

T H E S I S

entitled

THE NOTION OF TABOO

with special reference to the Arabs.

**Presented by A.M.A.H. El. Khashab to the
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THE NOTION OF TABOO

with special reference to the Arabs.

This thesis is intended as a contribution to an anthropological study of the notion of taboo, with special reference to its manifestation, inter-connections and inter-relations with various social institutions among the Arabs. The primary aim is to formulate the ideas underlying the system in its many aspects. To show how ritual avoidances serve to establish or reflect certain fundamental social values to objects of important common interests, to events and even eventualities which arouse common concern and to situations and occasions which could not be controlled by technical means of the peoples concerned.

Its immediate object is to demonstrate that the notion of taboo is not only of mere academic interest, but is also of empirical, practical and secular importance. Ritual avoidances are considered as an integral part of the mechanism by which the society maintains its existence.

It has been our method to cleave rather closely to primitive phenomena in analyzing and examining the literature at hand. In the meantime we have carried the investigation through its successive stages to the higher ethical and sophisticated manifestations of the notion in the hope of discovering the fundamental principles regulating the institution, and of determining the chief and general phases of its expression among the Arabs, with the corresponding social and ritual values.

For purposes of comparative study, we are partly concerned with ideas common both to the Arabs and various other simpler communities.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF 'TABOO' IN GENERAL

Definition of the term 'Taboo, Tabu, Tapu'.^{1,2}

As a convenient starting point for discussing the various aspects of the notion of taboo, it is of primary importance to have, from the outset, a clear understanding of the term.

The literal meaning of the word 'taboo' both as a noun, and as an adjective, is 'marked off' or 'strongly marked'. It may be unfolded in this way:

ta	(Polynesian)	- mark
boo, pu.	"	- exceedingly, strongly.

The compound word taboo, therefore, means no more than 'marked thoroughly'. Thus it came to signify 'not to be lightly approached, unsafe to be touched, prohibited', only through the nature or characteristics attributed to and associated with the institution of tabooed categories.

1. It is generally agreed that Capt. James Cook was the first to introduce this term into English. It was made familiar by him in the narrative of his third and last voyage around the world. He first came across this word at Tonga in the year 1777.

2. The usual form as 'taboo, tabu' is found in Polynesia. The form 'tapu', is found in Samoa, the Society Islands and New Zealand. In the Hawaiian dialect 't' is pronounced 'k' and Tongan 'b' is pronounced 'p'. Hence 'Kapu' is the Hawaiian expression for 'tabu'. The word 'tambu' is used to express this notion in Melanesia.

According to Hutton, the Malayo-Polynesian word 'tabu' seem to contain the basic meaning of segregation and refuge.
cf. Hutton: Caste, pp.161-162.

The structure of the word 'taboo', implies that certain things or even persons are unsafe for casual touch, contact, or use in ordinary life, i.e. 'not to be lightly approached'. This seems to be on the ground of a supposed inherent danger of any contact between the masses of ordinary people on the one hand and those persons or things on the other hand. Moreover, according to its etymological meaning, the word 'taboo' may denote that 'a thing is forbidden', being applied to all cases where things are not to be touched.

Again, it may be defined as a custom that enjoins a negative or precautionary attitude toward some things. In other words it is a form of avoidance or evasion of certain objects that may be expressed as 'Thou shalt not'.

It is noteworthy that this term came to signify 'sacred' in the sense of 'holy' in a secondary sense. Sacred things, and places, being commonly marked in a peculiar manner, in order that everyone might know that they are sacred, i.e. devoted to the gods and everything connected with them. The account which W. Ellis gives of the Polynesian taboo, shows that, though the usual meaning of 'tabu' is sacred, yet it does not imply any moral quality. It expresses a connection with the gods, or a separation from ordinary purposes. According to him, it is distinct from 'rahu' - to prohibit and is opposed to the word 'noa', which means general or common, but the natives use it more extensively, applying it

to everything prohibited or improper.

It seems that the conflict and the differentiation in the definition of this term, arose from trying to confine it to a special category of objects that might have the same nature and participate in the same characteristics.

Taboo from an objective point of view branches off in two opposite directions: on the one hand it means 'sacred', 'holy', 'consecrated', but on the other hand, it means uncanny, dangerous, prohibited and ceremonially unclean. Thus it includes a specific series of avoidance and prohibitions, when violated produce automatically in the offender, a state of ritual disability - a greater or lesser degree of mental discomfort or conscious uneasiness,

Taboo, in its general sociological aspect, refers to a system of prohibitions observed as customs and developing among the Polynesians and other peoples into an institution. The objects forbidden are as numerous and varied as human experiences. The danger apprehended is never apparent to the senses, it is always assumed. A motive then arises for treating such things with caution not required in the case of other objects.¹

Taboo, in its juridical aspect refers to certain specific types of prohibitions, violation of which is believed automatically and by supernatural means to produce undesirable consequences.²

1. Webster: Taboo, ^A ^{sociological} Social Study. p. 13. (1942)

2. Piddington: An introduction to Social Anthropology. p. 379.

It is important to emphasize the automatic operation of taboos, which are distinct from beliefs in supernatural punishments arising from the anger of ancestors or other supernatural beings.¹

In the words of the Ganda, 'It is the sin itself which kills'.

Prof. Radcliffe-Brown defines taboo-customs as 'ritual avoidances or ritual prohibitions with reference to ritual status and ritual value'.

According to him 'a ritual prohibition is a rule of behaviour which is associated with a belief that an infraction will result in an undesirable change in the ritual status of the person who fails to keep the rule. Appropriate remedies, purifications are resorted to in order to retain the person involved to his normal or previous ritual status.'²

Moreover, it would be a mistake to regard this term, from a very common point of view, as the only word to designate and express the sense implied in the foregoing.³ It is hard to translate a strictly local and dialectical expression like this into a generic term. The old view that the institution in question was confined or regarded as peculiar to the native of the South Seas, namely the Pacific, is no longer tenable.³

1. Piddington: Op. cit. Vol. I. p. 379.

2. Frazer Lecture: Taboo, 1939. Cambridge, pp. 8-9.

3. cf. ^{w.} Ellis - regarded the taboo system as peculiar to the natives of the South Seas.

*Narrative of a tour through Hawaii London 1822
12, 52, 65*

*Polynesian Researches (2nd ed.) London 1831
1v, 385-90*

The attentive studies of the accounts given of taboo by J.G.Frazer led to this conclusion: The Polynesian taboo is only one of a number of similar systems of superstitions, which among many, perhaps all races of men, have contributed in a large measure, under many different names, and with many variations of detail, to build up the complex fabric of society in all the various sides or elements of it which we describe as religious, social, political, moral and economic.¹

Anthropological research has disclosed the presence of comparable ideas and customs among many other primitive peoples under a diversity of names. For example, the East Indies show a full set of taboos at pregnancy, birth, sickness, sacrifice, by the term 'pamali'.²

The Alfuro use two terms 'poto' and 'koin', which are synonymous with prohibited, holy, consecrated, inviolable.³

Among the Mandi the term 'simwek' designates 'ceremonially unclean'. Being applied to a woman at menstruation, a person

1. J.G.Frazer: Taboo and the Perils of the Soul, London, 1911. Preface, 12 vols.

2. ~~Sumner & Keller: The Science of Society: p. 590.~~

3. ~~" " " Op.cit.~~

2. & 3. Sumner & Keller: The Science of Society in 4 vols. Oxford, 1928, vol. ii. pp.1101-1105.

who is sexually unclean, to one who has eaten the flesh of an animal killed by a poisonous arrow or by lightning or died of disease, of a person who touched a corpse and to the whole tribe when it has been defeated in war.¹

They also treat the killer of a fellow clansman as bitter and unclean for the rest of his life. The term used is 'ngwonim.'²

Among the Kikuyu the term 'thahu' is a sort of ill luck or curse following upon certain acts. Thahu is also called thabu; ceremonially unclean.³ Those who entertain a manslayer become 'thahu' i.e. polluted.⁴

In Assam the term 'genna', is generally used to cover both the Sema words 'chini' and 'pini'. 'Chini' for a man who is for the time being unable to speak to strangers or to be addressed by anyone at all, 'pini' for an action being forbidden.

During the communal gennes for the corps, all trade, fishing, hunting and other activities are forbidden.⁵

1. A.C.Hollis: Nandi. Oxford 1909. p. 92.

2. Webster: Op.cit. p. 204.

3. Hobby in Journal Asiatique. I. XL. pp. 430-434.

4. Webster: Op.cit. p. 204.

5. Hutton: Sema Nagas. pp. 220, 226.

In Borneo a 'Lali' lasts ten days during which feasting occurs and no one is permitted to do a stroke of work that resembles the cultivation of rice and it is undesirable to build or repair houses or boats during the 'lali'.¹

In Calabar, an individual food-taboo is designated by the term 'ibet'. On the Loango coast 'xina' or 'quixilles' is the food to which a child shows aversion, and thence becomes its individual food-taboo.²

Among the Mekeo tribes of British New Guinea, warriors newly returned from the field of their exploits are under 'ngove', taboo, ceremonially unclean and thus retire to a clubhouse and do not engage in any work nor mix with their wives nor take food by their hands.³

The natives of the Pelew Islands put successful young hunters, under 'meay', i.e. taboo, and remain secluded in the village clubhouse for three days.⁴

According to the Kru of Liberia 'kla' is the taboo - 'power' inherent in the crime, which causes death to transgressors.⁵

1. Sumner & Keller: Op.cit. p. 582.

2. " " " " p. 586.

3. Webster: Op. cit. p. 108.

4. " Ibid. p. 110.

5. " " p. 205

In New Guinea, a Koita who killed a fellow tribesman becomes 'aina', tabooed and he ceases to be so by a ceremonial cleansing.¹

Among the Asanti, the word 'ntoro' is a generic term covering all those exagomous divisions to one another, i.e. prohibited degrees in marriage.²

Avoidances or taboos established long ago by their ancestors are designated by the term 'akwiwadie'. The root is 'kyi', back, behind, hence to hate. The whole word literally means something you turn your back upon, i.e. a taboo.³

Taboo-potence seems to be called 'ntoro' and when a woman marries she will treat her husband's 'ntoro' taboos as her own. Otherwise she would offend his 'ntoro' and thus seriously interfere with the conception and even with the birth of the children.⁴

Among the Baganda, a dedicated girl for some god or priestly chief is called 'kaja buwonga'. Her duties were to tend the fire, to bring the chief water for his washing; butter or medicine with which he smeared his body and to hand him the fetishes. No boy was ever permitted to play with her.⁵

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1. Webster: Op. cit. p. 202
 2. R.S.Rattray: Ashanti, Oxford, 1923, p. 37.
 3. " " " " p. 49.
 4. " " " " p. 51.
 5. John Roscoe: The Baganda, 1911. p. 9.

The word 'yila' corresponds to taboo among the Ba-Thonga, and the term 'ila' is the corresponding term among the 'Souto', the Bantu tribes of South Africa.¹

According to Warmels, the root 'yila' was widely spread among the early Bantu. It means to avoid, to abstain from on religious grounds; i.e. on account of taboo.

The derived noun, yils, which denotes the particular thing that is taboo, and therefore to be avoided, very often comes to mean 'totem', where totemism exists.²

The Bribri Indians of Costa Rica distinguish two kinds of ceremonial uncleanness, namely 'nya' and 'bukuru'. Anything that has been in connection with death is nya.

Bukuru emanates from a young woman in her first pregnancy. It is also attached to weapons and utensils after long disuse.³

With regard to the social institutions of civilized or

1. Henri A. Junod: 'Les Conceptions Physiologiques des Banton-Sud-Africains et leurs Tabous'. Printed in *Revue de Ethnographie et de Sociologie*. Tome premier. 1910.
2. Africa: Vol. III. 1930 - Art: by N.J. Warmels on "Early Bantu Ethnology from a philological point of view".
3. Webster: Op.cit. p. 237.

A list of the cognate forms and equivalents of tapu or taboo in the languages of Polynesia and Melanesia will be found in William Churchill: *The Polynesian Wanderings* (Washington D.C. 1911) pp. 263 f. ~~A much fuller list, which includes Micronesia & Indonesia is given by H.R. Lehmann 'Die Polynesischen Tabusitten' Leipzig, 1930. pp. 303-311.~~

~~G. Menach: Taboo, een primitieve vreesreactie. Studie over de taboebepalingen bij de Indonesische Volken, (Amsterdam, 1937. pp. 28-35.)~~

semi-civilized peoples of antiquity, it is of interest to draw the attention to the following. The Greek 'hagios' the latin 'sacer', the Kodash and the ban 'Harem' of the Hebrews, signify the same thing. They were particularly and simply the things set apart for the gods or the spirits. In other words they denoted things separated from the use of man, because they were supposed to be filled with dangerous influences, and in other words to have 'ritual value'.

It is to be noted that the word 'sacred' which, generally has the sense of 'holy', is not adequate to the term sacer. If we translate 'sacer' by sacred, then we must say that the parricide is sacred (holy). Of course, he was not 'holy', but he was set apart 'devoted', for the vengeance of the family god.

Similarly cities of idolators, devoted to destruction by the Hebrew invaders are not 'holy' as we conceive holiness rather were they ^{impure} ~~holy~~ and accursed. They were like the holy things only in this; that they were set apart for 'Jehovah' to do with them what would please Him. In Deuteronomy, the Jahweh-taboo covers everything belonging to God or His service. For instance, the Ark, for whoever touched it must die, and when it was stolen, it caused severe illness in the land of the Philistines. Similarly Sinai was surrounded by a barrier and no one might tread on it without the risk of death.

In this connection we may refer to A.R.S.Kennedy's view on the ban. According to him, the original idea, common to all the Semitic languages is that of 'withdrawing something from common use and setting it apart for the exclusive use of a Deity'. In Hebrew the verbal root acquired the more specialized meaning of devoting to Jahweh, while the cognate noun (harem) (Greek $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha$ anathema) is 'accursed or devoted thing'.

This may afford a striking illustration of the early ideas associated with this institution among the Hebrews, Every 'devoted thing' as henceforth the inviolate property of Jehovah, and therefore taboo, became infected with the deadly contagion of holiness. Hence by retaining part of the 'devoted thing' (harem) in the tent Achan infected the whole 'camp of Israel', with disastrous results. The ban was an institution of earlier date than the Hebrew conquest. It was later practised by the Moabites in the most rigorous form, perhaps also by the Ammonites.

We can now set out the fact that the 'holy' and the ^{impure} ~~unclean~~ or 'accursed', which seem to stand at opposite poles of thought are not quite distinct in origin. The Polynesian 'taboo', the Latin 'sacer', the Greek 'hagios or anathema' the Hebrew 'harem or ban' are simply the things separated from the use of man and withdrawn from the ordinary sphere.

That which characterises them, is a breach of continuity between those 'sacred or devoted things' and the 'profane beings'. Furthermore, the domain of the first is outside that of the others.

Thus a whole series of rites and customs, rules and regulations would come into being to establish an institution to realise this state of separation. Its function is to prevent undue mixings, and to keep one of these domains from encroaching upon the other.

The institution, in virtue of which certain things are withdrawn from common use, may be entitled taboo, tabu, tapu, kapu, sacer, hagios, herem, hijr and finally harem.

Radcliffe-Brown proposes the term 'Ritual value' as a substitute for the term 'sacer; sacred' which was used by Durkheim as an inclusive term for the holy and unclean together.

Anything; a person, a material thing, a place, a word or name, an occasion or event, a day or a period of the year which is the object of a ritual avoidance or taboo can be said to have ritual value.

Ibid: pp. 18-19.

According to Hutton the Malayo-Polynesian word 'tabu' seems to contain the basic meaning of segregation and refuge.

of. Hutton: Caste; pp. 161-162.

TERMINOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE NOTION OF TABOO AMONG THE ARABS.

The foregoing terms, expressing various aspects of taboo, have their counterconcepts designated by a variety of terms among Arab communities.

It may be noted that some of those terms do not cover the different categories implied in the primitive notion of taboo, and thus they bear only ideas associated with the notion, or express exclusively one element or another of its content.

Moreover, it cannot be claimed that the following terms have the same share of general application and recognition among the communities concerned. In fact some of them are topical or regional, i.e. they vary, regarding their use from one Arabian community to another. Sometimes in the same community there is a difference based on cultural status, with reference to educational standard and professional or occupational grade.

While other terms, through religious and cultural integration, have been assimilated, adopted, standardised and socialized among most of the masses. This category includes technical and classical terms usually found in references of Arabic literature and jurisprudence.

Reference may be made to some Arabic terms/^{which} acquired regular usage to convey or imply the idea of 'ritual avoidance' regarding certain conduct or behaviour.

Haraj, Tahrij, Tahdir

The term 'haraj' 'uharrij' 'alaika' is sometimes used in an imperative sense to avoid certain ways of behaviour, when this Tahrij is enforced by a threat of any sort of punishment the term usually used is 'Uhadhir' (inf. Tahdir). In a more authoritative manner a superior would use the term 'unhir'.

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Taira.

This term suggests some remarks on the relation of taboo with misfortune. Generally speaking situations, objects and persons connected with ominous influences are to be avoided. The unknown is highly charged with mystic power and what fortune or misfortune the prodigy portends is determined for the individual by the culture to which he belongs to. Among the Arabs however, there is no clear difference between an omen and a magic cause. Such confusion is reflected by the term 'fa'l', used practically both for a magic influence and for an omen. They speak of both good and bad 'fa'l' (al fa'l al hasan, w'al fa'l al qabih). Since Islam the term Taira has been used for bad fa'l.

It is possible nevertheless, to suggest some factors operative in linking Taira with taboo. Dreams, visions, mishaps, coincidental experiences and eugenic factors have doubtless played a part in producing and upholding taboos. For the early Arabs dreams, visions are real and the ominous dreams which have produced the pseudo-science of oneirismancy may also produce taboos. The fears and forebodings aroused by mishaps of every kind may give rise to taboos.

The fear of eugenic deficiency may be expressed retrospectively through avoiding contact of any sort with deformed persons, animals, etc.

Once a particular avoidance has come ~~ix~~ into being within a specific association, it may seemingly be confirmed as a result of coincidental experience and it might be socialized and rationalized and thus rules are put forward for interpretation by prodigies and portents.

Tirah

This term, according to Westermarck, is of regular use among the Arab tribes in Morocco, to indicate taboo-actions. Delphin says that in Algeria, the *ṭira* is a bad presage, which 'se revele soit par un mot qui sonne mal, soit par un fait'.

In fact the term '*ṭairah*' is used mainly to refer to a category of things, persons and actions which are conventionally believed to be ominous and would bring ill-luck.

Generally speaking, among the Arabs the term '*ṭairah*' which indicates 'bad omen' is supposed to be remotely connected with the great prevalence of divination from the motion and direction of birds.

Among the pagan Arabs, it is often associated with the functional ritual offices of '*Zajr*' '*al Ṭair*' and of the divination of '*Aslām*'.¹ It is also connected with some

1. *Zalam*; pl. *Aslām*; An arrow without a head, by means of which the Arabs sought to know what was allotted to them; upon one was written 'command' and upon the other 'prohibition' (Mgh. MSB.)

Some are of the opinion that *Aslām* were white pebbles upon which the foregoing ritual formulae were written.

It is assumed that the arrows belonged to Quraysh, immediately before Islam and were placed in the Ka'abah, the ministers of the House taking care of them.

counter-ritual customs to avoid the potential misfortune supposed to befall a person who eventually and unwillingly came to be in an undesirable ritual status.

Zajr and Tair is explained among the pagan Arabs as follows. When they desired to set about an affair, they used to pass by the places where birds lay upon the ground and arouse them, in order to learn whether to proceed or refrain. Al-Jahiz is of the opinion that this practice was the origin of the general belief on Tairah and Tattiyur.

It may be of interest to record some Arabic references recorded on this point: They argued omenous luck or evil fortune from the motion and the direction of the birds and some animals.

For instance, the 'Barih' among the birds is that which flies from the right to the left side. 'Al-qa'ud: a Zaby or a bird that comes from behind, al-Natih is applied to a bird of prey or a wild animal when it pauses in front of you. A'adab al qarn; an animal with a broken horn.¹

A bird, when plucking its feathers brings bad luck to a person who is set for an undertaking. The crow, 'ghorab' when it crows in a special way, is called al-Shajih and is omenous. The owl (al Bu'mah) is also an

1. Jahiz: Hayawan. Vol. III. p. 438 ff. and p. 449

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omenous bird. This belief is widely spread among many Egyptian peasants, who argue misfortune from the hooting of the owl.

Various plants are also a source of *Tairah* among some Arabs. Jahiz mentions *al-Rihan* and *al-'As* particularly.¹

Deformed persons are also a source of *Tairah*. The one-eyed person or the lame person, causes ~~Zayr~~ or *Tairah* to any person they meet. In Egypt the term '*Shu'm*, or *Nahs*' is sometimes attributed to such unfortunate invalids.

Some of these beliefs and others in the same line of thought are to be found among some Bedouin tribes of today. Thus among the *Rwala* Bedouins whoever sights a solitary gazelle, *Zebi*, must not mount his mare, for sometimes she would stumble under him '*Tuqantirahu*' and might hurt him.

In a similar way, raiders on a march should not ride through a flock of goats or sheep, the belief is that in so doing they cause their own defeat, for the enemy would scatter them in the same manner as they have scattered the goats or the sheep.²

1. Jahiz: *Ibid.* v.III. p. 449 and v.IV. p. 457.

2. Mausil: *Rwala Bedouins.* p. 395.

Among them it is a common belief that a one-eyed person is the bearer of misfortune. If a man meets one so afflicted in order to destroy the unhappy influence caused by the meeting, he turns over a large stone thus burying the bad omen. Hence the proverb; 'In shaft al A'awar 'Aqlib hajar'.

Nobody embarking on a journey of importance will have for his guide a man with his right and left eye-teeth missing (afraq as sinnāh), ~~or one with blue eyes - Afraq al 'aynain.~~¹ A black dog should be killed at once² because it brings bad luck. They hate to meet a wild swine when starting a raid.

However, Zajr at Tair seems to be an early ritual function among the pagan Arabs. Al Hazi appears to be the technical term applied to the Kahin who was in charge of the practice.³

'Iyafaḥ' is another ritual function which was sometimes identified with the office of Zajr at Tair. It seems more likely to be a counterpart of the former and we may assume that it may reasonably be linked with some practices resorted to in order to provide the individual with

1. Mausil: Ibid. p. 393
2. " " p. 395
3. cf. Jahiz: Ibid, v. III. p. 400.

al Hazi - the Kahin, or the Zajir at Tair.

a sense of security against matters or occasions which arouse his 'Tairah' - concern or anxiety regarding his wealth, work and life. The continual feeling of the need of such practices figures them as an integrate functional element in the ritual and social activities of Arab associations.

Reference may be made to 'Tanfir and Ta'shir'.¹

Technically Tanfir is used as giving a child a nickname or name of reproach that is disliked, as though to protect it from the evil eye as well as against the jinn.

'Nafrat' is the applying of the gum of the plant named 'al Samr' against the forehead of a mother on the day her child is born. It is also applied to the face of a new born child as a measure against Khatfah and Nazrah, the former is due to jinn and evil spirits, the latter is ascribed to the evil eye. The same is true with regard to the famous poinsonous tree called Al 'Ashr.

As regards 'Ta'ashir' it seems a precautionary measure against the contagion of a plague. According to Arab authors, Ta'ashir is immitating the braying of a donkey.

1. Khan: Asatir al 'Arab, p. 52.
Alusi: Bulugh al 'Arab, v. II. p. 316.

Tanfir is one of the underlying motives for Arabic Technonymy. The Arabic word 'Kunya' seems to be the technical term for the term generally used in sociology as 'technonymy'.

(Nahiq al Himar), one would repeat that ten times before passing a village where the plague was prevailing.

It is of interest to note that Jahiz links the Arab practice of 'Ratm'¹ with their belief in Tairah.

The practice of 'Ratm' is thus explained by the Arab authors; following their belief in tree-spirits they used to make out of them guardians and controllers on their wives during their absence by making knots on the branches, and after ~~these~~^{their} return they would find out whether their wives had betrayed them if the knot was loose.

It seems likely that the nucleus point in the practice of Ratm is the symbolic ritual of 'tying' or 'knotting', usually expressed by the Arabic term 'Aqad, (*Aqd and 'Oqdat*).

A closer examination of the etymological significance of this term may reveal that in its early use it conveyed the conception of 'getting control over the malevolent aspect of mana-potency' so as to prevent its harmful influence.

In Kitabu'l Tijan, one of the earliest works on Arabic folklore, this term is repeatedly mentioned to indicate 'chaining the violent wind', so as to expel its harmful influence.² This may generally indicate the symbolic association of the idea of taboo with the magico-ritual practices of 'knotting'. A knot is a symbolic action of

1. Alusi: Ibid, p. 315.
Jahiz: Ibid: v.III. pp. 440, 446.

2. Tijan 'Dhu`l qarnain; pp. 87,88.

some sort of restriction which is conceived as an essential element in the conception of taboo.

It may also be loosely linked with the conception of *hirman* 'depriving of enjoying', being imposed upon the community by divine authority, as a collective initiation ceremony to examine the people's readiness for submission to the divine might. This is primarily expressed by the term 'Ba'wa' which signifies *Ikhtibar*, *Imtihan*, as well as an unexpected mis-fortune that befalls a person.

It may be noted that certain classes of person, on account of some unpleasant peculiarity are held to be magic causes of bad omen. It is unlucky to meet a blind or a one-eyed person in the morning when you start a journey. A left handed person is a bearer of ill-luck.

Many families or persons would avoid buying or wearing black clothes as they believe that such would bring misfortune.

In Morocco there are families who refrain from eating the flesh of one or other of the species of lawful animals for fear lest otherwise some members of the family should die. (Westermarck: Vol.II. p. 363.)

Westermarck: *Ritual Beliefs in Morocco*, V. II. p. 37.
other instance in chapter 'Magical influences and Omens'.

Doutté: *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*.
(Alger, 1909).

Delphin: *Recueil du textes pour l'etude d'Arabe parle*.
(Alger, 1891).

Marçais: *L'Euphemisme et l'antiphrase dans les dialectes Arabes de l'Algerie*.

Monchicourt: *Repugnance ou respect relatifs a certaines paroles ou a certaines animaux*.
Revue Tunisienne xv.

'Zajr' can be looked upon as a technical 'professional term' that implies a supernatural authority which incites or directs a person to avoid doing an act on a preconceived ~~fact~~ feeling and conviction.

That may not be taken as a taboo in an institutionalized form, but it seems likely to be based on the general conception of taboo in its connection with what we may call 'ritual direction'. This may be explained by the emphasis put upon the movement of tair (birds) and animals and so forth. As to the cause of that awe and ominous attitude toward 'ritual direction' it is hard to decide. It could be that the 'direction' is a memorial to a source of misfortune of one form or another; such as plague, the source of a violent wind which caused drought, etc.

Seclusion or confinement is expressed by various terms which often reflect the functional ritual purpose or motive of the taboo-state. The following are examples:-

Tahannuth: is a technical term to indicate 'avoiding and abstaining from sin'. It means worshipping-divinity for a certain period in a state of seclusion. This latter sense applied to the seclusion of Muhammad on Mount Hira², when he is said to have received his first revelation.¹

I^ctikaf: is used nowadays to denote the state of seclusion, mainly on account of illness.

I^ctifad: seems to be a pagan Arab custom of committing suicide, in time of distress and need, by self-imprisonment in one's abode until one perished of hunger and thirst.

1. Mushkat: B. XXIV. C.V.
s.v. Inspiration and Qur'an.

'Ḥidād' is the technical term for a 'mourning period', during which an individual or group, and sometimes the whole community are subject to certain ritual avoidances on the occasion of the death of a husband, a relative, a king, a saint or any individual considered to be of high ritual value to the individual or community concerned.

For example, among the Arabs, a widow should abstain from scents, ornaments, etc., on account of the death of her husband. The period of observing this taboo varies according to the social relation between the deceased and the persons observing this ritual avoidance. It also depends sometimes on the social ritual status of the deceased himself. It sometimes takes the form of 'communal-taboo' when the head of the clan, tribe or family dies. Sometimes a period of 'Ḥidād' is declared officially and observed, in sympathy with other communities who would be in a state of mourning for the death of their king.

On the occasion of the death of the late King George VI. a state of Ḥidād was declared in Egypt.

'Idāh seems to be a generic term for any period of taboo imposed on women during periods of ritual impurity. When it is applied to a widow it designates the period of her

retirement in her late husband's abode before she is allowed to return to her own family. This period was for nearly a year before Islam. With the rise of Islam it was shortened and linked to the period during which the widow is not allowed to re-marry another. The foregoing definition applies also to the divorced wife and ~~any~~ women during ~~her own menstruation period~~ a state of ritual impurity.

Attention may also be drawn to the designation of the Arabic term 'Hijr'¹

Primarily it seems to mean 'something enclosed' to indicate a sacred area of inviolable property. It corresponds to 'Sinai' being surrounded by a barrier and no one may tread on it. This root meaning of the word is expressed by some early Muslim commentators and Arab philologists. According to them the Hijr is 'that space which is comprised by the curved wall called al-Ḥatīm. The latter is recorded to be the wall over which is the spout of the Ka'abah, or the part between the angle of the sacred Black Stone and the sacred well of Zamzam, and its limits are extended to Maqam Ibrahim (Abraham).

1. Lane's Lexicon: Article - Hijr, Maḥjar, Ḥatīm (also K; TĀ; MSB.)

These statements, however, suggest that the area indicated as Hijr, is meant to be originally sacred and inviolable, and thus we may consider it to be 'taboo' in a secondary sense. At all events the Hijr represents the particular spot of comparatively main ritual value among the peoples concerned.

On the other hand, it seems that this term was used in the sense of 'accursed', corresponding to the Hebrew ban, and devoted, or Latin 'sacer'. In a form of a curse, uttered by pagan Arabs, one would say 'Hijran lahw' - 'May it be Hijr; taboo', that people might have to abstain from it or not to mingle with him. It corresponds, in this sense to the term 'Mandūdh'¹ - an outcast, person who is to be shunned and avoided. It has also the sense of a devoted, accursed person, who come under a ban and must not be touched or approached for fear of his contagion.

1. s.v. Nabadha - He cast, threw or flung it away, as a thing esteemed of no value, no account or importance. Hence Mandūdh; outcast. cf. Qur'an III, v. 184. 'They cast it (the covenant) behind their backs'.

s.v. Intabadha - He went, withdrew or retired aside or apart from others. Qur'an xix, v.16.

Bay'al-Munabadhah - Barter by throwing a garment, a piece of cloth, or other article of merchandise, a stone or a pebble, that seems to settle or conclude a bargain. It is a symbolic gesture of giving up the merchandise on the part of the merchant. It is forbidden by Islam.

The term also acquires the sense of juridical ban, when we examine the Arabic saying; 'Haza hijr 'alaika' to mean that this is forbidden or unlawful. Another saying, 'Hujran Mahjuran' in warning a person not to commit an act of hostility against another, particularly during the pagan sacred term, which was of great ritual value to the Arabs.

Mahjar is again explained as signifying 'hurmat' i.e. a thing from which one is bound to refrain, from a motive of respect or reverence.

Hajr in Muslim jurisprudence is a legal process to deprive an invalid person of the right of disposition concerning his property. Mahjūr is the person who became a subject to that sentence.

Tahjīr

In early Islamic periods this term denotes setting up stones as taboo-marks, for a piece of land, to indicate the exclusive right of disposition by the person who became proprietor after so doing.

Again in Egypt the term has attained a medical bearing to indicate 'isolation' 'quarantine' (Al Hajr al Sihhy).

Hima

This is another technical term which refers mainly to the protection of a Haram. A place, being under the protection of a divine guardian is usually declared as 'Hima'. Literally, 'Ḥama al makan' - He prohibited it, protected it from or against encroachment, prohibited or interdicted the herbage or pastures. Hence Hima (n.) is a thing prohibited or interdicted, not to be approached.

Among the pagan Arabs we are told that when a noble alighted in a district that pleased him, among his kinsfolk, he incited a dog to bark and prohibited for his own special friends or dependents the space through which the bark of the dog was heard, so that no one else should pasture his beasts there, while he would share with the people in other places of pasture around it. This was abolished by Islam.

What concerns us mainly is the legislative meaning of the term 'Hima' as originally means, prohibited from ~~quickenings~~ cultivation, even though it is technically mawwāt - dead land. This meaning still survives in Muslim jurisprudence.¹

The Muslim authorities assume that hima is legal only if it is ascribed to the welfare of God, His Apostle and the poor. This can be conceived by the principle, "There shall be no hima except for God and for His Apostle," meaning except for

1. Mawardī - Al Ahkam al Sultaniyah. Bab. 16. al Hima wa'l Irfaq.

Lane's Lexicon:- v. Hima.

the horses employed in war against the unbelievers and the animals taken for the poor-rate. They always mention that hima in opposition to the hima of Jahiliya, which Islam outlawed. As regards that hima we think that in a later stage, at some districts, some priests or leaders claimed the hima as a quasi-private domain for themselves and probably their deity. Hence it came to be expressed in the Arabic works as a custom of the nobles among the Arabs in the time of ignorance as it is recorded about Kulaib.

Hima seems to imply originally the exclusion of individual right of dispositions as divine property, hima, haram, communal property was practically synonymous, having in common the sense of setting apart a place from being subject to individual right of property. This sense survived in Muslim jurisprudence and gave rise to the institution of Habs, Waqf still recognised in the Muslim world. In hijr much emphasis is laid on the principle of the exclusiveness of the right of disposition to the proprietor and that necessitates the principle of inviolability on the part of others.

Haram

It seems to us that this term embraces the various aspects of taboo as we have previously defined it. It denotes the abstentions, the interdictions, the prohibition

of certain acts, and the rites of avoidance and reverence of certain things believed to be of ritual value. But it must be admitted, from the outset, that it not only was confined to this system.

Literally the word 'ḥaram' means 'prohibited', 'shunned' it is used in both a good and a bad sense. On the one hand it might be adequately expressed as 'sacred or devoted to Divinity'; e.g. al-Baitu'l-ḥaram, the sacred house; al-Shahru'l-Haram, the sacred month; al-Ḥaram al-Nabawi, the sacred mosque of the prophet.

On the other hand, it means unlawful, e.g. mal-Ḥaram, unlawful possession. Generally, a thing is said to be Ḥaram when it is forbidden, as opposed to that which is ḥalal or lawful.

In Egypt the term 'Ḥaram' has attained a secular, mondial significance. It came to be mainly associated with 'respect; obligation' rather than awe and reverence. 'The Ḥaram al Jami'ah', is the expression used by students in Cairo to indicate the space in front of the Senate House in the Fouad 1st University. Usually the students assemble there on national occasions.

From this 'twofold' sense of the word 'ḥaram' we are confronted by many derivations. For instance 'Muḥarram', the first month in the Muḥammedan calender, is so called

because it is ḥaram, i.e. sacred.

Both in the pagan age and in the Islamic period, it is held ḥaram, i.e. unlawful to go to war in this month. Then we have 'al Ash huru'l-ḥurom', i.e. four sacred months of Muḥarrum, Rajab, Zu'l qa'dah and Zu'l-Ḥijjah. According to Muslim jurisprudence it is unlawful (ḥaram) to fight during those sacred months. Moreover, we have 'Iḥram' which expresses the pilgrim's dress when he performs the circuit around the Baitu'llah al Ḥaram, the Ka'abah. The very word (iḥram) designates the state in which the 'Muḥrim, pilgrim' is held to be from the time he assumes the distinctive garb until he leaves it aside. The iḥram garb had to be forfeited and left at the gate of the sanctuary. In the state of iḥram the Muḥrim is brought under various taboos. He is forbidden hunting, killing animals, shaving, paring the nails, intercourse with women, etc.

We find also 'al-Ḥaramain', often in the dual, to indicate the sacred area of Mecca and al Medina. Again, 'Ḥaramu llahi la'af'alu' is a form of oath that a person will not do a thing. In Egypt 'Ya ḥaram' is an exclamatory form for an awful deed. 'Ḥaramy', is the common word for thief.

Besides, there is the word 'Maḥram' to denote a near relative with whom it is unlawful to marry. Near to this sense the word 'Ḥurmah' expresses the prohibited degrees with regard to marriage. In addition to this, the imperative

'Hurrin' is mentioned in the Qur'an to inform believers mainly of what they are forbidden to eat, viz: pork, or to drink khamr, intoxicants, or the practice of 'azlam' divining by arrows, etc.

From the legal ethical and religious point of view, the significance of the term 'haram' surpasses the primitive sense and associates of the notion of taboo.

In order to set out clearly what it embodies, we have to propound briefly the practical rules to be found in any work of Sharī'ah, i.e. Muslim jurisprudence under the heading of Haram, Munkar, Mahsur, Ithm, Kabirah.¹ It does not serve our research to go deeply into a discussion of the various categories. It is our concern to point out that there is a measure of agreement existing among the Muslim theologians.

1. Among the many Arabic terms that may indicate bearing on the term we may cite the following:

1. Mahsur: is equivalent to a religious interdiction.
2. Kabirah: a term used in the theological books for 'a great sin', namely that which is clearly forbidden by law and for which punishment has been ordained by God.
3. Qabihi may be the equivalent term to evil applied to the moral aspect.
4. Munkar: is taken to mean that which all the just men would judge to be evil. The pagan Arabs regarded 'Munkar' as unknown or foreign. Everything was evil in opposition to that which was customary or well-known (ma ruf).
5. (Khatī'ah: can be used in a general sense for sin of
(Ithm: any sort.
(Dhanb:
6. Garimah: is used to indicate a crime regardless of its ritual aspect, i.e. in the secular, legal sense.

concerning certain deeds classed as ḥaram. This category includes sins without distinguishing whether the laws transgressed are concerned with ceremonial, or are those which are generally regarded as ethical. In the orthodox view, for example, the seven great sins are: Polytheism, (kufr), sorcery, unlawful homicide, defrauding orphans, extortionate interest, desertion in battle, slandering chaste women. Other lists of sins differ but they include generally, inhumanity to parents, infanticide, adultery, false-witness, lying oaths, bribery, eating swine, drinking khamr (intoxicants) Zihar, breaking the fast of Ram^{ad}ḥan, etc.¹

In the total configuration of Arabic literature, the term 'ḥaram' and its derivation seem to refer to anything of capital ritual value and thus sacred, devoted, inviolable and revered in opposition to profane, indifferent, allowed and ordinary or common.

The infinitive 'ḥurmat' ~~came to be synonymous with~~ includes 'Aqd and Jiwar' i.e. 'covenant and promise of protection, immunity and suretyship. Sometimes milḥ, malḥ, 'salt' a substance of ritual value, which is used in various ritual ceremonies and particularly on covenant occasions is used

1. The foregoing lists show that Ḥaram covers and embodies 'forbidden deeds' whether they are related to religious, moral or legal considerations. This fact is due mainly to Muslim conception of law as it is usually called Shari'ah, i.e. the straight way. From a general point of view, we may consider 'shari'ah' as a divine system of rules comprising every part of a Muslim's life, from the humblest details up to the principles of his moral and social existence. These are elaborated on theoretical principles based mainly on the divine distinction between ḥalal and ḥaram.

to signify hurmat.¹ That reveals the 'content' of the complex cultural term which indicates a combination of various categories held to be of ritual value and would necessitate 'ritual-avoidance'.

It is of interest, however, to make it clear that we use 'haram' in this survey in a special sense, as to denote what the anthropologists mean by 'taboo' or 'ritual avoidance' in primitive communities. For this reason, it is here employed as a convenience, to represent ideas, which coming down from earlier times, originating in the remote period, passed into the common heritage of some Arab communities and have been adopted by other communities through the diffusion and integration of some Islamic institutions.

1. It is to be noted that covenants of blood, and of salt are very ancient Semitic institutions and prevail all over Arabia.

According to Jahiz, Milh is the hurmat, the barakat, (It is also in Lisan and Karnus.)

The milh is also al-Laban; milk.

cf. Mubarred, al Kamil, p. 284.

Jahiz: Haywan, vol. IV. p.472.

Allowed things, prohibited and doubtful ones.

- Bu 2, 39, 34.
- Mu 22, 107, 108.
- A.D. 22, 3.
- Tu 12, 1. Nas 44, 2, 51, 50.

Authorities who have scruples to declare a thing allowed or prohibited. (Dā: Intro. b. 20.)

Junub; Janabah (t.)

This seems to be originally a technical term used when reference is made to a person who would avoid mixing with others on account of ritual disability, i.e. ritually unclean as a consequence of sexual defilement.

It denotes also a person who is set aside or remote from performing or participating in a sacred ceremony.

In Islam it is used technically to designate one who is under an obligation to perform a total ablution or bathing, before he can retain (regain) his ritual status.

Some link the term 'junub' with the term 'ajnabi' i.e. stranger, strange. According to this view these terms imply 'set at distance', the one on account of ritual impurity, the other on the basis of differentiation between the we-group (in-group) and the out-groups. Hence al jar al junub means 'al gharīb' stranger, protegee.¹

The importance of the in-group versus the out-group pattern can be clearly seen on a national or semi-national basis, especially in times of growing tension. When the degree of we-versus is intensified by competition or conflict. We meet occasionally with the incitements for Muqāṭa'at al bada'i' al Ajnabyah; the boycotting of foreign trades or goods

1. Lane's Lexicon: Junub and ajnab are synonymous. (El Farabee, Msb, K.) Signifying a stranger, or a man who is distant or remote in respect of relationship. Al Jar al junub (occurring in the Kur. iv.40.) is the person who is one's neighbour, but who belongs to another people, who is not of one's family nor of one's lineage.

On the in-group versus the out-group cf. Educational Sociology by Francis J. Brown, 1947. pp.92-93.

Suht

Generally signifies any sort of property acquired by a non-recognised method or any possession, declared or socially considered unlawful or that which comes religiously under the category of haram.

In its limited or narrow significance it may be used technically to designate forbidden foods which are considered in one way or another unlawful property.¹ The term 'khabith' also covers as an appellation, the foregoing category.

Faraq and Furqah.

Al-faraq implies the perceptions of awe, reverence and fear. A poet says 'Ahmedu Rabbi Faraqa (with tanwin)' 'I praise my Lord with awe and reverence.'

Furqah signifies separation, and it is sometimes associated with regard to its expected consequences with fear and separation. Hence among some Bedouins, they take anything which indicates or symbolizes 'faraq' as omenous. The Rwala keep aloof from the 'Afraq al-Sinnain', a man with his right and left eye-teeth missing. Again, al-Furqah; the Ghurbah, travelling to a foreign country and thus it is conceived that furqah would be a long ~~time~~ and eternal separation and thus identified with death.

1. cf. Qur'an ii, v.65,66.

cf. Musil: Op. cit. p. 389.

In some Egyptian villages, a child is warned not to throw water in another's face, lest it should result in their separation, with the underlying idea of an expected death to one or the other.¹

Rajab - Tarjīb

Rajab is generally known as the seventh month of the Mohammedan calendar. It has been held sacred among the Arabs since a remote time, during this month fighting was unlawful, and it was most honoured by Mudar, hence Rajab Mudar.

It seems that the root 'Rajaba or Rajiba' etymologically implies veneration.

An early poet says: Ahmādu Rabbi Faraqan (with tanwīn) wa Arjabuh - I praise my Lord with reverence and I magnify Him. Rajīb minhu - He feared him, regarded him with awe. Rajabahu means - He reviled him with an evil saying.

It appears also that this sacred term was considered with Spring Mwasim, or religico-economic feasts, and Manasik i.e. the ceremonial sacrifices. ^{People} ~~Cattle~~ used to perform the 'Umra; the circuit around the Ka'abah in Rajab. It seems likely that cattle and sheep were let to the sacred territory to participate in the religious ceremonies of

1. cf. Alois Musil

The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins.
New York, 1928. p. 389.

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Umra and Istimtar¹ (or magico-religious ceremonies for rain-making.)

Tarjib signifies, to the nomad Arabian hordes, the sacrificing of a victim generally known as the Rajabūah. Its technical term is 'Atirah'. Thus Anṣab-Tarjib means the stones on which the victim, sacrificed in Rajab, are slain.

We may assume that the ceremonial sacrifice of Rajabūah, is connected with some sort of ritual hunting, for there is reference that the 'Atirah offered in Rajab was not from among the sheep or cattle owned, but it was usually a hunted 'zaby'.²

Tarjib

However, among the Arab cultivators and settlers in oasis, we find a parallel to the ceremony known as tarjib al Nakhl (palm trees) or al Shajar (trees of plants).

This, according to Arab sources was performed by building at the foot of a palm-tree or tree, a structure of the kind called 'dikkan' which is terms 'rijbat'. Sometimes tarjib is the setting up of a structure of stones or the placing of thorns round a palm tree.

1. Azraqi: Op.cit. p. 271.

2. cf. Aghani: Ibid. v.X. p. 29.

Lane's Lexicon: 'Atirah.

It is obvious that the practice is linked, in one way or another with plant and tree - sacrilization - on the grounds of the abundance of its fruit, as it appears and with the ^{object} view of tabooing any person from climbing it or plucking its fruit. (TA.)

Sometimes it appears that tarjib, signifies the propping up of a valuable tree, or putting thorns round the racemes of the palm tree, as a sign of declaring it taboo.

Rijbah is sometimes synonemous with Mastabah, a kind of wide beach of mud-bricks usually found in Egyptian villages.¹

at-Tafth

This seems to be a technical term for the ritual avoidance concerning abstaining from anointing, shaving shortening or clipping the beard, moustache and nails.

It is imposed on the Muhrim; pilgrims. In the Qur'an it is mentioned - Liaqāw Tafathahum - the doing away with this state of ritual avoidance.

Ḥawṭa

Al-Ḥawṭa is the corresponding term for Ḥaram, in South Arabia. It is usually applied to a district considered holy, inviolable and regarded as a place of refuge. The root of the term 'ḥata' implies surrounding a place by a

1. Lane's Lexicon - s.v. Rajab, TA., Ṣ., MSB.

wall (Ha'it) and the acknowledgment of such signal mark. The term is extended to denote also a place which came to be under the protection of a saint who is buried there. In a socio-economic and political sense, the Hawta is also given to a town which is free and independent and pays no taxes. Thus it corresponds to the term 'Atiq' when applied generally to Mekkah and particularly to its Masjid 'Baitullah al 'Atiq, al Haram'.^A

La masās

This is another term mainly suggested to indicate the characteristic property of taboo, not to be lightly approached or touched as an indication and recognition of its ritual value. The Arabic verb 'massa', used to indicate to touch, to feel, earlier it had a wider sense than this. It was also applied to striking and smiting, involving the sense of spreading on, smearing, rubbing off, cleansing, i.e. terms generally used in connection with objects of ritual value.^B

A. For instance, a famous sheikh is buried in the Hawta called Iinat, in Hadramaut. There are also several saints buried in the Hawta in Lahdj. (Ency. of Islam: Art.-Hawta.)

We are told that the Hawta in Lahdj was planned by its founder, Bjilani, to be a city of refuge. Its boundary stones are known by the term 'mada'i'.

B. cf. E. Davy: The early Semites. ~~The Mesopotamian cognate~~ in the American Journal of Semitic Languages; Vol. XLVI, 1929-1930.

DISCRIMINATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF TABOO

Investigators have stressed various aspects in their attempt to find out an adequate explanation of the different aspects of taboo. There is no space here to go into a detailed examination of the theories propounded. We would rather summarize some of them in our attempt to give a synthesis showing the theoretical importance of certain characteristics.

Historically great emphasis has been laid, especially by Marett,¹ upon taboo as the negative side of mana,^A or impersonal undifferentiated supernatural power. According to this opinion, taboo implies that it is not safe to get in contact with certain things because of supernatural penalties which would thereby be incurred. Here we touch

1. R.R.Marett: The Threshold of Religion, 1914.
The Raw material of Religion (Lang. Lect.) London, 1929, p.14.
R.H.Codrington; The Melanesians, (Oxford 1891), p. 188.
Religious Beliefs and Practices in Melanesia (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute vol. X. 1881.)

A. Codrington's first reference to the Melanesian conception of mana, occurs in a letter to Prof. Max Muller, quoted by the latter in his Hibbert Lectures for 1878. (The Origin and Growth of the Religions of India, p. 51.) It is considered by him as an occult power, neutral in character but capable of being manipulated toward ends good or bad as these are recognised by a particular society.

B. Mana is the word used in the New Hebrides, the Banks Islands and the Solomon Islands about Florida. It corresponds to the Greek terms dunamis - power, might and - authority.

a sort of 'magico-religious' significance: Mana, expresses in the Polynesian language, mysterious-efficient, impressive force, recognised in all wonder-working things, with a power above the ordinary. Thus, as these forces are dangerous, it is unsafe to interfere with them; and therefore it is forbidden that an ordinary person, under ordinary circumstances, should participate in a situation involving danger to himself and sometimes to the whole community to which he belongs.

Prof. Mead is probably right in asserting that it would be misleading to associate 'taboo' with 'mana' as its negative aspect, unless the definition is reversed and all situations involving taboo are regarded as 'ipso facto involving mana'.

Thus objects and persons mystically dangerous, incomprehensible in a peculiar state, which from not being understood, it is dangerous to meddle with are 'ipso involving mana' and are to be avoided and shunned. They often have dynamic power and it is by their activity that men recognise them.

Some primitive peoples have indicated by a special name the mysterious potency that reveals itself by producing effects beyond the ordinary capacity of man or the normal course of nature. Thus the Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia conceives of a force, neutral in character and pervading all things. In itself, the force is neither good nor bad, but it can be tapped by those who have the secret of manipulation and so be turned to either a good or bad use. An object in which

the force resides in dangerous to interfere with it is taboo (tonda).

There is something about the tonda person that jeopardizes the well-being of others; some baneful influence inherent in or, set in energy by, the tonda things, actions or words, making them a source of peril, not only to the person handling, using, saying them, but also it may be to his fellows.¹

This potency is called 'orenda' among the Iroquois, 'wakanda' among the Sioux, 'yek' among the Tinket² and 'mana' in Melanesia. It is power in an absolute sense and the various particular powers are only particular manifestations and personifications of it. Codrington defines 'mana' as a force distinct from physical power, which acts in all ways of good and evil. It is not fixed

1. E.W.Smith and A.M.Dale: The Ila-speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia, London 1920. Vol. I. pp. 347. Vol. II. pp. 82 ff.

2. It is noteworthy that among these societies are those who have had the feeling of the unity with nature and have consequently advanced to the idea of a unique religious potency, of which all other sacred principles are only expressions. Thus, among the Iroquois 'the wakan' or 'great spirit' is above all the particular deities to whom man renders service.

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in anything and can be conveyed in almost everything. It shows itself in physical force or in any kind of power or excellence which a man may possess. Moreover, it is a remarkable fact that among the Arunta, magic forces are conceived as simple and particular forms of a unique force called 'Arunkulta'. By 'arunkulta', says Strehlow, the native signifies a force which suddenly stops life and brings death to all who come into contact with it. This name is given to the bones and pieces of wood from which evil working charms are derived and also to poisonous animals and vegetables. So it may be accurately called a 'harmful mana'.

The Hindu concept of 'sakti' is a creative dynamic force or power in everything visible or invisible. It is a power which acts both for good and evil. Its good effects are 'barkat', its bad effects are 'arist'. It is a dangerous element and cannot be lightly treated. The whole of man's endeavour in magic and in religious ritual are concentrated on getting control of this power, using it for his own benefit.

Among the Sindi Muslim 'kudrat' follows the same line, when it produces good, its effects are 'barkat' and when it produces evil it is 'harkat'¹

1. J. Abbott: The Keys of Power. A study of Indian Ritual and Belief, 1932. p. 3.

Among many Muslim communities a person who is believed to possess 'kramat' is very often taken to be able to get whatever he wished for, who is able to foretell events, whose presence brings good fortune to all his surroundings.

W.W.Skeat records that this word is applied in Malay to many old trees, stones, crocodiles, which are believed to possess a supernatural character. This may point to an earlier conception than to the notion of the personal sanctity of a living or dead saint.¹

A.M.Hocart mentions the term 'kalou' as a qualificative of anything great or marvellous. He holds that the application of 'kalou' to objects exciting wonder or astonishment is simply a corollary of the conception of 'kalou' as 'the dead'.²

E.W.Hopkins considers it an error to conceive 'mana' as a universal, almost pantheistic, spiritual power, of which every individual has a share. Accordingly each individual has a power, not a share of a world power. There is a tree, rock, a man, each with power, not a, general tree-power, etc.³

1. cf. W.W.Skeat: Malay Magic. London, 1900.
 O.Brien: The Mohammedan Saints of the Western Punjab. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Inst.: XLI (1911).

2. Man: Vol. XIV. 1914.

3. E.Washburn Hopkins: The History of Religion. New York, 1918. p. 68.

Manifestations of Mana Potency among the Arabs.

'Mana potency' is expressed in Muslim theology by a variety of terms, viz:-

1. Ayah (pl. Ayat) literally a sign, it is used in the Qur'an for a miracle (Sur. xiii:27. xxix; 49.) or a signal evidence of possession of a being of mana potency.
2. Mu'jizah (pl. Mu'jizat) is used for miraculous acts performed by prophets.
3. Irhas (pl. Arhasat) literally means 'laying a foundation', i.e. the qualification, prototype of miraculous deeds performed by persons endowed with Mana-potency before assumption of the prophetic office.
4. Karamah (pl. karamat) literally means beneficent, wonders wrought by saints as a proof of their saintship.
5. Ma'unah (pl. Ma'unat) literally means help, assistance. It is used to express the wonders wrought by saints.
6. Istita'ah, the extraordinary ability by virtue of which anything could be achieved. According to Jahiz it is a characteristic confined to the Jan.¹

E. Westermarck seems to have in mind the notion of mana potency in his treatment of the Ritual and Belief in Morocco.² Special reference may be made to his ample survey of 'Baraka' holiness or blessed virtue; its prevalence,³ its manifestations and effects,⁴ and finally its sensitiveness.⁵

1. Jahiz: Hayawan, vol. V. p. 543.
 2. Westermarck: Ritual and Belief in Morocco. V.I. London, 1926.
 3. " " " " Ch. I.
 4. " " " " Ch. II.
 5. " " " " Ch. III.

Generally we may consider barakah as divine potency which makes a thing extraordinary good and effective in its relation to persons, it is usually confined to the supposed descendants of Mohamed, the saints (wali's) and pious people who may acquire it through devotion and incessant praying or diligent fasting. A place which is connected with worship partakes of divine barakah. According to Muslims the place that is most charged with it, is the House of God at Mecca. Mosques and Maqams of saints partake also of their baraka. Parents possess baraka with reference to their children. It is also ascribed to bride and bridegroom, to a boy on the occasion of his circumcision. It is also attributed to healing springs connected with saint-shrines, to animals connected with saints, to the sheep, camel, the bee, milk, butter and to various herbs of magic virtue; the olive and its oil, to henna, laurel, oleander.

Sometimes it is attributed to impure things, such as the dung of cattle, probably for the supposed healing qualities. It seems also that the Arabic language makes a differentiation between the beneficent and the maleficent aspects of mana potency. For the term ba's appears to express the maleficent aspect of mana. It is a familiar prayer to say 'La ba's 'alaik'; meaning, there may be no

dangerous influence upon you. It is generally addressed to a patient or a person in a critical condition.

On the other hand, a variety of Arabic terms, express or reflect the Arab thought regarding the destructive and maleficient implications of being of ritual value which are represented as ipso involving mana potency. Some of these terms are technical, others are secular, in the sense that they are in usage among the peoples, subject to topical and regional variation.

In theology, for instance, 'Istidraj' is a term employed to express the miraculous deeds incited by the assistance of Satan; the devil. Again 'Ihanah' (pl. Ihanat), is a miracle wrought by the assistance of the Satan and results in the disdain and contempt of the wrong doers.

Moreover, the term 'Ba's' implies a two-fold element, power or authority attributed to divinity, and an impression of a maleficient consequence befalling the individual usually in the form of illness.

The latter is reflected in the common saying of 'La ba's 'Alaika', often a routine prayer by anyone who visits or meets a sick person.

A considerable punitive element as a result of the wrath of divinity seems to be indicated by the term 'Dabrah'.¹ Linguistically this term signifies 'evil fortune', defeat in fight, 'Rīḡ al Dabūr', is the worst of winds, it is said that it does not fecundate trees or raise clouds. In a tradition it is said that the tribe of 'Ad was destroyed by it. 'Qata' Allah Dabirahem'; 'May God cut off the last of them', i.e. cause their complete and utter destruction.

Excessively severe punishment inflicted by God is described under different names, viz; rajfah, Saiḡah, Sa'iqah, manjāh, hawiyah.²

There is also the term 'Nahs' to indicate generally ominous ill-luck, misfortune that befalls a person consequent to his eventual contact, with an ill-omened person, animal or bird. An unlucky person or one who is believed to bring misfortune is commonly known as 'Manḡūs', sometimes the appellation 'Mash/um' is applied to him.

1. Lane's Lexicon: Art. - 'Dabar'
It is regularly applied to 'something from behind'.
2. . A. Guillaume: Magical Terms in the Old Testament, 1942.

According to Prof. Hutton the beliefs in 'mana' are closely associated with the beliefs in life-matter or soul-stuff, which are common over the area of S.E. Asia and Australia.

