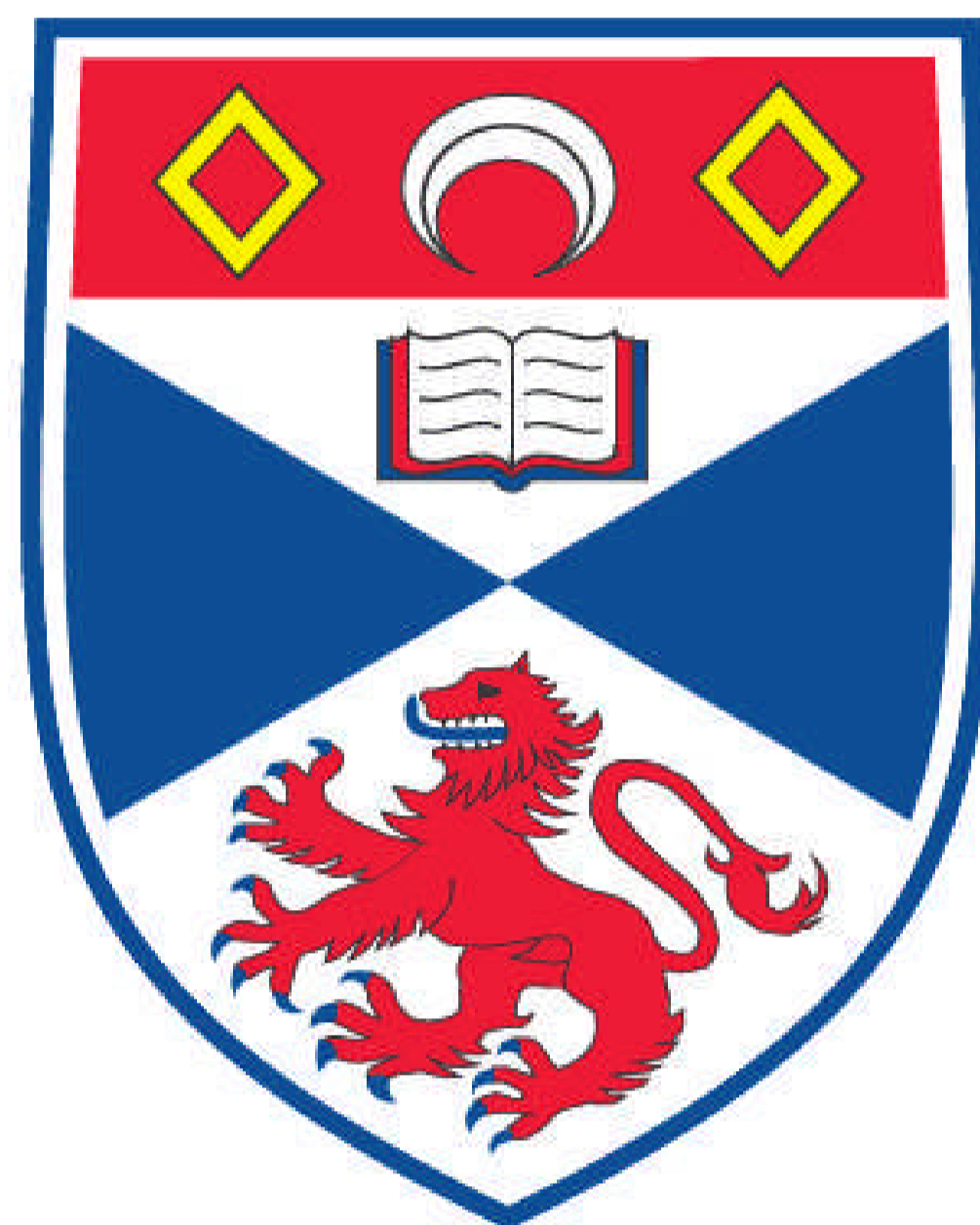


**SIR RICHARD BURTON: A STUDY OF HIS LITERARY WORKS
RELATING TO THE ARAB WORLD AND ISLAM**

Yassin Salhani Ma'at

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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S I R R I C H A R D B U R T O N

A study of his
literary works relating
to the
Arab World and Islam

by

Yassin Salhani Ma'at

Thesis submitted to the
Department of English in
The University of
St. Andrews for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy



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Abstract

This thesis is concerned with a critical analysis from a Moslem's point of view of Sir Richard Burton's works relating to the Arab World and Islam. The research will attempt to establish the merits and shortcomings of Burton's works in the light of the proposed research. It will, however, at the same time attempt to establish from internal evidence the extent and nature of Burton's knowledge of both Arabic and Islam.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters, each of which deals with one or more of Burton's works. Chapter one deals with Burton's pilgrimage to Mecca and El-Medīnah. Chapter two deals with the collection of proverbs "Proverbia Communia Syriaca." Chapter three covers Burton's Kasidah and discusses his interest in Sufism and spiritualism. Chapter four concentrates on his translation of The Arabian Nights paying particular attention to the annotations and "Terminal Essay." Chapter five deals with The Perfumed Garden and tries to make a comparison between Burton's translation and its Arabic original in order to estimate to what extent could Burton's Garden be taken as a representative of the original. Chapter six deals with Burton's three essays The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam. This chapter concentrates on Burton's religious loyalty and also points out the true reasons behind writing these essays. Chapter seven touches upon almost all his other works and translations. It attempts to establish and prove the fact that the study of the Arabs and Islam and the interest in them was a life-long opsession with Burton rather than a temporary occupation. The conclusion attempts to put together the findings of all the other chapters. However, it will concentrate on pointing out where did really Burton's

religious and racial loyalties lie as well as give a brief and concluding comment of the nature and extent of his knowledge of both the Arabic language and Islam. The eight appendixes that follow the research include technical data ranging from Burton's background reading to the listing of topics he studied or referred to in the Moslem religion.



SIR RICHARD BURTON.

From a photograph by Elliott & Fry.

DEDICATION

To my MOTHER and FATHER who presented me with the opportunity, guidance and unlimited love. In particular my FATHER whose example in dedicating and sacrificing his life to his family and work is the torch by which I have been guided.

To my WIFE who provided me with all the comfort and support a husband could wish for from a loving and devoted partner.

To my CHILDREN in the hope that this work will be to them an incentive for better achievements.

DECLARATION

I HEREBY DECLARE that the present work has been composed by myself, and that the research of which it is a record has been performed by myself.

I was admitted to the University of St. Andrews as a research student under ordinance General No. 12 in October, 1975, and as a candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in May, 1976.

I also declare that this thesis embodies work which is being made public for the first time, and which has not been accepted previously for any degree.


Yassin Salhani Ma'at

CERTIFICATE

I HEREBY CERTIFY that Mr. Yassin Salhani Ma'at has been engaged upon research work under my supervision and that he has fulfilled the conditions concerning the submission of a Ph.D. thesis and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D.

Supervisor



Professor A. F. Falconer

Acknowledgements

In the three years it has taken me to complete this research I was faced with many set-backs and problems that were neither foreseen nor within my control. At more than one stage the research was threatened with a complete stoppage and it was only due to the encouragement, patience and understanding of Professor A. F. Falconer that I was able to go on. Not only were his suggestions and advice invaluable, but he spared no effort in directing my steps all the way through. To him is due my sincerest thanks and gratitude. My thanks and gratitude are also due to Dr. John Burton who became my joint supervisor in the last year. To him I am indebted for the invaluable suggestions and advice he had given me regarding the Arabic and Islamic element in the thesis.

My thanks are also due to Miss B. J. Kirkpatrick, Librarian of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; and to her successor Mrs. Beverley Emery. I would also like to express my thanks to Mr. D. H. Saville, of Spink and Son Ltd., of London; for his co-operation concerning the Ms. of Arabic proverbs among the Burton collection that Spink had for sale. I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor Taftazani of Cairo University and Dr. Mazen Mubarak of Damascus University, for their valuable assistance on The Kasidah; and also to Dr. S. Khulusi of Oxford University for his help with The Arabian Nights. I must also here express my debt to the staff of the Zahiriah Library in Damascus, and particularly Mr. Majed Al-Dahabi, who placed the facilities of the library at my disposal. It also gives me great pleasure to acknowledge my gratitude and

indebtedness to the University of Tishreen for the scholarship they gave me which made the research possible.

It is beyond the power of words to express my gratitude and thanks to my family, particularly my MOTHER whose love and blessing were a guiding light for me all the way throughout. I am also grateful to my brothers and sisters for their help and encouragement and in particular to my brother BADER AL-DEEN who was of great help to me in many ways ever since I came to Britain in 1973.

I would also like to express my deepest and sincerest thanks and gratitude to my wife KAMAR who assisted me in many ways the least of which was to create for me at home the best working conditions and atmosphere possible.

I want also to express my thanks to all my friends both in St. Andrews and Damascus who helped me in any way in my research. Of these I would like to mention Mr. Muhammad Yasser Hammad for reading parts of the thesis; my cousin Mr. Monzer Salhani Ma'at for translating The Kasidah for me; and Mr. Muwafak Nasri who stood by me all the time, looked after my family in Damascus and was a second father to me in his kindness and encouragement.

My sincere thanks are also due to Mrs. Betty Kitching for typing the thesis.

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Introduction

In the admirable "Introduction" to his Annotated Bibliography of Sir Richard Francis Burton, Penzer remarks that "It takes a genius to write and understand the life of a genius, and if this man be not forthcoming, the "Life" should be split up into its various phases, each of which should be dealt with by an expert."¹ The same could be easily applied to his works. They are so rich in information and knowledge of various kinds that almost every one of them can be made the subject of a separate piece of research, particularly his larger and more elaborate works like The Arabian Nights and The Kasidah.

One of the earliest works I read on Burton before I decided to undertake the present research was Thomas Assad's Three Victorian Travellers. In this brief account of Burton's life and achievements I sensed that there was something special about the man, in his lines of thought and his courage in expressing his beliefs regardless of whether they conformed with the general public opinion or not. But the real incentive for undertaking the research was to examine the opinions and views he cherished and expressed of the Arabs and Islam. In these, more than anything else, he was different from the general public of Victorian England.

Another reason for taking up this research was that a great deal of emphasis was placed by many of Sir Richard Burton's biographers and critics on his unique knowledge of the Arabs and Islam. The interesting point here is that, to my knowledge, all

1. An Annotated Bibliography of Sir Richard Francis Burton, by Norman M. Penzer, A. M. Philpot Ltd., London, 1923, p.14.

that has been written about him so far regarding the various aspects of his life and achievements was by western writers and always from a western point of view. I felt that since the Arabs and Islam were synonymous with the name of Sir Richard Burton it would be very appropriate for his works to be studied, analysed and evaluated from the Arab's point of view by a Moslem Arab, as Penzer suggested. This research proposes to do this.

In the summers of 1975, 1976, and 1977, when I was in Damascus I went about in search of any trace I could find of Burton there, particularly in the Salihiyah (Lady Burton writes it Salahiyah) and Bludan and the Zahiriah Library, which is the main and practically the only public library in Damascus. From the Library records I hoped to find out what sort of books Burton consulted there because if we were able to ascertain what he read we could then tell by whom he was influenced. This would in turn throw light on some of his works and views. But, unfortunately, I found no records prior to 1945 at the Library. I also went round to see the family of the Amir Abd Al-Kader Al-Jaza'iri who, Lady Burton says, was a close friend of the Burtons. Again it was too late, for the last of his sons had died a few years before and no one else knows anything about Burton's relation with the Amir.

At Salihiyah, again, the search proved fruitless for the district came under development programmes in recent years and thus all traces of previous generations were wiped out. At Bludan, Burton's summer place of residence, the story was different. My enquiries there led me to the Roman Orthodox church where I met Father Ilhan Khuri and his son Father 'Akeel. On hearing my case Father Ilhan began to recall memories of

stories he had heard from his own father about Burton. He also pointed out to me, from the church window, the house where Burton had lived for two summers in Bludan.¹ In anecdotes about Burton they had little to tell for his memory was too far back for them to know much about him. But an interesting point they made is that Burton was referred to as "Kunsal Al-Wood," (the amity Consul). This seems to be in keeping with Burton's character as well as his record in that area. His wife tells us that she and her husband successfully tried to end the blood-feud between two big families in the area,² Bayt El-Tell and Bayt El-Beg. When I saw Omar El-Tell in the summer of 1976 he confirmed what Father Ijlan had said about Burton being a friendly man who always tried to settle differences between the people of the area.

The present piece of research attempts to concentrate on the works of Sir Richard Burton that are directly related to the Arabs and Islam. The thesis is divided into seven chapters each dealing with one of Burton's works within the scope of the subject. The works are arranged in a chronological order firstly because most are of almost equal importance and secondly because, as will be seen in the first chapter, Burton's works form a chain of development the seed of which lies in the account of his pilgrimage to Mecca. Here it must be pointed out that all the quotations in the thesis have been copied out intact. No attempt has been made either to change their original arrangement or to alter their spelling.

1. See photographs Nos. 1 to 7.

2. See The Inner Life of Syria and Palestine, 2 vols., by Isabel Burton, Henry S. King & Co., London, 1875, vol. 1, pp. 326-7, vol. 2, p:273.

The first chapter attempts to discuss and analyse from the Moslem's point of view Burton's Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah. It will concentrate on assessing the merits and value of Burton's account of the Moslem pilgrimage. It will also attempt to establish the importance and relevance of the work for Burton's later literary achievements.

The second chapter deals with the collection of Syrian proverbs, "Proverbia Communia Syriaca," appended to Unexplored Syria. This study of the collection, it is hoped, will give some idea of Burton's knowledge of Arabic, the extent of his understanding of the language and his ability in explaining correctly local customs, habits and beliefs.

The third chapter will assess Burton's major poetic work, The Kasidah. This work is particularly interesting because, to the end, Burton maintained that it was a translation of an oriental poem by "Haji Abdu El-Yezdi." This research will attempt to establish, from internal evidence, the authorship of the poem as well as to evaluate and determine the nature of the Sufi element in it.

The fourth chapter deals with Burton's Arabian Nights. The merits, quality and value of the work as a translation have been discussed by many scholars over the years. Therefore the study of The Nights here will concentrate on the annotations and the "Terminal Essay." It is hoped that in this chapter, as in chapters one and two, a fair assessment of Burton's knowledge of Arabic, the Arab East and Islam will be achieved.

The fifth chapter is devoted to the study of The Perfumed Garden. In addition to analysing and evaluating the work as in the other chapters, in this chapter The Garden will be

compared to an Arabic manuscript of the work in order to find out to what extent Burton's Perfumed Garden may be taken as an exact representation of Nefzawi's original.

The sixth chapter will deal with The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam. The study of this work will attempt to indicate the connection between its subject-matter and Burton's attitudes towards, Jews, Christians and Moslems. It will also attempt to point out where Burton's religious loyalty did lie and to throw light on the real incentives behind the writing of his much criticised essay El-Islam.

The seventh and last chapter will deal with almost all Burton's other works. It will also concentrate on non-literary works of Burton's that are in any way connected with the main theme of the research:- the Arabs and Islam. It will also attempt to prove that Burton's interest in the Arabs and Islam was a life-long occupation rather than a passing fancy.

The conclusion attempts to put together the findings reached in the various chapters and thus give a general and brief survey of Burton's attitude towards, and knowledge of, the Arabs and Islam. It also tries to point out where exactly Burton's racial and religious loyalty did in fact lie.

CHAPTER I

A Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah

Richard Francis Burton, British Consul, explorer and orientalist, was not the first European to don disguise and accompany the Muslim hajj to the holy cities of Medina and Mecca, but the book he wrote about his pilgrimage of 1853 contains unforgettably vivid descriptions and detailed observations of Arab customs which render it a valuable historical document and unique of its kind. As a result his Mecca pilgrimage won him lasting fame ---1.

The popularity, interest and admiration won by Burton's Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, was hardly surpassed by any of his other numerous works. Only his Arabian Nights approached the popularity of the Pilgrimage. But while the latter's popularity was marred by the angry criticism of those who objected to the obscenity of The Nights, the former hardly raised any comment of protest² or any remark of disapproval³. Thirty two years later in 1885,

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1. 100 Great Adventurers, ed. by John Canning, a Century Book, London, 1973, p.235.
 2. The book won wide popular approval. See Athenaeum, July 28 - 1855. See also The Life of Sir Richard Burton, 2 vols. by Isabel Burton, Chapman and Hall, London, 1893, vol. I, pp. 168-183. And Burton by Byron Farwell, Longmans, London, 1963, p.99.
 3. Charles Doughty condemned Burton for masquerading as a Moslem. See The Devil Drives, by Fawn M. Brodie, Eyre and Spottiswood, London, 1967, p.107.

and during the following few years when Burton was fighting for the consular post in Morocco, many of his friends and supporters reminded the world and the officials at the Foreign Office of his great achievement at Mecca.¹ "This extraordinary exploit," Wright tells us, "made Burton's name a household word throughout the world, and turned it into a synonym for daring; while his book the Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah, which appeared the following year, was read everywhere with wonder and delight."² Instead of returning to England after the pilgrimage, where a hero's reception was awaiting him, he went on another daring expedition. While England and Europe were marvelling at the young soldier's daring achievement, Burton was busy finding his way alone to Harar, the "death city," where no white man had ever been yet. On his return to England he found himself famous and a very much sought-after man, a thing he had striven for more than ten years to achieve.

The Pilgrimage was not Burton's first book. While in Sind from 1842 to 1848, as was his habit wherever he was Burton gathered a great many notes about the country and its people. These notes were later turned into four books, one of them in two volumes.³ By 1853 Burton had published five books

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1. Isabel Burton, Life, vo. II, pp. 298-302
 2. The Life of Sir Richard Burton, 2 vols., by Thomas Wright, Everett and Co., London, 1906, vol. I, p.119
 3. Goa and the Blue Mountains, or Six Months of Sick Leave, (1851), Sainde; or the Unhappy Valley, 2 vols. (1851); Sindh and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus, (1851); and Falconry in the Valley of the Indus; (1852)

and translated one.¹ Burton was a prodigious writer. He wrote extensively about anything that seemed to him to be of interest. The triviality of the topic carried little weight with him. Coming across a topic that nobody had written about, or one which according to him, had been inadequately dealt with, was a sufficient incentive to make him take it up. He was all out to catch the eye of the public and win its approval. But this did not come until 1855-6 when he published the account of the journey to Mecca.

The importance of Burton's Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, cannot be over estimated. It is important in two ways. First for its subject and second for its author. Burton's Narrative remained for a very long time the best work on the Maslem pilgrimage. For Burton himself, the journey to Mecca, was the initiation of a unique future. It was the step needed to confirm in him his self assurance and to establish firmly his confidence in his ability to achieve what seemed to others, at the time, to be an utter impossibility or sheer madness. From this journey sprang the confidence and courage that enabled him to journey alone to Harar, to conquer the darkness of Central Africa and discover the sources of the Nile.

Burton was not the first Christian to see Mecca, nor the first European to penetrate into the forbidden cities of Islam.

1. After the four books on Sind Burton wrote A Complete System of Bayonet Exercises, (1853). Earlier in 1847 he translated a book of Hindu ethics called Pilpay's Fables. The MS. is at the Anthropological Institute in London. It was never published but remains valuable as a record of Burton's oriental knowledge and interests at the time. See p. 330 Post.

Augustus Ralli has summarised the adventures of fourteen Europeans who had been to Mecca, ten of them before Burton and three after.¹ But, undoubtedly, he was the first to do it with such ease and confidence, combined with careful planning and extensive preparations.² Burckhardt, on whose account Burton relied and to which he often referred either in praise or to correct it, made the same journey as Burton. They both crossed the Red Sea to Al Hijaz disguised as Moslem pilgrims. Burckhardt's route was determined by his travels which had started from the banks of the Euphrates and the Syrian desert down towards Sinai, Egypt and the Nile valley to Africa.³ Burton's plan was just to visit Arabia and carry out the pilgrimage. He did not have to go to Egypt. In those days pilgrims started either from Cairo or Damascus. He chose Cairo in order to avoid the hardship of long desert travels and to escape the danger of the hostile Bedawins who made a living from raiding pilgrim caravans.

