - -.
>
> In a flash of lightning.   Then a damp gust
>
> Bringing rain[68].

Certainly al-Sayyāb mentions more than once his admiration for Eliot and the latter's influence on him:

> "We must mention in this respect, the great
>
> influence that the great poet T.S. Eliot, and
>
> particularly his poem "The Waste Land", has
>
> had on committed poetry, both good and bad,
>
> in modern Arabic literature... but there is
>
> also another group of young Arab poets who have
>
> read and understood Eliot and have been influenced
>
> equally by his spirit and technique"[69].

Al-Sayyāb here implies that he has severed his relation-ship with the Iraqi Communist party. While still a member, he felt obliged to excuse his admiration for Eliot:

> "I admire Thomas Eliot ... I have been influenced
>
> by his style only, because I completely dis-
>
> agree with his philosophy and attitudes towards
>
> life".[70]

Eliot's influence on him became much greater after
his leaving the Iraqi Communist party, although his impact
upon him did not last long. This is demonstrated in his
long poem "Min ru'yā Fu-Kāy", in which he describes the
vision of Fu-Kāy, a clerk in the Jesuit mission in Hiroshima
who went mad following the horror of the atomic explosion
and was treated at the Red Cross Hospital, where he was just
a number: [71]

هلياي .. كونغاي ، كونغاي
ما زال ناقوس أبيك يقلق المساء
بأفجع الرثاء :
« هلياي .. كونغاي ، كونغاي »
فيفزع الصغار في الدروب
وتخفق القلوب
وتفلق الدور بيكين و شنغهاي
من رجع : كونغاي ، كونغاي . !
نلتقي و طفلك الوليد ،
ليجمع الحديد بالحديد
و الفحم والنحاس بالنضار
والعالم القديم بالجديد
آلهة الحديد والنحاس و الدمار ،
أبوك رائد المحيط ، نام في القرار :
من مقلتيه لؤلؤ يبيعه التجار (72)

Al-Sayyāb comments in a footnote on the last two lines
that Eliot took them from Shakespeare's The Tempest and used
them to symbolize "life through death", whereas in the context

in which he himself used them, the meaning was different.[73]

Returning to 1948, we find that al-Sayyāb borrowed freely from Eliot. His poem Fī l-sūq al-qadīm, which is the first important poem to display irregular rhyme and metre, has the freshness and originality of Eliot's Preludes (1909), especially the first section. It is perhaps helpful to compare the two passages:

The winter evening settles down
With smell of steaks in passageways.
Six o'clock.
The burnt-out ends of smoky days.
And now a gusty shower wraps
The grimy scraps
Of withered leaves about your feet
And newspapers from vacant lots;
The showers beat
On broken blinds and chimney-pots,
And at the corner of the street
A lonely cab-horse steams and stamps
And then the lighting of the lamps[74].

الليل ، و السوق القديم
خفتت به الأصوات إلا غمغمات العابرين
وخطى الغريب و ما ثبتُ الريح من نغم حزين
في ذلك الليل البهيم .
الليل ، و السوق القديم ، وغمغمات العابرين !
و الغور تعصره المصابيح الحزانى في شحوب ،

- مثل الضباب على الطريق -
من كل حانوت عتيق ،
بين الوجوه الشاحبات ، كأنه نغم يذوب
في ذلك السور القديم .

———   ———

الليل ، والسور القديم ، وغمغمات العابرين ،
وخطى الغريب .
وأنت ايتها الشموع متوقدين
في المذبع المجهول ، في الليل الذي لن تعرفين ،
تلقين ضوءك في ارتخاء مثل امساء الحزين
- حقل تموج به السنابل تحت اضواء الغروب
تجمع الغربان فيه - (75)

According to ^CAbd al-Riḍā ^CAlī, Eliot's <u>Journey of the Magi</u>, which Al-Sayyāb translated into Arabic in his work <u>Qaṣā'id mukhtāra min al-shi^Cr al-^Cālamī al-ḥadīth</u>, inspired him a great deal; he refers to it and imitates its structure in many of his poems[76]. On this subject, ^CAbd al-jabbār ^CAbbās says:

> "The poem <u>Qāfilat al-ḍiyā^C</u>, in which al-
> Sayyāb imitated the structure of the
> <u>Journey of the Magi</u>, which he translated in
> his selection of international poetry, shows
> that it was very dear to him."[77]

Let us, again, compare a passage from Eliot's poem with various passages from al-Sayyāb:

All this was a   long time ago, I remember,

And I would do it again, but set down

This set down

This: were we led all that way for

Birth or Death ? There was a Birth, certainly,

We had evidence and no doubt. I had seen birth and death,

But had thought they were different; this Birth was

Hard and bitter agony for us, like Death, our death.

We returned to our places, these Kingdoms,

But no longer at ease here, in the old dispensation,

With an alien people clutching their gods.

I should be glad of another death.

فهل استوقفتِ الخطواتِ ؟ أصرخُ : «» أيها الأنسانُ

أخي ، يا انتَ ، يا قابيل .. خذ بيدي على الغُمَّةً !

اعنِّي ، خفف الآلام عني و اطرد الأحزان «» ؟

------ ------ ------ ------

يا ربَّ ايّوبَ قد أعيا به الداءُ

في غربةٍ دونها مالٍ و لا سكنِ ،

يدعوك في الدُّجى

يدعوك في ظلمات الموت : اعباء

نار الفؤاد بها ، نارجمه إن هتفا .

------ ------ ------ ------

هيهاتَ ان يذكر الموتى وقد نهبوا

من رتبةِ الموتِ كم عضّن الدماء بها دود ومدّ بساطَ الثلج ديجورُ!

اني سأشفى ، سأنسى كل ما جرحا

قلبي ، و عرّى عظامي فهي راعشة و الليل مقرورُ . (79).

وأسير ... أسير على قدمي !! ...

لو كان الدرب الى القبر

الظلمة والدود الغرّاس بألف فم (80)

‒‒‒‒‒ ‒‒‒‒‒ ‒‒‒‒‒

أليس يكفي أيها الرَّد

ان الغناء غاية الحياه

‒‒‒‒‒ ‒‒‒‒‒ ‒‒‒‒‒

لهاث الردى ، اريد ان أنام

بين قبور اهلي المبعثره (8I)

‒‒‒‒‒ ‒‒‒‒‒ ‒‒‒‒‒

‒ ‒ ‒ والحياة كالغناء (82)

Al-Sayyāb used the theme of "Birth and Death", while wavering
between hope and despair, during the final three years of
his life. In general, however, he was giving expression
to his desire for an end to his life of suffering.

There are many other clear indications of the influence
of Eliot on al-Sayyāb. For example, he inserted the title
"The Waste Land" in his poem Ilā ḥasnā'al-qaṣr:

فلتنبتِ (الأرض الخراب) على سنا النجم الحزين

صبارها .. أنا سئملئ عالم الغد ياسمين (83)

In a footnote to this poem, he states that the phrase
"The Waste Land" is a quotation from "the English reactionary
poet T.S. Eliot". [84] Clearly, he wrote this poem before
leaving the Iraqi Communist Party. Later, i.e. after
leaving the party, he removed it from his collection Asāṭīr
(1950), and for a while he rejected Eliot until he eventually

decided that he could adopt his use of myth and symbol in his own poetry without being tainted by his attitudes.

In a study of the literary influences undergone by al-Sayyāb we should not neglect Edith Sitwell. In many places, the influence of Sitwell is very plain. He imitated her images of fear, horror, destruction and the inhuman treatment of people by the "Iron World"[85]. Her influence can be partly attributed to his desire to find another source of inspiration than Eliot, who was already being imitated heavily by ^cAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayyātī[86]. He became acquainted with her poetry while he was in his final years of study; in other words, he read her work at the same time as reading those of Shelley, Keats, Byron and Eliot[87]. He quotes and imitates her widely in his own works. Her poem Still Falls the Rain , for example, greatly influenced his best poems, such as Min ru'ya Fu-Kāy (1955), Ughniya fī shahr Āb (1956), al-Masīḥ ba^cd al-ṣulb (1957), al-Nahr wa-l-mawt (1957), Madīna bi-lā maṭar (1958), Madīnat al-Sindibād (1960). Here are some representative passages:

> STILL falls the Rain -
> Dark as the world of man, black as our loss -
> Blind as the nineteen hundred and forty nails
> Upon the cross
> Still falls the Rain
> With a sound like the pulse of the heart that is
> changed to the hammer-beat
> In the Potter's Field, and the sound of the impious feet

On the Tomb;

  Still falls the Rain

In the Field of blood where the small hopes breed

and the human brain

Nurtures its greed, that worm with the brow of Cain

  Still falls the Rain

At the feet of the Starved Man hung upon the Cross.

Christ that each day, each night, nails there, have mercy

  On us -

  ----- ----- -----

Still falls the Rain

Still falls the Blood from the Starved Man's wounded Side:

He bars in His Heart all wounds - those of the light

that died, (88)

The same ideas and language are used in several of
al-Sayyāb's poems; Christ appears mostly as a symbol of
a heroic nature (89), whose streaming blood brings fertility
to the earth:

بعدما أُنزلوني ، سمعت الرياح

في نزاع طويل تسف النخيل ،

والخطى وهي تنأى . اذن فالجراح

والصليب الذي سمّروني عليه طوال الأصيل

لم تُمتني . وأنصتُ : كان العوِل

يعبر السهل بيني وبين المدينه

----- ----- ----- -----

ليمس الدفء قلبي ، فيجري دمي في ثراها .

قلبي الشمس إذ تنبض الشمس نورا ،

قلبي الأرض ، تنبض قمحاً ، و زهراً ، و ماءً نميرا ،
قلبي الماء ، قلبي هو السنبل'
موتَ البعث : يحيا بمن يأكل
في العجين الذي يستدير (90)
ـــــــــ ـــــــــ ـــــــــ
فستمّر النهار حيث اجروه
غداً يصلب المسيح في العراق (9I)
ـــــــــ ـــــــــ ـــــــــ
من الذي يحمل عبء الصليب
في ذلك الليل الطويل الرهيب ؟
ـــــــــ ـــــــــ ـــــــــ
من ينزل المصلوب عن لوحه ؟
من يطرد العقبان عن جرحه ؟
من يرفع الظلماء عن صبحه ؟
و يبدل الأشواك بالغار ؟ (92)

Not only the ideas, but also the symbols and the structure,
are analogous. It is clear that "Min ru'yā Fu-Kāy, is a
close imitation, if not an actual translation - as the poet
admits in a footnote - of Sitwell's Lullaby:

> THOUGH the world has slipped and gone,
> Sounds my loud discordant cry
> Like the steel bird's song on high;
> 'Still one thing is left - the Bone !!'
> Then out danced the Babioun.
>
> In wolfish pelt she'd hide thy bones
> To shield thee from the world's long cold,
> And down on all fours shouldst thou crawl

For thus from no height canst than thou fall -

    Do, do.

She'd give no hands; there's naught to hold

And naught to make; there's dust to sift,

But no food for the hands to lift.

    Do, do.[93].

ورغم أن العالم استمرّ و اندثر

ما زال طائر الحديد يزرع السماء،

وفي قرارة المحيط يعقد القرى

اهداب طفلك اليتيم ـ ميتُ لا غناءْ

إلاصداع « البابيون » : « زادك الثرى،

فازحف على الأربع ... فالحضيض و العلوء

سيّان و الحياة كالغناء ! »[94]

Further the image of Ṭā'ir al-ḥadīd (the Steel Bird)
can also be found in his poem Marthiyat Jaykūr (1955):

يا صليب المسيح ألقاك ظلاً

فوق « جيكور » طائر من حديد

يا نظل كظلمة القبر في اللون، وكالقبر في ابتلاع الحدود

‏ـــــــ   ـــــــ   ـــــــ   ـــــــ

لا عليك السلام يا عصر تعبان بن عيسى و هنت بين العهود

انت أميتت كل روح من الماضي، و سوّدت آلة من حديد [95]

From the fifties, we find that al-Sayyāb is already
seeking for the key to the depiction of hardship and death.
In this regard, he alludes to Sitwell's The Shadow of Cain
in his poems Fajr al-salām (1950), Marḥā Ghaylān(1957) and
al-Mabghā (1960):

And through the works of Death,

The dust's aridity, is heard the sound

Of mounting saps like monstrous bull-voices of

unseen fearful mimes: [96]

أحسست .. ماذا ؟ صوت ناعوره

أم صيحة النسّغ الذي في الجذور   (97)

------   ------   -----

... ، اسمع من شوارعها الحزينه

ورده البراعم وهو يكبر أو يحنّ ندى الصباح

و النسّغ في الشجرات يهمس ، و السنابل في الرياح(98)

A more detailed investigation of this influence cannot
be pursued here; it suffices to say that there are a number
of books and articles that refer to the influence on al-
Sayyāb of European, in particualr English literature; the
reader is particularly referred to Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb-
Dirāsa fī hayātihī wa shiᶜrih by IhsānᶜAbbās, al-Bahth ᶜan
maᶜnā by ᶜAbd al-Wāhid Lu'Lu'a, al-Thawra wa-l-adab by
Lewis ᶜAwad, "The Tammuzi Movement and the Influence of T.S.
Eliot on Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb" by Nazeer El-Azma, al-
Sayyāb by ᶜAbd al-Jabbār ᶜAbbās.

Gōrān, for his part, brought to the new Kurdish poetry
the mature poetic experience that he found in the English
poets, as well as learning from them techniques that had never
before been applied to it:

"Gōrān learned from English metaphysical

poets the form and the use of the stanza,

and the use of various rhymes"[99]

As a result of his readings in English poetry, he
concerned himself with new themes, which necessitated new
methods; a new approach and a new spirit both appeared in
his work as he matured. He came to appreciate that Kurdish
could be used as it had never been used before, and that it
was a practicable vehicle for a serious and committed modernism.
He endeavoured to express his concern and understanding for
the political and social problems of his nation, and indeed
the personal grief that he felt at these problems, by means
of the techniques that he discovered in this alien literature.
In his poem Bō bulbul (to a Nightingale), he contrasts the
hopelessness of his own situation with that of the night-
ingale and tells the bird of all his suffering and grief:

<div dir="rtl">

ئەی باڵداری نێستك سووك ،

بلبــلی دەنووك بچووك ،

باغچە بە باغچە ئەفری ؛

وەچانێكی لێ ئەگری :

كام سەرچڵ دڵت گرتی ..

دەنگی لێ هەڵنە بری :

كام ئاوازە شـیرینە ،

رووناكی و نەشـئەی ژینە ،

بە چوار دەوریا ئەبژێنی ،

دنیـــا پێ ئەكەنێنی ...

ئەگەرروە پچكۆلانە

ئەم نەغمە بەرزو جوانە

</div>

چۆن دێتە دەر ! چۆن ئەرزێ ؟
دا گیان ئەسسمێ ، هۆش ئەمزێ ؟

——— ——— ———

منیش لای خۆم هەمیشە
شیعرم کردوە بە پیشە ،
وەك تۆ ، بەلام ئەم و ئەو :
یەکەم بۆژە ، دووەم شەو !
شیعری من کامیان جا بێ
ئەجا بێ فریشتەك نابێ ؛
هەر خەو ، هەر هەناسە ،
یادەو ، ئەندێشە و ، تاسە ...
شیعری تۆ ، گەشت نمودنە ،
ئاوی سەرچاوەی ژوونە ،
سەربەست ئەوداو خوڕوی دێ ؛
ئەمیان لەکوێ ، ئەو لەکوێ ! (100)

O, lovely bird,

Small-beaked nightingale

Flying from garden to garden,

taking a rest -

Which branch do you prefer ?

You raise your voice

What a sweet song,

light and lively!

Spreading it all around,

You make everybody smile.

How can this clear and beautiful song

Issue forth and spread

from that small throat,

Filling the body, draining the senses ?

   - - -   - - -   - - -

I too myself, have always

composed poetry as a trade

like you, but of the two

the first is day, the second is night.

The best of my poems

is not without tears;

It is only grief and sighs;

it is memory, apprehension and longing.

But your poems, every one,

are the clear water of the spring,

which freely flows and chuckles.

How can we compare them ?

The concept and arrangement of this poem at least
partially overlaps with those of Shelley's <u>To a Skylark</u>.
This is an undated poem in Gōrān's collection, but ^cUmar
Barzancī asserts that "Goran read Shelley's poem before the
Second World War and it inspired him to write an emotional
piece of poetry similar to that of Shelley"[101]. To
demonstrate the effect of Shelley's poem on Gōrān, we may
compare the following passages with the above poem:

Higher still and higher

From the earth thou springest

Like a cloud of fire;

The blue deep thou wingest,

And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever singest.

In the golden lightning

Of the sunken sun,

Oer which clouds are bright'ning,

Thou dost float and run;

Like an unbodied joy whose race is just begun.

The pale purple even

Melts around thy flight;

Like a star of heaven,

In the broad daylight

Thou art unseen, but yet I hear thy shrill delight,

- - -   - - -

All the earth and air,

With thy voice is loud,

As, when night is bare,

From one lonely cloud

The moon rains out her beams, and heaven is overflowed

What thou art we know not;

What is most like thee ?

From rainbow clouds there flow out

Drops so bright to see,

As from thy presence showers a rain of melody. (102)

Another poem of Gōrān's early period, entitled
Bō gulī Lāwlāw (to convolvulus), is deeply influenced by
Robert Herrick's (1591-1674) poem To Daffodils. It should
be stated that Gōrān commented on his poem in a footnote that
its basic conception derives from English poetry, without
mentioning the actual poet or poem. It embodies a phil-
osophy of acceptance in which death is always the path
which everyone will tread:

بهکوڵ گریان له چاوم دێ ، گوڵێ لادلادی رهنگاو رهنگ ! ا
لهبهرچی سیس ئهبی وا زوو ؟ چی یهئیسبابی ژاکانت ؟
ههور تاونکه پڕوژر ههڵهاتوره ، بۆچی وهها بێ دهنگ
یهژاکێی ؟ توخوا ، ئهی گوڵ ، صهبر .. دهستم به دامانت ا
صهبر توّ بی خوا ا تاونکی تر راوهسته ، تاعومرم
دهکوو رۆژی چلهی زستان له ههوری مهینهت ئاوا بێ ؟
مینش هاوردی سهفهرتم ، ئهی گوڵی لاولاو مینش ئهمرم ا
مینش خیلقهت ، وهکوو توّ ، وا نهبێ زۆرم لهگڵ چا بێ ا (I03)

Floods of tears come from my eyes, o multicoloured convolvolus !
Why are you so weak so early ? What are the causes of your fading ?
The sun has only just risen, why are you silently fading ?
For God's sake, O flower, patience. I implore you !
Patience, for God's sake ! Wait   a little longer until my life,
Like a midwinter day, sets from the cloud of suffering.
I am a companion of your journey, o convolvolus, I too shall die.
My nature, like yours, is not kind to me.

Compare Herrick's lines:

        Fair Daffodils, we weep to see

        You haste away so soon:

        As yet the early-rising Sun

        Has not attain'd his noon

        Stay, stay,

        Until the hasting day

        Has run

        But to the even-song;

        And, having pray'd together, we

        Will go with you along.

        We have short time to stay, as you ,

        We have as short a Spring;

        As quick a growth to meet decay

        As you, or any thing

        We die......(104).

In the first stanza Gōrān shows signs of inventive-
ness, but in the second he is clearly imitating Herrick;
parts of the poem, one feels, are virtually a translation
of the English.

In comparing the beauty of a woman with that of
nature, he realized that the beauty of the former outweighed
that of the latter.   He thought that the beauty of nature
had no value without the beauty of women.   The following
verses from his poem Āfrat u cuwānī (Woman and beauty),
in which the spirit of romanticism is abundantly evident,
illustrate this:

به ئاسمانه‌وه ئه‌ستێره‌م دیوه ،
له باخچه‌ی به‌هار گوڵم چنیوه ،
شه‌ونمی دره‌خت له ڕووم ژراوه ،
له زه‌رده‌ی زۆر که‌ل سه‌رنجم داوه ،
په‌لک زێرینه‌ی پاشی بارانی زۆر ،
چه‌ماوه‌ته‌وه به‌رامبه‌ر به خۆر ،
هه‌تاوی نه‌ورۆز ، مانگی جۆ دره‌و
زۆر هاتوون و چوون به ڕۆژ و به‌شه‌و ..