In fact wherever the belief in 'mana' prevails a corresponding belief in the value of taboo as a protective measure is also to be found.¹

We think that representing the public opinion of anything as involving 'mana potency' or 'life stuff' can often be interpreted as a social expression of the ritual values attached to such an object, person, a space a period, an occasion, an event or a word, etc.

Close examination of such category may reveal 'biological needs' so far as they are transmitted into moral, jural, ritual norms and values. Some may also reflect the economic requirements with reference to social status of individuals or groups as well as the total configuration of social structure of the community in question.

Some may indicate social distinctions with reference to age, sex, occupation, in regard to such things as dress, decoration, speech, etiquette, food, freedom of movement and recreation.

1. Hutton: Caste, p. 160.
For a detailed account see:
The Frazer Lectures 1938 - "A primitive philosophy of life".

Again, every important phase of social activity is often preceded by and accompanied by some ritual event which transforms rational motives into supernatural premises. Taboos thus serve on such occasions as signals for co-ordinated and well-planned efforts, or events of important activities, as sacred guarantees against failure and misfortune.

Sometimes, the pragmatic significance of these ritual avoidances, goes beyond that of a mere signal event for the benefit of an individual or a local group; it serves to accentuate tribal unity and ensures that each group is kept aware of its place within the wider social unit. Thus serving to define the identity of the group when its membership group is expressed, not through the unity and the sameness of action but through concerted action and co-operation. When the identity of the group is defined negatively.

In view of social dynamics, with reference to individuals, every passage from one biological state or social status to another often requires a modification socially represented in the form or the nature of superhuman influence with which the person has to deal. Thus he has to undergo temporary and partial 'ritual shunning' as a signal of modification in the social status. He has to perform some ritual to retain his previous social status or to be admitted to the newly acquired social replacement. That often takes the shape of ceremonial elevation.

When we follow the development of theories connected with taboo, proceeding throughout Semitic culture, it is desirable to realise the importance of preliminary study made by Prof. R.Smith.¹ He noticed various parallels between Polynesian taboos, and Semitic rules of holiness and uncleanness.

To develop the connections between taboo and uncleanness it is essential to bear in mind the following rule: The acts which cause uncleanness, are often the same as those which place individuals under taboo. We often observe that uncleanness is treated like contagion, which has to be washed out.

Thus many societies have to impose taboos on a woman in childbirth, on the newly born child, on twins, on a man who touches a corpse, etc., on the sick, deformed or criminals; warriors, manslayers etc. Such persons are considered as being in a state of ritual disability. In such events and similar occasions the persons involved are the subject of common concern, and often figure in the public opinion as if being

1. R.Smith understands by 'rules of holiness' a system of restrictions on man's arbitrary use of natural things, enforced by the dread of supernatural penalties or sometimes by civil penalties. He concludes that 'alongside of taboos that exactly correspond to rules of holiness..., we find another kind of taboo which in the Semitic field has its parallel in rules of uncleanness'.²

cf. W.R.Smith: Lectures on the Religion of the Semites, (1929).

2. Uncleanness - ritual impurity.

sources of mysterious danger, which has all the character of an infection. Moreover, that danger may extend, under certain circumstances, to others unless precautions are strictly observed, by tabooing them.

The range of extension depends sometimes on the kind of taboo, and in the social ties between the person tabooed and his kin, guild or the community at large. Also the length of the period during which a person is considered ritually unclean varies with the social circumstances which brought about him such a state of ritual disability. It differs within a given association according to the sin, pollution, age-set, social ~~and~~ status, etc.

The foregoing statements might lead us to put on record 'the co-ordination between the infectious character of the taboo and its ambulence.' In fact, it is of importance to set out clearly that whereas the distinguishing characteristics of taboo is the 'infinite plus of awfulness' it is always noticed accompanying its contagious character. Hence, the awe or fear-inhibition embodied in taboo always implies an infectious unluckiness, or a transferable curse on meddlers. In a word a particular taboo, once well established, tends to multiply and thus prohibition is piled upon prohibition and the rank growth of taboos by an accumulation of crude inferences, helps to account for their miscellaneous character.

Furthermore, another characteristic peculiarity in taboo,

may be enunciated as 'dynamic-automatic sanctions'.^A

Generally speaking this property comprises the following elements:

- 1. Any prohibition enforced automatically, i.e. the punishment followed inevitably without external mediation.
- 2. Prohibitions which carry penalties beyond the anxiety and embarrassment arising from a breach of strongly entrenched custom.
- 3. Further, among taboo prohibitions, those whose breach is followed by automatic punishment, there are two main classes:
 - (a) Taboos associated with the inherent sanctity of gods, chiefs and priests.
 - (b) Taboos associated with the inherent ~~sanctity~~ *impurity* ~~ness~~ of certain occurrences such as childbirth, bloodshed and death.

Both conditions, that of sanctity and that of ~~unclean-~~ *impure* ~~ness~~, have a dynamic and dangerous quality. The individual disregarding the taboo, becomes himself in a state of ritual disability and is regarded in the public opinion as a carrier of danger, and subject to whatever illness, loss of power or form of death which is believed to proceed from the transgression.

A. The French anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep suggested that the impersonalist theory of magic and taboo as contrasted with the personalist theory of animism, might well be described as 'dynamism' - cf. Les Rites du passage'.

cf. Webster: Magic, a ^{ological} social study. 1947. Preface, p.24.
 cf. Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences - art: Taboo.

Thus we may conclude that 'taboo' confronts us with a dynamic function which brings about automatic sanction upon the transgressor. In this way we can easily understand why the term has been defined to apply to prohibitions against contact with situations towards which the attitude is one of mixed awe, reverence, fear and dread. This may be clearly expressed in the Arabic saying 'K'anna^Uala r' ~~an~~ihim al tair'.¹

1. This expression may be literally translated 'As though birds were on their heads'. It is said of a people, meaning them to be motionless by reason of reverence. It was said of the Companions of Mohammed, describing them as quiet and grave in his presence, without levity.

The origin of the saying, according to Muslim authority, is that birds alight only upon a thing that is still and inanimate. But we venture to assume that the root and the derivation of the term bear the significance of the mixture of awe, fear and reverence toward a taboo emblem. This may be suggested by connecting it with Tairah in the following manner:

The word Tair or Tai'r is derived from Tara which indicates it flew. It is generally applied to birds, but it is also applied to swift animals. Thus tayyar, which is an intensive form of tair, signifies, when standing alone, a sharp, spirited, vigorous animal, that is almost made to fly by Tayyar, or Tayoor, which is another form of the nominative tair, signifies a man who is sharp and quick in running away as if in fear and awe. Then comes Tairah for levity and inconstancy. The practice of Tairah: The Arabs, when they desired to set about an affair, passed by the places where birds lay upon the ground and aroused them in order to learn thence whether they should proceed or refrain. They argued evil from the croaking of the crow, and from the bird's going towards the left; and in the like manner, from the motions of the gazelles.

Lane's Lexicon - art: - Tairah.

The ambiguity of taboo and magico-religious potency.

Within a given association ritual avoidances, in their relation to mana potency manifestation, are represented in an ambiguous way as to include a beneficent and malignant aspect of the one and the same.

On the one hand some ritual avoidances are linked with beliefs, situations, acts and rituals which usually create in the individual members a sense of confidence, security, comfort and prosperity. They are composed of the manifestations of what is believed to be beneficent by nature, guardian of the physical and moral order by dispensing health and life and all qualities which public opinion esteems.

On the other hand there are ritual avoidances equally associated with beliefs, situations, acts and rites, the ostensible purpose of which is to protect the individual or the association as a whole, from a sense of insecurity, fear or danger whether real or potential. This category would involve certain circumstances in which the individual or the association is anxious about the outcome of some event or activity, because it depends to some extent on conditions that he or it cannot control by technical means.

Death, child-birth, illness, plague, war, travel, abnormal phenomena, whether natural or biological; (thunder, lightning, sometimes twins, deformity), all come under this category. Ritual disability resulting from uncleanness or impurity.

Capital crimes, particularly incest and blood-shed.

Prof. Radcliffe Brown seems to propose the expression 'common concern' as to express this twofold characteristic in the observance and imposition of ritual avoidances.

As he puts it ... 'It is largely by the sharing of hopes and fears, by what we call 'common concern' in events or eventualities that human beings are linked together in temporary or permanent associations.'¹

In an abstract form, the two aspects of the mana potency are expressed as of mutually excluding one another or at least living at the same time with the same intensity.² Situations connected with supposed good and salutary powers are socially distinguished from these others which are associated with what deny and contradict them. From a social standpoint we may say that the former are marked off from the latter; any contact between them is considered the worst of prophanations. This is the typical form of 'taboo'.

Furthermore, while these two aspects of social distinction oppose one another, they have something in common. In the

1. Radcliffe Brown: Frazer Lectures: Ibid. p. 40.
2. We suppose here that we are confronted at the same moment with two systems of conscious states which are directed and which direct our conduct towards opposite poles (sacred and profane).

cf. Durkheim: ^(E.) Ibid. p.317.

u. Elementary Forms of the Religious Life

first place, both have the same relation with regard to human beings; they are both withdrawn from circulation alike. Individuals must abstain from being in contact with the manifestations of the malevolent as well as from the personifications of the benevolent.

In a concrete form they have to avoid contact with impure things, just as with the most holy things. Of course, the sentiments inspired by the two are not identical; respect is one thing, disgust or horror is another. But it can be assumed that the shades by which these two attitudes are differentiated are so slight sometimes, that it is not always easy to determine which state of mind the individuals actually happen to be in. In fact, there is horror and awe in religious respect, especially when it is very intense. While the fear inspired by malign powers is generally not without a certain reverential character.

In this connection it seems desirable to refer to W.R. Smith's note on the subject of sacred animals.¹ He assumes that a prohibition to eat the flesh of an animal of a certain species, has its ground, not in natural loathing but in religious horror and reverence. That implies that something

1. W.R.Smith: Kinship among the early Arabs.
 Additional note 'Sacred Animals.'

'divine' is ascribed to that animal. He asserts also that what seems to be natural leathing often turns out, among the primitive peoples, to be based on a religious taboo, and to have its origin, not in the feeling of contemptuous disgust, but of reverential dread.

He draws our attention to the fact that the Hebrew term 'tame' which seems to convey the idea of physical foulness, is not the ordinary word for things physically foul. It is a ritual term and corresponds to the idea of religious taboos. The ideas 'impure' and 'holy' which seem to stand in polar opposition to one another, were not so with the Semites. Thus among the latter Jews the Holy books 'defiled' the hands of the reader, as contact with impure things did. Among Syrians the dove was so sacred, that he who touched it was in a state of ritual disability for a day. The taboo attaching to the swine was explained also in the same way. Among the heathen Semites, unclean animals which it was pollution to eat, were simply holy animals.

It happens sometimes that a holy thing becomes impure through modification of external circumstances or by virtue of social re-valuation. The totemic animal for instance, while it is the pre-eminently sacred being, is for him who

1. R.Smith: Religion of the Semites. pp. 157 cf. p.446.
Additional Note: 'Holiness and Uncleaness of Taboos'

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eats its flesh unduly, a cause of death. A sacrilegious person is merely a profane one who has been inoculated with a benevolent religious potency, which 'defiles' rather than 'sanctifies'. The blood, though considered 'impure' is used frequently as a remedy against sickness.

Briefly we may conclude that the pure and impure are not two separate classes, but two variations of the same class, viz: 'taboo', i.e. subject to ritual avoidance. Things of ritual value may be either propitious or unpropitious. There is no break of continuity between these two opposed forms and one object may pass from one to the other. The pure is sometimes made out of the impure and reciprocally.¹

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1. R. Smith does not afford an explanation to the transference of taboos from the sphere of sacredness to the sphere of ritual impurity. We may suggest that it may be explained by the antithesis of sacred and impure coincided with the succession of two mythical stages; the first of which did not entirely disappear, when the second was reached. It continued in a state of greatly lowered esteem which gradually turned into contempt. It is a general law in mythology, according to Wundt, that a preceding stage, just because it has been overcome and pushed back by a higher stage, maintains itself next to it in a debased form, so that the objects of its veneration become objects of aversion.

of. G.A. Barton: Semitic and Hamitic Origins, Oxford, 1934.
p. 114.

TOTEMISM AND TABOO.

The term totemism is used for a form of social organization of magico-religious practice of which the central feature is the association of certain groups with certain classes of animate and inanimate things.

This association is usually expressed and manifested in the obligatory rules of behaviour for the members of each totem group, sometimes the prohibition of eating the totem species, sometimes special terms of address, decoration or badges, and a prescribed behaviour to the totemic object.

In the widest use of the term, we may speak of totemism if, (1) The tribe said to be totemic consists of totem groups comprising the whole population and each of these groups has a certain relationship to a class of totem-objects. (2) The relations between the social groups and the objects are of the same general kind. (3) A member of one of these totemic groups cannot (except under special circumstances) change his membership. As a rule members of a totem group may not intermarry.

In the light of this view we may discuss the well known theory of William Robertson Smith on this point. In his book 'Kinship in early Arabia' he pointed out that totemism supposes a likeness in nature, either natural or acquired of men to animals.^A

In his paper on 'Animal Worship' in the Journal of Philology, he proposed that meals taken in common, are believed to create a bond of artificial kinship between those who assist at them. According to this opinion, he concluded that sacrificial meals have the object of making the worshipper and his God communicate in the same flesh, in order to form a bond of kinship between them. From this point of view the essential element in sacrifice is no longer the act of renouncement which the word sacrifice ordinarily expresses, before all, it is an act of alimentary communion...¹

By a series of deductions, he concluded that at the beginning, the animal immolated in the sacrifice must have been regarded as quasi divine, and as a close relative to those who immolated it. Smith even went so far as to see the original source of the whole sacrifice institution in a sacrifice of

A. As a matter of fact he did not deal with this notion purposely. His ideas about it may be traced through his general theories about totemism, sacrifice and kinship. However, he devoted an additional note on the relation between holiness and taboo and we should mention another additional note about clean and unclean animals.

1. Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethica: Article - Sacrifice.

this sort.¹

There are some reservations to be made in details of this way of explaining the facts. In the first place, we hold that sacrifice was not founded only to create a bond of artificial kinship between a man and his Gods, but it is often meant to maintain and renew the natural kinship which primitively united them.

Communal sacrifice may be explained by the underlying purpose of inducing every individual member of the community to maintain perpetually the social-tie.

Now, on the other hand, this social-tie which, owing to the collective representation, is believed to be endowed with a mystic substance, mana. On the other hand every member of the clan believes that he contains within himself a portion of this vital substance, which is the pre-eminent part of his being. His soul is made out of it, and from it comes whatever powers he has. Hence he has a vital interest in maintaining it and in keeping it, as far as possible, in a state of perpetual energy. Otherwise he would lose through the normal working of things his vitality. Therefore, members of such societies believe that they cannot retain their position unless they periodically revivify the vital principle within themselves.

1. Prof. A. Guillaume in his lecture about Hebraico-Arabian Religion says 'If the idea of the kinship of men and animals was primitive in desert Arabia, it is strange that the slaughter of deer and hares and other wild animals was not a sacrifice'.

cf. E.O. James: Origin of sacrifice.

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So, symbolically, the object of communal sacrifice seems to establish for the individual member an occasion to secure or maintain their portion of that mysterious potency, and to return to themselves the portion used up in the course of time.

It matters not, whether the portion taken is small, because it would be effective owing to the rule of sacredness 'the part is equal to the whole'.

From a structural point of view, a natural communal sacrifice, regardless of being totemic or not, is an occasion for group assembly and provides the display of social privileges. Functionally it often gives a system and a stimulus to the Aborigine's practical utilization of his natural environment, and occasionally serves to translate mythology into terms of current values.¹

Speaking generally, among the early Arabs, R. Smith finds three marks by which 'totemism' may be recognised.² Firstly we meet with stock names after an animal or plant, or, more rarely, a natural object. In early times he believes the tribesmen generally bore on their bodies a mark of their totem.

1. For instance, in Australia, according to Prof. R. Firth two outstanding elements of ritual are often seen. One is the commemoration and recapitulation of the original activities performed by the culture-heroes of the past. These ceremonies reproduce the actual incidents of travel, conflict, creation and death and transformation of men into animals. The other is the ritual of the 'taboo' 'intichiuma' which is intended to maintain the supply of the totem animal, and in some cases to increase it.

R. W. Firth - Human Types, 1950. pp. 182-183.

2. W. R. Smith: Kinship in early Arabia: Ch. vii.- Totemism.

In this way he explains the custom of artificial deformation practiced by them and alludes to the practice of tattooing. Secondly, the ascription to the totem of a sacred character, accounts for its veneration. According to him, for this very reason a totem is only eaten on solemn occasions by way of sacrament. Finally, the prevalence of the conception that the members of the stock are of one and the same blood as to totem or sprung from a plant of the species chosen as a totem.

W.R. Smith; Lectures on the Religion of the Semites.
Ch. III. pp.137-139.

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Some general remarks may be made concerning this view.

1. A careful analysis of totemism shows that the unity of this concept is a subjective not an objective one, i.e. the specific contents of this phenomenon are quite distinct in character in different totemic areas.
2. Though R. Smith, Durkheim and Wundt do not disregard the connection between social group and totemic ideas, they lay stress upon the identification of man and animals. In fact this idea is not an exclusive characteristic feature of totemism, as it occurs in many other aspects of the mental life of man (art, magic), nor is it an essential part of what Goldenweissen calls 'totemic-complex'. This view does not root out the fact that often there is a sentiment of kinship between the members of a totem group and their totem.¹

It is obvious that, according to the foregoing definition, the main principle on which the union of such tribes rests, is that its members and their totem are believed to be mysteriously participating in one blood. It seems clear that according to this view, kinship is the centre pole of the

1. Boas: Race, Language and Culture, 1947, pp. 316, 320
Goldenweissen: 'Totemism': an analytical study. In J1. of Am. vol. 23. 1910.

cf. Ruth Benedict: Patterns of Culture. (Among Osage), p. 29. Dobu, 99. 1949.

W.R. Smith: Kinship, Ch. VII.

" " Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. p. 139.

relation between the members of the tribe and their totem. We may argue that this explanation would be accepted in later stages of thought. We tend to hold the view that the unity of the members of such tribes comes solely from their having the same name, and the same emblem, their believing that they have the same relations with the same category of things, their participating in the same rites. Briefly kinship may be considered as an external or formal appellation of the relationship which united individuals who were believed to be mutually inoculated with the same mysterious and vital potency or life token. As a matter of fact, members of a tribe were not necessarily consanguineous and were frequently scattered all over different parts of the tribal territory.

To illustrate this point of view reference may be made to the pragmatic role of kinship in its relation to social structure among the Arab communities, as revealed in literature as well as modern anthropological field work.

Generally speaking, the older tribal structure, though based on blood-kinship, was not exclusively based on blood-kinship due to a common ancestry, but on that which arose from participation in common sacrificial food. So the tribe was not composed only of those sprung from a common stock but rather who shared a common food.

The dwelling-group had not, as a rule a common food supply, nor did its members pool their incomes for the common support. But the norm was for the dwelling-group to be shaped on the

pattern of a household in the social sense, i.e. a group in which the rule holds that food and assistance are freely asked and given between members. In other words that mutual aid occurs as an obligation of kinship, not as part of domestic organization, for it extends to kinsfolk outside the domestic unit.

The core of this later structure was the family and from a number of families was the *fasilah*: the clan:

e.g. Abu-Talib or al-'Abbas, each of these being a unit composed of a number of families and each of them belonging to Banu Hashim.

Of a number of clans was composed the 'Fakhedh'

e.g. The Banu Hashim and Banu Ummayah both belonged to the fakhedh ('Abd Manaf).

A number of 'fakhedhs' went to 'Batn'

e.g. The Banu 'Abd Manaf and the Bani Makhzum were included in the Batn Quraish.

A number of 'Batān' went to an 'Imarah'

e.g. Quraish and Kinanat were both included in 'Imarat Mudar.

A number of 'Imarat' went to a Qabilah, a tribe.

e.g. Mudar and Rabi'ah were included in the tribe of Adnan.

A number of 'Qaba'il' tribes were formed, Sha'b, i.e. nation, in which both 'Adnan and Qahtan were included.

Between each of the foregoing divisions, there was an association-feeling, uniting them to each other and imposing upon their individual members different categories of social rights and obligations which express the unity and the

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identity of the association, not through the sameness of action, but through concerted action and co-operation.

The principal source of 'association-feeling' is the blood-relationship, loosely expressed by the 'Beni-al-'Amm'. Among the Arabs of to-day only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the right of eben al-'Amm. In pre-Islamic period motherhood was a great source of association-feeling. Generally a woman was held in an inferior social status until she became a mother, when she would form a bond of unity and thus gave rise to the association feeling of the avunculate, i.e. the practice by which persons in this relationship were accustomed to aid their nephews, and by which the brothers of the women would aid her husband's clan, even in cases where the father belonged to Adanite clan and the mother to Yemenite.^A

These traditional social divisions are recognised among the Bedouins today, but they are expressed in a briefer and

cf. The Rwala Bedouins; p. 46.

A. As a matter of fact, prior to Islam, the maternal uncle played an important role. The most obvious illustration is the aid offered by the people of Medinah to Mohammed when he migrated. His mother was of the Banu Najjar, a branch of Khazraj, a Qahtanite clan, whereas his father was of Quraish, a Mudarite clan.

simpler way. Thus, the Bedouins of Cyrenaica use only three terms:¹

1. Qabilah is the word generally used to denote a tribe or primary tribal division.
2. Ailat are the lineages into which a clan is divided and hence the sections of a tribe of various sizes.
3. Biyat are small lineages or extended families with a descent of five or six generations from the present day to their founder.

(N.B. These terms are relative and are used according to the context.)

A tribe is commonly conceived as a huge family descended from a common ancestor, from whom the tribe generally takes its name. Hence its segments can be figured either as a series of political sections or as genealogical branches of a clan.

Each tribe has its watan, its ^{homeland} ~~homeland~~, its soil, its pastures and its wells, and its camel-brand which is also carved on the tomb-stones of its dead. The tribal lands are vested in the tribe which has residential rights in them. They cannot be alienated without the consent of the tribe.

A tribe is divided into several primary divisions or sub-tribes, which own well defined portions of the tribal

1. E.Evan Pritchard: The Sanusi of Cyrenaica. Oxford, 1948. p. 57.

According to the author the Bedouins of Cyrenaica are theoretically more Arabian than the people of Egypt and the Sudan. p. 48.

territory. These tribal divisions are of the same pattern as the tribe of which they form a part. Each division has its water, which its members own and defend collectively. Primary tribal divisions split into secondary divisions. Each of the small divisions is a replica of the larger ones and has the same preferential and exclusive rights in its land, the encroachment of which will lead to quarrels.

The tribal structure thus outlined is the basis of a domestic economy, and a configuration of moral, legal, religious and personal relationships which can be best described as a compromise between strong centralizing or integrating tendencies and powerful differentiating tendencies.

Among the Rwala Bedouins the clan and sometimes the kin, are denoted by the word 'āl'. The 'Ahl', in a technical sense, is a group fixed in relation to the individual only. A man's kin usually comprise his descendants to the third generation (i.e. sons, grandsons, great-grandsons). It also includes his ascendants to the third generation, (i.e. his father, grandfather and great-grandfather), and the descendants of these ascendants to the third generation from each. N.B. Descent is reckoned through male lives only.

In its broader significance 'ahl' denotes tribes that are generally united for their mutual protection. It is possible to speak of the Ahlal-gebel. 'Ahl al-Bait' in the Qur'an

possibly means the protectors of the House of God.

Qawm seems to be a political technical term to indicate the Bedouins ruled by a chief.¹

Concerning its local organization, the tribe is frequently a political unit for purposes of the internal administration of justice and external relations, such as the prosecution of war. Whatever the size and territorial extent of the tribe, it is always subdivided into smaller groups based on neighbourhood, known as local groups or 'residential aggregates'.

Such groups inhabit the same and adjoining dwellings, cooperate in economic activities and are normally bound together by ties of kinship. The size of such groups again varies very greatly, particularly in relation to type of economy. Thus hunters and food gatherers are usually nomadic. Only where resources are exceptionally plentiful can a hunting and food-gathering economy support permanent villages.

Pastoral peoples also tend to be nomadic and their settlements are therefore often found to consist of temporary

1. Musil: *Rwala Bedouins*: pp. 47-50.

Ahl, Al, with reference to root-meaning, both have a wider significance, including all those who bear relation to man.

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or light, movable habitations. Only where pastoralism is combined with agriculture do we normally find permanent or semi-permanent villages surrounded by common pastures, and agricultural land.

Blood-relationship, is sometimes granted to clans who are not related by blood, and who derive their origin from quite different ancestors. Thus among the Rwala if the chiefs of two unrelated tribes, 'barrani or agnabi' are favourably disposed towards each other, they proclaim that they will bestow the right of kinship upon each other, 'Haq al beni eamm'. As such it is their duty to protect each other's neighbour, guest, or fellow traveller, even though he should be their actual enemy. It is likewise their duty to acquaint each other with the movement of hostile troops. Among those connected by this relationship, it is prohibited to bind a captured thief, or to attack after midnight or shortly before sunrise, which is the most favourable time for resting.

It is a matter of common knowledge that protection can be granted to any person against his tribesmen and if one would attack or rob him, the culprit is punished with far greater severity than if he had committed murder.¹

Thus strangers are incorporated into the conceptual framework of 'blood-brotherhood' by adoption and cognation.

1. Musil: Ibid. p. 17. p. 440.

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Adoption and assimilation of cognatic to agnatic ties are two ways in which community relations are translated into a kinship pattern. Kinship values are the strongest sentiments and norms in Arab communities and most social interrelations tend to be expressed in a kinship idiom.

The kinship system may thus be seen in larger perspective. It classifies relatives into groups on the one hand, and regulates their social behaviour on the other. Towards each class of kindred there is a definite relationship, expressed in terms of duties, economic, legal and ceremonial obligations and privileges, which serves to order social life with a minimum of conflict. With each class of relatives there are degrees of 'closeness' and normally the intensity of the relationship varies with this social closeness.

Among the Arabs, the closest and most important set of relatives makes up the lineage group.

The basic reciprocity in Arab kinship is reflected in the reciprocal behaviour patterns between most pairs of relatives, especially those concerning birth, puberty, marriage and death.

It seems reasonable to draw the attention to this fact: It is not logically or necessarily safe to infer from observing blocks named after animals or plants, that these blocks should be totemic at a time. Our attitude will be illustrated

cf. Notes and Queries on Anthropology. Social Structure.
pp. 87 - 91.

if we try to find an answer to the question arisen in this connection, viz: What explanation may be given to the naming of Arab groups after animals and plants, or largely after natural objects?

It is true that human groups have names derived from objects with which they are somehow specially connected. But this relation or connection does not necessarily imply totemic principle. None of the proposed theories of the origin of collective names derived from natural objects, animals or plants, is universally accepted. None of them appears to account satisfactorily for all the known facts.

It may be argued that not all such animals were totems. Moreover, many are taken from plants and from inanimate objects. Again, when groups become settled they are sometimes called after their places of abode. Sometimes these names are ascribed to them either by their enemies or hostile groups or for degrading characteristics of such beings. They may be adopted by themselves with the belief that in doing so, they might acquire magically the supposed high qualities of the beings.

It seems that the known cases are not numerous enough to establish a general rule and we should rather confess that the origin of names of clans and tribes is largely involved in obscurity. As westermarck and Lang¹ pointed out quite reasonably, that by the theory of survivals one might not

1. Lang: ~~The Secret of Totemism.~~

prove anything, since it is based on speculation and takes unfair advantage of positive evidence.

Moreover, according to Langdon,¹ in South Arabia which affords the oldest inscriptions of Arabic, the custom of naming persons after animals is rare, but it increases and becomes prolific in late pre-Islamic times. 'Although the South Arabian and the Accadians are far advanced beyond the primitive Bedouin stage, in the periods when their inscriptions begin, their history shows that it is characteristic of the Semites to use animal names in times of advanced culture, when there is no possible influence of primitive totemism.'

Without involving ourselves in details, we may draw attention to some considerations which may stand to explain the association in some other way. In some cases they named themselves after animals believed to be endowed with supernatural powers or characteristics by highly estimated qualities.

In illustrating the original motive for doing so we may assume that in this way they might acquire those high qualities. So when we find various Arab tribes with the name Asad, Laith (lion), or Numair (little panther)² and the like, we may infer that the people bearing such names would hope to acquire their,

1. Langdon: Semitic Mythology, pp.10-11.

2. The greatest of the tribes of this name is the Ma'addite tribe Asad b Khozaima, Asad ibn Abd al-'Ozza in Quraish. There are also tribes called Laith.

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qualities, rather than they thought themselves to be akin or descended from them, and thus not to be killed, or when they die to be buried solemnly.

It is on the contrary more probable that they called themselves after such animals to protect themselves against dangers. This may be understood by the magical relation between the name and its bearer. The name 'inoculates' the person with the same properties for which it stands.

Recent anthropological surveys, based on field-work, show that this view still holds true. Dr. H. Granquist records that in Palestine, sometimes people give a name which is terrifying or implies disgust. In some places appears such names as Asad (lion), namr (tiger), fahd (leopard). The reason for giving such names is so that the bearer shall be protected from wild animals. Sometimes especially delicate children, whose lives are considered in danger, from evil people or spirits, are so called.¹

This belief is not foreign to the Arab mentality, they name themselves after sacred persons with the hope of acquiring sanctity or prosperity.

A statistical survey on naming among Arab communities of today may reveal that the foregoing principle has a considerable bearing. The name often has a religious

1. H. Granquist: Children problems among the Arabs. Studies in a Mohammadan village in Palestine. Finland, Ekemas. 1950. p. 49.

character, wither it reflects a situation at the birth of the child, expressing a persons attitude or relation to God or the child is called after the Prophet, a saint, or some other historically religious person.

Very often the name has a religious character.^A Similarly they name their children by names expressing thought that a child shall be of good fortune, or a wish that no evil may befall it.^B In like manner we may explain the tribal names Banu Haiyah, (Tayyif) and Banu Hanash (a sub-tribe of 'Aus)

A. The following examples are an illustration of the religious character of names:-

Names expressing feeling or attitude towards God:

1. The most noticeable of this category are the ones which consist of 'Abd' as a prefix - and one of God's appellations or good, sacred qualities or attributes.

'Abd Rabbih 'the servant of his God'.

'Abd al Ghaffar, 'Abd al Taw ab, 'Abd al-Raziq.

2. Rahmah, 'mercy' Na'wn, Na'imah, favour or grace, Rida', contentment or blessing.

3. Names referring to morality and religion:

Saleh, pious, Darwish, Ramel, Rashid.

4. Names derived from sacred occasions or periods - Sha'bass, Ramdhan, Rajab.

5. Biblical and historical names - Ibrahim, Khelil, Ya'qub, Saleh, Yunes, Yusif, Aiyub, etc.

B. For instance: Sa'id, As'ad, Mus ad, are given in the hope of being happy.

Najat, Najiyah, Salem, Salman, Salim and Mahjuob are names given so that God may protect it from evil.

Rizq; for wealth to come to the house, and Tawfiq for success and prosperity from God.

Ref: For principles of naming and the names used:-

Ashkenazi: Tribus Semi Nomades de la Palestine du Nord, p.71

Musil: Arabia Petreae, III. p. 217.

The Rwala; Ch. viii.

Canaan: The Child, p. 169.

H.Granquist: Children problems among the Arabs, 1950.

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Banu Shaitan (a branch of Banu Tamim).

We think that the Arabs generally looked upon serpents as having some connection with mysterious and abnormal powers. This may be confirmed by what is attributed to it in the Arabic saying: 'He is the serpent of the valley', meaning that such a one is strong in resisting, or is intelligent to the utmost degree. Various characteristics of the 'serpent' such as its ability to renew its youth by shedding its skin, counted for its dreaded qualities.

'Oqab, Saqr and Nasr, the eagle and the vulture are also tribal names. The eagle was taken by the ancient nations as a divine symbol. It was probably because the bird possessed some characteristics such as its solicitude for its young, the swiftness of its flight, but mainly its longevity.

In other cases they were named after degraded creatures, such as Yarbou', (a great branch of Tamim) meaning jerboa, Jahsh, young ass, Jarad, locusts (a batn of Tamim), 'Adal, field mouse (a branch of Khozaima). This may be explained by their superstitious belief in 'Tairah' or ominous fear which is found at the root of every means of disguising to avoid both real and imaginary danger or evil. Ghorab, (raven) for instance, was one of the names of heathenism which Mohammed made its bearer change. (Dam. p. 254). His reason being that the raven is a bird of ill-omen.

This agrees with the statement of Jahiz in his work entitle 'al Hayawan'. According to him, the Arabs, through fear of the tairah, would substitute euphemistic names for invalids and to creatures whose name or colour was believed to bring ill-luck. For instance, they addressed the sick person by the term 'Salim', which ordinarily means 'healthy'. This may reveal the underlying magic power of the name in bringing about in reality whatever qualities it may envoy or include.

In the same line of thought, they call themselves after degraded animals with the view of disguising their good qualities for fear of the evil eye. In all probability, they believed that in so doing, they would escape the disastrous and evil influences of their enemies.

According to Lisan al Arab, when a boy was born to an Arab his kin said to his father 'Naffor 'anho'. Then he called him 'qonfodh' (hedge-hog), and in the mean time he gave him the name 'Konya' 'Abu l 'Adda' (the father of the quick runner). It seems clear that giving a degrading nick name was designed to keep off the evil eye, Tanfir or Nafir, however was a pagan method of avoiding evil influences.

This has its counterpart in the practise of giving temporary names for the child.

Thus in Palestine we are told that when a boy is called by a name which implies disgust, it is not necessarily intended

for his whole life. Perhaps the parents have already given him another name, but they are afraid to call him by it. This agrees with the thought that a human being, in the beginning of his life, is more exposed to danger than during a later period. It could also serve as a kind of disguise to deceive Qarin and other evil powers who are threatening the child's life. Thus when the most dangerous period is over, i.e. at 7 - 9 years of age, then people dare call the boy by his right name.¹

Again this may be associated with another prevailing Arab practice, known to the anthropologist by the term 'technonymy'

The custom is to call the parents after their eldest son; e.g. if the eldest son is Ibrahim, a man is called Abu Ibrahim and a woman is addressed Umm Ibrahim. This may be conceived as a social label and signal indication of the change in the social status of the person, hitherto he is socially recognized as a father of such and such.

This may be partly compared with some kinship systems which have two terms for a single type of relationship - a term of reference and a term of address.²

1. Granqvist: Ibid, p. 30.

2. This practice was first conceptualized and interpreted by Tylor, who carried this term from a Greek root.

cf. Lowie: Primitive Society, p. 102.

Piddington: An introduction to Social Anthropology, pp. 126, 127.

Moreover, the name may represent or express an association with the occupation of the family or guild. For instance, among the hunter-groups, there may be a tendency of naming themselves after the Jawarih¹ which ~~is~~^{are} often helpful to them in their hunting early names like Saqr, Baz, Nisr, Fahd, Kalb, may thus be interpreted. They may also name their children after the ~~animals~~^{game} they hunt, to create - in this belief - a sympathetic relation and to avoid any potential harm befalling them in retaliation.

In theory there is a difference between a bad omen and a magic cause; the former indicates a future event, while the latter produces it. But it seems that they are identical in the Semitic mentality, and particularly among the pagan Arabs.

This confusion of thought is reflected in Semitic languages. Among the Hebrew there is a word which means both practice magic and divine. Among the Arabs the term Tair or Tairah which indicates 'bad omen' assumed this meaning from the great prevalence of divination from the motion and direction of birds.

1. Jarihah, (pl. Jwarih); is a technical term to include beasts or birds of prey and those which catch game.

Thus the falcon is a jarihah and so is the dog trained for hunting, because it gains for its owner. The term is also extended and applied to she-camels and mares because they bring gain to their owners.

Lane's Lexicon: s.v. 'Jarihah'

cf. Musil: Op.cit. pp. 33-36.

There are still survivals of this belief among the Arabs of today. Delphin says that in Algeria, the taira is a 'bad presage', which 'se revele soit par un mot qui sonne mal, soit par un fait.'

The fear of ill-omened persons, animals and objects, extends to their names, for which euphemistic expressions are often substituted. A person who is blind is called basir; sharp-eyed. In Morocco, according to Westermarck, euphemistic names are very frequently given to black things. He numerates instances of avoiding a word on account of the unpleasant ambiguity of its meaning. For example for barood, (powder), they use the expression 'misk al rijal', (musk of men).

BRITISH BOND



TABOO and the RITUAL VALUE of CATTLE AMONG ARAB PASTORALISTS.

On this point we shall confine ourselves to touch on the ritual avoidance of certain animals believed to be sacred on account of their extensive charge of mana potency and productive principle.

The Qur'an mentions four names given to certain camels or sheep, which for various reasons were left at liberty, and were not made use of as other cattle of the same kind. These are known as Bahirah, Saibah, Wasilah and Hami.

The Muslim accounts of each of them are not in agreement on details and it seems difficult to say what each name suggested to the early Muslim commentators, who seem to be at sea as to the explanation of the custom. If we were to look at the literature provided on this question we may briefly sum up what the Muslim philologists and commentators understand from the foregoing names.¹

As the first 'Bahira', it is said that when a she-camel or sheep, had borne young ten times, they used to slit her ear, and turn her loose to feed at liberty. When she died, her flesh was eaten by men only, the women being forbidden to eat thereof. Such camel or sheep, from the slitting of her ear, they called

1. M.N. El Jarim: Adyan al 'Arab fi al jahiliyah, pp.158-187.

Alusy: Bulugh al 'Arab fi ma'rifat 'Ahwal al 'Arab.
vol. iii. 'Awabid'.

Bahira. According to others, the Bahira was a she-camel which was turned loose to feed. Her fifth young one, if it proved a male, was killed and eaten by men and women promiscuously. But if it proved a female, had its ear slit, and was dismissed to free pasture, none being permitted to make use of its flesh or milk, or to ride on it, though the women were allowed to eat the flesh of it when it died.

A third group of commentators, however, take Bahirah as it were the female young of the Saibah, which was used in the same manner as its dam. Some attribute the name Bahirah, not to a she-camel, but to an ewe, which had yeaned ~~x~~ five times. At all events, these are not all the opinions concerning Bahirah.^A

The same dissension may be felt among the Muslim commentators on the definition of Saibah. It signifies a she-camel turned loose to go where she will. This privilege accorded to it, was on various accounts; as when she had brought forth females ten times in succession, or in satisfaction of a vow, or when a man had recovered from sickness, or returned safe from a journey, or his camel had escaped some signal danger, either in battle or

A. Some suppose that name was given to a she-camel, which after having brought forth young five times, if the last was a male, had her ear slit as a mark thereof, and was let to go loose to feed, none driving her from pasture or water, nor using her for carriage. Others tell us, that when a camel had newly brought forth, they used to slit the ear of her young one saying, 'O God, if it lives it shall be for our use, but if it dies, it shall be deemed rightly slain,' and when it died they ate it.

otherwise. A camel so turned loose was declared to be sa'ibah. As a mark of it, one of its vertebrae or bones was taken out of her back, after which none might drive her from pasture or water, or ride on her. Some say that the Sa'ibah, when she had ten times in succession brought forth females, was suffered to go at liberty. None being allowed to ride on her, that her milk was not taken to be drunk by any but her young one, or a guest, till she died. Then her flesh was eaten by men as well as women, and her last female young one had her ear slit, and was called Bahirah, and turned loose as her dam had been.

Again we are told by others that this appellation, Sai'bah, was not so strictly proper to female camels but that it was given to the male when his young one had begotten another young one. A servant set at liberty and released by his master was also called Sai'ba. Moreover, some are of the opinion that the word Sai'bah denotes an animal which the Arabs used to turn loose in honour of their idols, allowing none to make use of it, thereafter except women.

Concerning Wasilah, it is taken by some to signify a she-camel which had brought forth ten times, or an ewe which had yeaned seven times, and every time twins, and of the seventh time she brought forth a male and a female, they said, 'Wasalat akhaha'. 'She was joined or brought forth with the brother.' After which none might drink the dam's milk, except men only, and she was treated as the Sai'bah. Some however, suppose that Wasilah was particularly applied to sheep, and when an ewe

brought forth first a female, they took it for themselves, but when she brought forth a male, they consecrated it to their deities, but if a male and a female, they said 'Waṣalat Akhaha' 'She is joined to her brother', and did not sacrifice that male to their gods. Others tell us that Waṣilah was an ewe which brought forth twins seven times in succession, and the eighth time, if she brought forth a male, they sacrificed it to their deities, but if she brought forth a male and a female they used to utter the former saying.

It is for the female's sake that they spared the male, and permitted not the dam's milk to be drunk by women. According to some, we are told, that Waṣilah was an ewe, which having yeaned seven times, if that which she brought forth was a male, they sacrificed it, but if a female, it was suffered to go loose, and was made use of by women only. If the seventh time she brought forth a male and a female, they held them both to be sacred, so that men only were allowed to make use of them, or to drink the milk of the female. Again we are told by others that a Waṣilah is an ewe which brought forth ten females at five births in succession, i.e. every time twins, and whatever she brought forth afterwards was allowed to men and not to women.

Concerning Ḥami, there is comparatively agreement among the commentators. It was a male-camel used for stud purposes. If the females had conceived ten times by him, he was afterwards

freed from labour and allowed to go loose. None driving him from pasture or from water, nor was any allowed to receive the least benefit from him, nor even to shear his hair.

Now if we come to consider the foregoing statements, regardless of the confusion and dissensions in definition of the terms, we may generally infer the following results with special reference to our survey:

This group, of cattle or sheep, is held sacred for various reasons which may vary from tribe to tribe according to its custom, religion and other social factors. Individual motives may also be taken into consideration.

Sai bah etymologically means 'set at liberty to pasture' where she would do so without being frightened or kept from any pasture or spring, exempted from slaughter and from carrying burdens. Ritually it is represented within the public opinion as endowed with divine potency and its sacredness extended to its offspring. In order to set her apart and distinguished her from other cattle of the same kind, the slitting of the ear was performed to signify its sacredness.

Hence Bahira was so called on account of her having her ear slit. The practise of cutting off the ears of an animal was a prevalent form of polytheism in Arabia, for such an animal was looked upon as devoted to certain idols. The practice survived however, among the Muslims in the form of Ishar' al Hady which is offered by the pilgrims to Ka'abah before he is allowed to shave his hair.

The foregoing social representation of such category as being

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charged with excessive mana potency seems to be one of the leading reasons to endorse individual members of the community to treat them as a fugitive at an asylum.^A Thus approaching them would be regarded as an encroachment on its holiness. We may thus assume that this factor be considered as a co-operative motive for tabooing these cattle.

This may be comprehensible in the light of a belief in the extraordinary elusiveness of the sacred potency within them. Even the most superficial contact is sufficient to enable it to spread from the animal to anyone who might come in contact with it.

Owing to the ambiguity and contagiousness of this potency an individual cannot come in contact with it without having this mysterious force extend itself over him and render him taboo. As there is an antagonism between them, harm may be expected in consequence.

We may now examine, more precisely, the foregoing data exposed by Muslim authorities on this question. Tracing one general principle which runs through all the varieties of the versions and traditions, we cannot fail to dwell on the principle of fertility attributed to each of them and which suggests to the public opinion the idea of representing them as endowed with

^{is}
A. This/explained by the contagious character of sacredness of a spot. It may extend to the whole surrounding district and thus to the animals which take refuge there.

divine potency. This made them naturally effective in begetting successively such or such a number of offspring, which might vary according to the criterion of various tribes.¹

We may adopt as a general acceptable interpretation confining this class of cattle to the she-cattle which had borne successively twins five, seven, ten or more times, or otherwise, which had borne successively female young, without a break of a male young, or to a stallion camel by which the females had conceived female young ten times. Then it would not be hard to conclude that each of these cattle was, in some way or other, primarily looked upon as being endowed tremendously with an efficient fertilizing power of reproduction. In the course of religious development, when divine powers come to be conceived as possessing the creative force, it came to be considered at once a symbol of fertility, an emblem of inviolability, a representative of female principle, variously personified. Hence arose the religious awe with reference to each cattle which showed signs of an incarnation of the female Goddess, or primitively, the fertilizing female power of production.

It may be inferred that the underlying motive for imposing such restrictions, is the fear that injuring or consuming such cattle might sympathetically tamper with the principal source

1. For details cf. Bulūgh el-'Arab fi ma'rifat 'Ahwāl al-'Arab. vol. iii. 'Awabid el-'Arab. M.N. El Garim: Adian al-'Arab fi al-Jahiliya, pp. 158-187

of subsistence, or injure the process of multiplication. Hence it is probable that those cattle were brought under taboo in order to conserve the community's source of food or production.

We should ~~probe~~^{suppose}, however, a link between this institution, and a particular well known deity among the Arabs. If we adopt Langdon's^{A.}¹ view possibly Ish~~at~~^{tar}-cult was in view, though it appeared under a variety of deities names, Athtar, Ashdar, 'Ashera, Gad, Sa'ad, 'Uzzah, Manat.

It may be of interest to suppose a parallel between the practise of slitting the ear of a devoted divine animal, the title of Ishtar as the spinning Goddess, and the original meaning of Gadad as to cut off. Moreover, it has been argued

A. According to him, Semitic religion in its most primitive form begins with three astral deities, Sun, Moon and Venus. S. Arabians came into contact with Sumerian civilization when they entered Mesopotamia before 3,000 B.C. Sumerian religion, which was extremely polytheistic, was completely adopted by the Accadians. Through the latter Babylonian and Assyrian kingdoms influenced the religious beliefs of nearly every Semitic race. Babylonian influence becomes particularly prominent in the great Nabataeon kingdom whose principal capitals were Petra and Damascus in the 7th century B.C. to their absorption into the Roman Empire.

1. Langdon: Op. cit. Semitic Mythology, pp. 21 sq.
- " The Semitic Goddess of Fate. Journal of the Asiatic Society, 1929.

that among the nomadic Semites, Astarte, was a sheep goddess.^B

We may also propound the idea that in all probability such a clue might have been solved through an exhaustive study of tattooing. We believe to a certain extent that the slitting of the ear which was performed to mark this class of cattle, was originally performed in accordance with the mark or symbol of that particular deity or idol as it were.²

It is of capital significance however, to denote that the Islamic Ish'ar of the hady offered to the Ka'abah can be considered as a survival of the pagan practise performed to such groups of sacred cattle as to set them apart discriminately from the other ordinary ones of the same kind.

Various traditions are related^A which bear evidence of performing the practise of Ish'ar and Taqlid ~~Muhammad~~ on cattle to be sacrificed on the occasion of pilgrimage. It will not serve our purpose to go into details concerning the question

B. In Deuteronomy 7:13. the "Ashtaroth of the flocks" is parallel to the offspring of the herds. (Encyclopaedia of the Bible.) cf. W.R. Smith, Religion of the Semites, pp. 310, 469 ff.

2. Hastings: Dictionary of the Bible - 'Cutting in the Flesh'.

A. It is related by Ibn 'Abas that when the Prophet came out for pilgrimage Dhu'l Hulaifah, he called for his female camel, to send her to Mecca, to be immolated, and he threw a lance into the right side of the hump upon her back, and wiped the blood from it and hung two strings of camel's hair on her neck, that she might be known as a hady, sacrifice, offering not to be stolen, that only the poor might take her and eat her flesh in case of her being near dying on her way to the Ka'abah.

Shawkany: Nail al 'Awtar. Bab. Hadayā and Dahāyā, p.83 ff.
Sharh Muntaqa al Akhbar, p. 87.

Qortoby: Tafsīr.

of Ish'ar as it is dealt with by the different Islamic Madhhabs. It is sufficient to record that Ish'ar may be regarded as a substitute for the primitive painful processes of tattooing and branding, with the object of dedicating the cattle to Gods.

It would be more fruitful to bridge the gap so as to establish the link between this class of cattle and the sacred hady, an innovation by Islam which corresponds in a sense to that category. For attaining this purpose we may assume that, at a later stage, when the original motive of tabooing these cattle was about to be forgotten and when the practise performed on them (tattooing or slitting the ear)^A was carried over to be performed on other cattle offered or devoted to their deities on account of achieving some utilitarian aims, the line of discrimination was not so clear, to the extent that they were not separately represented in the minds of early Muslim authorities who seem to have been utterly confused between the two categories as ~~for~~ it is plainly exposed in the data provided by them on the definition of the foregoing terms.

A. Very often slitting a portion of the hinder part of an animals ear seems to be a way of labelling it as of 'a generous kind'.

Hence 'Mudabirah', is an appellation applied to an ewe or she-goat, having a portion of the extremity of the ear so cut. It is also applied to a she-camel having her ear slit in the part next to the back of the neck. It seems that ~~as~~ she camel has her ear thus cut if of generous race and hence the saying 'Naqat Muqabillat'.

Mudabirat: a she-camel of generous race by sire and dam (Ta.)

Fulan Muqabil Mudabir; is of pure race by both parents.

This confusion however, marks for us the antithesis of two successive stages of development, the first of which did not entirely disappear when the second was reached and continued in a state of esteem. Thus we meet with the twofold motive of freeing at liberty such cattle, in the words of every Muslim commentator or philologist. Hand in hand with the principle of fertility as the underlying motive for turning loose such animals, we find it coincided with, according to the language of the Muslim authorities, various individual accounts such as a satisfaction of a vow, or when a man had recovered from sickness, or returned safe from a journey, or his camel had escaped some signal danger either in battle or otherwise. In other words, they were so treated because they were devoted to heathen deities as a sort of thanksgiving offering.

It is on this ground we are told, that Islam, following the tendency of uprooting every vestige of idolatry, condemned this pagan practice.¹

Nevertheless, Islam ordained the offering of Hady which has to undergo the Ish'ar and Taqlid in similar manner as had been performed on cattle devoted to idols.

From a functional point of view, the ritual avoidance toward this category, reflects to some extent, the socio-economic configuration of the early Arab communities whose

1. Ad-Damiri's Hayat al-Hayawān.
 A Zoological Lexicon, trans: by A.S.G. Jayakar, 1906.
 Musil: Op.cit. pp. 332, 333.
 Lane's Lexicon: s.v. Jarur, Qa'ud, Sahb, Ba'ir.
 Carl R. Raswan: Vocabulary of Bedouin words concerning horses.

ecology was founded exclusively on primarily on pastoral pursuits, either as camel breeders or cattle and sheep herders.^A

Generally speaking, there seems to be an intimate symbiotic relationship between men and their beasts on the reciprocal services to one another. This relation may be illustrated within the wider social setting which may be considered as animal cultural pattern, a characteristic feature among the pastoral nomads of Arabia^B as well as many other African pastoralists. viz: the Masai of the Nuer, the Kababish of Kordofan, etc.

A. They are collectively called 'al Shawiyah' see - Ibn Khaldūn ~~1930, p. 101~~ Prolegomena, 1930, p.101

It may be generally assumed that Saībah and Bahirah were primary observed among camel-breeders, while Wasilah and Ḥami prevailed among sheep and cattle herders. However, there is no trace of such category among the Bedouins of today.

B. According to Prof. Forde, the pastoral nomads of the desert areas constitute but a small portion of the population of the peninsula, compared with the settled peoples in and on the margin of Arabia. The sharp distinction between settled peasants and nomad herders requires amplification; there is rather an inter-relation and a gradation from one social and economic pattern to another. Besides the major division between Arab, the dweller in a movable tent, and hadar, the dweller in brick, i.e. the peasant living permanently on tilled land. There are the qurawiyān 'villagers' owners of tilled land and permanent dwellings, who nevertheless move away at the end of summer after sowing their crops and live in tents during the rainier winter season on the neighbouring steppes, where they herd their flocks of sheep and goats. But the Badawin, the occupants of el Badia (the desert) are set apart from other Arabs by a real difference in economy. For nine or ten months of the year they remain in the interior on arid pastures that rank as desert to the marginal folk. Camels, few among the sheep herders, are the essential beasts of the Badawin. Sheep and goats are kept only occasionally and in small numbers and the horse is the only other animal of importance.

C. Daryll Forde: Habitat, Economy & Society, 1934. p.308-310.

The Bedouins have the herdsmen's outlook on the social world; most of their activities mainly concern their beasts, disputes between tribal sections have been about cattle and control of pastures for their sakes.

The importance of cattle in Arab culture may be exemplified on various lines.

Ritually, cattle were involved in some magico-religious ceremonies. They particularly participate in 'Istimtar'; a rain-charm fire was attached to the tails of cattle on the sacred place known as Quzah Muzdalifat.¹

Similar practises are related by anthropologists about other pastoralists. Thus, among the Herhero of South West Africa, there exists altars upon which burn sacred fires which may never be extinguished and around these altars are piled the horns of sacrificed animals.² Among the Arab communities of today they were offered as vicarious sacrifices to ransom human life³ and as votive sacrifices. Camels were always branded with the

A. of. The Kababish of Kordofan, whose ecology represents a combination of that of camel-keeping peoples to the west and the cattle-keeping Hanites to the east, emphasise the cattle to be the subject of ceremonial practises and its use normally for sacrifice. (R.Piddington, Ibid. p. 39.)

1. Jahiz: Haywan, vol. iv. p. 466.
Alusy: Op. cit. vol. ii. p.301.

2; R.Piddington: Op. cit. p. 37.

3: Abdu'llah, the father of Muhammad was ransomed by a hundred camels. The narrative is linked with a vow made by his father concerning the sacred well of Zamzam.

tribal mark, so the question, 'What is your fire' simply meant, 'Who are you.'¹

The ceremonial importance of cattle is also reflected among the Arabs, in some observances concerning 'milking'. As a rule the milker, holds the nipple of the animal with three fingers, pressing without pulling it, the milking calf has to be soothed and the female camel appeased by calling her names, etc. Generally, the Arabs assigned dairy work to women, and this again is surrounded by ceremonial observances, for instance, a woman in a state of ritual impurity is obliged to abstain from milking until she has been ceremonially purified after her period.

A traveller is exempted from such rules, and in case he is in haste, he has to milk into his hand and take care the milk does not splash on the ground.² Similar observances concerning milking rules are reported of some African pastoralists, viz: the Hottentots of South West Africa, the Fulani of West Africa.³

There may be some grounds for interpreting the Arab hospitality by tracing it back to 'association-meals', which express and assert from time to time, its unity in its loose and large sense; the supposition could be that in early times, man may not

1. cf. A.S.Tritton: Folklore in Arabic Literature, 1949.

2. ~~see~~ Musil: Op.cit. pp. 87-89.

3. Piddington: Op. cit. p. 38.

cf. The dairy work among the Bantu is assigned to men.

confine eating meat or drinking milk to himself, or within the small family circle; when the animal is alive, others may share in the milk, outside the family circle in its narrow sense, and whenever he slaughters an animal, he must invite a few clansmen to share his meal.

There is evidence that there was a certain animal set aside for such group-meals which is usually expressed by the Arabic terms 'Uzuma, Walimah. The widespread Arabic narratives about Hatem al Ta'y could be thus explained. It may be added that such ~~xxxx~~ meals have little or no religious significance, its primary and professed purpose is to bring association fellows regularly or on momental occasions together. In other words to foster their internal integration.

Camels and sheep are also important in the legal life of the Bedouins; they are the usual form in which tribute is levied by chiefs and fines paid by offenders. For instance, among the Kwala Bedouins, the Diyah; blood-price, is fifty camels if a member of the tribe kills one of his kin.

Also, the ceremonial drink of blood and milk of animals, forms a covenant establishing blood-brotherhood between associations and individuals of distinct groups. Such a bond brings about rights and obligations of a legal nature.¹

The Arab nomenclature in connection with their herds is impressive. Like many pastoralists they use an enormous number

1. Musil: Op. cit. p. 47.

cf. Piddington's account on the Masai, Op.cit. p. 38.

of words and phrases about them. We may select for illustration classes of terms, viz: by reference of their breed, task, age, colour and ritual value or function.

With regard to breed, for instance, among the Kwala a camel is not only a camel, it is either a 'horr', thoroughbred, or 'Adi' i.e. the common kind. Al-Jarur is a she-camel of generous hind, who exceeds the time of pregnancy. A throughbred horse is known as Asil, Atik, Tîrf in contrast to Kidish, hajîn, kudni, kudia, mafraq, mukhadram. Hatik or Muhassanah is a cross between an ordinary and these.^A

With reference to their use, a rahul, is a naqa - a she-camel which can be used for both riding and carrying lighter loads. A khasuf is a she-camel that is made to incline to suckle a young one not her own. A hedude is a stud-camel. Al Badanab is one destined for sacrifice. A khatan is a stallion, with its right ear tip cut off as a sign of being selected as a stud horse. 'Rubat' habis, are horses used in war for a sacred purpose.

A. It seems that the generous kinds of camels are sometimes traced to a noble stallion. There are several kinds of Arab camels:-

Al-Arhabiya, belonging to Beni Arhab, a tribe of Namadar.

As-Shadhqamiya, whose origin is traced to Shadhqam, a noble stallion camel, belonging to an-Nu'man b. Mundha.

Al-Majdiyah, camels found in Yemen and possessing glory derived from their ancestors.

Ash-Shadaniyah, so denominated from a stallion of than name.

They also give each camel a name according to her real or alleged individual qualities; for instance, Al is, camels having strong and powerful loins, Ash-shimtal, which are light and thin. Al-Hijan, which are excellent and noble.

An-majibah; which have swift pace.