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1. See Christians at Mecca, by Augustus Ralli, William Heinemann, London, 1909. For a more up to date list of European visitors to Mecca see The Penetration of Arabia, by D. G. Hogarth, Khayats, Beirut, 1966, p.186.
 2. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. I., pp.168-9. Also Farwell, op.cit., p.85. The Real Sir Richard Burton, by Walter Phelps Dodge, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1907, pp.63-6. A Sketch of the Career of Richard F. Burton, by Alfred Bates Richard, Andrew Wilson and St. Clair Baddeley, Waterlow and Sons, Ltd., London, 1886, pp. 6-8. And The Arabian Knight, A Study of Sir Richard Burton, by Seton Dearden, Arthur Baker Ltd., London, 1953, pp.37-8.
 3. Arabic Proverbs, by John Lewis Burckhardt, 3rd edition, Curzon Press, London, 1972, p.i.

Like Philby,¹ Burton's proposed intention was to cross Arabia from shore to shore in order to discover and map the "empty quarter" region of central Arabia. It was "for the purpose of removing that opprobrium to modern adventure, the huge white blot which in our map still notes the eastern and central regions of Arabia."² The journey was, originally a purely geographical one. But the hostility of the Bedawins and the danger from the tribal wars in the area at the time made Burton change his plans and start on something much closer to his heart than geographical discoveries. Burton the anthropologist replaced Burton the geographer and he decided to go with the caravan to Mecca to see the Moslem pilgrimage.

In April 1853 Burton started the journey from England in earnest. He boarded the "Bengal" at Southampton on his way to Alexandria disguised as a "Persian Prince." He retained the same disguise throughout the voyage and also during his stay in Alexandria and until he reached Cairo. None save his companion in the ship and his host at Alexandria knew his real identity. Burton began to play the role of a pilgrim and live the life of one right from the moment he left the English shores. Such a start reflects the seriousness both of his mission and his intentions.³ In Alexandria Burton was busy.

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1. Forty Years in the Wilderness, by Harry St. John B. Philby, Robert Hale Ltd., London, 1957, p.110.
 2. A Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, 3 vols., by Richard F. Burton, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London, 1855-6, vol.I, p.1.
 3. Burton, Arabian Nights Adventurer, by Fairfax Downey, Charles Scribner's Sons, London, 1931, p.62.

He spent his time practising medicine and improving his knowledge of Islam. He sought the help of a shaykh in perfecting the ablution, the prayers and the recitation of The Qur'an. Soon the name of the Persian doctor spread in Alexandria and by the end of his stay Burton had about fifty patients. Posing as a doctor enabled him to get really close to the people, to study them and learn about their life and habits. Most of the unique knowledge Burton offers of the East and its people in the footnotes to his Arabian Nights, was obtained under disguise. In Cairo he successfully cured an Abyssinian slave girl from the price lowering habit of snoring. In token of gratitude for his services her master took Burton to the slave market and gave him some useful tips on the slave trade. Slavery was a trade that was constantly on Burton's mind and in which he retained an interest throughout his life.

The journey by boat to Cairo was very unpleasant for Burton. It was long, tedious and boring. Nothing seemed to interest or please him. The scenery was dull and it reminded him of Sind, the boat very slow and uncomfortable, and the people unpleasant. Burton was seldom a refined writer, but he certainly excelled in his description of the Nile journey. In some parts his description is so vivid the reader senses Burton's fatigue and boredom. His description of the scenery and the people is extremely picturesque and realistic. Anyone familiar with that landscape would appreciate the excellence of Burton's account of it. It is a picture that stirs the feelings and also shows a human touch.²

1. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol.I., pp.43-46 Dodge says Burton's "pen pictures give one a better idea of the country than many photographs." See Dodge, op.cit., p.45.

As the character of the darwish demanded, Burton kept himself to himself on "the boat." He did not attempt to mix with the other passengers especially the Europeans. Praying, eating, smoking, or telling his beads Burton squatted apart from the rest of the passengers. But on the steamer, he met two people whom he could not avoid. One, Haji Wali, was to become his friend and give him important advice regarding his disguise. The second, a Persian, was to become, for a while, his host at Cairo.

In Alexandria Burton faced many problems with the officials on account of his inadequate passport. On arriving at Cairo he found not only that his problems travelled with him but grew greater and much harder to solve. Fate decreed that Burton should meet Haji Wali again. He was staying at the same Wakaleh that Burton chose for his stay in Cairo. Burton liked Haji Wali from the first time he saw him on the boat. On his part, Haji Wali not only became Burton's friend for many years¹, but offered him what proved to be wise advice. "If you persist in being an Ajami," said the Haji, "you will get yourself into trouble; in Egypt you will be cursed, in Arabia you will be beaten because you are a heretic, you will pay treble what other travellers do, and if you fall sick you may die by the roadside."² Burton said that on this advice he dropped the Persian darwish disguise and became a Pathan. This incident arouses suspicion. Had not Haji Wali suspected Burton to be a fraud Persian, he would not, for many reasons, have dared tell him to change his nationality. The first is that the Shi'ites are as zealous and proud of their sect as the Sunnis. They would not try to conceal or deny their religious beliefs and identity even in the

1. Burton sought Haji Wali's help for the Midian expeditions.
2. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol.I. p.65.

most dangerous places for them, such as Arabia.¹ The second is that it would not be fitting for the Persian's national pride to be asked to change his nationality in order to avoid the sneers and abuse of the Arabs. The Haji and Burton "became fast friends." They "lived under the same roof ---- called on each other frequently, --- dined together, and passed the evening in a mosque, or some other place of public pastime."² Their friendship became so close and intimate that they "smoked the forbidden weed 'hashish'" together. It is not unlikely that in these intoxicating moments, when his spirits were high, Burton's guardedness was relaxed enough for him to tell Haji Wali some of the truth, if not too much, about his true self and his proposed adventure.³ In no other circumstances would the Haji have had the courage and insolence to tell a man, he had only recently become acquainted with, to change the nationality and beliefs he was supposed to have been born into.

In Cairo Burton continued his diligent study of all the practices necessary for his mission. He took lessons from a shaykh and kept up reasonably regular visits to the mosques. For a while he lived as a good Moslem ought to. He even endured the hardship of fasting Ramadan in summer.

Burton tried hard to keep up the image. But the strain of the role he was playing and the disguise proved too much. At an Armenian marriage, to which he was invited, Burton felt life reviving in his veins. "The occasion was a memorable one; after the gloom and sameness of Moslem society, nothing could

1. See Ibid., vol. I, pp.125-28, for the air the Persian Consul General in Cairo gives himself.

2. Ibid., vol. I., p.64.

3. Downey, pp. 67-8.

be more gladdening than the unveiled face of a pretty woman."¹ The invitation to have a drink was an irresistible temptation. Burton was aware of the sinfulness of drinking spirits in Islam. He was also aware of the danger to his plan if he was discovered drinking. But he could not resist. He went to the room of the Albanian Captain anticipating a pleasant evening. His host got drunk, shouted, cursed and abused everybody in sight. As expected, the reputation of the Pathan pilgrim was ruined. "Throughout the caravanserai nothing was talked of for nearly a week but the wickedness of the Captain of the Albanian Irregulars, and the hypocrisy of the staid Indian doctor."² Burton's reputation as a "serious person" was lost. The best thing he could do was to start on his pilgrimage as soon as possible.

The following few days were spent in getting the provisions needed for the journey and in hiring camels. It is interesting to learn that prior to air travel the pilgrims' baggage was almost uniform and universal. Each pilgrim, according to his means, provided himself with food supplies for the march, medicines, clothing, bedding and covers, weapons for protection and other articles necessary for the journey like cooking utensils.³ As late as the 1930's and 1940's when desert travelling was by cars⁴ and lorries, the provisions for the journey were more or less the same.⁵ Having earlier sent his

1. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol.I., p.179

2. Ibid., vol. I, p.205.

3. See Burton's list, Ibid., Vol.I., p.182.

4. See Philby of Arabia, by Elizabeth Monroe, Faber and Faber, London, 1973, p.157.

5. Fi Al Mamlakah Al Ruhiah lil Alam Al Islami, (in Arabic), by Mustafa Mohammad, Matba'et Al Madynah Al Munawarah, Cairo, 1931, p.3.

servant Nur ahead to Suez with the heavy luggage, Burton bade his friends farewell and left Cairo.

So far, since he left England, Burton had endured the uneasiness of oriental city life in anticipation of the great moment when he would find himself engulfed by the desert, swallowed up by its wilderness and challenged by its might. Desert travelling, in Burton's opinion, was nature's greatest challenge to man. He looked upon it as a test of manliness and he loved to take up the challenge. Burton "had the true traveller's contempt for physical hardship".¹ Once in the desert Burton became a new man, quite different from the grumbling dissatisfied consul. His spirits seemed to revive there.² In the desert the grip of civilization on man is replaced by that of mother nature. Refinement, civilized behaviour and decorum give way to basic natural reactions and instinct. Survival and the consideration of how to conquer the threatening danger of the heat, dryness, and the fatigue of desert life is all that fills the mind of the desert traveller. The Bedawin's singular character and harsh manners are moulded by the severe natural conditions he lives in³ as Palgrave once expressed it, "wild lands breed wild men."⁴

1. Farwell, op.cit., p.79.

2. The Gold Mines of Midian and the Ruined Midianite Cities, by Richard F. Burton, C. Kegan Paul & Co., London, 1878, p.1.

3. See Arabia Deserta, 2 vols., by Charles M. Doughty, Philip Lee Warner, London, 1921, vol I., p.259. Also The Seven Pillars of Wisdom, by T. E. Lawrence, Jonathan Cape, London, 1935, p.219. And Burton; Pilgrimage, vo. I, p.220.

4. Essays on Eastern Questions, by William Gifford Palgrave, Macmillan and Co., London, 1872, p.305.

From the life of the desert sprang the Bedawin's Hospitality,¹ humour, honesty, hostility, distrust of strangers and pride.² All men are susceptible to the dangers and hardships of the desert. In that, all men are equal; and from that sense of equality springs the Bedawin's individuality, pride and care for democracy.³ Nothing is more hurtful to the Bedawin than to be insulted and treated as an inferior, especially in the desert. Many Western travellers in Arabia have often felt that it is imperative to accept the Bedawin as an equal if their own safety and his help are to be secured.⁴ Burton's Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah is full of all sorts of information about the Bedawins and their life-style, from their bravery and treachery to circumcision and their sexual habits. Raiding to the Bedawin was a way of life.⁵ Roughened by

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1. See Philby, Forty Years in the Wilderness, p.52; and First Foot-steps in East Africa, by Richard F. Burton; Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London, 1856, pp.111 - 12 and 224.
 2. The Arab World Today, by Morroe Berger, Doubleday and Co., Inc., New York, 1962, pp. 62-4.
 3. See Unknown Oman, by Wendell Phillips, Longmans & Green, London, 1966, pp.148-9. This book gives an excellent detailed account of the Bedawin, his life and characteristics. Desert hardship (p.152); importance of the camel to the Bedawin (pp.32-7); Raids (p.151), and the right way to handle Bedawins (pp.148-9)
 4. Southern Gates of Arabia, by Freya Stark, John Murray, London, 1938, pp.57-8. The roughness of the Bedawin is sometimes exaggerated. See Lawrence of Arabia, by Richard Aldington, Collins, London, 1969, pp.288 - 9.
 5. The Arabs, A Short History, by Philip K. Hitti, Macmillan and Co., London, 1960, p. 13.

the severity of his surroundings the Bedawin robs travellers and neighbouring clans as readily as he expects to be raided.¹ The early Umayyad poet of Al-Qutami summed up the guiding principle of the Bedawins. "Our business is to make raids on the enemy, on our neighbour and on our brother, in case we find none to raid but a brother."² From this principle, perhaps, originated the proverbial saying "I (team) with my brother against my cousin, and with my cousin against the stranger." Though Bedawins live on the bare necessities it is wrong to assume that looting and material gain was the only reason for raiding. Often it is a physical exercise and a display of strength, and more often pride was the only incentive. On the way from Al Medinah to Mecca, Burton's caravan was struck with terror and thrown into confusion by the news of a raid. The robbers, however, were forced to flee by the bravery of some Wahhabi pilgrims. The loss was minimal. On that particular occasion Burton was convinced that the robbers' "principal ambition was the boast 'We, the Utaybah, on such and such a night stopped the Sultan's mahmal one whole hour in the pass'."³ The tense feeling of anticipating a raid hovered over the caravan all through the journey. It was the same on the journey from Mecca to Jeddah and on the short journey from Cairo to Suez.

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1. Raiding in the desert has its laws. Little blood-shed is usually involved; women and children are spared; and on some occasions the stolen camels are returned to their owner. See Unknown Oman, p.152.
 2. Ash'ar Al Hamasah, (in Arabic), by Abu Tammam, ed. by G. G. Freytag, Bonnæ, 1828, p.171.
 3. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. III, p. 133.

This plundering in the desert persisted through the years. As late as the 1920s it was dangerous to travel in the desert because of the raids. Shaykh Bahjat al-Beytar, a distinguished Damascene man of learning, relates how in 1920 the train carrying a government delegation from Damascus to Al-Hijaz was attacked three times by Bedawins although it was escorted by a small force of soldiers. On the first raid the passengers were stripped of all their money, possessions and clothes.¹ The author informs us that the stories of murder and plunder in the desert formed the only topic of conversation with their Bedawin guides.²

Burton's journey by camel from Cairo to Suez was thus by no means an easy one. It was a test of endurance and physical strength. When challenged by his Bedawin guide to race him, Burton readily accepted. At once Burton was overwhelmed by the atmosphere of the desert. This is a feeling most desert travellers seem to enjoy and cherish. Mr. Tantawi says "the desert has its magic and beauty, which I prefer to vales and orchards any day."³ Lady Blunt's expression came in a typical reaction to the toils of a hard day. "It is a cold Evening,

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1. Al-Rihlah Al Najdiah Al Hijaziah, (in Arabic), by Mohammed Bahjat Al-Beytar, al-Matba'ah Al-Jadidah, Damascus, 1967, pp. 10-14, 20-21 and 24. Lady Blunt relates how they were attacked in the Syrian desert and Palestine. See A Pilgrimage to Nejd, 2 vols. by Lady Anne Blunt, John Murray, London, 1881, vol. I, pp. 101 and 103
 2. Beytar, p.27
 3. Min Nafahat Al-Haram (in Arabic), by Ali Tantawi, Dar al-Fikr, Damascus, 1960, p.58, see also pp. 11, 13, 25, 53-6, 187 and 206.

but oh how clean and comfortable in the tent!"¹ And according to Wendell Philips, "a graceful date garden can be a scene of exceeding beauty."²

Burton, like Blunt, Philby and most travelling orientalists,³ loved the natural innocence of desert life. He felt that there, and perhaps only there, humanity has escaped the corruption and disease of civilized societies. Everything is pure and simple, life, habits, customs, relations, dealings, and even thoughts. Burton's best weapon on the pilgrimage was his understanding of the Bedawins. They are men and they like men. Show a sign of weakness and you will perish, if not by the devastating climate, by the dagger of the spiteful revengeful Bedawin. On many occasions playing with his pistols or handling them was enough to make the others realise that he was a man not to be tampered with or intimidated. He was always alert and on his guard. On his first night in the desert he found it difficult to sleep at first for fear of scorpions and robbers.

In Cairo Burton bought a pilgrimage garb and "Kafan," shroud, from a Meccan boy, Mohammed El-Basyuni, who tried hard to persuade Burton to take him with him as a companion and servant. Burton refused because he feared the boy might be a danger to his disguise. Burton explained that he declined the offer because the boy "had travelled too much to suit me; he had visited India," and "seen English men."⁴ Nevertheless, when he met the boy again in the desert on the way to Suez

1. Lady Anne Blunt, op. cit., vol. II, p.35.

2. Wendell Philips, op. cit., p.44.

3. Boyle of Cairo, by Clara Boyle, Titus Wilson & Son Ltd., London, 1965, p.135.

4. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. I, p.180.

Burton could not avoid him and the two travelled the rest of the way together. Burton's stay at Suez was unpleasant. It was disturbed by discomfort and anxiety for his missing servant and belongings, not to mention the problem of the passport. Here again he had to check it.¹ He was only too happy to find himself on the pilgrim ship. His joy, however, was short lived. The ship was over-crowded, under equipped and late in setting sail. Lady Burton's account of this part of the journey, taken from his original notes, reflects how difficult a time Burton had since arriving in Suez and until he reached Yambu.²

The sea journey from Suez to Yambu was, undoubtedly, the most tiring part of the whole pilgrimage. At the end of his adventure, the world applauded Burton not only for his courage but for his endurance as well. The other pilgrims on the ship, who were used to these strenuous travelling conditions suffered a great deal from the arduous voyage. So did Burton, but he was happy because he was having the experience he sought "of the scene on board a pilgrim ship" (vol. I., p.330). He could have^a voided the hardship by hiring a boat all to himself but it would have deprived him of the first hand experience he was after. Never in his life was he content with second hand experience or knowledge. "I have always wished to see," he

1. As late as 1930 pilgrims had to check their passports at Cairo and Suez. See Mustafa Mohammed, op. cit., p.7.

2. Lady Burton's account is interesting because it provides Burton's first feelings and reactions. It is cruder than that Burton gave in the book. See Life, vo. I, pp.171-79.

explained to a friend, "what others have been content to hear of."¹ Such was Burton's ambitious spirit on undertaking the pilgrimage.

In Suez Burton made the acquaintance of four men who were to become his companions throughout the journey. Hamed was Burton's host at Madinah and the boy Mohammad at Mecca. The other two were Umar Effendi and his slave Sa'ad the devil. Burton was quick to realise the advantages of associating with these men and soon all of them were fighting as one body in the ship and sharing the burden of the journey.

In great pain from an injured foot, Burton wasted no time in hiring camels in order to push across the desert to Al Madinah. His determination was hardly affected by the reports of robbers on the route. Burton's foot injury, however, was a blessing in disguise. Because of it he was able to ride in a litter which otherwise would have earned him the contempt of the Bedawins. Only women, old people and the sick travel in a litter.² Men travel like the Bedawins on camel back. The litter offered Burton advantages he little dreamed of. It offered him comfort and shade from the blazing sun and the privacy that made his note-taking much easier. In Cairo Burton had ordered special long thin note-books because they were easier to hide on his person. He knew that the greatest danger on the journey was in taking notes and he was prepared accordingly. Bedawins not only suspect those who take notes but detest the

1. Wright, Life, Vo. I., p. 102. See also Burton's Pilgrimage, vol. I., p.3.

2. Travelling in a litter can be wrecking. See The Inner Life of Syria and Palestine, 2 vols., by Isabel Burton, Henry S. King & Co., London, 1875, vol. I., p. 237.

habit. During the pilgrimage season in particular, this habit could prove fatal; for fanaticism will be running high and suspicion of intruding infidels is always in the air. This particular danger has diminished with time. A century after Burton's pilgrimage, James Morris, a traveller himself, finds it amusing to contrast the ease and leisure he enjoyed in writing in Bedawin company with Burton's elaborate precautions;

Throughout the journey my companions were especially solicitous in helping me work, demanding from each other an unearthly silence if ever I was writing in their neighbourhood. I could not help contrasting the situation a century before, when the indomitable Richard Burton, travelling in Arabia in very different circumstances, could only manage to keep his notes by questioning the snobbish Arabs on their genealogy and pretending to jot down details of their ineffably boring antecedents - all the time recording the facts and impressions of his travels.¹

Burton's own account of his note-keeping was different. He said it was mostly done in private. If he sketched or jotted anything down in public he did so secretly. On the way he wrote in the litter and in Al Madinah and Mecca at home. Only rarely did he pen anything in the open. On sighting Madinah he slipped away from all the excitement and made a rough sketch of the city. Again when inside the Ka'abah he made a few drawings of its interior on the inside of his Ihram cloth while at prayer. As the journey advanced Burton found that most of the fear he had had of keeping notes was much exaggerated. A man of Burton's intelligence, wit, and experience could handle the situation well. In the beginning he made his notes in Arabic, but finding he could easily make them without being

1. Sultan in Oman, by James Morris, Faber and Faber, London, 1957, p. 57.

detected he soon switched to English. Nothing annoyed Burton more than the night marches. In the pitch darkness of the surroundings he was hardly able to see anything of the landscape. He would have loved to make a topographical and geographical study of the country. But without surveying equipment this was pointless if not impossible.¹ Although it meant an end to his geographical and topographical work, Burton was wise enough to leave the sextant behind after it had been discovered by his Arab friends at Suez.