----- ----- -----

ئه‌مانه هه‌موو جوان ، شیرینن ،
ڕۆشن که‌ره‌وه‌ی شه‌تامی ژینن !
به‌ڵام ته‌بیعه‌ت هه‌رگیزاد هه‌رگیز
بێ ڕووناکی یه بێ بزه‌ی نازیز ؟! (I05)

I have seen the star in the sky

I have picked the flower in the garden of spring.

The dew of the trees has splashed my face.

I have watched the evening sunlight fading.

The rainbow after heavy rain

Curving opposite the sun.

The sun of Nawrōz (March) and the month of the barley harvest (May)

Have come and gone often with day and night.

All these are beautiful and sweet

Making bright the road of life

But nature is never, never,

Bright without the smile of the beloved.

The idea recurs in Shelley's Love's philosophy. Gōrān,
however, sought to combine the ecstasies of romantic love
with a restricted description of women, i.e. he ended his
poem with an expression of platonic love without sensual
undertones, unlike Shelley:

> See the mountains kiss high heaven,
>
> And the waves clasp one another;
>
> No sister-flower would be forgiven,
>
> If it disdained its brother;
>
> And the sunlight clasps the earth
>
> And the moonbeams kiss the sea -
>
> What are these kissings worth
>
> If thou kiss not me ?[106]

Another of Gōrān's poems, Aī Galāwēj (Oh, Syrius), is
full of images which overlap with those that the English
Romantic poets often use, though, Kamāl Mīrāwdalī claims
that he was influenced, in writing it, by the Metaphysical
poets as well as by the Romantics. Mīrāwdalī's assertion
should be treated with caution, for he contradicts himself
later by saying that Gōrān was influenced by Shelley only
in writing his poem[107]. Probably Mīrāwdalī would be
hard put to it to say which Metaphysical poets exerted the
influence that he claims to identify. As far as Shelley's
influence here is concerned, he translates an extract from
a poem of his which he does not identify in his article
Sirusht u cuwānī la shiᶜrī Gōrān (Nature and Beauty in
Gōrān's poetry). Investigation shows that the spirit and

philosophy of Gōrān's poem at least partially overlap with
those that are evident in Shelley's <u>To Night</u>:

> Wrap thy form in a mantle grey,
>
> Star - inwrought !
>
> Blind with thine hair the eyes of Day,
>
> Kiss her until she be wearied out,
>
> Then wander oer city, and sea, and land,
>
> Touching all with thine opiate wand -
>
> Come, long-sought !
>
> - - -   - - -
>
> Death will come when thou art dead,
>
> Soon, too soon -
>
> Sleep will come when thou art fled;
>
> Of neither would I ask the boon,
>
> I ask of thee, beloved Night
>
> Swift be thine approaching flight,
>
> Come soon, soon !(108).

دلّم واگیّر ئەدا گەرداوی یەنّس و ناائۆمیدیّی یه‌شــــس
مەگەر تۆ بیّنە نیّمتدام، گەلادیّژ ، ئەی ستــاەی گەش !
مەگەر تۆ ، ئەی گەلادیّژ ، ئەی بزەی لیّوی سمەر گاهان،
مەگەر تۆ بسرە وینی قولّپی نیّشی قەلبی بێ ساان !
لـ چادی تۆوە پرشــنگی ئەگاتە ڕۆحی بەر بەخستم،
ئەگا مەستی تەسەللی تا شەوی دوای سەری سەختم !
دەسا ئەی شا ستارە ،ئەی گەلادیّژی گەش و تابان،
کەنّمانی بە ئەگریەت بشوّ چادی شــەوی گریان! (I09).

My heart is turning in the whirlpool of despair and black hopelessness

Perhaps you, Sirius, can help me, O bright star.

Perhaps you, O Sirius, the smile on the lips of dawn,

Perhaps you can clam the seething of the pain of my poor heart.

A ray from your eyes reaches my unfortunate spirit.

It intoxicates and makes replete my heavy head until the next night·

So, O King of stars, Oh bright and shining one

When you appear with your tresses, wash the eye of the night

of weeping !

Gōrān was influenced by the poem entitled Life of
the little-known Anna Letitia Barbauld (1743-1825) in
writing his poem Giyān (soul); the concepts of both poems
are very close, but Gōrān's remains Kurdish in character:

نازانم تۆ چیت ئهی گیان ؟

یاری نازداری ژیان ،

هێزی لهش جودلاندم ،

هۆی گهرم وسارد چهشتم ،

تینی دڵی پر جۆشم ،

بزوێنی بیرو هۆشم ،

هاوریّی ههمیشهی عومرم :

لوساوه بووم تا ئهمرم !

نازانم تۆ چیت ؟ من چیم ؟

تۆ من نیت ؟ یا من تۆ نیم ؟

تۆ دن ئهی ، لهش ئهمریّ ؛

لهش به یادگار تهبریّ

جێ دیلێی تا زهمانیّ ؛

بَلّام ، ئەی گیان ، تۆ كوانی؟
بە نگری مان و نزا نت :
تەبرت یا ناو نیشانت ؟ ..(IIo).

I do not know what you are O soul !

The charming friend of life;

The force that moves my body;

The cause of my feeling warm or cold;

The heat of my excited heart;

The swayer of my mind and feelings;

The constant companion of my life

From my birth to my death.

I do not know what you are, or who I am.

Are you not I ? or am I not you ?

You disappear; the body dies;

The body is in the memorial of the grave.

It remains until it is time.

But, O soul, where is the evidence

for your existence or non-existence ?

Where is your grave or your address ?

****** ****** ******

Life ! I know not what thou art,

But know that thou and I must part;

And when, or how, or where we met

I own to me'sa secret yet.

Life ! We've been long together

Through pleasant and through cloudy weather;

'Tis hard to part when friends are dear -

Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear;

- Then steal away, give little warning,

Choose thine own time,

Say not good Night - but in some brighter clime

Bid me Good Morning. (III)

Before putting an end to this chapter, it might be useful to emphasize that one single poem of al-Sayyāb's may show the influence of many poems and poets.   It is thus very difficult to isolate the effect of any particular poet or poem upon him.   For example, in his poem al-Mūmis al-ᶜamyāʾ:

كعيون « ميدوزا » تُحجّر كل قلب بالضغينه ،

وكأنها نذر تبشّر أهل « بابل » بالحربه

‑‑‑‑‑   ‑‑‑‑‑   ‑‑‑‑‑   ‑‑‑‑‑

من أي عش في المقابر دنّ اسفع كالغراب ؟

« قابيل » أخفِ دم الجريمة بالأزاهر و الشغوف

‑‑‑‑‑   ‑‑‑‑‑   ‑‑‑‑‑   ‑‑‑‑‑‑

من هؤلاء العابرون !

احفاد « أوديب » الضرير ووارثوه المجهدون .

(هوكسست) أرملة كأس ، وباب « طيبة » ما يزال

يلقى « ابو الهول » الرهيب عليم ، من رعب ظلال

‑‑‑‑‑   ‑‑‑‑‑‑   ‑‑‑‑‑   ‑‑‑‑‑

زبد الشواطئ و الحارا

مترقباً ميلاد « افروديت » ليلا أو نهارا)

‑‑‑‑‑   ‑‑‑‑‑   ‑‑‑‑‑‑   ‑‑‑‑‑

« ناوريت » في اعماقهن يعيد أغنية حزينه

المال ، شيطان المدينة ، ربّ «فاوست» الجديد (II2)

he alludes to many poets, both Arab and European. One must
disagree with ᶜAbd al-Wāḥid Lu'Lu'a's assertion that this
poem is a vivid example of al-Sayyāb's imitation of Eliot's
use of myths and symbols[113]. As will be mentioned in the
next chapter, Eliot was by no means the only poet to use
myth and symbol extensively in his work. Many critics
have concluded that al-Sayyāb's admiration of Sitwell can
be attributed to her fondness for using religious myths and
symbols such as those of Cain, Abel and Christ. It is
difficult, then, to maintain that al-Sayyāb in this poem
imitated only Eliot:

> "Images from Sitwell slipped into al-Sayyāb's
> poetry, often repeating themselves... Lorca's
> influence on his poetry is seen in several elements,
> but is more subtle than that of Edith Sitwell by
> whom the poet was profoundly and irrevocably
> influenced. Lorca gave him several of his images.."[114]

Further, it is also difficult to conclude that al-Sayyāb's
use of popular songs and colloquial language in al-Mūmis
al-ᶜamyā' and Marthiyat Jaykūr was taken from The Waste Land.
ᶜAbd al-Riḍā ᶜAlī claimed that the following stanza by al-
Sayyāb derived from this source:[115]

> Weialala leia
> Wellala leialala[116]

خورس :

شِنِّخ اسمُ اللّه .. تَرللا

قَد شاب تَرلَّ تَرلَّ تَرار ... و ما هلاَّ

تَرلل .. العيد تَرللا

تَرللا . عرَّس «حمادي » ،

دَغردن تَرلَّ تَرلَّةَ

الثوب من الرين ... تَرلَّر (II7)

It is also, surely, somewhat far-fetched to suppose
that he borrowed the idea of the repetition of a whole line,
with slight changes, so that these lines from Fī l-sūq al-
qadīm derive from The love song of J. Alfred Prufrock:

The yellow fog that rubs its back upon the window-panes
The yellow smoke that rubs its muzzle on the window-panes. (118)

تلقَين ضوءك في ارتخاء مثل امساء الحزين

----- ----- ----- -----

تلقين ضوءك في ارتخاء مثل أوراق الحزين (II9)

It is more plausible to suggest that he drew on many sources,
as it occurred to him, or even sometimes unconsciously.
Min ru'yā Fu-Kāy, which is perhaps the most perfect of his
productions, is full of allusions to Shakespeare, Lorca
and Sitwell [120]. What does emerge, however, is that of
al-Sayyāb shows the influence of a far greater range of
English, and European, poets than does Gōrān. Influences
from, among other, the Metaphysicals, the Romantics, the
Victorians and the Moderns can be detected in his work.

Gōrān, on the other hand, may be said to have been influenced

really only by the Metaphysicals (and that to a very

limited extent) and the Romantics.

MYTH AND SYMBOL IN THE POETRY OF AL-SAYYĀB AND GŌRĀN

In the previous chapter we discussed the effect of European literature on the poetry of the two poets. We shall now discuss the function of myths and symbols in their works.

Myth and symbol tend to become confused and certainly to overlap. A brief differentiation (although perhaps only one out of many possible differentiations) may be of use.

> "Symbols are like signs, in that they
> denote things, but they go farther in
> evoking a whole range of emotions and
> associations; signs denote, whereas
> symbols connote. Myths are explorations
> of, stories about, comments, on, the
> human condition, or a problem within
> it, such as: why do men die ? Why are
> people divided into two sexes ? They
> are generally expressed in terms (a)
> that are narrative and (b) that have
> to do with the supernatural - the gods.
> They are, therefore, at their simplest
> stories about Gods, who are, of course,
> projections of human psychic and psych-
> ological realities."[1]

Towards the end of the 19th Century, a number of European writers and poets sought to establish a school

of "symbolism", as a reaction against Parnassian poetry, the Realist theatre and the Naturalist novel. Their basic idea was to employ symbols to express the mystery of existence; this, at any rate, is what emerges from the manifesto published by Morens in Le Figaro of 18 September, 1886.[2] Several Arab critics have touched on the employment of myth and symbol in Modern Arabic poetry. As far as Kurdish is concerned, however, nothing has been written on this subject save for one interesting article by Karīm Shārazā in the journal Rōjī Kurdistan (Sun of Kurdistan), entitled Karasaī afsāna la shiᶜrī hāwcharxī Kurdīmāndā (Mythological devices in the poetry of contemporary Kurdish poets).

From the beginning of the forties myth and symbol have figured prominently in both Arabic and Kurdish poetry, principally in that written by young poets. This was, in part, because of the demands made by the new social and political climate for new methods of stating human values in literature.

This climate is summed up by Moreh:

> "The use of mythology and symbols in
> modern poetry is essential, because
> the modern world is a world without
> poetry, a world which extols the
> material above the spiritual. It is
> difficult to convey such reality with-
> out descending to the level of prose.

> Symbols and legends save the poet from
>
> direct statement and add freshness
>
> to his poetry."[3]

Thus, the modern poet, in an attempt to harmonize
his internal peaceful, serene and tranquil world with the
antagonistic outside world , resorts to the employment of
myths in his poetry, due to the fact that in spite of
separation in both space and time, human beings meet one
another in the common matrix of mythology, from which
primitive human society, by means of reference to the
miraculous and the supernatural, has handed down a potent
reminder of man's ability to imitate and to create.[4]

It is hardly surprising that al-Sayyāb was no
exception in employing myths and symbols in his poetry.
In this matter, he was fully aware of the strong affinities
between mythology and poetry in the contemporary world of
destruction. He grew up in the stagnation that preceded
the Second World War in Iraq, when poetry concerned itself
largely with matters of everyday life, without, however,
challenging in any real way the dominant traditional
religious and nationalistic outlook. As a poet, he remarked
that the most important element in modern poetry was its
recourse to myths and symbols:

> "The need for symbols and myths has
>
> never been as urgent as it is today.
>
> For we live in a world that has no

poetry about it - I mean that the
values that are dominant in it are
non-poetic, the final word in it is
for matter not for the spirit. The
things that the poet was able to say
and make part of himself have begun
to break down one by one or to with-
draw to the margin of life. There-
fore direct expression of what is non
poetic will not be poetry. So what
is the poet to do ? He has returned
to myths, to legends, which still
retain their warmth because they are
not part of his world; he has returned
to them to use them as symbols and to
build up from them worlds with which
to defy the logic of gold and steel.
On the other hand, he has started to
create new myths - although his attempts
at creating this type of myth are few
so far[5]..... Presently, the poet
undergoes his own crucial crisis, he
lives in a world that produces nothing
save deteriorating, decaying relation-
ships among human beings which in their
turn, have a negative destructive effect
upon his existence and humanity.....The

myth is a warm harbour for the poet

and an abundant source that inspires

him.   This is why I have often resorted

to it."[6]

The influence of European literature in this sphere, too, is quite apparent in Arabic poetry; here, as in other respects, much imitative work was produced.   In the fifties, a number of Arab poets were much affected by the two chapters of Vol. 4 of The Golden Bough that were translated into Arabic by Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā, in 1954.   These chapters, which deal with the fertility myths of Adonis and Tammūz, were published in the Journal al-Fuṣūl al-arba‘a, under the title "Adonis".   They were later published as a book, with the same title.[7]   Another event which affected modern Arabic poetry was the publication of al-Baṭal fī l-adab wa-l-asāṭīr ,(1959) by Shukrī ‘Ayyād.

Al-Sayyāb, as already indicated, continued his acquisition of knowledge and education, through his wide reading, up to the time of his death. His works give ample evidence of his considerable culture and scholarship.   European culture, and particulary English, had a great impact on him, both in the literary and the political spheres.

Social and political conditions, during the Second World War and for a decade afterwards, were bad throughout most of the world , and al-Sayyāb, like many others,

suffered an individual psychological crisis that impelled
him to associate himself in his poetry with the suffering
masses. In this association, myth and symbol played an
even more important role. He was, it seems, creating a
dream world that would compensate by its balance the dis-
harmony of the real world[8]. Symbols he saw as a means
of expressing the happiness repressed within an individual
by the circumstances of life.

The theme of "sacrifice" (taḍhiya) is a dominant,
perhaps the dominant, one in his work, virtually through-
out his career, expressed in terms of different myths and
symbols. This theme can be traced back to his childhood
and early adolescenece, with their background of Shi'ite
enthusiasm. The stories of the death of al-Ḥusayn b.
ᶜAlī and his followers, and the marāthī commemorating this,
profoundly affected him, as a sensitive and emotional
youth. His first poetic attempts were on purely Islamic
themes, and very much in line with the sentiments that
the magazine al-Risāla - - an important organ in the thirties
of Muslim fundamentalism, Arab nationalism and anti-
liberalism -- was fostering. He was, in fact, still
writing religiously - orientated poetry as late as 1948,
when his Khiṭāb ilā l-Yazīd appeared.[9] Later, the
theme of sacrifice, although still making use of the same
figures and stories, has increasingly a political and
social, rather than a spiritual connotation.ᶜAbd al-Jabbār
ᶜAbbās considers that there was a second source for the
"sacrifice" theme in al-Sayyāb's poetry, namely, the elegies
that form a substantial part of the pre-Islamic poetry.[10]

This is certainly a possibility, although one might perhaps
question whether the theme of "sacrifice" is to be found
in very many of these.   Indeed, if one is seeking for
this theme in classical Arabic literature, the poetry of
the Khawārij, and perhaps even the story and poetry of
al-Ḥallāj, might seem more fruitful sources.   Undoubtedly,
al-Sayyāb read a quantity of classical Arabic literature;
such influence as it had on him is necessarily of a later
date than that of his Shiʾite upbringing.

Unquestionably, folk-tales and folk-lore that he
was familiar with from his childhood, as well as those
that he came across later, also count as one of his most
important sources, and one on which he was to draw through-
out his life.   For example, in Manzil al-Aqnān (1963), he
recalls, still with fear, the Jinn that used to terrify
him in his childhood.

وكم أُلم طوينَ وكم سُقيتَ بمدمع ٍ جاري !؟
وكم مهد تهزهز فيك : كم موتَ و ميلاد
و نار ٍ أوقدت في ليلة القَرّ الشتائية !!
يدندن حولها القَصّاص : « يحكى ان جنيّة ... »
فيرتجف الشيوخ ويجمت الأطفال في دهش ٍ و اخلاد
كأن زئير آلاف الأسود يرنّ في واد
وقد ضلوا مباري فيه ، ثمّ ترنّ أغنية :
« أتى قمر الزمان ... » و دندن القصّاص ! « جنيّه » (II)

As an example of his use of folk-tales to express,
either by quotation or illusion, his concern with the
problems of the world in general, and the Arab world in
particular, the following may be cited:

سَأعود فَأقطع سلمّنا وشبا

لُرضَّمَك يا أبَد الشموس

يا نور المرفأ يهدي القلب اذا تاها

يا قصة عنتر اذ تروى حول التنور فأُحياها

سأُحسّن عبيرك في نفسي

يتثال ويقرع كالجرس (I2)

----- ----- -----

أن يكتب اللّه لي العود الى العراق

فسوف ألثم الثرى ، اعانق الشجر ،

أصيح بالبشر :

« يا أرج الجنة ، يا اخوة ، يا رفاق

الحسن المصري حباب أرض وماء وماء

و لمدن الحديد و الصخر ،

نما رأى أحسسّتَ عيشاً منه في العراق » . (I3)

----- ----- -----

وهمت حول سورها الطويل

اعد بالخطى مداه (مثل سندباد

يسير حول بيضة الرُّخّ ولا يكاد

يعود حيث ابتدأ ... (I4)

----- ----- -----

It was not until 1954 that he began properly to
understand the use of myth in poetry. Before that he
employed it more as a decoration than as an essential
element; it amounted to no more than simile, metaphor or
metoymy. For example, as late as 1953 he was introducing
names like Medusa, Oedipus, Apollo, Babylon, Cain, into
al-Mūmis al-^camyā^r almost for their own sake:

الليل يطبق مرَّة أُخرى ، فتنشره المدينه
و العابرون ، إلى القرارة .. مثل اغنية حزينه .
وتفتحت ، كأزاهر الدفلى ، مصابيح الطريق ،
كعيون « ميدوزا » ، تحجّر كل قلب بالضغينه ،
وكأنها نذرٌ تبشر أهل « بابل » بالحريق

----- ----- ----- -----

من أي عشٍ في المقابر دنَّ أسفع كالغراب ؟
« قابيل » اخفن دم الجريمة بالأزاهر والشفوف
وبما تشاء من العطور أو ابتسامات النساء

----- ----- ----- -----

من هؤلاء العابرون ؟
أحفاد « أوديب » الضرير ووارثوه المبصرون .
(جوكست) أرملة كأمس ، و باب « طيبة » مايزال
يلقي « أبو الهول » الرهيب عليه ، من رعب ، ظلال

----- ----- ----- -----

يا من يريد من البغايا ما يريد من العذارى
(ما ظلَّ يحلم ، منذ كان ، به و يزرع في الصحارى
زبد الشواطئ والمحارا
مترقباً ميلاد « أفروديت » ليلاً أو نهارا (I5)

His use of symbols at this period was also some-
what primitive. Those that pervade his later work, the
spring, the rain, the wind, the thunder, the village, the
ear of corn, the red anemones, the wild boar, and so on, are
already present, but are used for crude political allusions,
and are introduced more for their aesthetic embellishment
than for their psychological implications.