Concerning age, Fasṭā or mafrūd is a weaned camel, a she-camel of one year old is bint Mukhad, two years old is bint Labūn, three years old is Hikkah, so called because it is fit for conceiving, four years old is Jadh'ah, five years old is Ba'ir. The next three years of the she-camels life are called plus, the male camels are called Qa'ūd. Ascharif is an old female camel.

The Rwala call a filly in its first year a 'felow', in its second year a hawli, in its third year a Geda', in the fourth year a tenijjie, after that it is awda. A mare is a Muhra, the first sixteen years of its life, then it is faras.

Again the bloodwit for a free Muslim is a hundred camels, being in the case of a purely intentional homicide in respect of the ages of the camels, consisting according to 'Umar b. Zaid b. Thaht and 'Ata, of the following:-

- 30 camels of hikkah,
- 30 camels of Jadh'ah,
- 40 camels of khalifah (pregnant).

Some hold that it is to be paid in fourths.

As to the bloodwit for an unintentional homicide, it is to be paid in fifths according to Malih and Shafi'i, as follows:-

- 20 of bint Makhād
- 20 of bint labūn
- 20 of ibn labūn
- 20 of Hikkah
- 20 of Jadh'ah.

The bloodwit is incumbent on the 'Aqilah.

It should be noted that classification of animals on age-set basis is only a linguistic interest, but it is of economic ritual importance for according to Muslim law, the payment of the poor-rate (Zakah) is measured accordingly. For example; a man who
continued at foot of next page/

On colour terminology, we may briefly indicate that camels of different shades are given names accordingly. It is of interest to note that the shade is linked in the Bedouin Arab mentality with their belief in Tairh, ominous influence of magical nature. Sometimes it seems that the actual factor is the kind or the breed of the beast.

For instance, as-Suhb, white hue intermixed with red, or As'h, all red, are favourable among the Rwala, while al Zarka white one's with black hairs and calves are generally killed or disposed of to settlers, but never used for breeding.

There are also signs by which a horse is known to be of bad quality, and thus ominous. They dislike in a horse, al-Shikal; having whiteness in its right hind leg and left ~~hind~~ fore-leg, or in its right fore leg and left hind leg. It is possible that they tried that kind of horse and were found wanting in nobleness.

Among the Rwala, a curly spot above the nostrils of a horse. or a white spot on the lower lip are considered unfavourable signs.¹

Since cattle are the most important Arab social asset, it might be easy to understand that they play a foremost part in their folklore. The literature on this point is extensive and

1. Musil: Op. cit. p. 334.

cf. Traditions related about the Prophet disliking that kind.

Ad. Damiri: Op. cit. p. 716.

Note continued from previous page.

possesses 25 camels there ought to be given a bint makhad, for 36 camels a bint ~~ka~~ labun, for 46 a hikkah, for 61 a jedh'ah.

reference may be made only to two outstanding folktales. One regarding the miraculous appearance and prodigious size of a she-camel which was sent by God to the people of Saleh Thamud and they were ordained not to slay it.^A As they slew it and thus revolted against their Lord's commandment, the earthquake ar-Rajfah overtook them, so they became motionless bodies in their abodes.

Its counterpart among 'horse-rearers' is reflected in legends concerning its domestication by their ancestors. We are told that God ordained Ismael to go forth to 'Agyad' and inspired him of a prayer upon saying which the horses of the Arabs came to him, they submitted themselves to be held by their forelocks, thus God tamed them for him. Hence in Arab mythology the 'nasiyah', forelock of a horse, figured as sacred. According to Bedouins tradition an angel visits the noble horse every night and placing his hand on the forelock, blesses the horse and its owner, and curses him if he abuses or selfishly treats an animal.¹

A. Qur'an: 'And the Thamud (we sent) their brother Saleh. He said: "O, my people; ... a clear proof has come to you from God, this is Allah's she-camel, for you as a sign, therefore leave her alone to pasture on Allah's earth, and do not do her any harm, otherwise painful chastisement will overtake you."

1. Ad-Damiri. vol. i. p.727.

Sterility is attributed to the mule, Baghlah. According to a legend, mules carried wood for the funeral pile on which the Chaldeans tried to sacrifice Abraham. Since that day the mules have been punished with sterility.²

From a socio-economic point of view, apart from milk, meat, and blood cattle furnish them with numerous household necessities, their skin is used for beds, rugs, gourd-utensils for carrying fuel and water. Their dung is used for fuel and in minor technological processes to protect wounds and for other curative purposes, and to make dyes.⁴

Such leading rôles ascribed to the cattle, established some sort of 'symbiotic' association between the man and his cattle. Cattle being the index and criterion of evaluating the status replacement of groups and individuals, led to an antipathy and disregard to other occupations in social life. This is true regarding agriculture and crafts. Thus in considering the social class ratings, from their point of view, the out-groups, i.e. cultivators and craftsmen, are of inferior status and in-groups would avoid them so far as the social life might put this principle in general application. Similarly African pastoralists despise agriculture.

2. Tritton: Folklore in Arabic Literature.

A. Among the pastoralist Arabs, the dung of cattle, camels, sheep and goats is not considered unclean. Curative or other beneficial effects are nevertheless in certain cases ascribed to the excrement of cattle. Similar customs are related about the 'Nuer' who wash their hands and faces in the urine of cattle and drink their blood.

Evans Pritchard: *The Nuer*. p. 37.

Ad Damiri: *Hayat al-Hayawan*. vol. i. pp. 33-34.

'The urine of camels is beneficial to swelling or inflammation of the liver.'

According to a Tuareg proverb. 'Shame enters a family that tills the soil.'^A Consequently where pastoralists and cultivators co-exist within a larger political association, there exists also two distinct strata in the population. The ruling class and the pastoral, while agriculture is carried on by others who constitute an inferior social class of cultivators and craftsmen.

This symbiotic relationship between a man and his cattle is clearly indicated in applying the term 'mujrib'¹ affected with mange, not only to the one who is so affected but to the one whose camels are affected with it. This very association has a bearing influence on the social-status of the very person.

This may be inferred from the Arab saying, 'La Ilah li Mujrib', or according to another version 'La Illiat li Mujrib'. The former version literally means 'There is no God to the one who has his camels affected with mange;' (as though he renounced his God by frequently swearing falseley by him.)

A. Tuareg are camel-keepers of the Western African Sahara. They are known as the people of the Veil, from the custom whereby men wear black veils on their faces.

Piddington: Op. cit. p. 38.

1. s.v. Jarib: Lane's Lexicon.
~~cf. Woydeni's mathal.~~

The latter version means, 'There is no reliable oath for such a person.'

Regardless of what the Arab authorities propose as an explanation of such sayings, it seems obvious that such a person is treated within his political associations as being deprived of some kind of right, or of suffering lower social rating, ceremonial inability, consequent directly or indirectly, to his association with camels.

The foregoing survey of the cultural configuration of pastoral Arabs, may help to understand their customs of tabooing such cattle. This seems to be a crystallization of the general animal symbiosis pattern of their culture in a concrete and socialized system. The observance of such systems might be generally meant for the welfare of the whole association.

The underlying idea, is the belief that the collective soul-substance of the herd is associated with a single animal which proved to be highly charged with this soul-stuff. Such mental attitude has its parallels among some other communities.

Symbiosis: Biologically means association of dissimilar organisms to their mutual advantage. We use this term here in its social significance to express the symbiotic association between the Arab and his cattle, based on the principle of mutual reciprocity.

Prof. Hutton¹ reports from Indonesia that as a rule one animal in a herd is considered as the leader which keeps the herd together and is neither killed nor sold. Piddington reports similar practises among the Reindeer peoples of Northern Asia. Among the Tungus, reindeer are of ceremonial and religious, as well as economic importance. Every clan sets aside a sacred reindeer, which is never milked, saddled or driven. These beasts are believed to carry the souls of men to the land of the dead and to act as intermediaries between human beings and the spirits.²

However, the following points seems to us to be significant:

1. Tabooing this category does not imply 'shunning' or isolating, on the contrary it necessitates the 'freeing' 'enfranchising', setting at liberty of the beast. The underlying purpose may be that its blessing should be spread all over the place, thus no limit to its movement.
2. This category, in case of being meant for thanksgiving or eucharistic intention for the deity, it does not take the form of the normal methods of offering a sacrifice by slaughter or burning, but it is primary expressed by putting an end to one's right of 'jus utendi, jus fruendi'.^A

1. cf. Hutton: A Primitive Philosophy of Life. p. 18.
The Frazer Lectures, 1938.
2. Piddington: Op..cit. p. 62.

A. It is related that a hostile attack was made upon the Arab and he did not find any other beast to ride, so he rode a Sa'ibah. Whereupon it was said to him, 'Dost thou ride what is forbidden' and he replied, 'Yarkab al Haram mun la halal laku.' 'He who has not what is allowed, rides what is forbidden.'

This agrees to some extent, with the general tendency of establishing or demonstrating rank, social-status, ^{by showing} ~~proving~~ the ability of 'freeing an animal or emancipating a slave'. This act is taken for granted as a symbol of nobility.

Considering the factors which led to or sometimes necessitated the 'enfranchising' of this category, we cannot fail to realise that the principle of reciprocity is an active motive. Apart from material gain derived from their efficiency in production, which would justify their 'release', there are other individual motives subject to the same principle. A person who was put in difficulty or illness, or in a state of individual or communal concern, (travel, warfare, etc.) would set to liberty his partner - beast, who shared with him the same state of concern and sometimes helped him in overcoming it.

Furthermore the detailed literature concerning this category presents an indicator of the social differentiation based on sex and age discrimination among early Arab communities, such as that reflected in the limitation of the 'jus fruendi' with reference to children and women. For instance, concerning Sai' bah, its use is forbidden to men and women. Bahirah, its milk is forbidden to women, and allowed to men and when it dies men and women eat it. As to Wasilah, if she begets a male and a female, men only are allowed to drink its milk, if she begets a female, women only use its milk, if she begets a male, it is sacrificed.

We wonder whether their ideas concerning Wasila, reflects to some extent their attitude towards twins. As a justification of 'not sacrificing' the male young of the Wasilah, we are told that this was done in favour of its female; 'Wasalat akhaha'. This term 'Wasal, noun Silah', is technically used to indicate a ritual relation, with an implied element of rendering good service or favour to one another. 'Silat ar-Rahim', generally indicates giving alms on behalf of the dead relative. This could be a vehicle for the communication between the dead and the living members of the association.

Some additional hints may be valuable to explain forbidding women in some cases to eat the flesh of such cattle or drink their milk.

A. The belief in a homeopathic influence, closely connected with sex and the fertilizing productive principle. According to this, if a women eats the flesh of such cattle, endowed with the female principle, her offspring would be similar to that of such cattle, i.e. females in succession or twins. When we conjoin with this assumption the practise of infanticide, we may conclude that it might be desirable to avoid the sad event of begetting females.

B. The belief that qualities or properties of the eaten passed to the eater. Now these cattle are supposed to communicate their potency to a women who eats from them. This potency would be fatal to her, providing that she had within her structure a capacity beyond which the ambiguity of the 'divine' might cause her harm. The intensity of exclusiveness between the 'sacred potency' and the profane might be greater when a woman is taken generally to be a 'defiling substance'. Otherwise she would be considered so through child-birth or menstruation. At all events, the restriction imposed upon her serves as a protective measure to avoid the sacred potency entering into the profane organism.

C. As regards the taboo imposed upon their milk, it may be understood in the light of the sympathetic relation between cattle and the milk drawn from it. To drink milk, is to the primitive mind, equal to eating the flesh or consuming the cattle itself, and thus to tamper with the principal source of subsistence. This may explain the general restriction imposed upon menstruating women, to drink milk or even to sour it. The underlying motive is probably the fear that this might result in injuring the cattle itself.¹



1. cf. Frazer's view that the rites originally magical in intention were mainly for the benefit of the cattle.

Frazer: Folklore in the Old Testament. vol. ii.
On the aversion to the eating of game.

The Beja, who are essentially pastoralists, on account of their regard to milk dare not allow women to milk their animals. Gourds and basketry vessels are considered appropriate receptacles for milk. A man may not drink the milk which has been himself drawn until some one else has taken a few sips. It would be a sore term of reproach to say of a man, 'He milked and immediately drank.' Among them there are also curious customs prohibiting the cooking of milk. All this and similar observances among other pastoralists would indicate that milk is a sacrosanct, i.e. not common.

Seligman: Races of Africa, p. 107.

TABOO AND HAGIOLITH AMONG THE ARABS.

The term 'hagiolith' is used here to indicate the ritual use of high places, local configurations, which are grotesque stones, megaliths, menhirs, idols and so forth.

Among the Arabs the rites performed in connection with such category, are mainly oriented for attaining some utilitarian purposes, viz:

- a. Using their ritual value for the welfare of the community or the benefit of the individuals. This may include the exertion of the virtue of 'healing', performing ordeals, interpretation of omens (divining), the protection of human rights of 'life' and 'property'.
- b. To increase and renew one's association with such virtues in order to reinforce one's vitality and to arm him to meet critical situations or to ward off evil influences.

For communal practices, the object might be the same, i.e., to reinforce the community as a whole to meet a sudden or unexpected calamity, as well as inoculating it with the vital principle to conquer the enemy and ward off evil agents, in other words, to help to revive its social structure in form and function through time, and to maintain the integrity of its social tie in momental affairs.



This term was proposed by G.W.B. Huntingford, the Greek 'Hagio', sacred, lithos, 'stone', in a paper on 'The Hagiolithic cultures of East Africa', printed in 'The Eastern Anthropologist', Vol. JUNE 1950 Vol. III No 4 -

Arabic literature is abundantly furnished with legends and myths, beyond them we get to the regard of the 'lithos' as emblems or manifestations of mysterious attributes. This is expressed by the reverence toward such category and by the appeal to them for the fulfilment of utilitarian ends, besides their leading part in the ritual activities of the community at large. In general, it may be supposed that the 'ashera', 'Hagio-xylon', sacred spot, was a taboo-sign to indicate the ritual value, the religious reverence as well as the magical potency.

The object of the ritual practises to the taboo-emblem was to secure capital social interests which are indispensable for the stability of the community. Among such interests we may refer briefly to the protection of the tribe against its enemies (human or non-human), the punishment of the transgressor especially in the case of breaking a covenant, the fulfilment of utilitarian ends of the individuals, viz: the multiplication of wealth, prosperity and fertility, the cure of the sick, guidance by divination and so forth.

The Nusub (pl. Ansab), seemed to have served the same ritual function, a taboo-emblem, an indicator of the dimension of the sacred territories.

We may refer first to some legends and superstitions which arose around some high places (Hama), and the illusion may reveal that they are represented in the public opinion as

endowed with a mysterious man a potency, which might act to bring about longevity, cure the sick, as well as destruction upon the transgressors, in a manner that may reflect the tendency of co-ordinating the individual interests with those of the community at large, or some specific associations within it.

- A. Luqman Ibn 'Ad¹, the sage, and the one known of long-living age is often represented to be wandering in the mountain of Abou-Qobais¹ asking his God to grant him immortality. This very mountain was taken to be a dwelling place of eagles. It was believed that this same place cured headache.
- B. The magico-religious practice of Istimtar (to bring about rain) was performed by letting fire on the mountain of Mozdalifah. The very spot was called Qarn Qozah (the horn of Qozah). It is also said to be the Mish ar al Haram mentioned in the Qur'an.^{2.A.}

For those who are interested in comparative religion, Mozdalifa could be considered the abode of Qozah, which came to be known as the Thunder God, who is revealed in fire. It may further be presumed that the various ceremonies and rites were originally sympathetic charms to call forth the rain. According to Wensinck, there is a great similarity between the ceremonies on this place and that on Sinai.³

1. In Arabic mythology Abu Qobais is a sacred mountain which appears in connection with (a) the tomb of Adam. It was so called because Adam took fire from the main mass thereof. Mu jam, p.94. (b) The Black Stone of the Ka'aba or Bait Allah al Haram was placed on its top at the time of the deluge. Akhbar Meccah: pp.477-478.

2. Ibn Qutaibah: M'arif, p.240 and 269. Mention is made of Abou Sayyarah al'Adwani as the first pagan Arab to perform the ifadah from Mozdalifah.
Tabari - Tafsir. Sur p.168.
Mu'jam El Buldan: Qozah was the Mish'ar called Jam^f because of the assembling of the people by it.

3. Prof. A.J. Wensinck's article on Hajj (Pilgrimage) in the Encyclopaedia of Islam. Vol.II, p.21 ff.
Cook also tends to identify Qarn Qozah with the God of rain and thunder and God of mountains (Religion of Palestine, p.204).

A. Dearth is regarded as a divine punishment for transgression or breaching a tabu. A means of covering the guilt seems necessary to induce the divine principle to send rain. (cf. Qur'an, vii.55 - xvi.10.)

It is a question whether the fertilising operation of the Ba'alim was associated in early times with the rain of heaven or the water of springs... Tyler thinks that the rain-God is usually the heaven God, exercising a special function.

(Lang. Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics; article - God.)

R. Smith thinks that Ba'alim were Gods of streams and fountains and then extended their domain over the lands watered by the sky. (Religion of the Semites; p.106).

However, among the Pagan Arabs, rain-making was specially associated with the sacred mountain of Muzdalifah, Quzah or the Mish'ar al Haram. (Jahiz; Hayawan, vol. IV.p.466) (Alusi: Balaugh al Arab, vol. 2. p. 301. Yaqut: Mu jam, p.138) Cook tends to identify Quzah with the God of rain, thunder and God of the mountains (Religion of Palestine, p.204).

Frazer is of the opinion that the method adopted by the rain-maker is usually based on homoeopathic or imitative magic. (Magic Art. p.247.) From the data provided by Arab authorities on this subject the following may be of interest.

In pre-Islamic period - (a) A fire was kindled on the sacred hill 'Quzah' ... (b) Numerous 'cows' were sacrificed, (burnt). (c) Sal and Ashr, two sacred plants, figured in the ceremonies. (d) Prayers, supplications were often exceedingly loud.

The underlying purpose seems to provide a sympathetic charm to call forth the thunder. Noise may act as a rain-charm. Much bellowing of cattle or bleating of sheep produces rain. The use of the Beythel (Dhayzan) by Abu Sa'fyan for Istisqa is recorded by Tabari. I. p. 752.

In Islamic period, the so-called 'Salat al Istisqa' includes mainly the following - (a) Supplication in which God is asked to send rain. (b) People repeat 'Astaghfir Allah; I ask God's pardon, for He is merciful'. (c) After the sermon, the preacher changes his mantle from the right to the left shoulder and vice versa. The same is done by the congregation. (Bukhari Sahih; Salat al Istisqa. vol.I.xxv.1. Paris. 1903). This is meant to show God the desire of the faithful to see the threatened famine turned into abundance.

According to Westermarck, the alternation of the dress is intended to bring about a change in the weather in accordance with the principle of homoeopathic magic. The same scholar points out some magical elements involved in the prayers of Istisqa as it is observed in Morocco. To secure the assistance of the saints by a sacrifice. This is calculated as a magical act implying the transference of a conditional curse. The victims chosen for them are often black, in imitation of rain-clouds. The custom of using a ladle as a rain-charm. This is due to its connection with fluids.

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(Westermarck: *Ritual and Belief in Morocco.* vol.2.p.270)

For further details on the subject :

Bel: Quelques rites pour obtenir la pluie en temps de secheesse chez les musulmans maghribins. (Alger.1905).

From a functional approach, such ceremonies are pragmatically important cultural forces. The magical rain-charm is an indispensable method to meet the uncontrollable forces which regulate pursuits dependent on rain and drought, particularly among the pastoralists and cattle-breeding societies, as is the case with the Arabs.

These magical practises were usually performed on behalf of organised groups, by a representative of esteem, of high social status of chieftainship. This provided an additional force in discipline order and mutual reliance. Psychologically such practises contribute to the mental integration of individuals by establishing the positive diathesis of optimism and confidence in success by the conviction that man can bind and bend to his will all that is incalculable and dangerous.

of. Malinowski: *The Dynamics of Culture-Change.* p.48.
An inquiry into Race Relations in Africa.
1945.

C. According to Jahiz, the Arabs had the custom of setting up a fire on the occasion of making a treaty of alliance or federation (Har al Hilf). They used to utter incantations, probably with the view of evoking the malevolent destructive element of mana potency against the transgressor. It is also related, by the same authority, that each tribe of those who partake in such a treaty might mention its sacred mountain¹ with the purpose of endorsing the agreement in question as long as such or such a mountain might exist.²

D. It is noteworthy that some of the sacred rocks by which the Arabs used to undertake their agreements, bear names which reveal the underlying principle of cursing the violator. For instance, El Hitimat (singular Hatm) literally means ominous destiny, were places at Mecca where the Arabs used to undertake their covenants. It is recorded also that they used to swear by El Hatim, in the assumption that in doing so they might hasten the punishment of the violator.³

1. The sacred mountain Hira⁷ is mentioned on the occasions of establishing alliances among tribes, in order to evoke the curse or the wrath of God against the violator. Aghani, Ch. XVI. pp.143.

cf. Ibn Qutaibah; Ma⁶arif; p. 269. on the association of Ahabish, with the Mount of 'Habash' at Mecca.

2. Jahiz; al Hayawan; Vol. IV. p. 470.

3. Mu⁶jan; p. 268.

E. The foregoing may be explained by the conception of 'fortune' or 'destiny' in the early Arabic thought.¹ It is probable that at an early stage of thought the 'power of fortune' was conceived as impersonal, with a certain degree of instability attached to it. The endeavour to devise means of ensuring the favourable action of this force must have been an important factor in the process of its fixation, personification and defying. This evolutionary stage finds its first expression in the early tribal names 'Gad', 'Sa'ad', a pledge of the future prosperity of the individuals bearing this name. Then we find the idol 'Sa'd'² at the coast of Jaddah in the form of a long rock. Again in pre-Islamic Arabia 'Manat' is one of the three chief deities. According to some authorities it was also a rock.

The underlying primitive belief that man's earthly fortune, with its changes, is under the control of mana potency, numen. To that belief frequent varied expressions are given in conformity with cultural patterns.³

1. Similar features of the conception are common among the Canaanites, the Hebrews, Aramaen and Syrians. Parallels are available and possible connections with Babylonian beliefs.

Etymologically the radical idea in the word 'Gad' is that of cutting or penetrating into something. It was conceived primarily as an external influence, likely to be mischievous, breaking upon a man's hope or scheme. It was essential to the primitive to invest this influence with neutral qualities and make it a source of good as well as evil. (Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics - Article: Fortune.)

2. Ibn al-Kalbi: Asnam pp.34, 35.
 Lyaal: Ancient Arab Poetry, London 1885. p.XXIX.

3. Langdon affirms that all the names of 'Fate' are of Babylonian origin (Semitic Mythology: p.23). According to him the Arabian 'Allat' became a Goddess of Fortune by assimilation to the Babylonian Ishtar, identified with Venus, the Sumerian Innini. Furthermore he assumes that various titles of Arabian Allat such as Sa'd and 'Uzza have dual forms and dual characters. As a morning star, she is goddess of war and as an evening star, patroness of love and harlotry.

F. The notion of mana also inheres in the Semitic term el, God, divine power, which seems originally to have referred to what was strange or uncanny, and hence magically operative.¹

Langdon adopts Nielson's view that South Arabian Deity, 'Il' which is the common word for 'God' corresponds to the Hebrew el, Elohim - ilah - Allah. This would denote the ancient pre-historic Moon-God.² In Accadian it is the Sumerian name for the Moon-God, which is invariably used: 'Sin'. If the name 'Sin' is the origin of the word 'Sinai' (Mount), then this mountain must have been an ancient North Arabian centre of moon-worship.

Professor Guillaume affirms that names in il - el are found everywhere in the Semitic world and therefore show that the name el must have been the primitive Semitic name for the Deity.³

Ibn al Kalbi says that when 'El' ends any name, it has the meaning of revelation, inspiration, and is the complement of a prefixed noun, (e.g. Eil as in Gibr'el). (Mohkam, quoted by Lane.)

G. The foregoing data may throw light on the relation between the sacred spot 'al Ell' in the mountain 'Arafat, and Baitu llah al Haram to the extent that both terms became synonymous.

According to some commentators, viz: El Zubair b. Bakar, the name 'al Ell' is interpreted as the Sacred House El Haram itself. (Bġadhġuri: Futeġh, p.320.)

1. See note 123, Webster: Magic, a Sociological Study. He refers to Karl Besh 'El und Neter' Zeitschrift fur die alttestamentalische Wissenschaft xx xvi, 1916. p.129.

2. Langdon: Ibid. p.5.

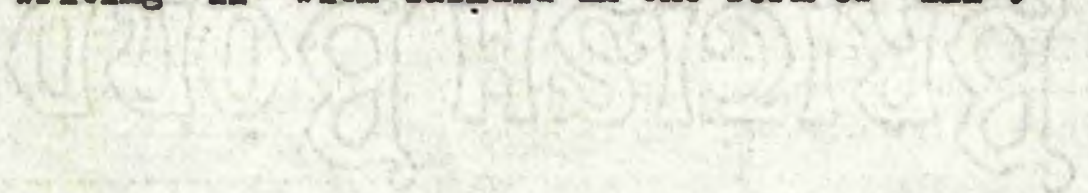
3. Prof. A. Guillaume: Prophecy and Divination. Note B. The Moon-God.

It looks as if the later Arabic writers attached to the old South Arabian word for divinity (el) the meaning of the Arabic terms, Hilf (covenant), Yamin (oath), qarabah (Kinship), Jihar and aman (promise of protection).

Some corruption however, occurred and the term, El, Il, Eil, is confused with 'Ill'. These terms are used indifferently in later Arabic works to imply anything endowed with mana potency which is looked upon from the religious point of view as the 'divine principle'. Abu Bakar, on hearing a rhyming prose of Museylimah is related to have said, "This is language which did not proceed from 'Ill'; God." (It was so explained by A. 'Abeyd. (Suhaily and Taj al 'Arus) quoted by Lane.) In Shame El 'Eloom, Al, Ill or the Eil, is God.



1. Prof. Guillaume thinks that the editors are wrong in writing 'Il' with Tashdid in the form of 'Ill'.



H. In the meantime, owing to the capital importance of the social-bond, covenant and confederacies among the Arabs the term 'Ill' seems to be used indifferently in a secondary sense to indicate Ahd, by which a person becomes responsible for the safety or the safe-keeping of a person or thing.

It came also to be synonymous with Hilf, a confederacy or league, and to Jiwār, i.e., a covenant between two parties by which either is bound to protect the other. Furthermore, it acquired the sense of a promise or assurance of security or safety or indemnity which the Arabic term 'Aman' may convey.

The consideration of the previous development which the significance of the term 'Ill' has undergone, and of which the salient feature was maintaining the social bond, is of signal value. In all probability the 'Ill' was earlier attributed to a place where it was believed the divining principle was thought to manifest itself. This very place was at the same time a meeting place where capital and important confederacies among the autocratic Arabic tribes had taken place. Hence it was considered inviolable and set apart from common or ordinary use. Thus the evolution symbolised the vital importance of the conception of covenant and confederacy, by associating it with a Deity, who would be a witness to such momental occasions and compacts. The 'Ill' might serve as a conductor of conditional imprecations of potential punishments for the transgression of the duties involved.

4. We excluded other meanings which we did not need to serve our purpose.
See Lane's Lexicon - article 'Ill'.

We shall not go into details about the rise and development of the practises observed in a covenant. Generally speaking it is noteworthy that the covenant state has been usually produced, or at a later time symbolised by artificial means; eating or drinking together, or being inoculated with one another's blood.^A

Furthermore, the relation produced by the covenant, as well as the real intention of the ritual, depends largely on the nature and social interest which led to such covenant. Sometimes the covenant produces kinship and introduces the stranger into the clan which comes to adopt him.

Among the ancient Arabs, adoption^B was practised not only on the ground of the lack of an offspring as it is nowadays. It was approached from the other partner who, for various reasons might have felt the necessity of joining another tribe.

A. Covenants of blood and salt are very ancient Semitic institutions and prevailed all over Arabia. The form of undertaking varies. At Mecca the prevailing custom was for the parties to dip their hands in a pan of blood and taste its contents, in other places they opened a vein and mixed their fresh blood. Again they would each draw the other's blood and smear it on seven stones set up in the midst. The later Arabs instituted the blood of the camel or sheep or human blood.

B. The term 'adoption' in its earlier and general sense would stand for the system of *Hilf* and *Mowalah* by means of which social unity and social obligation might be fulfilled without being based on kinship.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Article - Adoption.

Before he could be admitted to the membership of the proposed tribe, he had to 'strip off'^A his old tribal connection, or be expelled from it. In the same way, the individual might join the *hayy*. This was a political and social unity which had its own pastures, own waters and cattle, and thus acquired independent interests and even exercising blood-feud against his old brethren. The unity of the *hayy* was maintained primarily by the principle that all must act together in war (i.e., blood feud), and that no one must protect his kinsmen for the murder of a man of his own *hayy*.

A covenant which applies adoption was a characteristic feature of social-structure, by virtue of which a member of the 'out-group' is assimilated in the 'in-group' in accordance with kinship pattern. This may be illustrated by some practices which participate in the nature of 'admission rites'.

This takes the shape of a symbolic birth ceremony, according to which the adopted child may be suckled by the wife of the adopter, or by bearing him on the knees of the person who adopted him.

A. The commentator on the *Hamasa* says expressly that the same man cannot belong to more than one group and one *hayy*. Before a man can enter a new *hayy* by adoption he must strip off his old tribal connections or be expelled from it.

An adopted member of a tribe was called Da^ci, supposedly under the old customary law of Arabs the "Mawla" was a stranger who had, after a period of probation, become affiliated to another tribe, with the members of which he stood on an equal footing as regards duties and privileges. After Islam the name 'Mawali', clients, was applied to inhabitants of the ^{subjugated} ~~acquired~~ territories outside Arabia which became Moslems, these became affiliated to some Arab tribes amongst the conquerors.¹

Among the Rwala, the blood-relationship 'beni al amm' is sometimes given to the entire clan, at the wish of their chiefs.²

Sometimes the covenant expressed the inter-action of more complex units. The social interests in response to which these inter-actions occur are more diffuse than those served by kinship. Consequently an organising mechanism of a different order comes into play. A system of mutual services and obligations based on a standing arrangement between lineage-unit emerges to constitute some fields of social relations.

1. cf. Kamil of Mubbarid, Van Vloten; p.286.
Aghani, v.II. p.167.
Mu'akhah's rights; Bukari, v6. p.114.
2. Musil: Op.cit. p.47.

When Sahilah adopted Sa^hil, she gave him her milk and so created a foster-relation between them. By so doing he was allowed to enter her presence. This may be viewed as a means to loosen the restriction of the hijab imposed upon Muslim women. Grandquist; Birth and childhood among the Arabs - relates that this custom is still observed in Palestine. p.114.

The following confederacies are examples for corresponding social functions among the early Arabs.

The famous *hilf al fuqūl*, was instituted and organised by several Qurayshite sub-clans, who banded themselves together to intervene on behalf of the oppressed, i.e., he who was treated unjustly, be he a citizen or a foreigner arrived within the city limits. At the formation of this confederacy Zamzam water was drunk. This indicated the ceremonial aspect of the covenant, to ensure and symbolise the principle of inviolability.¹

1. Islamic Culture; April, 1937.
Ibn Abd Rabiḥ, II. p.45.
Suhaily; v.I. pp.90-94.
Musnad Ibn Hanbal, v.I. p.190.

The office of 'Ashnaq may be mentioned in this connection. It is said that the family of Abu Bakr held this office hereditarily. It meant that whoever committed a compoundable tort or crime, the officer in charge of 'Ashnaq determined the extent and value of the pecuniary liability and the whole city was bound by his sentence and the family of the culprit subscribed towards the amount.

Musil reports the following on the protection from oppressors among the Rawal Bedouine;

If a man of power oppressed a weaker one and the latter is unable to defend himself, he ties a piece of black tent cloth to a stick or spear, rides around the camp of his kin and shouts that his 'face' has been insulted by so and so. When he gets back his 'rights' he declares publicly this is so and ties a white cloth to a stick and makes a circuit of all the camps in the vicinity.

Op.cit. p.451.

It is possible to obtain protection for animals in dispute by leading them into the sacred precincts of the protector's tent, or by bringing a handful of hair cut from them.

Op.cit. p.443.

Some early confederacies may participate in the nature of racial, ethnic and politico-economic organizations.

As such is the *ḥilf al Aḥabish*, which brought together the Quraish, the Abyssinian and negro elements in Mekkah.

Two other covenants, *ḥilf al Muṭṭayyibin*, Confederacy of the Perfumed, and *La'qat al Damm*; Blood-lickers, may reflect an early dispute among sub-clan associations on religio-political domination and authority.¹

The *Hilfal at Mutayaybin*, the league which 'Abd Manaf formed with several Quraysh clans against the 'Abd-al-Dar, when the latter declined to give up their privileges on the Ka'abah, (El Muḥabbar). The name of Muṭṭayyibin is said to be derived from the fact that the confederates dipped their hands in a vessel of tib, perfume, at the Ka abah, and then rubbed the Ka'abah. The Abd-al-Dar on their part formed later a league with other clans and were called al-Ahlaḥ or la'akat El Dam (Blood lickers). The name derived from the fact that they dipped their hands in a vessel of blood and each tasted it and then rubbed the Ka'abah.

1. Ya'qubi: v.I. p.288. v.II. p.10.
v.I. p.279

cf. Encyclopaedia Islam: art - Ḥilf.

However, some early Arab covenants were based primarily on a mutual standing arrangement to safeguard economic interests. This may be explained by the escort system, prevailing in Arabia in pre-Islamic times. A trader who set out from Yemen or Hejaz for Dumatul-Jandal in the extreme north of Arabia acquired the services of the Quraishite escort as long as he travelled in a country inhabited by the Mudarite tribe or their allies, by virtue of a covenant between Quraish and Mudar. In like manner the Kalbites never harassed them as they were allied to the Banu b Jusham, and the Tayites would observe the same escort on account of their alliance with the Banu Asad. Simultaneously on the ground of the principle of reciprocity and mutuality as a binding force for such obligations, in the fair of Ar-Rabiah in Hadramaut the Quraishite were escorted by the Banu ²Akil ¹al-murar. Others were escorted wherever Rabi^cah tribes inhabited the land.²

1. Ibn Habib: Al Muḥabbar. pp. 263, 266.

It seems that similar organisations are existing among the Kwalla Bedouins. According to Musil, the wholesale dealers have their middlemen (agents) 'Aqajl'. Such a Akyl, agents have in every large clan their Akh (brother) to whom they pay one good riding camel and two . . . annually. . . . This brother, on his part is obliged to restore to them every camel stolen by a member of his clan.

Musil: Op.cit. pp.278,279,280, 281.

It seems likely that there were confederacies, regardless of segmentary units, based on occupational grounds.

Reference may be made to alliation of the craftsmen to the Arab tribal structure. Among the Rwala for instance, every settlement of inner Arabia has its blacksmith who works for the whole clan. Sani^c is the term usually used which corresponds to the early Arab term 'qain'. The Sunna^c form among themselves kins of their own, and the blacksmiths of Rwala are relatives 'beni al-am' of all blacksmiths in Arabia. In every tribe or segmentary unit there is an Akh (brother), whose duty is to return to them anything of which a member of his own tribe has robbed them.

Though they are theoretically looked upon as members of the tribe, no bedouin, not even a member of dispersed tribes, would marry the daughter of a blacksmith, nor let his daughter marry him. So the Sunna^c remain as 'out-groups' within the frame of the larger community, governed by a 'set-apart' taboo which may participate in the nature of occupational-avoidance.

Similar occupational avoidances are reported of some pastoralists, viz: the Masai. According to Prof. Forde, iron weapons and ornaments are made by families of smiths. Although they are members of the tribe, similar in race and speech, they constitute a distinct caste, they are not despised or feared but a magical atmosphere surrounds their work and they are said to be unclean (ritually polluted), because the weapons they make lead to the spilling of blood.

I. Musil: Op.cit. pp.281-282.
Forde: (C.Daryll): Habitat, Economy & Society, 1934, Ch. XIV. p. 29

At all events, generally speaking, the covenant-relationship produces an identity in the status of the individuals or the societies who are mutually inoculated by the vital principle as well as certain ritual actions. These may be consequent to, or meant to co-ordinate aims and interests as well as mutual agreement and sympathy within a recognised cultural pattern.

The psychological effect of such a covenant may be truly expressed in the words of Crawley¹ when he says, "Each has a part of the other in his keeping, and this part not only assimilates each to the other by transmission of properties, but as a pledge, deposit and hostage. Thus identity of interests is sacred and the possibility of mutual treachery or wrong is prevented, not only by the fact that injury done to B. by A. is equivalent to injury done by A. to himself, but also by the fact that, if B. is wronged, he may work vengeance by injuring A. through the part of A. which he possesses."

The principle of reciprocity is also observed in covenant relationships. There is also a ceremonial aspect for confederacy procedure. This ceremonial aspect may be associated with a substance of ritual value, viz: Zamzam water, blood, milk, salt, fire, sacred enclosures or mountains. The

1. Crawley: Mystic Rose, p.237.

covenant reflects sometimes an integrity of mutual interests and necessitates the observance of inviolability, the avoidance of harm. Again it may produce a kinship relation too.

Hence the underlying purpose of eating and exchange of common possessions is to make the whole adhere in the part entirely dependent upon each other, to make their aims and interests the same, to produce identity in which kinship sometimes is involved. The acts and practises are the vehicles of conditional oaths or curses verbally pronounced, or formally observed.

The foregoing interpretation may be easily comprehended if we look upon 'inoculation' in its wider sense. The nucleus of the process, in its relation to covenant-relationship, seems to be the act of 'passing into'¹ or entering in the covenant. This appears to be undertaken through any recognised means of 'protective covenant' which might automatically establish the obligation of mutual protection. It follows that 'inoculation' does not only produce identity mutuality in some aims and interest as well as assimilation in properties.² It serves

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1. cf. Van Gennep: *Les Rites de Passage*. p.45.
H. Clay Trumbull: *The Threshold Covenant*, Edinburgh 1890. (Appeals at the Threshold) and passing over into a covenant.
 2. This seems a reasonable explanation of the form of covenant of Ibn. Hish, 297, *Lisan*, S.V. Hadam. The addition in *Lisan*, 1289, Ch.I., p.5., seems to mean 'your blood (feud) is mine, and the blood which you leave unavenged, I leave unavenged'.

to render each of the partakers immune and hostage at the same time to one another.

This interpretation may help to explain various well-known Arab customs of hospitality, adoption and protection.¹ To present oneself at the dwelling place of an Arab, or to take hold of the supports or cords of his tent, is considered as an effective means of securing his protection.

Among the Rwala Bedouin a refusal of protection is a disgrace, it would 'blacken one's honour'. Such a person would not be allowed to their meetings. One who has to ask protection may enter the tent of the one whose protection he desires. It is even sufficient to be within the range of its sacred precincts, (miharim). This begins either at the limits of hearing distance (Haq al-Sawt), or at a full spear's length from the farthest tent pegs.

Disgracing the harem of the tent is thus punished - the distance from the protecting tent to the tent of the culprit is measured by steps and the latter must give a camel for every step in compensation.²

1. cf. Da'i. Bukari, Frai'd, p.28.

The covenant of alliance and protection was based upon an oath called qasama, a word which implies reference to the presence of a sacred object before alliance was sealed. The sacredness of the threshold may account for the obligation of protection within the tent.

2. Musil: Op.cit. p.442.

The Black Stone.

It is of interest to mention some traditions related by Muslim authorities on the Sacred Black Stone.

1. The Black Stone seems to be a very ancient object of veneration among the Arabs. Its reputation may be due to the fact that it is an aerolite. Owing to this it has been treated with awe from remote times, either because of its peculiar shape or just because it fell from the sky. But this 'Black-Stone' was only one, though a very special one, of many stones looked upon as of capital ritual value by the Arabs. At our state of knowledge we can hardly confirm that the 'Black-Stone' itself was taken as an abode of the deity. It is generally understood that the Stone and the deity are either identified or associated. Sometimes as if the stone were an emblem, symbol of the Deity, or as if it were the dwelling place of the deity, or a numen.

A number of fetishes are known to exist in Arab heathenism, and in some respects did survive after Islam. Beside the Black-Stone we should refer to an idol called Dhu-l Khalasa, a white stone, once adorned at Tabala, we are told that it is now the threshold of a Mosque.¹

2. We have the Muslim tradition that it came down from heaven 'snow-white' and was blackened by the touch of sin. According to another by the kissing of unbelievers.^{2.3.}

If we accept as a general rule that ritual throws more light on early ideas of religion than the professed doctrine, we may refer in this connection to the observance called 'Umra'^{4.} This included the circuit round the Ka'abah, the stroking of the Black-Stone, and the ceremony called Sa'y, i.e., the running between Safa and Merwah. This practice survived in Islam.

1. M.Ibn Habib, Muhabbar, it was in Ba'ala near Mecca and now at Bayt Kassar. p.316.

2.3. Tabari: Jami'el Bayan - Tafsir, Ch.II. pp.421,431 and el Athar al Baqiah, pp.83,87. Bladhari: Fiteh al Buldan, p.53.

4. Muhammed Ibn Habib; Al Muhabbar gives us valuable information on customs of the Jahiliya which Islam has partly adopted. pp.309-311.

The part played by the Black-Stone could be compared with the Golden Stool of the Ashanti. Cf. Hollis: p.286-288/9. The Sky God is believed to have sent it to make the Ashanti a great and important nation and if it was taken or destroyed, the destruction of the people would follow.

Similar traditions are related about the 'Station of Abraham'. 'Maqam Ibrahim' it is said to be the stone on which the print of Abraham's toes was shown. The legend continues that people used to stroke it until the traces wore away and the impression was no longer visible.¹

The foregoing data gives us the impression of a physical quality of sacredness among the Arabs. Brightness or whiteness is attributed to the Black Stone as if to immemorate its sacredness, brightness being the symbol of holy in a sense of utter absence of any ethical or moral connotation. Nevertheless, in order to justify its black colour, elaborate explanations have been made in the form of attributing it to impurities, as a result of the contact of persons in a state of ritual pollution.

1. cf. Jahiz: Ḥayawan, vol.IV. p.206. 'Hajar Ibrahim'.

In fact the Arabs regard blackness as synonymous with evil, enmity, harm. The term 'dailam' reflects such attitudes. It is commonly used to refer to the Abyssinians, i.e., black race and to the inhabitants of mountainous tracts who were famous for their enmity towards the Arabs. It is also applied to a place where beasts and camels get diseases through insects. Hence it expresses calamity and misfortune as well as blackness.

Lane's Lexicon: v. al Dailam.

As to the rite of 'kissing' the Black Stone, it may be explained in general terms, providing that the kiss is a specialised form of contact with a sacred object. From a religious point of view, it is a symbol of fellowship; it possesses a sacramental value. It was a recognised rite of adoration. On leaving and entering his dwelling place, the Arab used to kiss his tribal God. Thus the Black Stone may be considered as a visible focal point of tribal cohesion.

It is also customary among the common Arabs, when the Qur'an is dropped, to kiss it.¹ The meeting point between the social and religious aspects of the kiss, is to be found in the application of the salute to saints and pious old men. Inferiors kiss the hands of superiors.

The underlying motive, however, of the contact, whether in the form of kissing or stroking, is of twofold character.

A. To reinforce one's share of man's potency, baraka, to prepare oneself for critical or solemn occasions.

B. To wipe out a state of defilement on the assumption that the sacred occult power, being of higher degree, would expect, at a distance, anything which contradicts its nature. Ascribing the 'blackness' of this sacred


1. The Hebrews seem to follow the same rite. Cf. The Dictionary of the Bible - Article; 'Kiss'.

stone to the touch of women in a state of ritual impurity¹ is significant.⁴ It expresses the view that acts considered sins from the religious point of view were looked upon as physical pollution of a material nature.

It has been looked upon from time immemorial as the divine object that had indicated the place of the 'House of God'. This gives a comprehensive understanding of the reason why it lasted and continues to occupy a principal place in their devotions, even under Islam. It is desirable to refer to various legends of traditions generally characterized with a tendency of representing it as the corner stone (Rekn)

1. Tabari: pp. 87, 88.

A. This may be considered in the light of the method of purification found particularly in Polynesia. It consisted in transferring a state of pollution from one person to a sacred object which could safely absorb it or neutralize the malevolent aspect of the potency without deleterious consequences to himself.



of the first foundation of the Haram the Ka'abah.

Owing to the memorial importance of such corner-stones in the life of the Arab communities, it is often represented as an original foundation for a temple and has been counted sacred for all time. Therefore, it is not to be swept away or ignored in any rebuilding or new building of the temple. When, for any reason, the ancient shrine must be demolished, it was deemed essential to remove it to the new site. This is clearly reflected in Arabic literature in records on the reconstruction of the Ka'abah at Mecca.^{1.A}

There is a probable connection between the Black-Stone and the sacred Qubbah. This may provide a prototype of Arab sanctuary. The traditions associated with this deduction represent the station of the Baitullah al Haram as a red Qubbah placed on a rabwah (high place).^{2.B.}

1. Ibn Hisham: Sirat al Nabi. pp.209 ff.

A. It is reported that the Arabs feared first to demolish the Ka'abah, though they considered it indispensable to raise its structure after the theft of its treasure hidden in the well inside it. When they started the task, every tribe collected a part of the stones for the building. They quarrelled amongst themselves, for each tribe wished to have the honour of raising the Black Stone into its place. Finally, it was agreed upon, the (Amin) Mohammed, to be umpire. He thereupon ordered them to place the stone upon a cloth and each tribe, through its representative, took hold of the cloth and lifted it into its place. (Ibn Hisham. p.213.)

2. Tabari: Ibid. Ch.I. 429,430. Ibn Qotaibah. Ma'arif: 243-244. Qur'an: suras, 107:3, 14:37, 2:126. 14:35, 14:37,38, 22:28, 2:125, 2:127.

B. This corresponds to Bamah in Canaanite practices.

This may be explained by certain considerations which point to the earlier divine character and function of the Qubbah. This is evidenced by a brief account of some early Arab customs and practises.

In pre-Islamic times the role of the Qubbah, in the religious life of the pagan Arabs, was conjoined often with the cult of bytels, i.e., sacred stones.

Generally speaking, the bytels, were regularly housed in the red Qubbah. Very often, they were carried within the Qubbah upon the back of a camel, either in sacred processions or for being brought into battle of critical character and decision for the destiny of the tribe.

Thus obviously the Qubbah was the housing of the tribal emblems or deities. Its presence during a battle inspired the tribal warriors to superhuman deeds.^A

A. The Qubbah must be safeguarded at all costs. This may be illustrated by some historical events. For instance Jadimah, the Lahmite King at Hira, is recorded to have two idols called 'Daizanan' (literally the two smiters), givers of victory. When he undertook war, he carried them with him, thinking they would bring him victory. We are told also that Abu Sufyan, the leader of the Quraish, carried the images of the two Goddesses of al-Lat and al-Uzza, in their sacred tent or qubbah, into the critical battle of Ohod. It is said that he proclaimed in this battle that the fate of the army depended upon the banner. 'If this sinks the army will be overcome.'

Similar practises seem to have survived among the Rwala who, when waging major war may take with them a special kind of litter called al-Markab, (Atfa) called 'Abu'l dahar, the Father of the Indefinite period, i.e., Eternity.

It seems that it was customary to consult the sacred Qubbah in moments of crisis, when the existence of the clan was at stake. For example, when severe drought made it necessary for the clan to seek new pasturing grounds. The Qubbah housed with bytels, would be their guide, where it stayed it might be the very place for their settlement. Similar traditions are recorded about the choice of places of worship, viz: the Mussallah. (Tabari: Ch.I. p.752. Masil: Op.cit. p.571-573 - The Tribal Emblem.

This ritual value of the Qubbah may provide good reason for some of the Arab tribes being called the people of the Qubbah.¹

It is noteworthy that the sacred 'red tent' was used, perhaps in a latter time, as a dwelling place for either political or religious leaders. This may be confirmed by the information given in Ibn Habab about the Homs,² i.e., the rigid religious people of Quraish and their allied tribes.

According to him, the 'Homs' used to dwell in red qubbas whenever they left the Haram, their proper dwelling place. This may suggest to us that the red Qubbah was either a substitute for the sacred Haram, they are attached to, or it could be the peculiar housing of the so-called people of the Haram, or the people of God, as they called themselves.

After Islam, the Qubbah persisted in certain circles and came to be designated as Qubbatul-Islam, in order to distinguish it from the form of Qubbatu l Jahiliyah. This fact is well illustrated by the procedure of 'Aishah, at the Battle of the 'Camel' against 'Ali. We are told that she took her place in a hawdaj; a litter, mounted upon a sturdy camel and with her,

1. Jahiz: Hayawan: Vol. V. p.486.
cf. Alusy: Blough al 'Arab, Vol.III. p.264.

2. Ibn Habib: Muhebbar, p.181.
cf. Ibid. p.195.

she carried a copy of the Qur'an. We may allude that in this event the Qur'an was a substitute for the bytel.

It is particularly significant to draw attention to some points of similarity between the traditions related about the sacred Black Stone in its connection with the sacred Qubbah, and those about the 'Taboot', i.e., the Ark in its connection with the tabernacle or the tent of meeting among the ancient Hebrews.¹

The 'alibi qisas al Anbiyah, p.150.

1. Julian Morgenstern discussed in considerable detail the origin of the so-called 'Ark of the Covenant'. Among other matters, he endeavoured to show the various functions which the 'Ark, the Ephod' and the 'Tent of meeting' served, such as, accompanying the tribe into battle to assure them of victory, and selecting the road they took in order to reach their goal safely. Then he concluded that all these three sacred objects must have been regarded originally as the abode or container of tribal deity or bytels.

Critical scholars hold that the Ark was in the earliest time a kind of movable sanctuary (Wellhausen). The ancient Egyptians and Babylonians had similar structures for carrying their idols about.

It is noteworthy, however, that like the Black Stone, the Ark was placed in the Temple of Solomon.

That may reveal the origin of the 'Synagogue' as a permanent institution when a place for common worship and instruction had become necessary.

The narratives associated with them preserve, regardless of their data, an early element of primitive practice of sacrifice. 1.2.

This may suggest the possibility of regarding them as a crude form of altars. Thus the reverence paid to such two places might be explained by the awe felt at the approach to altars. These were considered as maqams; holy spots, housed or endowed with divine principle.

We may consider Şafa as a natural high place (Rabwah). The rivulet called the Ghabghab which flowed into the sacred

1. Qur'an Sura 37:102. of. Genesis xxii.
 Zamakhshari I. p.224.
 Tha'alibi: p.60.
 Baidawi: I. p.291.

2. According to Arabic literature, it was to this place or thereby that the Patriarch Abraham came to sacrifice one of his sons (Ishmael) according to some and Isaac according to others. It is of interest to bear in mind, that Abraham is assumed to be, according to Hebrew literature, the first one who built up altars to God. We may then safely infer that this sort of tradition is an indication of the diffusion of the same belief, reappearing in another form, after undergoing modification. This may be illustrated by another latter narrative in connection with the same place and to indicate the same purpose. Abdull-Muttalib, was said to be about to sacrifice his son Abdullah in fulfilling a vow to God had he succeeded in finding out the sacred well of Zamzam. In another version the vow is said to be fulfilled in case his offspring counts ten and would be able to defend him and give him glory. The narrative ends in like manner. The intended human sacrifice, as a result of Istisqam, was finally ransomed by a hundred camels. These were divided among the Quraish who suggested he should follow the advice of a Jewish Kahinah on vicarious sacrifice.

From the mythological point of view, these narratives may be considered as representation of a passing away type of sacrifice and introducing another (vicarious). They mark the abolition of the primitive custom of human sacrifice.

well of Zamzam,¹ would represent the channel and the cave of the remote antiquity.

Another development in the Arabic altar was the Nusob which corresponds to the Hebrew Masseba, or the sacred pillar, frequently resembling, in a rough way, a phallus in which 'numen' was supposed to dwell. Among the pagan Arabs, when the Nusob served at once as an emblem of the presence of the mysterious potency, as well as an altar, the term 'wathan' seems to be generally applied to it. It seems also that the term 'wathan' indicates originally the two-fold meaning of 'altar and monolith' or 'phallus'. This term 'wathan' which appears to designate mainly 'the abode of numen' and thus distinct from the term Şanam; idol, which was a mere carved image or statue to represent or symbolise the deity. We may assume that the 'wathan', i.e., 'phallus' or 'monoliths' were of earlier date than the Aşnam. The simplest evidence is that the term 'wathan' is pure Arabic, while the term Şanam is borrowed from the Aramaic. Moreover, the statements related by Arab authorities on the

1. It is of interest to mention that the origin of the well Zamzam is also associated with the Patriarch Abraham in Arabic literature, in a manner parallel to the foregoing narrative. According to Muslim writers, Ibrahim brought his wife (Hajar) and her son (Ismael) to this very place on command of God. The boy was afflicted with thirst. In her need, Hajar stood on the two hills of Safa and Marwah, to look for water and she ran hither and thither between them. This was the origin of the Sa'y.

The boy then impatiently thrust his foot or toe into the sand and thus the spring of Zamzam arose.

From an anthropological point of view, the circuits of the Sa'y, are due to the imitation of the heavenly bodies in their circular motion, a phenomenon that is always connected with Star-worship.

question of the introduction of idolatry among the Arabs, may support this view.

It seems that at a later stage the distinction between a 'wathan' and a sanam was narrowed to the extent that the former came to designate an idol that has the shape of a human being, and the second to indicate any statue or image that represents the deity worshipped. Sometimes the two terms, wathan and sanam, were used indifferently for an idol.

Isaf and Naylah were erected on the Şafa and Marwa. Various traditions represent them as if they were two persons, a man and a woman who committed adultery in the Ka'abah. Owing to the wrath of God for defiling His sacred house, He transformed them into stones.

Up to the eve of Islam they were worshipped and revered by Qurayah. The legends attributed to them may be associated with the practise of stoning as a sanction or punishment for breaching a taboo.

Ibn ul Kalbi states that sanam were introduced into Mecca by Amr B. Lahi, from Syria, only a short time before Islam. Ibn Isbaq gives another tradition which ascribes their introduction to Aduhail B. Mirdas, but again says that they were conveyed from Syria, not long before the time of Mohammed.

Ibn al Kalbi: Asnam, pp.50-51.
 Ibn Hisham: Sirat al Nabi. p.81 ff.

Stoning is generally regarded as an expression, in a material form, of the hatred and the capital punishment the transgressor might undergo.

Sometimes the tendency is reflected in the stoning of the graves of individuals taken to be malevolents and traitors. Instances are available in Arabia up to this time. For example, when Abraham invaded the Hijaz and fought the battle of the Elephant, he was guided by one called Abi-Righal, his grave is situated near El-Taif, and to this day, passing Arabs throw stones at it, in detestation of Abi Righal's treachery.

The grave of Abu Lahab, the uncle of the Prophet, and one of his most bitter persecutors, is stoned too. Another grave near the Shuhada, which is stoned, is that of Abu Juhayna who as Amir of Mekka, was considered one of the most oppressive rulers.

We may infer, that in like manner the legends attributed to Isaf and Naylah, which tend to represent them as committing adultery in the Holy Land, are meant to portray such sacrilege as a capital vice. The adequate punishment for which is not only stoning, but invoking the wrath of God who would turn the aggressors into statues of stone.¹

1. cf. Ibn Habib; Al Muhabbar pp.309-311.
Al Shahrastani Milal. p.442.

So we may assume that the reality of such legends seems to lie in their social function. They serve principally to establish a retrospective moral pattern of behaviour, connected with the human attitude towards the sacred places and tend to codify such moral value and safeguard the efficiency of the ritual rules.^{1.A.}

Furthermore, we may assume that this general tendency was fused into the domain of magico-religious phenomena at a very remote time. Thus various theories propounded to explain the significance of throwing pebbles at Mina, may receive adequate consideration.

It is of interest to mention some of these theories:-

I. Houtsma thinks that the stoning was originally directed at the Sun-demon. According to him, with the expulsion of the Sun-demon, whose harsh worship comes to an end with the worship of the Thunder God, who brings fertility. This may be proved by its connection with the festival of Muzdalifa. Also the name Tarwiyah 'moistening' may be also explained, as a sympathetic rain-charm, traces of which survive in the libation of Zamzam water.

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1. B. Malinowski; Myth in Primitive Psychology.
The Frazer Lectures: 1922-1932. pp.116, 172, 88.
Boas: Race, Language and Culture, 1940. p.317.

A. This line of thought is expressed among the womenfolk by the term 'mashkut'. Magakhit as a technical term means people of whom the wrath of God has alighted for some crime committed in the past and on account of which they have been changed. Thus the belief that the statues and images of the Pharaonic times were really the vestiges of ancient infidels. However, such antiques and stones are magically used for fertility purposes by barren women.

Similarly it is related that at Selengai in the Masai country, near some ancient wells, there is a cylindrical block called the Selengei stone. It is said by the Masai to be a girl who was turned into stone. Huntingford: Op.cit. p.123.

II. Van Vloten connects the rite with snake-worship or demonology. This theory has been refuted by Houtama.¹

III. We emphasize the view of explaining this rite by comparing it with Frazer's² view on the transference of evil to stone.

"Sometimes the motive for throwing the stone is to ward off a dangerous spirit, sometimes it is to cast away an evil, sometimes it is to acquire a good. Yet perhaps, if we could trace them back to their origin in the mind of primitive man, we might find that they all resolve themselves more or less exactly into the principle of the transference of evil."