The least that can be said of the desert marches in Burton's journey is that they were eventful and exciting. His descriptions portray a truthful picture of desert life, pilgrim caravans and Bedawin nature. They express the hardship of camel travel and emphasise the enthusiasm of Moslems for pilgrimage. Burton tells us that thousands of poor pilgrims had come from all over Asia on foot to Mecca. They had no money, no animals to lighten their burden and they begged their food from the other travellers. He described how many of them perished before they reached their goal and how many more had no hope of seeing their homes again. Still they persisted and pushed along. He pointed out how the British Indian government must act to authorize a programme to help Indian pilgrims.² Burton's picture of the desert is vivid and full of life. He offered a detailed account of the pilgrim's caravan, equipment, baggage, tents and food.³

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1. Nevertheless Burton made some significant geographical observations. See D. G. Hogarth, *op.cit.*, pp.168-8.
 2. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. III, pp. 253-6.
 3. As if dictated by the clime of the country Mr. Beytar in 1920 gives practically the same food list as Burton. See Beytar, *op. cit.*, p.26.

His account of the sons of the desert is as detailed and impressive. Throughout the book he described their moods and inclinations and the various aspects of their life. He expressed their sincere nature, their wrath, greed, and spiteful vengeance. "Blood, according to the primitive laws of the desert, calls for blood; no chastisement is recognised other than that of vengeance."¹ Burton narrates how a Turkish pilgrim was knifed in the stomach at night by his Bedawin camel driver because of a quarrel during the day over some fire wood the pilgrim wanted to take with him on the camel. The man was left in the desert to die.²

Burton's plan was to visit Al Madinah and then go to Mecca for the pilgrimage. The visit to Al Madinah is not part of the pilgrimage.³ It is a devout and meritorious act that most Moslems love to perform while on pilgrimage. The title for Burton's narrative comes from the route he followed on the pilgrimage. Though there is nothing wrong in it, it does not sound right to the Moslem. Whenever the two cities are mentioned whether in conversation or writing, Mecca always comes first. It is the holier and more important of the two because it is the pilgrimage city. Probably realizing this point Burton reversed the order of the two cities in the title of some of the later editions.⁴

Burton was moved and filled with overwhelming sensations at sighting Al Madinah. He could not help sharing the emotional

1. Hitti, op. cit., p.14.

2. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. III p.106.

3. The Call of the Minaret, by Kenneth Cragg, Oxford University Press Inc., New York, 1956, p.117.

4. An annotated Bibliography of Sir Richard Francis Burton, by Norman M. Perzer, A.M. Philpot Ltd., London, 1923, pp.52-3.

excitement of his companions. "It was impossible" Burton confirmed, "not to enter into the spirit of my companions, and truly I believe that for some moments my enthusiasm rose as high as theirs."¹

At Al Madinah Burton was Hamed's guest. Soon after their arrival his host took him to perform the first duty of every visitor to the city: that is the visit to the Prophet's Holy tomb. Burton was not much impressed by the architecture of the mosque. It appeared to him rather dull, too plain and lacking in refinement. From Hamed's house Burton set out every day to see some of the sights, important places and mosques. Eventually he described the whole city in detail. His description was tinged with a touch of history. He talked of the first mosque to be built in Al Madinah (vol. I., p.133), and outlined the site, scenery and geographical position of the city (vol. II, pp. 25-30, 166). He compared its mosque (Haram) to that of Mecca, (vol. II, p.60). He gave the history of the city (vol. II, pp. 122-33) and its mosque (vol. II, pp. 138-150). He even gave a lengthy account of the history of its volcanoes (vol. III, pp. 4-6n). He also described its people and their life (vol. II, pp.273-289). To complete the picture he provided the reader with an account of all the mosques in the neighbourhood of the city (vol. II, pp. 320-28) as well as the tombs of the saints and the companions of the Prophet buried there. Burton dwells extensively on the Moslem saints and leading personalities buried in the vicinity of Al-Madinah and especially at El-Bakia. He admits that he described the city, and especially the burying ground of the saints around it, "at a wearying length." (Vol. II, p.320).

For some of the information Burton offered here, as when he describes Mecca, he relied on history and travel books. This is

1. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. II, p.27.

evident from the numerous quotations and references made to the works of historians, travellers, geographers and theologians. In addition Burton gathered a lot of information from the natives and he usually pointed this out when such information was given. When talking about the Bakia he describes many of the mosques "from hearsay" (vol. II, p.320). Again some of the names he gives clearly indicate that they were taken from books and not heard from the people.

Burton's departure from Al-Madinah was dramatic and spectacular. The time of departure and the route were changed several times. Finally Burton was thrilled to learn that the caravan would take "Darb El Sharki" down which "no European had as yet travelled." (vol. II, p.330). Hamed was alarmed because this was a wild route with very few watering points. On the other hand, Burton was excited by the thought of being the first European to traverse that road. The journey to Mecca, with all its hazards, on the whole, was typical of the season. It was hard, fast and exhausting. The caravan reached Mecca at night. So although there was excitement at reaching the city there was none of the sensation that filled the pilgrims on beholding Al-Madinah in the morning light. In Mecca Burton was the guest of the boy Mohammad El Basyuni.

Mecca is the centre of the Moslem world and "has always remained the focal religious point in Islam."¹ Ibn Battutah

1. Cragg, op. cit., p.72.

says that:

For the theologian the pilgrimage meant not only the performance of one of the principal obligations of the Faith, but an opportunity of putting himself in touch with the activities of the religious centre of Islam. Mecca was the ideal centre of religious study, in the company of many of the most eminent doctors of the day.¹

Mecca is Islam's most sacred city and has its most sacred and revered mosque and shrines. Although Islam reserves every respect and reverence for prophets and saints, it does not make them the centre of devotion.² Mecca is holy not because it is the birth place of Muhammad but because it has God's first house, the Ka'abah. Here is where Islam was born and to this city Moslems will ever turn in their devotion. To the Moslem the Ka'abah is second to nothing in the world in importance. He turns towards it five times a day in his prayers wherever he might happen to be on earth.

Since the rise of Islam Mecca has always been the heart

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1. Travels in Asia and Africa (1325-1354), by Ibn Battuta, trans. by H. A. R. Gibb, ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power, George Routledge and Sons Ltd., London, 1929, p.5.
 2. See Development of Muslim Theology Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory, by D. B. Macdonald, George Routledge and Sons Ltd., London, 1903, p. 284.
 3. Many Western writers exaggerate the importance of Mohammad's burial place, see for example Ibid., pp. 277-8 and Encyclopedia Americana, International Edition, 30 vol., American Corporation, New York, 1965, vol. 22, p.85.

of the Islamic world.¹ For many centuries it remained the centre from which Moslem teachings radiated.² Because of its importance in Islam, Moslems have often referred to it and the Ka'abah in symbolic terms. It is called "the centre of the world," that is the Islamic world, because Moslems from the four corners of the earth turn to it in thoughts, heart and devotions. It is called "the heart of the Islamic world" because from it the life of Islam sprang and for it the heart of every Moslem beat. The Ka'abah is referred to as "the Navel of the world" because the navel is the centre of the human body through which life was pumped during the early stages of his creation. It signifies that the Ka'abah is the centre of all Islamic rituals and the most important.

Being the centre of the Moslem faith, the city of its most sacred shrines, and the symbol of the religion as a whole, Mecca was forbidden by the Prophet to non-moslems.³ This prohibition not only renders the city dangerous for non-moslems, but at the same time, "acted like a magnet on adventurous spirits."⁴ Visiting Mecca to Burton was just another dangerous mission satisfactorily completed. Unfortunately, for Burton and his reader alike, the book lacks

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1. Islam, Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition, by G. E. von Grunebaum, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1955, p.59.
 2. Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization, ed. by Gustave E. von Grunebaum, University of Chicago Press, 1955, p.291.
 3. Hitti, The Arabs, p.28. See also Qur'an 9, 28. (Henceforth The Qur'an will be referred to with "Q" followed by the numbers of the chapter and verses)
 4. Ralli, Op. cit., p.2.

the spiritual and emotional involvement of the true believer.¹

At one time or another in his life the Moslem is possessed by a tender yearning to visit Mecca.² This ambition is warmly cherished until circumstances permit its fulfilment. Even today, with the convenience of air travel and luxurious accommodation, the pilgrimage is not an easy task to perform. It has numerous hardships and hazards particularly for the elderly and infirm. Nevertheless, the true Moslem is never satisfied until his longing is appeased by beholding the Ka'abah and until he finds himself overwhelmed, by God's glory in his sacred house. The sight of Mecca and the thought of having achieved his life-dream throw the Moslem into an emotional ecstasy beyond description. He is overwhelmed by the spiritual power and influence of the place. A feeling that none of the Western and Christian visitors were ever able to sense or muster. Consequently none was able to convey a faithful picture of the spiritual and psychological significance and force of the pilgrimage. Philby was astounded and impressed by the spirituality of the Haram and the Ka'abah. The effect of the place on him was so strong that he declared;

Often before I had felt very strongly that, if by any chance I could secretly gain admission either to the Meccan Haram, or to the Prophet's Mosque at Madina, my conversion to Islam would have followed as surely as that of Saul to Christianity on the road to Damascus ---3.

1. Farwell, op.cit., p.90.

2. Tantawi, op. cit., p.7.

3. Philby, Forty Years in the Wilderness, pp. 143-5

The sight of Mecca has a unique, captivating effect. The American pilot who flew over it by mistake reported that he "was indescribably impressed."¹ The believer's reaction at actually being in the vicinity of the holy city can never be adequately described. In a way it is a sense of God's benevolence, mercy and love for allowing him the means and opportunity for the visit. In that frame of mind some fall into fits of bewilderment, some sob their hearts out. Others pray in its mosque (the Haram) day and night to reap as much benefit from the visit as possible. To cherish the memory of the visit some pilgrims buy a piece of the old cloth of the Ka'abah to take home with them.² The Meccans boast that the Haram is never empty of people. All the year round, day and night, there is always somebody performing the duty of circumambulation or prayer.³

Burton did not describe "the town of Mecca" at length because, as he put it, "Ali Bey and Burckhardt have already said all that requires saying."⁴ Instead, he concentrated on

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1. Bright Levant, by Lawrence Grafftey Smith, John Murray, London, 1970, p.248
 2. Ralli, op. cit., p.6. ; Burton, Pilgrimage, vol III, p.299
 3. Philby, Forty Years in the Wilderness, pp.143-5. See also Burton's Pilgrimage, vol III, p.183n.
 4. See Travels in Arabia comprehending an account of those territories in Hedjaz which the Mohammedans regard as sacred, 2 vols., by J. L. Burckhardt ed. with a preface by Sir W. Ouseley, Henry Colburn, London, 1829, vol I. pp.171-451. For life and society in Mecca in the 19th century see Mekka, In the Latter Part of the 19th century, by C. Snauck Hurgronje, translated into English by J. H. Monaham, Luzac & Co., London, 1931.

describing Al-Hajj and its rituals. Sadly enough, his attention was focussed on the physical aspect of the pilgrimage only. He neglected its more important religious, spiritual, psychological, social and historical implications. He enumerated and described the various rituals as he performed them, conveying a genuine picture of the atmosphere of the season. Having rested in the few remaining hours of the night of his arrival, the first duty to perform on the following morning was a visit to the Haram. Like that of Al Madinah, Burton was little impressed by the architectural and artistic appearance of the much celebrated mosque. But he admitted that it was unique. It was special. It had a certain moving splendour that he had never seen or felt anywhere else in the world.

The mirage medium of Fancy invested the huge catafalque and its gloomy pall with peculiar charm. There were no giant fragments of hoar antiquity as in Egypt, no remains of graceful and harmonious gorgeousness as in the buildings of India, yet the view was strange, unique, and¹ how few have looked upon the celebrated shrine!

Having given his initial impression of the place he went on to express his emotions. "I may truly say that, of all the worshippers who clung weeping to the curtain, or who pressed their beating hearts to the stone, none felt for the moment a deeper emotion than did the Haji from the north." He was careful, however, to point out that while the ecstasy of the pilgrims "was the feeling of religious enthusiasm," his "was the ecstasy of gratified pride." (vol.III, p.200).

Burton had every reason to feel proud of his achievement.

1. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. III, pp. 199-200

It was no easy undertaking and not without a certain element of danger. It demanded many sacrifices and Burton was ready to give. He did not mind the fatigue or the risk as long as he achieved his goal. In Mecca, Burton described the pilgrimage rituals in great details, often giving his personal impression of them. He was impressed by the view of the worshippers lined up in the Haram for the sermon, (vol. III p.314). He was also impressed by the sermon itself. "I have seen the religious ceremonies of many lands, but never - nowhere - aught so solemn, so impressive as this spectacle," (vol. III p.316) was his reaction. Philby found the rite of circumambulation "truly impressive, beyond the power of words to describe."¹ He, however, disagreed with Burton on the taste of the water from Zem Zem, which he found "neither unpleasant nor disturbing in its after effect." The most exciting part of the whole pilgrimage for Burton was entering the Ka'abah. This privilege is not always available to the public and only those who can afford it are allowed to go inside. With the assistance of his host Burton was lifted into the Ka'abah. There he experienced the most tense and critical moments of the whole journey. Face to face with the official, Burton was asked several questions regarding his name, nationality "and other particulars". The replies being "satisfactory," the lad Mohammed was requested to show the Indian pilgrim around. This short interview was the highest tribute that could ever have been paid to his disguise. He was convincing where it mattered most. In the Ka'abah itself his feelings were mixed. He was thrilled at being the first European Christian to enter the Ka'abah and satisfied with himself at having fooled everybody, even the officials, with his

1. Philby, Forty Years in the Wilderness, pp.143-5.

disguise. Burton was confident that he would succeed, for he is not likely to have ventured to penetrate into a place where his life would be in danger if his real identity was discovered. Even so he was apprehensive at the thought of the fate he would meet if his real identity and religion were found out. "My feelings," he said, "were of the trapped rat description." (Vol. III p. 288). Here he gave proof of the courageous qualities that helped him become the first white man to see the "death city," Harar. Soon his anxiety subsided and with nerves of steel he made a sketch of the interior of the Ka'abah on his Ihram, or pilgrimage shroud.

Having completed the pilgrimage Burton set about performing "the rite of the Umrah, or little Pilgrimage." (vol. III p.338) However, Burton was wrong in contradicting Caussin de Perceval concerning the lesser and greater pilgrimages. As Perceval stated the greater pilgrimage is the one performed in the proper season. The lesser one is a reference to the Umrah.¹ In orthodox Islam the pilgrimage (that is the day of Arafat),²

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1. For a brief account of the pilgrimage types and rituals see The Religion of Islam, by the Rev. F. A. Klein, Curzon Press, London, 1971, pp. 164-171. Chamber's Encyclopedia, New Revised Edition, 15 vols., Pergamon Press, London, 1967, vol. 6, p. 702. For the history of the Pilgrimage see The Encyclopedia of Islam, 3 vols., New Edition, Luzac & Co., London, 1960-1971, vol III, pp. 31-33.
 2. A Tradition of the Prophet says "Al Haju Arafah" (The Pilgrimage is Arafat), that is the pilgrimage is not complete or valid without it. For this reason standing on Arafat is omitted from the Umrah, because it is not a proper pilgrimage. See p. 34 Post. See Sunan Ibn Majah, (in Arabic), 2 vols., ed. by Mohammed Fua'd Abd Al-Baki, Dar Ihia'Al-Kutuh Al-Arabiah, Cairo, 1953, vol. 2, p. 1003.

that falls on a Friday is no different from any other. The popular belief, on which probably Burton based his argument, that the Friday pilgrimage is counted as seventy of those that fall on the other days of the week, has not a single element of truth in it. With nothing to do or see after the Umrah Burton was anxious to leave Mecca. "Issuing into the open plain," he said, "I felt a thrill of pleasure - such pleasure as only the captive delivered from his dungeon can experience." (vol. III p. 367). His release was completed in Jeddah, where he felt safe and much spirited at seeing the British flag. While in that city he visited the tomb of Eve where he was mistaken for the Pasha of Al-Madinah because of his expensive attire.

Burton's Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, is a highly informative work.¹ It remained for a long time one of the leading reference works on the holy cities of Islam. It is full of information about the Moslem pilgrimage, Moslem life, and life in general in that part of the East. But as hinted earlier the book is lacking in many aspects. Bearing in mind the popular interest "in everything that relates to the East," at the time, Burton could have made a much better use of the golden opportunity offered to him by his pilgrimage. He

1. Besides the picture of Moslem life the book provides Burton explained several Moslem practices: Tayamum (vol. I. p.385n); Difference between pilgrimage and visitation (vol. II. p.58); Different meanings of "salat" "Blessing on the Prophet" when from God, Angels and man (vol. II p.70); No intercession in Islam (Wahhabi doctrine) (vol. II p.77n.); Muhammed did not live by his message (vol. II pp.130, 138); conditions set for performing the pilgrimage and pilgrimage rites (vol. III pp. 223 - 244); Treatment of slaves by Moslems (vol. I p.89n); Prospects of advancement for slaves in Moslem society (vol. I p.90n). Shi'ites and their peculiarities (vol. I p.303, vol. II p.255n); Various titles for Damascus (vol. III p.115n); The numerous names for Al-Madinah and their derivations (vol. II pp.162 - 4n).

could have concentrated more on the significance and spiritual value of the various Moslem practices involved in the pilgrimage; thus narrowing the gulf of the misunderstanding of Islam in the West.

Of all Burton's varied fields of interest that of the anthropologist and inquisitive traveller are the most prominent and dominant in The Pilgrimage. The journey to Mecca had no emotional involvement or religious significance for him. Consequently he never attempted to explain or point out the religious background and values of many of the daily activities of the Moslem society he portrayed. In Cairo he dwelt at length on the mosques of the city and their history. But when he described the Moslem society in the fasting month, Ramadan (vol. I p.109), he did not mention the spiritual, social, psychological, and religious implications of the act.¹ Fasting is a moral as well as a religious discipline. It is a reminder to the more fortunate in the community of what their poor brethren suffer all year round, and to the more wealthy to extend a helping hand to those less fortunate. It is a test of will and a triumph of the spirit over the body. His picture of the festivities of "Eid al Fitr" and its joys is adequate and expressive. Along with the other features of the "Eid" Burton mentioned the Moslem practice of visiting cemeteries on the morning of the first day of the festival. But again he failed to explain the idea behind it (vol. I p.168). In the next volume (p.71n) he gave the two Traditions he should have given then. Still he did not mention the Tradition that forbids women from visiting graveyards, as he

1. For the moral and spiritual significance of Ramadan see Cragg, op. cit., pp.115-6 and Klein, op. cit., pp. 160-4.

should have done.¹ In Cairo, as in the two holy cities, Burton pointed out the lack of elegance and architectural and artistic refinement in places of worship. He was content to remark that "The Moslem, forbidden by his law to decorate his mosque with statuary and pictures, supplied their place with quotations from the Koran and inscriptions" (vol. I, p.137). The absence of pictures and statues in mosques is certainly not due to lack of taste.² It is a matter of priority and attitude. For Moslem devotees and theologians, simplicity, which affords the worshipper, the ease, relaxation and concentration needed for devotion comes before elegance, artistic appearance or magnificence. Worship is of the mind and heart not the eye. Places of worship, therefore, should be furnished and prepared for the spirit and not the sight. There should be nothing in the place of worship that could catch the eye or make the mind wander, like a picture or a statue; for these are sure to lessen the concentration once their presence is felt. Islam forbids any artistic imitation of life especially human and animal life. Only God creates and those who imitate his creation will be asked on judgement day to supply life to what they have created. This is Islam's position on creative arts like painting and sculpture. Had Burton explained Islam's argument regarding art in general and painting and sculpture in particular he would have given his Western reader a better chance of judging Moslem taste in art.