It was after 1954 that western culture made its
first real impact on him,, setting him on the path that he
was to follow with such distinction, and enabling him to
make his own artistic contribution.   It was at this time
that his "Tammuzite" period began, and, as with the other
"Tammuzite poets", the immediate inspiration for this is
not difficult to trace.   It was in this year that his friend
Jabrā Ibrāhim Jabrā published his translation of the two
chapters of The Golden Bough, referred to above, which was
avidly devoured by the young Arab intellectuals:

> .... the influence on him[al-Sayyāb]
>
> of Sir James Frazer's "The Golden
>
> Bough" and of Jessie Weston's "From
>
> Ritual to Romance and possibly of
>
> other books of mythology made it possible
>
> for him to enter that period of his
>
> literary life that may be called
>
> "Tammuzite" in which the myth of
>
> Tammūz plays, after 1954, the main
>
> part in his imagery, symbolising his
>
> vision of the civilization predicament
>
> of the Arab world...[16]   It is by mere
>
> chance that Badr read this myth in two
>
> chapters from a volume of "the Golden
>
> Bough" by James Frazer (these two
>
> chapters were published in a Bagdādī
>
> magazine at the end of 1954).   The

moment Badr read these two chapters he
found in them his long lost treasure
of which he made use later on, for
rather *more* than six years and which
enabled him to write the most deep and
beautiful poetry."[17]

The "Tammuzite School", if such it may be called,
since it really existed as a number of individuals, all of
whom were similarly inspired, grew up largely as a direct
result of Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā's translation, although, as
we shall see, there may have been a residual consciousness
of the ancient near-eastern mythology in the minds of the
modern inhabitants of the regions.   It is perhaps worth
citing Frazer's summary of the Tammūz and related cults:

> Under the names of Osiris, Adonis,
> Tammuz, Attis, and Dionysus, the
> Egyptians, Syrians, Babylonians, Phrygians,
> and Greeks represented the decay and
> revival of vegetation with rites which,
> as the ancients themselves recognised,
> were substantially the same, and which
> find their parallels in the spring and
> midsummer customs of our European peas-
> antry .... The worship of Adonis was
> practised by the Semitic people of Syria,
> from whom it was borrowed by the Greeks

as early at least as the fifth century
before Christ. The name Adonis is the
Phoenician Adon, "lord".   He was said
to have been a fair youth, beloved by
Aphrodite (the Semitic Astarte), but
slain by a boar in his youthful prime.
His death was annually lamented with
a bitter wailing, chiefly by women;
images of him, dressed to resemble
corpses, were carried out as to burial
and then thrown into the sea or into
springs; and in some places his revival
was celebrated on the following day.
But the ceremonies varied somewhat both
in the manner and the season of their
celebration in different places".[18]

That Al-Sayyāb was actually influenced by From Ritual to
Romance, as well as by The Golden Bough, might appear
implausible but is, in fact, quite possible.   ᶜIša Boullāṭa
tells us:

> "Jabrā I. Jabrā told me in an inter-
> view (Baghdad January 10, 1967) that
> al-Sayyāb borrowed from him "From
> Ritual to Romance" and never returned
> it"[19]

The inspiration derived from these two works by

Western poets was considerable. Eliot's preface to his

notes on The Waste Land is well-known:

> "Not only the title, but the plan and
>
> a good deal of the incidental symbolism
>
> of the poem were suggested by Miss
>
> Jessie L. Weston's book on the Grail
>
> legend: From Ritual to Romance
>
> (Cambridge). Indeed, so deeply am
>
> I indebted, Miss Weston's book will
>
> elucidate the difficulties of the poem
>
> much better than my notes can do; and
>
> I recommend it (apart from the great
>
> interest of the book itself) to any
>
> who think such elucidation of the poem
>
> worth the trouble. To another work of
>
> anthropology I am indebted in general,
>
> one which has influenced our generation
>
> profoundly; I mean the Golden Bough; I
>
> have used especially the two volumes
>
> Adonis, Attis, Osiris. Anyone who is
>
> acquainted with these works will immed-
>
> iately recognise in the poem certain
>
> references to vegetation ceremonies."[20]

It would be interesting to know if al-Sayyāb read

The Waste Land before reading The Golden Bough or the other

way round. We have no direct evidence in the matter, and

it seems probable that he read both at about the same time.
One would like to be able to say that he derived, quite
independently, the same inspiration from The Golden Bough
and From Ritual to Romance as Eliot had before him.   The
probabilities are against this, however; Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā
almost certainly made his translation, in the first place,
in order to make available an important source for the
understanding of The Waste Land - - this is suggested by
the fact that he possessed a copy of From Ritual to Romance -
and al-Sayyāb would probably have come to it in the know-
ledge that it provided much of the imagery for the poem.
The same is likely to be true of the other "Tammuzite Poets".
It would, then, be unrealistic to imagine that "Tammuzite
poetry" in general, and that of al-Sayyāb in particular,
was anything but imitative in origin, regardless of any
additional inspiration that it may have acquired, from any
source, afterwards.

At all events, 1954 was a crucial year in al-Sayyāb's
poetical development. In it he composed the first poem in
which he made a sophisticated use of mythological and symbolical
motifs, Unshūdat al-maṭar, and shortly afterwards he began
in a serious way to investigate the works of a number of the
most important modern Western poets, and to apply to his
own poetry the significance that they found in the ancient
myths of Adonis, Tammuz and the like.   His writing at this
time was concerned largely with the themes of life and death,
of life springing from earth and returning to it[21]. Rain.

indeed, played a most important part in his poetry from
this time, connoting goodness, fertility, happiness, rebirth,
and so on. It could be argued, however, that it is in
Unshūdat al-maṭar itself that he succeeds best in his use
of this symbol; certainly it must be counted as among the
best-known and most popular of his poems:

<div dir="rtl">

أكاد أسمع النخيل يشرب المطر

واسمع القرى تئنّ ، والمهاجرين

يصارعون بالمجاذيف وبالقلوع ،

عواصف الخليج ، والرعود ، منشدين :

« مطر ...

مطر ...

مطر ...

وفي العراق جوعٌ

وينثر الغلال فيه موسم الحصاد

لتشبع الغربان والجراد

وتطحن الشّوان والحجر

رحىً تدور في الحقول ... حولها بشر

مطر ...

مطر ...

مطر ...

ــــــــ ــــــــ ــــ

في كل قطرة من المطر

حمراء أو صفراء من اجنة الزَّهر .

وكلّ دمعة من الجياع والعراة

وكل قطرة تراق من دم العبيد

فهي ابتسام في انتظار مبسم جديد

</div>

أو حلمةٌ توردتْ على فمِ الوليد
في عالمِ الغدِ الفتيِّ ، واهبِ الحياة !
مطر ...
مطر ...
مطر ...
سيُعشبُ العراقُ بالمطر ... " (22)

A good deal has been written, in a general way, about
the influence of Eliot, and of The Waste Land in particular,
on the poetry of al-Sayyāb . What is particularly remarkable,
however, is his adaptation of the imagery and language in
which Eliot voiced his political view to his own very differ-
ent political hopes for the Arab world in general and Iraq
in particular.   Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā, in the article in
which he discussed the influence of Eliot on a number of
Arab poets, says:

> "Contrary to what most people think "The
> Waste Land" is not quite a poem of despair.
> For its final significance comes with
> what the thunder said: Datta, Dayadhvaw,
> Damyata - Give, Sympathise, Control.. It
> is a meaning   akin to love and sacrifice,
> a meaning that has often been lost on
> the critics of new Arabic poetry, but not
> on the poets themselves.   For them, love
> and sacrifice shall bring fertility to the
> land, though they may both come in light-

ning and thunder that rend the temple's
veil. The Cross thus came into Arabic
poetry as a symbol of great immediacy,
and Christ and Tammuz were made one,
and the poet was identified with them,
as seen in the poetry of Badr al-
Sayyāb."[23]

Eliot is not, however, as has been indicated, the
only important poet in English to make use of mythological
themes. It may, indeed, be suggested that al-Sayyāb was
more strongly influenced by Edith Sitwell than by him or
by anyone else. She makes use particularly of Biblical
mythology: the story of Cain and Abel, for example. This
is a story that al-Sayyāb too makes use of. Abel is
regarded as the first of a series of sacrifices which is
still continuing, in ever-increasing numbers. Thus the
myth can encapsulate the continuous existence of conflict,
whether in the form of global war or in that of inter-party
conflict in a country[24]. Many instances may be found:

الحاملين على الكواهل ، من مجاعات السنين
آثام كل الخاطئين
النازفين بلا دماء
السائرين الى وراء
كي يدفنوا « هابيل » ودهر على الصليب ركام طين ؟
« قابيل ، أين أخوك ؟ أين أخوك ؟ »
جمعت السماء
آمادها لتصيح . كرّرت النجوم الى نداء :

« قابيل ، أين اخوك ؟ »

ـ « يرقد في خيام اللاجئين (25)

----- ----- -----

الموت في البيوت يولدُ ،

يولد قابيلُ لكي ينتزع الحياه

من رحم الأرض ومن منابع المياه ،

فيظلم الغدُ

وتجهض النساء في المجازر (26)

----- ----- -----

« قابيلُ » بائد وان صادفت حجارته

سيفاً ، وان عاد ناراً سيفه الخضم

وردَّ « هابيل » ما قضاه بارئه

عن خلقه ، ثم ردت باسمه الأممُ

واليومَ ، يحيى وفي الدَّينَ غارمه

الا بقايا وكادت تخلص الذمم

وكاد يُرجع للدنيا بشاشتها

ما رتّبته الضحايا وهي تبتسم (27)

As has been seen, al-Sayyāb was caused great
psychological stress throughout his short life by the
political and social upheavals around him. He was, in fact,
one of the most inclined of modern poets to see the world
as a place of terrifying uncertainty and to link the events
that took place in it directly with his own suffering in
his own society. To denote this, he found the image of
Christ, whose anxieties and sufferings he saw as partially
overlapping his own, a particularly expressive one. This

is not to say, however, that Christ, in his poetry, is
invariably a symbol of the suffering that mankind endures
in this world. In Dīwān unshūdat al-maṭar (1960), for
example, Christ appears about thirty times, to symbolize
sacrifice for one's country and for one's society[28].
Christ thus becomes the archetypal revolutionary, implying
also, perhaps, that the revolutionary, the individual
fighting for his own and his fellow's freedom, is the god
of the modern age.

For example:

من ليلِكِ الصيفيِّ طلاً فيه عطرُكِ يا عِراق؟
بينَ القرى المتهيِّبات خطايَ والمدنِ الغريبة.
غنيتَ تربتَكَ الحبيبه ،
و حملتُها فأنا المسيحُ يجرُّ في المنفى صليبه (29)

----- ----- ----- -----

ليتَ المسيحَ الذي داجى بشرِعتِهِ
من باعَ مسواهُ ، راءَ فيكِ عن كثبٍ :
خرسٌ نرا قيسُكِ الثكلى ، و داميةٌ
فيكِ الأناجيلُ ، والموتى بلا صُلُبٍ
والحابِسِ الماءَ عن جرحاكِ حمَّلها
عبءَ الصليبين : من حمىّ و من خشبِ

----- ----- ----- -----

من أيِّ عبءٍ على روحي و مسمارِ
من أعينٍ ، في صليبٍ تحت أسواري ،
تأتيكِ أشعاري ؟ (30)

----- ----- ----- -----

خُيِّل للبياع أنَّ كاهل المسيح
انزاح عن مدفنه الحجر
فسار يبعث الحياة في الضريح
وبيئتُ الأبرص أو يبدد البحر ؟ (3I)

‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾‾

« بابا ... » كأنَّ يد المسيح
فيها ، كأنَّ جماجم الموتى تبرعمُ في الضريع . (32)

‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾‾   ‾‾‾‾‾

In addition to any other influences that may be
postulated for this period of al-Sayyāb's production, it
should be said that the influence of a number of Egyptian
poets is also evident, especially of those belonging to
the Dīwān and Apollo schools. The most notable of those
are al-Māzinī, al-ᶜAqqād, Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī, ᶜAlī Maḥmud
Ṭāhā, and Ilya Abū Māḍī, all of whom are regarded as
symbolists, and all of whom al-Sayyāb had greatly admired
from youth[33].

The most prominent feature of al-Sayyāb's poetry at
this period is that the symbols that he had formerly used
in a decorative way, come to have specific referents of
great significance to him and to be given more particular
identities. The generic symbol of "the village" is replaced
by that of "Jaykūr", his native village; the generic
symbols of "the river", "water" and "shells" are replaced
by that of "Buwayb", the small river that runs through
Jaykūr. With these constant symbols, now with different,
and varying, connotations, are mingled those of the mother,

the earth, the dream, the eye of memory, the lost paradise, and the love.   These are all linked with the story of Tammūz.   The wild boar now invariably signifies the killer of Tammūz.   At the same time, the Christian imagery, Christ himself, the cross, the crucifixion and the resurrection, takes on a more general significance, that of death, the grave and the Day of Judgement, but within the Tammuz story.   For his preoccupation with this story, the following verses may be taken as typical:

تموز هذا ، أَنيس

هذا ، وهذا الربيع .

يا خبزنا يا أَنيس ،

انبتْ لنا الحب و أُحي اليبيس .   (34)

------   ------   ------

تموز يموت على الأنهر

وتغور دماه مع الشفق

في الكهف المعتم . والظلماء

------   ------   ------

تموز يموت و مرجانه

كالغابة تربض بردائه ..

وتنقل ـ ويُذلها النفس:

« الليل ، الخنزير الشرس ،

الليل شقاء ! » (35)

------   ------   ------

ناب الخنزير يشقّ يدي

ويغوص لظاه الى كبدي ،

و دمي يَتدفّق ، ينسابُ :

لم يعدْ شقائي أو تعبا

لكن ملحا .

« عشتار »... وتخفق الثواب

وترنّ حيالي اعشاب

من نعل يخفق كالبرق

كالبرق القلب ينساب . (36)

───── ───── ─────

عشتار على ساق الشجره

صلبوها ، دقوا سمارا

في بيت الميلاد ـ الرَّحم .

عشتار بقمصة مستتره

تدمى لتسوق الأمطارا (37)

He has been accused of simply importing, often
incorrectly, from European literature, the mythological
apparatus that he used in his Tammuzite poetry[38]. It is
difficult to show, in view of the undoubtedly great
influence of this kind that he underwent, that this is not
entirely true. ^cAbd al-Ḥalīm, at least, has no doubts about
the matter:

> "Some writers give the impression that
> his (al-Sayyāb) mythological imagery
> was imported. This is not so, the key
> motifs (Ashtar and Tammuz for instance)
> are based on early Babylonian and
> Syrian culture which still subsists
> in the consciousness of the Arab of
> Iraq and Syria in the same way that the
> myth of Osiris subsists in the minds of

Egyptians, furthermore, most of the
Biblical figures and images are also part
of general Arab culture and only in his
treatment of the messiah figure does he
take an interpretation different from
that of Islam, and of his figure it can
be said that poetic necessity requires a
tragic hero who accepts suffering and is
resurrected."[39]

Is it, in fact, true that these earlier myths sub-
sisted in the minds of the modern inhabitants of the Middle
East, before they were revived by the European interest
in them that we have alluded to ?   It is extremely diffic-
ult to tell, now that the revival has taken place. As far
as one can see, the tendency has been for Islamic material
to replace all earlier Semitic mythology, except in
specifically Jewish or Christian contexts. Even the biblical
stories are familiar to Muslims generally only in the forms
in which they are alluded to in the Qur'ān. Nonetheless,
it is perfectly possible that there was, and is, some
memory of the old myths surviving, presumably in an oral
tradition, on which the poets of the early and mid-twentieth
century were able to draw, independently of the Western
re-incorporation. It might be argued, for example, that
the names of the months in eastern Arabic were evidence for
something of the sort. What one can say, at all events,
is that there is no continuous literary tradition for such

myths, so that, unless a popular tradition can be shown
to exist, the presumption must be in favour of their having
been largely brought to the attention of the poets who used
them by Western influence.

Whatever may be the case here, there is no doubt
that al-Sayyāb has owed a considerable amount of his popul-
arity to his ability to fuse with the Greek, Roman and
early Middle-Eastern material that he exploited other material
that he took from unquestionably eastern sources, from
allusions in the Qur'án, such as Iram Dhāt Al-^CImād, ^CĀd,
Thamūd, Ya'jūj and Ma'jūj and the versions of the stories
associated with Job, Jesus, Joseph and Zulaykha, Adam, Noah
and Muḥammad, and from secular sources, whether pre-Islamic
or later, such as the stories of ^CAntara and ^CAbla, Sindbad,
al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Abū Zayd al-Hilālī, all of which he
infused with his own modern connotations:

<div dir="rtl">

» يَأجوج « يَغرِزُ فيه ، من حنوٍ ، أظافره الطويله
ويبضُّ جندله الأصم ، وكنَّ » مأجوج « الثقيله
تهوي ، كأعنف ما تكون ، على جلامده الضخام ،
والسور بادٍ لا يُثَلَّ .. و سوف يبقَىٰ ألف عام ،
لكنَّ (إن ـ شاء ـ الإلـه)
ـ طفلاً كذلك سمّاه ـ (40)

──── ──── ────

و إن صاح أيورب كان النداء :
و لك الحمد يا راميأً بالقدر
و يا كاتبأً ، بعد ذاك ، الشفاء ! « (41)

──── ──── ────

</div>

على جواد الحلم الأشهب.
اسريتُ عبر التلول
الحرب منها ، من ذراها الطوال ،
من سوتها المكتظ بالبائسين ،
من صخبها المتعب
من ليلها النابح و العابرين ،
من نورها الغريب ،(42)

----- ----- -----

هذا حرائي حاكت العنكبوت
مخيطأ الى بابه
يهدي اليَّ الناس إني امرت
و النور في غابه (43)

----- ----- -----

محمدٌ النبيُّ في « حراءَ » فيدوه
نسر النهار حيث حمروه .
غدًا سيصلب المسيح في العراق ،(44)

There are three distinct phases in al-Sayyāb's
poetical development, which may be represented as follows:
1.   The pre-Tammuzite phase: During this phase he
employed any myths that he came across, quite indiscriminately.
There was certainly no particular myth that had more
significance for him that the rest, that he used persistently.
In most cases, he used this apparatus in an unsophisticated
manner, as an embellishment, rather than as something to
give greater weight and more economical expression to his
sentiments.   Even his later poetry was not, in fact,

altogether free from this fault. Good examples, among his
early work, are provided by his two collections Azhār and
Asāṭīr, and al-Mūmis al-ᶜamyā' also contains some rather
unsatisfactory writing.

2.   The Tammuzite phase: During this phase, as well as
exploiting the actual material concerning Tammuz, and other
near-eastern myths of a similar kind, he also discovered
the value of Christian mythology, which he used freely.
Greek mythology, and even some Chinese, also figured in his
work at this time.