Thus the throwing of stones and pebbles, would be a form of ceremonial purification which serves a two-fold purpose, viz: ridding one's self of evil, and casting the evil to whatever one hates. It is commonly conceived as a sort of physical rather than a moral purgation.

Applying that to the Muslim observance, the underlying idea may perhaps have been that the pilgrims cleanse themselves by transferring their ceremonial impurity to stones as well as showing their hatred and disregard to the previous religious ideas. Similar customs connected with the cult of ancestral spirits are reported of some pastoral communities.

1. Encyclopaedia of Islam - article - Hadjdj.
cf. Zwemer: The influence of Animism in Islam, p.16.

2. Fraser: The Scapegoat: pp.23-24.

It is reported that the Masai bury the bodies of ritual experts and rich men in shallow graves, covering them with stones. ¹Whenever anybody passes this spot, he throws a stone on the heap.²

The wayside cairns in Koki, and Karamoijong in Uganda are also connected with the cult of the ancestral spirits and the belief is that if the passer-by fails to add his stone, he will die.³

We may connect the narrative around Isaf and Mal'lah with the general Arabic belief in the *Ĥama* or *Şada*. This is known to be the soul of the deceased after separating itself from the body. It often took the shape of a bird that was always believed to ask for revenge in case the deceased was the victim of a violent death. Thus the superstition that they were believed to be endowed or inhabited by *hamas* or spirits or some sort of destructive *mana* potency.

According to Azraqi, the original wathans erected on *Şafa* and *Muswah* were called, *Nahic*, *Mijawir el riĥ* and *Muĥ'im al Tayr*. An examination of the foregoing statement may reveal the following possibilities.

1. *Hollis: The Masai, p.306.*

2.1. *E. J. Wayland in Journal of the Royal Anthropological Inst. 1931. LXI, p.221.*

A. The term Nahic, is an ambiguous term. It has the two-fold sense of granting power, as well as depriving one of his power. It is here associated with the wind. In a figurative way the epidemic or drought or whatever evil it may be, is conceived among the Arabs as a wind blowing across the plains and sweeping all before it. Thus it has to be encountered by a 'sacrifice' which bestrides the path, and saves the lives of the inhabitants by protecting them against the evil which, in one way or another, threatens their existence. This view may be confirmed by a statement in el Mubabbar where reference is made to the pagan custom of 'feeding the Saba; the morning wind'. It may be comprehensive in the light of the general primitive rituals concerning the sacrifice.

B. The other term Muṭ-im al Ṭair; 'The feeder of birds' may indicate that to this very spot sacrifices were brought and the carcasses of the victims were left to be eaten by birds.

C. It is also possible to conceive ṭair as the ghosts of the dead who are clothed like birds, who become demons and fly like birds, and wander over the earth until driven by magico-religious rites.

However, both Arab proverb and poetry bear witness to 'birds' being spoken of as attending a victorious army¹ to feed upon the corpses of the enemy. On the other hand the opposing army becomes certain of vanquishment and of being eaten by birds.

Fakihiy: Al Muntaqa min Akhbar Umm al Qura. p.6.

The legend reflects also historical inter-relations of a political kind. Here two lineages of different clans are politically associated in a struggle for sovereignty, and the downfall of the one is explained and justified on a mythological aspect, which might create social differentiation on ritual as well as moral grounds.

Jaussen: Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab.
cf. Langdon ibid. p.329. The description of the lower world.
cf. Frazer: Folklore in the Old Testament.

1. i.e. When he goes out with the Army, flocks of birds, hover over his head. The birds are made as if they knew that the army which they follow would slay the enemy and that they would thus feed on dead bodies.

A well known kind of imprecation among the Arabs is the saying "May the 'birds' tear your flesh to pieces." ¹

In its religious aspect we may link the foregoing data with 'Ishtar'. A title of Ishtar was uttu, a Sumerian word explained by minutu (fate), the spinning Goddess. The mythology of a Goddess who spins and cuts the thread of life belongs eventually to Sumerian religion and it personifies the fatalism characteristic to all Semitic races, ² including the Arabs.

Langdon³ draws the attention to the diffusion of Babylonian religious ideas with Arabia. According to him, the Mother-goddess of the Nabataean, 'Allat' identified with Core by the Greeks, is essentially the North Semitic Ashtart and the Babylonian Ishtar. Allat of Petra and throughout the Nabataean kingdom becomes the 'Fortuna' or defender of her cities. In this aspect of Babylonian and Assyrian mythology Ishtar, identical with Canaanite Ashtoreth, was described as the protectress of habitations.

1. Maidani Majma' al 'Amthal (Part I) 'Tubadid bi ishmic al Tair.' Meaning, may the man die and his flesh be dispersed and eaten by birds.

2. Langdon; The Semitic Goddess of Fate. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1929.

3. Langdon; Semitic Mythology, p.19. of. Qazwini Athar el Bilad; 'A four sided stone was worshipped as Allat, who in a Nabataean inscription was called, 'Mother of the Gods'. Cited by Brunnow, p.188.

In like manner it may be assumed that the Tairah in question was a representation of the destructive mana potency of one of the goddesses; Manāt, 'Uzza or Allāt, which may work automatically against the breacher of a taboo or the violator of the sacred area under their domain.

However, we may assume that at an early stage the dove (Hamameh) became sacred to Ashtoreth among the Northern Semites. It received divine honour, probably because it was a symbol of this deity. Hence the protecting of doves is a pre-Islamic custom at Mecca; a town in which the dove is safe. There was a dove-idol¹ in the Ka'abah where sacred doves used to hover round. The sacredness of 'dove' seems to belong to the Arab counterpart of Ashtoreth.

Finally it is of interest to touch on the ritual value of the 'Hijr'.

A. Reference may be made to the institution of Nasi² intercalation among the pagan Arabs. According to Ibn Habib,³

1. Ibn Hisham; p.821.
cf. R. Smith; Kinship among the early Arabs, p.229, p.244.

2. Further details on this point are left for later consideration. Definite evidence of the intercalation of a month is found in the astronomer Abu Ma'shar al Balkhi's work 'Al Uluf', vol.xi (1858) p.168. Following him Al Bruni, who also deals at length with this intercalation in his chronology, edited Sachau, pp.11. 62.

3. Ibn Habib; Al Muhabbar; p.156 (Nas at).

the 'qalammas'¹ used to settle down in the hijr and proclaim in the month of pilgrimage, whether the next month would be sacred or profane. Apparently there is a link between this spot (hijr) and performing divining or prophecy.

B. In latter traditions the same place is also associated with vision (Ro'yah). According to Muslim authorities, the rediscovery of the sacred well of Zamzam was due to a vision that came to 'Abdullah b. Hisham during his stay in the hijr.²

C. Some traditions represent the hijr as the place where the Patriarch Abraham, on Gabriel's command, abandoned his son Ishmael with his mother Hajar. Others would assume that they were buried in this hijr of Mecca. It is possible that the place was a sacred spot in antiquity. The association of Abraham with the spot may be taken as a manifestation of the diffusion of ideas linking the Patriarch with sacred spots.

D. This place seems to be marked by the curved wall called al Hatim. The extension of the spot appears to comprise the part between the angle of the Black Stone, the Well of Zamzam and the Maqam Ibrahim. It came to be tabooed on account of its sacredness. Later traditions indicate a link between the hijr as an inviolable place^{3,4} and the evolution it underwent to be coupled with the Haram. This may correspond to what is known as Hima El Jahiliyah, i.e., to be exempted from the right of individual property and to be exclusively under divine protection and thus tabooed.

However, here the office is associated with the institution of Nasi⁷, which may be considered as a standardized method of 'lifting the taboo', during a certain period and re-imposing it during another. This is mainly regulated by economic and political considerations which might have necessitated the establishment of that procedure.

1. Qalammas seems to be a technical term applied to Kinanah, who got the office of divining and consultation in religious affairs.
2. Ibn Hisham: Sirat al Nabi, I, p.154-157.
3. Azraqi states that the hijr (as an enclosure) was made by Abraham beside the House of God to be a floor or a lurking place for the sheep of Ishmael.
Akhbar Mecca, p.31,308.
4. Azraqi: Akhbar Mecca, p.31,308.

TABOO AND THE RITUAL VALUE OF FOUNTAINS AND WELLS.

Among the nomad Arabs as well as some other pastoralists, water sources are of an important ritual value. The value attached upon a well, for instance, does not simply reflect a response to their requirements of drinking, cleansing and providing water for their herds, but it also expresses social functions, interrelations and obligations among various associations. A well figures sometimes as a symbol of chieftainship, a reminder of traditional voyages of an ancestor and even a resting place or embodiment of divinity.

To illustrate the cultural value attached to a well we may mention the ritual virtue of Zamzam as it can be conceived from later narratives handed to us by the Arabs. It is indisputable that its sacredness is pre-Islamic, for it is traditionally traced back to the time of Abraham and Ishmael. The name given to it gives the impression that it was considered to be of animistic principle, if we understand by Zamzam; murmuring.

The ritual office of Siqayat al-Hajj, held by Beni Hashim, Beni 'Abd Manaf, reflected one of main functional role among the Arabs. It was primarily meant to supply the pilgrims with the sacred water of Zamzam which was religiously required by every pilgrim.

The redigging of the well is often represented in Arabic folklore as a consequent of a vision by 'Abd'ul Muttabb, the grandfather of the Prophet. It is also associated with the ransom of 'Abdullah, his father, who otherwise might have been offered as a votive sacrifice.

This functional office may be viewed as an integrate part of an elaborated system of mutual service, and obligations based on a standing arrangement between two communities at large; the people of the Haram on the one hand and the outside pilgrims on the other. Apart from its material advantages to the holders of the office, it bestows upon them honour, social esteem and rank.^A

Another manifestation of the ritual role of this well, is the naming of the 8th day of Dhul Hajjah, 'Yawm al Tarwiyah' literally means, the day of drinking and giving drink to beasts designed for sacrifice. This procedure seems to be an integrate part of the ceremonies of pilgrimages.

We wonder whether it was earlier a devoted day of ceremonial drinking, or washing and bathing. However, it is reported by Rattray that among the Ashanti there is a special day set aside for 'washing the ntoro, totem'.¹

Again Zamzam water had its legal function. It was drunk as an integrate part of the ceremonies performed on the occasion of establishing a hilf, alliance, confederation.

A. We are told that 'Abd Manaf were boasting for holding this office.

Ibn Hisham: Sirat al Nabī. p. 163.

1. R.S.Rattray: Ashanti. 1923. p. 46.

The well known hilf al-Fudul, is an example.

It is significant that this hilf was formed to undertake legal functions, viz: the protection of the oppressed within the limits of the Haram. It seems that it was a structural association at a higher level of lineages to deal with matters whereby disputes might lead to war or corruption.

Zamzam water thus participates in the nature of an ordeal stuff. It is taken as a solemn appeal to mystical authority confirming a declaration of promisory in witness of the inviolability of a promise or an undertaking.^A

It is significant that homage to the water was observed by the Magians, who according to the Arab authorities, when they eat, made the 'Zamsama' to prevent anything from coming out of the mouth, as they were anxious to avoid any thing that came out from any opening in the human body.¹ Homage to water still exists among the modern Parsis.²

A. This function is often recorded about sacred wells among Semitic societies. The judgement which was by ordeal or oracle was often associated with a holy well of which the wells about Qadesh are the classical instance.

cf. John Gray: The Hunting of Ba'al. Fratricide and atonement in the mythology of Ras Shamra. In the Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Vol. x. July, 1951.

1. Al Bad: Vol. iv. p. 27.

2. R.P.Masani: The Religion of good life, Zoroastrianism. London, 1938. p. 92.

cf. The remnants of the Sabeans known to the Arabs as al-Mughtasilah from their frequent ceremonial bathings and washings.

We have evidence that in old times gifts were cast into it. That can be apprehended from the story that when it was cleaned out, two golden gazelles and a number of swords were found in it.

This statement, however, indicates that votive sacrifices were to be offered or thrown into it as a devotion to the wealth-giver. Reference might be made to what is reported in Arabic works about the existence of a well inside the sacred building of Ka'abah.¹ This well, we are told, received all that was offered to the Godhead of the Ka'abah. Several sayings and assumptions were spread around concerning the fate of the thief who tried to rob the well of its precious gifts at that time.

It may be assumed that where all ground was watered by fountains or where the divine activity was looked upon as mainly displaying itself in the quickening of the soil, and consequently providing life to its inhabitants, wells, would appear to be the direct embodiment of divine energies. Thus when we find temples were so often erected near springs, as

1. Ibn Hisham: Sirat al Nabi, p. 166.
Azraqi: Akhbar Mecca, p. 49, p. 109.

cf. Dr. Waterman's view concerning the Solomonic Temple. He believes that the Temple in Jerusalem was originally built by Solomon not primarily as a religious edifice, but as a royal storehouse or treasury.

Journal of Near Eastern Studies: article by E.Wright.
Vol. VII. 1948.

in the case of the temple of Mecca, we must not only consider that such a position was convenient, inasmuch as water was indispensable for ritual purposes; viz: ablution. We should consider that the presence of water assisting in determining the place. That is to say, the spring was not a mere adjunct to the temple, but was itself one of the principal 'sacra' of the spot, to which special legends and a special ritual were often attached, and to which the temple in many instances owed its celebrity. This is particularly the case with the Haram of Mecca. It can be also admitted that the ritual value attributed to the well of Zamzam was due to its medicinal properties with its abundant supply of purgative waters.

The nomads, up to the present day, go long distances to visit sulphur and other springs in various parts of Arabia. It was one of the great sources of income to the Meccans. Apart from its original sources made by votive offerings thrown into it, its water came to be carried about for sale in the streets and later in the mosques and especially at the time of pilgrimage.

It is of interest to report what is recorded by Jahiz¹ when he counts the properties of the Haram. He mentions the

1. Jahiz: al Hayawan. Vol. III. p. 141.

blessing and the healing power of Zamzam.

The life-giving power of the sacred well undoubtedly is held to grant to those who revere it, blessing and help in daily life. The kind of blessing which is most obvious to expect from a sacred spring, is the quickening and fertilisation of the soil. But in some instances it is not confined to the quickening of vegetation. We meet with many sacred waters which are also healing waters, particularly in the case of the well, Zamzam, whose water is still carried home by Muslim pilgrims as it is thought to be health-giving.

In mythology a serpent or dragon is sometimes connected with sacred wells.¹ This may be explained as a reflection of the necessity of protecting those wells from being approached. This might safeguard the various precious gifts, sacrifices offered and casted into them as a matter of devotion. Moreover, it might serve to safeguard the Haram or inviolated territory that surrounded them. Thus myths attached to holy sources put forth as for their sanctity were of various types, but the one general principle which runs through all the varieties of the legends, is that the sacred waters are represented in the public opinion as endowed with supernatural potency which can avenge and cast its wrath through its manifestation in a

1. W.R.Smith: Lectures on Semitic Religion, p. 176.

supernatural, frightful being.

We think that this representation mainly corresponds to guardian spirits of the well embodied in monsters, animals and so forth. At all events it does not mean that wells were taken to be endowed with genii or demoniac beings.

As every sacred object is protected by rigid taboos, it is important to mention some of the aspects concerning the sacred wells among the Arabs. That an impure person dare not approach sacred waters is a general principle, whether the impurity is moral or physical.¹ In Hadramaut, according to Macrizi, when a man was injured by enchantment, he brought all the witches suspected to a deep pool, tied stones to their backs and threw them into the water. She who did not sink was the guilty person, the meaning evidently being that the sacred element (water) rejects the criminal (unclean, impure), person.

In Arabia² a woman in a state of ritual impurity was afraid, for her children's sake, to bathe in the water of Dusares, and among the Yezidis no one may enter the valley of Sheik Adi, with

1. In Tabari, I. p. 271, we read that the water of Beersheba shrank when a woman in her courses drew from it.

The unapproachableness of the well of Zamzam is still observed by a woman ~~during her menstrual periods~~ who is in a state of ritual impurity.

2. W.R.Smith: Op. cit. p. 179.

its sacred fountains, unless he has first purified his body and clothes. The healing power of sacred water is closely connected with its purifying and consecrating power, for the primary conception of uncleanness is that of a dangerous infection. An ordeal at a sacred spring based on this principle might be worked in several ways. The Semitic method seems to have been generally by drinking the water. Evidently, if it ^{is} dangerous for the impious person to come into contact with the holy element, the danger must be intensified if he ventures to take it into his system. It was believed that in such a case the drinking of the sacred waters produced disease and death. This view may be an adequate explanation of the drinking of Zamzam water by the Tribal chiefs, who participated in the capital covenant known as Hilf al Fudul.

With a more advanced conception of the sacredness of waters, we find that the belief underlying all ritual is that

Hopkins relates similar practices among Abyssinian Gallas. He mentions also Somali ordeals of boiling water and hot iron. Hopkins: History of Religion: p. 24.

On Fetishism in Africa

Purgative waters cleanse, hence purify, i.e. renew the weakened virtue or power of a man. Water is an annual purifier, to cleanse and renew after a year's waste. A fetish before battle when virtue and power of man are most needed.

cf. Abbotts: Keys of Power, Ch. VI. p. 162-166. Water is used in the ritual bestowing of gifts. The gift is purified by water before being offered.

sacred waters are instinct with divine life and energy, that they are used as ordeals and oracles, that they are conceived in another sense to be means of removal of some taboos, imposed upon the community and its individuals.

Instances are found in the Old Testament.¹

Similar practices are still observed by the Muslims before performing their pilgrimage, following the example of Muhammad. He is said to have performed his ablution by the sacred water of Zamzam before he undertook the circuit. However, the idea was widened to the extreme. It is compulsory among the Muslims to perform ablution by water whenever they go to their prayers. Accordingly, a Muslim cannot approach a sacred place, viz: a mosque, without being sure that he has already observed his washing.

1. "And Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet there at, when they go into the tent of meeting, they shall wash with water, that they die not." (Exodus, Ch. xxx. v. 20-21.) "And the Lord said unto Moses: "Go unto the people and sanctify them, tomorrow and let them wash their garments." (Exodus, Ch. xix, v.10.) Before approaching Mount Sinai water is used to sanctify the people: "And they gathered together to Mizpah and drew water and poured it out before the lord".

TABOO AND THE RITUAL VALUE OF VEGETATION

Among the Arabs we can find illustrations that trees were believed to possess a divine character. This belief still survives in some parts of Arabia where trees are known by the name manahil.¹

This belief may be taken as a reflection on the functional usefulness of these trees and the rôle they served in the structural integration of some associations, for it seems that some particular trees were, to the early settler, his village meeting place, as well as his shelter and protection from the sun, cold and rain.

Again the root of the plant-emblem, tree cult and lore, lies sometimes in the principle that some plants possess mysterious potency which endowed them with the gifts of immortality, healing, as well as poisoning, divining and so forth. The ritual value attached to them was based on the principle of mutual reciprocity and the unfailing capital utilization of such plants in ritual, as well as secular activities.

Generally speaking, among the plants that were venerated by the Arabs, we may consider the pines and cedars of Lebanon, the evergreen oaks of Palestian Hills, the tamarisks of the

1. Doughty: Travels in Arabia Deserta: vol. i. p. 448.

Syrian jungles, the acacias of the Arabian wadies, the mandrakes, the azkhar of the sacred land of Mecca, the markh and the 'afar of Arabia, the sal' and 'Ashr, besides the cultivated trees, such as the palm, the olive and the vine. Our stage of knowledge may not allow us to point out in full the various statements and evidence to show how far that assumption corresponds to actual and real data.

Thus we might confine ourselves to referring to some instances drawn from Arab customs and beliefs which may be revealed by the following.

There is miraculous virtue in a large number of vegetable species. Some of them have magic qualities: Harmel, rue (fijel), coriander seed (qasbor), agal-wood (ud), gum-ammoniac (fasookh), gum-lemon (liban), mastic (meska), saffron (za'fran), are believed by Arab masses to keep off or drive away evil and harmful spirits.

Other species have mainly magico-medicinal qualities; the laurel (rand), and myrtle (raiḥan), are used to cure illness and charms against the evil eye. Both are taken by people visiting graves. Oleander (defla), is used as a cure for headache. by touching the head of a glowing oleander twig.

It is of interest to touch on magico-religious practices for attaining medicinal purposes through contact with plants believed to be endowed with mysterious potency. The bushes of white broom (retma) have the tips of their stalks twisted into

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knots by persons suffering from back-ache or pain in the spleen or some other complaints.

Westermarck provided an interesting interpretation of such beliefs. The patient believes that he thereby transfers his illness to this particular tree, because there is baraka in it. He would not expect to be cured by tying the tips of the trees of any ordinary tree. The transference of evil is not looked upon as an ordinary process, it can hardly be accomplished without the aid of magic energy. Hence, acts calculated to bring about such transference are performed by contact with a holy object.

Moreover, reference may be made to the pagan custom of ar-Ratimah as it is represented by Alusy.¹ Following the belief in tree spirits, the Arabs used to make out of them guardians and controllers of a wife during the husband's absence.^A Apparently the motive for the practice is not mentioned here. Nevertheless, we do not fail to conjecture that it was probably the horror of the grave physical and fatal consequences that would befall the transgressor.

Similar practices are related about some communities. There is a wide range of plants providing the Azanda with

1. Alusy: Bulugh al 'Arab.

A. Before the husband set out he would have the tips of the stalks twisted into knots. On his return he would infer that his wife had betrayed him, had he found the knot loose.

medicines, generally this is considered 'defensive sorcery', viz: medicine used for the defence of chastity and property. These are supposed to act against the adulterer, the eater of stolen food.¹

Another category is believed to be connected with the virtue of the fertilizing principle. Of this sort are the mandrakes² (love apples). The belief that the mandrake can fertilize women is still current in Palestine. The Arabic name is Abdul Salama (literally, the servant of health).

Reference may be made to the ceremonial function of some herbs, used in incense and poison ordeals.³ The Arabs sometimes used certain narcotics for their potency in evoking

1. Piddington: Op. cit. pp. 383-387 (On Witchcraft among the Azanda).
Evans Pritchard: Magic in the Trobrand Islands and among the Azande.

2. The ancient Arabs call the mandrake 'the devil's candle' on account of its shining appearance in the night.
Ibn Beitar called the plant Siraj el Qortob (Lamp of the elves), also the Arabs call it 'Plant of the idol'.
According to some authors, King Solomon carried a mandaka in his signet ring whereby the genii were subject to him.
Alexander the Great also employed it in his conquest of the East.

3. cf. R. Smith's view that insence owed its virtue to the idea that it was the blood of an animate divine plant.

inspiration. Some derwish orders still use poppy leaves until driven to 'delirious ratings or stumblings'. This coincides with the use of narcotics as spirit summoning. It seems likely that the herbs used in general for that purpose may be also used for the specific purposes of securing the spiritual approval or the condemnation of any person brought for trial.

It is significant that the appeal or condemnation of a person on unproved grounds is called La'an. The root of this term signifies either 'worm-wood'; 'cursing-wood'; or 'curse'.^A There may be an earlier possible connection between the two meanings of the root. The possible association is that the plant 'La'anah' was an integrate part of the process of judgment named La'an. This process may have involved using

A. Worm-wood is the popular name of the genus Artemisia which comprises over 200 species. The narcotic from worm-wood is absinthol, identical with arbor-vitae, saviol. This was called undrinkable by the Greeks.

Van Kennep: The Holy Land. pp.155.

European reference on the subject:

Curtiss: Primitive Semitic Religion to-day, London, 1902, p. 90ff.
Van Kennep: Bible Lands, London, 1875, p. 703
Jaussen: Op. cit. pp. 330 sq.
R.Smith: Op. cit. pp. 104.
Doughty: Travels in Arabia Deserta, Cambridge 1888, pp. 449 sq.
Westermarck: Ritual and Belief in Morocco, vol.1. pp. 107 & 555.
Frazer: Folklore in the Old Testament: vol. ii. p. 373.
Lane: Arabian Society in the Middle Ages, p. 166.

it as an ordeal.^A This can be understood in terms of its physical and mental effects according to the dosage taken. Worm-wood will prevent madness, melancholy, it improves the vision and cures sore eyes. Its narcotic, if taken in large doses, produces convulsions, miscarriages, optical and auricular illusions.¹

Again, in general cedar and pine are believed to have the power to take away sin. The herb 'esh-shahid' 'the herb of witness' is regularly associated with the dead. It is also reported that, in south and central Arabia, they place it under the head of the dead. Some dervishes hang it upon the neck. Waqidi speaks of rue being put into a grave.

Such category of plants and herbs, which have a positive ritual and socio-judicial and medicinal function are not lightly treated. Their plantation and approach are governed by ritual avoidances. Special care is taken to grow them. Among the most important observances toward them is tabooing a polluted person from approaching them or even passing within the vicinity.

A. This may be in line with the Accadian ceremony requiring both the accuser and accused to undergo poison ordeals, the officiating priest pours out for them the 'kispur', (the drink of the dead).

A.H.Godbery: Article on 'Incense and Poison ordeals'.
The American Journal of Semitic languages and literature,
July, 1930.

1. A.H.Godbery: Op. cit.

It is worth noting that la'annah 'wormwood' occurs fairly often in Hebrew parallel with 'poison' originally qualified as bitter - (Hebrew has no verb la'annah to curse).

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Pliny records that in the incense region of Arabia, in antiquity, there were three families charged with the special care of incense trees. When they cut the trees or gathered the incense, they were forbidden to pollute themselves with women or by contact with the dead. The observance of these rules of ceremonial purity was believed to increase the supply of incense.¹

Similar beliefs are still persisting among the common stocks of Arabs with regard to corn. Sexual purity is required of those who handle corn or enter a granary. In Morocco² as Westermarck observed, whoever enters a granary must first remove his slippers and must be sexually clean. Were an ~~un-~~^{impure} person to enter, the people believe it not only makes the grain lose its bareka, but that he himself would fall ill. The same author adds that a Berber told him that he had suffered from painful boils through entering a granary in a state of uncleanness. The same rule applies in Morocco to a vegetable garden. Only the sexually clean may enter it. Otherwise both the vegetables and the person entering would be the worse for it.

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1. Pliny: Natural History, vol. xii, 54. Solinus, xxxiii, 6 p. 166.

cf. The poisonous oil of cedar is used in cleansing an Assyrian house. In Abyssinia, juniper is associated with the dead. Pine is assumed to be the plant of divine joy.

The Santon use of artemisia seems to be an old Semitic-Sumerian institution.

Sa'mas, lord of vision is offered incense of cedar.

2. Westermarck: Op. cit. Vol. i. pp. 230-234.

The sacred tree that prominently figures among the Arabs and survived in defiance of Islam was the Acacia at Nekhla, which later came to be identified with al-Uzza. It is in all probability the same tree spoken of in the traditions of the Prophet, under the name dhat anwat,¹ i.e. 'tree to hang things on'. This indicates however, the way in which the early Arab used to show his reverence to such sacred trees. He showed that by removing some of his clothing and valuable things and placing them upon the tree, he thereby symbolised his readiness to sacrifice a portion of his property to it. It thus became customary in ancient times, as it is still, in particular places, e.g. Palestine, to hang various objects upon a tree as a sign of reverence; in other words label it with signal marks to declare its ritual value.

In like manner/^{we}are told that 'dhat anwat' was the sacred tree to which the people of Mecca resorted annually, and hung upon it weapons, garments, ostrich eggs, and other gifts.

We believe that the veneration paid to that particular tree among the pagan Arabs might be traced back to an important event such as a covenant that took place by its side and to commemorate such momental events in life, it came to be associated with the goddess of al Uzza. Similar ritual value and reverence was

1. The tree referred to in the Qur'an under which we are told the Prophet was sitting when an oath of allegiance was taken, this was known as Bai' at al-ridwān.

attributed by the Muslims at the eve of Islam to the tree at Hodaibiya, which was frequented by pilgrims who sought to derive blessing from it, till it was cut by the Caliph of Omar lest it should be worshipped like al-lat and al ' Uzza.

Historically the sacrilization of that tree was due to the event that under it the early Muslims swore to be faithful to the Prophet.¹

The sanctity of that tree may be older than the times of Mohammed,² but at all events, it might be connected with an earlier similar historical event, corresponding to social-tie in the form of a covenant which might have played a leading part in the structure and integration of the association who participated in that covenant.

1. We are told that Mohammed, when at Hodaibiyam sent Jawwas Ibn Omeyya, to acquaint the Meccans that he intended to perform the pilgrimage to Ka'abah, but refusing to admit him, the Prophet sent 'Othman b. ' Affan, whom they imprisoned and a report ran that he was slain, whereupon Mohammed called his men about him and they took an oath to be faithful to him, even to death, during which ceremony he was sitting under that tree and whence it derived its sanctity among the Muslims.

Qur'an: 48: 18.

Yaqut: 3: 261.

~~Wahb b. Munabbith~~

Azraqi: p. 183.

2. cf. Ibn Hisham on a similar case on the authority of Wahb b. Monabbith, about a palm tree which was adorned at Nejran, at an annual feast, when it was all hung with fine clothes and women's ornaments.

It is of interest to mention G. Barton's view,^A ON THE sacredness of the palm tree among the Semites and particularly the Arabs. Tabari¹ refers to the sacred date palm tree of Nejran where the tree was in many respects treated as a God. The residence of al Uzza at Nakhla, is said to have been a group of Samuras on one of which the goddess especially dwelt.

1. Tabari: I, 922 (Leyden).

A. He propounds that the term 'Ashera' which was some form of the Arabic 'Athr (ithir) exquisite, excellent, friend, was an epithet applied to the palm tree goddess of Arabia and that she was worshipped originally in a palm grove. As Semites migrated and worshipp~~ing~~ came to be offered where there were no such trees the Ashera, by degrees, became a post which might mark the limits of a sanctuary, or be placed before the sanctuary. Meantime the name survived as the name of a deity. In South Arabia, the name of the post became, among the Qarabanians, a goddess Athirat. Another divine name which originated in the prehistoric time was the name 'Ashtar or Athtar, Ashdar', in South Arabia.

Barton's view seems to be a confession of the general theory that the sacred pole (ashera) was a conventional substitute for a tree with the view of narrowing the case by applying it to a particular tree, i.e. the palm tree. Generally speaking, the ashera was undoubtedly a sacred heathen symbol, an object of veneration, for the Prophets put it on the same line with other sacred symbols, images, cippi and Ba'al-pillars.

W.R. Smith holds the view that the name Ashera itself means nothing more than the 'mark' of divine presence.

Later information however, proves that there was a goddess Ashera or Ashra in Arabia. Reed thinks that Ashera was an object constructed by man, made of wood and stood upright, attempting to bridge the gap between the epigraphic evidence and artifacts by the claim that the goddess Asherah was represented by images similar in shape to those which have been found.

(For reference books on this subject see following page.)

The Samura tree is explained as a palm tree.¹ A statement in the Qur'an, concerning the birth of Jesus vouches for the ancient sacredness of the palm tree and its close relation to divinity.²

1. Tabari: I. 922 (Leyden)

2. The Reliability of these statements has been suspected by R. Smith and Wellhausen.

Reference books.

1. Isaiah: Ch. xvii: 8. Micah: Ch. v:12.
2. W.R.Smith: Lectures on Semitic Religion: pp.188,189
3. Langdon: Ibid. pp.19 sq. Geographical and Linguistic distribution of Semitic races and deities.
" The Semitic Goddess of Fate: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1929.
Second Book of Kings: Ch. xvii:10.
4. Article - Ashera in Jewish Encyclopaedia.
Langdon: Semitic Mythology - Ashdar in S.Arabia.
5. The terebinth was a sacred tree in Palestine. It plays a prominent part in the traditions concerning Abraham, (Genesis: 13:18, 14:18.) There are traces also that the date palm tree was a sacred tree in Israel, Deborah is said to have sat under a palm tree and is called a Prophetess. (Judges: 4:5.) Some scholars endeavour to identify this with the terebinth of Genesis 35:8, but without sufficient grounds.
cf. Charles' The Book of Enoch, 1893.
6. G.Barton: Semitic and Hamitic Origins: p. 129 sq.
7. The story of Judah and Tamar (Genesis 38.) indicates since Tamar means palm, that a clan was incorporated into the tribe of Judah, which considered itself closely connected with the palm and therefore regarded it as a sacred tree. Further, on the confines of Judah and Benjamin, there was a place, Baal Tamara, which took its name from a God who must have been called 'Lord of Palm'. (Judges: 20:3.)
8. G. Barton: Op. cit. pp.131-132.
9. W.L.Reed: Ashera in the Old Testament, 1949.

Our authority on this point is the representations of the commentator in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, 1949.

We think that the function of the Ashera, was to give the impression it was a powerful magnet to attract the deity in case it invoked against the violation of a sacred land, sanctuary or holy property in general. In other words, from a functional point of view, it may be conceived as a taboo mark, a symbol of the principle of the inviolability of holy or sacred places. It has partly its origin in magic practices. The idea in its earlier form corresponds to the practice observed by the primitive Melanesians in order to protect property by making it a taboo. They deposit a curse in some article which is attached to the thing or place it intended to protect.

In various instances, it is not expressly stated that the taboo-mark embodied a curse. In other cases appeal is given to a supernatural being, or spirits in order to give efficacy to the implied curse embodied in a taboo mark. An illustration of that on the landmarks of the ancient Babylonians, generally consisting of stone pillars in the form of a phallus, impressions were inscribed with an appeal to various deities.

In Canaan, the sacred pole came to be viewed as a general symbol of divinity which might fittingly stand beside the altar of any God. But the altars were habitually set up 'under green trees'.¹

1. W.R.Smith: Religion of the Semites, p. 187.

However, we do not deny that in some places the general symbol of divinity had become a special Goddess and thus we meet with Asherah as a Goddess, bride of the King of Heaven, lady of joy, synonymous with Ishtar, though the two terms Ashirat and Ishtar are not etymologically connected. The derivation of Ishtar being quite uncertain, while the name Ashirat possibly connotes ideas of good fortune (like Gad).^A

A. The worship of Tammuz or Adonis was known at Jerusalem in the time of Ezekiel (viii:14.), and with Adonis the Goddess Astarte must have been worshipped, probably as a Queen of Heaven. It is not therefore, surprising that in one or two passages the Asherim seem to be regarded as the female partners of the Bashim; i.e. That the Ashera is taken as a symbol of Asta. 'Among the Kissil Bashi of the Upper Tigris a trimmed oak-trunk stands under a tree at the eastern end of the village within a railed off space into which only the father-priest can enter'. (The Standard, 19th September, 1904.) Similar objects of cult are familiar elsewhere. (See: F.B.Jevons: Introd. to History of Religion 134.)

Lagrange: Etudes sur les religions Semitiques, 1903.

Compare the stelae set up as landmarks of Ikhnaton to mark the boundary of the holy city of Akhataton. (Baikie: Amarna Age: 265).

Watering the land, cultivation of the soil and the gathering of first fruits are occasions of ritual value and some avoidances are to be observed to mark the main phases of agriculture cycle, and to express the value of the successive tasks in cultivation as well as the appreciation flow from these farming activities.

Among the fallahen of Upper Egypt, when the water is conveyed to the field for the last time, the owner stands on the water-wheel and cries to his neighbours inviting them to join in a meal. This meal may not be prepared by a woman in a state of ritual impurity and the meal may not be attended by any person in such a state. Before any corn is cut, some are plaited into a special form and the object is called 'Arusat el-qamh', i.e. the bride of the corn. This is used as a charm. This is suspended over the house door as to ensure abundance. It is left hanging till it is replaced at the next harvest or until it falls to pieces, but it is ominous to pluck it.

cf. Forde: Integrative Aspects of the Yako. First Fruits Rituals. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. vol.LXXIX
Nadel: The Nuba: p. 44.

In many parts of Morocco, it is the custom for the reapers to leave a small patch of the field untouched which is sometimes called 'the bride of the field'.

Westermarck: Op. cit. vol.II. p. 225.

Among the Amlād abu^LAsis, before ploughing commences a loaf of bread is made of wheat and barley and dara. It is usually prepared by the farmer's wife. If she is in a state of ritual impurity, another one will prepare it, fearing otherwise an accident might happen to the plough or ox.

Westermarck: Op. cit. p. 212.

Certain measures are commonly taken to protect the crops from evil influences and the grain must not be taken to the granary until they fumigate it with the smoke of harmel, branches of oleander.

Westermarck: Op. cit. p.227.

Taboo-land Tenure and Alienation.

Generally speaking, we may assume that where and when much stress was oriented to the protection and defending of right of property and ownership, rise was given to a tendency to connect the system of property with the attributes of deities. Where this stage was achieved we often notice that the title given to the God among the Semites was 'Ba'al'.^A This term seems to indicate mainly and originally 'owner'.

As applied to man, Ba'al means the master of a house, the owner of a field, cattle or the like.¹ Thus it did not mean only the lord of his worshippers, but the possessor some place or district. Each of the multitude of local Ba'alim is distinguished by adding the name of his own place. In South Arabia Ba'al constantly occurs in local connections: e.g. Dhu Samawi is the Ba'al of the district of Bacir, Athtar, the Ba al of Gumdán.

It seems likely that at an early stage special places for

A. In a secondary sense, which alone the word is ordinarily used in Arabic, ba'al means husband.
cf. Ibn Durard: Gamharat al-Lughat: Article: Al-Ba l.

In later times the Ba'al or Bal became a proper name, especially in connection with the cult of Babylonian Bal, and development came out of the class of titles taken from the region of nature in which the god dwells or has sway.

1. R. Smith: Religion of the Semites, pp. 93 sq.

communal interest are attributed to Ba'al in order to keep the land collective property. Such collective property would enable the community to possess its structural form.^A

An association bound up with its past and future, and with the God, is not the visible group limited in space and time. In accordance, all sacred property belongs to the group, and that individuals have only the usufruct.¹ This continuity is assured through regular and perpetual ceremonial rites of communion, and restrictions concerning the alienation of such communal property, which keeps its essential individuality as a separate unit in the larger society.

It seems that the idea of domination, does not necessarily involve a servile relationship. Furthermore, the practical principle of acquiring property by 'quickening a place' suggests that the Arab considered Ba'al as the potency which brings fertility to the land. In other words he makes things naturally effective. The primary idea of ba'al is that of a productive, effective agent, and on this account, a possessor of rights.

A. cf. Radcliffe Brown: On Social Structure. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. vol.IXX. I. 1940.
Time and Social Structure, an Ashanti case study. In a series presented to Prof. Radcliffe Brown on Social Structure.

1. cf. R.Smith: Religion of the Semites, p. 144.

'Omar argued on the same line.
The Waqf-system, still existing in Egypt, may be traced to the same origin. Similar systems concerning restriction of land alienation are to be found in Cyrenacia, by virtue of the Sanausi-Order (Tariqah)

It is more probable that early ideas of production and possession, inevitably stimulated Arab speculation on growth and ownership. The feeling that production gives right of possession finds its most characteristic expression in the distinction between holy ~~spots~~ and secular places. To the former belongs Ba'al's land¹ which is limited in its earlier form to certain favoured spots that seem to be planted and watered by the direct virtue of the divine principle. This may include naturally moist and fertile land and possibly the fields which were watered by the rain of heaven. To the second belong lands that were laboriously irrigated.

Thus we find in the Arabic literature Ard Ba'al 'land which the ba al waters' in opposition to 'land which the hand of man irrigates.' In like manner the Arabs distinguished between the qalib² and the well which was dug by a person. The former is the remote one whose owner is not known and thus it is God's property. The interesting thing is that every qalib had a haram of land around it that was not approached by any individual. It was known as its hima, and came to be its haram probably at the eve of Islam.

From the foregoing statement, it is obvious that the Arabs might indeed conceive hima, harem, as the personal property of 'numen.' From a structural point of view, this will serve the continuity of the norm in a structural form and the

1. Asatir al 'Arab. p. 102.
 2. Lisan al 'Arab: Bi r.

continuity in an abstract sense. This divine right is usually represented as being on account of its efficiency in production and fertility. Secondly with the belief that it was the protector of the sacred place as well as the inhabitants. If we look upon this question, apart from its religious prerogative, we may assume that hima or harem, was primary a title given to a spot which came to be sacred. This being ascribed to it with the view to be set apart from being a subject of individual property. This implies to leave it free as an open communal pasture ground or watering source (well), for every man's cattle.

In order to enforce the inviolability of the place, public opinion tends to elaborate an assumption of different relations connecting such places with numen, spirits, gods, demons and the like. In this way they might believe that such places, in case they are violated, those powers connected with them will avenge. Culturally this is reflected in a variety of legends and myths with the underlying purpose of proving that a numen, God, had given unmistakable evidence of its presence. When the precedent has been strengthened by frequent repetition, the ritual value of the place is fully established. When men established relations with the powers that are assumed to haunt a spot, it is at once necessary that those places should be marked off.

Simultaneously there should be rules of conduct and restrictions towards them and their surroundings.

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The relation or the link between Ashera, Hima, Ba'al and Ishtar, may be taken as a development of the conception of the inviolability of places of natural value and the underlying respect for the right of property. This can be conceived if we profess that the 'Ashera served as a divine social emblem to indicate the free communal ground pastures or sources, and consequently to set apart the places in question from being a subject of individual property. In the meantime the respect for the sacred property was maintained by the force of religious or magico-religious sanctions. Hence the parallel of Ashera to the inscribed boundary stones can be apprehended, namely, when we hold the view that both categories perform the same social function.

They serve as emblems for the principle of inviolability with invocations to deter trespassers or those who would remove the landmarks. The Arabic word expressing this social function is 'Hima'.

What concerns us mainly is the legislative meaning of the term 'hima' as originally means, prohibition from ^{cultivation} quickening. This meaning still survives in Muslim jurisprudence.¹ The Muslim authorities assume that Hima is legal only if it is ascribed to the welfare of God, His Apostle and the poor. This can be conceived by the principle. 'There shall be no hima except for God and for his Apostle', meaning except for

1. Mawardy Al Ahkam al Sultaniah. Bab 16. al Hima wa l Irfaq

Lane's Lexicon:- v. Hima.

the horses employed in war against the unbelievers and the animals taken for the poor-rate. They always mention that ħima in opposition to the ħima of Jahiliya, which Islam outlawed. As regards that ħima we think that in a later stage, at some districts, some priests or leaders claimed the ħima as a quasi-private domain for themselves and probably their deity. Hence it came to be expressed in the Arabic works as a custom of the nobles among the Arabs in the time of ignorance as it is recorded about Kulaib.^A

At all events we are of the opinion that the adoption of the ħima in Islam, as that of Ĥima of Wajj at Taif¹ was a confirmation of the original old usage of ħima, (with an implicit modification in accordance with the teachings of the new faith). The underlying ideas of property at that stage are of a semi-mystical nature. The land of pasture and natural fountains and wells belonged to the whole group and its sacred beings, perhaps this may be taken theoretically rather than practically for there are representatives (chiefs, priests), who have superior

A. We are told that when a noble alighted in a district (that pleased him) among his kinsfolk, he incited a dog to bark, and prohibited for his own special fiends and dependants the space wherein the bark was heard, so that no one else should pasture his beasts there, while he would share with the people in other places of pasture around it. This was abolished by Islam.

1. Fath al Bari Sharĥ Sahih al Bukhari: p. 35.
 Mu jam: p.71.

For further and detailed instances see the writer's thesis on 'Property' and the references indicated, viz: Bulugh al Arab, vol. III. p. 34. Mawardi Ahkam Sultaniyah, p. 164. Ribdhah was in the like manner came to be Ĥima, by Abu Bakr. Saraf " " " " " " " " " " by 'Omar

rights and privileges on account of their important functions or duties which are primarily on behalf of the group.

The principle of inviolability which seems primarily characteristic to the right of property, passed through various stages. In the course of its long development, it has undergone the animistic conception of nature on the one hand and has maintained the conception of taboo on the other hand. The feeling that production gives right to possession oriented the tendency towards the conceptions of supernatural factors in the process of growth, fertility and prosperity. The general feeling can be conceived as this: Things not already possessed by men are not without some possessor who has rights over them. Hence they are sacred before they are taken by sacred persons or before they are put to 'profane' use after suitable precautions. The practice of offering first-fruits, firstlings, and other votive offerings is believed to be indispensable for the maintenance and sustenance of the group. This belief commonly reflects the primitive prototype of the latter and more explicit conviction that, whatever be due to human activity, the increase is given by God.

It may be comprehensible, in the light of the assumed development of the notion of inviolability, that the 'Ashera, taken as its original emblem, might be confused with Ba'al,

conceived sometimes as the protector of sacred places and other times as the fertilizing power or as an efficient cause of production, since the underlying ideas governing property involve inviolability, protection and efficiency.

Furthermore, whenever divine power is conceived as possessing the creative force, we mark the glimmering of the idea that life in its varied forms on earth is a divine substance, sustained by the personal deity. Hence we expect again a diffusion of the ideas connecting with Asherah and Ishtar when the latter came to be described as 'the protectress of all animate existence and all life languishes when she descends to the nether regions.'¹

Again, the tendency arose to explain the cosmic order on anthropomorphic grounds, we assume that parallel with the dual principle variously personified representing the two chief powers controlling the welfare of the community, we have another more philosophical duality representing the male and female divine principles as variously personified. The name Ishtar becomes the generic designation to convey the idea of goddesses with special reference to its supernatural efficient powers for creating, fertility and prosperity. Hence we learn that Asherah came sometimes to be at once a symbol of fertility, an emblem of inviolability, a representative of female principle, an image for the goddess (Ishtar) nay, as a goddess itself.

1. Jastrow: p. 529

Now the idea of life in its varied forms on earth, comes to be conceived as divine substance by divine potency, hence the belief that man is under ban towards the things he might use. This belief gave birth to various ceremonies and rites to loosen the ban which is upon him.

This seems an adequate explanation of the precautions observed among the Arabs as well as among some other peoples at the first use of things. The conviction that the first-fruits or firstlings do not belong to those who might seem to have the first right, takes many forms and various explanations.

We tend to hold that these offerings were meant primary to release the remainder of the production from the taboo upon it. In later development the motive came to be developed as the hope of continued favours and future blessings in confirmity with the belief that 'God gave the increase'. Hence it came to be a typical belief that the offerings belong properly to gods. In such circumstances the belief prevailed that to withhold offerings is to overreach God and bring disaster upon the land. The necessity of securing continuity of

1. Barton: A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social & Religious. New York, 1902.

Ashera: A post, p. 106.
Ashtar, Asthoreth, Ashtart, a goddess, pp. 246 ff.
Chemosh, God of Moab, consort of Hadad, p.247., developed from Ashten.

produce gave permanent existence to the various forms of offerings, viz: what we may call the sacred tribute.

Following this principle, places of natural fertility which were conceived as Ba'al's land, because they were productive without the labour of man, were not subject to private property. Hence they were freely exploited for the communal welfare. The land which required irrigation was also liable to the payment of a sacred tribute, because it was fertilized either by rain from heaven or by springs or wells, conceived as instinct with divine energy. The tribute took the shape of an impost on the produce of land partly because such an impost could be justified from the religious point of view, as agreeing in principle with the oblation of first-fruits, and constituting a tribute to the God from the agricultural blessing He bestowed.

From a general point of view, we think that the offering of first-things and first-fruits was intended to 'desacralise' the rest of the produce. It ceases to be under the protection of the supernatural powers. From another angle, this sacrifice is an aspect of offering 'life' to preserve life. When nature is conceived to be dependent upon productive agents, suitable offerings had to be taken to secure the continuance of divine benevolence. It seems that the primary aim of sacrifice was to save the procreative and productive principle in nature and to avert danger from supernatural sources by a renewal of their vital energy. It is therefore, essentially a transference of life to enable the 'numen' to continue its beneficent functions on earth.

AS regards the former category of lands, i.e. which bore the name *hima* for being free as communal pasture ground, restrictions have been established through several taboos so that the men might not be allowed to interfere with the natural life of the place. No tree to be cut down, no blood might be shed, probably because these living things were regarded as the protected associates of divine life. It followed that such places came to be as asylum, refuge. At certain Arabian *himas*, shelter was granted to all fugitives without distinction, and every stray or stolen cattle that reached the sacred place could not be reclaimed by their owners.

Reference may be made to that *Hima* attached to the sanctuary of al-Lat at Taif, known to the Arabs as the *hima* of Wajj.¹ If a wood-cutter intruded the *hima* of Wajj or Naci', he forfeited his hatchet and his clothes. If a man unlawfully grazed his cattle on the *hima* of Jorash, the cattle were forfeited. It is obvious that this punishment, although it takes the shape of civil sanction under Mohammedan law, is manifestly based on old religious customs corresponding to the religious sanction that falls upon those who violate a taboo.

1. Bakri: *Mu'jam ma Ista'jam*. p. 838.

It can be inferred that the forfeiture of clothes in Islamic law is a continuation of the old rule that common raiment worn in the sacred place had to be cast off and left behind.

The forfeiture of cattle at Jorash follows the rule recorded for the sanctuary of the Jalsad that cattle straying from outside into the hima become sacred and cannot be reclaimed.

Similarly, religious sanction befalls the violator of the Haram of Mecca and Medina.

It is recorded that Mohammad invoked the irrevocable curse of God and the angels and all men, on those who violate the Haram.

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THE HARAM OF MECCA AND ITS ~~RESIDENCEXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

On this point we may discuss briefly the association of the notion of taboo with the principle of inviolability and unapproachableness.

The whole question, according to Muslim theologians, centres around an undisputable maxim 'à priori' that the temple of Ka'abah at Mecca, was the first erected House of God. From a comparative point of view, the problem should be treated from its general side, i.e. the erection of the Temples for Gods.

G.Ryckmans¹ in a recent study, touched on the point of similarity and probably of evident relationship between the rites observed in Arabia Felix (Yemen and Hadramaut) and that of middle Arabia in Pagan times.

We shall not state here the various important elements of his survey. It is sufficient for our purpose to quote some information which would suggest a testimony to the intellectual bond uniting

1. G.Ryckmans: Rites et Croyances pre-Islamic en Arabie Meridionale, 1942. (Pre-Islamique).

La Confession Publiques des Peches en Arabie Meridionale pre-Islamique, 1945.

(R.E.S. - Repertoire d'epigraphic Semitique.)

two distinct regions at the time. They may also reveal possible influence from South Arabia towards the North.

According to him one can infer from the tablets and inscriptions the existence of a deity called Halfan, whose function corresponds to the 'Ill', as a Deity of covenants and confederacies and who served to unite tribes.

The striking similarity may be illustrated thus:-

1. The unity of the customs and rituals concerning the pilgrimage to the Temple of Hafan and that to the Ka'abah.
2. The observance of purity and the interdiction of intercourse between men and women, are common. So also at Sinai.

This new material was drawn entirely from the discoveries of ancient inscriptions of the Yemen by such scholars as Arnaud, Halvey and Glaser. He relied mainly in this research on the reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquities of Lond, namely the mission of Lord Wakefield which was composed of Miss Freya Stark, Miss G.Caton Thompson and Miss E.W.Gardner in their discoveries of the 'Temple of Sin at Hureyda', the task was undertaken in 1937-1938.

The reports have been published two years after this research, i.e. in 1944, Oxford, 'The tombs and Moon Temple of Hadramaut.'

See also: Les Fouilles de Hureyda (Hadramaut) by G.Ryckmans 1944. 'Des inscriptions dedicacés a Sin.'

Nous pouvons tirer des inscriptions quelques indications concernant les voeux et les serments. Le dieu Halfan, comme son nom l'indique, était le dieu 'de serment,' de conjuration certains tribus étaient unies par un Dieu, un patron, un pacte (hibl) et une alliance. (R.E.S. 2831.)

3. Again the declaration of the two spots as asylum.^A

Ritual ceremonies of communal feature are to be performed within places devoted for that purpose and are generally marked off from other places by an elaborate system of ritual avoidances, which would maintain the exclusion of every possible manifestation of the ordinary life.

Generally speaking, temples and sanctuaries are places ^{allotted} ~~awarded~~ to sacred beings and things that serve them as residences, and by virtue of the supposed presence of divinity. In fact the idea of holiness comes into prominence wherever divinity is ritually utilized to obtain mondial interests for the people.

Religion represents such activity power and domain of numen, as bounded by certain local limits where it had its residence. These came to be fixed sanctuaries. In later times the

A. 'Le profane et le sacré, le pur et l'impur étaient nettement distingués. Le temple était appelé mhrm, de hrm ce qui est interdit, défendu. Grâce à son caractère sacré, le temple pouvait servir de lieu d'asile. Les femmes ne pouvaient y circuler en état d'impureté, et ne pouvaient y avoir commerce avec les hommes. Il y avait aussi des temps appelés him, pendant lesquels les relations sexuelles étaient interdites. Pareille interdiction s'étendait aussi au Hâgg.' (C.I.S. iv. 523-532, 533.)

Les pelouins qui rendaient au Hâgg de Halfan faisaient polir/purifier leurs armes dans le temple. On payait double taxe pour les armes souillées de sang. (C.I.S. iv.548.)

It is obvious that these properties attributed to the temple of Halfan are the same as those ascribed to the Ka'abah.

cf. Durkheim: Elementary forms of Religious life.
R. Smith: Religion of the Semites, pp.141,142.

sanctuary was a temple, probably on the assumption that where the divine principle had once manifested itself and shown favour to the inhabitants of the locality, it will ^{continue to do so.} remain ~~doing so~~.^A

Such places are sacred to God and are excluded from ordinary human use. Moreover, people are subject to a variety of restrictions when they approach or enter such places. Again, the sanctity of the temple would spread itself to other surroundings. This consequently gives rise to an elaborate system of taboos which regulate human relation or conduct with regard to the whole area.

We may proceed to illustrate the foregoing general remarks by material evidence drawn from Arabic literature in connection with the Haram of Mecca.

A. Old Testament language abounds with incidental evidence of the ^{prevalence} ~~commonness~~ of this idea. For instance, when Jacob has his dream of a divine apparition at Bethel, he concludes not merely that Jehovah is present there at that moment, but the place is the 'House of God', the 'Gate of Heaven'. Accordingly Bethel continued to be regarded as a sanctuary.

Moses in the wilderness of Sinai, is told that the ground whereon he stand is 'holy ground.'

In like manner, all the places where the patriarchs were recorded to have worshipped or where God appeared to them, figured as traditional holy spots in the later history.

of. R.Smith: Op. Cit. Lecture III. p.48-237ff.
Trumball: The Threshold Covenant, Edinburgh, 1896.

A. As regards reverence to the Ka'abah, or Baiullah al Haram, reference may be made to various traditions, representing the pagan Arabs 'putting off their shoes' before entering it.

This practice may be looked upon from the point of reverence to 'the threshold limit' or a boundary between two spheres, profane and sacred. 'Putting off' may be a symbol of ridding oneself of the profane region or state or condition before passing over into the sacred domain. This agrees with the general principle that the 'sacred and the profane' should not co-exist in the same place. The observance is still dominating the Muslim world whenever one enters a mosque or a shrine of a saint.

Parallel to the foregoing practice, the observance of crossing over the threshold of holy places. The idea being, that until that threshold is crossed, the person is outside of the covenant with its privileges and benefits, but when it is crossed, the person is a partaker of all that is within.² To step over or cross the threshold is to accept or ratify the proffered covenant. To trample upon the symbol of covenant is to show contempt for the host who proffers it. Thus the threshold itself is counted sacred and it is not to be stepped upon or passed over lightly. It is to be crossed over reverently, as in recognition of 'Him' to whom all 'life' belongs. Then it is proper among the Arabs to say, on passing it 'Bismillah' i.e. 'In the name of God.'

B. It is of interest to refer to some practices and regulations observed in performing the pilgrimage to Ka'abah in the pre-Islamic period. In the first place, our attention may be caught by the rite of circuiting the Ka'abah in a state of nakedness.^{1.A}

1. Azraqy: Mecca, p. 118.

2. cf. Clay Trumbull: The Threshold Covenant, Edinburgh, 1896.

1.A. Azraqy: Ibid, p. 120. Ibn Ḥabib: Muḥabbar, p.130.

It was only permitted to the Ḥoms to perform the circuit in their dress. Ibn Ḥabib states that the tribes of Yemen known as Tols were given the same privileges as the Ḥoms in connection with their garments. (p.180). With the other if it happened that one of them performed the circuit with his clothes on, he would be beaten. (Azraqy. p.120.)

It seems that the original reason given for this practice may be thus. The Ka'abah, being a sacred spot, would demand of him who performs circuit around it, a state of purity. This could not be achieved with the garments soiled with all kinds of impurities, which the pilgrims had worn on their journey to Meccah.

The exemption of the Homs, i.e. the pious people of God, is significant. It is probable that this class of religious people and their associates ^{claimed special} made privileges out ^{from} their connection with the sacred territory. We are told later, to avoid the state of nudity, garments possessing the requisite purity may be obtained by purchase or otherwise from the Homs. ^{1.A} Those who could not afford to purchase pure sacred garments, were compelled to encircle the Ka'abah in a state of nudity.

The women, however, attired in a single chemise. They had to fling it away immediately after performing circuit, ^{as they} without ^{it was} being touched or approached or made use of anymore. This forfeited cloth was called 'Al Laqy' ^{2.B} i.e. that which is thrown away.