Islam is a way of life.³ Many aspects of Moslem life are

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1. See Sunan Ibn Majah, vol. I, p.502.
 2. The Spirit of Islam, by Ameer Ali, Syed, Christophers, London, 1935, pp. 387-90.
 3. Monroe, op. cit., p.163. See also, Islam a way of Life by Philip K. Hitti, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1970, pp. 2-3.

based on the Sunnah (practice of the Prophet) and the Hadith (His sayings).¹ Moslems in general, and the devout in particular make a habit of following the Prophet's example to the best of their abilities. Many of the Moslem customs and habits appear strange and peculiar to the uninformed observer. But had they been explained within the frame of their religious origin they would have certainly given a different impression. Burton made a spectacular sight of the Indian Moslem manner of drinking water (vol. I, p.8), and offered no explanation in defence of the man. His dramatization of the incident, probably, made the reader think that all Moslems have to drink that way, and if they did not they would be punished. The matter is much simpler than it looks. It is no more than a Sunnah. The Prophet advises the believers not to drain the glass at once, but in three stages and sitting down if possible.² There is no reward or punishment for following the example or shunning it. Simply, it is healthier. Again he failed to mention that the use of the "miswak" (tooth stick) is a Sunnah which would have explained why it is preferred to tooth brushes.³ Burton pointed out that Mohammed abstained from eating strong

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1. For the importance of Sunnah and Hadith in Moslem life see Islamic Methodology in History, by Fazlur Rahman, Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi, 1965, pp. 27-84.
 2. Concordance et indices de la Tradition Musulmane, 7 vols., by A. J. Wensinck, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1955, vol. 3 pp. 86 and 90.
 3. A Manual of Hadith (in Arabic) by Maulana Muhammad Ali, The Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat Islam, Lahore (1937 ?), pp. 48-9. Burton said that brushes are avoided "as the natives always suspect hog's bristles," Pilgrimage, vol. I, p. 34n. See also Sahih Al-Bukhari, , 2 parts, trans. by M. Aftab-ud-din Ahmed, Ahmadiyah Anjuman Isha'at Islam, Lahore, 1962, Part I, pp. 242-3.

smelling foods and particularly garlic (vol. II pp.133-4n) and that Moslems are requested to do so before they appear in public. But he did not mention the Tradition. When talking of the daily habits of the people of Al-Madinah, Burton gave the various names for the siestas taken at different times of the day (vol. II p. 49n). Having explained the merits and popularity of each, he gave the Hadith for the mid-day one. He would have given a more complete and better impression had he given the other Hadith regarding the afternoon siesta instead of "just saying that it is "a practice reprobated in every part of the East." (vol. II p. 49n). The Hadith would have explained why.¹ Burton observed that some Moslems cut their moustache very short or shave it leaving the beard intact. In one place he said that it was the practice of the shafei school (vol. II pp. 333-4). In another he said it was a "Sunnah" (vol. III p.38). Burton is not sufficiently clear on this point. The practice is not confined to the Shafeis. It is a Sunnah, and there is a Tradition that says "Shave the moustache and leave the beard."² Another incident that shows Burton's insufficient knowledge of Hadith occurs when his Bedawin companions light the fire to eat locusts. The "couplet" (vol. III, p.92), which, he says, they quoted is actually a Hadith pointing out that the Moslems are allowed to eat two bloods and two carrions.³ The bloods are

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1. The Tradition says, "He who takes a siesta late in the afternoon and loses sanity has only himself to blame."
 2. A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition, by A. J. Wensinck, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1971, p.35.
 3. The eating of blood and the flesh of Swine and dead animals is forbidden in Islam, See Q, 2, 174.

the liver and spleen of animals. The carrions are dead fish and dead locusts.¹

For many centuries the two holy cities of Islam remained a mystery to the West. The speculations of the early writers about Muhammad and his religion and Islam's sacred cities led to many grave mistakes.² Mistakes that do injustice to the religion and its Prophet. Many of these mistakes persisted through the centuries. A long time elapsed before they were put right by modern writers who benefited a great deal from the accounts of travellers like Burton. No doubt, the understanding of Islam in the West has shown a healthy advance since Burton's days. Still, some twentieth century writers do not seem to have got the facts absolutely right. Kenneth Cragg, for example, says that the "Sai" between Safa and Marwah is "connected with Abraham's eluding satan." It is not. He also says that the pilgrim "sacrifices a sheep, a goat and a camel ---."³ He does not. On the day of sacrifice the pilgrim sacrifices only one animal according to his means. The Rev. F. A. Klein erroneously states that "the time during which the pilgrimage may be undertaken are the months of Shawal, Zu'l-Qa'da and the first nine days of Zu'l-Hijja."⁴ A Tradition of the Prophet clearly states "pilgrimage is Arafat." That is, any pilgrimage without attending the meeting of 9th Zu'l-Hijjah is not a proper pilgrimage, but Umrah, even if performed in the month of Zu'l-Hijjah itself.⁵

1. See Sunan Ibn Majah, vol. 2, p. 1101.

2. See Islam in English Literature, by Byron Porter Smith, American Press, Beirut, 1939, pp. 1-18. See also Islam and the West, The Making of an Image, by Norman Daniel, The University Press, Edinburgh, 1960, pp. 374 and 342.

3. Cragg, op. cit., pp. 119-20.

4. Klein, op. cit., p. 165.

5. Sunan Ibn Majah, vol. 2, p. 1003.

The pilgrimage to Mecca is the core of Burton's narrative. It is only natural and logical to expect him to deal with the main topic of his book in depth. Alas he did not. His account of the pilgrimage was both superficial and incomplete. Burton failed to convey to his reader the true significance of the pilgrimage. Nor did he explain its spiritual and religious values. His account was that of a passing traveller whose main concern was to give an entertaining report of his adventures. Burton certainly did just that and it might have been enough for the European reader.¹ By reading the book, the reader is able to form in his mind a vivid mental picture of the toils and hardships of the pilgrimage, of its physical demands, the sequence of its rituals and how to perform them; but not its spiritual benefits.² Not a word is said on why Moslems stone the devil, or the idea behind the circumambulation, or the Sai' (running) between Safa and Marwah. Nor did he attempt to give the historical and religious origin of the various rituals, many of which remain vague and blurred in the mind of the Western public even today. The lack of spirituality prevented the book from becoming elevated educational literature as it would have been, instead of remaining, as it is, a mere entertaining travel narrative.

It is enough to know that the material for the most important chapter of the book "of the Hajj or Pilgrimage" is borrowed to realize how little interest Burton had in the

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1. Hitchman says "--- the various devotions --- are, except to the student of comparative religion, not a little dull ---. Burton's own adventures are far more interesting." Richard F. Burton, His early, private and public life with an account of his travels and explorations, 2 vols., by Francis Hitchman Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London, 1887, vol. I, p. 229.
 2. See Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition, vol. III, pp. 36-38.

religious element of his subject. Had he provided this information himself he would, at least, have expanded and explained a little. Instead, he took his information intact from a small manual aimed at helping the new pilgrim to perform the rituals in the correct order and in the right manner. Such manuals are designed for guiding the pilgrim and therefore hardly explain the religious and spiritual nature of the ritual. The pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the basic pillars of Islam. It is more symbolic than any other. None of its rites are decreed in a haphazard way. The pilgrimage starts with the Ihram, the shedding of all ordinary clothes and the wearing of only a clean white unsewn shroud. This signifies the equality of the believers in Islam. In the state of Ihram the dividing barriers of class, rank, heredity, wealth, status, colour, and race are completely wiped out. Everybody is wearing and looking the same as his brother Moslem. In Islam all the believers are equal in the eyes of God. Each ranks only according to his or her virtue and sincerity of intention and deed. God says in his holy book "verily, the most honoured among you in the sight of Allah is he who is the most righteous."¹ The Prophet says "There is no advantage (privilege) for an Arab over the Ajami (non-Arab), nor for a white man over a black except in the Fear of God."² Another essential aspect of the Ihram is its psychological effect. Modern psychologists often tell us that man's inner nature and behaviour are greatly influenced by what he wears. They assure us that his behaviour, movements and even thoughts when wearing his "Sunday suit" are different from and more elevated than when he is wearing a pair of slacks or a track suit. Thus the Ihram curbs the arrogance of wealth and humbles the pride of power and ancestry. For once

1. Q. 49, 13.

"! ر م م ع ن د ا ل ل ه ا ت ق ا ل م"

2. A. J. Wensinck, Concordance --, vol. V, p.162.

in his life the poor and deprived man can forget his misfortunes and feel no different from anybody else. Thus, placed on equal footing, the pilgrims enter Mecca and the House of God. In the tawaf "circumambulation," the pilgrims run the first three rounds and walk in the remaining four. This running is a show of strength and the triumph over fatigue. It is also a Sunnah. When the Prophet returned to Mecca after his flight to Al-Madinah he went with his men straight to the Haram for the Tawaf in a gesture of gratitude to the Lord of the House whose aid and support made the Prophet's return to Mecca possible. There was a whisper among the unbelievers of Mecca that the Moslems had been softened and weakened by the blazing sun of Al-Madinah, the wars during their stay there and the long journey to Mecca. To prove them wrong Mohammad defiantly ran the first three circuits and his men followed his example. Thus it became a Sunnah for men only to run and walk in the Tawaf.¹ When talking about the history of the mosque in Mecca, Burton mentioned the dispute between the clans regarding the Black-stone. But he did not state how Mohammad solved it. The mosque, having been rebuilt, each clan wanted to have to itself the honour of restoring the Black-stone to its original place. Having failed to reach a solution acceptable to all, they resolved to ask the first person to enter the mosque to decide for them. By chance that person was Mohammad, not yet a prophet. When told of the dispute he placed his 'Abayah (mantle or cloak) on the floor, placed the stone on it and asked a man of each clan to hold an end of the cloak thus all the clans shared the honour. When the stone was raised on the cloak and brought near its place Mohammad himself lifted it from the cloak and placed it where it is now.

1. Mustafa Mohammad; op. cit., p.57.

The water of Zem Zem is held in great esteem by Moslems for many reasons. The foremost is its holiness, then its supposed relaxing and refreshing effect on weary bodies, and healing power for many bodily ailments.¹ The belief in its medicinal qualities could be purely psychological, an aspect of faith. The holiness of the water arises from the story of Hajar and her son Ismael. The family was desperate for water and the infant Ismael was crying bitterly from thirst.² In her perplexity of mind and desperation Hajar placed her son on the sand and went in search of water for her baby. Anxiously, she ran aimlessly between the mounts of Safa and Marwah, in the hope of finding water. In memory of this incident the pilgrims perform the Sa'i between Safa and Marwah, over the same ground covered by Hajar's running. But water was not to be found. On her return she found water trickling from under her son's feet where he was kicking the sand. Overwhelmed with joy she shouted Zemzem (hold, or keep together) at the same time, raising the sand around the spot to hold the water and stop it from being lost. Moslems hold that the name of the holy water came from the words uttered by Hajar in that moment of happy excitement.

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1. See Capital Cities of Arab Islam, by Philip K. Hitti, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1973, p.26. See also Hurgronje, op. cit., pp. 21-2 and 25. For Traditions on Zem Zem see A. J. Wensinck, A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition, pp. 266-7.
 2. Desert Traveller, by Katharine Sim, Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, 1969, p. 303.

Depending on how near to his heart the topic was, Burton either expanded the explanation or made it brief. He seized every opportunity to dwell on eunuchs, slaves and sexual behaviour, topics that always had his keenest interest. Other topics that were of fundamental importance to the subject of his book were passed over lightly with inadequate explanation. Stoning a "senseless little buttress."¹ in the middle of the desert would seem silly and stupid to most. So would a great many of the rituals of the religions of the world if they were not explained and the religious aim behind them pointed out. Flinging stones at senseless buttresses would take on a new significance when it is realized that the act is a symbol of man's triumph over the tempting devil. It is also a reminder to man that the devil is still his enemy today as he was Abraham's in ancient times. It is a reminder to man of the old enemy and an assurance that those who follow the way of God will triumph over the devil as the Prophet Abraham did. Abraham had a dream in which God ordered him to sacrifice his son to him. He woke up alarmed and perplexed. The dream was repeated over three successive nights. Abraham then realized that the vision was genuine and that God had spoken to him in his sleep. The dream was a test of Abraham's faith and a reminder to him that the love of God comes before everything else even love for one's own family. On the third morning he took his son to Arafat to fulfil God's wish. He was torn between emotion and loyalty. Tortured between his love for his son and his submission to God's will and order. On the way near Muna, personified as a man, the devil appeared to Abraham

1. The True Life of Captain Sir Richard F. Burton, by Georgiana Stisted, Ward Lock Reprints, 1970, p.121.

three times. He attempted to discourage Abraham from carrying out his intention by reminding him of his son's sweetness and how much he loved him. Each time the Prophet repelled the devil by throwing stones at him. As a reward for his devotion God sent Abraham a ram from heaven to sacrifice in place of Ismael. In memory of this incident and in honour of the Prophet Abraham the rituals of stoning the devil and the sacrifice on Arafat were retained in the Moslem pilgrimage.

A work of three volumes can easily have found space for the explanations behind the various pilgrimage rites. Had Burton provided this information he would have given the reader an opportunity to judge for himself the merits and values of a religion that for many centuries remained a source of apprehension and suspicion for the Christian World in the West. The pilgrimage is a symbol of Moslem equality and unity. A unique spiritual bond that managed to gather in one place the diverse races of the world with their heterogeneous cultures on a common ground of faith. "The socializing influence" of the pilgrimage, "is hard to over-estimate."¹ The unity of the pilgrimage is not only religious and social. It is historical and cultural as well. It links the past with the present. It keeps alive the memory of men and events venerated not only by Islam but also by some of the other religions of mankind. Mecca and the Black-stone, and the Ka'abah are revered as holy emblems by other faiths beside Islam.² The pilgrimage with its unifying

1. Hitti, The Arabs, ---, pp. 40 - 1.

2. See Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. III p. 160n.

influence is a source of inspiration and strength to the believers, a proof of the worldwide solidarity of the faith, and a witness to the equality of its followers, of whatever race or colour.¹

Regardless of the above analysis of the short-comings of Burton's work from the Moslem's point of view, I cannot help but feel that neither the work nor its author have been given their due praise and appreciation. The attention of Burton's biographers and critics is mainly focussed on his heroic achievement, his style and the knowledge he showed of the Moslem pilgrimage. They hailed the first, criticized the second with alternating comments of praise and condemnation, and ripped the third open in search of areas of criticism on grounds of civilization, and decorum; neglecting its spiritual and religious significance. Comments have often been made on the impressive picture of Moslem life in Burton's work. But no attempt was made to stress its importance. It is a historical document of immense value and interest. It is an interesting living record of customs and habits in the Arab East many of which have long died out. Some of the pictures he provided have changed greatly with time. The camel journey to Mecca, the hardship and suffering of desert travel and the general conditions of the pilgrimage have undergone so much change that today they show little connection with Burton's narrative.² All the cities,

1. G. E. ^{von} Grunebaum, Unity and Variety of Muslim Civilization pp. 28, 56 and 276. See also Modern Islam, The Search for Cultural Identity, by G. E. ^{von} Grunebaum, University of California Press, 1962, pp. 213-4.

2. As early as the 1930s pilgrims reported tremendous improvement in travel conditions, organization of pilgrimage convoys, road conditions on all routes to Mecca and the accommodation in the two holy cities. See Tantawi, op. cit. pp. 13, 102, 133. Also Mustafa Mohammad, op. cit., pp. 12, 18, 20, 27-8, 36, 48, 74. And Islam Today ed. by A. J. Arberry and Rom Landau, Faber and Faber, London, 1942, p.44.

towns and villages he described have completely changed with the long strides the East has taken towards development and industrialization in this century. Some of the pictures Burton preserved of 19th century life in the East are fascinating to say the least. None would appreciate their beauty as fully as do those who know the East intimately. The young Arabs today would be astounded and amazed when they compare their life today with that of their ancestors a century ago. His account of the doctor's visit to a patient¹ (vol. I. p.77) or the description of the wakalah in Cairo, Suez and Jeddah sound like fairy tales from The Arabian Nights to the youth of today in Damascus and Cairo. The brands of tobacco he mentioned for instance, not only sound strange but none would recall hearing of them (vol. I, pp. 96-7n). Ramadan evenings and the Eid are no longer celebrated in the way Burton described (vol. I, pp. 118, 167-70). Another aspect that is more or less unknown today is seen in the peculiar methods of treatment by charms and herbs, (vol. II pp. 174-184; vol III p.122n.). The weighing and measuring units Burton gave are no longer used and many have never heard of them² (vol. III p.10n). These are some of the more lively pictures preserved in The Pilgrimage.

None of Burton's critics and biographers viewed The Pilgrimage in relation to his future development both as a man of letters and a traveller. In this work Burton gives a self

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1. Compare with Doughty's experience as a doctor. See Arabia Deserta, vol. II, p.140.
 2. Compare with Lane's account of Egyptian Measures, weights and money units in the 19th century. An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, 2 vols., by Edward William Lane, Charles Knight and Co., London, 1836, vol. II Appendix B pp.376-380.

portrait of his resourcefulness as a traveller (vol. I, p.2, 22-24). Before the journey to Mecca most of his travels had been excursions in the line of duty in Sind and India. The personality of Burton the traveller crystallized in the journey to Mecca. His confidence in his abilities to carry out the most dangerous and daring missions was firmly established by his success at Mecca. He proved that he had the requisite, endurance and courage. To him danger was "the salt of pleasure." (vol. III p.338). The journey was a typical model of most of his later adventures. Burton was never content simply to follow the route planned for a journey or expedition. He was always keen to see and learn. If he happened to be near a place that had an aspect of interest - regardless of whether it was scientific, historical, religious or anthropological - Burton would just disappear for a while and return to resume his original plan. On the way to Mecca he visited Burckhardt's tomb (vol. I, p.16), and Moses' Wells (vol. I, p.300). In Mecca he went to the mountains to find the Hijazi ape (vol. III, p.307). Site excursions form a characteristic trend of Burton's travels.

The book also reveals a great many of Burton's interests and habits that helped to attain for him an unchallenged position amongst British orientalists.¹ We see his mastery and love of

1. Palgrave of Arabia, The Life of William Gifford Palgrave, by Mea Allan, Macmillan, London, 1972, p.169. Arabian Days, by H. St. John B. Philby, Robert Hale Ltd., London, 1948, p. XVI. See also The Heart of Arabia, A Record of Travel and Exploration, 2 vols., by H. St. John B. Philby, Constable and Company Ltd., London, 1922, vol. II, p.87. And Portraits, by D. MacCarthy, Putnam, London, 1931, pp. 46-51; and the D.N.B.

disguises.¹ He had to change his disguise four times from that of a Persian, to a Pathan, to an Arab and then to a Pathan again; and he did it very well. Behind the disguise there is his keen interest in mixing with the natives.² When in disguise not only was his appearance transformed, but his spirit as well. We see him eating, sleeping, trading or conversing with the natives as if one of them. In the book we see Burton the anthropologist, geographer, student of languages, historian and lover of nature. Whenever he had to stay in town before the next trip across the desert he seemed to choke with uneasiness. He detested civilisation and all it stands for.³ In this book the reader is also introduced to Burton's interest in mysticism and medicine. We are told how he was initiated into Sufism and how he became a Murshid of the Kadirî Sufi order (vol. I, p.20). In appendix one of volume two Burton offered a translation of his Murshid diploma. We are also informed that Burton's knowledge of Islam is not that of the orthodox or Sunni sect but of the Shi'ite, the heretic sect of Islam. This is important because it explains many of the attitudes and ideas concerning Islam he expressed in later works. Though indirectly, the reader is given an idea of Burton's extensive background reading, and the wide range of his reading interests. The footnotes of the three volumes are studded with the names of books and authors. Normally Burton acknowledged his sources. But on quite a number of occasions he expressed the opinion of other writers without naming them or their works.⁴ Burton relied a great deal on the

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1. Burton had his own ways of achieving closer contact with the natives. A doctor (vol. I, pp.17,74), gives money to children (vol. II p.207) through flirtation (vol.I,pp.257-259)
 2. Burton criticized the detachment of the Europeans in the East from the natives and their sufferings. Pilgrimage, vol.I. p.27.
 3. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol I., pp.62 and 221.
 4. See for example Pilgrimage, vol. III, p.338n. The works of at least 30 authors of various nationalities have been referred to in the Pilgrimage. See Appendix 1.

work of other authors for the completion of his work. He was a passing traveller and could not have picked up the information he offered in his narrative of topics like the history of mosques in Cairo (vol. I, chapter VI), or the Bedawins of Al-Hijaz (vol. III, chapter XXIV), as he went along.¹ One last distinct characteristic of Burton, evident in this work, was his patriotism² and interest in British foreign affairs. The book reveals his active interest in the British government's dealings and its reputation abroad. His colonial inclinations are often explicitly expressed. He advised the government on slave laws, (vol. I, p.72), and criticized its officials in Cairo (vol. I, p.73-4). He also advised England on how to become popular in Egypt (vol. I, p.163-66n); and offered an opinion on how to promote Christian power and influence there (vol. I, p.177). To the army he provided information about horses in Arabia (vol. III, pp.269-71n) and offered his services in that line.