3.   The final phase: During this phase he became less
interested in the Tammūz myth, and he began to concentrate
on stories that he felt had more connection with his own
life and character, notably those of Sindbad and Ulysses.
His use of myth in general, however, declined, and he came
more and more to express himself in direct language. One
figure that did persist in his poetry, however, was Job
(Ayyūb), in whose predicament he saw his own; until late
in his career, he continued to speak in this persona.[45]
By far the most powerful and extensively employed myth in
his work, though is that of Tammūz (Adonis, Attis, Osiris - he
does not really distinguish between them, and uses the
names indiscriminately, according to aspects of the stories
associated with them that he finds convenient); it appealed
to him, as it did to the other "Tammuzites": Jabrā Ibrahīm
Jabrā, Khalil Ḥāwī, ᶜAlī Ahmad Sa id ("Adunis") and Yūsuf
al-Khāl, principally because it

"represents the hope of the Arab poets
for a new world to come after the death
of the old. The end of the worn-out
old world which no longer suits modern
life can only take place through its
death and the rebirth of a new, power-
ful and young world which follows as the
death of Adonis is followed by his
resurrection."[46]

The majority of his Tammuzite poems do indeed employ
these myths, as symbolic of hope, in the context of the
suffering of the Arab peoples. They can be seen as
representing hope for the springing up of revolution and
those who struggle to bring it about:

مرحى لجيش الأمة العربيّة انتزع الوثاق !
لِ اخوتي بالله ، بالدم ، بالمروبّة ، بالرجاء ،
هبّوا نقد صرع الطغاة و برّد الليل الضياء !
فلتجربوها ثورة عربية صعود « الرّفاو »
منها وخرّ الظالمون
لأن « تموز » استفاق
من بعد ما هرّم العميل جناه ، فانبعث المراود[47]

Isis, who is sometimes merged with Astarte, connotes
the loyalty of woman to her husband in circumstances of
political upheaval. The two meet, for example, in
Sarbarus fī Bābil:

و اقبلتْ إلهةَ الحصاد ،
رفيقة الزهور و المياه و الطيوب ،
عشتار ربّة الشمال و الجنوب ،
تسير في السهول و الوهاد
تسير في الدروب
تلقظ منها لم تمرّ اذ انتثر ،
تلمه في سلة كأنه الثمر . (48)

It should not be overlooked, however, that there is
frequently, as there must be with all poets, a personal,
as well as a political or public, dimension in al-Sayyāb's
poetry; this applies equally to his use of the Tammūz myth
and its associated symbolism. Moreh sees this particularly
in **Marḥā** Ghaylān:

> "The same symbol (Tammūz) is also used
> on a personal level to represent hope and
> happiness. Al-Sayyāb did in **Marḥā** Ghaylān,
> where the voice of his child Ghaylān,
> calling him, resembles the fertility of the
> valleys of Iraq brought about by Astarte
> or return of Tammūz with corn ears. The
> poet himself is Ba'l streaming with the
> water of his villages river Buwayb, bringing
> fertility to the earth. Despair, fertility
> and death prevail in the land when Astarte
> is without Ba'l."[49]

In fact, both dimensions appear to be present in this poem, as also in <u>Madina bi-lā maṭar</u> (1958), in which he speaks of his imprisonment and torture. using the imagery of the aridity and desolation that prevailed in Iraq at that time:

مدينتنا تؤرق ليلها نارٌ بلا لهب .

تُحمُّ دروبها و الدُّور ، ثم تزول حماها

ويصبغها الغروب بكل ما حملةَ من سحبِ

فنتوشكُ أن تطير شرارة ويهب موتاها :

« صحا من نومه الطينيّ تحت عرائش العنب .

صحا تموز ، عاد لبابلِ الخضراء يرعاها .»

وتوشكُ ان تدقَّ طبول بابل ، ثمَّ يغشاها

صفير الريح في أبراجها وأنين مرضاها .

دمي غرفات عشتار

تظل مجامر الغفار خاوية بلا نار ،

ويرتفع الدعاء ، كأن كل حناجر القصب

من المستنقعات تصيح :

« لا هثةً من التعب

تذوب إلهة الدم ، خبز بابل ، شمس آذار .

‫ـــــــــ ـــــــــ ـــــــــ ـــــــــ

وسار صغار بابل يحملون هلال صبّار

و فاكهه من الغفار ، قرباناً لعشتار

ويشعل خاطف البرق

بظلٍ من ظلال الماء و الخضراء و النار ،

‫ـــــــــ ـــــــــ ـــــــــ ـــــــــ

و ابرقت السماء كأن زنبقه من النار

كفتح نور بابل نفسها . و اضاء واديا ، (50)

Other poems that exemplify his various use of these myths are: <u>Ru'yā ^CĀm 1956</u>, <u>Ughniya fī shahr Āb</u>, <u>Min ru'yā Fu-kāy</u>, <u>Tammūz Jaykūr</u>, <u>Madīnat al-Sindbād</u>.

The cultural background of Gōrān, in his turn, is important in connection with the direction he took in his poetic utterance. He was, naturally, familiar with the works of the Classical Kurdish poets, Nālī, Sālim, Maḥwī, Kurdī, Mawlawī, etc. Although he quickly broke away from composition in the style that they had employed, their influence on him may perhaps be seen in his use of language, and particularly in his relish for simile and metaphor.

The most lasting and important early influence on him, however, was probably his exposure to Kurdish folklore, stories, songs, proverbs, riddles, and so on, which, at the time when he was growing up, was experiencing something of a revival, and was being taken up by the literary intelligensia as a symbol of their aspirations in a number of directions. As an example of his adaptation of the folk riddles, of which he composed some four hundred, the following may be cited. (The solution is: a radio):

بیستم سنووقی تهخته

ئهیوت : سیمر ئهیهته !

رێم بدهو گوێم بۆ شل که ،

" پهح " له دهنگی بلبل که !

به ههزار دهنگ و زمان

ئهلێم ، ئهخوێنم جوان جوان (5I)

I have heard a wooden box

Say, "Here is magic".

Stop and listen intently to me !

Throw out the song of the nightingale !

In a thousand voices and languages

I speak and sing very beautifully.

Kurdish folktales are concerned to a great extent with the constant conflict between good and evil, exemplified by that between Ahura Mazda and Ahriman[52]. Such stories usually involve a poor hero who succeeds in overcoming and killing the demon who is oppressing the people. It is not difficult to see how such stories can be exploited politically, whether the revolution that is envisaged is a nationalistic or a socialistic one. The festival of Nawrōz, in particular, the festival that marks the end of the winter, and on which the Kurds celebrate the victory of Kāwa over the tyrant Zuḥāk (Ajdahāk), figures frequently in Gōrān's poetry as a political symbol.

He was the first poet almost explicitly to apply this legend to the contemporary situation as he saw it, to attack the regime of Nurī al-Saᶜīd, fusing the nobility of the Kurdish hero's struggle with the struggle of the Iraqi people against their oppressors. In Zindānī Ajdahāk (the prison of Ajdahāk), Zuḥāk's new robe symbolises the new regime; the serpents are reaction and imperialism:

ئۆژده هاك ! زیندانت قەلا ـ قەلا یه ؛

دیواری کۆنکرێت ، دەرگای پۆلا یه .

ئۆژده هاك ! کون بره ، سخته زیندانت ،

ناپژووشێ به بریبون بهندی گرانت !

––––– ––––– –––––

ئهژده هالک ! ئهی دێوی له (بیر) زراو چوو ،
ئهی ناشـــتای ماژانت بهمێشک کردوو !

––––– ––––– –––––

ههر ئهگری ، ئهکوژی ، ئهوهی لهگهردن ،
مێشک دهرخوارد ئهوهی بهماری نووسن ...
تا رۆژێک ، ئهو خوێنهی بهناحهق رشتت ،
ئهو بیرهی وات زانی تێبهگاری کوشتت ،
تاو ئهدهن تهنوری دهماری کاوه ،
ئهو چهکوش وهشـــێنهی بۆله کوژراوه
ئهفرۆشتی و ئهجۆشتی و کۆسهل یهک ئهخا ،
ههر ههلساو ئهبینی ئینداڼت روو خا ! (53)

Ajdahāk (Dragon) ! Your dungeon extends to the lowest depths.

Its walls are of concrete, the doors are of steel.

Ajdahāk ! Your dungeon is impenetrable and solid,

Your heavy fetters cannot be filled through

- - -   - - -   - - -

Ajdahāk ! O demon in the terrified mind !

O your snakes have not yet eaten brains.

- - -   - - -   - - -

You just seize, kill and behead;

You feed the brains to the greedy snakes.....

Until, one day, after you have shed that blood unjustly,

And believed that you have killed that mind forever,

They will heat the furnace of Kāwa's feelings,

That blacksmith whose only son was killed,

He will stir up and unite society;

As soon as he awakes, you will see your dungeon destroyed.

 In all, Gōrān wrote four political poems with the
name of the festival actually in the title: Nawrōz ,
Nawrōz akam (I celebrate Nawrōz), Nawrōzi 61 (Nawrōz
of 1961) and Cajnī Nawrōz (The Feast of Nawrōz); in addition,
he wrote one act of an opera libretto, Anjāmī Ajdahāk
(The end of Ajdahāk), anticipating a musical score by
Qādir Dīlān which never materialised.

It is interesting, incidentally, to notice that it
is to this festival, and the story of Kāwa that al-Sayyāb
had recourse, in his one foray into the area of Indo-
Iranian mythology, with Waḥy al-Nayruz (1948):

مرّت على القمة البيضاء صاخرة

عنها الجليد ، فملء السبع أنهار

في كل نهر تَرى ظلاً تحفّ به

اشباح (كاوا) و يزهر حول الفار

يا شعب (كاوا) سل الجلاد كيف هوى

صرع على الساعد المفتول ينهار؟

‫ــــــ ــــــ ــــــ ــــــ‬

شيرين ، يا جبل الأحرار ، ما غفلت

عن حقها الضائع المسلوب أحرار

كاوا كيعرب .. مظلوم يمد يداً

الى اخيه ، منا ان يهدر الثار (54)

The other principal story that Gōrān employed in this
way was that of Ahriman and his bodyguard Akoman, notably
in his poems <u>Diyāri Xuwāi sharr</u> (The gift of the god
of Evil) and <u>Lāukī sur bō Koreaī āzā</u> (The red tune to
brave Korea):

خوای شــر ، گوناه ، ســتم ، تاوان ،
ئەهرەمنی گودرەی دێوان .
───── ───── ─────
خۆت توندبگره ، ئەی ئیستیعمار !
ئەهرەمنی جەورو کازار .. (55)

The god of evil, sin, cruelty, guilt,
Ahriman, the chief of demons.

Keeps you strong, O Imperialism !
The Ahriman of oppression and pain ....

As well as purely Kurdish motifs, he also assimilated
a good deal of material from Persian sources.   Much of
his mythology belongs, of course, to the common Indo-Iranian
stock, and it is not always easy to specify its exact
provenance.   In the fifties, however, he certainly trans-
lated a quantity of Persian poetry, and it can be seen from
his introduction to some of these poems, <u>Pirsyarekī Nās ir
Xosraw</u> , <u>Āhangī Muqhān</u> , and <u>Tarjī^c bandêkī banāubāng</u> ,
that he was intensely conscious of the Persian heritage.

Another potent influence on Gōrān was the new Turkish
poetry, which was making use of its folk heritage, and also
the myths of the ancient World.   Nāzim Ḥikmet (1902-63),

some of whose poems he translated into Kurdish, in particular,
appears to have affected him, both in his use of folk
material and in the form in which he wrote his later work.
Inevitably, some have seen the influence of Eliot and
Sitwell in his work. Karīm Shārazā, for instance,asserts:

> "The immortal poet Gōrān benefited a lot from
> T.S. Eliot and Edith Sitwell's use of myths
> and symbols in their works which gave it
> a deep psychological insight. Gōrān, however,
> did not imitate their own use of myths,
> but he imitated their stylistic approach.
> In other words, Gōrān got his myths
> from the treasure of Kurdish folklore"[56]

Shêrkō Bêkas, however, does not agree:

> "It is clear that European literature
> had largely influenced the use of
> myths by Arabic poets such as al-Sayyāb
> and al-Bayyātī. The English poet
> T.S. Eliot had great influence on
> al-Sayyāb's poetry and he opened wide
> horizons for him. But I do not trace
> any influence of Eliot on Gōrān."[57]

It is not, in fact, the case that Gōrān's mythology is
entirely Kurdish (or Indo-Iranian) in origin. We find
references, in his poetry of the thirties, to figures from
Classical mythology, such as Cupid, Zeus and Venus,

perfunctory as these references may be:

ئاخۆ (کیوو بید) دیاریی جوانیی

بۆ ژیان ئەوێ ، یان بۆ قوربانی ؟.. (58)

‗‗‗‗ ‗‗‗‗ ‗‗‗

ئەی گەورە کچی (زەووس)

خوشکه جوانەکەی (ڤێنۆس) (59)

Does Cupid - the gift of beauty -

Want to live or to sacrifice himself ? ...

- - -   - - -   - - -

O eldest daughter of Zeus,

Beautiful sister of Venus !

We have seen, in the previous chapter that he read a
certain amount of Western literature in the twenties and
thirties, including some of the Romantics.   If any source
is needed for his use of these figures, it is quite
probable that Keats, Byron or Shelley can provide it,
although he does not in any way follow any of these in the
manner in which he used them.   There is no evidence to
suggest that he read, or even had access to, Eliot or Sitwell.
Thus, Shārazā's assertion that he imitated their stylistic
approach is difficult to sustain, especially in view of
Bêka's comment.   The simplest assumption is that, after
playing, in an ornamental way, with a few allusions to
classical mythology, he virtually created his own approach
to the Kurdish and Indo-Iranian fables, perhaps seeing
himself, in so doing, as continuing, or reviving, the
tradition of folk-poetry, in a more literary context.

In his earlier poetry, Gōrān employed imagery largely
taken from nature, as in Āfrat u cuwānī (The woman and
beauty):

کام ئەستێرەی گەش ، کام گوڵی کێوی
ئاڵ وەك گۆڵی ؟ حۆّی سەمکی ؟ لێوی ؟
کام ڕەشی ئەگا بە ڕەشیی چاوی ؟
برژانگی ؟ برۆی ؟ ئەگەرچەی خاوی ؟
کام بەرزی جوانە وەك بەرزیی باڵای ؟
کام تیشك ئەگاتە تیشکی نیو نیگای ! (60)

What bright star, what wild rose
is red like her cheeks, nipples and lips ?
What blackness can attain the blackness of her eyes,
her eye-lashes, her eye-brows, her soft tresses ?
What loftiness is as beautiful as the loftiness of her stature ?
What brightness can attain the brightness of her glances ?

Natural beauty he associated with woman; he loved
nature, as long as woman was present, and he celebrated
her beauty in terms of nature. The red flower, for
example, is a constant symbol of a beautiful woman; the
thorn is a symbol of the envious ones who stand between
him and her:

ئەمانەم گەشت لا جوان بوەو لا جوانە ،
بەڵام هەرگیز تەنیا جوانیی ئەمانە
بۆی نە شکانەوەم تووێنیەتی وئامرە زەردی دڵ ،
هەر گەراوە سەڵی برسییم جلّاد چل !
لە هەچ باخێك گوڵێکی سوورم دیبێ ،
بۆی چورم هەزار دڕك لەپێم چەقیبێ ! (61)

All these were beautiful to me and they still are,

But the beauty of these alone never

quenched my thirst or the desire of my heart.

My hungry bird has always been searching from branch to branch !

If ever I have seen a red flower in any garden,

I have gone to it, even though a thousand thorns have pricked

<div align="right">my feet.</div>

By extension from purely physical beauty, he saw a kind of super-beauty latent in human nature, in the nature of woman in particular, a beauty that was greater than that of nature itself.

Thus, as his poetry became less personal, the connotations of his nature symbolism changed. First, before he became a communist, he associated himself more and more with the hardships and aspirations of his people, and began to think of beauty in terms of their freedom and progress. It was natural, therefore, for him to adopt the symbolism that he had used to connote physical and moral beauty to connote this new, more abstract beauty. So, in Qāla mird (Qadir died), for example, which appears to date from the thirties, the falling of the yellow leaves, the orchard and the tears stand for the martyrdom of the hero, the withering hopes of his people and their grief:

<div align="right" dir="rtl">

عاسمانی شینی ئەبلوولی قمژ زەرد ،

نازانی تینووی فرشتیک پوووی هەرد ؟

نازانی کزەی هناسەی بی تین ،

چەند گوڵاییکی زەردی بۆ هانین :

بە رەنگی فرشتیک لێیان نووسرا بوو ،

قالە مرد ، هەی داخ ، باخ بەرەڵا بوو ؟

</div>

شا غونچہی خلفی تانی ہوانی ،

بو ہ دانی دل گلہ پژیزانی ؟! ...

عاسمان سا بگری ہ بی ہیوانی ،

مرتیک برژہ : تک تک ، ئسپاہی ! (62)

O blue sky of golden-haired September,

Do you not know that the face of the earth is thirsty for tears ?

Do you not know that the cold breeze

has brought us some yellow leaves ?

On which is written in colour of tears :

Qāla [Qādir] is dead, O sorrow, the orchard is empty !

The biggest bud, in the height of beauty,

has brought heart-ache, now that its petals have fallen,

Now, O sky weep without hope;

Pour out your tears quietly drop by drop.

Later, he adopted his nature symbolism again, making
it of internationalist, rather than nationalist, application.
Beauty now meant for him the happiness of mankind, both
individually and collectively, that was to be achieved
through the people's struggle for freedom, peace, inter-
national co-operation and the eradication of reaction.
In Tīr u Kawān (Bow and Arrow - 1962), for example, we find
him employing the same kind of symbolism in this context:

ئو ئاسمانہ شینی ژوور سر

کوتری سپی تیا خول ئہ دا

ہ بی ختر ،

مژدہی گول ہ بلبل ئہ دا .

————— ————— —————

ئەگەر مەلی ئاسمانی شین
بالی بە باغ ـ نی بۆ ژین ،
لـ هیچ باغچە و بەهاریکا
لـ جێی دریك گول نا بینین ،
گول نا بینین ! ... (63)

That blue sky overhead,

Where the white pigeon circles round

in safety,

Gives good news of the rose to the nightingale.

If the wings of the birds of the blue sky

were not flags for life,

In no garden and in no spring

would we see flowers instead of thorns,

would we see flowers......

Other symbols that he employs are taken from Kurdish,
or again general Indo-Iranian, folk-lore. Supernatural
figures, the Dêw (demon), the Drinc (goblin) and the Parī
(fairy), are introduced, side by side with animal figures
that are of great antiquity in these cultures, the snake,
the jackal, the lion, the wolf, the leopard.

With both poets, it seems fairly clear that it was
partly political involvement, both with the internal
politics of Iraq and with internationalist politics, that
encouraged them to express themselves in terms of myth and
symbol. Certainly, by doing so, they were able to disguise
to some extent, the nature of their message, which, if

clearly articulated, would have brought upon both of them
even greater troubles than those that they in fact
experienced.   Al-Sayyāb is quite explicit on this

> "My first motive in this respect was
> political. When I wanted to resist the
> royal Sa^{c}īdī regime with poetry, I used
> myths to veil my intentions, for the
> myrmidons of Nurī al-Sa^{c}īd understood
> no myths. I also used them for the
> same purpose in the regime of Qāsim.
> In my poem entitled Sarbarus fī Bābil ,
> I satirized Qāsim and his regime severely
> and his myrmidons did not realize that.
> I also satirized that regime severely in
> my other poem, Madīnat al-Sindbād. When
> I wanted to depict the failure of the
> original aims of the July revolution, I
> replaced the Babylonian name of Tammūz
> by the Greek name of Adonis who is his
> counterpart.... I have almost stopped
> using any myths in my poetry now, except
> for the mention of two mythical personages
> and what pertains to them, namely, the
> Arab Sinbad and the Greek Odysseus".[64]

Whatever other considerations are present, however, for
a poet aesthetic reasons must always be paramount. ^{c}Abd
al-Mun^{c}im al-Zubaidī remarks that al-Sayyāb was quite aware

of the intimate relationship between myth and poetry, and
that he knew very well that myth had always been used as a
poetic tool.[65]   It may also be suggested that both poets
felt that this was not only the most appropriate medium,
for a number of reasons, for the transmission of their
message, but also the best way of objectivizing their poetry,
of removing, as far as possible, the personal, subjective
element, and of giving it a more universal significance.