Here we are confronted with the primitive idea of the ambiguity of sacredness. It is clear that the 'Laqy', became endowed with the dangerous character of holiness through contagion. Thus it defiles and consequently should be forfeited, not touched lest its contagious character should

1. Ibn Hisham: Sirat Al Nabi, vol.1. p.916.
Ibn Habib: Op. cit. p. 179-181.

A. Ibn Habib classifies the Arab pilgrims into three divisions
I. The Homs in question
II. The Tols who were consisted of the tribes of Yemen, Hadramaut.
III. The Hillah, the outsiders. (p.179-181).
He states that everyone of the Hillah had one from the Homs who would hire him a garment. Mohammed is recorded as the Harem of 'Yad B. Himar El Mujahay. *Mujahay*

2. Ibn Hisham: Op. cit. pp.219-220.
Azraqy: Op. cit. p.122.

B. In a poem ascribed to Waraqah B. Nawfal 'Laqah' is described as Harim, meaning not to be touched. (La-yumas).
Azraqy: p.119.
cf. Ibn Ishaq: I. p. 220.

spread over the individual and render him taboo.

The foregoing rite, however, was put to an end by the rise of Islam. Some Qur'anic verses¹ bear evidence to the abolishment of that pre-Islamic practice, which came to be considered indecent. To avoid complicating the present argument by a multitude of details reference may be made to surat al A'raf, 7: 31-32 - God is recorded to ordain human beings to attend to their embellishments, at every time of entering a masjid for prayer.

The Arabic term 'zenat' or embellishment^B is here generally understood to mean 'wearing of clothes' with reference to the practice of going naked round the Ka'abah.

C. Furthermore, Arabic literature furnishes us with other restrictions concerning food. It is ascribed to the Homs that they prohibited the outside pilgrims from eating the food brought by them from the *Hill*² i.e. The profane region.

It is evident that this food was taken to be profane. Thus it might defile the sacred land. It might bring about misfortune, as it is a product of an out-group community. It agrees with the general principle that the sacred and the profane are antagonistic to each other. They correspond to two forms of existence which are mutually distinguished from one another by an elaborate system of ritual avoidances.

1. Qur'an: 7: 31-32.

2. Azraqy: Op. cit. p. 121.

B. There might be some connection between wearing garments possessing the requisite purity in case of ihram, and a similar practice observed by maidens who reached the full age of marriage. Reference may be made to the practice of circuit performed by maidens dressed in their best clothes, when they reach the age of puberty.

Ibn Hisham: Sirat. vol. 1. p. 137.

Fakihy: Muntaqa min Akhabar um al Qura³ 3.

Closely allied to the same principle, are various taboos imposed upon persons who are commonly regarded as sacred on account of their relation to the sacred territory.¹

To explain these sort of taboos on the foregoing principle, we should take into account the fact that the functions of such persons brought them in close connection with the supposed dangerous spiritual potency, i.e. mana, barakah.

It should be noted again that the sacred character is attached to them after being professionally connected in some way or other with the 'holy' category. It was through this attribution that persons like sooth-sayers, kahins, and priests² were consecrated. Thus the essence of 'contact' is the sacred character imparted to the being. The holy one, according to popular opinion, is filled more or less with supernatural power,

1. Such persons are conceived to be a source of danger to others or as Frazer says, 'Their divinity burns like a fire what it touches', according to the supernatural power attributed to them.

Frazer: Op.cit. Ch.v. Tabooed persons, p. 131.ff.

2. In the Old Testament the term for priest (Kohen)
Arabic Kahin - seer, sooth sayer. Hebrew Scriptures
Singer: Ch. p. 41.42.

cf. Anointing: Samuel I. 10:1.
Samuel II. 2:4.

It is clear that we do not agree with Frazer and other anthropologists when they consider some persons as 'taboo'. It seems more convenient to look upon some as 'tabooed' or as subject to different taboos, rather than tabooed.

therefore, is mysteriously changed into another being, capable of doing extraordinary deeds.

This is reflected in various Arabic traditions related about the Homs. The term 'hamesa' designated to become hard, firm, strong or rigorous in fight and in religion. It came to be an epithet applied to the tribes of Quraish and Kinanah. There are two reasons given by Arab authorities in justification of attributing this epithet to them.

- 1. Because of the hardships, the restrictions or taboos imposed upon them in matters of religion.¹
- 2. Owing to their successful defence of the Ka'abah against the expedition of Abrahah, in the year known as 'Am el-fiyl.^{2.A}

It is of interest however, to examine the major taboos recorded to be observed by them on account of their relation to the Haram of Meccah.^B

We are told that they, unlike the Hillah, did not go forth to Arafah but halted at Muzdalifa. They called themselves the 'house-dwellers' to signify that they were the permanent guardians of the sacred territory, in contrast to those who had

- 1. Azraqy: Op. cit. p.119.
Lane's Lexicon: Article - Homs.
- 2. Azraqy: Op. cit. p.120.
- A. Literally the year of the Elephant, corresponding to 570.
- B. They betook themselves for refuge to the Hamsa which is the Ka'abah.

merely the privilege of visiting it. Hitherto, the veneration of the Arabs for the Ka'abah and even the soil that surrounded it was so great that they neither constructed houses nor even pitched tents in the vicinity for any length of time.^A They used not to enjoy the shade, nor enter the houses by their doors, nor clarify butter, nor pick up dung, and they used to be dressed in new clothes.

The foregoing represents various taboos imposed upon sacred persons in other societies. There are parallels in Frazer's

A. We are told that Qusay was the first who persuaded them to erect dwelling places around the sanctuary. In order that he might reconcile the populace to this innovation, he pointed out: 'If you live around the sanctuary, people will have fear of you and will not permit themselves fighting you or attacking you.' Qusay began himself and constructed the council hall of Dar al Nādwah in the north side of the sanctuary. The remaining lands on the other sides were distributed by him among the Qurayshite tribes where they erected their dwelling houses.

The term 'murābtin' used among the Sanūsī Arabs of North Africa, seems to be equivalent to the old usage of the term Homs. According to Evans Pritchard it is an appellation given to warrior-monks who settled there on their return from the pilgrimage to Meccah. They are famous for their fanaticism, asceticism and thaumaturgic powers. They are considered holy men and are in charge of performing religious rites, and mediation in inter-tribal disputes, they became the nucleus of social agglomeration which developed in course of time into tribal groups.

Evans Pritchard: The Samusi of Cyrenaica. pp.65,66.

'Murabitin' is generally accepted as derived from the root 'rabat', to bend and hence Ribat, a fortified covenant.

numerous instances of royal and priestly taboos.^{1.A} There is a similarity between the taboos imposed upon the priestly King of Shark Point, West Africa, that he may never leave his house or quit his royal chair, and the Homs not being allowed to stay outside the Haram.

Moreover, the pagan practise of entering houses at the back after performing the pilgrimage to the Haram² is generally ascribed to the Homs, who considered it a sign of righteousness.

By the rise of Islam, it was condemned as an indication of turning aside from the right course. Hence came the Qur'anic ordinance to go into the houses by their doors.³

According to the majority of commentators, the Arabs were superstitious people. When one of them set before himself a vow and was unable to fulfill or attain it, he would not go into the house by the door but entered it by the back.

1. J.G.Frazer: Taboo, p.123.

2. Ibn Habib al Muhabbar: p. 180.
Tabari: Tafsir: vol. II. pp.108,109.

3. Qur'an: 2.192.

A. According to Frazer, at a certain stage of early society the King or priest is often thought to be endowed with supernatural powers or to be the incarnation of a deity. With this belief the course of nature is supposed to be more or less under his control. Such person is considered as a dynamical centre from which lines of force radiate. Thus the greatest care must be taken both by and of him.

Among the persons who were believed to be endowed with potency are the Kahin: the sooth-sayer, the 'arraf; the medicine man, the sha'ir; the poet.

Jahiz: Op. cit. vol. vi. p.62. Maso' udi, p.52.

Prof. Guillaume has pointed this out on his recent work on Prophecy and Divination.

It seems that the idea of subjecting oneself to the covenant obligations of citizenship by passing through the door, over the threshold, had something to do with this custom. A person who became sacred by vow or by pilgrimage, or by being connected with the Haram, might think that he had acquired a protective-covenant endorsed by the divine principle. Accordingly he might not submit himself to the ordinary covenant obligation of family-membership had he to pass through the threshold of his house. He then had to enter through a breach in the wall from the back.^{1.A}

We may take account of some taboos which they observed during Ihram. It is reported that they abstained from eating meat, churning butter. It is also related that they used to leave the hair unshorn and the nails unpared.

The Arabic literature concerning the Homs may be interpreted as a reflection of social class discriminations, expressed and visualized in various categories of a general taboo-system. This may be illustrated in the following manner.

There seems to be an elaborate ceremonial concerning the preparation of meals. This may necessitate purity, and thus a Homs must not touch the food prepared by others who are considered to be in a lower social-status, or those who are in

1. cf. The Greek custom of welcoming the conqueror through a breach in the wall instead of through the gate of the city.

A. The Arabs used to say on this occasion, 'I am an Ahmas' meaning, I am a Muhrim. Tabari: vol.ii. p.109.

a state of ritual impurity. It is probable that the Hoa eat only food cooked by a member of their own in-group. Thus they refuse to allow those of the 'exterior' associations, the Hill, to bring with them food which belongs to the profane sphere.^A

Restrictions in regard to eating do not only depend on who supplies the food, but rather on who cooks it. This might have been a contributing factor for the establishing of the two functions of 'rafadah' and 'siqayah', to regulate the provision of food and the distribution of water, wine and so forth.

This may imply that food and drink must be served by a class of people considered ritually clean, so that anyone will accept food or water without being liable to pollution, through the officiating person.¹

It is probable that at a remote time, food was cooked and served in secluded spots and rock shelters were often chosen for this purpose.²

The foregoing suggests to us the case of the 'Hebrew Nazirite', i.e. the consecrated one, who dedicated himself to

- 1. of. Similar observances among the Brahman.
Hutton: Casts, pp.62-64.
- 2. In Kitab al Tijan there is reference to a mountain called al Majabikh, i.e. the mountain of kitchens, where food was cooked.
of. Similar observances related of the Masai.
Forde: Habitat, Economy and Society, p.296.

A. This is expressed mainly among Shi'a sects.

the performance of a holy vow. This usually meant the observance of certain forms of abstinence.¹ Those may include leaving the hair unshorn, abstaining from wine and avoiding the pollution of a corpse.²

On the same analogy we may refer to the taboos imposed on warriors. Consecration to the tribe-God among the nomad tribes has been the underlying principle of the warriors. The Arab warriors for instance, will not have his hair shorn until the war of revenge is concluded.³

According to many anthropologists, among primitive peoples persons under a taboo regard their hair as sacred and inviolable. To cut the hair would be profanation of a holy-growth. Frazer gives many examples that warriors are conceived by the savage to move in an atmosphere of spiritual danger. Their friends at home had to observe strictly many curious customs based on the sympathetic connection supposed to exist between friends at a distance.^{4.A}

1. James: Taboo among the Hebrew. pp.44 ff.

2. Jastrow: The Nazir legislation.

3. W.R. Smith: Religion of the Semites. pp.324.383.

4. Frazer: Warriors Tabooed, p.157.

A. Similarly, when the Israelites marched forth into war, they were bound by certain rules of ceremonial purity identical with the rules observed by Maoris and primitive Australians on the war path.

~~cf. Frazer, Old New Zealand, 1894, p.90.~~

One of the customs mentioned was that all the people left in the camp had to fast while the warriors were out in the field.

cf. Deuteronomy: xxiii: 9.12.

Samuel, xxi.5. (The custom of continence observed by the Israelites in the war).

The taboos in question, are represented by Arab authorities as innovations on the part of Ḥoms, based upon class-discrimination. Some were abolished on the assumption that Islam levelled all distinctions in matters of ritual practices.

It is possible that some of the underlying factors of the foregoing taboos are of ethnic and racial character. It is difficult to sort out how far such factors helped in bringing about specific avoidances. We may refer to the total configuration of the Meccan inhabitants, with particular emphasis on the social ^{position} replacement of the Ḥoms, within the general structural frame of the Arab associations at large.

From the general racial point of view, Arab historians speak of two main divisions, viz: Qahtān and ʿAdnan. The former includes ʿArab ^{al} and Aribah and Muṭa-^ʿaribah, who were nomads and who, in their immigration towards the South superimposed themselves on the Hamitic or Cushide colonies. The latter are the Abrahamites or Ismaʿlites, the ʿArab al Muṭa-^ʿrabah, the naturalised Arabs, to whom the Ḥoms claim to belong. The foundation of Mekkah as a polis was probably co-equal with the settlement of the Ismaʿlites. It is of interest to note that the social activities among the early Mekkans, were conducted rather in an allegiance pattern, than on administrative, in the sense that various functions were allotted to various associations, as assigned by heredity. The aristocracy lived in the acropolis (maʿlat), where the Kaʿabah is situated, and during the pilgrimage season people gathered primarily for the holding

(For notes on this subject see following page

of feasts and of ceremonial exchange, not for the routine of life, and these ceremonials each association or a group of associations performs its contributions.

This regular and ceremonial gathering has resulted in a mixture of various groups with various orders about purity and ritual avoidances. Hence the division of Homs, Tols and Hills seems to be originated in ritual, the division of people primary for ritualistic purposes, with corresponding class categories, which cross-cut the whole community and ~~distribute~~ ^{divide} people into superior, sacred and common.

The functions of Nadwah, Mashurah, Quyadeh, Sadanah, Hyabah, Siqayah, 'Immarat ul bait, Ifadah, 'Amwal Muhjjarah, Aysar, Ijazah, Qubbah, A'innah, Rafadah, Ashnaq, Sifarah, Liwa' - were the well-known functions designated to various sub-clans and conflicts arose as consequent to the struggle for attaining such offices.

Tabari: p.1395.
Aghani: xiv, p.15.
Azraqy: Op.cit. pp.66,75-76.

Analogeous institutions are found in Fiji, where a clan presides over public feasts, and allots the portions of food. Another clan holds the office of dressing the King, and watches over his corpse and buries him. This has nothing to do with specialization of crafts, it is more or less of ritual service.

Hutton: Caste. p. 120.

Meek records functional groups of this kind. The Ba- Nands clan of the Jukus of Nigeria perform the burial rites of the King.

Meek: A Sudanese Kingdom. p.50.

We may assume that the principle of untouchability is involved as an underlying contributing factor of ancient methods of barter prevailed in early Arab fairs. Such pre-Islamic ways are known among the Arabs by the following terms, 'Mulamasah' 'Munabadhah' Bai' 'al-Hasah' or Bai' 'Ilqa' al Hajar'.

They are generally interpreted that as a sign of the conclusion of agreement on barter, a man would throw a stone or pebble, a piece of cloth or another article and thus doing the sale became binding. These ways were condemned by Islam, primary because they involved 'gharar, 'Taghrir'. We think that it is probable that such practices were resorted to, to avoid Musafahah, which ^{seems} ~~was~~ to be a recognized sign of including sale-agreements. This may be suggested by bearing in mind that such fairs were meeting-places of a mixture of peoples of different orders concerning pollution and ceremonial ~~purification~~ purification.

Lane's Lexicon: Article - Nabadh.
Prohibition of Bai' al-hasah. Mu. 21, 4.
" " Munabadhah and Mulamasah. (Lane and Hibah)
Bu. 34, 62, 63, 93, 77, 20, 21.
cf. Barter - Wensinck' collection of early Traditions:
A.B.H. II, 319, 379, 380.
Prohibition of Ilka al Hajar - A.B.H. II, 491.

According to Ibn Habib, 'Mulamasah and Hamhamah was prevailing in the fair of al-Mushaqqar escorted by Quraish and that the partners concluded the sale by 'nodding' without talking, as a sign of acceptance.
Muhabbat, p. 264. 265.

Each group may belong to a distinct institution of taboos, pollution and purifications, subject to what was perhaps a conscious political and hierarchial policy adopted by the people who hold influence and authority through ritual functions as well as racial segregation and social integration.

The barrier between the Homs and the others seems to be materially expressed in a sort of commensual avoidance, a polluting distance, as they used to stop at Muzdalifah and did not follow the others to 'Arafa.

It seems likely that the ritual ceremony of pilgrimage was an occasion to express and maintain in a form of service, taboos and observances, the general social discrimination which regulated the relations between the various groups. In the meantime it reassured the superiority of those who hold authority of functional responsibilities within the area designated for ritual ceremonies, where preference is given to ritual more than profane pursuits.

However, within every association of each social division, there were ritual avoidances, which while distinguishing it from other outsider groups, served to express its integrity. Thus the Hill, for instance would abstain from hunting, during their Ihram, they did not partake in any commercial undertaking and they leave aside as 'laqa' their foot-wear

cf. An elaborate practise of distance-pollution is remarkable between the Brahmans and the outcastes in India.

Hutton: Op.cit. pp.70-71.

and clothing. The Tols, on the other hand did not observe such practises, though both were considered outsiders in relation to the Homs.

Meanwhile, a barter of goods and services was carried mostly within a standing partnership or is associated with some sort of social-tie. Hence, generally every Hilly has a Haramy among the Homs who would provide him with the desired ritual garment in which he would perform the circuit round the Ka'abah, otherwise he would do it in a state of nudity.

Reference may be made to the state of Ihram into which the pilgrim is required to put himself on the occasion of Hajj (pilgrimage). This state means originally prevention or forbidding. It is symbolised by wearing a particular dress^A and consequently or spontaneously certain acts, ordinarily lawful, came to be forbidden.

Before donning the ihram dress, the pilgrim must purify himself by taking a bath. During the state of ihram and even before that, from the beginning of the journey to Mecca, no amorous discourse is allowed and sexual intercourse is also forbidden.^B

A. Mohammed is recorded to have said that a Muhrim should not put on a shirt, turban, trousers or a cap, nor a dress coloured by war (red) or saffron (yellow)... Another tradition describes Muhrim's ihram as consisting of two white sheets. As regards women, 'A'isha held that a woman should not cover her face or wear a veil in ihram. Change of clothes during ihram is not forbidden according to one authority but it is forbidden according to others.

B. In a state of ihram, neither the use of scent, shaving nor paring the nails is allowed.

Ihram

Such practices may be considered within the complex ritual of ceremonial dress and nudity. Generally ceremonial nudity is sometimes regarded as an efficient means of obtaining purificatory influence for the body. It is regular among some communities in time of drought to perform rituals for rain in a state of nudity. Similarly it might have been the underlying factor for some Arab people who used to perform the circuit in a state of nudity.

On the other hand, dress may be considered as a partial expression in a material form of various grades of social and ritual life. The assumption of a 'grade-dress' is a 'rite of aggregation'. As far as the ancient Arabs are concerned, there was a ceremonial dress worn by girls to mark the entrance into the grade of marriageability and social puberty.^A It is probable that 'izar' was primary meant as adress of a particular state of ritual disability, and it must be discarded when the state is past. It is a general rule to dress the dead in his 'best clothes'. It was a frequent rule that murderers indicated their personality in a peculiar way. Thus in like manner the sacred dress of 'ihram' may be regarded as a means of adaption to a state of extraordinary ritual value. It must be discarded when the state is past. That explains the 'laqa'.

A.B.Ellis: Tshi-speaking Peoples, p. 2371

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics: Article - Dress,
by A.E.Crawley.

To induce rain to fall, Ba-Thonga women strip themselves naked.
A. Fakih: *Al-Mun'aga min Akhbār umm al qura* p.4.
of Ibn Hisham, p.80, 81. This practice was performed in
dār al Nadwah. Sidas to indicate mourning state (dama & dapp)

We may consider the ~~Muhrim~~ Muhrim a sacred and separate man. He must separate himself from what would 'defile' him.

As soon as a man takes the vow to visit Baitullah al Haram, he becomes a subject of the Holy category, and has to submit himself to various taboos. The motive may be to prepare oneself for the event of approaching the divine holiness. The idea of unapproachableness of the 'numen' because of its extreme sanctity, being fatal to come into contact with, is quite a common one. Very naturally the person who approaches or stands before or in the supposed presence of a deity must be guarded against every form of defilement. If polluted in any way, the result would be disastrous on the ground of the mutual exclusion of holiness and pollution. We may expect that the intensity of the conflict tends to be increasingly felt whenever and wherever contact takes place between the 'sacred par excellence' and the polluted.

We may proceed further to indicate that in case the Muhrim fails to observe the taboo imposed upon him, an immediate means of wiping away the substantive pollution must follow. This means may be achieved by a propitiative rite of redemption, viz: a ransom as a substitute, fasting (ten days), offering alms, or a sacrifice.¹

The underlying principle is the mechanical conception of the relation between breaching a taboo (sin) and punishment

1. Qur'an: 2:91.

(divine sanction). It may be feared that under sudden opposition of its impulse, holiness, in its benevolent end, may be replaced by a destructive reaction generally expressed by the wrath of God.

These compensations are observed by any pilgrims who wishes to break his state of Ihram and to free himself from the taboos imposed upon him. Hence we meet with a technical term 'Tammattu^c' which literally means profiting. It has come to be used to indicate a state of combining the hajj and the 'Umrah.¹ That implies that he gets out of the ihram state after the performance of the 'Umrah, and then re-enters it in the days of Hajj. Thus between the 'Umrah and the Hajj the pilgrim profits by living in his ordinary condition and is not bound by the strict rules and taboos of ihram.^A

1. Qur'an: 2:196.

A. For this he is required to make a sacrifice, or fast for three days in the hajj and seven days after returning from pilgrimage as a compensation of ridding temporary of the imposed taboos of ihram. It might be borne in mind that these regulations are to be observed in case of Ih'sar, i.e. the case of prevention from entering Mekkah.

A combination of the 'Umrah and the hajj means that after the performance of the 'Umrah (visit) the pilgrim does not remain in the state of ihram. Uniting hajj with 'umrah is called iqran.

In addition to the previous taboos, a Muhrim should abstain from hunting, i.e. killing animals.^{1.A}

Various traditions are related on this subject, and further details are afforded in explanation of Muhrim's abstaining from hunting game and from eating it in case he knows it was hunted by a Muhrim.^B It should be noticed however, that destructive animals may be killed by a Muhrim.^C - see following page.)

The restrictions imposed upon the Muhrim with regard to hunting animals, seems to be one aspect of the general taboos of blood-shed on a sacred spot.

Historical events sometimes show that political factors were occasionally so strong that they overcame religious or traditional scruples.

Reference may be made to the injunctions relating to fighting on sacred territory or during the sacred months. The Fijar or sacriligious war, ~~it~~ was so called because it occurred within

1. Qur'an: 4.94.

A. On this subject Qur'anic verses read as follows:-
'Allah will certainly try you in respect of some game which your hands and your lances can reach.'
'Do not kill game while you are on pilgrimage, and whoever among you shall kill it intentionally, the compensation (of it) is the like of what he killed, from the cattle, as two just persons among you shall judge, as an offering to be brought to the Ka abah, or the expiation (of it) is the feeding of the poor or the equivalent of it in fasting.

B. A tradition related by Sa'b b. Jaathama, shows that when he brought for the Prophet a wild ass, which he had killed, the latter refused to accept it saying, 'Verily I would not have returned it to you but on account of my being Muhrim.'

The Muslim schools are not always in accordance with the details of this question. Jabir confessed that the meat of game is allowable to a Muhrim so long as he does not kill it and is not killed purposely for him. Mishkat al Masabih.

the sacred term and was eventually carried into the sacred territory. The accounts provided by the Arab authorities¹ show clearly that when the Hawazin proceeded in hot pursuit after the Quraishites, they did not fight with them, because the latter had already entered the sacred limits.

Thus they contented themselves with challenging their enemy to an encounter at the same period of the following year.

With the rise of Islam, we meet with a variety of statements viz: Qur'anic verses, regulating the attitude of the Muslim community at that time towards the Sacred House of God and the sacred Months, primary according to their circumstances.

On the assumption that pilgrimage to the Ka'abah, being impossible so long as the 'Holy House of God' was in the hands of unbelievers, permission to fight on the sacred land and even during the sacred months was temporarily ordained as a measure of self-defence and to put a stop to religious persecutions.^{2.A}

1. Ibn Habib: al Muhabbar, p. 195.

2. Qur'an: II.190-191.

A. '... And do not fight with them at the sacred Mosque until they fight with you.'

C. (Note from previous page)

According to 'Ayesah, the five animals a Muhrim may kill are a snake, a white and black crow, a mouse, a biting dog and a kite.

To explain such a taboo, we might refer to the general blood-taboo. From earliest times we find traces of the widespread belief that blood is instinct with life potency. Therefore, it has been looked upon as sacred. The drinking by Arab tribesmen of blood, was sharing the communal principle of life. It is sacrosanct. Among them the blood-covenant is a closer tie than natural descent. The reasonable explanation of pouring blood in ceremonies is to fortify the union or the social-tie, or to re-inforce the integration of the association. In view of the part played by blood among the Arabs, we should conclude that it is 'sacred' 'of capital ritual value' especially when it is identified in thought with the life itself.

On the other hand it 'defiles' i.e. produces ritual disability upon the intruders, whatever it touches, even though it is believed to be clearly associated with the essence of sacredness of life (numena).

The striking thing in this matter is that we do not feel any distinction drawn between murder and manslaughter, i.e. between victorious warriors who have actually shed the blood of their enemies or criminals that have killed one another.¹

1. cf. Frazer: *Taboo: Manslayers tabooed*, p.165 ff.

Seligman, C.G.: *The Melanesian of British New Guinea*.
Cambridge, 1910. p. 129.

The inviolability of Haram may be illustrated by some Qur'anic verses and various traditions which reveal the traditional sacredness of the place. Consequently they explain the reverence observed towards it and setting it aside from the common and profane places.

The commentators, including Tabari, Zamakhshari, Baiḍwai

Qurtubi, Ibn Hazm, after interpreting Sura xiv: 37, tend to assume that the House of God has been sacred from the outset of the creation.^A

On the day of the conquest of Meccah, Mohammed is reported to have said, 'This city, Meccah, is Haram by God's command. Verily it never was allowable for any one to fight in the city before my time. It was not allowable for me, except for one hour (sa'at) of the day. Its trees must not be cut down, nor its game molested, nor must anything be taken up which has fallen upon sacred ground, nor must its fresh grass be cut, nor even the dry, except an aromatic bush called Adhkir.'

Ritual avoidances came to be applied to Medinah. On this subject many traditions are related.^B

Attention may be drawn to the essential part played by the ideas evolved to attain utilitarian ends in social life. We may refer to the positive exercise of legal rights of property of holy places. At first sight, the fundamental principle by which this is regulated, seems to be that holy places must not be treated as common places. In early stages it is very difficult to grasp precisely the distinction between what is holy and what is common, especially when we put on account records about antiquity. In Arabia for example, where there

A. Abraham is represented as having said, 'O, our Lord! Surely I have settled a part of my offspring in a valley unproductive of fruit near Thy sacred House...' (Ch.xiv:37.)

B. ~~On the authority of Sahih al-Bukhari~~, The Prophet said, 'Verily I have made sacred the trees and game on the two stony plains of Medinah.' In another tradition it is related that the Prophet said, 'Verily Abraham made the boundary of Meccah sacred, and verily I have made Medinah sacred, and the things between its two quarters, that blood shall not be spilt therein, or arms borne to fight with, nor shall the leaves of the trees be cut off, unless for the food of quadrupedes.' 'Anyone who shall innovate therein or protect an innovator, on him is the curse of God, of his angels and of all men, nor shall his prayers be accepted.'

Of more interest, however, are the traditions related about Medinah as being guarded by angels on which account neither plague nor Dajjal can enter it. In harmony with this is the tradition which represents Medinah as rejecting everything evil as a furnace does the dross of iron.

Sahih: Bukhari, vol.ii. pp.50-54.
Bladhouri: Futuh. p. 20.

were great tracts of sacred land, it was forbidden to cut fodder, fell trees, or hunt game and all the natural products of the holy soil were exempt from human appropriation. But it would be rash to conclude that what cannot be private property of men is therefore the private property of the Gods, reserved for the exclusive use of them or their ministers, for in very early times, it seems that there was no privileged class of sacred persons to assert on their own behalf the doctrine of divine proprietorship, and in these times accordingly the prohibition of private encroachment was consistent with the existence of public and communal rights in holy places and things.

In this way we can understand the significance of different sorts of emblems, asheras, ansab, charms and cylinder seals which are found to run the part of guardian of sacred properties. Such taboo-emblems seem to be the symbols of social tie and unity, which indicate that these sort of things are not subject to private property. This idea developed later when the symbols having their origin are frequently used by individuals as a means of withdrawing certain things from common use and thus establishing a property right over them. Thus, the tapu charms of Samoa, and parts of Melanesia, the tic-tic of the West African, the cylinder seals of Babylonia and so forth are taboos placed on private property and evidenced by a mark or a dangle placed on the object. The West Africans have a proverb, 'One charm does the work of twenty slaves.'

The foregoing, however, reveals the principle of inviolability with regard to hīma. It may be applied to the traditional hīma where, we are told Ismael used to let his cattle graze.

D. Another aspect of approaching the Haram of Meccah, may be pointed out by the recorded appeal of Abraham to render the place an asylum.^A

A. Abraham said, 'My Lord, make this city secure, and save me and my sons from worshipping idols.'

Tabari comments on that verse by saying that Abraham appealed to God to secure the city from being subject to the wrath of God which might bring all sorts of disasters to it and its inhabitants.

Of greater interest however, is to mention the Qur'anic verses confirming that God has made His House an asylum.¹ 'And when we made the House a resort for men and a (place of) security.'

Commenting on this verse, Tabari² and others confess that it was so called 'asylum' by God on account of the fact that it was, during the time of Ignorance, a refuge to whomsoever claimed safety and protection. If the avenging kinsmen met the murderer within its limits he might not kill him.

It is obvious from such statements that the spot was regarded from time immemorial as an asylum, i.e. a sacred place within whose precincts those who took refuge might not be harmed without sacrilege. It is indisputable that in early times holy places are represented as being haunts of supernatural powers. The social function of such entities is to enforce the principle of inviolability. Wild animals, sometimes even domestic animals, which strayed into them, shared this protection with debtors, fugitive slaves and criminals as well as the victims of unjust pursuit or violence.

Manslayers sought refuge there from the sword of the avenging kinsmen. It is clear that the refuge in question was particularly famous for undertaking the last purpose of asylum, as it pressed in the literature concerning this refuge.

This matter seems natural among peoples in which the law of blood vengeance was most persistently maintained. Another example of Arabic sanctuaries that possessed the right of asylum were mentioned such as Galsad and Fils, where the stray animals were not molested.

It may be assumed that the privilege of sanctuary not only affords temporary protection to the refugees, but in many cases altogether exempts them from punishment, retaliation and grants them freedom. Reference may be made to what Alusy

1. Qur'an: ii:125.

Azraqi: Akhbar Mecca, p.31.

2. Tabari: Tafsir, p. 240.

relates about the pagan Arabs after ihram, wearing a necklet made of Al-adhkhar, the trees of the Haram in order that he might not be harmed or attacked by another.¹

In all probability the early custom was that if one felt himself to be threatened by another or suspected to be guilty of blood fued he, in order to protect himself and safe-guard his life, went to the Haram and got that Adhkhar and wore it or put it on his cattle as an emblem of sacredness that carried inviolability with it. That was probably a reminiscence of some old custom observed by manslayers. This might be a mark or sign.

A comparison of the customs observed by manslayers in other parts of the world may help us to understand at least its general significance.

Reference may be made to the mark of Cain. R. Smith thought that the mark was a tribal mark, a badge which every member of the tribe wore on his person, and which served to protect him by indicating that he belonged to a community which would avenge his murder. Against this view it may be assumed that the mark might, on the contrary, increase his danger in a hostile country. Still the mark of Cain seems hardly to fit the case. Every member was equally protected by it whether he was a manslayer or not. The narrative tends to show that the mark in question was not worn by every member of the community, but was peculiar to a murderer.

Frazer points out that Cain was thought to be obnoxious to other dangers than that of being slain as an outlaw by anyone who met him. The blood of his murdered brother is regarded as contributing a physical danger to the murderer. It taints the ground and prevents it from yielding its increase. Thus the murderer is thought to have poisoned the sources of life and thereby jeopardized the supply of food for himself and perhaps for others.

On this view, it is intelligible that a homicide should be shunned. He is plague-stricken, surrounded by a poisonous atmosphere, infected by a contagiousness of death. His very touch may blight the earth.

Clearly the intention of this rule was to put the manslayer in quarantine. This may suggest that the mark put on a homicide

1. Alusy: Op. cit. vol.ii. p. 319.
Azraqy: Op. cit. p. 155.
Ibn Hisham: p. 95.

might be intended not only for his protection but also for the protection of the persons who meet him, lest by contact with his pollution they should defile themselves or incur the wrath of the ghost (Sada) by whom he was haunted. In short it might be a signal to warn people off.

However, there are other facts which tend to show that an individual who would like to enjoin the right of protection might adopt the same custom. This may be explained by the magical protection of being in contact with sacred potency.' ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Again, we may refer to what the Arabic works report about the safety of pigeons and game in Meccah, to such an extent that it came to be a proverbial saying 'Amen min hamam Mecca.' i.e. 'Safer than pigeons in Meccah.'²

Moreover, we should point out that some historical events are interpreted in the light of the right of asylum of the Ka'abah. There is no doubt that what characterizes the Arabic chronology on the subject of the conquest of Mecca, by the various rulers who held its domain before Islam, is that no leader whosoever could succeed in fulfilling his aims unless he had a priori veneration for its sacred sanctuary, the Ka'abah or Baitu'll ah al 'Atiq. As it lies outside our task to investigate that topic, we shall confine ourselves to an event which legend has amplified and embellished, i.e. the unsuccessful expedition of Abraha against Mecca with the view of the destruction of its sacred sanctuary. The memory of that historical event survived in the Qur'an.^A

- 1. cf. Hobhouse: *Morals in Evolution*, vol. 2. pp.55 ff.
 - 2. Jahiz: *Hayawan*, vol.iii. pp.192,193.
 - A. According to the commentators, the destruction of the Abraha's army was due to God's protection of His House, when the elephant was let into the sacred enclosure, he refused to stir a single step. A sudden flock of 'birds' came flying from the sea coast, throwing stones down upon the Abyssinian army. All whome they struck fell dead upon the spot. Then God sent a flood, which swept the dead bodies into the sea. The rest fled towards Yemen, but perished in multitudes all along the road. Their bodies broke out into a kind of spotted eruption. These memorable events occurred in the very year during which Muhammed was born.
- To the modern commentators however, the cause of the confusion is attributed to small-pox or pestilence. The mention of birds in the Qur an is merely intended to show that they were destroyed and the birds feasted on their corpses. Tearing off flesh from the dead bodies and casting it on stones. Hence it is that in the concluding words their bodies are compared to straw, i.e. eaten up.

TABOO and RITUAL OCCASIONS

Periods of specific ritual value must be distinguished from those designated for the secular and regular pursuits of life by a category of taboos or ritual avoidances.

It is necessary to assign determined periods to the first, from which most profane occupations are excluded. In general most communities practise the division of time into two distinct parts, alternating with one another according to rules varying with the peoples and cultural patterns. Under this category may fall the sacred truce recognised by the Arabs. Rest days^A are also a vivid illustration of the general principle.

A. It seems that the so called Truce of God is closely associated with commercial activity and that it was not based on purely religious considerations. The influx of the pilgrims demanded more imports of victuals, and the new-comers also carried on private business and trade in goods brought by themselves. This would make it a pilgrimage and a fair simultaneously.^B

A periodical fair was supposed to bring large sums in the form of Ushr or tithes for the chieftain in possession of the site of the fair. So he might employ all possible means, including the well known system of escorts, to induce foreigners to come over there in ever increasing numbers.

A. Without entering into details we may refer to the Sabbath of Babylonians and ancient Hebrews, Sunday of the Christians and Friday of the Muslims.

B. The Qur'an confirms that fact and encourages the continuation of the habit. 'There is no blame on you in seeking bounty from your Lord.' - Qur'an: 2.198.

Commenting on that question, Bukhari states that before the advent of Islam, fairs were held for trading purposes during the pilgrimage season. The most well known of which are the 'Ukam and Majinnah and ~~du~~ majaz. The Muslims thought it a sin to take part in this, and they were told that trade was not forbidden to them even in these days.

In this way we may assume that this institution has served mainly to attract foreigners and customers. We notice that the longest periods of these sacred months was three months¹ coinciding with the pilgrimage to the Ka'abah. The fourth month² coincided with the celebration of Al 'Umrah.

We are told that Quraishite influence was responsible for an almost universal respect for this truce of God in Arabia. However, there were other truces connected with other localities^A and other fairs and hence the famous expression of the 'Rajab of Mudar tribes.'³

Information given by Ibn Habib⁴ may give the impression that the extensive commercial relations of the Quraishites and their widespread alliances, led to the elaboration of

- 1. Dhul Qu'dah, Dhul Hijjah, Muharram.
- 2. Rajab.

cf. Tabari: vol. ii. p. 113. Tafsir of verse 9:3.
 Azragi: p. 126.
 Ibn Hisham: p. 82.

The Arabic term Ḥāḥj seems a collective appellation applied to the people who accompany the pilgrims, its significance includes, merchants, hired-men, camel drivers and slaves.

Lane's Lexicon: Art. - Ḥāḥj.

- 3. Tabari: pp.1752-55. Jahiz Bayan: Vol.II.pp.25-6.
- 4. Ibn Habib: Muḥabbar, pp. 266 ff.

A. The non-Quraishite truces were less rigorously observed. The Quraishite truces however, were not observed by the tribes of Tay^x and Khath'am.

such truces, or at least had maintained them.^A

From the account given by some Arab authorities on the question of pre-Islamic fairs, we may understand important and capital fairs in central Arabia^B were held at the same period of the so called sacred term.

Holding these fairs was of great benefit and class privilege and consequently it would be unfortunate that a month which was due to be al-Muharram would be a profane month during which the Bedouins were not bound to observe the truce.

The continuity of the three consecutive months of truce was interrupted therewith and the result was that hardship was caused to those intending early departure. Bloodshed took place among the avengers and especially among the two tribes of Tay' and Khath'am who were known for their indifference to the sacred months.¹

- 1. Ibn Habb: Muhabbar, pp. 263-268 ff.
- Ibn Ishaq: (Ibn Hisham): pp.43-46.
- Asraq: Mecca, pp.126-7.

A. Every caravan which set out from Yemen or Hijaz acquired the services of the Quraishite escort as long as he travelled in the country inhabited by the Mudarite tribes, since no Mudarite harassed the Quraishite traders...

The travellers acquired the services of the escorts of Banu Amr ibn Murthed which protected them in the whole of the country inhabited by the tribes of Rabi'ah...

When going to the fair of Muharah in the southern extremity of Arabia, escorts of Banu Muzarib were employed...

In the fair of ar-Rabyyah in Hadramaut, the Quraishites were escorted by the Banu 'Akil el-Murar and the rest of the people were escorted by the Musruq of Kindah.

'Ukaz was the greatest of Arab fairs and was visited by the tribes of Quraish, Howasin, and others.

B. The fair of Rabyyah in Hadramaut and that of Ukaz in Najd near Arafat were held on the same day on the 15th of dhi'l-qa dah up to the end of the month. Then the fair of dhi'l Majas near Ukaz held from the 1st of dhi'l Hijjah up to the day of Tarwajah (the 8th day of dhi'l Hijjah), from there they went to Mina. After that the Fair of Natah was held in Khaibar and the fair of Hajar in Yamamah was held on the tenth of Muharram till the end of the month.

By the rise of Islam, the old inter-tribal observances of the truce attributed to God to secure the economic privileges attained by the fairs on the one hand and to put an end to bloodshed on the other hand. Thus we find reference to Nasi^A in the Qur'an condemning the practice as a means of leading men astray.

B. A treatment of the restrictions imposed during festivals and rest days, comes within the purview of the foregoing. In order to give permanent characteristic features to discriminate such occasions of great ritual value from the secular, many features which directly or indirectly, concern the every day life should not be confused with the every day life. In general, we find many acts characteristic of the ordinary life are wholly or partly forbidden while those of the sacred life are taking

A. According to most of the commentators, Nasi⁷ means postponement, and refers to the practice of postponing the observance of the sacred months, thus allowing an ordinary month to be observed as sacred and a sacred month to be treated as ordinary. This practise interfered with the security of life which was guaranteed in the sacred months, and is therefore, denounced.

According to others, Nasi⁷ means addition of a month, and refers to the practise of the intercalation of a month every fourth year.

The question of Nasi⁷ has been well discussed by M.C. de Percival, vol. i. p. 242, and in the Journal Asiatique, Avril, 1841, where the same author has given a 'memoire sur le calendrier Arabe avant l'Islamique.' It is assumed that the months were originally purely lunar, thus the month of pilgrimage came eleven days earlier each succeeding year, and in 33 years, having performed a complete revolution of the seasons, it returned to the same relative position to the solar year with which it started. It is supposed that the inconvenience of providing for the influx of pilgrims at all seasons led to the idea of fixing the month of pilgrimage, when it came round to invariably that part of the year (Autumn), by a system of intercalation.

Qur'an: 9:37.

place. For instance, the act of eating¹ is profane, thus it is prohibited in religious times. The taboo imposed on eating and talking during the great religious solemnities may be due to the observance of that regulation.

Feasts may be explained on the same ground. The distinctive character of the feast day is the cessation of work and the suspension of public and private life. This repose is not merely a sort of temporary relaxation which enables men to give themselves up more freely to the sentiments of joy. They are as well, sad feasts consecrated to mourning and repentance and during which the cessation is no less obligatory. This is probably because work is an eminent form of profane activity. It has no other apparent end than to provide for the temporary necessities of life. It puts us in relation with ordinary things only. On feast days, on the contrary, the religious life attains an exceptional degree of intensity. So the contrast between the two forms of existence may be specially marked at this moment, through some ritual avoidances. Psychologically a man cannot approach his God intimately while he still bears on him marks of his profane life. Inversely, he cannot return to his usual occupations when a rite has just sanctified him. So the ritual day of rest is only one particular case of the general incompatibility separating the sacred from the profane, it is the result of an interdiction.

Such interdiction is often endorsed by being socially represented in connection with misfortune or bad luck. There are moments when hostile invisible powers and malign influences preferably manifest themselves. Thus are enforced those well-known taboos, which at certain definite times inhibit such and such an act, or even an activity.

1. The act of eating is considered profane for it takes place every day and satisfies essentially material and utilitarian needs.

E. Durkheim: Op. cit. p. 307.
Webster: Rest-days, New York. 1916. (out of print).
" Taboo, a sociological study.
Boas and others: General Anthropology, p. 644 ff.
Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics: Article - Sabbath.

Those general remarks have substantial ground and material proofs among the Arabs. Without entering into details, we may enumerate some few instances.

1. The month of Muharram is thought to be endowed with extra mysterious potency and magical qualities.^A According to some Muslim theologians the tenth of this month ('Ashura) is particularly a blessed day. On it many sacred or wonderful events are said to have taken place. Of great interest are the prophylactic rites and purifactory practises observed at 'ashura. There are traditions that Mohammed fasted on that day, and ordered his companions to do the same, hoping that such a fast would cover the sins of the coming year.¹ Though it is only regarded as a voluntary fast, many persons observe it in a meritorious way. In Morocco, some parts of Tunis and Iraq, work is commonly suspended on the Ashura day. According to Westermarck² the ait Warain consider it particularly necessary to keep the eleventh day of Muharram as a rest day. Among the Igliva this day is considered unlucky. At Fez and Tangier, people refrain from sweeping their houses on the 'ashura day, lest they should sweep away the 'rezq' from the house. They consider it advisable to refrain from sexual intercourse, since a child conceived in that period would be deaf and dumb.

Many mourning taboos have to be observed during the month of Muharram. Among the Shi ah Muslims in Morocco,³ Tunis, Iraq, Persia and India, it is observed as a mourning period in commemoration of the martyrdom of al-Husain at Karbla'. It is considered unlucky to make marriage contracts during this

A. For this assumption it is held to be the very time for practising magic for good or bad. When it is a question of amulets, it is not the amulet itself, but the 'sacred time' that has the effective helping-power.

1. Sidi-Khalil: Mukhtasar, i.
(Perron, *Precis de Jurisprudence musulmane, - selon le rite Malekite*), Paris, 1848.
Mishkat al Masabih: vii, 7.3. (English translation by Matthews. Calcutta, 1809), pp. 483-486.
2. Westermarck: *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. II. pp.75-78. *The Muhammadan Calendar*.
3. Hughes: *A Dictionary of Islam*, London 1896. p. 407.
Castells: *Note sur la fête de Achoura à Rabat* (Paris, 1916). p. 5 sq.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes: *La fête d'Achoura à Tunis*, in *Revue des traditions populaires*, xviii, Paris, 1903.

period. In Tunis, we are told, that the old women abstain from all needle work on the 'ashura day.¹ Shaving is likewise refrained from by shreafts.²

Generally, if a taboo forbidding work on a certain day or on certain days in the month of Muharram, is transgressed, it is said that the work will not succeed, i.e. there is no baraka in it. Some evil will befall the transgressor. The evils to be anticipated by a taboo-breaker are often identical with those which follow when a person is solemnly cursed; some fearful but undescribed misfortune.^A

II. By virtue of attributing its dangerous qualities to whatever is done at a particular time, ordinary pursuits will be suspended during a period of devotion to religious observance. The Qur'anic ordinance concerning the Friday service is an illustration.³

The underlying binding force to such avoidance is that the success of the ceremonies would be jeopardized by the contact of what is sacred with what is certainly secular and possibly is polluting.

When a holy-day comes to be consecrated to divinity, the notion easily arises that God is pleased by the whole devotion of His worshippers to His remembrance. Abstinence from work thus takes its place among other rites as a recognised means of expressing reverence to God. While conversely, to labour on a holy day or in a particularly sacred time implies a disrespectful attitude toward divinity.

To fortify the interdiction or taboo, an elaborate belief in the injurious elements in sacred days and particularly holy periods, is endorsed among the masses. Hence, work or certain kinds of work should then be avoided. This, being unsuccessful

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- 1. Gaudetroy-Demombynes: Op. cit. p. 192.
 - 2. Monchicourt: La fete d'Achoura, in Revue Tunisienne xvii. (Tunis, 1910), pp. 286-298.
 - 3. 'When proclamation is made for the prayer on the day of assembly, endeavour to come to the remembrance of God, and leave off bargaining.' Qur'an LXI:9.

A. It may be helpful to draw the attention to the fact that the Arab does not distinguish sharply 'good fortune' and 'absence of misfortune'. So he would rather observe strictly the imposed taboo with the belief that the avoidance of misfortune is in itself the enjoyment of positive good.

or in some cases even dangerous to the person who performs it. For instance the Arabs of Moab¹ avoid commencing a journey on a Friday. In Morocco, nobody likes to start a journey before the midday prayer of Friday.² There, according to Westermarck, it is best to do no work at all on that day. No benefit will come from such work and the person who works then will only do useless work on the following day as well.

In many places hunting, or using weapons for any reason is abstained from particularly before the Friday service has been said. Similar beliefs are dominating among Egyptian Fallaheens. In Syria³ a woman who has only a child, would not allow the washing of clothes in her house on Friday. Builders suspend their labour and in fact all artisans.

III. The sociolization of spiritual illumination through associative prayer is a special point of interest. As a psychological phenomenon, the real object of prayer, however, is better achieved when the act of prayer becomes congregational.^A

From an ethnic point of view an attempt may be made to put on record some hints that reveal a possible link between 'Friday' i.e. the day of assembly and the pagan day of 'Arubah.

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- 1. Jaussen: Coutumes des Arabes au Pays du Moab, Paris, 1908. p. 374.
 - 2. Westermarck: Op. cit. Vol. ii. The Muslim Calendar.

A. A congregation is then an association of human beings who, animated by the same aspiration, concentrate themselves on a single object and open up their inner selves to the working of a single impulse. Association multiplies the normal man's power of perception, deepens his emotion and dynamizes his will to a degree beyond that existing in the privacy of his individuality.

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Reference may be made to what is ascribed to Ka'ab Lo'ay B. Ghaliib.⁴ He is represented by some Muslim writers as the first man among the Quraish to predict the importance of holding a weekly meeting attended by the heads of the tribes. It is recorded that this day was called Arubah, before his time, it is only after him that it came to be known as Jum ah.¹

According to other sayings this event is ascribed to Qusay. He is said to be the first who brought the Qurayshites together in a state of unity after their separation. Particularly he was gratefully remembered by posterity for uniting the tribe of Quraysh and converting them into the elite of the city of Mecca. Hence he was known as 'Mujarri' the one who unites.²

We may propose that Friday was a substitute for the day of Arubah. In all probability at a remote time the Arabs took that day as the Muslims take Friday nowadays. It was a day of meeting for fulfilling the dual function of the ritual ceremonies and establishment of a regular occasion, whereby ethnic groups might re-assemble to maintain their cohesion. The ordinary occupations were held up and they performed some rites with the view of maintaining their social bond. It corresponds to the Jewish sabbath. We shall not trace back the origin of the rituals performed at that day, but we only draw the attention to a statement in Bulugh el Arab³ that the day of Arubah was so called by the Arab el Aribah.

Furthermore, the term 'Arab' or 'Arubah' was not originally of a strictly ethnographical bearing. It seems that it was an appellative term rather than ethnic. No certain instance of the use of Arab as a proper name, occurs before the time of Jeremiah.⁴ From the ninth century B.C. and onwards the name of 'Arabs' occurs in the Assyrian inscriptions where it presents a variety

1. Ka'ab B. Lu'ay is the 7th great grandfather of Muhammed.

1. Hawardy: Al ^hAtikam al-Sultaniyah. p. 282.

2. Aluey: Bulugh El Arab; vol.ii. p. 314.
Tabari: 1095. Ibn Hisham. p.132.

3. Aluey: Op.cit. vol.i. p.,929.

4. The Jewish Encyclopaedia: Article - Arab.
Encyclopaedia of the Bible.

According to Prof. Guillaume the term 'Aruba is probably of an Aramaic origin.

of forms, with the same ambiguity.¹

At what period certain tribes began to call themselves Arabs, and at what period the name was adopted by the whole nation, cannot be determined. But there is evidence that it was adopted long time before the rise of Islam. Of particular interest is to mention the occurrence of the term in a strictly ethnographical sense in a verse recorded by Tabari.² The events there described happened in the neighbourhood of the lower Euphrates, i.e. in a district where Arabs, Aramaeans and Persians frequently came into contact. For this very reason, a special term to denote the Arabian nationality and language was absolutely required. The poet thus speaks of 3,000 Arabs as opposed to 2,000 foreigners.

Still more significant is the fact that the verb 'Arraba, or 'Arab which occurs in oldest poetry, signifies 'to explain' and to speak in Arabic, i.e. distinctly. Hence, the distinction between 'Arab, 'Aribah and 'Arab Musta'ribah.

It is probable that the term was originally given to a large amorphous body of half nomadic people, with no fixed dira or grazing ground, who once ranged the whole of the Syrian desert, and were found as far as the Tigris. They poured down the Lebanon into Palestine and Egypt.

It is almost, but not quite certain, that Khabiru Hebrew and 'Arab are originally identical or synonymous³ in the sense to indicate people with no fixed abode, who 'pass-through' or over the territories of others. It is quite possible that Semitic customs, mythology and national traits were carried in successive stages from Central Arabia to the other parts where Semites were found. The nomads were bound together by beliefs and customs which are relatively older than those we may obtain in towns.

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1. The Jewish Encyclopaedia: Article - Arab. Encyclopaedia of the Bible.
 2. Tabari: vol.i. p. 1036.
 3. Prof.Guillaume: Op. cit. pp.76 ff.

We may add that though the nomad had no priest and no fixed sanctuary, he sometimes visited those of the settled people. In course of time, there arose the necessity of fixing a date for their assembly, connected with the manifestation of the early Semitic meeting-places for the performance of communal ritual practices.

Arab

This name suggests 'nomad' 'robber'.

'Biblical data'

'Arab' is mentioned in the following passages:

Ezekiel: xxvii.21. Jeremiah: xxv.24. Jeremiah: lli.2.
Isaiah: xlii.20; xxi.13. Nehemiah: ii.19; iv.1.
II Chronicles: ix,14; xvii.11. xxi.

An examination of these however, proves that the term Arabia and Arabian are used in a number of senses:

1. In Jeremiah lli.2, '...as the Arabian in the wilderness.'
2. In Isaiah xlii:20. '...neither shall the Arabian pitch his tent there.'

Reference is made to the wandering marauding Bedouin who looks for opportunities to plunder or stops here and there to eat the fat of the land.

The passage in Isaiah presupposes frequent incursions into Babylonia of the tent-dwelling Bedouins.

(The Jewish Encyclopaedia: Article - Arab.)

It would seem that the name of the Arabs came into use among the Hebrew at a time when various tribes were advancing from the southern to the northern deserts and dispossessing the former inhabitants who in all probability were closely akin to the Hebrew.

The constant migration of the hordes from central Arabia into Babylonia, and thence along the Euphrates into Palestine has been going on at all times. From Arabia the wanderers poured into Babylonia and settled there. Pressure from Arabia dispersed them and they wandered north. Some, however, went south into Yemen and Abyssinia.

It may be added that a sudden occurrence of a terrifying natural phenomenon, such as thunder, lightning, violent storms, earthquakes and eclipses, might necessitate the declaration of the occasion as of intensive ritual value and it will be demarked by some ritual avoidances. Among the Arabs, under such circumstances viz; on the occasion of an eclipse, the community may observe communal taboos, suspending work and more restrictions are imposed upon persons who happen to be in a state of ritual disability.

As such taboo has been incorporated in the religious system of most of the Arabs, we find it reflected in the so called 'ṣalāt al Khusuf' i.e. prayer on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun or an eclipse of the moon, (ṣalat al Khusuf). The former prayer is a congregational worship of two 'rak'as' differing from the usual 'rak'as' in that each contains two 'raku'as', bowings instead of one. The worship begins with the beginning of the eclipse and ends with its conclusion.

A person who is in a state of ritual impurity, a pregnant woman, may avoid looking at the eclipse. A child conceived at an eclipse is expected to be deformed or unprosperous. Sweeping, shaving, paring the nails, grinding, are among the acts avoided at an eclipse.

Al Ghazzali's book of the Iḥyā' on the worship.
Translated by the Rev. Edwin Elliot Calverley, Madras, 1925. p.24.

On the 25th February of this year, a partial eclipse of the sun occurred and as far as the Arabs are concerned the following was reported by agency messages. (Evening Standard, London.)
Basra, Iraq, Monday. - Arabs prayed and shouted during the three minute total eclipse of the sun here to scare the giant whale which they believe devours the sun. All work ceased.

The reception of a guest is a ritual occasion connected with the possible evil potentiality of a guest. Various taboos on the conduct of the guest demonstrate this assumption. He must not count the number of people present at the feast. He should not sit, save where he is asked to sit. These are measures to nullify his evil influence. Thus we may understand the common belief among the Arabs that hospitality is a means of immunity from misfortune, the averting of evil, etc.

The reception of warriors is marked with more rigid precautions. In many cases, a victorious warrior is not allowed to enter his house by the door. Among the Arabs a sacrifice called 'Naqi'ah¹ was usually made by victorious warriors. It seems probable that the verb 'naqi a' was primarily used to denote some peculiar way of killing the victim. This may be in line with general purificatory ceremonies to be performed over strangers before they are allowed to enter a community and mingle with its inhabitants.²

1. of. R. Smith: Religion of the Semites. 1st edition pp. 1901 p. 491. (Additional note)
2. The Bakari of Brazil attribute sickness, death and other evils to the sorcery practised by strangers from beyond the borders. Those who return to their own land from a sojourn abroad are required to undergo a ceremonial cleansing.

A Hagar when entering or quitting a strange village, strikes his ears, forehead and stomach with a sprig of wild indigo. This is intended to prevent any ill consequence to him from his visit. This may be compared with the practice of Ta shir among the early Arabs.

Wester: Op. cit. Ch. VI. pp. 230-231.
 " " " p. 234. Where Bechuana travellers returned from foreign parts, they were not permitted to rejoin the family circle till they have been cleansed with holy water or the gall of the sacrificed ox.

Some taboos form also a feature of the ceremonies performed on the occasion of preparing for war attack, or revenge. Abstention of warriors from eating meat, washing the head, drinking wine, ointment and sexual impurity are among the ritual avoidances observed by early Arab warriors.

Aghani IX. 149. 141. XIII, 69.

TABOO-BREACHING, PUNISHMENT AND CEREMONIAL PURIFICATION.

The conception of taboo as it appears in the literature about Haram is associated with ceremonial purification. Reference may be made to a Qur'anic verse in this connection.^A

Purity, as it is generally conceived by the Arabs, had a wider significance than what the word denotes to the modern mind, when it implies a pure ethical character. It would be correct to assume that purity being almost regarded as the equivalent of continence or chastity, i.e. a negative state rather than a positive ideal. It is thus obvious that ceremonial purity is closely bound up with the ideas and rules of conduct which form a class or a category involved in the general term 'taboo'. The state of purity would be defined by the Arab as one which results from such a course of action that defilement had been avoided.

Moreover, some features of purificatory rites are intended to mark the termination of a state of taboo and the complete reverence from polluted things.

1. Qur'an: 2:125. Where a divine ordinance is made to Abraham, Ishmael saying, 'Purify my House for those who visit (it) and those who abide (in it) for devotion.'

The connection of Abraham and Ishmael with the practice of purification reveals that it is traced back to the age of the Patriarchs.

In such cases purification enables a person who has been in a state of ritual disability, to face the world once more and to restore his pre-taboo ritual and social-status.