Burton was an open minded traveller. He allowed for the difference in culture and tradition between the lands in which he travelled and those he was brought up in. He appreciated the similarity of human nature and the common weaknesses among the races of the world. He accepted the superstitions of the people of Al-Madinah on the ground that every race on earth has a superstition of one sort or another (vol. II, p.241). He pointed out that visions of Saints are known in both the East and the West (vol. III, p.254-5n), a thought he was to elaborate

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1. For chapter XXVI "The Bait Ullah" (The mosque at Mecca) Burton quoted at length from Burckhardt's Travel in Arabia paying him the highest compliment. See Pilgrimage, vol. III, p.149.
 2. Three Victorian Travellers, by Thomas J. Assad, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1964, pp. 17-18.

Text cut off in original

upon later in his essay El-Islam.¹

In the book are also embedded the seeds of many of his literary achievements. We sense his love of making his books repertoires of knowledge and learning. He always stocked his books with all sorts of information regardless of the consequences for their literary value.² In fact they contained everything he knew. The book also reveals his love for poetry. Often, like Dr. Johnson on his journey to the Hebrides, he was stirred into quoting poetry.

In a sense the Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, marks the initiation of his literary career. The Kasidah, his famous Sufi poem, was certainly inspired by his pilgrimage experience. Lady Burton tells us that the poem was written in 1853 immediately after Burton's return from Mecca.³ Burton himself says that his translation of The Arabian Nights was the natural outcome of his pilgrimage.⁴ Many of the topics discussed in The Pilgrimage, such as slaves,⁵ eunuchs,⁶ Hammams (Turkish Baths, vol. I, p.103), and many others such as sex habits in the East and circumcision were later developed in The Nights. The information on Arab and Bedawin weapons in The Pilgrimage were expanded and included in his Book of the Sword, (1884). El-Islam, the essay that was not published until after his death in one book with The Jew, and The Gypsy, evolved from The Pilgrimage. The anthropological information on

1. The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam, by Sir Richard F. Burton, ed. with a Preface by W.H. Wilkins, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1898, p.331.
2. See p.p. 325-6 Post.
3. See.p. 123 Post.
4. The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night, 12 vols, by Sir Richard F. Burton, Library Edition, ed. by Leonard C. Smithers, H. S. Nichols Ltd., London, 1897, vol. I, p.XIX.
5. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. I, pp.69, 87, 88; vol. II, pp.272, 273; vol. III, pp. 326, 355, 356.
6. Ibid; vol. II, pp. 155n., 156, 157, 272; vol. III, pp. 186, 360.

the Jews and the Bedawins in the narrative were, undoubtedly, the nucleus for The Jew and The Gypsy. His books on Midian, he said, "should be considered a sequel and a continuation of my 'Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah.'"

Burton was a prodigious author. One of the amazing features of his life was his ability to put together so many works in spite of his other numerous commitments. Of the many works he published very few were popular and many were soon forgotten. His critics and biographers attribute this phenomenon to his heavy style and bad editing. Crammed with information, data and reports of a heterogeneous nature they were rendered of little interest to the general public. However, the pungent style, vivid characterization, and personal element in The Pilgrimage, not only contributed to its popularity but set it apart from the rest of his works. In The Pilgrimage, his style is enlivened and lightened by a touch of humour.¹ His description of the George Inn in Suez is a typical example.

The ragged walls of our rooms were clammy with dirt, the smoky rafters foul with cobwebs, and the floor, bestrewed with kit, in terrible confusion, was black with hosts of ants and flies. Pigeons nestled on the shelf ---- and cats like tigers crawled through a hole in the door ----. Now a curious goat, then an inquisitive jackass, would walk stealthily into the room ----²

and so the picture continues, Burton was not out merely to give a conventional travel account of his journey to Mecca. He said he entitled the work a personal narrative and he would labour "to make its nature correspond with its name" (vol. I, p.6).

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1. Brodie, op. cit., p.95. See also Far Arabia, Explorers of the Myth, by Peter Brent, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1977, p.107.
 2. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. I, p.254.

The choice of conversational style, the inclusion of proverbs, poetry and colloquial expressions made the book light and enjoyable reading. To this was added a touch of dramatization that helped to engage the reader. Some aspects of Moslem life and habits were set out in a way that was sure to capture the reader's imagination and fascinate him. The process of drinking a glass of water (vol. I, p.8), the lack of gratitude in the East (vol. I, p.75) and the doctor's visit to his patient (vol. I, pp. 77-9) are examples of Burton's deliberate dramatization. The style is a mixture of the narrative, descriptive and picturesque. The narrative has the warmth of intimacy. The descriptive parts of the book were of mixed qualities. Some were dull, boring and uninspiring like some of the longer footnotes,¹ and technical chapters.² Others were of extreme beauty and interest. Burton's style and description seem at their best when he is away from civilization. His detailed accounts of the sea and desert journeys are truly admirable. They convey not only a vivid picture of events and atmosphere, but feelings as well. The reader is bored with Burton on the Nile journey, fatigued with the sea journey and overwhelmed with a sense of challenge on the desert marches. One of the most sublime passages of the book comes on the journey to Suez. In the description Burton captures for the reader all the awe and might of the desert in which;

1. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol, I pp. 156-9, and Vol. III pp. 157-161n.

2. Ibid, vol. I, chapter VI "The Mosque"; vol. II chapter XXII "A Visit to the Saints Cemetery"; vol. III chapter XXIV "The Bedawins of El-Hijaz."

he who rides is spurred by the idea that the bursting of a water skin, or the pricking of a camel's hoof would be a certain death of torture, - a haggard land infested with wild beasts, and wilder men, - a region whose very fountains murmur the warning words "Drink and away!" What can be more exciting? What more sublime?

Indeed, what more sublime! The passage is pulsating with life and sensations. It certainly explains what Burton was driving at; that is "voyaging is victory."

Burton's style in this work is certainly entertaining and engaging, though it tends to drag at times. If one is to enjoy Burton one should take him as he is and not trouble about what he ought to be. He should not be compared with other travel writers. Burton's style could be a little boring to the admirers of Humphry Clinker, Robinson Crusoe, and Gulliver's Travels. Burton is a writer of facts and not fiction. And in most cases the style of the former is drier and not as thrilling as the latter. His style, as might be expected in a factual travel narrative, sometimes lacks the artistic touch realized in a work of fiction. But as Burton says "facts are facts." Burton's writings are most enjoyable to those who have seen the places he wrote about, or are in some way connected with them and have the power to visualize them.

The Pilgrimage contains many mistakes¹ most of which were printing errors. When Burton finished writing the book he sent the manuscript to a friend in London to publish it while he returned to India. Thus Burton did not supervise the publication of the first edition. Consequently several errors in the printing of the Arabic works crept in. These errors are

1. For Burton's mistakes in Arabic in general and others regarding habits and customs see Appendix II.

not of major importance. But since the book is equally intended for the student and the casual reader these mistakes could prove unfortunate if the unacquainted student took the wrong form of the word in the book as the right one.¹

With the pilgrimage Burton became, over night, a national hero and a public figure. It gave him the fame he long sought, and put him on the road to a prosperous career as traveller and explorer. He was praised for his courage and stamina and commended for his confidence and dedication - the prime elements behind his success. Certainly, Burton's mission was not without its risks. Its danger, however, was much dramatized by his critics and reporters rather than by Burton himself. This dramatization led to the fabrication of the story of Burton killing a man who penetrated his disguise.² Burton denied the story of course. However, Burton's disguise was penetrated on the voyage from Southampton to Alexandria by an acquaintance from India. When Burton realized that the man

1. Five words will be given as an example. First will be given the word as in the book, then its meaning, then its correct form.

Mautik = logic = Mantik (vol. I, p.156)
Imaun = a leader of prayer = Imam (vol. I, p.223)
Imaums = Imams (vol. III, p.169)
Ararat = Arafat (vol. III, p.188)
Hejor = Hijaz (vol. III, p.182)

2. Memories, 2 vols, by Lord (Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford) Redesdale, 3rd edition, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1959, vol. II, p 572. See also Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving, 2 vols, by Bram Stoker, William Heinemann, London, 1906, vol. I, p. 359. For Burton's denial see Love War and Fancy, by Kenneth Walker, William Kimber, London, 1964, p. 260.

had recognised him and could give his disguise away, he quickly made a sign of silence to him. The man, a Turk called Turahi, took the hint, but later, Butler says "they had many a chat in private, and the good old Turk was of service to the Englishman in his initiation as Mussulman".¹

Summary:

Burton went to Mecca with sincere intentions and adequate preparations.² For more than six years in Sind he had studied Islam, practised the prayers and ablution and learnt The Qur'an. When the time arrived to embark on the journey he laid out a careful plan for the whole journey and followed it closely. His knowledge of the Arab East and its people helped him to visualize beforehand the difficulties he was likely to face on his mission and to prepare for them. He set out from England disguised as a Persian darwish. In Alexandria he was the guest of an English friend, but he lived in the outer rooms in the garden to avoid suspicion. In Cairo he stayed at a Wakalah, or Inn, where many pilgrims stay until the time for embarkation to Mecca arrives. Because of his new oriental identity he had a great deal of trouble in getting his passport and papers ready both at Cairo and Suez. Had he declared his British identity he would have avoided all that hardship and humiliation but he would have jeopardized his plan. He made some friends in Cairo who rendered him valuable help and advice. Throughout the journey Burton was in full command of matters. When he left Cairo he told everybody that he was going by way of Jeddah to Mecca, while, in fact, he had intended to go to Al-Madinah first through Yambu. It was a precaution against the

1. Court Life in Egypt, by A.J. Butler, Chapman & Hall, London 1887, pp. 55, 56. See also Hitchman; op. cit., vol. I p. 178n.

2. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. I, pp. 168-83.

possibility of anybody having suspected him at Cairo. He knew that the danger, if he was found out, would be from the fanatical crowds and not the authorities.¹ Of the thousands of pilgrims the immediate danger was from those he came into immediate contact with, his companions and the camel-men. And he handled them well. In fact he said that one of the party made an irreverent remark about Jebel Radhwah "Mountains of Paradise" and got away with it. And, on one occasion, Burton declined to repeat a prayer as he ought to have done and, when leaving Al-Madinah, he did not make the farewell visitation to the tomb of the Prophet as he was supposed to. On both occasions his "friends" turned a blind eye.² The most critical moment for him was when the sextant was discovered among his baggage. His companions, stirred with suspicion, discussed among themselves the genuineness of his character, religion and intentions. Earlier Burton had lent his companions money to defray the cost of the journey home. This certainly with other factors helped to conclude the sextant debate in Burton's favour. As the Arabic proverb says "feed the mouth and the eye will be abashed."² The business of lending the money to his companions was one of the most crucial and successful precautions on the practical side Burton took. He not only won their help, but their friendship and trust as well. As friends, none would be keeping a watchful eye on Burton either in what he said or in what he did. These friends

1. Brodie, op. cit., p.89 and Brent op. cit., p.113.

2. That is, people whom you have done favours to or bribed, will turn a blind eye on your failings and matters they don't usually accept.

offered Burton free accommodation and guidance in the holy cities and looked after all his needs. Having secured the confidence and trust of his companions through his sincerity Burton knew that most of the danger was removed. He needed nobody else and hardly got into direct contact with others.

Burton was hardly in any real danger at all throughout the journey. In Mecca all Moslems have Meccan guides "Mutawwef" to assist them in performing the various rituals and reciting the assigned prayer for each. So there was no danger from not knowing what to do there because this is expected in the case of the majority of the visitors. Only in the Ka'abah, where the danger of discovery seemed greatest, did Burton feel a little tense. But it was merely a fear generated from anticipation of possible consequences not from any direct threat. Burton ought to be congratulated not so much for his courage as for his steady nerves. Burton admitted that disguise in the pilgrimage season is easy because there will be people from many nations, many of whom could not communicate with each other because of the language barrier. (vol. III, p. 337). He hardly said he was actually in danger. Even the anticipated danger from writing and sketching was greatly magnified in his own mind when he started out. On the way he made the notes in the privacy of the litter and, in the two holy cities, in the privacy afforded to him by his hosts. The danger was in sketching in the presence of Bedawins. At first Burton kept notes in Arabic, "but as no risk appeared," he switched to writing in English. "More than once," he said, "by way of experiment, I showed the writing on a loose slip of paper to my companions" (vol. I, p. 352n). What better testimony on writing and sketching in Arabia than that of the pilgrim himself.

While preparing his luggage to leave Al-Madinah, his friends came to bid him farewell. "My fellow travellers," he said, "had brought me some pencils and a pen-knife, as "forget-me-nots," for we were by no means sure of meeting again." (Vol.II, p. 335).

Many travellers scanned the Arabian desert, and many Christians penetrated the holy cities of Islam. Burton remains the most interesting among them.¹ He was unique in many ways. He was the only European to get as close to and intimate with the Moslems without becoming one of them. The first Christian to make a complete pilgrimage and the only one to do it with such proficiency and ease. The shortcomings of the work, mentioned above, by no means detract from the glory and greatness of his achievement. He set out to achieve a goal and he accomplished it with a success worthy of all praise and admiration. The concluding note of gratitude on fulfilling his dream sums up the book and the feelings of its author.² It shows what he was really after and how grateful he was to have got what he wanted. This journey to Mecca, is the only one of all his travels the memory of which he cherished in his heart with fondness to his dying day. Many years later, when passing through the Red Sea to India with his wife, he stopped at Jeddah. It was a nostalgic visit to the ground of his triumph. He asked about his old friends and showed his wife various places connected with his pilgrimage.³

Regardless of what the critics may say or think of the unconventional traveller-explorer diplomat of the Victorian era,

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1. Hitti, The Arabs, A Short History, p.28; and Ralli, op. cit., pp. 161-190.
 2. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. III, p. 390.
 3. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. II, pp. 55, 58.

Burton's Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, will ever remain a living record of his remarkable achievement, a unique specimen of nineteenth century exploration and travel literature and a major step in the advancement of Western understanding and appreciation of Islam.

CHAPTER II

Proverbia Communia Syriaca

The People's voice, the voice
of God we call;
And what are Proverbs, but the
people's voice?
Coined first and common made,
by common choice;
Then sure they must have weight,
and truth with all.¹

Proverbs existed before books² and any other form of literature, written or otherwise.³ Man's fondness for similes, allusion, and wit - especially among the primitive cultures of the world - encouraged the use of proverbs. With time, they gradually became an important and ornamental part of everyday speech, and their use became habitual. Through the ages some proverbs dropped out of use,⁴ new ones took their place, while others lived on. Many proverbs embodied in stories, in

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1. See "Introduction," Tamil Proverbs with their English Translation, by the Rev. P. Percival, second edition, Dinav Artamani Press, Madras, 1874, p. X.
 2. Curiosities of Literature, by Isaac D'Israeli, Edward Moxan, London, 1854, p. 385.
 3. "There are ancient Egyptian collections (of proverbs) dating from as early as 2500 B.C." See Encyclopedia Britanica, (Micropaedia), London, 1974, vol. VIII, p. 258.
 4. Proverbs like, "Travel is victory" in Burton's Pilgrimage, vol. II, P. 22n.

the sayings of the powerful and the wise, and in the oral literature of the people, were handed down from one generation to another. For example, many sayings attributed to King Solomon and the sage Luqman are still used in the East today.¹

Unlike almost any other branch of knowledge and learning, proverbs have always been of interest to the specialist and the ordinary man alike. They are appreciated by the learned and the illiterate and enjoyed by people of all ranks, colours and races. Proverbs, though in use for many centuries, remain difficult to define. Because of their special characteristic structure and unrestricted application no final definition has been reached.²

Proverbs have always been held in high esteem³ and looked upon as a possession that is worthy of our care and attention. Aristotle spoke of them as "fragments of an elder wisdom,"⁴ and D'Israeli recommended that "a frequent review of proverbs should enter into our reading,"⁵ while Sir Walter Scott, believing proverbs too good to be lost, constantly used them in his writings in order to preserve them. The Arabs say, "A proverb is to speech what salt is to food."⁶

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1. Al-Waseet fi Al-Adab Al-Arabi wa Tarekheh, by A. Iskandari and M. Anani, Al-Ma^aaref Press, Cairo, 1930, p.18.
 2. "Proverb," by James K. Kelso, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, 13 vols., ed. by James Hastings, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1908-1926, vol. X, p.412.
 3. Jewish Encyclopedia, (1905), vol. X, p. 227.
 4. Racial Proverbs, by S. G. Champion, George Routledge and Sons Ltd., London, 1938, p. xvii.
 5. I. D'Israeli, op. cit., p. 397.
 6. Stevenson's Book of Proverbs, Maxims & Familiar Phrases, by Burton Stevenson, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1949, p. 1905

In England proverbs have enjoyed steady popularity through the ages though their use was restricted at times. In the Middle Ages, priests leaned heavily on them by way of enforcing their sermons, having found a speech ornamented with proverbs to be more expressive and nearer to the people's hearts.¹ In the 16th and 17th centuries proverbs were used by all ranks of society. They were so popular that a parliamentary speech and some plays were written entirely of proverbs.² But by the turn of the 17th century the use of proverbs was on the decline, and by the first half of the 18th their use was openly objected to in England. The refined literary taste of the Augustans regarded their use as unsuitable and undesirable, and far below the standard required of a gentleman in polite conversation.³ Lord Chesterfield's advice to his son to avoid "false English, bad pronunciation, old sayings and common proverbs"⁴ reflects that attitude. Collectors of proverbs in this period had to conform to the taste of the time. They deliberately avoided recording some proverbs simply because of a vulgar word or expression.⁵

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1. Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. X, p. 412
 2. D'Israeli, op. cit., p. 388.
 3. The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, by Smith and Heseltine, 2nd edition, At The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1948, p. xviii.
 4. Letters, by Philip Dormer (Earl of Chesterfield) to his son, 1737 - 1768, W. W. Gribbings, London, 1890, p. 69.
 5. See A Handbook of Proverbs, by Henry G. Bohn, H. G. Bohn, London, 1813, p. viii; also A Complete Collection of English Proverbs, by J. Ray, (n.p.), London, 1817, p. IV.

The revival of the proverbs in the 19th Century was largely due to the activities of the scholars. With the rise of interest in the Orient at the end of the 18th Century and the beginning of the 19th, and the ever increasing travels into the "mysterious" East, the importance of proverbs began to be felt, once again, and orientalists were called upon to give proverbs more serious attention.¹ So proverbs, once more, became the centre of attention and consideration. They were collected, studied, and analysed. Orientalists realized, not only that they could learn a great deal about nations from their proverbs, but also that these proverbs still played an important part in the lives and literature of most of the people.² Many travellers like Doughty,³ Dickson,⁴ and Rabin,⁵ recorded proverbs in the account of their travels in the East whenever they heard them. Others like Burckhardt,⁶ Burton,⁷ Huxley,⁸ and Jewett,⁹ looking upon

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1. Eastern Proverbs and Emblems, by the Rev. J. Long, Trubner's Oriental Series, Trubner & Co., London, 1881, p. VI. See also English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases, by W. C. Hazlitt, Reeves and Turner, London, 1907, p.xii.
 2. "Mathal," by C. Brockelmann, Encyclopedia of Islam, 4 vols., Luzac & Co., London, 1913-38, vol. III, p.407.
 3. Doughty, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 126, 213, 254, 227 and 333.
 4. The Arab of the Desert, by H.R.P, Dickson, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1951, pp. 337-339.
 5. Ancient West Arabia, by Chaim Rabin, Taylor's Foreign Press, London, 1951, pp. 49, 70, 171 and 185.
 6. Arabic Proverbs---; by John L. Burckhardt, Curzon Press, London, 1972.
 7. "Proverbia Communia Synaca," appended to Unexplored Syria, 2 vols., by Richard F. Burton and Charles F. Tyrwhitt Drake, Tinsley Brothers, London, 1972, vol. I, Appendix II.
 8. "Some Arabic Proverbs," by J. R. Jewett, Journal of the Oriental Society, vol. 13, pp. CXXIX - CXXXII, and vol. 15, pp. 28-120.
 9. "Syrian Songs, Proverbs and Stories," by Henry Minor Huxley, Ibid., vol. 23, second half, pp. 175-289.

proverbs as a safe guide to the life, customs, habits, attitudes and manners of thought of the society in which they are used, were keen to collect the proverbs of the communities they happened to be in.