There is a suggestion, by ᶜAbd al-Riḍā ᶜAlī, that
al-Sayyāb somehow discovered myth in his final phase as a
compensation for the ideology that he had forfeited by
abandoning the Communist Party[66].   If this is to be taken
at its face value, it is peculiarly unconvincing, in view of
the fact that throughout his connection with the party he
had employed myth, from the earliest crude attempts, through
his Tammuzite phase, to his more eastern development.   If
what is meant is that he found that the particular figures
of Job, and perhaps those of Sindbād and Odysseus, functioned
in this way, this is perhaps more plausible, although
al-Sayyāb's own statement, just quoted, seems to contradict
it.

It is puzzling that Shêrkō Bêkas should find Gōrān's
use of myth and symbol superficial:

"Gōrān regarded symbol and myth as the
cornerstone on which his poems were built,
although he makes use of them only as tokens for
the embellishment of his poetry".[69]

unless he is perhaps referring merely to the use of
Classical allusions in his very early work (see above,p. 219).
Gōran's use of myth is, in fact, much more restricted than
that of al-Sayyāb. Like him, he used it to some extent
for the sake of expediency, to express radical political
ideas in terms that would not automatically expose him to
persecution by the repressive regime that he opposed.
Undoubtedly, however, he also found a genuine aesthetic
and poetic satisfaction in the application of the heroic
fables of his childhood to a contemporary, and wider, context;
it is scarcely conceivable otherwise that a poet of his
artistic integrity would have employed them, and, in fact,
he succeeds in integrating them completely into his poetry.

CHAPTER SEVEN - POETRY AND POLITICS

Al-Sayyāb says:

وبا مرعب الظالمين الطغاة

وبا خير من جاز درب الحياة

سمعناك في اغنيات الرعاة

وفي لثغة الطفلة الهاتفة

وفي السوس الغض والسنبل

رأيناك والغابة الوارفة

وفي نظرة المطفل

وبين الدواليب في المعمل

وفي الدون كالنور ملء المياه

وفي زند ملاحه الاجدل

وفي تونس تدفع الثائرين

ضحوك المحيا اغر الجبين

وحيث اشترى الكادح العاطل

لك الورد والزنبق الاحمرا

نخاب الردى .. غيرك الراحل

فأنت الملايين انت الورى

وانت السلام الذي ننشد (I)

Gōrān says:

من ئەو دیلم لە زیندانی تاریکا

هەتاوی بیر روژناک ئەکا بەر چاوم ؛

بەناو هەزار حەلقەی داوی باریکا

قەدی زنجیر ئەپەرینی هەنگاوم !

من ئەو دیلم لە پشت شوورای بۆڵاوە

ئاسۆی هیوای گەشم هەرگیز دڵ ناکەم ؛

----- ----- -----

من سه‌ربازی ئامانجێکم : پیرۆزه ،
فیداکاری ڕێگایه‌کم : . بێ گه‌رده ،
ڕه‌نجێک ئه‌دم ڕه‌نجی پیاوی ده‌سته‌زه ،
له بێ یه‌کا بێ باک ئه‌مرم :بێ مه‌رده ! ... (2)

I am that prisoner in a dark dungeon;

The sun of thought illuminates my face.

In the thousand links of the fine snare,

My step will break the heavy chain.

I am that prisoner behind the steel ramparts;

I never lose the horizon of bright hope.

- - -   - - -   - - -

I am the soldier of a cause which is sacred.

I am the self-sacrificing volunteer of a way which is pure.

I strive – the striving of a faithful man.

I will die in a fearless manner which is the manner of a man.

They both devoted the best part of their lives to the ideology
expressed in these poems. They sought to make their poems
flaming torches, lighting the way for the masses, on the
road towards the elimination of backwardness and Imperialism.
They believed that the struggling and repressed classes would
follow their lead, and they were confident that their struggle
would eventually be successful. We should not forget that
both come from these poorer classes. The revolutionary
poet is naturally optimistic about the happy and promising
future of the working class. He is the product of the hard-
ships, aspirations, sufferings and difficult social and

historical circumstances of his own society.

A glance at the political works of Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb
and ^CAbdullā Gōrān during the monarchical regime shows them
to be genuine representatives of their people.   They believed
that the individual in Iraq was treated inhumanly, and they
exerted themselves to eliminate repression, and agression,
so as to achieve a healthy society in which a free individual
might live in peace and comfort.   They combined a national
with an international outlook, as exemplified in the lines of
al-Sayyāb:

" حد .. يد "

لمن كل هذا الحديد !

لقيد يَتَلوى على معصم ،

ونصل على هُلمة أو وريد ،

و تقفل على الباب دون العبيد ،

وناعورة لأغتراف الدم .

" رصا ..ص "

لمن كل هذا الرصاص ؟

لأطفال كوردَّيةَ البائسين،

دعمال مرسيليا الجائعين ،

وابناء بغدادَ والآخرين   (3)

Most of the poetry of both was the outcome of their
own experience of life, and they directed it towards increasing
the awareness of the people, so as to enable them to dist-
inguish between good and evil and friend and foe.   Here, for
instance, is Gōrān, in <u>Bō sarbāzī cumhurīmān</u> (To the
soldier of our republic):

برځ ئـى لاو ،
وہاك كوديى پياو ،
ہـرگى خاكى بـكـرہ ببر ،
لـه قوبب۔ـى'ناسمان بسوو سـر !
ونينـى شـيـزى چـش بنـويـنـ ،
دلّى دوژمن دا خور پـيّـنـ ،
دوژمنى گـرل
ہيـى گـشتـ جيـهـان ،
كہ ئـگـيـزىّ چاوى بـوّ هـلّ ،
ناگـر هـلّـسـيّـنىّ لـ خـرمان ،
ناگـشتـ ئبنـــان
بـىّ سـركا وہاك تـوّچى قوربان ! (4)

O youth, go

Like sons of a man !

Wear the khaki clothes.

Rub your heads on the dome of the sky.

Accustom yourselves to the example of the lion.

Make the heart of the enemy pound (with fear),

the enemy of the people,

of all the world,

whose eyes seek (always) an opportunity,

to set fire to the harvest,

and decapitate every human being,

like sacrifical rams.

And al-Sayyāb, in <u>al-Asliḥa wa-l-aṭfāl</u> (weaponsand children):

لأن الطغاه
يريدون ألّا تتمّ الحياه

مداها ، و ألّا يمسّ العبيد

بأنّ الرغيف الذي يأكلون

أمرُّ من العلقم

وان الشراب الذي يشربون

أُجاجٌ بطعم الدم

وأنّ الحياة الحياة انتاوم ،

وان ينكروا ما تراه العيون ،

فلا بيدر في سهول العراق ، (5)

    They both saw themselves during this period, as fully associated with the masses in their social struggle. This was, to them, the purpose of poetry; it should be written in full awareness of the needs and aspirations of the people, and should have an effect on current awareness and attitudes. At the same time, it should positively stimulate revolutionary activity, in order more effectively to influence the social, political and economic structure of society. Both had complete confidence in the people and the principles of the party. Perhaps the most distinguished characteristic of their poetry of social struggle is this confidence that it displays in the people as a dynamic power in the movement of history[6].

    However the question that poses itself here is that of the precise ideological standpoint that they adopted and were determined to struggle for. It appears, quite simply, to be Communism. Before going deeper into this question, we should examine their formal political affiliations. As far

as Al-Sayyāb is concerned, we have a certain amount of
information concerning his membership of the Iraqi Communist
Party, drawn from what he himself said and wrote. Gōrān,
on the other hand, said nothing about his membership of the
party. It may be that the political situation prevented him
from ever making it public, even in the Kurdish press. This
seems unlikely because the Revolution of 14th of July 1958
gave the experts of the younger generation an opportunity to
put their ideas into practice;[7] it was brought about by
both young Arabs and Kurds, and ᶜAbd al-Karīm Qāsim offered
to co-operate with some of the Kurdish leaders, as co-
partners with the Arabs, within the framework of Iraqi
unity[8]. Following the victory of this revolution, Kurdish
literature in general began to develop at a great speed.
Commenting on this, Majid Khadduri says:

> "Young Kurds very soon became active in
> Baghdad and many of them who had been
> sympathetic with the Communist movement
> either joined the Communist party or co-
> operated with it. To these, Kurdish
> nationalism and communism were not irre-
> concilable. A monthly magazine called
> Hīwa (hope), published under the auspices
> of the Kurdish Club, openly interpreted
> Kurdish nationalism in Marxist terminology.
> But very soon other papers appeared, such as

Khabāt (effort): which the Kurdish Democratic
party have been publishing off and on,
since 1958 - and there was lively interest
in the Kurdish language and culture"[9]

Kurdish literary critics, as well, have failed to shed
any light on his joining the party. In discussing the
matter, I will depend mainly on the following sources:

1.   The poems that allude to his commitment to this
       ideology.

2.   My own interviews with a number of Kurdish poets and
       literary critics.

3.   The work of Ḥusayn ᶜAlī Shānōf, in particular his
       Chapter "Socialist ideas".

When Al-Sayyāb came to Baghdad to join the <u>Dār al-muᶜallimin</u>
<u>al-ᶜaliya</u> , the King's government was still trying to catch
its breath after the political uprising of Rashīd ᶜĀlī al-
Gaylānī (1941), the leaders of whose movement had been put
to death[10]. Feudalism, which was supported by the king
and his government, was exploiting both the farmers and
their lands.   The hunger and poverty which were prevalent
in the years following the Second World War were such as to
stimulate any individual to try to find a solution to them.
Though al-Sayyāb was neither a politician nor a member of
any political party, he was very upset by the execution of
the leaders of Rashīd ᶜĀlī al-Gaylānī's uprising, Yūnus
al-Sabᶜāwī, Fahmī Saᶜīd and Maḥmūd Salmān, on 5th May 1942[11].

He composed a poem "Shuhadā' al-ḥurriyya" (The martyrs ·of
freedom) to commemorate this:

لقد باع للغُرْب النفوس ثلاثةَ

نقرّوا و دمعي لاتقرّ غوارِبه

نآه على من ودّع الصحب واغتدى

على « يونس » فليظلوه الدمع حاجبه

ورآم على نسر الحنين جناحه

وكم حلّت اخو العراق عصائبه

لئن غيّبوا جثمان «محمود » في الثرى

نما غيبوا المجد الذي هو كاسبه

ولهفي على «نهمي »، وما كان خطبه

يهون وان هانت لديه مشاربه

شهيد رأى الطغيان يغزو بلاده

فهبّ و قاد العزم جندا يحاربه

اليشمور من يحمي الديار بسيفه

وتغدو على كسب المعالي ركائبه

رجال أباة عاهدوا الله انهم

يضحّون حتى يرجع الحق غاصبه

أراد عبيد الأنكليز دماءهم

فنبا دليلهم ممن تخاف جوالبه   (I2)

At that time, al-Sayyāb was a simple and quite a
young man. His horizons were limited to those of his
village, its suburbs, and what he had seen of the city of
Basra[13].   He was alone and an outsider. Often he sought
solitude in the coffee houses of Ibrāhīm ᶜArab and Mubārak,
accompanied by some books, most of them the Dīwāns of classical

Arab poets[14].   He continued to lead this kind of life
until almost the end of the war, without becoming a member
of any political party.

Maḥmūd al-ᶜAbṭa comments on this phase of his life:

> "He was quiet and mild-tempered ... he
>
> was so calm that when we used to argue,
>
> and divide into two camps, some of us
>
> supporting the Allies and Democracy and
>
> others exalting Nazism and Hitler, when
>
> the dispute became intense.... he would
>
> excuse himself and go to the hall of
>
> residence of the institute...."[15]

Al-Sayyāb at that time was, no doubt, a typical example of
the Arab countryman who comes for the first time to a big
city like Baghdad, beginning a new phase of his development.
He was quiet, defensive and an outsider.   Nevertheless,
sometimes he made remarks that suggest that he had some
relationship with the Iraqi Communist Party before 1945.
For example:

> "We used to spread propaganda for Russia
>
> and Communism, side by side with propaganda
>
> for the Nazis: "The Axis will achieve
>
> victory over the Allies, and Russia will
>
> be triumphant. Communism will dominate
>
> Iraq. What good news for the poor and
>
> hungry farmers !"[16].

Iḥsān ^CAbbās says that al-Sayyāb never mentioned
the date of his joining the Iraqi Communist Party:

> "I asked his brother, Muṣṭafā, about this
> subject, but he was unable to tell me
> anything. Badr however, mentioned that
> he had worked in the party for eight
> years. He started to lose interest in
> it after the movement of Muṣaddiq. If
> this is true, then late 1944 or the beg-
> inning of 1945 was the date of his
> joining this party"[17].

Furthermore, when al-Sayyāb published his collection
of articles Kūntu shuyū^Ciyyan (I was a Communist) in the
Iraqi newspaper al-Ḥurriya, 16th of August 1959, he mentioned
the occasion of his joining the party, though without
specifying the date:

> "My youngest uncle, ^CAbd al-Majīd al-
> Sayyāb, used to have a friend of Iranian
> origin who paid frequent visits to the
> village (Jaykūr) and was fond of tbe
> literature of Jabrān Khalīl Jabrān
> and May Ziyāda. He also used to talk
> about Democracy, Communism, and the
> Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The
> conversation of ^CAlwān, who was killed
> later, in the prison of Kut, was so

impressive and influential, that we

agreed with everything he used to say.

On a certain day, we heard him talk

about the secret activities of the

Iraqi Communist Party, and about its

great leader Fahd, whose real name and

identity were unknown. On a certain

Friday, he invited us to his house and

gave us application forms for the

Communist Party, one for my uncle ^CAbd

al-Majīd, another for ^CAbd al-Dā'im

Nāṣir, and a third for me. We adopted

pseudonyms for secrecy's sake. Then I

became not only a Communist, but a member

of the Iraqi Communist Party"[18]

Doubtless, al-Sayyāb was a member of the Communist Party

when he was dismissed from the College in 1946. The college

used to keep the students under surveillance, and it is

likely that he was dismissed because he was accused of being

a Communist[19].

Nājī ^CAllūsh claims that Muḥammad ^CAli al-Zarqā, who

was a good friend of al-Sayyāb's, said that al-Sayyāb did

not join the Communist Party till 1945, when al-Zarqā left

Baghdad. At that time al-Sayyāb used to attend its meetings.

Moreover, al-Zarqā adds that al-Sayyāb was hesitating

between accepting and rejecting its ideas. Meanwhile, he

was in close touch with the founders of the party[20].

At all events, he joined the Iraqi Communist Party
and devoted himself to its principles. He participated, for
example, in the demonstration that denounced the Treaty
of Portsmouth, signed by Ṣāliḥ Jabr's government with
Britain[21]. According to Longrigg:

> "The Treaty was in fact agreed and init-
> iated on 12 January 1948, and was signed
> at Portsmouth by the Iraqi deputation and
> Ernest Bevin on the 15th"[22].

This demonstration led to a popular uprising; the
Treaty was abandoned and Ṣāliḥ Jabr was forced to resign:[23]
According to Laqueur:

> "On January 16 the students went on strike;
> demonstrations continued throughout the
> week. There was a clash with the police
> on Janaury 20 in which four demonstrators
> and seven policemen were killed. The
> main riots took place on January 27, when
> about thirty people (among them fifteen
> students) were killed, and about 300
> wounded. On the same evening, Ṣāliḥ
> Jabr, the Prime Minister, handed in his
> resignation. The new government of
> Muḥammad as-Ṣadr was more acceptable to
> the left (the Portsmouth Treaty was not
> confirmed); though Kāmil al-Jādarjī

expressed his appreciation to the new Prime

Minister, he did not join the government.

The country slowly calmed down."[24]

As far as Gōrān is concerned, we have already indicated
that his political poems have nothing to do with the Iraqi
Communist Party. His poems of the thirties and forties
were dominated by nationalistic and patriotic themes. It
is quite possible to suggest that Gōrān was not a politician
at that time. Dīlān remarks:

"Gōrān, from his early poetic attempts

until 1951, was the poet of Woman, the

beauty of Woman and the nature of

Kurdistan."[25]

A good example of Gōrān's poetry of this period is
his collections of poems: Bahasht u yādgār (Paradise and
Remembrance), and Firmêsk u hunar (Tears and Art). Nothing
that has been said so far would imply that Gōrān was in
any way lacking in patriotic sentiment. On the contrary,
martyrs such as Halō Bag and Maḥmūd Jawdat, who sacrificed
themselves for their country, greatly inspired him, and he
composed two great poems to immortalize them.

We do not possess any document either which pinpoints
the exact date of Gōrān's joining the Iraqi Communist Party.
It is of interest to quote what Ḥusayn ᶜAlī Shānōf says about
this matter:

"He was fully aware of the importance of

unity among the oppressed peoples of the

world in opposing imperialism. He had
learned from the Socialist World the
dynamic power of Marxist - Leninist ideas.
After the thirties he managed to have
access to some of the Classic Communist
books. By the time of the war of
liberation in Korea, Gōrān was an advocate
of most of Marx's theories"[26]

We should not leave out of account the long time that
Gōrān spent in the villages of Kurdistan, during which he
witnessed the ceaseless rebellion of the peasants against
the feudalists. He also witnessed how the puppet government
won the support of feudalist families by promising them
good posts and positions in that government. He saw how
the chieftains (Āghāwāt) used to burn disobedient farmer's
flour. All of this made him seethe with anger and resentment.
Therefore, from 1935 onwards, he depicted in some of his
poetry the life of shepherds, farmers and workers, their
hopes, ideas, hardships and suffering. At first he alluded
to these things by means of symbols, but later, owing to the
strong resistance and insistence on change that manifested
itself in society, he became more direct in his statements[27].
There is the additional fact that his cousin, ᶜAbd al-Wāḥid
Nūrī, an influential figure in the Iraqi Communist Party,
greatly affected his views. But for their enstrangement as
a consequence of certain family problems, it is likely that
Gōrān would have committed himself fully earlier than he

did; as it was, it was during the period while he was working
in Jaffa and Tel-Aviv that he became properly aware of
Marxist ideas.[28]

According to Dilān:

"During his first imprisonment, in 1951,
Gōrān asked the lawyers of the Kurdish
Democratic Party to defend him, but they
all washed their hands of him. Inside
the prison he met various marxists; they
influenced him, and he resolved to carry
on his way towards Socialism"[29]

Ajī Gōrān confirms this:

"Gōrān's first imprisonment, in 1951-
1952, caused the seeds of his ideas to
germinate. After that he fought to
realise these ideas"[30]

A thorough reading of Gōrān's poems also shows that he
probably joined the Iraqi Communist Party during his first
imprisonment. This may be illustrated by his poem
La bandīxāna (In Prison) composed while he was in prison:

نا ، بۆ کوردێك کفرە نیـــــتا کوردستان دڵ ،
چەرچی یەکانی نیـــستیمارم لێ ئەبنە دوشمن !
‒‒‒‒‒ ‒‒‒‒‒ ‒‒‒‒‒ ‒‒‒‒‒
نیـــتا من و خەڵقی ئۆردیو ئەم چوار دیوارە
لەبابەتی جوێ شــێلراوە ، هەستیمان ، دیارە !

ئەوان چەشنی فریشتەن و بێ گەرد و پاکن ،

دنیا هەر بۆ ئەوان خولقا ئەوەندە چاکن !

بۆیان هەیە بە پێی دلخواز بخۆن ، بنۆشن ،

سەربەست بژین ، بە ختیاری پێك پێك بنۆشن ،

‒‒‒‒‒ ‒‒‒‒‒ ‒‒‒‒‒ ‒‒‒‒‒

ئەی تریفەی مانگی سپی دەرکی دەلاقە ،

باپیسی نەبی ، خۆت مەدە لەم کوردی عێراقە ! (3I)

No. To say 'Kurdistan' now is blasphemy for a Kurd.
The puppets of Imperialism are becoming my enemies.

- - -   - - -   - - -

Now, I and the people who are on the other side of these four walls,
are kneaded together on various subjects, our feelings **are clear.**
They are like angels, stainless and pure.
The world was created just for them, so pure are they.
May they eat and drink according to their desire,
and live in freedom, drinking happiness glass after glass !

- - -   - - -   - - -

O brightness of the white moon, outside the small window !
Do not become soiled ! do not approach this Kurd of Iraq.