From a socio-psychological point of view the consciousness that the prescribed ceremonies of purification have been duly performed, acts as a counter-suggestion to the sense of oppression, the dismay and sometimes even the positive awe, aroused by the violation of a taboo. Purification may thus provide a relief of all anxiety and concern as to the unpleasant consequences of such a state of ritual disability; i.e. it serves to free a man from the disabilities imposed by the taboo system.

We come to consider the various ways which lead to defilement, ritual pollution and abomination, and consequently to require ceremonial purity. Speaking generally, the infringement of taboos whether voluntary or involuntary, automatically confers ritual disability, pollution and defilement and consequently he is represented as being a dangerous element.

The consequences of breaching a taboo may vary, according to their scope. Sometimes, the taboo-breacher is supposed to suffer for his misdeed, but very often his family and immediate kinsmen are believed to be involved as well. In capital offences, however, it seems that larger associations

are affected.

Among the Arabs, blindness, lameness, leprosy, misfortune, ~~sterility~~ ^{sterility} and death, figure as a penalty, inflicted upon individuals or their offspring on account of transgressing a taboo and particularly in cases of sacrilege.

The following instances may be mentioned: In Morocco, Westermarck was told that a ~~neighbourhood~~ saint who had a shrine in the neighbourhood, ^{lamed a man} as a punishment for shooting the pigeons.¹

In a Palestinian village, according to H. Granqvist,² a woman, who was in a state of impurity, went on to the roof of a sanctuary, she went two steps and at the third she stood like a stick. She could neither walk nor sit down. When she was asked by the audience to come down her reply was: "I am chained".

1. Westermarck: Ritual and Belief in Morocco; vol. i. p. 191.

2. Granqvist: Op. cit. p. 119.

Similar instances of the punishment of sacrilege is related of the Omaha Indians in connection with a buffalo hunt. The culprit was crippled for life by his horse falling on him.

It was believed that he had been supernaturally punished for his irreverent action.

Webster: Taboo. pp. 11

Generally we remark that the evils to be anticipated by the taboo-breacher are often identical with those which follow when a person is solemnly cursed.

The Arabs like to mingle curses with their daily speech and pragmatic aspects. Someone who had lost something would announce a formulae implying a conditional curse for a thief or a dishonest finder who did not restore the lost article to the rightful owner.

The expression of the curse varies, but the contents are often alike, viz: 'lack of children and loss of property'. A curse once expressed is believed to overshadow the transgressor, his children are affected in the first place, This is believed to be a further punishment, as the child is a means by which a father is punished.

The effects may extend still further to other members of the family or close blood-relatives may also die, then the person is 'cut off' and 'his whole house dies out'.

Thus the punishment is not individual, there seems to be the maxim that some innocent persons should suffer for another's guilt.

If the penalty is believed to fall on the group, it is often represented as an epidemic sickness or a deadly disease.

Terrifying and unexpected natural phenomena, such as violent storms, thunder, lightning, earthquakes, protracted drought, eclipse and even unexpected rainfall are sometimes ascribed to a relatively increasing number of infraction of taboos by most members of the community.^A

Hence the group must be protected and a taboo-violator must be purified since he was temporarily shunned, and would remain so unless necessary purification followed, in order to restore to him his previous ritual status. Moreover, we notice defilement is closely connected with the occasions of crisis in human life, both natural and social, such as birth, initiation, puberty, death and marriage, going to war or exploration and travel.

By way of illustration, we may quote some instances; Among the Arabs, all the acts of social misconduct were held *to be extraordinarily serious* ~~of a ritual character and were~~ whenever they took place in a sacred spot, viz: the House of God, the Mosque, or the shrine of a saint, or during the sacred term. The religious feeling has been most operative on the question of homicide, fighting and so forth. Among the other moral offences clearly

A. Sometimes the taboo is incorporated in the religious system, and the Arabic term, *hawb*, *kabirah*, sound as if they would indicate wrong-acts involving risk to the entire community, while other terms such as, *ithm*, *dhanb*, is applied to those involving risk only to the persons committing the forbidden acts.

considered as sins were such as committing adultery in the sacred House, stealing the treasure devoted to the deities of the sanctuary and oppression or injustice in the Holy Land. Various traditions are related in this connection.

Reference may be made to their general characteristic which reveals the automatic magico-religious sanction that befalls the transgressor. The ^{prevalent} ~~most sacred~~ legend related about Şafa and Merwah or 'Isaf and Na'ilah, that they had been transformed into stones on account of committing adultery in the sanctuary, can be taken here as one of the adequate instances to illustrate such characteristic punishments. Another such tradition concerning the Jorhmites, who once tried to steal the treasure from the well inside the Ka'abah, of whom we are told that he was stoned by God. According to other versions the well itself pressed him and prevented him from escaping. Under this category falls the various traditions related about the wicked Amalekites whom God expelled out of the sacred land by a plague of ants. Belonging to the same category, the Jorhomites, who usurped the privileges of the Ka'abah and who were defeated, ~~according to the language of the Muslims,~~ according to their wrong doing, their oppression and violation of the sacred Haram. However, such legends reflect the reaction of the Arab community towards certain modes of disapproved behaviour, which

~~thereby~~ participates in the formation of standards of belief and conduct.

The fate of persons who hold offices of communal interest and departed from the standardized norm of their office is represented in mythology and legends in association with some form of unnatural death.¹

It is of interest, however, to point out that such legends and narratives had their coincident parallel influence among the Arabic philologists. They tried to represent the term 'Mekkah' as to designate the magico-automatic sanction attributed to it in case of breaching its holiness or violating its sacredness.²

Later, the same property was attributed to Medinah which became sacred.³ Alongside these rules we find a set of restrictions imposed upon persons who happen to be in a state of ritual impurity, on occasions of approaching or dealing with

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Among the instances reference may be made to a tax-collector who was eaten by a wolf. The latter is said to have entered paradise in compensation from God.

Asatir al Arab.

Suhail, a star is believed to be an oppressive Ashshar whom God sent. Similar instances are related in Jahiz: Hayswan, vol. i. p. 187.

2. Mawardy: Al ahkam al Sultaniyah, pp. 272-273.

3. Bukhari: Sahih: vol. ii. p. 50.
Al-Shahrastani: Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects. Edited by Rev. William Cureton.
p. 412.

Jahiz: Op. cit. vol. iii. pp. 141-142.

sacred places.

~~To explain which~~ Such restrictions imposed upon persons taken to be temporarily tabooed because of their ritual impurity, ~~we~~ may ^{express} be the psychological fear that the contact of a polluting substance with anything holy is followed by injurious consequences. Such contact is supposed to deprive a deity, a sanctuary or a holy being of its sacredness. This belief may be confirmed by the traditions related by the Arabic chronologists about the defilement of the cathedral of San'a which was established by Arabs so as to divert the Arab religious enthusiasm there. On this subject we are told that one of the Hama'ah, when he became acquainted with this design, ordered two young men to journey to Sana'ah and to pollute the high altar.^A

The foregoing belief may be more conceivable if we call attention to some few general remarks, with respect to the ambiguity of pollution and sacredness.

The physical quality of both holiness and defilement is expressed by ~~an~~ indentifying brightness with the former, and blackness with the latter. Attention ^{is also} ~~is also~~ directed to

A. The underlying purpose of this pollution is to deprive that sanctuary of its sacredness and consequently no reverence would be observed towards it.

Azraqy: Op. cit. p. 91.

the contagious and infectious character of taboo. Both holiness and pollution have been treated like contagion, which has to be washed out. This category of ritual value seems to be represented in the public opinion as a source of mysterious danger that has all the characters of an infection.

The state of ritual impurity is conceived generally as a dynamic and dangerous quality which renders the individual infected, a carrier of danger and subject to whatever illness, misfortune and the like. In matters of religious character, the holy and unclean seem to be in contrast and antagonism. Nevertheless, by examining the question deeper, we find out that they participate in a communal relation with regard to their approach or avoidance by individuals.

Now among the Arabs, the impurities which are thought of as making an individual unfit to mingle freely in the social and religious life of his community can be taken generally as of a physical nature. Various literature supports this view. Ritual disability is ascribed to a person from contact with the dead, from eating forbidden food, from issuing a natural evacuation and so forth.

Defilement and Pollution.

To classify the Arabic literature dealing with the subject, it is essential to keep in mind the fundamental difference between the Arab mental background and the highly developed technical and rational conception of more modern thought. It may be noted that the long stages of evolution moulded the rules so influenced to meet the ethical and religious ideas.

In general we notice that theologians divide defilements into material and mental, lawyers divide them into actual, (haqiqi) and religious (hukmi), Fiqh deals with bodily material only. At all events sexual intercourse, menstruation and child-birth are religious impurities. Leaving aside the unnecessary details we should state that actual impurity indicated by the term 'najasa' is held to be of perceptible body. The things taken indifferently by the Muslim schools to be impure in themselves (najasat)^A are khamr, swine, maita (dead bodies), blood and

A. Regarding these groups, the following may be remarked. Dogs are not declared impure in the Qur'an. In tradition the general attitude against dogs is very strong. Goldziher considers this change due to an attitude of conscious contract to the estimate of dogs in Parsism. We may refer here only to the most important differences of the schools regarding the impurities. Nabidh and spirituous drinks are not impure according to the Hanafis. Living swine are not impure according to the Maliki. The Shi'ah adds to the category of impure things, the human corpse and the infidels. Concerning these, the rules of Shi'ah differ in detail from those of the Sunnis. According to the former, after helping in carrying a corpse to a grave, an ablution is necessary, not merely approved. However, a current tendency in early Islam was to follow the Jewish customs in this respect, regarding the human corpse as one of the chief sources of impurity. As to the impurity of infidels, those who held it backed their view by Qur'anic verse Sura ix.28. where the polytheists are declared to be filth. The Sunnis, however, do not follow the Shi'ah in the exegesis of this verse.

excrement of milk of animals whose flesh is forbidden.

The najasat (impurities in themselves) cannot be purified, in contradistinction to things which are defiled, designated by the term (motanajjisat).^A This however, suggests two problems: First of all whether a polluting influence is ascribed to everything which we regard as dirt. Secondly, the criterion by which we can discriminate the degree of pollution in the scale of impurity.

We may remark that a polluting influence is not ascribed to everything which we regard as dirt. There is reference¹ to the medicinal qualities attributed to the blood and urine of Mohammed.^B There are also traditions which imply that curative or other beneficial effects are attributed to the excrement of cattle and sheep in certain cases.² Anthropological researches may show clearly the prevalence of such ideas and practises among the Arabs.

We may mention briefly the general means of purification to get rid of what is generally accepted as a religious defilement.

Elaborate rules are laid down for various cases of defilement.

A. The exception here is khamr, which becomes pure when made into vinegar.

1. Suhayli: Vol. II. p.135.

B. We are told that Malik B. Sinan and Ibn al Zubair absorbed some of his blood. The underlying purpose is to acquire a part of his barakah. It is related also that Umm Aymin drank his urine.

2. cf. Bukhari: Sahih. vol. 1. pp.96.113.

For instance, after micturation or defecation, there is a preliminary cleansing with stones or earth (istijmar) and one with water (istinja'). Before performing the prayer, some rules of cleanliness are to be observed. The clothes of the worshipper should be clean, and so also the ground, mat, carpet or whatever else it be upon which he prays. In order to be sure of being in a state of purity, it is preferable that every act of worship ^{be} preceded by an ablution, wudu'. Where water cannot be got, sand may be used as a substitute (tayammum).

The necessary details of ablution and tayammun are given in the Qur'anic verse: v.6. Further and supplementary information is also frequently obtained from the many traditions and commentaries on the subject.

Among the many examples of the curative benefits deprived from ~~the~~ the excrement of cattle, etc. we may cite the following:

The urine of a camel is drunk as a remedy for fever. A person who has rank breath rinses his mouth with the same fluid. There may be medicinal virtue in cattle. If a person is affected with leucoma (al-biad fi'al'ain) his eyes are painted with the gall of a black cow mixed with honey.

Cow dung is used as a means of purification

cf. Westermarck: Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco, London, 1914. pp. 258 sq.

Among many tribes the women who scratch their faces at funerals, rub the wound with cow-dung.

A remedy for ulceration is the fresh excrement of a calf.

Dog's flesh is used as medicine. Little pups are eaten by women as a cure for barrenness. A piece of a new-born male is eaten, or some urine of a male dog is drunk, as a method of securing the birth of a son.

Westermarck: Op. cit. vol. 11. pp. 290, 294, 301, 306.

On the question of ablution particularly, Prof. A.J. Wensinck¹ holds that the object of ablution is to free oneself from everything that has connections with supernatural powers or demons as opposed to the worship of one true God.

These beliefs have little or nothing to do with bodily purity as such, but are intended to free the worshipper from the presence or influence of evil spirits.

Zwemer relates two traditions^A ascribed to Mohammed, which seem to retain an animistic belief in evil spirits. According to this view the object of ablution is ceremonial precaution against spiritual evil of demons, etc.

Such traditions however, reflect the stage of mind when one endeavours to explain the physical disorders, death and sickness, by attributing them to the evil and impure powers. These were conceived under different names: evil spirits, demons, jinn, shay^ytan, which often indicate the productive of every sort of 'mal'. Akin and coincidental with this stage of thought, is the belief that pollutive substance is regarded

1. Zwemer: The Influence of Animism in Islam, New York, 1920. Ch.III.p.45.

We owe our knowledge to that theory to what is reported by Zwemer in his account of popular superstitions among the Muslims.

A. One reads: 'If any of you waken up from sleep then let him blow his nose three times. For the devil spends the night in man's nostrils.' The second runs as follows: 'If a Moslem servant of God performs the ablutions when he washes his face every sin which his face has committed is taken away by it with the water or with the last drop of water. And when he washes his hands the sin of his hands are taken away with the water or with the last drop of water...'

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as a magnet to evil spirits. Hence such demonic beings thought to reside in the physical element taken to be unclean. Thus there is reason to assume that the very beginning of the ritual has the dual function of purification both as a ceremony against physical pollution as well as spiritual demonic evil.

However, the Muslim theologians developed later the spiritual side of the idea of purification.

With regard to the second problem, it seems that pollution is looked upon by the Arabs as to be of hierarchial gradation. The occasional defilement caused by natural evacuation or by contact with excrement are of lesser degree in the scale of impurity, and hence one needs no more than the partial ablution or wudu' and this category may not fall under taboo in the proper sense of the word, for the individuals in question suffer a temporary ritual disability, as they are not allowed to partake of the performing prayer except after ablution.

In more capital cases of pollution, mere wudu' does not do and the taking of a bath is rendered necessary. These cases are ihtilam (parallel to the latin 'pollutio nocturna), sexual intercourse (coitus), and in the case of women, menses or ha'id and nifas (puerperium). This category may fall under what may be termed as 'taboos de passage'.^A

A. Van Gennep gives the ^{term} ~~name~~ 'rites de passage' to ceremonials invented to protect the individual during highly dangerous states, often exhibiting itself as an emotional crisi, of passing from one stage of life to another.

Taboo and the ritual impurity of women.

Concerning the women during the period of ritual impurity, (menses and puerperium or nifas), we may refer to the Qur'anic verse commanding men to keep aloof from them until they have performed purification.¹

Many pregnancy regulations are closely associated with taboo, and an expectant mother may be subject to various taboos.

A common belief among the pregnant women is that everything they gaze upon for any length of time is supposed to affect the unborn child. Thus most women in this condition will endeavour to avoid ugly or unpleasant sights or people, fearing that their unborn child may be adversely affected. If a pregnant woman should see a dead person (not a relative), particularly one who has met an abnormal fate, she immediately breaks her necklace and dashes water on her face.

In many Egyptian and Palestinian villages, there exists the belief that whatever an expectant mother yearns for and does not get, at the time of her craving, it will appear on some part of the child's body. Thus, mothers are advised not to long for a fruit which will not be in season.

In Palestine some people will not let a pregnant women knead the dough or pull out a thorn or dig in the ground. The

1. Qur'an: II. v.222.

explanation is possibly based on symbolic magic, i.e. to cut away something may influence a human life, so that it is cut off; to dig in the ground as if to dig for burying a dead person. Thus an expectant mother shall not walk in the burying-place, nor eat the meat of a funeral feast; nor eat certain pieces of meat from an animal. Such taboos are especially observed when she has previously lost children by death.

The foregoing may suggest the assumption that with the Arabs, there is some important similarity between these two kinds of occasions - birth and death, by virtue of which they have similar ritual values and the ritual avoidances observed in the one, are associated with the other. This may be illustrated by various methods adopted by those who have lost children and wish to ensure that the newly born infant will live. Apart from the protective charms worn by the expectant mother, there are various customs and avoidances to attain that.

The following may be examples:-

A woman who has lately lost her baby must not enter the room where a woman is being confined, nor for seven days after this event. If this taboo is broken the woman who was last confined will have no milk for the baby. If a cat gives birth to kittens which all die, and a woman gives birth to a child in the same house in which the cat had kittens, the cat

Winifred S. Blackman: *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt*, pp. 61-89.
 Granquist: *Marriage*. I. p. 131, 144. II. p. 190, 209.
 " *Birth and Childhood among the Arabs*, 1947.
 (Pre-natal customs), p. 33, 39, 45.

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must be taken away from the house or the baby may die.

An expression frequently used is, 'For forty days her grave was open.'¹ This implies that a woman's life is in danger for sometime after she has given birth to a child. This corresponds also to the mourning period of a relative. Purification is needed after the expiration of this term, thus indicating the lifting of taboo and restoring to her her previous social-status.

Again the association between birth and death is directly or symbolically reflected in the various methods dealing with the embryo, after-birth and fertility rites. Sometimes the after-birth is thrown away into running water. The disposer has to laugh or smile otherwise the child will have an unhappy disposition. If a woman has a miscarriage, one after another, she buries the embryo in a place where she can step over it from time to time. Stepping or jumping over bones of the dead is one way of ensuring the production of offspring. The stepping-over the tomb-shaft suggests a belief in reincarnation, but there is also the idea that barakah is attached to anything that is old, sacred or even peculiar. Again some believe that if a dead child is tightly bound in its shroud, the mother cannot conceive again. Therefore the shroud and the cords binding it are always loosened just before burial.

1. This expression is related by Granquist: Op.cit. p.104.

The foregoing may be also associated with the ^{comparatively} 'degrading-status' of women without issue, or those who always suffer miscarriages. She is generally regarded as a destructive influence upon others. Attempts are often made to exclude her from auspicious ceremonies, from attending ceremonies of circumcision, marriage and child-birth. According to Abbott¹ the Muhammedans in Sino will not allow her to prepare food for a saint, as food is considered a sensitive medium for the transfer of her deadly qualities.

The social status of the husband of a barren woman, is not on an equal footing with his colleagues. He sometimes shares with his wife, the restrictions placed upon her. On many occasions he is excluded from measuring grain, planting fruit-trees, sowing seed, laying foundations or erecting the first pillar of a house, in the belief that the seed he sowed would not germinate, nor the trees he planted give fruit, his measuring of grain would lead to a decrease. Ceremonial celebrations undertaken by him would have no barakah.

There are parallels to such taboos, among many other communities. The following may be examples. In some African tribes a pregnant woman may not eat goose lest her child have a long neck like that fowl. The husband may observe some taboos, viz: he may be forbidden to take violent exercise, climb trees or mount, lest his wife have a miscarriage.²

1. Abbott: Op. cit. pp. 109.110.

2. Webster: Op.cit. Ch.II. The Productive life, pp.48,49,50.

In some places, the husband of a pregnant woman is also under many restrictions of conduct. To protect the embryo he must not kill a snake, go shooting or go on a long journey.¹

A nursing mother is sometimes subject to taboos to ensure the flow of milk. For instance among the fellahin of Upper Egypt,² a stone near a small village in Asyut, is visited by women who have not enough milk to nurse their infants. They must not speak when coming to and going away from the spot, and they should step over it, still preserving absolute silence, seven times.

If somebody brings meat to a house where there is a nursing mother, that person must not go into the mother's room, but the latter must come out of her room and step over the meat three times. If she does not do so, it is believed that she will have no milk.

Sometimes, the father observes some taboos, particularly in cases of delay or pain in delivery. According to Blackman³ a husband must wash his right heel and she must drink the water he washed it in. Then he must walk round the village seven times and while he thus perambulates he must not speak to anyone.

1. cf. Abbott: Keys of Power, p.109. The husband does not cut his nails, or hair after the seventh month. He cannot cook food offered to Gods, he cannot participate in religious ceremonies and sometimes cannot attend a funeral.

2. Blackman: The Fellahin of Upper Egypt, p. 68.

3. ditto. ditto. p. 67.

If a passer by salutes him in the usual way he must reply by touching his forehead with his hand, but he must not speak.

To ensure normal delivery and avoid harm to both the mother and the child, another pregnant woman must not be present, as her presence may cause a premature delivery, nor should any person in a state of ritual impurity enter the room during the delivery, it will be much longer before the woman again has a child.

Marrying a nursing mother is disapproved of, ~~it is disapproved of marrying a nursing mother~~ Such marriage is believed to have a harmful influence upon the offspring. Reference may be made to what is known as 'Azl and ghailsh, two term synonymously used to refer to such practise among the early Arabs.

Some traditions represent Mohammed as saying, concerning the practise of 'Azl, it was the secret burying ~~it~~ of a living child. His words show that azl was regarded as a crime comparable to that of wa'd, i.e. infanticide. It became synonymous with 'wa'd khafy, 'al mau'udat as-sughra'. This may be explained on the grounds that such practises would have ill

1. Granquist: Op. cit. p. 60.

Such person is believed to bring evil influences upon the new born child. It is said that if he or she treads on any of the child's clothing, or even steps over it, the child will be miserable and sickly. It is often said of children whose heads are scabious that it is due to a person who was in a state of ritual impurity.

effects on the health of the child when it grew up.^A

It is significant that divorce is prohibited during the period when the menstrual discharge is on. We may refer to the case of Ibn 'Omar who had divorced his wife while she was in a state of ritual impurity. This case was brought to the Prophet, he declared the divorce to be illegal and Ibn 'Omar was asked to take back his wife.¹ Of more interest, however, to mention the 'iddah, in the case of a divorced woman. She has to wait a period of three courses (quru')^B before she is allowed to re-marry.²

This ritual avoidance (iddah) is explained by the relation between a child and his parents in the following manner: In ancient Arabia, on account of the nature of the marriage by

1. Bukhari: I. p. 68.

2. Qur'an: II. 228. Qur'an: LXV.4.

A. We are told that Umm Salamah was nursing her daughter Zeinab, Muhammed did not consummate his union with her until Zeinab was removed to her aunt. It is of interest that the tradition is repeated frequently with the version that the presence of Zeinab caused 'adhe' harm to Muhammed, and prevented him from union with his wife. (al-Isabah: v.2.p.235.)

There are other versions which bear the same meaning and lead to the same assumption as to the consequence of the practise of ghailah. 'Do not kill your children in a concealed manner, for the child being suckled will be killed...'

Mohammed's disapproval of ghailah must have been the sole reason for refraining from consummating the marriage. It seems that it was no personal dislike of the child. When she was removed he asked for her, called her by her diminutive name. As soon as Zeinab was taken away, he immediately consummated his marriage.

'Azl came to signify a preventive measure against conception. of. Sharh al-Mowatta. 3: 77 sq. Lane's Lexicon - Ghailah. R.Smith: Op.cit. Additional note of Female Infanticide. Ibn Hanbal. v.2. p. 453.

B. A qur' (pl. quru'), is the entering from the state of tuhr (cleanness) into the state of menstruation. In normal cases it is about 4 weeks, but there are variations in the case of different women.

sale, the husband (ba'al, literally: master), was regarded as the father of all children borne by his wife during the marriage, even if he did not beget them. Thus he was also regarded as the father of the children borne by his wife if he had married a pregnant woman, or if he had given up his wife for a certain time to another man in order to raise up noble children by her. (The type is technically known as Nikah al Istibda').

In Islam this rule was altered, and only the man who has begotten the children in a legal marriage is regarded as the father. Thus a woman must wait for the expiration of the iddah period if she wishes to marry another after the dissolution in order to be seen whether she is pregnant from the first one, and thus this obligation is functionally intended to save the dispute between two successive husbands, as such quarrels were very common in the pre-Islamic period.

Undoubtedly it is forbidden for a woman to enter a mosque when she is in a state of ritual impurity. There is a hadith from which this conclusion is drawn.^A At all events in Islam

A. The tradition runs thus: 'Aishah says that the Prophet said to her, 'Hand me over the mat from the Mosque.' I said, ' I am in a state of menstruation.' Now though the Prophet answered, 'They menstruation is not in thy hands,' which can be interpreted as if she was considered not defiled, yet the general opinion concerning a woman who is ritually impure, before Islam, was that she was defiled, and 'Aisha' reply seems to have been given under that impression.

It is related on the authority of 'Aishah that during the farewell pilgrimage with the Prophet, she became menstruous and thus did not encompass the Ka'abah for 'Umrah, nor run between Safa and Merwah.

as well as in the time of ignorance, such women were excepted from performing a holy rite, viz: prayer and tawaf. There is a tradition which represents the Prophet as saying, 'I do not make the mosque lawful for a menstruating woman or for a junub person.' This rule has been observed among the Arabs since a very remote time. This can be illustrated by what Azraqy¹ relates about Isaf and Nailah, viz: stating that a menstruous woman could not approach them.

Another tradition related to Azraqy shows clearly that the same rule was applied to a woman at child-birth.A.2.

1. Azraqy: Op. cit. p. 75.

2. Azraqy: Op. cit. p. 118. cf. Ibn Hanbal, p.177.
Ibn Ishaq, p. 105.

A. There is no information concerning taboos imposed upon a woman in her confinement. According to a tradition related from Umm Salamah, however, the mother usually remained in retirement for 40 days and nights after the confinement. During this period she smeared her face with a reddish brown ointment made from wars (a plant which grew in Yeman).

This custom was probably dispensed with on occasions. Asma' gave birth to her son while she was on the pilgrimage. Abu Bakr, as Siddiq told her to purify herself and then she might continue carrying out her pilgrimage rites. This purification probably corresponds to that carried out by a woman after her indisposition.

Fakhitah, the daughter of Zuhair b. el. Harith entered the Ka'abah when she was pregnant, wherein the throes of child-birth befell her. Thus she was carried away and the underneath clothes were washed by Zamzam water while her garments were made Laqa (not touched and not worn again.)

To explain the precautions taken by society against the contact of a woman during ritual impurity, we may mention the general attitude of some societies in attributing vague bad luck to the persons concerned. It is, however, particularly in connection with sexual impurity that the prosperity of the crops is involved. In Arabia those who tend the incense-trees were required to be free from the pollution of sexual relation and of death. Ceremonial purity increased the crop.¹ Moreover, laxity in sexual matters or acts in contravention of sexual taboos involved, in particular through sympathetic ties, the belief that the conduct of the wife affected the success or safety of the husband while he was absent at war or on the chase. *This is expressed in the* ~~Reference may be made here to the~~ pagan custom of ar Ratimah.²

Generally among the Arabs, as among some other communities a woman in a state of ritual impurity is often excluded from sharing in the comparatively vital productive activities. Among the pastoralists, she is forbidden milking the cattle or even dealing with milk, as well as walking through the flocks. Spinning and weaving are also forbidden to such a woman. Among the settler-cultivators, town-folk, she should not grind corn, cut or break wood or sweep, she is not allowed to enter the granary of corn or maize, or a garden of plantation, and she is requested not to collect honey as she is supposed to be

1. Mason: Journal of the Asiatic Society, vol. xxxvii, pp.147 ff.
 2. Alusy: Op. cit. vol.ii. p. 315.

injurious to the bees.

There are similar restrictions on a woman in a state of ritual impurity among many communities. In Sind she cannot prepare food, or touch fire or light a lamp, draw water, sow seed or even pass in front of those that sow, she cannot grind grain.¹

Such restrictions are intended to protect the productive capacity of the community, against the belief in the destructive nature of women in a state of impurity. Pregnancy is included among the factors of ritual impurity. To illustrate this mention may be made of the following examples: The Bechuana do not allow a pregnant woman to enter a hut where there has been a recent birth, nor may she go into a sick-room.

The Konde of Nyasaland require a pregnant woman to keep away from growing crops. The Kgatla of Bechuanaland do not allow pregnant women to walk through a flock of goats or sheep, because of the bad influence upon them. Among the Banyoro of Uganda she must not come near clay pots when they are drying, otherwise they would break. The Ba-Ila of Northern Rhodesia think it often necessary to protect a sick person against the 'baneful influence' emanating from a pregnant woman and those who have had a miscarriage. The impurity of a parturient woman is supposed to be most

1. Abbott: Keys of Power; Puberty, pp. 103-104.

2. Webster: Op.cit. pp. 61-65.

For further details the following are recommended:

J.Riscoe: The Northern Bantu. Cambridge, 1915. p. 79.

E.W.Smith & Dale: The Ila-speaking peoples of N.Rhodesia, 1920. pp. 2, 23.

W.C. Willoughby Nature-worship and Taboo, pp.128 ff.

pronounced when she has a miscarriage or is delivered of a still-born child, or she begets twins or a deformed child and thus restrictions imposed upon her may be multiplied accordingly. As to the fate of the twins, and the deformed some communities put them to death. However, some peoples welcome the advent of twins, (as among the Baganda of Uganda.)

The Akikuyu of Kenya used to strangle a child born feet first and did not bury it in the family cemetery. Among the Ibo of Nigeria, children born with teeth, crippled children and deformed were destroyed or disposed of to the slave dealers. Among the Edo of Southern Nigeria, when twins have been born in a village, no one may eat or make a fire there until they have been destroyed.¹

The change in the ritual status of a person as a result of contact with impure persons is believed to coincide with ill-luck. Such belief rests on the concern about the outcome of such situations and occasions. This is represented by attributing a variety of supernatural potency to individuals in this condition. Thus the unapproachableness of such persons from the holy places on the one hand, and from mingling

1. N.W.Thomas in 'Man' vol. xix, 1919. p.173.

H.Junod: Conceptions Physiologiques des Banton Sud-Africains et Leurs Tabous. 1910.

I.Schapera, in American Anthropologist, 1934.
vol. xxxvi. pp. 578 ff.

ordinarily with others on the other hand, has nothing to do with respect for divinity. It seems that it springs from mere terror of the supernatural powers associated with the individual's physical condition.

That unclean things are tabooed on account of their inherent supernatural potency appears from the fact that they were considered among the Arabs the most efficient in magic and in healing. The strongest of charms was done by tanjis, i.e. contact with unclean things, to avert the evil spirits which are the cause of illness, ill-luck and the disastrous consequences of the evil eye. Alusy¹ states that in the case of the pagan Arabs, when they feared a person might get³⁰ mad, they polluted him by hanging dirt and dead men's bones on them.

General taboos relating to child-birth may be regarded also as the obligatory recognition in a standardized symbolic form of the significance and importance of the event to the parents, the kin and to the community at large.

Thus they serve to fix the social value of occasions of this kind.

Again, the individual himself is considered to be in a highly dangerous state on account of his physical condition. Hence taboos at childbirth may be considered the means by which parents re-assure themselves against accidents that may

1. Alusy: Op. cit. vol. ii. p. 315.

cf. Khan: Asatir al Arab, p. 52.

interfere with a successful birth.

This may be illustrated by the ceremonies to protect the individual in his crisis of passing from one stage of life to another. The danger that affects people at such crises is diagnosed by the popular uneducated Arabs as 'mushahrah' an illness which affects boys at circumcision, young people at marriage and women in pregnancy. To avoid it, a woman in a state of ritual impurity (after delivery and before being purified), and a man in a state of impurity should not enter the place where a circumcised boy or a pregnant woman is staying. For more precautions, incense is burned as a purification. In most cases a sacrifice is offered. The superstitious belief in mushahrah may be widely believed where it is taken to be spread by unclean persons, who are in a state of ritual impurity.

Reference may be made to the pagan custom of consecration or dedication practised on infants under the name 'aqiqa'.¹ R. Smith propounded that 'aqiqa was originally a ceremony of initiation into manhood, and the the transference of the ceremony to infancy was a later innovation, to sacrifice the hair of childhood upon admission to the religious and social status of manhood.

We may take into consideration the following observations. Terminologically, the root of the word 'aqiqa, is 'aqqa, he

1. W.R. Smith: Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabis, pp. 179-181. additional note: p. 240.

Religion of the Semites. p. 329.

clave, split. It is used especially in regard to the cutting off of an amulet when the boy becomes of age. It is also used in the expression '‘Aqqa bi sahmi' 'He shot the arrow towards the sky', or of the sacrifice of ‘aqiqa. He sacrificed for his new-born child.

‘Aqiqa whether taken to be a sacrifice or an offering of hair, may be considered as an integrate part of the ceremony by which the new-born child is admitted within its group.

Zwemer¹ sees a Jewish element in this custom connected with the Old Testament doctrine of sacrifice, especially the redemption of the first-born. It is interesting to note that the use of the word '‘aqiqa' seems to have reference to expiation or redemption. According to Lane's Lexicon, the arrow as well as the sacrifice was called ‘aqiqa: It was the arrow of self-excuse. They used to do thus in the time of ignorance, on the occasion of a demand for blood revenge. If the arrow returned smeared with blood, they were not content save with retaliation of slaughter. If it returned clean, they stroked their beards and made reconciliation on the condition of the blood-wit.^A

1. Zwemer: The Influence of Animism on Islam.
cf. Durkheim: Op. cit. p. 312.
A. The origin was this: a man of the tribe was slain and the slayer was prosecuted for his blood, a company of the chief men collected themselves together to the heirs of the slain, and offered the blood-wit, asking forgiveness for the blood, and if the heir was a strong man, impatient of injury, he refused to take the blood-wit, but if weak, he consulted the people of his tribe, and then said to the petitioners, 'We have between us and our Creator, a sign denoting command and prohibition: We take an arrow, and set it on a bow, and shoot it towards the sky, and if it returns smeared with blood, we are forbidden to take the blood-wit, and are not content save with the retaliation of slaughter, but if it returns clean, we are commanded to take the blood-wit, they were reconciled'

It will be clear that the primary function of the 'Aqīqa is essentially to redeem the slayer who is supposed to be exposed to death as a sanction of blood-shed. In other words, applying the term to the sacrifice, it meant originally to loosen the person from the taboo imposed upon him. This being on account of his transgression and capital sin against the tribal God, protector of his kinsmen.

We may thus explain how the rite came to be observed during the period of the woman's confinement on account of her delivery. It may be supposed that the condition of the woman on this occasion is not less critical than that of a man persecuted for blood-shed. Both emerge among the public opinion as to be in a highly dangerous state, which necessitates a common concern. The one on account of his transgression, and the other on account of her physical impurity. Hence it seems that the practise of 'Aqīqa can be conceived as one of the protective measures taken by the community against evil influence which may fall upon the mother and infant.

It seems that at a later stage the practice was performed with the view of redeeming the infant exclusively. Hitherto, it came to be associated with naming rites and the first cutting of the child's hair. The persons involved are looked upon as if passing from one stage of life to another. That may explain how the term 'aqīqa came to denote the first hair as well as the ritual ceremony of cutting it off. This coincided with the

naming of the child.

However, it was a custom among the pagan Arabs to put some of the blood of the sacrificed animal on the child. It would appear that Mohammed did not approve of this. He is said to have ordered his daughter not to do this at the birth of Hasan, but to give the weight of his hair in silver as alms.¹

It would appear that Islam maintained the original function of the 'aqiqa as a redemption on behalf of the child. It can be inferred from various traditions and accounts that the custom is praiseworthy or allowable, sunna. A close connection is found among Muslim communities between the naming ceremony and the 'aqiqa. But generally in modern times it is not always regarded as 'aqiqah. It would therefore appear that the custom of offering a sacrifice for children has existed from a remote time. In some cases it has lost its old association with the rite of shaving the child's head and has merely become a part of the ritual of naming the child.²

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- 1. On 'Aqiqa. Bu, 71, 2. Nas. 40, 2, 5.
Tir. 17, 16, 19, 2. A.B.H. V.7.s.
 - cf. Wensinck: Early Mohammedan traditions, p. 44.
The child receives its name on the seventh day after birth, when its hair is shaved and 'aqiqah slaughtered. Ibid. p.14 sq.
'Aqiqah: a ransom, one sheep for a girl, two for a boy.
Matthews: Mishkat, II. p. 315. On rites to be observed on shaving the child's head for the first time.
 - 2. Zwemer: Ibid, pp. 92-100.

Some valuable information of the ceremony among the present Moslem communities have been given by Zwemer.

According to el Qurtubi¹ all Muslim authorities are agreed that the head of the infant was smeared with blood in pre-Islamic times. This custom was abrogated in Islam.

According to tradition, in the days of Ignorance, it was thought commendable to break the bones of sacrifice and to cut them from the joints. On the question of cutting a sacrificial victim, two different theories have been suggested.

The one may be called the retributive theory, and the other the sacramental and purifactory. According to the first the cutting up of the victim is symbolic of retribution which will overtake the man who breaks the covenant or violates the oath. This appears to be the interpretation put upon the ceremony by some of the people who observe it. (May I split in two like this...)

1. Zwemer: Op. cit. pp.91-92.

According to the second, the parties stood between the pieces as a symbol that they were taken within the mystical life of the victim.

The purificatory or the 'protective' interpretation of such rites is strongly confirmed by the practise of the Arabs of Moab who observe similar ceremonies in times of public calamity. This intended to deliver the people from the evil which afflicts or threatens them.

'Redeem yourselves', hanging the sacrifice in front of the door on two posts, all the members of the family pass between them.^A

We may refer to a custom which has been associated with the 'Aqiqah as one of the naming rites, namely 'tahnik'. When there was no 'aqiqah offered, the child was named and its gum rubbed with masticated dates on the morning after birth. At Medina Mohammed was often called in to give the name and rub the child's gums - probably because in heathenism this was done by the priest.^B

A. cf. Frazer: Folklore in the Old Testament.
(The Covenant of Abraham.)

R. Smith: Kinship, p. 181.

B. We may cite cases of the Prophet performing this rite for newly born babies. Reference may be made to Abdullah b. Al Zubair. On this occasion we are told that Mohammed took ~~xx~~ a date, chewed it and then rubbed the baby's mouth with the chewed date whilst he named it.

We may assume that the object of the rite was in all probability to transfer the barakah (mana potency) to the child.

Another observation may be taken in consideration, that the 'tahnik' was performed on account of the absence of the 'aqiqa sacrifice. We may infer that the purpose of the 'aqiqa was to endow the child with barakah, which would protect it against evil influences. That may be easily conceived when we bear in mind that they had the custom of smearing the head of the infant with or rubbing it with blood, or a substitute, i.e. saffron. This is taken to be endowed with mana potency, and serves as a protective measure in the critical conditions. It can be understood that the association of 'aqiqa ceremony with both naming rites and hair offering, due to the belief in the magical potency of the name as well as the sacredness of hair. This may lead to considerable protective measures being taken for the individual in question. Either to endow him with barakah as a substitute for that which he was deprived of by cutting off his hair, conceived to be divine and consecrated thing, or to protect himself against any evil influence that may be brought by the magical power of the name attributed to him.'

~~Reference may be made to R. Smith on this point.~~

The co-occurrence of the ceremonial 'Aqiqah, with the naming of the child may be explained by the ritual value of the personal name. It may be assumed that the personal name is

1. W.R. Smith: Religion of the Semites - Hair offering.

a symbol of the social personality, i.e. of the position that an individual will occupy in the social structure and the social life. A child before being named is considered for the time being as in abnormal ritual status.

The cutting of hair, particularly in the early years of a child's life, is a ceremony surrounded with many restrictions. Generally, when a Muslim child has its hair cut for the first time, this is usually done at the gate of a mosque, a saint's shrine, and sometimes in the shade of a tree, with the view of bringing prosperity to the child in its future life. The severed hair is buried so that it will not be stepped over, to prevent the exposure of the child to misfortune.

Moreover, barbership in Arab villages seems to be a ritual functionary that combines the duties of shaving, cupping, circumcision, participating in marriage ceremonies, as well as sickness and death, and is briefly associated with the spiritual value of what may infuse life, energy, success, drawing out weakness and sickness and failure. A barber seems to be commissioned to take part in a system which is intended to bring a child to a successful life.

On the ritual value of hair among other communities,

reference may be made to instances enumerated by Prof. Hutton,¹ to illustrate the association between hair and fertility of the soil and of the body.



1. Hutton: Caste, pp. 141-142.

cf. Abbott: Op. cit. pp. 52,53.

In Sind the Muslims sometimes shave the hair of the child in the shade of a kandi tree, *Prosopis spicigera*.

Sometimes the clipping of the hair is thrown into running water.

cf. Hocart: Caste: p. 146,147.

Among the examples the following may be mentioned:

In Dlos both youths and maidens offered hair before marriage at a tomb of corn-maidens in the sanctuary of Artemis. Hair was polled and offered to the Goddess of Health at Titane near Corinth.

BLOOD-TABOOS.

It seems that this taboo is the underlying psychological crude impulse for the protective measures on the various occasions of menses, man's issued, child-birth and so forth. The primary grounds on which this sort of taboo rests may be explained by the relation between blood and the mystery of life, as conceived by the Arabs. This is expressed in the rites and practises observed by them concerning the annual sacrifices offered during Tajab and hence had the name Rajabiyah or 'Atira 'Ata'ir.

In an early known form of Arabian sacrifice as described by Nilus, the camel chosen as the victim is bound upon a crude altar of stone piled together. When the leader of the band has thrice led the worshippers round the altar in a solemn procession accompanied by chants, he inflicts the first wound, while the last words of the hymn are still upon the lips of the congregation. In all haste he drinks of the blood that gushes forth. Forthwith the whole company fall on the victim whith their swords, hacking off pieces of the quivering flesh and devouring them raw with such a wild haste that in the short interval between the rise of the day star, which marked the hour of the service to begin.

R.Smith: Religion of the Semites. p.407.

and the disappearance of its rays, before the rising of the sun, the entire camel, body, ~~and bones~~, skin and blood and entrails is wholly devoured. The plain meaning of this is that the victim was devoured before its life had left, the still warm blood and flesh-raw is called living flesh in Hebrew, and thus in the most literal way all those who shared in the ceremony absorbed part of the victims life into themselves.

BRITISH BOND



At the bottom of these practices, it is noticeable that the Arabs identify 'blood and life'. This observation is not exclusively confined to the Arabs. It is generally found among many other nations at a determined stage of civilization. The fact that the very sight of blood inspires dread, led to the widespread belief that blood is the soul comprehending the sentiment principle.

The ritual value of blood is so deeply rooted in the mind of the Arab, we find the two fold meaning of taboo with reference to blood. Starting from considering Mecca to be an asylum, we may infer that this city of refuge provided a sanctum and hence the warrior, who is ritually unclean, must be secluded in that refuge until the period of his uncleanness has passed. The ritual value of human blood was extended to the blood of animals and hence arose the restriction against killing or chasing a game at the very holy place. It can be supposed that this motive has been lost in the course of time and through different stages of rationalization. Thus we have the survival of the institution long after the *raison d'être* has been utterly or partly forgotten. Moreover, the ground on which the blood falls is treated as if it were of ritual value. Hence the altar, the sanctuary, are taboo. It is not astonishing that the woman in her periods or at child-birth becomes ritually invalid on account of the presence of blood.

The grounds on which the presence of blood is feared and avoided may be due to a dread lest man should absorb

another 'life'. This may be of malevolent influence upon himself. This is expressed in the Arabic literature with various statements which reveal that the Arab identified 'blood' with 'life'. Reference may be made to the various records that the pagan Arabs identify 'blood and life.'¹ Mas'udi² refers to some people who pretend that the soul is blood and that the spirit is the air within the body.

It is of interest to notice Mas'udi's inference about the origin of the explanation of naming the woman (at child-birth) nafs. This is on account of the presence of the blood which is originally identified with its Nafs (soul).

The Taj el 'Arus lists fifteen meanings for 'nafs' among which blood and spirit, self are counted. It is of interest however, that the very Arabic word 'nafs', which is identified with blood, self, soul and spirit, is the term that indicates the influence of an evil eye or any evil influence in general. This can be comprehended from the common saying 'Asabathu Nafsua.'

This identification of 'blood and nafs' is the view coincided with the belief that blood constitutes a most

1. Khan: Asatir al Arab, p.36.
 2. Mas'udi: Murug el Dhahab, p. 309.

powerful and fatal mana. Hence it is dangerous to touch it or to behold it. That may explain the very ancient custom among the Arabs to provide a woman before her delivery, with a hut beyond the camp where she must stay until and subsequent to her delivery.

On the other hand blood, like any other sacred thing, on account of its inherent mana potency, might be taken by the individuals. This is based on the belief that in doing so they acquire its virtuous qualities and endow themselves with mana potency. Thus we may find in this aspect an explanation to what is ascribed to the pagan Arabs concerning eating a sort of blood-pudding. This was generally taken at season of famine or occasions of private lack.^A

Regardless of the explanations propounded by the Arab authorities on the origin of the practice, it is likely to

A. According to Baiḍawī, in pre-Islamic times, blood was drawn from the veins of a living animal (camel) and poured into a gut, and then prepared on the fire. Lane refers to a proverb (s.v. Fasad) 'Lam uhram man fusid lahu.' He has not been denied the entertainment of a guest for whom a camel has been bled. This was usually done by the splitting of a vein, and the blood was so obtained by the guest. The origin of the saying was this: Two men passed the night at the abode of an Arab in the desert. Meeting in the morning, one of them asked his companion respecting the entertainment given by the host. The latter answered, 'I was not entertained as a guest, but only a vein (of a camel) was slit to draw blood for me.' Whereupon the other replied in the words above, or a man used to entertain another as his guest in a time of scarcity, and having no food to offer him, and being unwilling to slaughter his camel, bled it by slitting a vein and heating the blood that came forth for his guest, until it became thick, and gave it him to eat, hence the proverb.

Musil asserts that the Rwala Bedouins still eat blood.

be considered a preferable diet that may be resorted to for the purpose of acquiring its mana-potency in critical conditions.

For confirming the foregoing presumption, it is not beside the point to mention the pagan Arabs' belief that the blood of the Chief cures hydrophobia.¹ However, this reveals partly the healing qualities of blood although it is exclusively confined to the Chiefs.

Reference may be made also to a single historical incident that took place at the eve of Islam, and which would be of interest, viz: 'devouring the liver of the well-known warrior Hamza, by Hind, the wife of Abu Suffian.' That is recorded in every standard work on Islamic history. Aside from the explanation given to this incident by Muslim authorities we tend to assume that the event was meant to acquire the mana potency of the dead warrior, and not as an act of revenge or retaliation. The reason why the liver should have been selected is likely to be that blood was

1. Alusy: Bulugh al ^xArab, vol. p. 313.

Khan: Arab Mythology: Thesis, 1937. p.37.

naturally and indeed identified with life.^A

The liver, being noticeably a bloody organ, was not unnaturally regarded as the source of blood. Hence devouring the liver may provide the same result as drinking the blood endowed with mana potency. This does not seem strange if we bear in mind the part played by the liver as the seat of the soul and as a means of divination among the Babylonians.

A. For further and supplementary information of the subject we may refer to:-

King: Babylonian Religion and Myth

Lewis R. Farnell: Greece and Babylon, 1911.

Robert W. Rogers: The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, 1908.

For further information about blood-drinking among the Arabs and the primitives, see:-

Maidani: Ch. 11. p. 119. Hamasa, p. 645. last verse. Agh xvi, 107.

For blood-drinking among the Tartars, see:-

Yule: Marco Polo, Ch. 1. p. 254.

For blood-drinking among the Native Races of America, see:-

Bancroft: Ch. 1. pp. 55, 492

Marco Reise: The Negroes of the White Nile in Africa, p. 49.

Lane's Lexicon: Faşada, bajja, musawwad.

The idea of transferring to themselves the life of their victims by eating his liver, is known among some communities. According to Prof. Hutton, the Soma Naga called the liver 'Alloshi', i.e. Good meat, the particular seat of life. The Lushi and some people in the Philippines eat a small piece when they kill an animal.

Frazer Lectures: p. 13.

Jahiz: Hayawan, Ch. 2. p. 310.

Similarly, the Masai, the cattle herders eat blood.

Forde: Habitat, p. 296.

Moreover, the sacrificial use of blood is connected with a series of ritual ideas turning on the conception that the blood is a special seat of life. The sacrificial blood believed to contain the life, gradually came to be considered as something too sacred to be eaten.

It seems likely that slaughter of domestic animals for food was at the beginning, sacrificial in character among the Arabs as well as among the pastoralists.

Slaughter in general whether sacrificial or domestic was at the earliest times of the community strictly forbidden to the individuals. It can be supposed that the principle that God claims his share in every slaughter dates from a time when the tribal God himself was a member of the tribal stock. His

This assumption, based on a statement by Nilus as to the habits of the Arabs of Sinaitic desert towards the close of the fourth century. Reference is made to what the Saracens used to do in periods of famine or when their ordinary sustenance failed to nourish them. When these supplies failed they fell back on the flesh of their camels, one of which was slain for each clan (συγγενεῖα) which answers to the Arabic *Batn*, or for each group which habitually pitched their tents together (συσκηναῖα) which answers to the Arabic *hayy* - and the flesh was hastily devoured by the kinsmen in dog like fashion, half raw and merely softened over the fire.

R. Smith: Religion of the Semites, p. 234.
 Nili opera quaedam nondum edita (Paris), 1639.
 p. 27.

participation in the sacrificial feast was only one aspect of the rule that no kinsman must be excluded from a share in the victim. When the Arabs, generally in the last stages of heathenism, had ceased to do sacrifice to the tribal or clan Gods, the victim lost its sacrificial character. But it was still deemed necessary that slaughter should be the affair of the whole kindred, clan or tribe, and then eventually at a later stage, the individuals took over the right, probably owing to the development of the right of property as well as the evolution in moral and religious ideas. On the other hand we may confess that even when slaughter ceased to involve a formal sacrifice it has still survived among the Hebrews and afterwards among the Muslims, that it is thought necessary to slay the victim in the name of God.

FOOD - TABOOS

Generally speaking, a consideration of food-taboos among the Arabs, may reflect various social values. Such values may involve production and consumption, determined to some extent by ritual avoidances, their traditional rules of life in using food-taboos to demonstrate rank sometimes, and to express separation, on grounds of difference in sex and occupation, as well as a belief in the peculiar properties of food stuffs. They may be also linked with the ^{fulfilment} ~~realisation~~ of mourning obligations as well as prevailing ideas on the material cultural aspect and such views as are associated with the proper norm of preparing food, killing animals, with their corresponding ideas on pollution.

Many of the foregoing aspects have ^{to be considered} ~~been in mind in~~ dealing with other taboo manifestations. Mention may be made briefly of the following ^{points} ~~hints~~:-

The information given by Arab authorities on the question of pagan practises concerning the tabooed cattle of Bahirah, Sa ibah

For the general aspect of diet, cf. R.Firth:
 The Sociological Study of Native Diet. Africa. vol. VII.1934.
 cf. Webster: Taboos of Commensality. pp. 111-112.

Similar practises are found among the Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa. Among the Suk of Kenya Colony, 'women and men feed apart for fear that the former be in a state of ritual impurity.

Musil: Rwala Bedouins. p. 322.

Wasilah and Hami, include evidence of differentiation with regard to eating that category, on sex-basis of the separation of the sexes. Such attitude may suggest a commensual taboo, which still has some traces among the Arabs of today, in the etiquette observed on occasions of eating in the presence of a guest. On such occasions men usually eat by themselves and are waited upon by their wives and children. The latter as a rule, eat after the men have finished. In the settlements of the Rwala Bedouins a certain room is usually set aside for the common guests, where they receive food sent to them. This guest room should bear a sign on the outside. Sometimes meal-times may coincide, but meals are not taken together; the husband eats with his grown up sons and his wife with the other children.

It is possible that among some early Arab tribes, men and women may not drink out of the same vessel. We find the Arabic term 'qa b', to indicate a deep wooden drinking cup or bowl, such as satisfies the thirst of a man, and 'qabah', a thing resembling the kind of receptacle called 'huqah' pertaining to a woman. Again the 'ghūmer' is a drinking cup or bowl which does not satisfy a man's thirst, probably devoted for the young.

This commensual taboo may be connected with a combination of ideas on separation of sex, age-grades, pollution and the supposed magical influence of the 'su^r r', i.e. the remainder of drink or food, and the institution of hijab, viz: the seclusion of marriageable women at their meals from those who are liable to take them for wives, and the fear of loosing ^{or lessening} one's

Afiah, barakah and ritual status, as in the case of the Homs refusing to eat the Hillah's food.

Social discriminations account partly for food-taboos observed by the Homs. Similar customs are related among other communities. Thus among the Taug, nobles taboo camel and sheep and abominate fish, birds and eggs. The heart and intestines of animals are only eaten by men, the liver and kidney by women.¹

1. cf. Sumner: Science of Society, p. 588.

The institute of hijab implied veiling the face and being secluded or kept apart from men. As regards the first, the custom was most likely restricted to women who were considered of high social standing, viz: the Homs. We agree with Westermarck in his view that the veiling of women is to a certain extent due to the fear of the evil eye. This fear was prevailing and is still prevailing among the Arabs.

As regards the second meaning of hijab, there is no indication as far as we know, of women being secluded and kept apart from men in the early stages of Arab communities (except in the tent itself), at meals and in the presence of a guest. However, the restriction seems to have extended as to imply and to guard the relation between males and females.

Qur'an 24:30. The injunction relates to a women to keep her zinat, ornaments and adornments, concealed, i.e. not to uncover what may arouse the passions of the males except to their husband and to the list is added persons viewed to be forbidden to marry her. The list of persons exempted from the restriction, includes children as well as people of age. This seems to have meant to check the too free intermingling of men and women.

Reference may be made to Surah: 33, where the injunction is 'When you ask (the Prophet's wives) ask them from behind a curtain.' Following this ordinance, the Prophet's wives were secluded from mingling with anyone except one among the prohibited degrees. It would appear that Mohammed's companions followed his example in excluding men from their wife's presence. This was the basis of the 'harem' known among the modern Muslim to be the place devoted to women where no stranger is allowed to visit.

Continued on following page/

Food-taboos are generally supported by ritual beliefs that their infraction will result automatically in an undesirable condition. It may well bring the consumer to a state of ritual disability, or transfer to him or his offspring the evil or bad qualities with which the food is supposed to be endowed, or even to hinder the success of some occupation, viz: hunting or fishing, or to increase the risk and danger of a person who happens to be in a state of concern, a warrior, a traveller, a woman at the time of her delivery and so forth.

The foregoing is based mainly on the following:-

Ideas about the power of food to transmit qualities. This may be illustrated by the magical effects produced by taste and eating, which vary considerably with different tribes, and within one tribe, with various sub-tribes and families.

Note continued from previous page.

of Fraser's instances on the seclusion of Kings at their meals: Taboo. p. 118-119.

The King and the royal family of Walo, on the Senegal, never take their meals in public.

cf. Ibid; pp.120 sq. The Taboo on shewing the face. Frazer interprets the intention of eating and drinking in seclusion is to hinder evil influences from entering the body rather than to prevent the escape of the soul.

Lane's Lexicon: Article - qa^cb.

Similar practice is said of the Suk of Kenya, where women and men cannot drink out of the same calabash. Men may not even touch a woman's calabash, and women may only touch the men's for the purpose of cleansing. (M.W.Beech: The Suk, Oxford, 1911. p. 11.)

s.v. Sa⁷ar fi l-Ina⁷: He left somewhat of the beverage in the bottom of the vessel from which he had drunk. Sa⁷ir is one who leaves a residue of beverage in the bottom of the vessel from which he has drunk. (Lane's Lexicon - article - Sa⁷r.)

it is believed that

Among the Andjra of Tangier, if school-boys eat sour things they will become stupid, whereas sweet things make them docile. Westermarck¹ speaks of food-taboos which particular Morocco families have to observe for fear^{to} a member of the family should die, or in less extreme cases, some other evil befall them.

According to him there were families whose members could not buy lemons or olives or butter, and to others it was 'tera'^(ovinous) for the family to let any of their hens hatch an egg. At Tangier there are families who have to refrain from eating the head or tongue or the ears of any animal, or from eating goat's flesh lest some misfortune should befall them. There is a striking resemblance between these avoidances and taboos of a totemic kind; they have reference to groups of kindred, they are hereditary, transgressions are followed by supernatural penalties. Yet there is no reason whatever to regard them as survivals of ancient totemism, which is not known to have existed either among the Arabs or Berbers. The explanation given of these family taboos indicate coincidence of an evil occurrence and the eventual

1. Westermarck: Op. cit. vol. II. pp. 22,23.

That barakah ascribed to honey is due to its sweetness, to salt is due to its indispensable task of all seasonings. The bitter taste, being disagreeable is productive of evil. The gall of a raven causes quarrels.

Westermarck: Op. cit. vol. II. p. 39,40, 363.

cf. Van Bennep: L'etat actuel du probleme totemique.
Paris, 1920. p. 226.

consumption of such things as became tabooed through individual experience or on information received from a learned scribe, who by the aid of his books, has found out that the children of a family die because its members eat a certain kind of food, from which they will have to abstain in future.

This may involve ideas of soul-stuff and life-matter as well as ideas for the exclusive family ancestor-regard, with a combining factor of individual ^{demarcation} isolation of tribes, clans, or families ^{from corresponding} ~~with corresponding~~ larger political associations.

Blood as a food-taboo.