Proverbs are of social, historical and literary importance. The social importance of proverbs is the first of their qualities to be realized. Proverbs often add a touch of humour to conversation and provide lively entertainment. More often, they help to drive a point home, to support an argument or to make it easy to escape neatly from a tight situation during an awkward discussion. They often embody advice, warning, and guidance and so serve for didactic and moral purposes, and prove useful in religious teaching. The historical importance of proverbs lies in their being a faithful record of concepts, experience, morals, customs, wit, and wisdom of previous ages. Proverbs also helped to keep alive names of people and places that were, perhaps, not significant enough for history to record. Most proverbs have stories attached to them, which, very often, preserve the memory of events and incidents some of which have left little or no other record of their existence.¹ The execution of Lord Lovat is such an event. It is preserved in the well known and often quoted Scottish proverb "The mair mischief the better sport."² Touching as they do upon so wide a range of human concerns proverbs are of great literary importance. They are often coined by literature and more often

1. Proverbs of all Nations, by Walter K. Kelly, W. Kent & Co., London, 1859, p. VI.

2. Proverbs, Proverbial Expressions and popular Rhymes of Scotland, by Andrew Cheviot, Alexander Gardner, London, 1896, p. V.

are interwoven into its texture. In holy scripts and religious teachings, proverbs will always retain their importance and significance. Their precision and clarity rendered them an indispensable tool for religious guidance. They not only abound in God's holy books but his Prophets talked in them and priests always used them in their sermons.

In the 19th century, however, the interest in proverbs began to follow a new line. The study of proverbs became an important independent branch of literature. They became the subject of study and research. The study of comparative proverbial literature has led scholars to very important and interesting conclusions. It was found that proverbial wisdom is the same all over the world, differing only in the rendering. In his book of proverbs, Gluski suggests that European nations have a great deal in common as far as wit, wisdom, and genius is concerned. He says that this is shown in the striking number of similar proverbs among these nations, which he hoped will be "a contributive factor to a better mutual understanding and rapprochement between (those) nations."¹ Others like Champion go a little further to suggest "that it is beyond the realm of possibility that the Occident borrowed from the Orient, or vice versa,"² and that the similarity of proverbs is entirely due to the similarity of human nature. Clearly, this is an exaggeration. Whenever nations came in contact with each other, they have always borrowed from one another, even proverbs.

1. Proverbs, by Jerzy Gluski, Elsevier Publishing Company, London, 1971, p. vii.

2. Champion, op. cit., p. xxv.

But, at the same time, Champion is right about the similarity of human nature and human reaction to similar phenomena and events. Men, everywhere, being ruled by the same basic natural and instinctive factors of love, hunger, and fear, have always reacted in similar ways to similar incidents. Out of the 1085 proverbs entered in Gluski's collection 132 have parallels in Arabic and many more enter into the Arabs' social code and manners. Most of these proverbs touch on the general human concepts of man's conduct in society or his attitudes and views on social and accepted behaviour. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the point.

Lies have short legs. The cord (or rope) of lying is short.	(Gluski, p.11) (Arabic) ¹
He that is afraid of leaves must not come in a wood. He that is afraid of frogs must not paddle in the water.	(Gluski, p.118) (Arabic) ²
Stretch your legs according to your coverlets According to your mattress stretch your legs.	(Gluski, p.142) (Arabic) ³
Poverty is no sin. Poverty is no disgrace.	(Gluski, p.140) (Arabic) ⁴
Gold is an orator. Money speaks.	(Gluski, p.136) (Arabic) ⁵
Forbidden fruit is sweet. What is forbidden is desired.	(Gluski, p.19) (Arabic) ⁶

1. " جبل الكذب كبير " 5000 arabische Sprichwörter aus Palastina, by Pastor Sa'id 'Abbud, In Kommission bei Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, 1933, p.77.

2. - التي يتألف من الصناديق ما يتوض بالمي .
(The source of the Arabic proverbs quoted in this chapter is given either immediately after the proverb in the text or in the foot-notes. Those that are not followed by such information are quoted from personal knowledge. The translation of these proverbs is mine).

3. Huxley, op. cit., p.227 - على قد فراسك من رجلك .
4. - الفقر موعيب .
5. - المصري (الغله) بتماكي .
6. Abbud, op. cit., p.166 - كل ممنوع (محبوب) مرغوب .

Whoso learneth young forgets not when he is old	(Gluski, p.40)
Learning in youth is like engraving on stone.	(Arabic) ¹
April showers/bring summer flowers	(English) ²
The April rain revives the human heart	(Arabic) ³
If there be neither snow nor rain, then will be dear all sorts of grain	(Hazlitt, p.249)
The storage of summer is useful in winter	(Arabic) ⁴

Proverbs are of universal occurrence. There is no language, however elegant or poor, in which they are not found.⁵ All the proverbs of mankind, from all ages, cultures and all parts of the world, taken together, can be safely divided into two main distinct parts. The first can be easily said to belong to no particular nation, race, or time, but to humanity as a whole. The second can be called the proverbs of a particular nation because they sprang from it and tend to reflect its life and character. The proverbs cited earlier, and their like, are found in almost all languages and so they are common to all. They spring from man's experience of life and observance of nature.

Man's concern to preserve the harmony of the society he lives in is shown in the great emphasis placed on good

1. Ibid., p.130

2. Hazlitt, op. cit., p.64.

3. - نظرة بيان بتي قلب اليدان

4. Abbud, op. cit., p.86. - خزين الصيف بينمغ للستا .

5. James K. Kelso, op. cit., p.413. Also Behar Proverbs, by John Christian, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., London, 1891, p.viii.

conduct, mutual concern between individuals, and on safeguarding the interests of the community as well as those of the individual. Benevolence, charity, kindness, love, hospitality, and courtesy, have always and everywhere, been held in high esteem. This is due, partly to similar human experience, and partly to the similarity of religious teachings. All heavenly religions are basically the same.¹ They all attempt to establish good conduct and reasonably acceptable living conditions among the human race. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, like all true religions, were founded to teach right conduct and to provide the basis for a sound relationship between man and God, man and his fellow man, and between man and society;² in short to point out what is right and what is wrong. Accordingly it is not surprising to find so many similar proverbs dealing with human conduct and social behaviour among different nations of different cultures.³ The golden rule "Do to others as you would that they should do to you," probably, has a parallel in most if not all languages in one form or another.⁴ Mohammad says, "None of

1. Notes on Islam, by Sir Ahmad Hussain, Government Central Press, Hyderabad, 1922, p.12f.

2. G. E. Von Grunebaum, Islam-----, p.1.

3. Champion, op. cit., p.xxv. See also A Polyglot of Foreign Proverbs, by Henry G. Bohn, Henry G. Bohn, London, 1757, p.iii.

4. The Book of The Thousand Nights and a Night, by R.F.Burton, 12 vols. The Library Edition, ed. by Leonard C. Smithers, H. S. Nichols Ltd., London, 1897, vol. V, p.40 n.1.

you is a true believer until he wishes (loves) for his brother (Moslem) what he wishes for himself."¹ A few examples from English² and Arabic proverbs will reveal basis similarity:-

Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. (St. Matthew XIX)
Seek the good of thy neighbour and thou
will find good at home. (Burton, No.174)

If God be with us, who can be against us? (New Testament)
Have God, Have all. (Scott.)
Be with God and never fear! (Arabic)

Out of the abundance of the heart speaks
the mouth (New Testament)
The heart of the believer is his guide (Arabic)
Many millions search for God and find
him in their breasts. (Sikh)

He that after sinning mends recommends
himself to God. (English)
The door of repentance is open. (Arabic)
Confessing a wrong is a virtue. (Arabic)

The charitable give out of the door and
God puts in at the window. (English)
Spend and Good will send. (English)
Give what is in your pocket and you
will get what you don't know of
(What God sends). (Arabic)

The nest of the blind is made by God (English)
God never sends a mouth but he sends
meat for it. (Irish)
When God denies the cultivated date,
He gives the wild one. (Arabic)
God provides for the seeker and the
sleeper. (Iraqi)

1. لا يؤمن أحدكم حتى يحب لئخيه ما يحب لنفسه. See Sahih Muslim, 5 vols. by Muslim bin Hajjaj, ed. by Mohammad Fu'ad Abd Al-Baki, Dar Ihya' Al-Kutub Al-Arabiah, Cairo, 1955-6, vol. 1, p.67.

2. All proverbs quoted here are from Champion's Racial Proverbs.

The second part of the proverbs of mankind, which earlier were described as the private property of the nation that has given them birth, are also the fruit of experience, wit, and wisdom. They differ from the first group in being expressive of the particular race, community and country in which they are used. Sir Francis Bacon says "the genius, wit, and spirit of a nation are discovered in its proverbs."¹ Generally speaking, the natural habitat of a nation is reflected in its proverbs.² They delineate the local life of the community that gave them coinage and portray its various aspects in their true colour. African proverbs talk of animals and jungles.³ Desert proverbs talk of camels, tents, mares, and hospitality;⁴ and proverbs from the urban communities talk of aspects that portray their character and mode of life.

Proverbs have always enjoyed high respect and an extremely wide popularity among the Arabs. They are admired and used by all ranks of society; the learned and the illiterate, the high and the low. They exercise such a remarkable influence on the people that they have become an indispensable element of their

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1. For this and other definitions see Burton Stevenson, op.cit., pp. 1905-1906.
 2. See for example; Al-Amthal Al-Sha^{biya} fi'l Basra, 2 vols., by Abd Al-Latif Dul'aishi, Dar Al-Tadamun Press, Baghdad, 1968, vol.1., Behar Proverbs, op. cit. Tamil Proverbs with their English Translation, by Rev. P. Percival, Dinav Artamani Press, Madras, 1874, "Introduction."
 3. Wit and Wisdom from West Africa, by R. F. Burton, Tinsley Brothers, London 1865.
 4. Al-Amthal Al-sha^{biya} fi Qalb Jazirat Al-Arab, 3 vols., (in Arabic), by Abd Al-Karim Al-Jahiman (n.p.) Beirut, 1963.

daily life, and play an important part even in the higher forms of their literature.¹ The importance of proverbs and their role in the local social life will be appreciated when it is realized that the Arabs and their literature are inseparable.

The ideas which reveal themselves in Arabic literature are so intimately connected with the history of the people, and so incomprehensible apart from the external circumstances in which they arose, that I have found myself obliged to dwell at considerable length on various matters of historical interest.²

Arabic proverbs reflect a faithful picture of the people's thoughts, beliefs, habits, and way of life. They convey a vivid image of the local life and social setting of the community in which they originated and circulated. Burton's, Burckhardt's, Huxley's and Jewett's collections of Arabic proverbs provide a good example. While Burckhardt's collection gives the reader an idea of the social life in Cairo, Burton's collection gives that in Damascus; and Jewett's and Huxley's that in Beirut and other Lebanese communities. The social importance of Arabic proverbs is seen in the great number among them that lay stress on the responsibility of the individual.³ Abu-al-Wafa's collection containing over a thousand social proverbs and wise sayings was intended to be a guide to moral conduct for both sexes.⁴

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1. Encyclopedia of Islam, op. cit., vol. III, p.407.
 2. A Literary History of the Arabs, by R. A. Nicholson, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1907, p.xxx.
 3. Champion, op. cit., p.xxxix.
 4. Tahzeeb Al-Mar'ah wal Rajul, by A. Abu Al-Wafa, printed by Mohammad M. Al-Salekh, Alexandria (n.d.).

Arabic proverbs not only embody advice and moral guidance but cover every aspect of society and social life. In fact, referring to proverbs, it is often heard said "God bless the people of the past for they have left nothing unsaid."¹

There are proverbs about neighbours "A neighbour is a neighbour though he be unjust."²; about friends "Tell me who your friends are and I will tell you what you are";³ business, "Settling accounts is by the dirham (to the penny) and tipping is by the kintar (big amount)";⁴ work "A trade (business, work, profession) in hand is a safeguard against poverty";⁵ Kindness, "The big vessel contains the small one";⁶ charity, "The little charities prevent the big calamities";⁷ the house, "Oh, my little house, the concealer of all my failings"⁸; mothers, "Heaven is under the feet of mothers";⁹ fathers, "When your son grows up, befriend him";¹⁰ relatives, "Come not near your relatives lest their scorpion (troubles) sting you";¹¹

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1. - الله عزم أهل أول ما تركوا شي ما قالوه .
 2. - الجار جار ولو جار .
 3. - قل لي من تعاشر اقول لك من أنت .
 4. - الحساب بالدرهم والبنشيتى بالقنطار .
 5. - مينة باليد أمانة من الفقر .
 6. - الواعى الكبيرة يتبع الواعى الصغيره .
 7. - الحنات الصغيره بتدفع البلادويا الكبيره .
 8. - يا بيتي يا يويتاتي يا مسترني عيوباتي .
 9. - الجنة تحت اقدام الأموات .
 10. - لا يتكبر ابنك خاويه .
 11. - أهلك من تقربهم بيقربك عنقربهم .

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in-laws, "Do not anger him whose father-in-law or brother-in-law you became";¹ pedigree, "Take the daughter from the breasts of their father's sisters, (they take after them)";² "If the boy be inclined, two thirds of him will be like his mother's brother";³ "He that resembles his father does him no injustice";⁴ family relations, "Blood will never become water";⁵ good discourse, "The appropriate words at the right time are like gold in its measure";⁶ conduct, "respect people and they will respect you";⁷ health, "Health is a crown on the heads of the healthy, that none see but the sick";⁸ In fact there are Arabic proverbs on every topic man can think of, from religion, morality, philosophy, and wisdom, to wickedness, ingratitude and ignorance.

As with the definition of proverbs, collectors of proverbs seem to disagree on the basic qualities necessary in the proverb. Qualities like "brevity," "plainness" and being "common" believed essential in a proverb by some scholars⁹ were rejected by others on the ground that not all proverbs necessarily have them.¹⁰ However, Arab collectors of proverbs seem to be in better agreement on this point.¹¹ They all quote

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1. - الابي تصاعده لا تأخره .
 2. - خذوا النبات من صدور السمات .
 3. - الولد اذا مال تلتينه للخال .
 4. - من شابه ابيه ما ظلمه .
 5. - الدم ما يبصر .
 6. - الكلام بمله مثل الذهب بمله .
 7. - اعتم الناس بيمت موتك .
 8. - الصفة تاج مع رؤوس الاضداد لا يراه بلد الرضا .

9. See Wit and Wisdom in Morocco, by E. Westermarck, George Routledge and Sons Ltd., London, 1930, p.1. Also Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. X, p.412.

10. Hazlitt, op. cit., pp. vii and viii.

11. See Amthal Al-Umam Al-Uribyah, (in Arabic), by Mohammad Rida, Maktabet Al-Arab, Cairo, 1947, pp. 1 & 2, and Al-Izat Al Dineyh fi Al-Amthal Al-Qur'aniyah wal Nahawayh wal Arabeyh by Ali Fikri, Isa Al-Babi Al-Halabi & Co., CAIRO, 1937, p.5.

Ibrahim Al-Nazzam's statement that "four qualities combine only in the proverb and not in any other speech: brevity, precision of meaning, grace of comparison, and excellence of composition; which is the ultimate state of eloquence."¹

Rhyming is one of the chief characteristics of Arabic proverbs, Rhyme, alliteration, assonance and word play is one of their most prominent features. The rhythmic effect is often produced by a harmonious arrangement of syllables, and more often by parallelism between the halves of the proverb.

Dour al-daura wlaw daret, wkhoud bint al-bait wlaw baret.²

Ilhak al Kazab li wara al-hab.³

Rhyming in proverbs is so important and desirable to the Arabs that, in some cases, words of no significance at all to the meaning of the proverb are coined just to make up the rhyme.

Titi titi mitl ma rihti mitl ma jiti.⁴

"Titi titi" means absolutely nothing, but it is there to

1. Rida, op. cit., p.1, also Fikri, op. cit., p.6, also Majma' Al-Amthal by Al-Medani, 2 vols., ed. by M. Abd al-Hamid, Al Sunnah al-Mohammadiyah Press, Cairo, 1955, p.6; and Fara'ed Al-'Aal fi Jam' Al-Amthal, by Ibrahim Trablasi, Catholic Press, Beirut, 1893, p.10.

2. دور الدورة ولو دارت وهود بنت البيت ولو بارت.

3. الحق الكذاب لورا الباب.

4. تيتي تيتي مثل ما رحتي مثل ما جيتي.

affect the rhyme. Actually, Arabic proverbs cannot be imagined without this quality. The rhyme is not just an important means of giving the proverb currency among people, but also helps to impress it more powerfully on the memory, to say nothing of the delight it affords to the ear by its musical accord. Remarking on proverb No. 15 in his collection "Turn the jar mouth downwards: the daughter will turn out like her mother."¹ Burton says "the first half is merely for the rhyme."

Arabic proverbs in general can be classified into four major groups. The first, historically speaking, is the classical. These include the ancient proverbs and those of the pre-Islamic era. These proverbs are set apart from the rest by their eloquent and beautiful expression. Through these proverbs one senses the glory, the pride, and the literary ability of the people that coined them.

The weaklings become falcons in our land.²

On the whole, ancient proverbs are rarely used by the ordinary man as many of them are now very difficult to understand.

Generally speaking they are of interest only to the specialist and the enthusiast.³ Nevertheless quite a number of proverbs attributed to Luqman⁴ are still common and in popular use

1.

- طب الجره مع تمك بطلع البنت لدمط .

2.

- ليه البقات في ارضنا تنس .

3.

See Meidani Proverbiorum Arabicorum, by Henricus Albertus Sshultens, Sumptibus Auctoris, Ludguni Batavorum, MDCCLXXXV.

4.

The oldest collection of Arabic proverbs is attributed to the Sage Luqman bin^{Ad}. Some doubt this, for they believe the collection to have been made by a monk. See History of the Arabs and their Literature, by Edward A. Van Dyck, Ig. v. Kleinmayr & Fed. Bamberg, Laiback, 1894, p.43

today.¹ Proverbs of the pre-Islamic era, on the whole, enjoy more popularity and recognition. They are more familiar to the educated people than the ancient ones are for they often enter into the immediate pre-Islamic Arabic history and literature.

Halimah's day is no secret.²

Juhainah has put an end to every speaker's speech.³

But like the classical proverbs they are hardly used today as the majority of them are unintelligible. The difficulty of these proverbs lies in the fact that many of them are circumstantial. They are the out-come of certain incidents and events in history many of which are not known to the general public. Most of these proverbs not being self-explanatory, the listener fails to understand them and consequently they do not have the desired effect. Proverbs like "This conversation is pathetic," or "The sword has beaten reason"⁴ are totally unintelligible except to those acquainted with them or are familiar with the story from which they originated.⁵

1. Iskandari and Anani, op. cit., p.18.

2.

3.

- ما يوم حليمه يسر .
- قطعت جريته قول كل خطيب .

4. Amthal al-Arab, by Al-Mufadal Al-Dubi, Al-Jawa'eb Printers, Constantinople, 1300 Higrāh, p.4.

5. Al-Mufadal Al-Dubi, op. cit., p.4. See also Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 50, 84.

Many of the classical proverbs are in rhymed prose, but without poetical measure. Part of these proverbs was handed down to later generations in poetry. Some were the creation of the poets while others were already in common use and were used by the poets for their beauty.

Cut not the tail of a snake and leave it
If you are a gallant let the head follow the tail.¹

He who doesn't defend his house with arms will
have it demolished; and he who does not
oppress people will himself be oppressed.²

The second division of Arabic proverbs is the Qur'anic. The Qur'an exercised a considerable influence not only on the Arabic language, but also on the mind and attitude of the people.³ To the Moslem the words of God are steeped in wisdom and sound advice. Many a verse from The Qur'an gained currency and became proverbial. Westermark, when talking of the Moors' proverbs, rightly remarks that their Islamic culture is reflected in their proverbs.⁴ This remark can be safely applied to the proverbs of the rest of the Arab nations. The Qur'anic proverbs touch upon all aspects of life, but, as might be expected, they lay special emphasis on good social conduct.⁵

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1. لا تقطعن ذنب الأفعى وترسلها
إمه كنت شيئاً فأتبع رأسها الذنب.
2. ومن لا يظلم الناس يظلم
ومن لا يزدعه حوضه بلاهه يهدم
- Quoted in Al-Waseet, pp. 17 and 19 respectively.
3. Champion, op. cit., pp. xx and xxxvii; Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. X, p.412. Also Nicholson op. cit., p. xxv.
4. Westermark, op. cit., p.51
5. The Translation for the Quranic verses is taken from The Qur'an Arabic Text with a new Translation by Muhammed Zafrulla Khan, Curzon Press, London, 1971.