This, in itself, does not prove that he was a member
of the party. During this period or a little earlier many
poets such as Fā'iq Bêkas (1904-1948), Pīramêrd(1867-1950),
Zêwar (1875-1948), Yūnus Ra'ūf (1918-1948), who were

interested in the young and deeply moved by their plight,
composed poems on similar themes, which greatly affected the
rising generation, although they were not Communists.
We need more evidence than this to prove Gōrān's actual
affiliation to the party. Ḥusayn ᶜAlī Shānōf instances
other poems, allegedly composed by Gōrān during his imprison-
ment, which exhibit Socialist and Marxist ideology. He
claims:

> "It seems that most of the poems that he
> wrote in the diaries of his imprisonment..
> were composed while he was in Prison.
> These poems: Bastaī nabaz (The indomitable tune),
> Kurdustan, Aī lāwī Kurd (Oh, Kurdish Youth),
> La bandīxāna (in prison),.... Ancāmī yārān
> (Lover's fate), ᶜArzuḥāl (Petition), La binī
> bīrā (At the bottom of the well), etc., were
> full of the concepts of humanitarianism, Marxism,
> Socialism, and the yearning of the people for
> security, as well as the struggle for a lasting
> peace, and other aims of the masses. All
> of these subjects embellish the poetry of
> Gōrān .... and establish him on the path of
> Socialist Realism"[32].

More to the point, however, is Dīlān's statement that
when Gōrān left prison in 1952 he joined the Committee for
peace (Lajnat al-salām) in Sulaimāniyah, the other members

of which were Dīlān, ^CUmar Āshtī, Mullā Kamāl and Hamawandi,
who had also been arrested and imprisoned by the government.
This advanced Gōrān within the party so that he became a
full member[33]. Ajī Gōrān remarks that Gōrān established
himself in the party and became an active member of it, and
that he was given the name Hūshyār (conscious); he used to
be called in the party, as well as in literary circles,
"Comrade Hūshyār"[34].

^CIzz al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Rasūl says:

> "In May 1953, while I was in prison, I
> heard of the death of the great leader,
> Joseph Stalin. It is right to call that
> day a day of lamentation ... at that time
> we were released from prison... and I
> said to Gōrān : "Sir, everyone is
> composing poems in honour of Stalin".
> He replied: "My brother, the death of
> Stalin shocked the world; I was shocked
> and wept bitterly, but my tears did not
> become poetry",[35]

An appropriate concluding quotation is the following of
Kākaī Fallāḥ:

> "In 1950-55, I was a member of the
> Central Committee of Iraqi Communist
> Party. On a certain day in 1955, Salām
> ^CĀdil, who was the secretary of the

Central Committee of this party,

come to my house in Baghdad and said:

"An old man has been released from

prison". I asked who this was ? He

replied: "Mr Gōrān". He added that

Gōrān was now staying at a hotel on

the **K**arkh side close to the clinic

of Dr. Nazīha al-Dulaymi, who was a

Marxist herself. I asked ^cĀdil about

Gōrān's position in the party. He

replied that he had been re-elected

as a member at the last meeting of the

party. He added: "I would like you

to contact Gōrān during his stay in

Baghdad"; and he gave me the code word.

I was delighted to meet Gōrān because

I had not seen him before. I went there

and found Gōrān waiting for me. I have

known him since that time[36]".

Without doubt, Marxist-Leninist philosophy greatly
affected the poetical works of Gōrān and he composed many
poems which celebrate his philosophy, such as: Rēgaī Lenin
(The Way of Lenin), Mōskōī cuwān (A beauty of Moscow),
Mōskōī Āyār (The May of Moscow), Bō lāwān (To Youth), Tir u
Kawān (Bow and Arrow), Bēshkaī mināl (The cradle of the baby),
Chīrōkī birāyatī (The story of brotherhood).

No philosophy or ideology can create a poet, but it

may illumine his path.   The advancement of Socialism and
the struggle against reaction are great human purposes, but
they do not make a poet out of a human being. This is true
of Gōrān, who was a great poet even before joining the Iraqi
Communist party, a fact that some people try to deny.

There may be many different reasons for a person's
joining a political party. ^cAbd al-Jabbār ^cAbbās sees these
as being social and psychological in the case of al-Sayyāb:

> "Al-Sayyab's awareness of social desolation
> was not the only, or even the most important
> reason that led him to join [the Iraqi
> Communist Party]. It is possible that
> such awareness grew after his joining.
> We may perhaps say that after he had lost
> his mother and found no firm, fixed
> emotional relationships in his surroundings
> he found himself driven by an irresistible
> force - being in the prime of his youth and
> strength - towards a desire that his relation-
> ships with others should take on a distinct
> stamp of conflict, mingled with a complex
> succession of indignation, dissatisfaction,
> and enmity... At that time, joining [a
> political organization] was a refuge for a
> large number of people from a youth that
> endured numerous privations, which without
> doubt had social roots. The deprived,

however, did not join directly because
of their awareness of these roots, but
in order to forget thereby their deprivation
and to allow their individual anger a fair
justification for its regarding one type
of emotion as a great and just matter"[37]

Iḥsān ᶜAbbās sees them rather differently:
"It is quite possible to suggest that
political and social dissatisfaction were
not the main factors that led the poet
to join the Communist party. He was
attracted by curiosity; by the romance;
by the cloak and dagger image of the
party; his admiration for the character
of Aḥmad ᶜAlwān; his readiness to follow
the uncle of ᶜAbd al-Majīd, (as Muṣṭafā
says) who had a great influence on him
although he was younger than him. All
this combined to make it attractive to him
to join (the Iraqi Communist Party) and
take up the new slogan"[38].

The political situation in Iraq during the Second World
War seemed to be sinking further into stagnation[39]. At
the end of the war, while most of the patriotic and
nationalist organizations were declining, the Communist
movement was active. Many leading literary figures in Iraq

were linked by the Socialist and Communist ideology.

> "In this atmosphere of ferment, bubbling
> up from below, there was a general trend
> towards the left; and, as successive govern-
> ments had been telling the people for many
> years that the "left", social and political
> reform, individual freedom, Socialism, and
> Communism were all synonymous, the various
> Communist and pro-Communist groups now
> cashed in on the situation"[40]

Aside from this, the victory of the Soviet Union in
the war encouraged a large number of people to embrace its
political ideology.   Moreover, the nature of Iraqi society
was characterized by repression and hardship; this, as well
as the non-existence of any well organized political parties,
led the masses to embrace Marxism as the only alternative
for the provision of an organized programme, such as had been
adopted by the Iraqi Communist Party Congress in 1945[41].
Yūsuf al-Ṣā'igh claimed that the main stimulus behind the
adoption of such ideas by Iraqi poets and writers was Iraq's
internal and external political situation[42].

According to Laqueur:

> "The Iraqi Communist Party was from the
> very beginning a student's party: most of
> the students were young, single, did not

have to support families; full of nation-
alist fervour, they joined the party and
spread its teaching among the workers,
without any difficulty.   Many of the
students came from leading families"[43]

However, Iraqi poets and writers found in Marxism
the solution to many questions that life posed to young
people; they realised that it was by Marxism that they could
eradicate imperialism, reaction and repression; it was
Marxism that set free the talents of human beings from their
fetters.   This was the mirage that led Gōrān and al-Sayyāb
and their generation to accept the Communist ideology.
However, according to Laqueur:

"The Iraqi Communists have revealed in
the course of their history an unusual
degree of incompetence and disunity, lack
of purpose and direction, and a marked
deficiency of political acumen and
experience.   But it looks as if they may
mend their ways sooner than the rulers
of the country.   Their inefficiency has
been the main safeguard of the West for
a number of years -it would be unwise to
expect it to remain so for ever"[44].

Another factor in the adherence of al-Sayyāb and his
fellows to this ideology was probably the influence of

the Western Communist and progressive writers such as
Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893-1930), Boris Pasternak (1890-1960),
Paul Eluard (1892-1952), Louis Aragon (1897-   ), Pablo
Neruda (1904-73), Lorca (1894-1936), Nāzim Ḥikmat (1902-
1963), not merely in the field of poetry but in that of
literature generally[45].

Al-Sayyāb's poetical works during the period in
which he was a member of the Iraqi Communist Party are
characterised by a preoccupation with human problems, whether
they are to be found in his own society or elsewhere; those
he was concerned with were children, peasants, women,
workers and the oppressed. For instance, in al-Asliḥa wa-l-
aṭfāl (1953) he says:

ولمس النواعير، والزارعون ،
وفي كل حقل ـ كنبض الحياه ـ
تهزّ المحاريث قلب الثرى
وتبني القرى :

‫ـــــ   ـــــ   ـــــ‬

ومن يفهم الأرض أن الصغار
يضيقون بالحفرة البارده ؟

‫ـــــ   ـــــ   ـــــ‬

وأن ينكروا ما تراه العيون :
فلا بيدر في سهول العراق ،
ولا صبية في الضحى يلعبون
ولا لمس طاحونة من بعيد ،
ولا يطرق الباب ساعي البريد

‫ـــــ   ـــــ   ـــــ‬

سلام على العالم الأرحب ،
على الحقل ، والدار ، والمكتب ،
على معمل للدمى والنسيج ،
على العشّ والطائر الأزغب ،

───── ───── ─────

سلام لباريس " روبسبير "
و " الدار " والغابة الحالمه
وعشاقها في المساء الأخير
تذرّيهم قوة ظالمه (46)

Even after his leaving the party, the ideology which
led him to join it is still apparent in his work. Among
the most obvious examples of this are the following poems:
Marthiyat Jaykūr (1955), Min ru'yā Fū-Kāy (1955), Ughniya fī
shahr Āb (1956), al-Nahr wa-l-mawt (1957), Madīna bi-lā maṭar
(1958).

It is not certain either, what al-Sayyāb's reasons
for leaving the party were. It may be that Yūsuf al-Ṣā'igh's
remarks apply to him:

"Joining a political party causes some
problems; for example obeying orders and
consulting the interest of the majority
puts an individual in a position of
conflict with his own personal interest.
This conflict will make an individual
either give up his commitment to this

party, or completely subordinate himself

to the general interest of the community

and forget his own. . It is hard to

choose between these two extremes. All

this will influence the young poet.

What makes the task harder is that the

consequences joining a party may lead

to imprisonment and torture. Without

doubt, thinking about these consequences

and facing them requires a deep faith

in the principles of such a party and

its aims... Most of these young people

join the party for personal and emotional

motives that are not enough to endure

such pressure"[47].

It may be that he was discouraged in the first place
by the execution of the party leaders,   Fahd, al-Shabībī,
Zakī Muḥammad Basīm and Yahūdā Ibrāhīm Ṣādiq, in February
1949, for their inspiring, from their imprisonment, the
riots of January 1948[48].   The party had operated with
great difficulty since it was established in 1934; this
blow, the culmination of Nūrī al-Saᶜid's campaign against
it, was a thoroughly dispiriting set-back[49].   At all
events, he was dismissed from his teaching post at this time,
and it is clear that he came under considerable psycholog-
ical pressure, owing to his political affiliation; when he
returned to his village in 1949 he found that his uncle

^CAbd al-Majīd had been sentenced to five years imprisonment.
After a very short time, he himself was arrested and brought
before the military court in Baghdad, from which, however,
he was allowed to go free against a payment made by his
father of what was formally bail but was in fact unredeemed[50].

Another likely reason for his eventually leaving
the party is that the Soviet Union recognized the establish-
ment of the State of Israel in Palestine.   Al-Sayyāb, as
an adherement of Marxist-Leninist ideology, did not deny the
right of the Jewish people to live in Palestine; he acknow-
ledged their right to self-determination:

> "Do you want to establish a purely Arab
>
> government in Palestine like that of
>
> Nūrī al-Sa^Cīd, the instrument of Imperialism'..
>
> what mistake have those poor Jews living
>
> in Palestine committed that we should
>
> throw them in the sea and then establish
>
> a purely Arab state instead?"[51]

When the Soviet Union recognized the establishment
of Israel in Palestine, however, he began to have second
thoughts about it. Originally the Soviet Union had promised
to support a democratic state in Palestine that would be
ruled by both Arabs and Jews. In the event, it completely
disregarded this promise. Eventually, some of the Palestinian
Arabs were expelled from their homeland and regarded the
Soviet Union as partly responsible for this[52]. The Iraqi

Communist Party, like all others, was obliged to follow
Moscow's line, which was incompatible with al-Sayyab's own
feelings.   Another reason, perhaps the principal one, for
his defection was his general volatility of character, which
manifested itself not only in his attitude towards the
Communists, but also later in his attitude towards ^cAbd
al-Karīm Qāsim.   Lewis ^cAwaḍ says that when Qāsim established
a good relationship with the Communist Party, al-Sayyāb
criticised him bitterly and joined the Arab Ba'th Socialist
Party, but when Qāsim washed his hands of the Communists,
al-Sayyāb began to support him.   He continued paying lip-
service to Qāsim until his downfall in February 1963, and
he composed about twenty poems in his praise.   However, two
weeks after his fall, while he was in London, he attacked
him in a poem entitled Qaṣīda ilā al^cIrāq al-thā'ir, which
he published in the journal al-Ādāb[53].   However, he did
not immediately break with the Communist Party even after the
recognition of Israel by the Soviet Union and the set-back
of the Iraqi Communist Party, in 1949.   In November, 1952,
the students of the College of Pharmacy in Baghdad demon-
strated against the King's government.   Al-Sayyāb played an
influential role in this demonstration.   Afterwards, fearing
arrest, he fled to Iran and then to Kuwait[54].   It was
during his exile, on this occasion that he began to reconsider
his political commitment.   One immediate reason for this
was his realisation that he loved his homeland and was home-
sick for it.   This emerges from a poem that he wrote while
in Kuwait, Gharīb ^calā 1-Khalīj (1953):

بين العيون الأجنبيَّة ،

بين احتقارٍ .. وانتهارٍ ، وازورارٍ .. أو « خطيه » ،

والموتُ أحونُ من « خطيه » ،

من ذلك الأشفاق تعبره العيون الأجنبيه

قطراتُ ماءٍ .. معدنيَّ !

فلتنظفي ، يا أنت ، يا قطراتُ ، يا دمُ ، يا .. نقودُ ،

يا ريح ، يا إبراً تخيط لي الشراع - متى اعود

الى المواله ؟ متى أعودُ ؟

يا لمعة الأمواج رنّحَهنَّ مجدافٌ يرودُ

بي الخليج ، ويا كواكبه الكبيرة .. يا نقودُ !

ليت السفائن لا تقاضى راكبيها عن سفار

أو ليت ان الأرض كالأفق العريض ، بلا بحار !

----- ----- ----- -----

متى أعود ؟ متى اعودُ

----- ----- ----- -----

وانت تأكل اذ تجوعُ ؟ وانت تنفقُ ما يجودُ

بـ الكرام ، على الطعام ؟

لبكينَّ على المواله

نما لديك سوى الدموع

وسوى انتظارك ، دون جدوى ، للرياح وللقلوع (55)

The second immediate reason was his experiencing an instance of Communist intolerance, although of a comparatively trivial kind, directed at himself. He was severely criticised by some of his comrades in exile for reading a book that was irrelevant to the principles of Communism, namely, D.H. Lawrence's <u>Lady Chatterley's Lover</u> (56)

Having adopted communism because he thought it would provide people with the freedom they had long aspired to, he was greatly annoyed by his comrades:

> "If Nāzim Ḥikmat were to stand with Pablo
> Neruda on his head, Aragon on his head,
> and Konstantin Semeonov on Aragon's head,
> all of them together would not reach
> to Shakespeare's ankle"[57].

It is interesting to note that while he was in exile the Communists started to forget his contribution to the party, and turned their attention rather to ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bayyātī. Iḥsān ᶜAbbās alleges that al-Sayyāb was jealous to find his political and literary position usurped by another poet during his absence[58]. By this time he was close to breaking his connection altogether:

> "Nothing bound me to the Communists but
> one weak thread; the least mistake
> that they made was sufficient to break
> this thread between us"[59].

The publication of al-Mūmis al-ᶜamyā', in al-Thaqāfa al-jadīda (1953) caused considerable agitation in literary circles, especially left-wing ones. It foreshadows his imminent break with Communism:

ما زلت أعرف كل ذاك ، فجربوني يا سكارى !
من ضاجع العربية السمراء لا يلقى خسارا .

كالنغم لونك يا ابنة العرب ،

كالفجر بين عرائش العنب

أو كالفرات ، على ملامحه

دعة الثرى وضراوة الذهب .

لا تتركوني .. فالضحى نسبي :

من فاتح ، ومجاهد ، ونبي !

عربية أنا : أمتي دمها

خير الدماء .. كما يقول أبي ،

في موضع الإرهاص من جسدك ، وفي الثرى المذال

تجري دماء الفاتحين . فلوثوها ، يا رجال

أواه من جنس الرجال ... فأمس عاث بها الجنود (60)

We do not know precisely when al-Sayyāb left the
party, but it seems certain that he had done so by the time
of his marriage, in 1955. After this, at any rate, there
is no further suggestion of his having anything to do with
it. In 1956, he publisehd "Selected Poems from Modern
World Poetry", which included, as well as poems by some of
those whom he had admired in his Communist days, poems also
by such poets as Eliot, Sitwell, Pound and Spender. As his
reputation as a poet grew in the Arab World during this period,
he did not abandon themes concerned with the broader interests
of humanity in general, but new themes that display a growing
interest in, and sympathy for, Arab Nationalism also became
apparent in his work. We can see this in such poems as:
Qāfilat al-ḍiyāᶜ (1956), Risāla min maqbara (1956), Būr
Saᶜīd (1956), Fī al-Maghrib al-ᶜArabī (1956), Ilā Jamīla

Buḥayrid (1959). Arab nationalist ideology received a
considerable boost after the Second World War, especially
as a result of the loss of Palestine and the general movement
towards decolonisation[61]. The Arab Ba'ath Socialist
Party, which was established in Syria in 1947 and held its
first congress in the same year, generally developed branches
in other Arab countries, including Iraq. This party
represented an important development in the Nationalist
ideology, being formed to work for Arab unity and national
revival, in order to procure for the Arab world an influential
position[62]. According to a number of critics, al-Sayyāb
joined the Ba'ath party after his break with the Iraqi
Communist Party, but again we are not told exactly when.

Gōrān, on the other hand, did not break with the
Iraqi Communist Party until he travelled to the Soviet Union
for medical treatment. He appears not to have been dis-
couraged by imprisonment, or torture, the set-back of January
1948, loss of jobs or the ruthless attitude of ꜤAbd al-Karīm
Qāsim to Communists. Under the influence of Socialist and
Communist ideology, Gōrān modified his poetic style,
abandoning the forms that he had previously employed. He
now referred back to his new ideology in everything, not
least, of course, in his writing, which he made completely
into a political instrument. His principal themes became
those of universal peace among nations and sympathy with
the sufferings of the oppressed. However, in his inter-
nationalism, he did not entirely neglect his own people;

he could still distinguish national wretchedness in the
broaden background of universal suffering.   The following
poem exemplifies this:

ئەی نەتەوەی کوردی برسی !

عەرەب ، هیندی ، هەرکەس ، هەرچی !

ئەم قەرەماوەی کۆریا پەندە ،

بۆ گشت ___ گرلی دیل و بەندە .

بە زمانی وەك ___ ئاو بە وان ،

روون وەك ___ رۆژی بەری ئاسمان ..

تیمان ئەگەی نقیت ___ دوژمن ،

جانەوەری درو نوسن ! (63)

O hungry Kurdish nation !

Arab, Indian, whoever, whatever !

This calamity of Korea is an admonition,

for every people that is imprisoned and enslaved.

In language like running water,

clear as the sun of the face of the heaven,

They indicate to us our enemies,

who are ravening and rapacious beasts.

Even in his last poem, which he composed during his
stay in Moscow, he demonstrates a strong commitment to the
party.   In Bō lāwān (to youth), which he composed in
Summer 1962 while he was in Moscow, he asked young people
from all over the world to unite and fight for peace:

ئەی لاوان !