From the theological point of view blood is no more an article of ordinary food. Among the Hebrews as well as among the Muslims, the ritual value combined with regulations governing slaughter, gave rise to an absolute prohibition of blood-eating.¹

In the Qur'an, we find the prohibition of blood is mentioned alongside of 'Maitah'.² It seems that this Arabic term 'maitah'

1. Qur'an: Sura 5.4.7. 'Forbidden for you what is dead, and blood, and flesh of swine, and whatsoever has been consecrated to other than God...' 'And the strangled and the knocked down, and that which falls down, and the gored, and what wild beasts have eaten of - except what ye slaughter in time - and what is sacrificed to idols, and dividing carcasses by arrows, that is a transgression.'

2. Qur'an: xvi:116. 'He has forbidden you maita, blood, pork.'
 vi:146. 'Say I find in what is revealed to me nothing forbidden except it be maita or congealed blood.'
 11:168. 'He has forbidden you maita, blood, pork.'
 v:4.5. 'Forbidden you is maita, blood, pork.'

was primarily used as a substantive to indicate an animal that has died either of itself or in any way other than by ceremonial slaughter, indifferently. Mentioning Munkhaniqah, Mangūdah, Mutaradiyah, Natihah, may be reckoned in some aspects as an illustration or representation of some earlier means of hunting as well as killing animals, probably at a time previous to the prevailing use of iron equipment. However, later these methods were condemned and this was apparently enforced by the view that what was slain or slaughtered without the words 'bismi llah' being uttered, would mean that it is consecrated to other than God, and thence it is maitah, i.e. forbidden. In later terminology the term came to mean firstly that which has not been slain in the ritually prescribed fashion, the flesh of which, therefore, cannot be eaten.¹

The term 'tharrada' (inf. tathrid), seems to be a technical term for killing an animal without practising the Muslim way of slaughter, i.e. following the manner in which the animal was killed by the pagan Arabs.²

1. The general formula uttered by the Muslims, when about to kill an animal is generally as it is still observed by the average Egyptians; 'In the name of God; God is most great; God give thee patience to endure the affliction which he hath allotted thee.' This participates in the nature of the effects of magical and religious formulae and rites upon the efficiency of production.

2. According to Lane's Lexicon this term indicates the following- He killed an animal that should be slaughtered without cutting the 'adraj', external jugular veins, so as to make the blood flow. (Mgh.), or he killed it with a thing that did not make the blood flow freely or he killed it without practising the method prescribed by the law (T.) Tathrīd, in slaughtering is the breaking of the bones or joints of the animal before it is cold and this is forbidden. Mutharrīd is one who slaughters an animal without a stone or a bone or the like, which is forbidden. Mithrad is a stone or bone or blunt iron instrument with which an animal is slaughtered, in a bungling manner.

Ritual slaughter as previously mentioned renders the supposed tabooed flesh, i.e. maitah, into lawfully and ritually 'halal'. This is revealed by the expression, 'except what you ritually slaughter' corresponding to 'Illa ma Dhakaitum'. By the coming of Islam, animals slaughtered in the ritual way, which confirmed with the pagan rites and beliefs cannot be considered by the Muslim jurisprudence as ritually right. Hence it was excluded from the topic of the lawful flesh, what was sacrificed on ansab, (on stones set up for idols) and Istiqsam with Azlam.^A

The principle kinds of maitah are, that which dies of itself, the strangled (munkhaniqah), the one that was killed by being beaten to death (mawqudah), the one that was killed by falling down (mutaradiyah) and the one being gored by a horn (natiqah). Apart from involving a taboo on some means of killing animals, the prohibition of maitah is an aspect of food-taboo. This may

A. Azlam literally means arrows without head or feathers, used in divination. When applied in Maisir, the game of hazard, served for the division of flesh or a slaughtered camel bought on credit. This significance is favoured by the context, for it prohibits dividing flesh of slaughtered animals by means of certain arrows with which was played the game of hazard (chance) called maisir, and in all probability it was a custom that the animals devoted to idols and those slain on altar, were divided among the audience or the poor by means of arrows.

(For a full and detailed information about Maisir and Azlam, reference should be made to Kitab al Muhabbar.)

cf. Prof. Hutton. The Sena Nagas, London, 1921. p. 262.

Domestic animals killed by wild beasts are considered accursed among the Sena Maga and their flesh may not be eaten by women.

also be taken to be the outcome of a religious reluctance to consume the blood of animals, i.e. another manifestation of blood-taboo.

For further details on maita, the following may be mentioned:

Selling of Maita - prohibited: A.D. 22,64. Tir. 12,16.
 Nas. 44,92. I.M. 12,11. A.B.H. I.147., II.213., III.324.326.
 Wak. 348.

Forbidden to sell grease, bacon etc., coming from maita:
 Bu.34,112,65. Sura.6.b.6. Mu. 22,71-74

A.D.22,64; Tir.12,61. Nas.41,8,44,92. I.M. 12,11.

A.B.H. II,213. cf. III,324,326,370. Wak,385 sq.

Nothing coming from maita may be used:

A.B.H. IV, 310,311

Skins belonging to polytheists considered as Maita:

A.B.H. III,327.

Slaughtering sick animals lest they become maita.

What has died in the sea prohibited is maita:

A.D. 26,35. I.M. 28,15. cf. Bu. 72,12.

~~*Murr. Hgsid~~

Maita allowed in case of famine, cf. A.D. 26,36.

A.B.H. V. 218. Limbs of a living animal are maita, Tir.16,12.

Maita-hides of beasts of prey prohibited:

A.D. 31,39,40.

Tir.22, 7, 32.

Nas. 41,5,75.

I.M. 32,36,47. A.B.H.II.99 sp. IV.92,93, bis, 95,96,101,
 131 sq., 135 bis, 135.

Maita prohibited as food but the hide may be used (if tanned):

Bu. 72,30. Mu.3,100-107. A.D.31,38. Tir.22,7. Nas 42,1-6.

cf. A.B.H. I.219,227,237,261.

The prescriptions of maitah, as shown in the Qur'an, were further developed in traditions and afterwards in Muslim jurisprudence. Without involving in details, we may refer to some innovations introduced in later stages. According to some traditions, it is forbidden to trade in maitah or more accurately its edible parts. Some traditions mainly on the authority of Ahmad B. Hanbal, even forbid any use being made of all that comes from maitah. It is noteworthy that an exception from the prohibition of maitah is made in the cases of fish and locusts. These are in general considered as the two kinds of maitah that are permitted, i.e. no ritual slaughter is demanded in their case. It seems that the exemption of fish^A from being treated as maitah may rest on its peculiarity as believed to be without blood.

However, we find some traditions extending the permission to all creatures of the sea, not only fishes, can be eaten without ritual slaughter, including even sea-fowl. Other traditions limit the permission to those animals and fishes which the sea casts up on the land or the tide leaves behind, in contrast to those who swim about on the water. This may suggest to us that

A. Another basis may be economic. We noticed the extension of taboo on maitah from a mere food-taboo to a prohibited thing to deal with or to make use of it. This would necessitate the prohibition of trading in fish in the first case and would deprive the Arabs from enjoying a cheap food in the latter case.

the underlying principle for underaking ritual slaughter is that the animal should be endowed with any manifestation of life and those who confess this fact find in it an essential condistion, before slaughtering any of the previous sorts of maitah, viz: naṭiḥa, mawqūdah, munkhanqah and mutaradiyah. Again we must confess that generally the permission is unconditioned to eat maitah in case of need and slay properly dying animals at the moment to prevent them becoming maitah, i.e. unforbidden food.

Some idea may be obtained from the foregoing material as to the capital importance of the ritual slaughter of animals. This may be considered among the Arabs as the only accepted means to loosen the taboo imposed upon killing animals. In other words it releases the man from an aspect of blood-taboo. This attitude of reverence and awe towards the dead of slaughter itself can be revealed clearly as late as otday. It is of interest however, to draw attention to the fact that, though Islam consid slaughter the right ritual means of killing the animal, the very question was from the outset a subject of discussion among Muslim theologians.

In this connection we may refer to an interesting argument concerning slaughtering and killing animals represented

by Jahiz.^A

The whole case as represented by the different Muslim schools, which may be taken as expressing the last development, can be summed up in the following. It is unanimously agreed that the maitah in the legal sense is impure and forbidden (haram), i.e. cannot be eaten, with the exception of fish.^B

Emergency slaughter came to be termed 'dhakat' or 'tadhkiyat',

A. Jahiz: Al Hayawan, vol. iv. p. 427.

This argument reveals that among the Muslims there was a sect of people who showed reluctance to fishing, hunting, chasing and the like, considering that as a sign of cruelty and they rank those who undertook that work on the same level and manslayers, presuming that any harm they suffer or any evil they undergo would be God's sanction for their awful deed. The ground on which they confirm their view is their observation that none among the hunters, the butchers, the cooks, the fisherman and others who earn their living by this means, has ~~prospered~~ prospered or has ever become rich, pretending that this fact would be a solid proof for God's dislike of slaughter.

B. The Malikis and Hanafis also except the majority of creatures of the sea, and according to the more current Shafi i view, this applies to all marine creatures.

According to the view predominant among the Malikis, such slaughter is not valid, and the animal becomes matiah, i.e. harama. On the question of the embryo, the Hanafis, following Ibrahim al-Nakha i and Abu Hanifa hold the view that the ritual slaughter of the dam is also the ritual slaughter of the embryo, in contrast to Maliki's view who demanded its slaughter to draw blood from it, and they make it a condition that the embryo should be fully developed. That anyone who is forced to eat maitah may do so, is the unanimous opinion, only they differ on the question of one who is bound to eat maitah and save his live should eat as much as to satisfy his hunger or only eat the minimum to keep himself alive.

and ritual slaughter is generally termed 'nahr or dhabh. This is permitted according to Hanafis even if the animal will certainly die, provided it still shows signs of life at the moment of slaughter.

For the sake of clearness, we have brought together in consecutive form, ritual slaughter in connection with blood-taboo. Coincidental with the development of the ideas related to the subject have emerged various discussions concerning the following problems:-

1. Whether the game killed by means of beasts and birds of prey would be unlawful in case there is no chance for the hunter to perform ritual slaughter in time.
2. Whether it is lawful for a Muslim to eat meat which has been ~~slaughtered~~ prepared in a way according to which no ritual slaughter is supposed to take place at all.

Concerning the first problem, we find in general an answer to the question in Surah 5:4. It can be understood from this Surah that game killed by means of beasts and birds of prey taught to hunt, is allowed on this condition. When the beast or the bird is sent after the prey, the name of God should be mentioned. By analogy qi'as, a game killed by an arrow or shot is subject to the same condition. In either case if the game is not killed before it falls into the hand of the hunter, it should be slaughtered, and if it is killed it is lawful in that condition. There is however, a difference of opinion when the beast tears up the game and eats part of it. Some think that in such cases it is not lawful to eat it, i.e. it becomes taboo.

As regards the second problem, we should draw a line of

distinction between the general rule allowing the Muslims to eat food prepared by non-Muslims on the one hand, and the particular regulation with reference to the condition of ritual slaughter in case of flesh. The general rule is illustrated in the Surah 5:5. 'The food of those who have received the scripture is lawful unto you and your food is lawful for them...'

Regarding animals slaughtered by non-Muslims, there are two opinions. Leaving aside details, it is of interest to refer to the modern attitude of Muslims as it appeared in the well-known deliverance (fatwa) made by the Grand Mufti Mohammed Abduh.

Food prepared by Jews and Christians and Madjūs allowed:
 A.D. 16,13;26,6.
 Tir. 19,16. A.B.H. I,302.
 cf. A.B.H. V.226.

Tarikh (Bibliography), al-Ustadh al-Imam al-Shaikh Muhammad Abduh, by M.Rashid Rida. Vol. I.p.676.
 Al-Manar. vol. vi.

These statements were published in a booklet entitled 'Irshad al Ummah al Islamiah,' Cairo, 1931.
 Guide of the Islamic Community to the Declaration of the Imams concerning the Transvaal Fatwa, published by Abd-al Hamid Kharmush al-Bahrawi al-Ashri. Cairo, A.H.1322. pp.8-9.
 This booklet is now difficult to secure.

The Fatwa made by the Grand Mufti, Mohammed Abduh was given in reply to three questions submitted by a Muslim of Transvaal, South Africa and known in consequence as Transvaal Fatwa. The question runs as follows: 'The manner in which they (i.e. Christians of the Transvaal) slaughter animals intended for food differs from the manner prescribed for Muslims. Is this permissible?' The fatwa which was given in reply is as follows: 'As for slaughtered animals, my opinion is that the Muslim in those distant parts should follow the Qur an 5:5.

The chief point to be considered is that if the chiefs of their religion are accustomed to eat out of it, it is permissible for the Muslim to eat of it. It is then called

continued overleaf/

Notes continued:

'the food of the people of the Scripture'. so long as the slaughter has taken place according to the custom which has been approved by chiefs of their religion. This verse is like an explicit verse in declaration of the food being lawful, so long as they, in their religion, hold it to be lawful, in order to prevent embarrassment in intercourse with them and dealings with them.

It is clear that this fatwa was an outcome of the new approach of Muslim Shari a. This arose from the necessity of adopting the multitudinous details of theological discussions to the conditions of modern life, or of reconciling Muslim beliefs and Muslim points of view with modern science and modern thought. This very fatwa (deliverance) caused the greatest amount of discussion in the newspapers at the time of its issue. As far as we know, following the publication of the text of the fatwa, there was a series of articles dealing in a destructive way with various aspects of the bid ah. The first reference to the fatwa in question occurred in the newspaper entitled 'Al-Zahir' which appeared at irregular intervals to oppose M. Abdu, under the title 'How can that be declared lawful which God has declared unlawful.' 19th December, 1903.

Reference may be made to Leviticus, 11. Deuteronomy 14:7, where a distinct line is drawn between 'these are the beasts ye shall eat.' i.e. clean, and 'that which are unclean unto you.' i.e. unclean, abomination. The unclean quadrupeds are camel, coney, hare and swine. Their flesh is unclean (taboo), their carcass is not to be touched (taboo). The division of the fish into clean and unclean follows this regulation: 'Whatsoever has fins and scales in the water ... them shall you eat.' (Leviticus 11.9.) All others are an 'abomination'. Then follows the unclean birds which number twenty. (For further and detailed information we should refer to Royden K. Yerkes: The Unclean animals of Leviticus and Deuteronomy.)

See: Encyclopaedia Biblica: Article - Abomination (ἡνίασμα and Λωπώω) 'broth' as a technical term for sacrificial flesh become stale κείας ἑωπώω which was unlawful to eat.

W.R. Smith regarded *Piggul* as carrion, or flesh so killed as to retain the blood in it.

According to Muslim jurisprudence, animals are divided into the following groups:

Halal (lawful)	Mubah (indifferent)
Makruh (abominable)	Haram (unlawful)

The following may be cited in illustration:

All quadrupeds that seize their prey with their teeth, and all birds that seize it with their talons, are haram. Hyenas and foxes, being included under the class of animals of prey, are unlawful, according to the Hanafiah (Shafi'i does not hold this view). Pelicans and kites are abominable (makruh) because they devour dead bodies. Crows which feed on grain are mubah (lawful; indifferent), but carrion crows are haram.

In general all insects, wasps, otters and crocodiles are abominable (makruh). The flesh of hares is indifferent.

The general lines classifying animals into clean and unclean among the Muslims may be as follows:-

1. Blood prohibitions.
2. Animals dying with the blood (life) in them
3. Unclean animals in themselves (Najis in essence.)

Presupposing the identification of blood with nafs, life; we pointed out that maitah embraced the animal dying of itself, or killed in a way to retain blood in it or being torn into pieces by a wild beast. This is the very old reference to the blood-taboo, still remaining in the carcass, rendering the flesh unclean, i.e. taboo. It seems to us indisputable to argue that the regulations quoted in the Qur'an on this point were more

or less representing the latest development of the Semitic blood-taboo in this respect

We may assume that the original prohibition of the flesh of an animal dying of itself has been extended to the flesh of one not ritually slaughtered. Another indirect manifestation of the blood-taboo may be touched when we look into animals taken to be 'unclean' by the earliest Hebrew. One of the categories which considered as ritually unclean is 'beasts and birds of prey'. Naturally being fed on unhallowed flesh, is at once apparent to fall under the general blood-taboo. Here we may assume that under Islam an innovation was introduced. A game nearly killed, or killed by a wild beast or bird may be rendered lawful through being ritually slaughtered if it is not killed before it falls into the hands of the hunter. Also, as a precaution, the name of God should be uttered before the hunter rents the beast or bird to after the prey.

Without entering into details we may refer to an article in Ency. Biblica concerning the prohibition of *Nebhelah* and *Terephah*. The writer has skilfully shown that the original significance of the former term denotes the dead body of a person or the carcass of an animal. In its technical sense it means the flesh of an animal died a natural death, opposed to the carcass of an animal properly slaughtered to draw the blood of it. In other words it corresponds to the term 'maitah' as we understand it. The second term, the writer says, denotes that which has died through being torn by wild beasts, i.e. torn flesh. Of these was forbidden by the earliest code (Exodus: 22.31.) which requires that it shall be cast 'unto the dogs'. With the increasing attention to the requirements of the Leviticus legislation ~~probably~~ gradually assumed other significations widely different from those originally belonging to them.

Continued over/

Notes continued:

On the etiquette of eating and drinking, the following avoidances may be observed, according to some works on Muslim jurisprudence and traditions.

Not to eat in a leaning attitude, A.B.H.II, 165.

Not to leave anything on the plate after eating, Ibid.III. lii,290, for the plate asks forgiveness for him who licks it after using it. Ibid. V. 76. I.M. 29.16.

See also: Good manners in eating -(Bu. 70,13,14,44.

Eating with right hand -(Mu. 36,150-151.

Not to blow on food. I.M. 29,18. A.B.H. 1.309.357.

Not to drink in one draught. A.D. I.li. Tir.24.13.

Not to drink from the left hand: Mu.36.105,106. A.B.H. II.8, 33,106,128.

No eating and drinking in a standing attitude. I.M. 29,25.

On the question of taboo of commensuality concerning the use of vessels, the following may be mentioned:

A man may use the remainder of the water used by a woman for washing himself, except if she is in a state of ritual impurity. Mā, 2.86.

Husband and wife are prohibited to use the same water for ghusl, bathing and ablution. A.D.1.40. Nas. 1.146. A.B.H. IV. 110 sq.

On the question of game the following reference may be mentioned:

In what cases it may or may not be eaten:

Bu. 34, 3; 72, 1-4, 7-10,12,14.

A.B.H. I,231; II, 184; IV,256.

Instruments and methods for catching or killing:

Bu. 72, 1-5, 9; 78,122. Mu. 34,3,4,54-56.

A.B.H. IV,86,256.

Cattle that have run away are treated as game:

Bu. 72,15,23,36,37

A.B.H. II,463,464.

'Basmala' when shooting and on game. Neither hounds nor birds of the Madjūs to be used in hunting. Tir.16,2. I.M. 28,4

KHAMR - TABOO

Intoxicating drinks are known among the Arabs by the term 'khamr'. The 'khamr-taboo' is held to be one of the distinctive marks of Muslim world communities.

Eastern religions¹ have emphatically insisted upon sobriety or even total abstinence from intoxicating liquors. It is of interest to refer to the Rechabites, who are represented to say, in response to an invitation to drink wine, "We will drink no wine, for Jonadab, the son of Rechab, our father commanded us saying, "Ye shall drink no wine, neither you, nor your sons, for ever, neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard." ²

1. According to Westermarck, 13 different kinds of alcoholic drinks are mentioned in the sacred law books of Brahmanism and Vaisyas. Though there be no sin in drinking spirituous liquor, 'abstention brings greater reward'. Buddhism interdicts altogether the use of alcohol. According to Oldenberg, of the five crimes, the taking of life, theft, adultery, lying and drinking, the last is the worst. In Zoroastrianism the holy Sraosha is represented as fighting against the demon of drunkenness, and it is said that the sacred beings are not with him who drinks wine more than moderately.

Westermarck: Origin and Development of Moral Ideas.

vol. ii. pp. 341-342.

Institute of Vishnu; vol. xxii. pp. 82, 84.

Gantama, vol. ii. p. 20.

Laws of Manu: vol. xi. p. 94

Oldenberg: Buddha, p. 290.

Hardy: Manual of Buddhism, p. 126.

2. of. Plutarch de Iside et Osiride; 6.
Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics: 'Rechabites'

We are told that the Prophet Amos denounces the drinking of wine in the case of Nazarites, and he disapproved of the excessive wine drinking at Bethel.

Concerning the pagan Arabs, it appears that they were much addicted to intoxication to the extent that some claimed that it prolonged life. Reference may be made on this point to a statement recorded by al-Jahiz.¹

This assumption, as it were, agrees with the prevailing ideas at that time. This is revealed by the intimate connection between intoxication and the soul or the spirit on the one hand, and blood on the other hand. In Kitab al Ashribah, of Ibn Qutaibah, the standard Arabic work of its kind on the subject, reference is made to that fact.²

The ancients used to say that intoxication (khamr) is the

1. He names three persons who are said to try to find out which people would live longer with reference to drinking, i.e. Those who are addicted to intoxication or those who abstain from it. Selecting forty young men of the same age and living in the neighbourhood among the Quraish and Taqif, who were famous for drinking wine, and comparing them with a similar number of youths of the same age among those who detested drinking, it was found that those were addicted to drinking wine surpassed those who abstained from it. The foregoing conclusion was arrived at by an obvious incomplete induction from the methodological point of view.

Jahiz: Hayawan: vol. 1. on 'Influence of wine on the age of people.' pp. 157-158.

2. Ibn Qutaibah: Kitab al Ashribah, edited by M.Kurd Ali 1947. pp. 66, 67, 72.

beloved of the soul. Thus a doctor, despairing of curing his patient through medicine, would give him khamr riḥaniya to return the pleasure to his soul.¹

We are told that it is because of the intimacy between khamr and rūḥ, that the term raḥ, which indicates, khamr, is derived from the same root as rūḥ and rawḥ, i.e. spirit, soul. All are of the same origin though they are distinguished by their different structure. Sometimes, however, the term rūḥ, i.e. soul, is used indifferently for khamr. This appears in a poem ^{attributed} to Nazzam.

It is remarkable also that the two terms 'rūḥ' (spirit), and dam (blood), are used to indicate 'khamr'. That recalls the identification of 'nafs' and blood among the Arabs. This is confirmed in a statement by Ibn Qutaibah² where reference is made to using the term 'dam' to indicate khamr, as the latter increases blood which is closely connected with 'nafs', the soul.

1. Ibn Qutaibah: Op. cit. p. 66.

cf. In Ecclesiasticus the wine which was poured out at the foot of the altar is even called 'the blood of the grape' and in the blood is the soul. The juice of the grape is conceived as the blood of the vine. (Frazer: l. p. 358.)

2. Ibn Qutaibah: Op. cit. p. 67.

In metaphorical usage 'khamr' represented the essence of good, in opposition to 'khal', vinegar, which indicated wickedness. The Arabs would say, 'Such a one possesses neither good nor evil.'^A

Despite the virtues attributed to khamr, the condemnation of drunkenness came to be necessary. In the first place because of its injurious consequences especially when it often ends in bloody quarrels. Thus it would be considered the cause of ~~wreck~~ trouble and disorder in the community. When this feeling emerges, at the beginning it gives rise to prohibitions of an immoderate use of alcoholic drinks, and for avoiding excess. However, where and whenever the prohibitions of immoderation would not do to maintain the stability of the community, the

A. According to Lane's Lexicon some of the Arabs make khamr to be good (Ḥar p. 153) and al khal to be evil and some of them make khamr to be evil and khal to be good, the latter sense, however, seems to us to be either under the influence of foreign ideas that prohibited its usage or came to be looked upon from the Islamic point of view. It is of interest to point out that the attitude of the pagan Arabs towards wine and vinegar is more or less parallel to that which we meet in the Biblical data, where we are told that in metaphorical usage, wine represents the essence of good; 'The Torah, Jerusalem, Israel, the Messiah, the righteous, all are compared to wine. The wicked are ~~linked~~ ^{linked} unto vinegar, and the good man who turns to wickedness is compared to sour wine. Again the important place of khamr, held by the ancient Arabs as possessing curative elements, is to be expressed in the words of the Jewish usages who were wont to say; 'Wine is the greatest of all medicine...' 'It helps to open the heart to reasoning.'

Jewish Encyclopaedia: Article - Wine
ditto. Medicinal value.

necessity arose to the demand of total abstinence.

It seems that this was the case with reference to the Arabs. Generally speaking the Arabs, before the rise of Islam, used to indulge in drinking khamr as often as an occasion offered itself. So drunkenness often became a cause of scandal and of indulgence. Some individual incidents occurred before Islam which led some of the pagan Arabs to abstain from it and even to preach in favour of abolishing the custom of indulging in drinking. However, its merits were not utterly ignored by the rise of Islam.

The Qur'anic condemnation or the demand for total abstinence from khamr was more or less in response to social as well as religious factors.¹ The earlier surah concerning khamr does not express a prohibition. We are told that the Muslims did not change their previous custom of drinking even when performing prayers. It happened that the order of the prayer was consequently disturbed and sometimes the Imam committed faults in reciting the Qur'an. Thus a new revelation was issued, viz: Surah iv, 46, prohibiting believers to come to prayer when they were drunk. A third surah, v.92, nearly twenty years after the starting of Mohammed's mission, made an end to

1. The first surah given as an answer to the attitude of Muslims towards khamr. 'There is great sin, and also some things of use unto men, but their sinfulness is greater than their use.'

Qur'an: ii, 216.

drinking khamr. ^{Henceforth} ~~Hitherto~~, khamr was rendered taboo. Muslim traditionalists and commentators relate some political incidents in consequence of drinking khamr. Such incidents might have threatened the unity of the early Islamic community, viz; between the Muhajirⁱⁿ and Anṣar.

So it seems that it was indisputable for the maintenance of the solidarity and unity of the Muslim community to issue and declare the condemnation of drunkenness and the demand for total abstinence from khamr.

The succeeding verse explains in what sense the khamr is held to be an abomination, an uncleanness, a devil's work, referring to enmity, hatred, which might arise amongst the Muslims in consequence of drinking khamr, as well as its evil influence by persuading them to keep off from performing their prayers (correctly).

It is of interest, however, to indicate that the Qur'anic declaration of khamr, as abomination, or the work of the devil appears to bear survival traces of the primitive fear of demonic influence. It is due mainly to the fact that the abnormal mental state which it produces, would result in an unexpected change in the ritual status of the addict. Thus it is represented as having something supernatural in it, that it contains a spirit. That spirituous liquor is believed to contain baneful, mysterious energy is obvious from the statement

that if the Brahman¹ (the Vedal) which dwells in the body of a Brahmana is even once deluged with it, his Brahmanhood forsakes him, and he becomes a Sudra.² In other words the drinking of khamr would automatically change the ritual status of the person and reduce him to an inferior caste.

The Nazarite³ who had wholly devoted himself to Yahwe, had to abstain from wine and spirits, just as the priests before administering the sacred rite.

The Nabataens, according to Diodorus Siculus (xix:94.3) likewise abstained from wine. One of their Gods is called in their inscriptions, the Good God who drinks no wine. The abstention from wine is ascribed to the Rechabites.

According to Palgrave,⁴ wine was raised by the founder of Christianity to a dignity of the highest religious import. It became well-nigh typical of Christianity and in a manner its badge. So to declare it 'unclean' and 'abomination' and the work of the devil, was to set up for the Muslims a counter-badge.

1. Laws of Manu, Ch. v. p. 6. Ch. xi, p. 98.

2. Westermarck: Ibid. p. 344.

3. Leviticus: x.9.

4. Palgrave: Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia. vol. i. p. 428.

This taboo may serve generally to integrate the communal unity of the Muslim in the sphere of ritual avoidance, as a distinct unit from communities of other religions. It seems also probable, that the declaration of khamr as an abomination, a work of the devil, may have its roots in remote Semitic antiquity, which ascribed a demoniac character to intoxicant liquids. It may reflect the persistence of the cultural insignia of herders, which is often expressed by condemning primarily anything associated with cultivators and represented as if of evil influence. This tendency is represented in Islam by the belief that a Muslim, through drinking khamr loses his baraka, or the holiness of the Islamic faith, and thus will be in a state of ritual disability.

This belief is prevalent to the extent that the influence of khamr may also change the ritual value of the effective potency of Qur'anic charm, because the charm's barakah is spoiled.

The underlying idea may be that a contact with a polluting substance is supposed to result in depriving the individual of his 'ritual virtue' and thus becomes of lower ritual status.

This mental attitude is supported in the later system by a vivid polydemonism, viz: the evil demon is on the alert to destroy the individual, or the community. This may be understood on the grounds that where the demon is, the holy departs.

Thus the individual or the community is supposed to be

deprived of God's protection and hence would be a receptacle to evil influence.

Thus describing khamr as a ryjs of the devil was to convince the popular to avoid it as they used to avoid anything taken to be endowed with evil influence. This may be elucidated by treating khamr as an unclean and polluted substance. Most of the orthodox Muslims dread it so much that if a single drop were to fall upon a clean garment it would be rendered unfit to wear until washed.

There are also traditions implying the destruction of several types of receptacles usually used for fermenting khamr. This may be explained by the contagious character of taboo. It is obvious that khamr, regarded as polluting substance, would extend its dangerous influence to the receptacle. Hence it became taboo and dangerous itself. Thus its destruction seems to be a protective measure to avoid the extension of pollution.¹

However, this prohibition of the Qur'an concerning khamr gives consideration to its evil influence from the social and political point of view as well as from the religious aspect. It can be assumed that both a desire to prevent intoxication and the notion that khamr is polluting may have been co-operating motives for the prohibition.

1. Ibn Hanbal: Muslim Ashribah, p. 96.

Naqir (a hollow pam-trunk), Diba' (green jars)
 Jarr (earthenware pots), Naqir (gourds); jars smeared with pitch.

The Muslim Imams, call khamr, haram, and thus wine-trade is forbidden to Muslims. Traditions have many utterances regarding this theme.^A

But though the prohibitions of khamr is unanimously accepted, we are told that some of the theologians hold its prohibition to be a matter of sanction. Hence it may not fall under the category of taboo, for according to this view khamr is not haram.¹ This was probably endorsed by people among the cultivator groups, whose product was primary devoted to the making of khamr. Thus the prohibition of khamr, although theoretically accepted, gave rise to dissensions among the Muslim schools of fiqh.

A. For instance 'khamr' is held to be the key of all evil, (Musnad. Ah b. Hanbal, v. 238). Cursed is he who drinks, buys, sells khamr, or causes others to drink it. (Ibid. 1, 316.)

It is even inadvisable, according to the Hanbilites to use it as medicine. Moreover, Muslim theology reckons the drinking of khamr among the gravest sins, (kabair).

Muslim. Ah b. Hanbul. Ashribah, v. iv, pp. 311, 317
Ibn Ma'ja. Bab Ashriba. Abu David. Turmudhi, Bab. 59.

1. Ibn Qutaibah: Op. cit. p. 18.

It would take us too far to give here a detailed survey of the opinion of all Madhhabs.^A That the dissension, however, was caused mainly by a vigorous endeavour to extend the term 'khamr' as to include whatever intoxicating beverage the Arabs might have heard of or met with among the other communities who embraced Islam. This dissension may reflect the conflict between the older nomadic herders insignia, and the reaction of cultivators. It is also represented in the national struggle against the phobia of the Arab conquerors and their attempts to extend the prohibition to national and local drinks, which were prepared more or less after their own methods and out of various substances in accordance with their production.

A. It is said that when the use of khamr was peremptorily prohibited, the people of Medina poured out in the streets all that they possessed of the appreciated liquor. Ibn 'Omar declares on the contrary, that at the time of the prohibition, there was no wine in Medinah at all. Anas b. Malik says that there was scarcely any wine from grapes in Medinah; when the prohibition was revealed people used to make khamr from busr and tamr (two kinds of dates). 'Omar is represented delivering a speech which was meant to settle the question, according to his son Abdullah, he said, 'Khamr is what obscured the intellect.'

Ibn Hanbal: vol. ii. p. 132. vol. iii. pp. 26, 189.
Bukhari: Bab Ashribah.

We are also told that another drink called albat made of honey and dates and which was drunk by the Yemenites was forbidden. In the same manner the intoxicating ghubaira drink which was made of wheat and barley was prohibited.

Ibn Hanbal: Ibid. p. 427.

cf. Palgrave's assertion.

Another contributing factor for bringing about this attitude, is that the wine trade was probably in foreign hands at the time, and the one who drinks may be reckoned as collaborating with the out-group, he must be considered ritually inferior and must suffer corporal punishment.

Theoretically, with the exception of the Hanafites,¹ to drink wine in any quantity or to make use of it is haram. To buy, to sell, to present it, etc., is haram. No responsibility rests on him who spoils or destroys wine. Whether wine is ^{property} possession,

1. All the Muslim schools except the Hanafis, extended the prohibition of wine to all spirits. Innumerable are the traditions which indicate the rule: All drinks which may cause drunkenness are prohibited in any quantity.^A

A. In some versions of this tradition there occurs the restriction that all fermented inebriating drinks remain prohibited. According to Hanbalites, juice from grapes, prepared by pressing them only, is considered haram, as wine. Then Tariq asked whether the juice may be given to the sick, 'It is no medicine, it is sickness'. Not only those who drink and sell wine are cursed by Muhammed but also those who press grapes and have them pressed in order to drink the juice. Special traditions prohibiting fermented drinks may be mentioned: It is forbidden or disapproved of to sell raisins if they are to be used for preparing nabidh (Nasa i. Ashubah Bab.51.52.) It is prohibited to mix together different kinds of fruits so that the mixture should become intoxicating. (cf. Bukh. Ashriha, bab. ii. Muslim Ashribah. trad. 16.29. Nasa i Ashribah. B. 4.14.)

In Central Arabia people were accustomed to prepare khamr, or nabidh from all kinds of dates. They used certain receptacles in which it was easily and quickly fermented when it was preserved a long time or probably also if they were prepared after special methods. This gave rise to a variety of traditions. We meet with Aisha's confirmation that she used to prepared nabidh for the Prophet, and he used to drink it before it fermented.

(mal), is an unsettled point. It is polluted substance, just as blood and urine. Who drinks any quantity of it is liable to a punishment.¹

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1. Sha'rani: Mizan, Cairo 1279. p. 192
 Ibn Majah: Ashribah
 Ibn Hanbal: Op. cit. p. 292.

It is to be noted that we lay stress on the part of the schools which extend the prohibition without weight to the other views which allow the foregoing drinks. This agrees with the nature and topic of our research.

Repeated drinking of wine was, according to some traditions, punished by death at Mohammad's orders.² This does not alter the fact that transgressors have been numerous, according to the literary evidence. The praise of wine remained one of the favourite topics in Islamic poems, and at the Califs, wine was drunk at revelling parties as if no prohibition existed at all.³

2. Qur'an: Surah: xxiv.4.

Abu Dawūd: Hidad bab. 36.
 Ibn Maḥja: " 17
 Ah b. Hanbal: ii, 136, 166, 191

3. cf. E.W.Lane: The Arabian Nights' Entertainment, London 1841. vol. 1. pp. 214, 310.

Khamriyat of Abu Nuwas (wine songs) in Arabic literature are devoted to the art of topping.

cf. Levy: Muslim Sociology: vol. ii. p. 156.

It will take us too far if we follow our survey of details to show the dissensions among the Muslim schools and the arguments that took place on this point, so it seems advisable to consult the standard works of each Madhhab; for an exposition of the Shafi'i view see, al-Nawawi, Minhādī - v.iii.241., for that of the Hanafis, Fatawa vi, for that of Malikis, Zurqani in his commentary on the Muwatta, iv.26, for that of the Shi'ah see Sha'ī al-Islam (Calcutta 1839. p. 404.)

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An explanation of this attitude may be due to the influence of local custom. By comparison, we notice that both swine's flesh and wine are forbidden to Muslims, yet while the former is regarded with such abhorrence, that no believer will approach the carcass of a dead pig, the latter, except among the most rigidly orthodox, is regarded with toleration.

Economic aspects may be an underlying factor of breaching the taboo imposed on khamr with special reference to the localities where the vineyards are one of their common products. This may be inferred from the arguments provided in support of the view of some Muslim Imams. Who do not demand total abstinence and condemn only an immoderate use of it.

cf. Kitab al-Ashribah of Ibn Qutailbah, pp. 57, 65-66.

Pig
~~SWINE~~ - TABOO

This food taboo still vigorously persists among the Moslem communities of today. Various views have been propounded by the scholars on the origin of ^{Pig}~~swine~~-taboo among the Semites.

It is generally accepted that ^{Pork}~~swine's flesh~~ was forbidden food to the Semites¹ (except the Babylonians).² It occurred as a sacrifice in certain exceptional rites particularly in the form of an annual piacula.^A

According to R. Smith among the Semites the annual piacula commemorates a divine tragedy - the death of some God or Goddess.^B Apart from the evidence brought down with the Adonis myth, the

1. R. Smith: Religion of the Semites, p. 218. According to Lucian's account of Syrian ritual at Hierapolis Sozomen, vi, 38. (All Saracens).

2. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics: Article - Swine.

A. Piacula is a distinctive name applied to sacrificial ceremonies of a powerful kind, which involves the notion of pleasing the God by a gift. (Smith: Op.cit. p. 397.)

B. R. Smith holds the view that the death of the God was originally the death of the theanthropic victim. When this ceased to be understood, it was thought that the piacula sacrifice represented an historical tragedy in which the God was killed. Thus at Laodicea the annual sacrifice of a deer in lieu of a maiden, which was offered and the Goddess of the city is associated with this legend. The Goddess was a maiden who had been sacrificed to consecrate the foundation of the town, and was henceforth worshipped as its Fortuna, it was therefore the death of the Goddess herself that was annually renewed in the piacula rite. (Smith: Op.cit. p. 410).

Arabic literature provides us with some information which may help to indicate that the pig was among the consecrated offerings in the temple of Hierapolis. In the Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadim¹ reference is made to the sacrifice of ~~swine~~^{pigs} once a year by the heathen Harranians. Moreover, although ~~swine~~^{pigs} were not admitted food in the worship of the Semitic Aphrodite and Adonis,^A it appeared that swine were connected with this cult in Cyprus. Meanwhile reference is made to this pagan rite in the Book of Isaiah, described as a heathen abomination with which the Prophet associates the sacrifice of two other unclean animals, the dog and the mouse.²

Analogies are found among many peoples of the ancient world. Among the Egyptians the pig was forbidden except on the day of the full-moon. As early as the time of Hammuarbi, pork, contrary to the practice of the Egyptians, was a highly valued food among the Babylonians and formed part of the temple offering.

We are told that by the inspection of pigs various omens were derived and in the official lists special provisions are made for the temple pigs.³

1. Ibn al-Nadim: Fihrist, vol. 1. p. 326.
 2. R. Smith: Op.cit. p. 291.
 A. Aphrodite corresponds to Astarte and Adonis to Tammus.
 3. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics: Article - Swine.
 cf. C.J. Ball, Tammuz, the Swine God.

Cheyne: Commentary on Isaiah, Ch. ixvi.

It is of interest in this connection to state that the 'pig' was associated in some way with the God Ninib, one of whose appellations means 'swine' but no evidence is yet forthcoming that it was offered to him as a vicarious piacula sacrifice.

To interpret the foregoing statement, a number of conjectures have been offered by scholars. Some connect the prohibition with totemism, drawing evidence from where the term 'hezir'¹ occurs as a proper name. In tracing the origin of this taboo to totemism, it must be borne in mind that swine is not confined, as it is observed, to a particular tribe. Hence, basing this view upon ethnological parallels with totemism as the underlying motive, can hardly be accepted.

It may be reasonable to trace the origin of the ^{pig} swine-taboo to the sacredness of the animal, whether it be identified with or correlated to a Deity or being represented as a sacramental ~~piacula~~ sacrifice.

On the other hand there is evidence that some peoples interdict it on other primitive grounds. According to Bancroft² the Koniagas will eat almost any digestible substance except pork.

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1. of. Wood: Religion of Canaan in Journal of Biblical Literature, vol. xxxv, 1916.
 2. Bancroft: Native races of the Pacific States, vol. 1. p.75.

The Navahoes of New Mexico abominate it, simply because the animal is filthy in its habits.¹

With reference to the American Indians of South Eastern States, Adair writes, 'They reckon all those animals to be unclean, that are either carnivorous, or live on nasty food, as hogs, wolves, foxes. When swine were first brought among them, they deemed it such a horrid abomination in any of their people to eat that filthy and impure food, that they excluded the criminal from all religious communion in their circular town-house. They still affix vicious and contemptible ideas to the eating of swine's ^{pork} flesh; insomuch that 'shukapa' 'swine-eater' is the most opprobrious epithet that they can use to brand us with, they commonly subjoin 'akanggapa', 'eater of dunghill fowl'. Both together signify 'filthy, helpless animals'.² According to Westermarck, the Indians in British Guiana, though they reject pork with the greatest loathing, their objection does not extend to the native hog, which though generally abstained from by wizards, is eaten by the laity indiscriminately, with the exception of women who are pregnant or who have just given birth to a child.³ This

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1. Westermarck: The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas; vol. ii. pp. 326 ff.
Matthews: Study of Ethics among the lower Races.
Journal of American Folk-lore, No. xiii. 5.
 2. Adair: History of American Indians, pp. 132 sq.
Westermarck: Op. cit. vol. ii. p. 327.
 3. Schomburgh in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, London, vol. xv. p. 29 sq.

suggests that the aversion to the domestic pig partly springs from the fact that it is a foreign animal. Indeed, the Guiana Indians refuse to eat the flesh of all animals that are not indigenous to their country, but were introduced from abroad, such as oxen, sheep and fowls, apparently on the principle that any strange and abnormal object is especially likely to be possessed of a harmful spirit.¹

We may allude that the foregoing considerations were contributing causes for the prohibition of ^{Pig's} swine's flesh among the primitive Semites. Swine, as a domesticated animal was not known to the undispersed Semites or the the Sumerian population in Babylon.² The pig can only be housed and reared among a settled community, i.e. an agricultural population and it is associated especially with the worship of agricultural deities, e.g. Adonis, Aphrodite.

On the other hand we notice that ^{PORK} swine is a forbidden food among the Semites. Confessing that it was tabooed from the time of its introduction, it was only after their dispersion that the Semites became acquainted with the swine

1. Im Thurn: Indians of Guiana, p. 368.

2. cf. Schrader: Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples, p. 261.

as a domestic animal.^A Hence it was not indigenous to their community. As a strange animal it was represented to be endowed with harmful spirit. This may partly agree with Frazer's¹ theory that the ancient Egyptians, Semites and some of the Greeks abstained from this food, not because the pig was looked upon simply as a filthy and disgusting creature, but because it was considered to be endowed with high supernatural powers.

It seems comprehensible that the we-group to be distinguished from the outer-group, imposed upon its members the impression of fear and disgust towards ^{Pigs} ~~swine~~ being a characteristic emblem of some other groups.

To explain the two different attitudes towards swine-taboo illustrated in Lucian's statement about Syrians,^B we may assume that through two different representations we get the

A. Langdon assumes that the pig was well-known in Sumer and Babylonia. But it never occurs as a food in the innumerable records of offerings. However, he ascertained that a temple calendar forbids it to be eaten on the 30th day of the fifth month.

A fable in Assyrian states that the pig is unclean and an abomination to the Gods.

He adds that it is difficult to understand why the Sumerians Babylonians and Canaanites kept pigs at all. It seems clear that none of these people used them much for food.

Langdon: Semitic Mythology, p. 132.

1. Frazer: Golden Bough: vol. ii. p. 304.

B. Lucian says that worshippers of the Syrian Goddess abstained from eating pigs; some because they held them in abomination, others because they thought them holy.

Lucian: De dea Syria, p. 54.

Westermarck: Op. cit. vol. ii. p. 328

impression that we are in relation with two distinct attitudes. The one enforced by abstaining from swine on account of its holiness, the other expressed by keeping aloof from it because of its pollution and abomination. Of course, the sentiments inspired by the two are not identical, respect and awe is one thing, disgust and horror another. But these sentiments expressed in both cases are not different in nature. It can be said that the shades by which these two attitudes are differentiated are even so slight sometimes that it is not always easy to determine which state of mind the believers actually happen to be in.

The ideas 'unclean' and 'holy' which seem to us to stand in polar opposition to one another, were not so with the Semites. That among the heathen Semites, unclean animals, which it was pollution to eat were simply holy animals, including ^{pigs} swine, doves and so forth. The Hebrew term indifferently applied to unclean beasts and the Gods of heathens.

We may mark a diffusion of the swine food-taboo in the religious domain at an early stage when a general classification of animals into clean (holy), and unclean (polluted), ~~it~~ had not been reached.

The antithesis of sacred and unclean in the religious domain coincided with the succession of two mythological stages.

cf. Wundt: Psychology, Ch. 1. p. 313.
 G.A.Barton: Semitic and Hamitic Origins, Oxford, 1934.
 p. 114.

Encyclopaedia Biblica: Article - Swine
 Encyclopaedia Britannica: Article - Swine.

This may seem particularly true about the widespread literature provided by various authorities in connection with the prohibition of swine's flesh. By the Syrians the swine was regarded as sacrosanct, and it was especially sacred to Aphrodite.¹ The legend of the death of Adonis may be a primitive Phoenician explanation of the change of feeling towards veneration for swine.

To the Egyptians the pig was loathsome and swine-herds were forbidden to enter a temple. If a man even touched a pig, he immediately stepped into a river to wash off the taint. Pig's milk caused leprosy. It is probable that the Egyptians regarded it as sacred for the belief that the eating of a sacred animal produced leprosy and is removed by washing,² was current among the many ancient tribes and religions. Later, however, the pig began to be looked upon with horror and was regarded as the Egyptian devil in the myth, that it was the embodiment of Set or Thylon and the enemy of Osiris.

Swine-taboo, however, seems to be partly due to the assumption that the swine was not indigenous to Semitic

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- 1. Strabo: Vol. ix. pp. 5, 17.
 - 2. cf. The practice of the Jews of washing their hands after reading the scriptures.

According to Forde, it is practically impossible, on general archeological grounds to assume an introduction of domestic pigs from Europe into Egypt and Mesopotamia before 3,000 B.C. For Europe was then only learning agriculture and domestication of animals for the first time.
Forde: Habitat, p. 445.

communities. As a domesticated animal, the Semites became acquainted with it after their dispersion. It was forbidden food from the time of its introduction. It came to be associated with the worship of agricultural deities, i.e. Demeter, Adonis and Aphrodite. Agriculture and religious rites associated with it spread together. It was in connection with some form of agricultural worship that the domestication of the pig found its way amongst the various branches of the Semites. It was esteemed sacrosanct by some Semites, while it was regarded as a heathen abomination by others. The supposition then is that the worship with which the swine was associated did not find equal acceptance amongst all the Semites. Where it did find acceptance, the flesh was forbidden because it was sacred, where it did not it was prohibited because of its association with the worship of false Gods. It may be added that its transference from the sphere of sacredness to the sphere of uncleanness might have occurred in one given society on account of the religious development which this community has undergone.

Concerning the Arabs, there is no evidence at hand that the pagans seems to have eaten swine's flesh. This may suggest that the Qur'an in prohibiting it has only confirmed the common aversion of the nation. Mention of the restriction

on ^{Pig's} swine's flesh was in some way or other following the example of Mosaic legislation.^A

It may be hard to confess that the Muslim theology accounts for any relics of sanctity attributed to the swine as the original taboo upon swine's flesh. The Muslim repugnance cannot be explained on mere sanitary grounds.

However, we may refer here to some superstitions beliefs that took the shape of theory and doctrine among the Muslim theologians.^B

A. It is of interest to remark that the prohibition of swine's flesh occurs in four different places in the Qur'an, namely; Suras ii, 168:v.4; vi:146; xvi:116, in which it is mentioned alongside the prohibition of maitah.

B. The doctrine of transmigration and miskh may reveal some primitive ideas associated with this point. In the Qur'anic verse 5:60, reference is made to people spoken of as being transformed into pigs and apes as a result of God's curse and wrath.

Commentators tend to link the foregoing surah with another verse, ii:65, which implies that the wrath of God was upon the Israelites on account of their violation of the Sabbath.

We tend to link those people with the worship of Taghout as it is easily understood by the very version, 'Whom Allah has cursed and brought his wrath upon, him and he who adored an alternative to Him'. The word 'taghout' seems to be a foreign and borrowed aramaic term. It is used in the Qur'an to indicate that which is worshipped instead or of to the exclusion of God, (the Devil, the Idols.)

It sounds more likely that those people upon whom the wrath of God falls, were the heathens. Moreover, we may assume that they were described as swine and apes on account of eating such forbidden foods. The next verse in the very Surah may make it plainer, 'And many of them hasten in sin and exceeding the limits, and their eating the suht' ile. what is unlawfully acquired. The term 'suht', generally signifies any property that is forbidden. It can be assumed that it implies the forbidden foods which are considered in some way or other forbidden property.

We may assume that the primitive belief that the qualities of the eaten pass into the eater is reflected by calling people swine and apes on account of eating them as it were.

This belief is still prevailing among some communities. We are told that the Caribs abstained from eating pig's flesh because, they believed that the physical and mental qualities of the human being depend largely upon the food which he eats. Therefore, if they were to eat the flesh of pigs, they would have small eyes like those of a pig. Similarly/^{Zulu} girls abstain from eating ^{pig's} swine's flesh because they fear that by eating it they might gradually come to resemble the ugly pig in appearance.¹

Relics of this primitive belief may be found in the etymological structure of the term 'khinzir'² which indicates swine, hog, pig, among the Arabs. The verb 'khanzer' signifies that the eye was or became narrow and small or contracted its sight, as though looking from the outer angle of the eye, (applied to a person who had a distortion).

Similar ideas are found in Arabic literature.^{3,4,5.} This

1. Westermarck: Ibid.
2. Lane's Lexicon: Article - 'khinzir'
3. Dimiary: Hyat al Hiwan, p. 341.
4. Sharastani: Milal, p. 133.
5. Baghdadaj: Farq, pp. 253, 254.

suggests the diffusion of the belief in the possible metamorphosis^A of some evil human beings into ^{Pigs} swine, or ^{monkeys} apes, by the power of the curse or wrath of God. Hence it may appear as if the underlying motive for abstaining from eating swine's flesh is associated with the awe and fear of swallowing evil and cursed souls within their bodies, and thus becoming exposed to the wrath of God.

Akin to this line of thought are the traditions related by the Muslims about Jesus' curse upon a group of Jews whom God transformed thereon to swine.

However, despite the evidence that the primitive belief and conception of possible metamorphosis of human beings into swine persisted among the early Muslims, in some way or other, we do not tend ^{suggest} ~~to confess~~ that there was any direct relation

A. The material in question is often dealt with under the headings of mikh (transmigration), qalb (transformation). It should be borne in mind that we touch on here the primitive ideas which cannot be compared with the systematic doctrine of metempsychosis as it is represented in the more developed notions of theologians and philosophers. We think that the information given by al-Jahiz in his Hayawan will throw some light on the subject.

Jahiz: Hayawan: vol. iv, p. 10. vol. 12.

Qazwiny: 'Aga'ib al-Makbūwat.

between the belief in question and the origin of tabooing swine's flesh to the Muslim . It is more likely to look on such ideas and the like as an offering and consequence of the Qur anic attitude rather than an origin or cause for its prohibition.

However, this attitude may be reckoned as a persistence of the cultural insignia of the nomadic and pastoral economies, in its prevalent tendency to degrade the associates of agricultural life.

The ^(wild) pig is a forest and swamp animal, it is unsuited to grasslands and can only survive under really arid conditions in riverine marshes, and according to Prof. Forde¹ nowhere is the pig an animal of pastoral peoples.

1. Forde: Habitat: Economy and Society, p. 446.

MOURNING TABOOS

Generally speaking, contact with a corpse entails a condition for the adequate expression of taboo, $\alpha \vee \alpha \text{ } \mathcal{D} \epsilon \mu \alpha$ The general effect of this taboo is to attach a state of ritual disability on the persons concerned. This effect is expressed in a variety of forms, with reference to mourners as well as those who deal with the corpse itself.

Thus the greatest care is needed in approaching and dealing with a corpse, whether on account of being feared in itself, or as a polluted body on account of death, or whether it is feared owing to its connection with the disembodied spirit, i.e. the separation of the life principle. In any case the ritual avoidances consequent to a death, reach far beyond the persons who have been compelled to perform the last offices to the corpse. They extend to the mourners, to those who participate in the funeral procession, to the place where death occurred, to some of the articles, and animals the deceased person possessed. Particularly they affect his near relatives and especially his wife.

However, from a functional point of view, the ritual behaviour of the mourners before and after burial, during the commemorative ceremonies and sacrifices for the dead, we find first and foremost the affirmation of the belief in human immortality, the conviction that death is not real, and every possible precaution

may be adopted to overcome the fear of personal and structural destruction of individuals as well as human associations at large.

The intensity of ritual avoidances on mourners, is almost codified according to one's precise kinship status, and as a common rule among the Arabs, mourning taboos weigh more heavily on the women than on the men.

Functionally, mourning rites and avoidances are an occasion for the expression of the solidarity and the mutual sympathy within the internal relations of collateral relatives of the dead. These relations involve economic and ceremonial obligations, sometimes without super-ordination or direct co-operation. As Radcliffe-Brown has shown for the Andaman Islanders, the death of an individual leaves a gap in the social group, and disturbs the emotions of those who still live. The mourning ritual provides a channel for the expression of these emotions and enforces consideration of the role that the individual had played in the social life. In its stress upon the value of an individual to the society of which he was a member, the ritual assists the re-integration of the group.²

We may start by considering the treatment of the corpse itself, with reference to the pagan Arabs. Among the earliest cares, after death, was the toilet of the corpse.

1. cf. Malinowski: The Dynamics of culture change. p. 48.
An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa.

2. cf. Firth: Human Types, Reason and Unreason. p. 181-183

Al Shahrastani and Ibn Habib mention this point among the pagan customs that came to be confirmed by Islam. The former confirms the practice of washing the deceased persons.¹ The latter² assumes that the pagan Arabs had the custom of Takfin (the shrouding of the corpse), dressing the dead in grave clothes, generally known by the Arabic term 'kafan', He adds that they used to perform a prayer for the deceased's sake.^A

The practice of ghusl and takfin of the corpse originates in the primitive conception of taboo. This often coincided with the animistic beliefs prevailing at a remote stage of culture. It is plain that the underlying impulse of ablution of the corpse, regardless of the other propounded ones under rationalization, is the dread and awe on seeing, touching or approaching a corpse. Hence the attained purpose seems as it were primary to rid or to loosen the corpse of the supposed deadly qualities with which

1. Sharhrastani: Milal and Nihal, p. 442.

2. Ibn Habib: Muhabbar, p.320
 Qur'an: Surah 9:104.

A. That the prayer was a sort of du a, during which the nearest relative (his Waliy) counted all his former good deeds, praised him and asked God's mercy to be upon him.

Concerning the pagan Arabs we infer what the case might be through examining information handed down by the Muslim authorities, either directly or indirectly. However, whenever there is the opportunity of making use of earlier data by a comparative study, we do not hesitate to take the advantage.

it is embodied.

Moreover, to avoid the consequent evil influence which may befall the mourners or others who have something to do with mourning ceremonies. This may also agree with the purpose of dressing the corpse in kafan (grave-clothes). This appears to serve as a protective measure against the supposed bad influence consequent to the contagious uncleanness of the corpse. We may assume that depriving the deceased person of his ordinary clothes implies a sort of precaution against the probable contagiousness of the evil influence of the corpse through what has been intimately in relation or in touch with it. That may be probably explained by the pagan Arab custom of putting to death the deceased's camel at his grave. This victim is known by the Arabic term 'Baliyah'.¹

Regardless of the explanation given by Ibn Habib as to the significance of the practice, we may note that it can be traced back to an early custom of burying with the corpse his possessions.

That the main object of ablution and takfin is to avoid the bad influence on account of its contagious pollution may be

1. Ibn Habib: Muhabbar, p. 323

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suggested by considering the details of the procedure in washing the dead.^A

This may comprise briefly washing the corpse and providing the water with purifying elements, anointing the corpse as well as the shroud. It is obvious that these are mainly meant to avoid the malignant influence consequent to the contagious

A. Owing to the scantiness of the material available to us on the subject, we have to appeal to the early Islamic references which may throw light on the question. This can be found in various traditions. We are told that Mohammed, on the occasion of the death of Zeinab, ordered her body to be washed, an odd number of times and that camphor would be put in the water provided for the final washing. (Ibn Hanbal: p. 380.)

Ibn Hanbal related that remmaiya bint Abi Salt commissioned her family to add salt to the water designed for her washing after death. He adds that she used to put salt in water whenever she wanted to purify her body on account of menses. (Ibn Hanbal. Ibid.)

Moreover, it seems that it was customary to anoint both the corpse and the shroud, or at least the former, with aromatic spices. Asma bint Abi Bakr commissioned her relatives to anoint her corpse. As regards her shroud, she asked it to be purified by odoriferous spices instead of aromatic spices. (This is known as Ijmar).