- A kind word and forgiveness are better than charity followed by injury.¹ (Q2, 263)
- God requires not of any one that which is beyond his capacity.² (Q2, 286)
- If thou (Muhammad) hadst been rough and hard-hearted they would surely have dispersed from around thee.³ (Q3, 159)
- The Prophet's duty is only to convey the message.⁴
- Evil designs encompass none but the authors thereof.⁵ (Q35, 43)

Not a few of the Qur'anic proverbs, as with the other Arabic proverbs, have taken the form of a question. In almost all of them the question is theoretical containing the expected answer to the question.

- Is the reward of goodness anything but goodness (Q55, 50)⁶

Many of the Qur'anic proverbs have parallels in either the colloquial proverbs or those in poetry or in both.

- The kind word makes the snake come out of its hole.⁷ (colloquial)
- You have no horses nor money to give
Then let your utterance do what your wealth failed to achieve.⁸ (Poetry)
- Repel evil with that which is best, and lo, he between whom and thyself was enmity is as though he were a warm friend.⁹ (Q41, 34)

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1. - تقول معروف ومنفرة خير من صدقه يتبلى أذى. (البقرة ٢٦٣)
 2. - لا يتلف الله نفساً إلا وسعاً. (البقرة ٢٨٦)
 3. - ولو كنت ظمأً غليظاً القلب لنتنفضوا من حولك. (آل عمران ١٥٩)
 4. - ما على الرسول إلا البلاغ. (المائدة ١٠٠)
 5. - لا يجيء المكر إلا من أهلكه. (فاطر ٤٢)
 6. - هل جزاء الإحسان إلا الإحسان. (الرحمن ٦٠)
 7. - الكلمة الحلوة بتطالغ الحية من دكرها.
 8. - قد خيل عندك شهيدك وزلا حال
فليس انظيرة إبه لم تصد الحال (المتنبي)

Sharh Diwan Al-Mutanabi, 2 vols., (in Arabic) by Abd al-Rahman Al-Barkuki, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Arabi, Beirut, 1938, vol. 1, p.72.

9. - ادفع بالتي هي أحسن فإذا الذي بينك وبينه عداوة كأنه ولي حميم (رضيت ٤٢)

Bearing this similarity in mind, Moslem preachers, quite often, call on the believers to use proverbs from The Qur'an in place of their parallels whatever their source may be.¹ This preference for the Qur'anic proverbs stems from the belief that God's wisdom is always better than man's; the arguments and proofs in these proverbs are more sound; and the expression is more elegant, more moving, and more majestic.

The third division of Arabic proverbs comes from the Traditions, or the sayings of the Prophet Mohammad. They come second only to the Qur'anic proverbs in reverence and importance.² Together they play an important role in religious and moral teachings. They are indispensable to any composition on topics of a religious and social nature. Practically all the books of religious instruction that are circulated throughout the Moslem world make use of these Arabic proverbs as moral maxims.³ Their didactic quality is evident in the advice and warning they embody, and their moral influence rests on setting an excellent example of high moral standards. Fragments from some of the Traditions that have become proverbial will explain their use and application:-

- Deeds will be judged according to intention.⁴

- The upper hand (that which gives) is better than the lower hand⁵ (that which takes)

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1. Muhadarat Al-Thalatha' by Ahmad Al-Shurbasi, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Arabi, Cairo, 1952, p.5.
 2. The Rev. F. A. Klein, op. cit., pp. 24-5n.
 3. Studies in Muslim Ethics, by Dwight M. Donaldson, S.P.C.K., London, 1953, p.91.

4.

- إنما الله تعالى بالنيات .

5.

- اليد العليا خير من اليد السفلى .

- All people are equal like the teeth of a comb.¹

- Tie up, then depend (rely on God).²

The last proverb comes from the story of a Bedawin who came to see the Prophet. Having greeted the Prophet, in order to show his faith in God, the Bedawin said to the prophet "I left my donkey outside (the mosque) and depended on God (for its safety). Then the Prophet asked "did you tie it up?" (so that it would not stray). The Bedawin answered "no". Then Mohammad said to him "Tie up, then depend," that is, take all sensible precautions and then place trust in God.

The last division of Arabic proverbs is the colloquial. This division constitutes the largest part of the Arabic proverbs, and is the most widely used and commonly known. These proverbs fall short of the notable eloquence and high literary quality of the previous three divisions. They can be safely considered the "literature of the illiterate" and the "wisdom of the streets."³ They are, however, by no means looked upon by any sector of the society as inferior to any other category of proverbs. In fact they are more popular and used by all classes of society with the same readiness and delight. Burton's remark about the popularity of proverbs in Syria can be confidently applied to any other Arabic community.

1. - الناس سواسية كأن المنط .

2. - لعقل وتوكل .

3. Burton-Stevenson, op. cit., p. 1906.

Here proverbs have not passed from the learned to the vulgar tongues; they are in universal circulation, amongst all degrees, from the ignorant to the man of the highest civilization; and the opposite use of aphorisms is like wit and eloquence, a manner of power.¹

The popularity of this class of proverbs springs from the pleasure they afford both user and hearer. They are free from the eloquence and strict, though often cumbersome, utterance of classical proverbs and the reverence and religious respect of the proverbs from The Qur'an and the Prophet's Traditions. They are made free with and often tossed out lightly and casually as an answer to a remark or a summary of one's personal opinion in a discussion; or as ornamentation to a lively conversation. While the other Arabic proverbs covered in the first three divisions can be considered the common property of all the Arab nations and are repeated and used in the same way everywhere, no single collection of colloquial proverbs can be called Arabic in the general and broader sense of the word. These proverbs tend rather to reflect the local characteristics of the community in which they originated and circulated. They are expressed in the local dialect and not in standard literary Arabic. They also convey local colour and imagery and reflect local attitudes and inclinations. A quick glance at Westermarck's Wit and Wisdom in Morocco; Burckhardt's Arabic Proverbs; Burton's Proverbia Communia Syriaca; Jewett's Arabic Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases; Huxley's Syrian Songs, Proverbs and Stories; Dulaishi's

1. Sir Richard Burton, Unexplored Syria, vol. I, p 265

Al-Amthal Al-Sha'biyya fi'l Basra; Abbad's Sprichwörter aus Palastina; and Al-Jahiman's Al-Amthal Al-Sha'biyya fi galb Jazirat Al-Arab, is sufficient to see that each has a different style, employs a particular dialect and exhibits a distinct character. The ideas expressed are in most cases identical but the presentation of these ideas varies from one community to the other. For example in Egypt they say "If the sailors become too numerous, the ship sinks." ¹ (Burckhardt No. 15); in the Lebanon they say "From the multitude of cooks the food smelt of burning," (Jewett No. 42); in Syria they say "Too many hands burns the food." ³ (Burton No. 178). All these proverbs express the same idea "Too many cooks spoil the broth." Burton seems to have been aware of the distinction between local Arabic colloquial proverbs. He was careful not to include in his collection of Syrian proverbs any of the numerous Arabic proverbs he had at his disposal in his Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah and the Arabian Nights. ⁴

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1. إذا كثرت النواتية عرقت المركب. (مصر)
 2. كثرة الطباخين حوشط الطعام. (لبنان)
 3. كثرة الأيدي بتره الطعام. (سوريا)
 4. See Burton, Pilgrimage, vol I, pp. 208, 218; vol. II P.22n., and vol. III, p.340. Also his Arabian Nights, vol. I, pp. 86, 139n.3, 195n.1., 230n.1., 233n.2., 283, 304, 279n.1; Vol. II, pp. 45n.1., 61n.1., 84n.1., 99, 266n.2., 284n.1., 294n.3.; Vol. III, pp. 65, 65n.1., 88n.1., 95n.2., 98n.5., 197, 198n.1., 263n.1.; Vol. V, pp.40, 40n.1., 367, 307n.1; Vol. VI, pp. 8n.1., 214n.1., 349n.1.; Vol. VII, pp. 65n.1., 250, 250n.2., 335n.1., 375n.2.; Vol. IX, pp.12, 84, 214n.2., 348, 365, 370; Vol X, pp. 35, 131; Vol. XI, pp.105, 355; Vol. XII, pp. 68n.1.

Some Arabic proverbs are so popular that, quite often, it is enough to say half the proverb or part of it to be fully understood,¹ as when one says:-

Like a chameleon² (Changes its colour to suit itself)
Like locusts³ (eats the green and the dry)
One for one⁴ (and he who started is to blame)
It is said that a (clay) pot reproached a (clay) jar⁵
(the jar replied we are from the same district, i.e. made of the same material).

Proverbs No. 28, 66, 88 and 132 in Burton's collection are of this nature.

Burton's "Proverbia Communia Syriaca" is largely from this class of proverbs; the common, colloquial and popular. Most of them are heard in discussions, friendly conversation, arguments, and business negotiations. It is not easy for the people of the West to appreciate the fondness of the Arabs for proverbs and their attitude towards them. They are an indispensable aspect of local everyday life. In addition to all their other advantages, proverbs are considered as a means of politely and implicitly expressing personal inner feelings and attitudes. When a hot argument or a dispute breaks out, especially between women, it is not uncommon to hear many proverbs amidst the argument.

Compared with that of Burckhardt and Westermarck, Burton's collection is rather small. His stay in Damascus was much shorter than he expected. In fact he was looking forward to a prosperous future in the East, of which the Damascus

1. Richard Burton, Unexplored Syria, vol. I, p.265.

2. مثل الحرباية (كيفه ما بده يتلون).

3. مثل الجراد (بياكل الأخضر واليابس).

4. واحد بواحد (والبادي الظلم).

5. قال قده عيرت ناره (قالتلانا انا ويا له من فرد حاره).

consulate would be only the start. Referring to this consulate his wife said:

Richard's prospects were on the rise, and it was hinted that if he succeeded there he might eventually get Morocco, Tehran, and finish up at Constantinople. In fact, we were on the zenith of our career.

The Damascus consulate turned out to be an unhappy experience for Burton. It was a period of troubled and hard times because of his conflict with the Turkish Governor-general Mohammed Rashid and the Jewish community in Damascus. In such circumstances and with the pressure of his diplomatic and social duties, not to mention his explorations, Burton would hardly have had the time and energy for secondary interests like collecting proverbs. Nevertheless, unlike Huxley² and Jewett,³ Burton did not clearly state how the proverbs were collected. He was content to say:

Returning to Western Asia, and resuming the studies which had been interrupted by long service in Africa and South America, I at once recommenced them at the commencement - the alloquialisms of a people new to me.

This statement gives the impression that he personally made the collection. Not until many years later in the last volume of his Arabian Nights, does Burton say how he came by the collection. Defending himself against Doctor Count Landberg's criticism of "Proverbia Communia Syriaca," Burton says;

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1. Isabel Burton, Life, Vol. I, p.455.
 2. Jewett, J.A.O.S., Vol. 23, second half, p.175
 3. Ibid., vol. 15, p.28.
 4. Burton, Unexplored Syria, vol. I, p.264

These 187 "dictes" were taken mainly from a MS. collection by one Hanná Misk, ex-dragoman of the British Consulate (Damascus), a little recueil for private use such as would be made by a Syro-Christian Bourgeois.¹

Burton's collection of proverbs lacks the scholarly touch observed in the collections of Burckhardt, Huxley, Jewett and Westermarck. While Burckhardt arranged his collection alphabetically and Westermarck according to the various topics the proverbs covered, Burton's collection reveals no particular order of classification. Burton, probably, published the proverbs in the same order they were written in the MS. Jewett and Huxley give the transliteration of the proverbs, and very often, like Burckhardt, give the derivation and meaning of the key word in the proverb. Burton does not go to this trouble. He occasionally expounds on the key words of the proverb, but, like Burckhardt, he gives no transliteration. He believed "the transliteration of Arabic words" to be an "ugly and clumsy" system and practically useless. He argued that:-

The devices perplex the simple and teach nothing to the learned. Either the reader knows Arabic, in which case Greek letters, italics and "upper case," diacritical points and similar typographic oddities are, as a rule, with some exceptions, unnecessary; or he does not know Arabic, when none of these expedients will be of the least use to him.²

On the other hand, in order to throw more light on the meaning and use of a proverb, Burton, on sever^{al} occasions, gives or hints at its parallel in other languages.³

The error most collectors of Arabic proverbs commit is that they give proverbs collected in a particular community in

1. Richard Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 12, p.232

2. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. XXIX.

3. They include English, French, Persian, Turkish and Latin.

the Arab World the title "Arabic Proverbs." As explained earlier only pan-Arabic proverbs can really be called "Arabic Proverbs" in the full sense of the word. These are, namely, the classical, the Qur'anic and the literary, and those drawn from the Traditions. The colloquial proverbs of every community are characteristically its own as are its recognisable speech patterns. They are all in Arabic and deal with similar topics and reveal, more or less, similar attitudes. Nevertheless, I believe, it is inaccurate and at the same time misleading to call any collection from any one part of the Arab World "Arabic Proverbs." They should be called by the name of the community in which they were collected. Even the title Burton gave to his collection is not fully indicative of its content.¹ The majority of the proverbs in his collection are characteristically Damascene. Burton's collection, of course, is nowhere near complete; nor are those of Jewett and Huxley. But a comparison between them shows that only 54 out of Burton's 187 proverbs are found in the collections of Huxley and Jewett totalling 383 proverbs that were collected in a community less than a hundred miles away.² Of course, the majority of the proverbs in Huxley's and Jewett's collections are known in Damascus. Others are not for they are peculiar to the district they were collected from. Not only do the accent and modes of expression differ from one community to another, but sometimes the sentiment and attitude also.

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1. At the time when Burton published the collection, Syria included modern Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine.
 2. Huxley's and Jewett's collections were collected in neighbouring Lebanon, in communities at short distances from Damascus (Beirut 90 miles), (Zahleh 70 miles), (Bahamdun 80 miles).

For instance proverb No. 93 recorded by Jewett, "The guest who comes at evening gets no supper"¹ has a counterpart in Damascus which says "the guest who comes in the evening either gets supper or stays for the night."² The difference is obvious. Talking about the Basra colloquial proverbs Dulaiski stated that the proverbs of Al-Zubayer district, which is in the neighbourhood of Al-Basra, have their distinct and peculiar qualities just because this district happened to lie on the verge of the desert and its people have preserved the characteristic qualities of the nomad Arabs.³ The further the distance between the communities the more distinctive their proverbs become. Very few of the proverbs in Burton's collection are found intact in Burckhardt's or Dulaishi's collections. Most of the proverbs cited by the orientalist in the accounts of their travels in Arabia are unfamiliar in Syria.⁴ At the same time there are many colloquial proverbs common to most Arab communities. Most of the proverbs cited by Dickson in his book The Arab of the Desert,⁵ for instance, are common in Syria.

In this sense Burton's "Proverbia Communia Syriaca," is not merely a collection of Arabic proverbs, as might be assumed. It is Syrian, and better still, Damascene in character and spirit. It embodies the local expression and attitude of the people of Damascus and reflects the local life of the city.

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- 1.
 - 2.
 3. Dulaiski, op. cit., p.4.
 4. See p.5., ante notes 1, 2 and 3 and p. 24, n.5.
 5. H.R.P. Dickson, op. cit., pp. 337 and 340.
- ضيف الى ساليه علي -
- ضيف الى ابياته يا علي -

In the introduction to the collection Burton alluded to the major difficulty he had to encounter; namely the local usage of words.

The modern dialect of Syria retains traces of the old Aramaean, and, as may be expected in a land where men live much at home, every great city - Damascus, for instance - preserves peculiar words and phrases. - And without living interpretation it is impossible to master sayings of purely local use and unfamiliar allusions, further mystified by proverbial sententiousness and conciseness. They must, however, be learnt, and even committed to memory, before a stranger can feel himself at home with the people.¹

This, more than any other difficulty, was the cause of some of the errors in his collection. In proverb No. 2 Burton's ignorance of the local connotation of the word "Banat" (girls) was the reason for his misunderstanding of the proverb as a whole. Traditionally speaking, most people prefer to have sons, thus making the birth of a girl unwelcome news. In a toiling society, the general attitude is that the birth of a son is an added support to the family while the girl is a burden to shoulder. Not until recent times² were girls in urban societies allowed to work or take part in any outdoor activity, so, generally speaking, they were not able to earn their living nor help in that of the family. At the same time they are of no help in keeping the family name going. Although the woman retains her maiden surname after marriage, the children carry the name of the father. Therefore the name of the family which has no sons is threatened with extinction. For all these reasons combined, begetting a

1. Richard Burton, Unexplored Syria, vol. I, p.264.

2. About ten to twenty years ago.

girl used to be considered a misfortune.¹ Burton, missing the local attitude towards girls, misexplained the proverb which really means, do anything, though it be useless like begetting girls, and remain not idle. Burton's explanation of the proverb is "It is better (for a woman) to bear girls (if she cannot have boys), and not remain childless."² By this Burton did not go beyond rendering the literal meaning of the proverb. Thus he missed its more important figurative implication. The proverb does not specifically mention married women. It is in the feminine gender and therefore refers to females in general, married and unmarried, of all ages. In that light, Burton's interpretation is unacceptable for unmarried women are not expected to beget children, especially in a society that forbids any relation between the sexes outside wedlock. Similarly the word "Khali" in proverb No. 73. Usually the word means maternal uncle, but it is often used to exalt the addressed and boost his ego.³ The proverb means that "He who wants a favour from a dog (a base person) says to him good morning Khali";⁴ that is to say if one wants a favour from a stingy person or a scoundrel one must praise him. The translation offered by Burton, "He who wants the dog says to him good morning, O my uncle," does not really reflect the significance of the proverb. Again in proverb No. 89 Burton did not understand the local colloquial usage of the word "Bit 'arek" which literally means

1. See Burton's Arabian Nights, vol. 1, p. 195n.1., and vol. III, p.375, n2.

2. - جيبوا بنات ولد تقعدوا بطالات .

3. Ibid., vol. 1, p.279n.1.

4. - مه بيتار الكلب يقوله صباح اكبر يا ظالي .

(fighting). The word is also applied in the meaning "to work hard." The translation Burton offered, "All the camels are fighting together, except our camel, which is kneeling"¹ deprives the proverb of its beauty and significance. The proverb is usually applied to any one remaining idle or lying about while his companions are working hard. In proverb No. 23, the word "Kar'aub" means ankle (in animals). What the proverb really means is that every goat, after being killed, is hung by its own ankles.² (Huxley No. 83). Consequently the proverb is used to imply that every man faces his own responsibilities and shoulders the results of his actions, whether good or bad. Not as Burton said, "Every goat is stuck to her circle." The word "Ishra" in proverb No. 87 means (association with) or (going around with) a person or a group. The proverb does not mean "A friendly party of Aleppines, laugh, jaw and drink water,"³ as Burton said, but that the association with Aleppines is fruitless, "gossip and drinking." It is said to any one who befriends people that do not help him look after his own interests. The word "ud" in proverb No. 160 literally means (lute) and colloquially it means (twig). Burton applied the first meaning while he should have used the second, thus weakening the proverb considerably. The proverb should have been translated,

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1. - كل الجمال يتبارك في يد جملنا بارك .
 2. - كل حتره ملقه في كرموبل .
 3. - عشره حلبيه تمك وشربيه .

"Nothing sympathises with the twig except its own skin (bark)."¹
and not "No one sympathizes with the lute except its wood (its shell)."²

On several occasions Burton completely misunderstood the overall intention of the proverb. Proverb No. 10 should read "Like the Jews who (ever) choose the lightest (but most profitable) work,"³ i.e. cunning and shrewd; and not as Burton stated "Like the Jew who (ever) chooses the meanest work." Again, proverb No. 35 is said in praise of the fertile plains of Hauran⁴ not of Hijanah (the swampy region east of Damascus). Hauran, a village in the border region with Jordan, has always been renowned for its wheat production. Its plains are very rich and the yield is always high. The proverb means that even in the bad years Hauran will still have enough surplus to feed Hijanah. Proverb No. 40

"Your neighbour who is near, and not your brother who is far."⁵ implies that one's immediate feelings and concern should be for one's neighbour in order to secure a happy and harmonious neighbourhood. Neighbours should look after each other and help one another at all times. The meaning offered by Burton "-- your neighbour who does you good is better than a brother who does not," is not right. In fact this proverb is explained by another in the same collection (No. 174), which says, "Seek the good of thy neighbour, and thou wilt find good

1. - ما بين ما يعود إليه .

2. In the Arabian Nights, Burton gave both meanings of the word. See vol. III, p.263n.1. The dialogue between the Shaykh and Sitt al-Milah in the story of "Nur al-Din Ali of Damascus and the Damsel sitt/al-Milah" explains the difference between the two meanings of the word "ud". See Ibid., vol. IX, p.370.