هەر ئێوەن :

به‌هــــاری ژێنی ئینسـان ،
هه‌ر ئێوه‌ن :
ئاغای ســـپێنیـی ژیان !
ئاغای (ئه‌مرۆ - داگیرکه‌ر)
ئێوێ زۆر باش بزانی
ناتوانی :
بۆ شه‌ر ئێوه باته‌به‌ر !
برا ، برا ناکوتری ،
خوێنی دایک ــــ نامری

ـــــ   ـــــ

با ئه‌و چه‌کی بی‌یانه
فریی ده‌نه‌ بن ده‌ریا ،
تا دنیا
داخه‌که‌ی هێزۆ شیما
ســاپێژ بی له دلیا !
ئا ئینسـان ،
ده‌ســـنێبه‌ری ئاشــتی یا ،
ده‌ســـتی بچێته فرمان ، (64)

O youth,

You only

are the spring of human life.

You only

are the masters of future life.

The master who occupies today

Should know well

that he cannot

Send you to war.

Let brother not kill brother

or drink his mother's blood.

The weapons which they have,

let them throw to the bottom of the sea,

in order that the world,

may have the sorrow for Hiroshima healed in its heart,

until mankind,

in the shadow of peace,

may set to work.

Ḥusayn ᶜAlī Shānōf says that while Gōrān was in hospital in Moscow and his health was deteriorating, he composed his last poem Tīr u kawān (Bow and Arrow). What engaged his enthusiasm more and more was what was broadcast on the air concerning the movement for peace and the struggle to realise it. He forgot his pain in his efforts to translate his overflowing feelings into undying verse[65]. It appears that he devoted himself to Marxist-Leninist ideology even when he was very sick in Moscow. It is very noticeable that the poems that he wrote from the fifties on display considerable weaknesses; it is thought he composed them principally on account of his commitment to the Communist party. This, however, is not to say that they entirely lack

artistic merit, although it would be difficult to agree
with Shānōf's description of them as "undying".   There is
a great difference in linguistic and artistic quality
between the poems that he composed to celebrate the beauty
of women and of nature in Kurdistan, and the political poems,
particularly those that are characterised by Marxist-Leninist
ideology, most of which he composed while he was in the
Soviet Union.

Concerning his relationship with the Communist Party
at the time of his second journey to the Soviet Union for
medical treatment, Dīlān says;

"When Gōrān was sent back to Sulaimāniyah
from the Soviet Union without medical
treatment, a certain man came and said
to me: "Gōrān has been sent back home
without treatment and his health is
deteriorating. He is staying now in the house
of Hōgir, in the district of Iskān. He wants to see
you. He says that he would like to
see Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Dilān." In fact, I
could not go that day to visit him.
Again he sent another person to me.
Then I went to see him with ʿUmar Āshtī.
There was no doubt that he was very
sick. He said: "I am dying. It was
a good idea to bring ʿUmar Āshtī with
you. They have sent me back from Moscow
without medical treatment, in handcuffs,
only because I defended the Kurdish people".
I asked how that was. He replied: "While

I was in hospital, I composed many poems
to celebrate the great history of
Kurdistan. I handed over these poems
to some faithful friends to be trans-
lated and published. When they published
them I noticed that they had omitted all
reference to "Kurd" and "Kurdistan" and
inserted instead "Iraqi" and "Iraq" I
asked how they dared change my poetry.
They replied: "we do not want to upset
^cAbd al-Karīm Qāsim". I was suddened
by this and wrote several letters to
officials in the Soviet Union, but in
vain. Even private visits to me by
Kurdish students were prohibited. One
night they came unexpectedly, handcuffed
me and deported me to Iraq without
medical treatment. I wish now that I
had written all the years in praise of
Qirga (a small village very close to
Sulaimāniyah) rather than in praise of
the Iraqi Communist Party"[66]

It seems clear from this account that Gōrān became
disillusioned with Communism shortly before his death. We
do not know if, on account of his experiences, he actually
took the step of breaking with the party, or if the last
words quoted above merely reflect a passing, quite under-

standable, annoyance.   More important, perhaps we know

nothing of the poems to which he refers, on account of which

he was deported from Russia.   He implies that they were of

a more explicitly nationalist tone than those that he had

been accumstomed to write, and they would perhaps throw

some light on his final political sympathies.   Clearly,

they were never published in Iraq; if they had been,

presumably Muḥammad Mullā ^CAbd al-Karīm al-Mudarris would

have included them in the Collected poems of Gōrān (1980).

It is possible that they survive, in their altered form, and

in Russian translation, and that some idea of the originals

might be reconstructed.   The likelihood of their coming

into the hands of anyone who would recognise them for what

they were, however, must be considered remote.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Al-Rayḥānī (vol. 2), p. 182.

2. Al-Malā'ika (a), p.74.

3. Ibid., pp. 77-78.

4. Ibid., p. 146.

5. A.M. al-Gludhāmī, p. 159.

6. Ibn Rashīq (vol.1), p. 160. See also Ibn Jinnī (vol.2), pp. 263-264; Brockelmann(vol.2), p.22.

7. Ibn Rashīq (vol.1), p.160. See also Ibn Jinnī (vol.2), pp. 263-264.

8. Farrūkh, pp. 68-70.

9. Jayyusi (vol. 2), pp. 556-557.

10. Al-Dujaīlī, pp.   . Cf also al-Malā'ika(a) , p.170; Jayyusi (a. vol.2), p.554; Khulūsī, p.400.

11. Khulūsī, p. 400.

12. Jayyusī,(a. vol.2), p. 551.

13. Y. ᶜIzz al-Dīn (a), pp. 228-229. See also Khulūsī pp. 391-393; al-Dujailī, p.67.

14. Al-Malā'ika (a), pp. 13-14, 197.

15. Ibid, p.12.

16. F. Rafqa. Quoted also by al-Malā'ika (a), pp. 167-168.

على وجهي رمال الشك أصوات

بلا معنى . رمال تشرب الغيم المدوّي

عند آفاقي فلا ذكرى أغنيها و لا ...

17. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1) p. 659. For another example of the different metres employed in Shiᶜr ḥurr see the verses in al-Fannān by Abū Shādī:

تفتش في لبّ الوجود معبّراً عن (الفكرة) العظمى بـ لأُدباء
نترجم اسمى معاني البقاءْ
وتثبت بالفن سر (الحياهْ)
وكل معنى يرقّ لديكَ في (الفن) حيّ
اذا تأمّلتَ شيئاً قبست من (الجمال)
وصنعةُ كحبيس في فنك المتلالي !
تبثّ فينا العباده
تبث فينا جلالا لا انقضاء لـ !

See Abū Shādī (b), pp. 535-536.

In this extract, four different metres are used.

The first line is in <u>ṭawīl</u>, the second and third in

<u>mutaqārib</u>, the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh in

<u>mujtathth</u>, and the eighth in <u>basīṭ</u>.

18. Al-Aᶜrajī, p. 31.

19. Jayyusi (a. vol.2), p.556.

20. Al-Jundī, p. 145, Cf. also Brugman, pp. 56-61;

    R. Nakhla, pp. 617-625; Muṭrān (b) pp. 44-48.

21. Moreh, p. 64. See also Muṭrān(a), pp. 10-12; al-
    ᶜAqqād (a), pp. 199-200.

22. Abū Shādī (a), p. 117.

23. Al-ᶜAqqād (a), p. 200. I have used al-Zubaidi's trans-
    lation, p.44.

24. Shukrī, pp. 85-94.

25. Moreh, pp. 126-130. Cf. also Brugman, p.192, al-Hilālī,
    p. 41; M. Ṣabrī, pp. 3-15; al-Zahāwī (b), p.913.

26. ᶜAbbās Tawfīq, p. 27.

27. Ibid.

28. Moreh, p. 134. See àlso Jayyusi (a. vol.1), p.159.

29. Moreh, p. 138.

30. D. Marshall Lang, pp. 163-174. Cf. also A. Tawfīq, p. 219; Brugman, p. 192; al-Hilālī, p. 41.

31. Moreh, p. 136, See also Marshall Lang, pp. 163-174.

32. Moreh, p. 136. See also A. Tawfīq, p. 224.

33. Moreh, p. 136. See also al-Zahāwī, (c), p. 1083.

34. The new Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. VIII, p. 244.

35. Jayyusi (a. vol.2), pp. 630-631.

36. The term 'prose poem' (al-Qaṣīda al-nathriyya) was already in use by the sixties. For more detail see al-Malā'ika (a), p. 213.

37. Jayyusi (a. vol.2), p.632.

38. Al-Hilāl (9), pp. 97-98.

39. Jayyusi (q. vol.1), p. 90.

40. A. Tawfīq, p. 231.

41. Ṣada Bābil, vol. 88, May 8, 1911. Quoted also by Y. ᶜIzz al-Dīn (q), p. 218.

42. Y. ᶜIzz al-Dīn (q), p. 221.

43. See Majallat al-ḥurriyya, July 15, 1924. Under the influence of al-Rayḥānī, Rufā'il Buṭṭī composed a poem to celebrate his visit. In this he imitated al-Rayḥāni's style as in the following verses, which were published in Al-Zanbiqa, 1st October, 1922:

مكانى معروف و إن عشت بغير مكان

و ذكراى لا تبرح الأذهان

و إن تجاهل بوجودى كثير من بنى الأنسان

و سوف يعرفني رفاقي
متى رفعوا الغشاوة عن أعينهم يعلمون
أنني واياهم في الجوهر متفقون
و إن اختلفنا في الأعراض
في ذلك اليوم لا أعشق الطبيعة وحدى
بل اعشقها و إخوانى سوية و نسير في سبيلها معا
فنفوز بالحياة الحقه الحياة الخالدة
حياة الحب و السلام
حياة الحقيقة و الوئام

Quoted also by Y. ^CIzz al-Dīn (a), p. 222.

44. Y. ^CIzz al-Dīn (a), p. 232.

45. <u>Al-Ṣaḥīfa</u>, vol. 4, February 1925. Quoted also
by Y. ^CIzz al-Dīn (a), pp. 231-232. Compare Nasīb
^CAriḍa's <u>al-Nihāya</u> :

كفنوه
و ادفنوه
اسكنوه
هوة اللحد العميق
و اذهبوا لا تندبوه
فهو شعب ميت ليس يفيق
و لنتاجر
في المهاجر
و لنفاخر
بمزايانا الحسان

ما علينا ان نضى الشعب جميعاً . أر لسنا في أمان

ربَّ غار

ربَّ عار

ربَّ نار

حركت قلب الجبان

كلها فينا ، ولكن لم تحرك ساكنا الاَّ اللسان

46. Moreh, p. 119.

47. A. Shā'ūl, pp.1-5. Quoted also by Y. [c]Izz al-Dīn
(a), p. 236.

48. <u>Istiqlāl</u>, no. 820, 1926. Quoted also by Y. [c]Izz
al-Dīn (a), 232.

49. See <u>Istiqlāl</u>, no. 1473, 1474, 1477, 1480 - 1930.

50. For a more detailed discussion, see A. Tawfīq, pp.233-
243; al-Zahāwī (a), p. 1; al-Zahāwī (d), p.1; al-
Ruṣāfī (a), pp. 11-90; Adīb Baṣrī, p. 4; I.A. al-
Zahāwī, p. 3.

51. Al-Malā'ika (a), pp. 16-17.

52. Al-Ḥamāmṣī, pp. 219-20.

53. Al-Malā'ika (a), p.36.

54. Ibid., p. 35.

55. Al-Malā'ika (b. vol.2), pp. 137-138.

56. Al-Sayyāb (9), p. 69.

57. Al-Sayyāb (a), pp. 68-69. See also Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1),
pp. 101-102.

58. N. [c]Allūsh (b. vol.1)

59. Ibid., p.

60. Al-Sayyāb (a).

61. Al-Sayyāb (b), p.6.

62. S.A. Ṣabbūr, pp. 44-45.

63. Bākathīr, pp. 3-11.

64. Al-Sayyāb (e), p.69.

65. Ibid.

66. Moreh, p. 203.

67. Iḥsān ᶜAbbās (b), p.35.

68. Iḥsān ᶜAbbās (a), p. 135.

69. Y. al-Ṣā'igh, p. 34.

70. J. Khayyāṭ(a), p. 58.

71. See al-Adīb, vol. 2, no.4, 1954, pp. 67-69.

72. Moreh, pp. 161-205.

73. Jayyusi, (a. vol.2), p.558.

74. Al-Zubaidi (b), p.17.

75. M. Khouri, p. 139.

76. Al-Malā'ika, (a), p.14.

77. Ibid., pp. 14-15.

78. Y. ᶜIzz al-Dīn (a), p. 219. In various sources I have
     found some fragments of Shiᶜr ḥurr which were published
     at the very beginning of this century. However, I
     have pointed out the most obvious instances. In 1970,
     al-Hīlāl, vol. 9-10 published two short articles.by
     the editor Fāruq Shūsha, which described the early
     experiments in Shiᶜr ḥurr of Khalīl Shaybūb and
     Maḥmūd Ḥasan Jsmāᶜīl. Shaybūb's poem al-Shirāᶜ,
     which he designated Qaṣīda min al-shiᶜr al-munṭaliq,
     was published in Apollo, vol. 3, 1932:

جلست ذات مساء مرسلا بصري
الى هذه الآفاق وهي بواسمُ
و توقد النارَ في عزمي وفي ذكرى
عواطف صدري ، انهن مضارمُ

هدأ البحر رحيباً يملأُ العين جلالا
وصفنا الأفق و مالت شمس ترنو دلالا
وبدا فيه شراعُ
كخيال من بعيد يتمشى
في بساط مائج من نسج عشب
أو حمام لم يجد في الروض عشا
فهو في خوف و رعب
انه غيمة سرت في سماء
قد صفت زرقتها

Ismā^cīl's poem Ma'tam al-ṭabī^ca , which he designated
Marthiyya min al-shi^cr al-ḥurr, was published in
Apollo Vol. 6, 1933:

في نزوع يتلهى بالنغم
صارخا مما دهاه
من فناء و عدم
انه يبكي ممات الشاعرةَ !

و هرير النهر في الوادى كأنغام النواح
و مسيل الماء من جفن البطاح
أدمع الكون وعبرات الطبيعة
كل طير ناح فيها .. ناعيا
كل غصن مال فيها .. راثيا
كل نبع سال فيها .. باكيا

Another experiment in Shi^{c}r ḥurr can be found in
Abū Shādī's al-Fannān, written in 1926, Munāẓara,
(1928).

See al-Shafaq al-bākī (1926), p. 535; Mukhtārāt waḥy
al-^{c}ām (1928), p. 44.

Moreh mentions another experiment in Shi^{c}r ḥurr by
Fu'ād al-Khashin entitled Anā lawlāki published in
al-Adīb, vol.V, no.10, October 1946. Moreh states
that the poetic form of this poem is freer than
al-Sayyāb's Hal kāna ḥubban. See pp. 206-207.
Apart from these attempts, it is interesting to note
that there are many critics who have held the view
that the first example of Shi^{c}r ḥurr in modern Arabic
poetry was al-Sayyāb's Fī l-sūq al-qadīm published
in al-Nafīr, November 1948. This poem, Jayyusi
argues, was the first effectively to utilize Shi^{c}r
ḥurr on a large scale, in a subtle combination of
form and content. See p. 560.

79. Al-Malā'ika (a), p. 15.

80. Moreh, p. 205.

81. Al-Malā'ika (a), p. 16.

82. Haddāra, p. 88. See also Lewis ^{c}Awaḍ (a), pp.49-50.

83. Jayyusi (a. vol. 2), p. 577.

84. Al-Malā'ika (a), p. 41.

85. Jayyusi (a. vol.2), p. 564.

86. J.I. Jabrā (b), p. 85.

87. Al-Malā'ika (b), p. 6.

88.   Al-Bayyātī (b), p. 13.

89.   F. Buṭṭī; pp. 120-121. See also ^CA. Tawfīq, p.51;
      Y. al-Ṣā'igh, p. 15.

90.   Y. a.-Ṣā'igh, pp. 27-28. See also ^CA. Tawfīq, p.51.

91.   Ibid.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1.   Bois Thomas, pp. 122-123.

2.   ^cIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl (a), p.57.

3.   Bois Thomas, pp. 123-125.

4.   See C.J. Edmonds, pp. 301-305; Bois Thomas, pp.150-
      151; Arfa, pp. 111-119; Bāngī Kurdistān, nos.1-15,
      1922-1923; Rōjī Kurdistān, nos. 5-14, 1922; Ghassemlou,p.64.

5.   Marshall Lang, p. 160; Martin S. Smith, p.1097;
      A. Lūjinsil, pp. 253-270.

6.   Gōrān (b).

7.   See Gōrān's introduction to his Dīwān Bahasht u yādgār
      (1950), reprinted in Dīwān Gōrān, p.3.

8.   Gōrān (b).

9.   Ibid.

10.   Pīramêrd (a), p.130. Quoted also by ^cIzz al-Dīn
      M. Rasūl (a), p.108.

11.   ^cIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl (a), p. 90.

12.   It started publication in   1924 in Baghdad. See
      ^cIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl (a), p.86.

13.   Najīb al-^cAqīqī, p.100.

14.   M. Ghunaymī Hilāl, p. 397.

15.   ^cIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl (a), pp. 218-219.

16.   Baxtiyār Zêwar, Galāwêj, no. 33, 1948.

17.   See Kākaī Fallāḥ, pp. 92-93.

18.   Hardī (b), p.23.

19.   See Kākaī Fallāḥ, p. 115.

20.   Gōrān (a), p. 272.

21.   Ibrāhīm Kubba, p.28.   See also Laqueur,p.173; Y.
      ^cIzz al-Dīn (b), pp. 225-234.

22.   Gōrān (a), p.199.

23.   Salām, pp. 36-42.

24.   See Kākaī Fallāḥ, pp. 176-177.

25.   Gōrān (a), pp. 196-197.

26.   Ibid., p. 278.

27.   Dīlān, p.116.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. ^cIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl (a), p. 57.

2. ^cAla al-Dīn Sujādī (b), p. 63.

3. Sujādī (a), p. 156.

4. ^cIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl (a), p. 199.

5. Dilshād ^cAlī, p. 50.

6. K. Ḥ. al-Baṣīr, p. 37.

7. Gōrān (a), p. 3.

8. Rafīq Ḥilmī, p. 149.

9. K. Fallāḥ, p. 34.

10. Shānōf, p. 173.

11. M. Mulla ^cAbd al-Karīm (b), p. 59.

12. Hardī (a), p. 17.

13. Quoted by Kāmarān Mukrī.

14. Nālī. Quoted by Sujādī (a.) p. 77.

15. Gōrān (a), pp. 130-131.

16. Gibb, p. 88.

17. Quoted by Sujādī (a), pp. 145-146.

18. ^cIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl (a), p. 199. See also Shānōf, pp. 173-174.

19. Gōrān (a), p. 135.

20. Kāmarān. Quoted by K. Fallāḥ, p. 241.

21. ^cA.H. B. Quoted by K. Fallāḥ, p. 173.

22. Gōrān (a), p. 35.

23. Ibid., p. 13.

24. Ibid, p. 28.

25. Shêrkō Bêkas, p. 58.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1.   M. al-Tunjī, p. 55.

2.   Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), p. 706-714

3.   Gōrān (c), p.4, reprinted in Dīwān Gōrān, p. p. 4.

4.   Iḥsān ^CAbbās (a), p.28. See also S. Jargy, p.18, Boullata (a), p.22.

5.   Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.2), p. 23.

6.   ^CAbd al-Jabbār ^CAbbās, p. 105.

7.   Iḥsān ^CAbbās (a), p. 38.

8.   Ibid.

9.   S. Jargy, p.18. See also Boullata (a), pp.22,23; Iḥsān ^CAbbās (a), p.28.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.2), pp. 279-280.

14. Iḥsān ^CAbbās (a), p. 28.

15. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.2), p.280.

16. See ^CAllūsh (b. vol.2), p.91.

17. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.2), pp.105-106.

18. Boullata (a), p.29. See also Iḥsān ^CAbbās (a),p.31; ^CAllūsh (b. vol.2), p.27.

19. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.2), pp. 108-111.

20. ^CAbd al-Ḥamīd Jīda, p. 177.