~~Ibn Hanbal: vol. ii, p. 185, p. 58.~~

pollution of the corpse taken to be taboo.^A

However, in some cases the community may exempt the corpse of certain individuals from undergoing such purificatory rites. This exemption may be due in all probability to the reverence and awe towards 'bloody garments' worn by warriors who were killed in the battle field or by women who died during child birth. Thus among the Muslim, the shahīd, i.e. he who is fallen on the field of battle, is buried in the dress in which he died.¹

A. On this point reference may be made to the following regulations and customs:-

1. The water should be clean.
(Sidi Khalil: i. pp. 2.20.285.) Mishkat, vol. i. p. 285.
2. The person who washes the body should be in a state of ritual purity. (Ibid. 1.2.20.18. vol. i. p.312.)
3. The corpse should not be detained in the house of the family but buried after death as soon as possible. This rule is based on an ancient Arab custom.
(Mishkat, vol. 3.p.2. vol. i. p.362.)
4. The recitation of the Qur'an is customary and it should be continued up to the moment of the burial.
5. No woman in a state of ritual impurity should enter the room where the corpse is placed.
6. Unmarried girls or women are not allowed to take part in the performance of the rite called 'nadb, nyaha, i.e. bewailing the dead.
7. A woman who has participated in such a performance is often tabooed for preparing the funeral supper.

Very often food is sent to the mourners. Talbinah seems to be an old technical term for such food. Bu. 70.24.

Holiness does not seem to be the actual reason for the exemption of the corpse of martyrs from purification rites, for Mohammed himself was not exempted from undergoing the purifying measures.¹

It is probable that the traces of blood on the Shahadas' clothes enforced the omission of the usual service of the dead, including ablution. This opinion is supported by a tradition according to which Mohammed is represented to say, 'Do not wash them, for every wound or scar or trace of blood will smell musk on the day of resurrection.'

On this point we may refer to the Jewish custom that runs parallel to that. But we must notice that the categories of persons which are not shrouded in the usual way, or exempted from burial rites, are extended to abnormal, sudden and frightful deaths.

1. Various traditions are given on this question.

The washing of the Prophet's body was carried out by Ali and Usamah b. Abbas.

It is recorded that Mohammed united two men of those who were killed in Uhud in one cloth. He ordered them to be buried with traces of blood on them without being washed, nor was the salat performed over them.

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It seems likely that such deaths are designated collectively by the term 'shahadah' - 'martyrdom'. This may be inferred by examining the categories which are considered in Muslim jurisprudence under this title. It is of interest to note that 'martyrdom' includes those who died in epidemics,¹ in a foreign country,² by drowning,³ by accidents while in defence of faith,⁴ 'fi' sabil l'Allah', as well as a result of child-birth,⁵ or painful illness, (by dysentery, pleurisy.)⁶

The corpse of one who dies an 'abnormal death' is generally treated in a manner different from that of the normal death. In such cases a corpse is exempted from purificatory rites so far as washing is concerned and martyrs are generally buried in their bloody clothes.⁷

1. Bu. 60,54,76,30,31. Mu. 33,166. A.B.H. III,150,220,223.

2. I.M. 6,60.

3. A.D. 15, 9.

4. A.D. 15, 14.

5. A.B.H. iv, 200, v. 409.

6. A.B.H. iv, 157. Bu. 76,30. Nas. 21.,110. A.B.H. ix.200.

7. Bu. 23,73,75,76,79. Nas. 21,26,82.

Wensinck's collection of Early Muhammedan traditions.

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This exemption is usually interpreted as an esteem or evaluation either for their personal endurance or for their previous social services for the community. This is in opposition to depriving the corpse of exempted person from certain burial prayers as a punitive element. But it seems that this is a reationalization of a persisting old ritual avoidance, which was observed on different grounds. It is possible to assume that death, sudden and in terrible form, is not seldom the fate which is announced to the taboo-breaker. A distinction is often drawn between what may be described as normal death, and those involving danger or bringing dishonour to their family, tribe or clan at large. Among the latter, death by suicide, drowning and child-birth are included, or by a wild beast or poisonous snake.

On the question of the dissensions about the lawfulness of the prayer over the corpse of one who was stoned on account of Zina', a woman who died on child-birth, etc.¹

Many instances are reported of the distinction between normal and abnormal death with a corresponding variation in ritual avoidances and purification. This ^{among} and the 'kayan', the corpses of murdered people, of suicides and of those who have been accidentally killed, of women who have died in child-birth, of still-born children, receive no funeral honours.²

1. cf. Ma. 29,24. Tir. 15,9. A.B.H. III,479. N.A.S.21,63
Bu. 6,29; 23,63. Tir. 8,45.
Eas. 21,73.

2. Webster: Op.cit. p.27.

An Ao Naga killed by a wild beast or a poisonous snake, by a fall from a cliff or a tree, or by drowning, brings disgrace and ruin upon his relatives. His name will never be mentioned and his property has to be abandoned.¹

The Sema Naga add to the list of abnormal deaths, those of people who are struck by lightning or are burned to death.² The Ibibis of Southern Nigeria forbid the burial of a woman dying in childbirth. A similar practice is found among the Kalabari. Among the Massi of Western Sudan, those who commit suicide or die of leprosy, a bite from a snake or a fall, are buried at night and without a ceremony.

Wensinck³ holds the view that the deceased was believed to be the object of the enmity of ghosts.^A Thus the shroud may be considered as a means of misleading the ghosts, it may consequently be considered as a talisman with which the dead are provided by the living on their departure to the grave.

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- 1. A.Mills: The Ao Nagas. London, 1926. p. 283.
 - 2. J.H.Hutton: The Semo Naga, 1921. p. 262.
 - 3. Wensinck: Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion. p.68

~~of the latter, it is 319.~~

A. This has given rise to the custom of watching the dead. According to Muslim theology the departed is tormented in his grave by two angels, Munkar and Nakir. It can be supposed that these two angles are the survival of the animistic belief. Moreover, the two angles are not the invention of Muslim theology. The Jews know of two angels who awaited the dead after their departure from life. It is likewise that the ancient Persians were tormented by a demon when they had departed from life. So the conception of the soul after death being torment by ghosts may be called a common conception.

Ibid. p.71. 'Test of Asher' vi.p.4.sq. 'For the latter end of men does show their righteousness, when they meet the angels of the Lord and of Satan.'

The same may be said of bloody clothes of the slain and women who died during child-birth. Blood was one of the mightiest talismans in the popular mind. Thus the bloody garments are reckoned as being a better protection for the dead against the ghosts than the usual shrouds. So it is only natural that the Muslims do not wash the Shahid, the blood must remain. The underlying primitive conception is that the blood is a mightier protection than purification.

It may agree with this view that the practices intended to protect the community against the evil influences of the corpse, are in the meantime intended to protect the dead against ghosts. This may explain the use of perfumes in the ablution and toilet of the corpse. It also provides the reason for reciting the sacred texts of the Qur'an on the occasion. Again, closing all entrances of the body with plugs of cotton may be performed in order to prevent the spirits from entering as well as from coming to the external atmosphere. So we may assume that those rites and customs observed towards the corpse have originally twofold functions. They provide protection to the dead against ghosts and safe-guard the community against the evil influence consequent to the

There may be reason to suppose that the preambulations of wailing and reciting passages of the Qur'an were associated with the idea of driving away the gost of the deceased, though they are not now consciously associated.

contagious character of the pollution of the corpse.

Now it may be added that the contagious uncleanness of a corpse might be suggested in many ways. It may be due to the fear of the spirit of the dead. It may suggest also the natural shrinking from an object so changed from the living person. At an advanced stage of culture it might be suggested for sanitary reasons.

It would be a mistake to try to explain all the mourning customs, even of one people by the consistent application of a single principle. Nevertheless, many of the funeral rites, including those which were abolished at the more advanced stages of culture, seem to bear traces of the animistic stage. This was interpreted by some scholars as being a survival of the worship of ancestors.^A

No doubt the Arabs passed through a stage of cultural development when animistic ideas were current. These ideas persisted and do persist when they have been outgrown by the purer forms of religion. It seems that they do not belong originally to the pure religious sentiment.

It would be more correct to explain that by the mere parallel between the religious and mourning rites or customs,

A. They based their assumption on the allied ideas of the continued life of the dead, of the possibility of communion with them, of the necessity of providing protection to them from evil spirits or of the need of protecting the living from injury by the spirits of the dead and so forth.

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rather than to assume that the latter was necessarily an outcome of the former or bears a direct proof of ancestor worship. Both categories are associated with a feeling of awe and reverence endowed in individuals through collective influence and social representation, with the object of establishing a constructive pragmatic valuation of death to contribute to the permanence of human values.

This is reflected in attributing magical energy to a corpse and utilizing such potency, not only in witchcraft but for prophylactic and curative, and fertility purposes as well. According to Westermarck¹ a cure for toothache, among some Morocco tribes, is to stroke the tooth with the finger of a dead person before burial. Among the Arabs of the Hisina, an unmarried girl may procure a piece of the shroud of the dead and hang it on her person so that she may get married soon. Fertility and curative practices are connected with the virtue of the graves of Shuhada and even the persons who have been murdered.

In illustrating the attitude of awe and reverence paid to the dead among the Arabs, attention may be drawn to prostration and standing at mourning rites.^A

1. Westermarck: Op. cit. Vol. II. pp. 556-557.

A. Wensinck: Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion, pp. 12-13.

Bukhari: Bab. al Jana'iz: p. 57.

As regards prostration, we may refer to the service for the dead, or salat al-Janaza as distinguished from the ordinary salat (prayer), being a salat without reku and prostration and without formulae, apart from takbir and taslim greetings.

cf. Malinowski's statement, 'In all the facts of animism and ancestor worship, of the cult of the dead and the communion between them and the living, we see a constructive pragmatically valuable

continued overleaf

Kastallani explains the absence of ruku and prostration in the salat al-Janaza by saying, 'Lest ignorant people should take the service as an act of worship of the dead.' The explanation of the omission of prostration from the service for the dead reveals the possibility of its existence as a mourning rite among the pagan Arabs. It is possible that this opposition to this rite was due to the tendency to deviate from what was practised by the heathen.^A

We may give some illustrations to the standing attitude as a mourning rite among the Arabs. Reference may be made to what is reported about the custom of standing when a widow bewailed her husband. We are told that this rite was performed by those women who did not wish to remain in the state of widowhood.¹

A. Baladhūri records that when the tidings of the death of Abd Allah ibn al-Zubair reached the Caliph, Abd al-Malik, he prostrated himself...

Prof. Snouck Hurgronje sees that a sajdā on the part of a ruler on being informed of the death of a rival is commonly conceived in Islam as an act of gratitude, sajdā al Shukr, e.g. Tabari, vol. ii. p. 851.

Wensinck takes the sajdāt al-shukr as a survival of the old mourning rite, modified by Muslims conceptions. We tend however, to agree with Snouck's view.

BALADHŪRI:

~~Tabari~~: Ansab al Ashraf: p. 74.

1. Aghani: vol. x. p. 58.

Note continued from previous page

denial of death, and affirmation of the permanence of human values and the reality of human hopes.

Dynamics and Culture Change, p.48.

Contrary to the rite of prostration, the standing attitude in the presence of the dead survives today. The Muslims recognise three cases on this subject.^A

1. Rising before a bier passes.
2. Standing in the grave-yard till the bier has been placed on the ground.
3. Standing at the tomb till the corpse has been buried.

We see in the rite, the pagan background of awe and reverence of the dead body conceived as taboo. This may give us an explanation of the existence of other traditions which, intend to abrogate the rite on account of the fact that the Jews used to perform it.

Notwithstanding some contradictory versions of traditions, concerning the validity or abrogation of that practise, it is still practised and observed among the Muslim communities today. ^B

A. Of course the opinions of the Imams concerning these points diverge widely. It is remarkable to find some traditions which represent Mohammed rising before a bier, saying "When you see the bier, rise before it till it has passed or been placed on the ground." (Muslim: II. p. 340.)

The explanation given by the traditionalists to this rite appears in the way it is completed by additional words. Some communicate a tradition which represents Mohammed saying, "We rose before the angels." In another version, "We rose only in honour of Him who takes the souls."

Malik: Mutṭa⁷ ii.p.19.

B. Malik, Abu Hanifa and Shafi declare rising to have been abrogated.

However, in spite of all theoretical discussions on this subject, the actual attitude taken by the average Arab as regards the dead, can undoubtedly be described as an attitude of awe and reverence.

On the other hand it seems to us more likely that these discussions mark a stage of evolution in Muslim thought. This probably emerged when Muslim theology reached the point to consider a sharper line of demarcation between the ritually clean and unclean.

We should bear in mind that along side the foregoing discussions, there existed some arguments which may reveal that the corpse falls under the category of polluted things which defiled the sacred places, i.e. the mosques. On the question whether the service for the dead should take place on the Musalla or in the Mosque, we may put on record the following, Ibn Hanifa's view is that the service for the dead

Ahmad b. Hanbal, and two Malikites: Ibn Habib and Ibn al-Majshun, declare it to be a matter left to individual preference. The same attitude of the Muslim doctors can be repeated concerning the standing of those who accompany the bier at the tomb. A great number of the companions say that people shall not sit down (at the tomb) before the bier has been set down. This is also the opinion of Awzal and Ibn Hanbal.

cf. Zurqani: *Mutta'* ii, p.20.
Nawawi: *Sahih Muslim*

should not be held in the mosque.^A

As far as this matter concerns us, the underlying motive for the opposition to performing the service for the dead in a mosque, or to its introduction into the mosque of the two sacred Muslim cities, Mecca and Medina in particular, seems to be that the corpse is taken (according to those who hold this view) to be unclean. It may defile the sacred place, regardless of the various rites of purification performed on it before carrying it to this sacred place. It is probable that those who allow its introduction into the mosque are convinced that these rites of ablution, anointing and shrouding are satisfactory for removing its pollution or at least for neutralizing its contagious character. However, the former view does not meet with favour now since there is no sharp difference between the Musalla and the Mosque, which might have existed in the early days among the Arabs.

A. He based his opinion on following the example of the Prophet. We are told that the Prophet, on receiving the proclamation of the death of Negus of Abyssinia, 'He ranged his followers on the Musalla and pronounced four times the takbir.' (Bukhari: Bab. Janai s. p. 61.)

That tradition implies that the Prophet did not allow performing the service for the dead in the mosque, for he did it in the Musalla.

Shafi'i and most of others declare the service for the dead to be allowed in the mosque.

Wensinck tries to identify the Arabic Musalla with the thrashing-floor for mourning rites among the Hebrews.

of. Wensinck: Ibid. p. 1.2. (Kutb al-Din v.III.p.208.)

It falls in the same line, the discussion on the point of allowing performance of the prayer on the tombs or grave-yards. Some consider the salat on the tombs, to be allowable, others permit it only after burial.¹

That may suggest that the underlying motive might be the awe of the contagious pollution of the corpse. There is also the trace of primitive fear of an evil influence consequent to performing such sacred rites (prayers) in the presence of a defiling object. This may explain the fact that this prayer was considered lawful only when it takes place after burial of the dead. They might have held the corpse as unclean although this cannot be clearly illustrated by their words.^A

Mention may be made to some restrictions imposed upon persons who are related to the deceased, or who participate in dealing with the corpse or undertaking the funeral procession.

Starting with the wife of the deceased, reference may be made to the institution of 'Hidāa' of which period is known

1. Abu Hanifa and al-Nakh'i and others.

Malik: Mawatta.

A. Bukhari's treatment of the case proves that the lawfulness of the salat only after burial. Bab. 67 of his chapter Jana iz bears the title. 'The salat on the tomb after the burial of the dead.' So he allows the salat on the tomb only when the body has already been buried and he adduces two traditions that the Prophet had done so.

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as 'Iddah. During this period the mourner is subject to various taboos. Here we may mention a remote pagan custom of the wife's retirement after the death of her husband. This may be connected with celibacy on account of this occasion. As a matter of fact we did not meet with any reliable general statement on this question. We may assume the existence of celibacy (tabattul) among the pagan Arabs by examining an incident that took place at the eve of Islam. Two versions of a tradition referring to 'Atikah bint Yazid reveal that her husband stipulated 'that she should not marry again after his death.'¹ Thus she became celibate and refused to remarry.

Without entering into details we may briefly confess that it is likely that her husband was acting in accordance with what has been a pre-Islamic custom. It can be assumed further that at a remote time the celibacy of a woman after the death of her husband was an established and unconditioned mourning rite among the Arabs.

She was not allowed to return to her own family unless she had completed the term of 'Iddah, i.e. the period of her retirement. Reference may be made to the case of Al Furai'ah.^A

1. cf. Ibn Sa'd: vol. VIII. pp. 192,193,194.

A. According to Ibn Sa'd's version, Al Furai'ah bint Malik appealed to Mohammed to be allowed to return to her own family after the killing of her husband. Thereupon he told her to remain in the place where she received the news of her husband's death, until she had completed her term.

There is an addition to the effect that Othman sent for her asking her to repeat her story, whereupon he gave a legal decision in accordance with the Prophet's attitude, namely that a widow should not leave her home until she had fulfilled her period of hidah. ('Iddah.)

Concerning the duration of the *hidad* or *'iddah*, during which the Arab widow is expected to be under these taboos, we may infer that before the rise of Islam it was nearly a year. Then it came to be limited or shortened, according to a tradition, to four months and ten days for the death of the husband and only three days on the occasion of the death of a relative.^A

Parallels are found in some other communities. The ritual disability and impurity of a widow was very pronounced among the Patagorian Indians. They required widows and widowers to remain secluded in a tent. They held no communication with the outside world, fasted and abstained from certain articles of diet. Among the Thompson Indians, a widow might not pick berries for a year or else the whole crop would fall from the bushes or wither up.¹

It is significant that the very tradition bears reference to the pagan means of ending the period of impurity, i.e. regarding the ritual status. In other words removing the physical impurity which makes a person unfit to mingle freely or participate in the social life of his community. This means is summed up by conveying the person's impurity to a bird or an animal which flies or flees away, carrying with it the unclean-

A. There is a tradition which implies that the period of *hidad* was a year (*hawl*) before the rise of Islam. If being so, the only innovation introduced by Islam would be limiting it to four months and ten days in case of the death of the husband, and three days for mourning a relative. This may be inferred by the comparison drawn by the Prophet between what he approves and what was the custom in the pre-Islamic time, 'when a woman spent a year in retirement.' Ibn.Hanbal. p. 291.

1. Webster Op.cit. p. 201.

ness of blood or widowhood. It is likely that the pagan Arab woman practised this custom to end her period of retirement on account of the death of her husband. The widow, also before re-marriage made a bird fly away with the uncleanness of her widowhood.¹

It is noteworthy that a widow had to ~~كأنها~~ refrain from using dyed garments, perfume, kuhl, dying herself with hinna, in a word, should observe the total neglect of the usual care of her appearance, during the period of hidad. Al-Khansa describes the Arab woman who mourn over the dead, bewailing with dishevelled hair and lean faces.^A

Islam has preserved this custom, for it seems that it is still surviving among unsophisticated Muslim widows to leave their hair unbraided.² We meet with various traditions which reveal that the custom of neglecting the appearance of the widow persists.

1. Lane's Lexicon: Taj' al- Arus - article 'Fud'.

A. 'Our women bewail with voices hoarse with weeping when the professional bewailing women have taken rest. With dishevelled hair and lean faces, (they bewail) without ceasing even when the barking dogs cease barking during the night.'
Ibn Hanbal. pp. 352. 408.

Another tradition may be stated in connection with the mourning for a relative, on the authority of 'Umm Habib and Hajaj when a relative of the former died the Prophet said, 'It is unlawful for a Muslim woman to keep hidad more than three days.'

Ibn Hanbal: p. 286.

2. Lane's Lexicon - Sha' th.

This may be explained by the assumption that the primitive holds that the deceased is bereaved of all that makes life desirable. So the mourners abstain from these things in order ~~xx~~ to be protected against the acts of jealousy on the part of the deceased's spirit. In other words they imitate the dead in order to free the living from the evil influence of the dead. Then under the influence of advanced religious rites these remain of the original practice developed into a whole system of ascetic practices. We may consider the foregoing taboos under the category of ascetic practices. These may be frequently adopted as means of acquiring supernatural powers or having supernatural converse. We may consider them protective measures to avoid any evil influence consequent to the corpse.

An interesting aspect of taboo imposed upon mourners, appears in the custom of abstaining from cooking or eating certain kinds of food for a determined period after a case of death.

Westermarck¹ states that the Arabs in Morocco, if a person has died in the morning, no fire is made in the whole village until he is buried. In some parts of the country the inmates of a house or tent where a death has occurred, abstain from making fire for two or three days. The prohibition of making

Wensinck: Op. cit. pp. 51.54.

A tradition on the authority of Umm 'Atyiyah indicates that a widow was not to wear dyed garments except those made of the material called aşab. In a similar tradition the use of ornaments, hinna, and kuhl are forbidden. As for the use of perfume, it was prohibited except a small quantity of aloes or what was known as black perfume at the time of her purification. Another tradition attributed to Umm Salamah, states that the Prophet ordered that the mourners should not wear clothes dyed with safflower or any other bright colour.

1. Westermarck Op. cit. p. 305.

fire is closely related to abstaining from certain foods which are prepared only on fire. This may be understood by what Certeux observes about the Arabs of Algeria,¹ in saying, "Des que quelqu'un est mort, on ne doit pas allumer de feu dans la maison pendant trois jours, et il est defendu de toucher a de la viande rotie, grilles ou bouillie, a moins qu'elle ne vienne de quelu'un de debore."

It may be added that it is frequently observed among the ~~popular~~^{unlettered} Egyptians that the mourners abstain from eating fish and meat on the day of the death of a relative. Sometimes the length of the mourning fast is determined by the belief in the polluting presence of the ghost.

Now the rite of fasting after a case of death, or abstinence from eating certain victuals has been ascribed to different cases by different writers. In this connection we should remember the tendency of abstaining from the benefits of life in order to propitiate the spirit of the dead, jealous of its former pleasures. One may also recall the fear of eating anything which may be infected by the spirit of the dead. So it is only safe to obtain food from elsewhere, as was the Semitic custom. Some sociologists^{13/3} believe that it has resulted from the habit of making excessive provisions for the dead.

1. Westermarck: Op. cit. (Restriction in diet.)

Frazer observes that people abstain from eating originally because they think that they might possibly in eating devour a ghost. It seems that Westermarck comes much nearer to the truth when he explains this custom on the following basis. 'They were afraid of swallowing, not the ghost, but food polluted with the contagion of death.' The dead body is regarded as a seat of infection which defiles anything in its neighbourhood. Food may cause defilement and like other polluting matter, be detrimental to sanctity. Specially if done in a polluted house where the death has taken place, or by a polluted person. The relatives of the dead or persons who have handled the corpse, are regarded as defiled, hence they have to abstain from cooking food, making fire and so forth and even prohibited from touching food. This may lead in some cases to fasting. We may add that the restriction became loose and it survives only with regard to certain favourite kinds of food which may be considered as a symbol of the significance of the nearly vanishing habit.

THE QUR'AN AS A TABOO

We propose to examine some of the suras which seem to bear evidence of what the Qur'an claims for itself as being taboo in its concrete and physical sense.

In Surah LVI: 77-78, we read; 'Most surely it is an honoured Qur'an. In a book that is protected. None shall touch ~~it~~ the same, save the purified one.'

It seems that the foregoing statement rests on the following principle. There is a break of continuity between a thing considered of extensive ritual value, i.e. believed to be sacred, on the one hand and an ordinary profane being on the other hand. The profane should not touch the sacred, for the latter is represented in the public opinion as endowed with contagious occult potency. It is rather safer, not to approach or touch it except with respectful precaution. Thus it agrees with this principle that a person should be purified before he touches the holy Qur'an, in the view of the Muslims. Such purification would arm him to meet and ^{with} stand the '~~insofata~~ mana potency' believed to be embodied in the sacred book.

This occult power might act to repulse from its domain any representation of the profane and ordinary world.

On the other hand, there is the underlying fear that a sacred thing, in case it is handled or treated in the same

Another possible translation. The original thereof is written in the preserved book (Sale.)

manner as the profane, it may be fused into the profane category and may thus lose its ritual value or lessen its degree in the scale of sacred categories. This seems to be the fundamental motive of creating a sort of vacuum between the sacred and the profane. The Qur'an in this case must be provided with a symbolic as well as a concrete ritual avoidance, which helps to represent it as being endowed with a sort of elusiveness. The most superficial contact is sufficient to transmit the sacredness of the book - in its primitive sense - to the profane being who may touch it, and thus render him unfit to mingle with others in the profane and common world, i.e. to alter his normal ritual status.

Most likely in this case, purification is taken to serve as an agent to stabilize the ritual value of the sacred book. In a standardized form it can be assumed that this attitude towards the Qur'an, corresponds to that the later Jews who considered that 'Holy Books' 'defiled' the hands of the reader, as contact with impure things did. In both cases contact would lead - at the root - to the same result, viz: to withdraw the 'contaminated' from common use, change his ritual status, and hinder the person from undue mixings.

From an objective point of view we may look into the matter with respect for the state of 'antagonism', which is supposed to be existing between the sacred and the profane. We suppose that we are confronted at the same time with two forms of

conscious states, which mutually exclude one another. We might then expect at least that they cannot co-exist at the same moment with the same intensity. The one having the greater mana potency, should tend to exclude the other from the domain. Bearing in mind that to the Semites, the 'impure' as well as the 'sacred' are presented as endowed with 'supernatural potency' they cannot enter into contact without encountering grave resistance. This is reflected in the underlying fear that the 'impure' may deprive the sacred of its sacred potency, or at least lessen its intensity by bringing it into contact with the profane. This fear developed among the pagan Arabs into a belief that polluting the holy thing is supposed to deprive it ^{of} ~~from~~ its ritual value and its holiness.

The prohibition of contact between 'the sacred and the impure', seems to be a visual expression of this fear of depriving the sacred of its mana potency, holiness and ritual value, especially when the 'impure' is thought to be attaining an exceptional degree of intensity and ritual value, (in a negative sense).

This may help us to understand why the Prophet forbade his companions to carry the Qur'an to an enemy's country, viz: the impure idolaters. This is reported in a version accepted by Bukhari.^A

On the one hand the underlying motive may be to prevent the idolaters deriving advantage from possessing or even touching

A. Bukhari: 'We were forbidden to carry the Qur'an to an enemy's country.'

it. On the other hand there is a fear that by so doing, the Qur'an would be defiled. Thus it would be deprived of its sacred character (baraka) and effective potency, which the Mohammedans might have thought would work to assure their victory against the enemy.

The last statement may be cleared by certain additional considerations. Reference has been made to a pagan Arab custom of carrying 'beytels' into a battle of critical character, decisive for the destiny of the tribe. There is some evidence that the custom survived among the Muslim communities with the following peculiar fact. The Qur'an came to serve as a substitute for the betyles, i.e. to inspire the warriors to superhuman deeds and assure their victory against the enemy. This can be illustrated by some historical events as well as traditional practices.

As regards the former, evidence may be drawn from what is recorded in descriptions of the battle of the 'camel'. 'Aisha, is reported to be seated in a 'hawdaj' upon the back of a camel. Within the 'hawdaj' there were copies of the Qur'an. Another reference may be made to the battle of Siffin between 'Ali and Mu'awiah. We are told that when the tide of the battle was against Mu'awiah, 'Amr ordered a number of Syrian soldiers to advance bearing copies of the Qur'an fixed to the heads of their lances. The effect was magical and the fighters, the victorious ceased fighting apparently to submit to the arbitrament of the Sacred Book. But it seems evident that they

dared not carry on fighting against people armed with their Holy Book.

This may explain the reason why Ali failed to persuade his followers to continue fighting. On the contrary he was threatened by them in case he would not yield to stop the battle, they would inflict on him the death penalty as a heretic. This very fact was probably one of the leading factors for the rise of the Khawarij.

We may not exaggerate if we assume that the feeling against Ali increased by involving him in the plot that led to the murder of 'Othman when he was reading the Qur'an.

It seems probable that the procession of the annual Egyptian Mahmal, is an existing aspect of representation of the remote custom. This view may be elucidated by calling attention to the constant suspension of two copies of the Qur'an upon the front side of the Mahmal cover. This, coupled with the fact that the pilgrimage to Mecca was, and still is, held to be a dangerous and difficult journey, may lead to the following assumption. It was primary thought that the sacred potency of the Qur'an, selected the road which the caravans must take in order to arrive in safety through the dangerous desert.

Nevertheless, the early practise of bringing sacred objects into battle, seems to be still observed by the Muslim warriors. There is a tradition that Muslim soldiers have been advised not to take the Qur'an with them into hostile country, on national-religious grounds. Nevertheless, it is still noticeable that they

have worn portions of it as amulets to protect their bodies. It can be assumed that the latter practice was mainly a substitute for the former. Both appear to be ^{intended to secure} ~~meant for~~ attaining victory against the enemy.

This may suggest the use of the Qur'an as an amulet all over the Muslim world. Briefly speaking, the Qur'an is used among all the Muslim masses indifferently on the occasions of birth, death, illness and marriage, as a charm against evil influences.^A

This has its origin in the general belief among the Muslims that no evil spirit visits a place where the Qur'an is imposed. Thus in attitudes and on occasions susceptible to evil influence the Qur'an would serve as a mighty preservation and an efficacious prevention against evil. Hence when a child is left alone in a room, especially at night, a copy of the Qur'an is put close to its head. The purpose is to ward off the evil spirits which may cause şara or khaddah, or even may change him for another.¹

Besides the preventive function, the Qur'an may be used as a curative charm. This agrees with what the Qur'anic surahs 10:57, 17:82 and 41:44, say 'It is to those who believe, a guidance and a healing,' i.e. a remedy for doubt and

A; Such evil influences which are supposed to frequent individuals in such solemn periods. Thus we often see that the Qur'an is put near the head of the dying, and on the head of a new-born infant and his mother on the day of his birth and in the room of newly married couples.

1. This belief is known among the illiterate fallaheen in Egypt It is also known among the Moors.
of. Westermarek: Ritual and Belief in Morocco, vol. 1.

uncertainty. Practically, it is used in a magical way for healing among the proletariat Muslims. It is believed that it relieves pains, most often headache when it is tied in some way or other to the forehead.

In accordance with the principle the 'pars pro toto', i.e. 'the part is equal to the whole', with reference to efficacy and potency, portions of the Qur'an do the same functions and are believed to achieve the foregoing aims. This may explain the reason why some books other than the Qur'an are held in especially high reverence. Macdonald¹ tells us the 'Sahih of Al Bukhari' is held in especially high reverence. One division of the Moorish army always carry a copy of it as a talisman. (This very book is held in reverence among the Egyptian fallaheen.)

The foregoing principle may help us to understand the underlying motive for some peculiar treatment for books or even papers containing the name of God or suras from the Qur'an. None of these must be placed on the ground at any rate if there can be the slightest suspicion about the cleanness of the place. The underlying motive is the fear lest some person or animal should walk over it and thereby deprive the writing of its efficacy, i.e. baraka. Nobody would throw on the ground a paper containing Qur anic verses, or the name of God, the

1. Macdonald: Development of Muslim Theology, p. 35.

Prophet or sacred formulae. Should one find such a paper on the ground he would pick it up and put it in a place where he prevents it being walked over. Of course this is thought to be a precautionary measure to prevent any possible contact between impure and sacred. The ground is liable and susceptible to impurity especially where the majority of the inhabitants are poor and illiterate. Such bodily impurity is detrimental to baraka, and the ritual status and replacement.

Again, ~~the~~ following the same principle, sacred words and passages of the Qur'an are very extensively used in the writing of charms. These are usually known under the Arabic terms herz and hijab. The Arabs in all periods of their history have worn amulets and talismans to protect their bodies and possessions from the attacks of evil spirits against the evil eye. So the ancient ideas have come to be associated with the barakah attributed to certain portions of the Qur'an.¹

These hijabs are written for a variety of purposes: preventive, curative or more positive purposes. The literature on this subject is unlimited and it will take us outside the scope of this survey to deal with it. It is sufficient for our purpose to mention the following:-

1. Namely, the 2nd Ch. (the cow), especially the 256th verse (Ayatu 'l Kursi) and the 26th Ch. (Yasin) and the 112 ch. (al ikhlas) and so forth.

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I. Commentators on the Qur'an relate that the reason for the revelation of Sura CXIII entitled 'Al Falaq' (Dawn) was that a Jew bewitched the Prophet by twisting knots in a cord which was hidden in a well. Mohammed falling ill in consequence, this surah was revealed and the angel Gabriel acquainted him with the use he was to make of it and told him where the cord was hidden. We are told that Ali fetched the cord and the Prophet repeated over it the foregoing surah. At every verse a knot was loosed till on finishing the last words, he was entirely freed from the charm and recovered from his illness.¹

II. Traditions ascribed to Mohammed a variety of statements regarding the indispensable value of 'ruqyah' 'spells' to counteract the ill effects of the evil eye, and those bitten by snakes or scorpions,² and for the removal of yellowness in the eye.³

III. Passages of the Qur'an are written in a china bowl^A water is subsequently poured into the bowl, hence water sanctified by the sacred writing is partly drunk by the patient and partly applied to his head, hands and body. Of interest to mention a charm from the Qur'an called 'karaha' or detestation. It is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as smoking or drunkenness.

IV. As regards protective charms, called Ta wizah, or Tahwitan, we may mention those against bullets which are believed to make a person shot-proof in so far that it prevents bullets⁴ from entering his body even if they pass through his clothes.

1. Sura: Ch. XIII. 'Say, I seek refuge in the Lord of Daybreak, from the evil of what He has created, and from the evil of the night when it cometh on, and from the evil of blowers upon knots.'

2. Sahih Muslim. p. 233.

3. Sahih Bukhari, p. 854.

4. cf. Westermarck: Op.cit. p. 208.

Blunt: Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates, vol. ii. p.232.

A. Sometimes this bowl is made of metal and the writings engraved on it. It has been usually known among the Egyptians by Tasat al Khaddah.

It is of interest to take into account the reverence observed in the recitation of the Qur'an. Generally speaking, the Muslims are ordered to listen and remain silent when the Qur'an is recited.¹ This injunction has been strictly observed among the Muslim communities to the effect that a person is not allowed to smoke a cigarette or to sit cross-legged when the Qur'an is recited. Among some orthodox is is disgusting to turn off the radio when the Qur'an is being broadcasted.

There are also some restrictions and directions to be followed on the part of the reciter. Apart from being ritually clean, he must recite it with a distinct and sonorous voice.² Various reports of undoubted authenticity show that the recitation of the Qur'an was governed by direction against its recitation otherwise.

The direction given by Mohammed that the recitation should not be finished in less than five or three days,^A is meant in all probability, that it should be read thoughtfully and clearly and not in the same way as the ordinary reading.

1. Sura: vii:28. 'And when the Qur'an is recited then listen to it and remain silent.'

2. Sura: vii:205. 'And repeat the Qur'an with a distinct voice 'And remember your Lord within yourself with humility and fear, and without loud speaking.'

A. One chapter of Bukhari entitled 'In how many days should the Qur'an be read', represents the Prophet forbidding his companions to go through the whole Qur'an once every night. We are told that on one occasion he advised Abdullah bin Amru he should finish it in 30 days. The later replied he could do it sooner, whereupon the Prophet went on lessening the limit every time by a few days, until he reached five days or three according to another report.

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There are also some traditions that show clearly that some of the early Muslim companions dealt harshly with each other with regard to the difference in the utterance of certain words. People speaking different dialects, are expected to differ in the Qira at, i.e. readings or the mode of expression. Nevertheless Bukhari and Muslim report and 'Omar bin 'l Khattab was about to stop Hisham bin Hakim from his prayers when he heard him reading the chapter entitled Furqan, in a manner different from that in which he had been taught by the Prophet. As the report tells us he brought him before the Prophet, with his mantle thrown round his neck, as if he had been guilty of some great offence. We think that the traditions which represent Mohammed saying that the Qur an has been revealed in seven Ahruf dialects¹ were meant to put an end to such incidents.²

This attitude can be easily understood if we take into

1. By this he gave permission to read the Qur an in a dialect different from the ~~pure~~ idiom of Quraish. To confirm this anecdotes reported that the Qur'an was first revealed in the language of the Quraish, then it was permitted to the other Arab tribes to read it in their own idioms. Examples of these differences: The Quraish say hatta, meaning until while the Huzail pronounce the same word 'atta. Other variations are ti lamun instead of ta lumun.

2. Alarmed by the bitter feelings roused by these disputes, Uthman was persuaded to intervene by Hodzaifa. She is reported to have said, 'Stop the people before they differ regarding their scripture.' Accordingly he appointed a commission to decide finally upon the text and to fix the reading accordingly to the pure Quraish idiom. When this edition was completed the previous copies were burnt. Uthman's recension has remained the authorised text down to the present time, with a variant edition in the Maghrib.

consideration a view prevalent among strictly orthodox Muslims concerning the origin of the Qur'an. According to this view the Qur'an is eternal. The very words now found between its covers were inscribed from eternity on the Lawhu'l Mahfuz or the Preserved Tablet.¹ The whole collection of these writings was brought down from its place near God's throne long ago in lailatu'l Qadr. 'The Night of Power' in the sacred month of Ramdhan. It was stored in a place called Baitul Izzah (the House of Majesty) until it was revealed piecemeal as occasion required. It follows that in their view we have here the very words of God Himself. Not the ideas alone, but the very words in their spelling, grammar pronunciation and so forth.

This view may be a contributing motive for the orthodox tendency to discourage any translation of their Sacred Book. Up to the moment the Arabic Qur'an is the one sacred textbook in all Muslim schools, even among countries where Arabic is not the mother tongue.²

1. Qur'an; lxxxv:22.

2. cf. Zwemer: Studies in Popular Islam, Ch. VII. On the translation of the Qur'an.
The Muslim World, vol. xvii, p. 279-289.
cf. Alx. Manar, vol. xvii. Pt. II. p. 167 and vol. xvii. pt. 10. p. 744.

An interesting correspondence was carried on in the columns of the Orient and Occident between Sheikh Mohammed Hasanein El Ghamrawy, a student at Oxford, and the editor in regard to this question. The former laid down the reasons why the Qur'an was not translated into foreign languages in the early days and secondly what had been the motives that led to its translation into Persian, Urdu and Turkish in latter times. He speaks of the translation as having been adopted rather as a preventive measure than to propagate the faith.

It is because the Qur'an is considered by them to be Kitab Allah, and Kalam Allah. It is uncreated in the sense that in its actual form, phonetic and graphic reproduction, it is identical and co-external with its celestial original.¹

1. On this point we draw the attention to the following hints:

(a) The Khawarij, the Zaydiyyah, the Murji'ah, do not confess the orthodox view. They say that the Qur'an is the Word of God which is created by Him. Generally speaking the Mu'tazilah consider the doctrine that the Word was uncreated, as a violation of the Divine unity. The words which descended on Mohammed were created and originated. (Qummi: I tiqadat. pp. 82-89.

(b) According to an-Nazzam, the Qur'an was given as a probative miracle (Mu'jiz), because it deprived all men of power to imitate it (I'jaz). That is, its aesthetic perfection was raised to the miraculous degree and then regarded as a proof of divine origin. (Macdonald:

(c) Later the Mu'tazilites went further and held as unbelievers those who confessed the eternity of the Qur'an. Ma'mun invoked the authority of the state as to dismiss any qady (judge) who held that the Qur'an was uncreated.

In 202 a decree appeared proclaiming the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'an as the only truth upon all Muslims.

In 217. Muz Ahmed b. Abi Duwad was appointed chief Qadi and it was accompanied by what we could call a test-act. The Qadis must be tested to their views. If they hold that the Qur'an is uncreated, they can no longer hold office in a Muslim country. Also the Qadis must apply the same test to all the witnesses in cases before them.

(d) This attitude was considered as a dishonour to the word of God. Consequently those who confessed the foregoing views were condemned by the orthodox to be unbelievers (zanadiqah). They were harshly treated by the masses. This had a weighty part in bringing about the fall of some of those sects and their failure to influence people.

Similar remarks may be made with regard to the orthodox view and the corresponding ideas on this point:

1. The notion of a heavenly source of the Qur'an in the Ummul Kitab 'Mother of the Book' or the Preserved Tablet, suggests the dogma of a transcendent Book of Fate as well as of Law.

The first idea is referred to in the Qur'an Surah xvii:69. and surah xxxv: 12, xxxv.28. The second idea is mentioned in Surah ix.36. and Surah xxxv.28.

Continuation of notes

2. The conception of written revelation is held by the Jews. In the Old Testament we read of the tables of stone on which the ten words of the Law were inscribed by Moses.

The word 'Lawh' used in the Qur'an represents these tablets in Sura. vii:148 and lxxxiv.22. The tablets in heaven which were brought down to Jacob and mentioned in the Book of Jubilees xxxii:21. The heavenly tablets are said to contain details of everything. Qur'an: vii, 148.

3. Among the early Muslim theologians, there was a tendency to interpret the 'Logos' as an eternal gospel, (Torah) rather than an eternal personal principle in the Godhead. This was in line with the data supplied in the Qur'an and the closer affinity to Semitic ideas. According to Ibn Ismaq and Ibn Hisham, when Warqa was asked to explain what could have happened in the experience of Mohammed, he explained it as the coming of the 'greatest Nazus' (nomos' who came to Moses.

Baghdadi says that Ibn Karram drew a distinction between the ideas that God was a speaker (Mutakallim) and that God was a sayer (Qa il) and a corresponding distinction between word and utterance. God has always been both a speaker and a sayer. The utterance of God, according to the Karramites is created and His word eternal. (Ch. vii).

Baghdadi: Jarqbain al Firaq, Ch. vii.

Baihaqy: (Al 'Asma wa'l sifat) 'The person who thinks the Qur'an is originated is an unbeliever. The one who says God's word is created is a Zindiq.

Some traditionalists, however, made a certain distinction in their statement of belief in the eternity of the Qur'an. They said that the wording or the pronunciation of the Qur'an is created.

Wensinck considers that the denial of the eternity of the Qur'an by the Mu'tazilites has been a natural consequence of their denial of the other external ~~attributes~~ attributes.

Another aspect of 'logos' doctrine which appears in Islam is the idea of a 'Creative word'. This is also based on passages in the Qur'an where God is said to create by the word Be (Kun). This aspect led to the view that the Word is the vehicle of revelation. For the self-expression of the Divine and for the operation of His will. There is a transcendent Word which contains the decrees in the Preserved Tablets. This is also itself transcendent. And having its counterpart in the sphere of manifestation in the written and recited Qur'an.

347.

The form/in which the Muslim represented the divine purpose, seems to be in the conception of eternal decrees which find their embodiment in the Qur'an. In many respects, the word of God becomes a transcendent impersonal principle which possesses a manifestational character as impressed by an angelic intermediary upon the Prophet. Accordingly, the Qur'an receives the impression of the two nature theory evolved in the explanation of the 'logos' as to compromise whereby the divine presence in nature and in man could be expressed.¹

A thorough examination of the foregoing would suggest that we are dealing with the 'Word' as a divine taboo par excellence. The spirit of the inspired speaker abides in his words. Thus they must not be altered in any detail, at peril. From the standpoint of social anthropology the 'word' has had - through the ages - to the unsophisticated mind, 'a mana' within it. Prof. Guillaume has shown that the 'Word of God' was formerly established in the old Sumerian religion.² It has been closely connected with deity and has even been identified as God in the

1. Macdonald in his book on Muslim Theology says, 'To the earthly manifestation in Jesus, corresponds, the Qur'an, the Word of God which we read and recite. (p. 146). He is of the opinion that the doctrine of the eternity of the Qur'an is plainly derived from Christian Logos. The proofs of his doctrine were brought later from the Qur'an itself.

The Qur'an itself declares that 'Christ' was Kalimatullah.

2. A. Guillaume: Prophecy and Divination, p. 20.

'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God.'

New Testament. What is believed to be a 'Word of God' becomes an 'eternal principle.' In order to adjust to changed life-conditions theologians often refuse to admit that it is changed and they rather re-interpret it. This general attitude of theologians with respect to their sacred literature is applied as well to the Muslim with regard to their sacred Book the Qur'an.

The cruder aspect appears when a sacred book is employed for purposes of prophecy and divination, property-guardian and guardian against evil influences including illness and misfortune. Such has been the case with the popular Muslims who have used the Qur'an or portions of it to achieve such crude purposes. The extraordinary widespread practices prevailing in this connection may be sought in the background of the Semites in general and the Arabs in particular, viz; their belief in the 'power of Word'. This question has been treated by Prof. Guillaume and it is sufficient for our purpose to indicate the following:

A. The Arabs have been keenly sensitive to the magico-power of words from the earliest times. The power of word has played an important part in bringing about protective measures. It has been exerted against evil influences, personal and tribal enemies as well as safeguarding and determining the destiny of the community. Thus among the Arabs, the poet, sha'ir, i.e. the Knower par excellence, was a person endowed with supernatural knowledge by his shaitain, tabi or sahib. The latter put him in a state of ecstasy and inspired him to utter his words in rhymes and measured lines. These bore within them the supernatural power of humiliating and disarming the enemy by curses and spells 'woven in the jungle of his rhymes.' It was also a frequent custom to employ a 'seer' to come and curse one's enemy. It is legitimate to assert that the overriding motive of the Muslims when they carry copies of the Qur'an into battle is to bring down upon their enemies the curses which the Qur'an pronounces on non-believers.

B. In order to understand the efficiency of the 'potency' of the inspired word, we may draw the attention to the extraordinary intimate relation between word and act. To the Semites words are mystical forces. A word is an image of the thing it expresses and it is closely identified with the thing itself. Speech and action are indissoluble and sometimes synonymous. Inspired persons were the interpreters and instruments of the inspiring spirits or deities of God.¹

In can be assumed that inspired words are not only foretelling what was to come, they actually operate in such a way to bring nearer and make effective the future fate foretold. It is said in a tradition, a dream is unsettled as its results or final sequel, so long as it is not interpreted. Commenting on this we are told that the Arabs hold that the result of a dream is affected by its interpretation, wherefore it is added in this tradition that a dream should not be communicated to anyone but a friend or a person of understanding lest he interpret it in an ominous way. This could being about effectively the misfortune.

The mystic power embodied in sacred words and passages of the Qur'an is very extensively exploited by mere utterance and recitation, to achieve crude purposes as prophylactic measures against evil influences. The recitation of 'biamillah ar-rahman ar rahim' 'In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.' is the most common of all prophylactics against

1. Prof. Guillaume: Ibid. p. 244.

The Kahins were also inspired persons with supernatural knowledge and they often acted as judges, interpreters of dreams finders of lost camels. They sought to accomplish their functions by the magic power of utterance, rhymes and certain spells. Again the Nashid used the act of recitation for guidance to find a lost camel.

evil influence. On all occasions when people are afraid of being hurt by jinn, or as a safeguard against the devil. Pious persons say it before participating in any ordinary daily action.^A

The 'Azimah or incantation from the Qur'an may act miraculously, it can open a locked door without a key. Again the recitation of certain portions of it (to be mentioned below) is a powerful weapon against the jinn and the evil eye and it is generally an inexhaustible source of blessing for both the living and the dead.

A thorough investigation of the substance and language of some Qur'anic passages used to achieve one aim or another, may show the intimate relation between the very words and the purpose they are meant to achieve. We may cite some few instances as an illustration.

One of the greatly admired and frequently recited is an extract from Sur. II verse 255, known as ayat-al Kursi,^B

A. They say it when they go to bed and rise in the morning, when they put on their clothes, when they sit down and get up, on leaving the home and on mounting an animal, before they drink and so forth.

It is almost universally uttered before a meal, so that there shall be baraka in the food and the devil go away if it happens to be present, according to the crude belief of the masses.

B. An allegorical description of the divine Providence. (literally throne, power, and knowledge), the whole Qur'an is regarded as a powerful amulet for safeguarding property, this surah has been considered to be of more efficiency than others.

It is related that Mohammed said if a person says it when he goes into his bed-chamber so many times, God will keep him in safety together with his house and even the house of his neighbour.

The probable explanation of this high estimation of it for achieving security and safety seems to be that it involves reference to God whose power and knowledge extends over the heaven and the earth. The preservation of them both is no burden unto Him', 'He is the Most High and the Mighty.'

The two suras usually directed against witchcraft and the devil are suras: cxiii and cxiv, entitled the Dawn (falaq) and the Men (nas) respectively. The first comprises seeking the Lord's refuge against 'women blowing on knots' (Al Naffathat fi al Uqad), i.e. witches and wizards.^A The second contains an imperative to fly for refuge unto the Lord to be delivered from the mischief of 'the slinking whisperer', i.e. the devil, who wispsers in the hearts of both men and jinn.

Reference may be made to Madhr (vow, dedication) and qasam or Iman, i.e. oath, as aspects of the 'power of the Word' in its connection with the notion of taboo.

A. They used to tie knots in a cord and blow on them, uttering at the same time certain magical words over them, in order to work on the person they had a mind to injure.

Note: Westermarck reports that in Andjra, if a party of travellers have to spend the night in an uninhabited place, and there is a scribe among them, the latter walks seven times round the camp reciting the 128th and 129th verse of the 9th chapter of the Qur an. This will protect the camp from robbers just as if it were surrounded by a wall.

The verses in question refer to the arsh, throne which is used as in ayat al kursi as allegorical description to the Divine Providence, viz:

'If they turn back, say, God is my support, there is no God but me. On him do I trust, and He is the Lord of the magnificent throne.'

I. The idea of dedication is expressed generally in solemn formulae whereby an object may be removed from the mondial sphere to attain the extra ritual value and placed under the other sacred category, i.e. becomes taboo. As a rule the object is dedicated to God or a holy person or place in order to obtain good fortune in a particular aspect.

For instance it was customary among the Arabs to promise to dedicate an animal called Atirah, rajabbiah, when ^{it had} reached the number of a hundred. They had also the custom of dedicating a number of camels or even a son when one's offspring had reached the number of ten.¹ A childless woman could also vow, if she had a son, to dedicate him to the sanctuary. She could also promise or vow to sacrifice fifty sheep if she had an offspring, and so forth.² This seems to rest on the belief that the promise itself has an effect on the prosperity of animals and human fertility because the 'word' anticipates the fact.

II. Escape from difficulty or distress is sought by nadhr. For instance, a traveller in the desert or at sea, promises offerings to God or a saint or vows to fast. The same could be done by an accused person before his trial, a sick person, a woman before her delivery. Chiefs or leaders may take the vow on behalf of their peoples on national calamity. Thus we are told that during a drought Umar vowed to taste neither samn, nor milk nor meat till the rain fell.³ The Arabs had the custom of abstaining from meat, wine, ointment, washing and sexual intercourse when they are in a state of abnormal ritual status and when they had in mind to avenge.⁴

III. The consecration places the person making the vow, in connection with the divine power. Hence 'a broken vow' leads to 'wrath'. 'Better is it thou shouldst not vow, than shouldst vow and not pay...' wherefore should God be angry at they voice and destroy works of thy hands.'⁵

1. Abdul Muttalib dedicated a son to be slain beside the Ka abah if he should have ten sons and they grew up. Ibn Hisham. p. 67, but for his vow 100 cattle were substituted.

2. cf. Yaqut, vol. 4.p.754. Azraqi. p. 123. (Maimunah bint Kardam.)

3. Tabari: Vol. i. p.2573.

4. cf. Aghani: ix, 149, 141, xiii, 69, vi. 97,99.

IV. A vow enforced by an oath seems to be of frequent occurrence among the Arabs. In Islamic theology the vow and the oath are treated together and the nadhr is considered a shd that should not be violated, whereby the neglect of the nadhr is considered a sin against the deity, 1,2.

Consequently caution must be observed when swearing by Allah in making a vow. Theoretically Muslims are forbidden to swear every now and then that they will do such and such a thing. The unconsidered expressions of oath is prescribed in the Qur'an as Laghw in an oath.³

However, there are ritual and economic sanctions for the expiation of oaths. One may forbid oneself what is otherwise lawful or may deprive oneself of an occasion of virtue.⁴ Thus, the breach of unconsidered oaths requires the Kaffara; the feeding of ten poor men, or their clothing, or the freeing of a slave or fasting for three days. According to Muslim commentators the false oaths are those which refer to the pagan vows of abstinence especially relating to food and women, and the sihar formulae which are absolutely forbidden in Islam. The same Kaffara holds for a broken vow as for an oath.

The oath from its general social aspect, may be considered as a curse in the wider sense of the term. It is a conditional self-imprecation, a curse by which a person calls down upon

1 & 2. Qur'an: Sur. ix, 76 and Sur, xvi, 91.
Perform your covenant with God, when ye enter into covenant with him and violate not your oaths after the ratification thereof.

3. Qur'an: Sura ii. 226-227 cf. v.88.

4. " " v.89., lxvi.2.

himself some evil in the event of what he says being untrue. The function of the oath as safeguard or guarantee of the truth is universally recognised. It has profoundly modified the method and goal of legal practice and its attempts to achieve justice. There is an implied threat of dire punishment of the oath which is violated, and as such partakes of the nature of a word-taboo.

With reference to the Arabs, they usually swear with the Qur'an in the left hand and the right hand kept upon it. 'By this Qur'an' or 'By this Book' is of frequent occurrence. Oaths are taken sometimes on a book of religious learning, viz: al-Bukhari. Very frequently the oath is taken at mosques, or saintly shrines. The general belief is that a person will become blind if he swears falsely by the Qur'an. A person may swear a dangerous oath by a piece of bread, holding it in his hand or touching it 'By this bread may God let me be torn like it into pieces, or may He deprive me of this ni mah if I did this or that...'

Lastly it is of interest to ~~the~~ draw the attention to the significant link between the Qur'an and the fasting in the month of Ramadhan.

I. The most important feature of Ramadhan is the complete abstinence from food, drink, and cohabitation from daybreak to sunset. This is enjoined upon every Muslim with the exception of young children, idiots, sick persons and travellers, who are allowed to postpone the fast to another time.¹

It is considered an infringement of the fast if a person smokes, if he purposely causes himself to vomit and in the opinion of some if he picks his teeth so that blood oozes out or even if he smells a flower or perfume, or burns incense. I.

1. Qur'an Sur. 11. 180, 181, 183

is also considered necessary that women in a state of ritual impurity should not fast. They should ~~take~~ undertake a ceremonial purification before being re-admitted into the holy rite of fasting. According to some it is also void if a person takes a clyster or an injection. Such may result in changing the person's ritual status, excluded temporary from participating in the holy rites.

II. The reason given why the month of Ramadhan should be held particularly sacred and was picked on for the purpose of fasting is, in the first instance, that 'On this month, the Qur an was sent down to be men's guidance,'¹

III. There is one night in Ramadhan which, according to the Qur an, is of more ritual importance than any other, namely lailatu l qadr, 'The night of Power and Destiny', on which the Qur an is said to have been either commenced or completed, according to variations of traditions. This is reflect in what the Qur'an asserts that it is of more value than a thousand months. It is also expressed in the belief that on this very night the Ruh, (Gabriel) comes down in a crowd of angels for every affair. Peace is the chief distinction of Lailatu l qadr.

We may propose the following in connection with the associati of the ritual avoidances during Ramadhan and the ritual value of the Qur an:

a. There is no evidence that it was an ancient pre-Islamic custom to fast in Ramadhan. We can hardly regard as such the passages in the Qur'an² where it is generally stated that the fast is prescribed for Muslims as it was prescribed for those before them. We may regard the traditions related on that assumption, as an outcome of the tendency of the traditionalists to foreshadow the customs and practises of Islam as if they had existed prior to Mohammed and constituted a part of the religion of Abraham.

b. On the other hand there is a parallel to a thirty day fast observed by the Harranians or Sabians and in the Manichacism, which as Westermarck states, is essentially based upon the ancient nature religion of Babylonia.⁴

1. Qur'an: Surah: ii.184.

2. " " xcvi

3. " " ii, 179.

4. Westermarck: Origin and Development of Moral Ideas. vol. ii. p. 309.

c. Again we know that fasting has been observed by the Jews in commemoration of the deliverance from Egypt. Lane is of the opinion that Islam has followed the guidance of the Jews in its ordinance concerning fasting.^A

We may leave aside that unsettled question without committing ourselves to a particular view concerning the details. We may confine ourselves to a general explanation which agrees with the nature of our survey. We think that the fast of Ramadhan, in its relation to the Qur an, may be explained largely on the basis of a 'Divine word-taboo'. Regardless of other considerations, the social representation of the Qur an in the minds of the Muslims, is that it is the Word of God. It was sent down from its heavenly source in that month and thus it became to be considered sacred.

On the basis that the profane life should not be confused with the sacred one, we find that nearly all acts characteristic of the ordinary life are forbidden, while those of the sacred life are taking place. For instance the act of eating, drinking and smoking are profane. They take place every day and satisfy essentially material ends. Thus they are prohibited at the presence of sacred objects. In other words Ramadhan is represented to be a period when the religious life attains

A. When they fast they abstain not only from eating and drinking, but from women, and from anointing themselves, from daybreak until sunset. They spend the night in taking what refreshments they please... They allow women with child, old persons and young children to be exempted from keeping most of the public fasts.

a high degree of intensity. Consequently the restriction of 'eating-taboo' may be considered as a means of narrowing the gap and bringing down (decreasing) the intensity of contrast between the profane and sacred life.

It is significant that prayer is held to be particularly obligatory during Ramadhan. Additional prayers are devoted to this month, viz: Tarawih Ramdhan. In mosques of towns the recitation of the Qur'an is made every now and then. In country districts the faqih of the village recites a portion of the Qur'an every night. This may be explained by the belief that this time is not only an auspicious time but also a time which is fraught with danger as well as awe and reverence.



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