21. ^CAlī ^CAbbās ^CAlwān, p. 410.

22. Al-Sayyāb (b), p.6.

23.   Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.2), p.151.

24.   M. al-Sāmarā'ī, p.11.

25.   Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.2), p.104.

26.   ^CAlī ^CIzzat, p.40.

27.   Ḥasan Tawfīq, p.51. See also Boullaṭa (a), p.27;
       Iḥsān ^CAbbās (a), p.42.

28.   M. al-Sāmarā'ī, p.20. See also Iḥsān ^CAbbās (a), p.42.

29.   Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), p.640.

30.   N. ^CAllūsh (b. vol.2), p.41. See also al-Sayyāb (b),
       p.18; Boullaṭa (a), pp.53-54.

31.   M. al-^CAbṭa (a), p.83.

32.   Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), pp. 639.

33.   Ibid (d. vol.2), p.128.

34.   Ibid. (d. vol.1), pp. 317-318.

35.   See the half verse of Gōrān's poem La bandīxāna,
       p.217.

36.   K. Mīrawdalī (b), p.20.

37.   M. M. ^CAbd al-Karīm (a), p.546.

38.   Mīrāwdalī (b), p.20.

39.   Shānōf, p.19.

40.   R. Ḥilmī, p.149.

41.   Ibid.

42.   Gōrān (a), p.541. See R. Ḥilmī, p.151.

43.   Ibid; p.65.

44.   Ibid; p.71.

45.   R. Ḥilmī, p.149.

46.   Gōrān (a), p.230.

47.   Ibid; p.265.

48.   Ibid; p.48.

49.   K. Mīrāwdalī (b), p.39.

50.   Interview with A. Gōrān in Sulaimāniyah 1983.   A
       comprehensive reading of this poem convinced me
       that this girl was descended from a farming family
       and not aristocratic, as Ajī Gōrān claimed.

51.   Gōrān (a), p.58.

52.   Interview with Dīlān in Sulaimāniyah, 1983.

53.   Gōrān (a), p.121.

54.   Ibid; p.49.

55.   Ibid; p.137.

56.   Ibid; pp.127-128.

57.   ᶜAbd al-Halīm, pp.69-70.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Badī^c M. Jum^ca, pp. 153-168. cf. also Muhammad
   G. L. Hilāl, pp. 190-193; Najīb al-^cAqīqī, p.260.

2. Agnes Ethel Mackay, p. 203.

3. J.J. Crandville, p. XXII. See also Agnes E. Mackay,
   pp. 126-127.

4. La Fontaine.

5. J.J. Crandville, p. XXII. See also M. Sutherland, p.77.

6. A.E. Mackay, p.205. See also Philip A. Wadsworth, p.179.

7. Najīb al-^cAqīqī, p.261.

8. M. Gh. Hilāl, p.222. Cf. also S.H. Steinbery (vol.1),
   pp. 38-40; Suzān Iskandar, p.90; M.A. ^cAṭiya, pp.43-62.

9. Ibid.

10. Bois Thomas, p. 119. See also ^cIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl
    (a), p.64.

11. ^cIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl (a), p.64. See also A.S. al-
    Aḥmad (a).

12. ^cIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl (a), pp. 64-65. See also M.
    Xaznadār (b), pp. 59-91.

13. Jayyusi (a. vol.1), p. 86.

14. Brugman, p. 106. See also Jayyusi (a. vol.1),
    pp. 72-84.

15. Jayyusi (a. vol.1), pp. 72-84.

16. ^cUmar Farrūkh, p. 136.

17. M. ^cA. M. Khaffājī (a. vol.2), pp.1-35. See also
    J. Brugman, pp. 151-158; ^cAbd al-^cAzīz al-Dasūqī (b).

18. Moreh, p. 216.

19. D. al-Jundī, pp.366-367. Cf. aslo A. al-Jundī, pp.
    66-72; ^cĀṭif Muṣṭafā, pp.76-80.

20. Y. ^CIzz al-Dīn (b), p. 173.

21. H. A. Foster, pp. 15-20.

22. D. al-Jundī , pp. 379-380.

23. Yūsuf al-Ṣā'igh, p. 28.

24. D. al-Jundi, pp. 381-389. Cf. also ^CĀṭif M., pp.76-80;
    J. Brugman, pp. 18-24.

25. D.al-Jundī, pp. 383-384.

26. Yūsuf al-Ṣā'igh, p. 15.

27. Emile Legonis, pp. 1-17. cf. also C.E. Vulliamy,
    pp. 28-44; W.E. Peck, pp. 29-40; K.N. Cameron, pp.
    1-36; S.H. Steinberg (vol. 3), p. 759.

28. Ṣāliḥ M. Sharīda, pp. 7-35.

29. Laurie Magnus, pp. 443-449.

30. Khiḍr al-Walī , p. 19.

31. Iḥsān ^CAbbās (a), pp. 71-72.

32. Ibid., p.72.

33. Simon Jargy, pp.18-19. Cf. also M. al-Sāmarā'ī (al-
    Sayyāb's letter to Khālid al-Shawwāf dated 11.7.1944),p.27.

34. M. al-Sāmarā'i, p. 27. see also ^CAbbās (a), p. 49.

35. M. al-^CAbṭa (a), pp. 8-9. See also I. ^CAbbās (a), p.49.

36. M. al-Sāmarā'i, p.27. See also Ḥasan Tawfīq, p.64.

37. M. al-^CAbṭa (a), p.8. See also Boullaṭa (a), p.34.

38. M. al-Sāmarā'ī, p. 27. See also Khiḍr al-Walī, p.13;
    S. Jargy, p.18-19.

39. M. al-Sāmarā'ī, p. 183.

40. Gōrān (b). See also newspaper Āzādī (1960), no.49,
    50, 79.

41. Gōrān (b).

42. ᶜUmar Barzancī (no. 42), p.40.

43. Interview with Kākaī Fallāḥ in Sulaimāniyah 1983.

44. M. Xaznadār (a), p. 199.

45. M. al-Sāmarā'ī, p. 158. See also S. Jargy, p.133.

46. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), pp. 621-622.

47. Interview with ᶜUmar Barzanjī in Sulaimāniyah 1983.

48. Shānōf, pp. 17-18.

49. Boullaṭa (b), p. 110.

50. Yūsuf ᶜIzz al-Dīn (b), pp. 203-241.

51. ᶜĀṭif Muṣṭafā, pp. 76-80. See also A. al-Jundī,pp.66-72.

52. Boullaṭa (a), p.37.

53. Iḥsān ᶜAbbās (a), p. 85.

54. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), p.84. Compare with Keats'
    "
    BRIGHT star ! would I were steadfast as thou art-
       Not in lone splendour hung aloft the night
       And watching, with external lids apart,
       Like nature's patient, sleepless Eremit." See Keats,p.475.

55. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), pp. 42-42.

56. Keats, pp. 257-259.

57. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), pp. 38-40.

58. Shelley (vol. 2), pp. 190-193.

59. Iḥsān ᶜAbbās (a), pp. 68-69, 250-266. See also L. ᶜAwaḍ,
    p.47.

60. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), p. 20.

61. The Golden Treasury, p.31.

62. N. El-Azma, pp. 672-674.

63. B.C. Southam, p. 69.

64. ^CAbd al-Jabbār ^CAbbās, p. 188.

65. N. El-Azma, p. 673.

66. Jayyusi (a. vol.2), p. 724.

67. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol. 1), pp. 477-480.

68. T.S. Eliot, pp. 74-75.

69. Al-Sayyāb (h), p. 248.

70. M. al-^CAbṭa (a), p. 82.

71. Al-Sayyāb, (d. vol.1), p. 361. See also Boullaṭa (a),p.82.

72. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), p. 356.

73. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), p. 356.

74. Eliot, p. 21.

75. Al-Sayyāb, (d. vol.1), pp. 21-24.

76. ^CAbd al-Riḍā ^CAlī (a), p. 72.

77. ^CAbd al-Jabbār ^CAbbās, p. 206.

78. Eliot, p. 108.

79. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), pp. 255-259.

80. Ibid., p. 692.

81. Ibid., p. 706.

82. Ibid., p. 358.

83. Al-Sayyāb (b), p. 93.

84. Ibid. Clear evidence for what has been said about
    Eliot's influence on al-Sayyab can also be found
    in a few other examples. The following verses from
    Malāl (1948), Risāla min maqbara (1956) and Madīna
    bi-lā maṭar, (1958):

84. Cont'd

p.86   وَأُكِيلُ بِالِافْتِرَاعِ سَاعَاتِي ...

                 ----- -----

                     ... أُصِيح

                 حَتَّى تَئِنَّ القُبُور

p.389   مِن رَجِيعِ صَوْتِي ، وَهُو رَمْلٌ وَرِيَع :

p.487   سَحَائِبُ رَعْدَاتُهُ مَبْرُقَاتُ دُونَ اطَّارِ

seem to be very much affected by Eliot's <u>The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock</u>, <u>The Hollow Men</u> and <u>the Wasteland</u> :

    I have measured out my life with coffee spoons;

    - - -   - - -   - - -

    Our dried voices, when

    We whisper together

    Are quiet and meaningless

    As wind in dry grass.

    - - -   - - -   - - -

    There is not even silence in the mountains

    But dry sterile thunder without rain.

85. M. al-ᶜAbṭa (a), p. 82. cf. also Iḥsān ᶜAbbās (a), p.254; ᶜAbd al-Jabbār ᶜAbbās, p.78; Khiḍr al-Walī, p.14.

86. Iḥsān ᶜĀbbas (a), p. 254.

87. ᶜAbd al-Riḍā ᶜAlī (a), p. 72.

88. Sitwell, p. 272.

89. N. El-Azma, pp. 676-677.

90. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), pp. 457-458.

91. Ibid,, p.468.

92. Ibid., p. 423.

93. Sitwell, pp. 274-275.

94. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol. 1), p. 358.

95. Ibid., pp. 403-407.

96. Sitwell, p. 372.

97. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol. 1), p. 452.

98. Ibid., p. 326.

99. K. Mirāwdali (a), p. 81.

100. Gōrān (a), pp. 103-104.

101. ^CUmar Barzanci (no. 42), p. 43.

102. Shelley (vol. 2), pp. 299-301.

103. Gōrān (a), p. 223.

104. R. Herrick, p. 125.

105. Gōrān (a), pp. 9-10.

106. Shelley (vol. 4), pp. 24-25.

107. K. Mirāwdali (b), pp. 26-28.

108. Shelley (vol. 4), pp. 70-71.

109. Gōrān (a), p. 173.

110. Ibid., p. 228.

111. Barbauld (vol. 1), p. 261.

112. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), pp. 509-542.

113. ^CAbd al-Wāḥid Lu'Lu'a (a), p. 210.

114. Jayyusi (a. vol.2), pp. 691-692.

115. ^CAbd al-Riḍā ^CAlī (a), p. 71. See also Lu'Lu'a (a),
     pp. 211-212.

116. Eliot, p. 72.

117. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), p. 406.

118. Eliot,p. 11.

119. Al Sayyāb (d. vol.1), p. 24.

120. Moreh, p. 241.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. Interview with Dr. N. Wyatt in Glasgow University, Department of Religion, 1983.

2. See the Encyclopedia Britannica.

3. Moreh, p. 246.

4. Anas Dāwüd, p.3.

5. Al-Sayyāb, see Majallat Shi^{c}r, Beirut,"Akhbār wa qaḍāya." Summer, No.3, 1957, p.112. Quoted also by ^{c}Isa Boullaṭa (b), p. 111.

6. Al-Sayyāb, see Khiḍr al-Walī , p. 19.

7. Jabrā I. Jabrā (c   ).

8. Nabila al-Lajamī, p. 218.

9. ^{c}Abd al-Jabbār ^{c}Abbās, pp. 104-105.

10. Ibid.

11. Al-Sayyāb (d.   vol.1), p. 279.

12. Ibid, p. 152.

13. Ibid, p. 301.

14. Ibid, pp. 604-605.

15. Ibid, pp. 509-514.

16. ^{c}Isa Boullaṭa (b), p.112.

17. Jabrā I. Jabrā (a   ), p. 19.

18. James Frazer, pp. 115-116.

19. ^{c}Isá Boullaṭa (b), p. 112.

20. T. S. Eliot, p. 78.

21. Khālida Sa^{c}īd, p. 134.

22. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol 1), pp. 478-480.

23.   Jabrā I. Jabrā (b), p. 84.

24.   ^CAbd al-Riḍā ^CAlī (a), p. 60.

25.   Al-sayyāb (d. vol.1), p. 368.

26.   Ibid, p. 470.

27.   Ibid, p. 360.

28.   Moreh, pp. 247-248.

29.   Al-Sayyāb (d. vol 1), pp. 320-321.

30.   Ibid, pp. 499-501.

31.   Ibid. p. 469

32.   Ibid, p. 325.

33.   See ^CAbd al-Riḍā ^CAlī (a), pp. 25-44. cf. also Anas
      Dāwud, pp. 234, 383, 527, Jayyusi (a. vol2), pp.

34.   Al-Sayyāb (d. vol1), p. 434.

35.   Ibid, pp. 328-329.

36.   Ibid, p. 410.

37.   Ibid, p. 437.

38.   ^CAbd al-Jabbār Dāwud al-Baṣrī, p. 44.

39.   ^CAbd al-Ḥalīm, p. 71.

40.   Al-Sayyāb (d. vol1), pp. 529-530.

41.   Ibid, p. 250.

42.   Ibid, p. 420.

43.   Ibid, p. 425.

44.   Ibid, p. 468.

45.   For example, see Safar Ayyūb, Qālū li Ayyūb.

46.   Moreh, p. 253.

47.   Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), p. 311.

48.   Ibid, pp. 484-485.

49. Moreh, p. 254.

50. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), pp. 486-490.

51. Gōrān (a), p. 516.

52. Shārazā, p. 43, see also ^CIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl (a),
     p.11.

53. Gōrān (a), pp. 268-269.

54. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.2), pp. 537-541.

55. Gōrān (a), pp. 239-250.

56. Shārazā, p. 47.

57. Interview with Shêrkū Bêkas in Sulaimāniyah (1983).

58. Gōrān (a), p. 151.

59. Ibid, p. 30.

60. Ibid, p. 10.

61. Ibid, p. 48, The title of this poem is "Bō kichêkī
     bêgāna".

62. Ibid, p. 212.

63. Ibid, pp. 327-328.

64. Al-Sayyāb. See Jarīdat ṣawṭ al-Jamāhīr (Baghdad),

     October 26, 1963. Quoted also by ^CIsā Boullāṭa
     (b), p. 113.

65. ^CAbd al-Mun^Cim al-Zubaidi, pp. 14-15.

66. ^CAbd al-Ridā ^CAlī (a), pp. 88-89.

67. Interview with Shêrko Bêkas in Sulaimāniyah (1983).

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. See Majallat al-Ṭariq (Beirut), August-September, 1953.

2. Gōrān (a), p. 270.

3. Al-Sayyāb (d , Vol.1), pp. 570-571.

4. Gōrān (a), p. 301.

5. Al-Sayyāb (d , vol.1), p. 581-82

6. ᶜIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl (a), p. 145.

7. Majid Khadduri, p. 157.

8. Ibid., p. 175.

9. Ibid.

10. J.B. Glubb, pp. 240-248. Cf. also Langrigg, pp.304-305;
    Caractacus, p. 44; Jihād M. Muḥī al-Dīn, p.59.

11. Lenczowski, pp. 273-274. Cf. also Iḥsān ᶜAbbās (a),
    p. 36; Boullaṭa (a), p.28; Jihād M. Muḥī al-Dīn,p.59.

12. Al-Sayyāb (d ,vol. 2), pp. 109-110.

13. Iḥsān ᶜAbbās (a), p. 35.

14. Ibid., p. 49. See also Maḥmūd al-ᶜAbṭa (a), p.8.

15. Al-ᶜAbṭa (a), p.9.

16. Al-Sayyāb (g.no. 1441).

17. Iḥsān ᶜAbbās (a), p.89.

18. Al-Sayyāb (g. no.1441).

19. Al-Sayyāb (b), p.93. See also Boullaṭa (a),
    p.44; Iḥsān ᶜAbbās (a), p.92.

20. Nājī ᶜAllūsh (b), p.36.

21. Longrigg, pp. 340-345. See also Laqueur, pp.191-194.

22. Longrigg, p. 344.

23. Ibid., p.347. See also Laqueur, p.193.

24.   Laqueur, pp. 192-193.

25.   Interview with Dīlān in Sulaimāniyah 1983.

26.   Shānōf, p. 92.

27.   Ibid., p. 105.

28.   Interview with Ajī Gōrān in Sulaimāniyah 1983.

29.   Interview with Dīlān in Sulaimāniyah 1983.

30.   Interview with Ajī Gōrān in Sulaimāniyah 1983.

31.   Gōrān (a), pp. 215-216.

32.   Shānōf, p. 94.

33.   Interview with Dīlān in Sulaimāniyah 1983.

34.   Interview with Ajī Gōrān in Sulaimāniyah 1983.

35.   ^cIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl (b), p.12.

36.   Interview with Kākaī Fallāḥ in Sulaimāniyah 1983.

37.   ^cAbd al-Jabbār ^cAbbās, pp. 27-30.

38.   Iḥsān ^cAbbās (a), p.90.

39.   Laqueur, pp. 178-184. Cf. also Longrigg, p.302; Khadduri,
       p.16.

40.   Laquueur, p.184.

41.   ^cIzz al-Dīn M. Rasūl (a), p. 134, cf. also Aḥmad
       A. Ḥijāzī, p.137.

42.   Y. al-Ṣā'igh, p.56.

43.   Laqueur, p. 179.

44.   Ibid, p. 202.

45.   Moreh, p. 268.

46.   Al-Sayyāb (d , vol.1), pp. 576-589.

47.   Y. al-Ṣā'igh, pp. 75-76.

48.   Al-Sayyāb (g.no.1450) See also Caractacus, p. 51; Langrigg,
       pp. 355-356, Laqueur, p.192.

49. Ibid.

50. Boullaṭa (a), p.60. See also al-Sayyāb (g. no.1471).

51. Al-Sayyāb (g , no. 1458).

52. Majīd Muḥī al-Dīn, p. 137. See also al-Sayyāb
(g. no.1443).

53. Lewis ^cAwaḍ, pp. 63-64. Further, we have already
indicated that the Iraqi Communist Party played an
important role in the political uprising of January
1948 which denounced the Treaty of Portsmouth; as did
also parties such as the National Liberal Party, the
Democratic Kurdish Party, the People's Party. At
that time, al-Sayyāb himself said:

> "Our Communist Party became active when the
> government allowed freedom. Our demonstrations
> used to pack the streets, so much that the traffic
> stopped". See al-Sayyāb (g. no.1452).

But when he left the party he started to criticise it
and point out its defects:

> "We remember the political uprising of January,
> also we know that all the political forces, indeed
> all the people, participated in it, though the
> role of the Communists was peripheral and trivial;
> they claimed after the great victory of the people
> that they were responsible for it". See al-
> Sayyāb (g. no. 1452).

54. Iḥsān ^cAbbās (a), p. 173. See also Boullaṭa (a),
pp. 66-67; Shafīq al-Kamālī; Ḥasan Tawfīq, pp.89-90;
al-Sayyāb (g. no. 1442).

55. Al-Sayyāb (d vol.1), pp. 321-322.

56. Iḥsān ^CAbbās (a), p. 174. See also Boullata (a), p. 68.

57. Al-Sayyāb (g. no. 1440).

58. Iḥsān ^CAbbās (a), pp. 220-223.

59. Al-Sayyāb (g. no.1442).

60. Al-Sayyāb (d. vol.1), pp. 536-537. See al-Sayyāb's footnote on the same page.

61. Y. al-Sā'igh, p. 64.

62. See Lamaḥāt min ta'rīkh Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-^CArabī al-Ishtirākī; Ilyās Faraḥ; M. al-^CAbṭa (a), p. 80.

63. Gōrān (a), p. 249.

64. Ibid., pp. 330-332.

65. Shānōf, p. 147.

66. Interview with Dīlān in Sulaimāniyah 1983.

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