3. - مثل اليهود مع أخف الصنایع .

4. - إذا ملت حوران تآد هجانه .

5. - جارك القريب ولا تخولك البعيد .

at home."¹ Proverb No. 91 is known in a slightly different form today and a different application. The version Burton gives is:-

Intur ya himar (donkey) hatta yetla' al-Rabi (spring)
"Wait (for grass), O donkey, until spring comes."²

The present version is:-

'Eesh ya kdiesh (hag) hatta yetla' al-hashiesh (grass)

The obvious difference is in the words and their meaning.

But the important one is the absence of the rhyme in Burton's version. The proverb says "Live, O nag, until grass grows."³

It is used to express dissatisfaction with delayed promises and those that are unlikely to be fulfilled; and not as Burton pointed out that it "is said to a man who works without getting his wages." The last proverb in this group is No. 164 which says "The lowland drinks its own water and the water of the other (upland),"⁴ meaning humbleness is rewarding. Burton says the proverb means "he keeps friendly with all," which does not really reflect the spirit of the proverb.

Some of the proverbs in Burton's collection have slight mistakes in them, which tend to affect the pronunciation of the proverb or slightly alter its meaning. In proverb No. 12 "Al-da'awi" (the curses), in the original Arabic should be "da'awiki" (your curses), as is correctly stated in the translation. In No. 16, the word "Mizik," should be "Izik" (Your honour) as in the translation. The word "Mizik" does not mean anything. The use of the word "hatta" (even) in the middle of proverb No. 76 instead of the word "ma" (no) deprives

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1. - اطلب الخير لبارك بجده ببارك .
 2. - انظر يا صار حتى يطلع الربيع .
 3. - عيش يا كديش لينت الكشيش .
 4. - الدرصن الواطيه بشرب ماوها وماه خرها .

the proverb of its flow.

Mabiki ahada hatta karas hatta dihan al-faras¹ (Burton)
Mabiki hada ma karas hatta dihan al-faras²
(Every one has stung him, even the horse-fly)

The absence of the definite article "ال" (al) from the word "قرد" (monkey) and the addition of the feminine "ت" (t) to the word "سحم" (fat) in proverb No. 93 distorted its pronunciation. It is written:-

Mitl shahmet 'erd ma bysla wla byzanb.³

It should be:

Mitl shahm al-'erd ma bysla wla byzamb.
(Like the monkey's fat, which does not soften and does not melt).⁴

Proverb No. 96 is written:-

Kul ma shift 'a'ma tubu ma int akhbar min rabuh⁵

It should be:-

In shift al-'a'ma tubu malak akram min rabuh
(If you see the blindman trip him; you are not more generous than his God)⁶

Proverb No. 145 has two slightly different versions. The first is the one supplied by Burton:-

Man tazawaj min ghair miltuh yamut bighair 'iltuh
(Whoso marries out of his faith, he dies a living death)
(lit. he dies of a disease besides his own disease)⁷ (sic)

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1. - ما بقى احد حتى قرص حتى دبان الفرس .
 2. - ما بقى حتى ما قرص حتى دبان الفرس .
 3. - مثل شحمة قرد ما بيلن ولا بيذوب .
 4. - مثل سحم القرد ما بيلن ولا بيذوب .
 5. - كل ما شفت اعمى طبه ما انت افرصه ربه .
 6. - ليه شفت الاعمى طبه والله اكرم منه ربه .

For the idea behind this proverb see Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 1, p.304n.2.

7. - نه تزوج منه خير ملته يموت بغير ملته .

The second:-

Lli biyakhud min ghair miltu biymut bi iltle.
(Whoso takes (marries) from a faith but his own,
dies (a living death) of his own mischief)¹

Both versions have the same implication and use. The latter is more popular, probably, because it is shorter and, thus, easier to remember and more convenient to say.

Two proverbs in the collection are inadequately translated.

In the first No. 28:-

Lisanuh mitl mkas as-sakaf la yakus ila najas
(his tongue is like a cobbler's scissors, which
cut nothing but the impure (leather)).²

Burton left "his tongue" out of the translation. This renders the proverb obscure to non-Arab readers, though the natives usually need only say "like the cobbler's scissors" and the meaning will be understood. The second is No. 108:

La tidi' li'-sahbak bilsa'adeh te'damuh
(Pray not for the prosperity of thy friend,
lest thou lose him).³

The proverb implies that when people prosper they tend to forget their old friends. Burton's translation of the proverb; "pray not for the prosperity of thy friend, lest thou destroy him," is obviously wrong. Your friend's prosperity does not destroy him, but it could lose you his friendship.

The explanation Burton offers for proverbs Nos. 65 and 112

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1. - اللي بياخذ من غير ملته يموت بعلمته .
 2. - لانه مثل قصص الكفاف لا يقين إلا البنايه .
 3. - لا تدعي لصاحبك بالسوء بعدك .

is incomplete. The first:-

Kul Kamha msawseh laha kayal a'awar
(Every worm-eaten (wheat) grain has a one-eyed
measurer)¹

Burton says that this proverb is used for "reproving a servant for instance, who buys a bad article." In addition the proverb is used for its morale uplifting effect, such as, when applied to girls of plain beauty. In this sense, the proverb means that every girl, however plain she may be, will eventually meet her admirer. The second proverb is:-

Kitr ash-shad beyrkhi
(Too much tightening loosens)²

Burton's rendering of the proverb, "Too much tying loosens" fails to convey the spirit of the proverb. He understood it to mean "that man loses by pushing too fast." People apply the proverb with the sense that too much strictness in delicate matters, like bringing up one's children, often leads to results contrary to those hoped for.

One of the more interesting proverbs in the collection is No. 79, which says:-

Frak l-badu b'aba wla bsauk l-'ibi Kuluh³
(Get rid of the Badawi (wild man) with a
cloak and not with the whole cloak-market) -
meaning sacrifice a little to save much.

The above is Burton's translation and conception of the proverb. Bedawins, on the whole, are rough by nature.⁴ They lead a nomadic life and hardly bother about hygiene or cleanliness.

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1. كل قربة موصيه ليا سجال امور.
 2. كتر الشد بيرخي.
 3. قراوه البدو بعبا وند يوفه البني كله.
 4. See pp. 10-13 ante.

Living close to their animals they often smell of odours offensive to city dwellers. These aspects, with the Bedawin's crude ways of doing business, often make their company undesirable.¹ Unless they know him personally, city dwellers tend to dislike and mistrust the Bedawin.² When Bedawins come into the city to trade, people often like to complete their business with them as quickly as possible. On the other hand, Bedawins like to make the most of their visit to the city. They like to take things easy, browse around the markets, and enjoy themselves to the full. They are greedy³ and have the time and patience to argue a lot about the prices of things they want to buy or sell. So the proverb:-

Kal frak 'lbadu b'abayeh Kalu bsuk 'l-'ibi Kulu⁴
(It is said that getting rid of the Badawi is with a cloak (that is to give him one free), he replied with the whole cloak market)

This version of the proverb means "any sacrifice to get rid of the Bedawin is not much even if it means giving him the whole cloak market."

Two proverbs in the collection are known in a longer form today.⁵ The first is No. 4 which says:-

Siti min ghair wham maridah.⁶

1. Berger, op. cit., p.61.

2. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. II, p.294n.3.

3. See proverb in H.R.P. Dickson, op. cit., p.337.

4. - قال فرام البدوي ببايه قله يوم البي كله .

5. Both proverbs are also used in the shorter form given by Burton.

6. - ستيه غير هام مريضه .

(My lady without (the) queasiness (of pregnancy) is unwell).

Today's version is:-

Siti min ghair wham maridah, ija 'l-wham wzadah dalal.¹

(My lady without (the) queasiness (of pregnancy) is unwell; the queasiness came and increased her coquetry.

The other is No. 155 which says:-

Libs al-'irah ma biydafi²
(The borrowed cloak never warms)

Today's version is:-

l'ireh ma bitwafi win dafet ma bitwafi³
(Borrowing (clothes) does not keep one warm, and even if it kept (him) warm it offers (him) no gain).

That is to say, the one who borrows will always be under obligation to the lender who could, at any time, ask for a return favour which may cost the borrower much more than he gained by borrowing in the first place.

In proverb No. 120:-

La mina llazeena 'amanu wa la mina llazeen Kafaru⁴
(He is) Not of the believers, nor of the disbelievers)

Burton was misled by the words "believers" and "disbelievers" that he said the proverb was quoted from The Qur'an while it is not.

Nine proverbs in Burton's collection are known today in a slightly different form. This does not, by any means, imply that those given by Burton are wrong. It is either that there

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1. - ستي من غير وحم مريضه لرجا الوحام وزادها دلال .
 2. - لبس العيره ما بيدافي .
 3. - العيره ما بتدفي واره دفت ما بتدفي . (See Jewett No. 88)
 4. - لدمه الذين آمنوا ودمه الذين كفروا .

were variant versions of the same proverb and Burton gave only one; or that these proverbs have gradually changed in the last hundred years into their present form.¹

No. 19.

- Go not among the tombs; nor smell evil odours.²
- Sleep not among the tombs; nor see nightmares.³

No. 22

- Befriend the cock, and see where he bears you.⁴
- Follow the owl and it will lead you to ruins.⁵

No. 43

- If there were any good in the owl, the hunter would not pass by her.⁶ (but would have shot her).
- If there were any good in it (its droppings); the bird would have not thrown it away.⁷

No. 62.

- What is the bitter to one (who has tasted) the more bitter.⁸
- What obliged you to (taste) the bitter? He said the more bitter.⁹

No. 67.

- Blame not the absent (who is doing your work) till he shall appear.¹⁰
- The absent has his excuse with him.¹¹

1. The first proverb is Burton's; the second is the proverb as known today. For meaning and use see Burton's collection. In some of these proverbs the second version throws light on the first.

- 2. - لا تزدح بينه العنوز ولا تشم الروائح النتنة .
- 3. - لا تنام بينه العنوز ولا تشوف الماعنات الوصية .
- 4. - رافعه الديك وشوف فيه يوديك .
- 5. - اشمه اليوم يدلك مع الكراب .
- 6. - البيوه لوسان يذبح حير ما قاتل الصياد .
- 7. - لو ذبح حير ما ماها الطير .
- 8. - ايمن المرلذي امرتاه .
- 9. - قال له شو حاجتك لمر قال الدمر .
- 10. - لا تلوم الطاييب حتى يحضر .
- 11. - الطاييب عذره معه .

No. 69.

- Follow the liar to the house-door¹ (i.e. to the end of his lies).
- Follow the liar to behind the house door.²

No. 110.

- Visit not often the Kings (i.e. the great) for even if related to you they will hate you.³
- Don't lean too much on your⁴ own father and mother lest they hate you.

No. 139

- No nail can scratch (thy body) but thine own.⁵
- Nothing scratches your skin like your own nail.⁶

No. 172.

- Much meddling went to hell (and) said, "The fuel is green."⁷
- They gave Much Meddling two thirds of the world, he said who has the third third.⁸

This rather detailed analysis of Burton's collection of Syrian proverbs might give the impression that much is wrong with it. On the contrary only 40 proverbs were dealt with in this analysis and only very few proverbs can be considered completely faulty or wrong. In fact, Burton's collection, though it lacks the scholarly touch and research of

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1. - إلهو الكذاب لباب الدار .
 2. - إلهو الكذاب لورا الباب .
The significance of the second version is the rhyme.
See p.17 ante.
 3. - لا تكتر الزياره مع الملوك إذا كانوا أهل بيكرهول .
 4. - لا تكتر مع امك ما بوله بيكرهول .
For the Prophet's Tradition about the over-frequency of visits see Burton's Arabian Nights, vol. VII, p.335.n.1.
 5. - ما بيك بدتك إلا ظفرك .
 6. - ما بيك حيدك مثل ظفرك .
 7. - كثير الفليه راح كجهنم قال الطيب أفضر .
 8. - كثير الفليه اعطوه تلبين الذنيه قال الثلث الثالث طين .

Westermarck's, Burckhardt's, Huxley's, and Jewett's collections, is very close to the community it was collected from and genuinely expressive of its feelings and attitudes. The society's care for good breeding is seen in proverbs like No. 7 "Go the round way, though (it be) long, and marry the daughter of a house (i.e. good family)." The society's idea of decency is reflected in proverb No. 17 "(let a man wear) foul rugs, but not show (a naked) skin." The harmony of the society is reflected in proverb No. 38 "A loaf for a loaf (i.e. lend him a loaf) and let not thy neighbour remain hungry," and No. 40, "Your neighbour who is near, and not your brother who is far," and No. 174 "Seek the good of thy neighbour, and thou wilt find good at home." The local wisdom in proverb No. 179 "The key to the belly is a bite (to eat, a mouthful), and the key to a quarrel is a (hot) word"; and the advice embodied in proverbs like No. 27 "According to the size of your carpet stretch your legs," No. 50 "Speech is of silver, silence is of gold," and No. 152 "Everything is (to be found) in the druggist's shop, but love-me-by-force is not there," reflect the long experience of the community. The society's attitude towards marriage can be conceived from the few proverbs in the collection on the topic. One should marry within his faith and class; proverb No. 145 "Whoso marries out of his faith, dies a living death"; one should seek the noble rather than the rich or glamorous No. 103 "Take the noble, though (sleeping) upon a mat"; and the responsibilities of marriage in No. 18 "Girl! don't exult in thy wedding dress. Ah! how much trouble is behind it." Many other attitudes and feelings can be drawn from these proverbs. However, I believe, the culmination of the

collection's beauty and significance lies in proverb No. 149. This proverb is not only Syrian but genuinely Damascene. As Burton, quite rightly, stated, "In Syria, and especially Damascus, there is a child's language."¹

Hali biduh Nah ma ykul Ah²
He who wants Nah (goodies), says not Ah (hot)

This proverb with the "Rubai" nursery rhyme that follows it convey a romantic image of Damascene life in the 19th century as portrayed in Lady Burton's book The Inner Life of Syria and Palestine (1873).

Many proverbs, like poetry,³ tend to lost much of their vitality and beauty when rethought in another language.⁴ Characteristically, proverbs mean more than they express.⁵ Thus if literally translated, as Burton did with some proverbs, they lose much of their figurativeness and become simple statements lacking in the wit, wisdom and depth associated with proverbs. Burton's basic weakness was his limited knowledge of the local and colloquial usage of some words, and his consequent inability to explain many of the proverbs in the light of the local culture and tradition of the Syrian community.

Burton's collection of Syrian proverbs, "Proverbia Communia Syriaca," was first published in the "Journal of the Royal

1. Richard Burton, Unexplored Syria, vol. 1, p.288. See also "Arabic Baby Talk," by Charles A. Ferguson, For Roman Jakobson, compiled by Morris Halle, Horrace G. Lunt, H. McLean and C.H. Schronevld, Mauton, The Hague, 1956 pp. 21-28.

2. هالي بده نخ مايقول آح .

3. Modern Arabic Poetry, by A. J. Arberry, The University Press, Cambridge, 1967, first page.

4. See Erasmus's remark quoted in Wit and Wisdom in Morocco, p. 33.

5. Burton Stevenson, op. cit., p. 1906.

Asiatic Society"¹ in 1871. Its inclusion again in Unexplored Syria in 1872 could be a subtle hint, on Burton's part, that this field of study was not yet adequately explored in Syria. In the introduction to the collection Burton acknowledged the achievements of the previous collectors and translators of Arabic Proverbs. He pointed out that his "object is not so high," for these scholars "introduced to Europe the repertories of classical Amsal (أمسال), in which the Arabs delighted from the days of the Khalifah Ali to those of El-Maydani."²

In the preface to Unexplored Syria Burton indicated that this collection of proverbs is only a "short specimen." He said "it forms part of a much larger collection which I have not had time to prepare for the press."³ This larger collection, however, never saw the light,⁴ and it is possible

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1. See "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol V, New Series, 1871, pp.338-66.
 2. Richard Burton, Unexplored Syria, vol. I, p.264
 3. Ibid., vol. I, p.VII.
 4. In 1976, Spink and Son Ltd., (5,6 & 7 King Street, St. James's, London, S.W.1), offered a collection of Burton's works, comprising original printed books, manuscripts, autograph letters, and other interesting items for sale. (The Times Literary Supplement, 27th February, 1976). Amongst the collection there was a manuscript of a small collection of Arabic proverbs in Burton's hand writing. It was a blue ruled notebook of only five pages and contained 15 proverbs only. They were numbered in English and written starting from the left side of the notebook. They were written about 3 proverbs to the page with blank spaces between them probably for transliteration and explanation. None of these proverbs is in "Proverbia Communia Syriaca." On approaching Spink for permission to quote from the collection I was told that permission could not be granted for there was a potential buyer. However, I contacted Spink twice regarding the MS. and on both occasions I was told that the buyer, from somewhere near Edinburgh, wishes to remain anonymous and is unwilling to permit use of the collection. The MS. (item 106) in Spink's catalogue of Burton's collection was priced at £2750.

that it was destroyed with the other manuscripts Lady Burton burnt after her husband's death. However, small as it is, Burton's collection of Syrian proverbs remains one of his very few works that escaped the pressure of harsh criticism most of his other works received.¹

1. See Burton's reply to the criticism of his Wit and Wisdom in West Africa, in Unexplored Syria, vol. 1, p.265.

CHAPTER III

The Kasidah

Wherever I went, I found that poetry was considered as the highest learning and regarded with a veneration somewhat approaching to that which men would pay to the Angelick Nature.¹

Burton couldn't agree more with Dr. Johnson regarding poetry and the exalted position it occupies amongst the genres of literature. Throughout his life he never ceased to show deep interest in it, and there is ample evidence in his works of the love he had for it. Though not renowned as a poet, Burton wrote a fair amount of poetry and translated more. Discussions of poetry were close to his heart. When conversation turned to the subject of poetry Burton always felt at home and was often under the impression that he had the right to express an opinion not only as an admirer of poetry, but with the full rights of a poet. In a discussion over the Shakespeare-Bacon question with Ashbee, Arbuthnot, Burton and Dr. Steingass, Payne was driven to the limits of his patience by Arbuthnot's argument that a man of Shakespeare's limited learning could not have written the magnificent plays attributed to him. Upon Arbuthnot's admitting that he studied Shakespeare from a "curio" point of view and that he cared nothing for the poetry, Payne replied, "A man who is insensible

1. "Rasselas" by Dr. Samuel Johnson, Samuel Johnson, Poetry and Prose, ed. by Mona Wilson, The Reynard Library, Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1970, p. 409.

to poetry, be he who he may, must be a barbarian."¹ Burton was delighted with the remark and the sentiment won his approval.

Burton was certainly not insensitive to poetry. All his life he strove to establish for himself the reputation of being a good poet. Whether he succeeded or not is open to discussion. Nevertheless, his knowledge of poetry both classical and modern was vast. Whenever Burton came in contact with a new culture, poetry was one of the very first topics he concentrated upon. The foot-notes to his Arabian Nights reveal this interest. They are studded with comments² on Persian, Arabic, Indian and English poetry besides that of many other nations and the classics. Burton was well versed in Oriental poetry and often compared the merits and demerits of the poetry of one nation with those of another.

Burton's biographers are not in complete agreement about his poetical abilities. Wright refused to believe that even The Kasidah, Burton's best poem, showed any worthy poetical talent. Of the poem as a whole he conceded merit only to two stanzas:³

Do what thy manhood bids thee do, from none
but self expect applause;
He noblest lives and noblest dies who makes
and keeps his self-made laws.

and;

All other life is living death, a world where none
but phantoms dwell;
A breath a wind, a sound, a voice, a tinkling of
the camel-bell.

1. Wright, op. cit., vol. II, p.176

2. Burton was a great admirer of Oriental and especially Persian poetry. See Arabian Nights, vol. 12, p.68n.1.

3. Wright, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 20-23.

Farwell and Brodie adopted a more lenient attitude. They acknowledged Burton's gifts as a poet but at the same time pointed out his shortcomings and limitations.¹

Burton might not have been successful in attaining the reputation he desired as a poet but he certainly established himself as a great translator of poetry. The admirable results he achieved in the Arabian Nights is enough proof of his powers as a translator of poetry. In addition he translated several poetical works² that did not fail to attract some kind comments of praise and admiration. Most of these works were forgotten soon after his death. His translation of Camoens 1880-1884 together with the poetry of the Nights are considered the best of his translations of poetry.

Burton's abilities as a poet cannot be lightly dismissed. It would be extremely unfair to accept the opinion of people like Wright, whose judgement of Burton's works as a whole is coloured by his dislike of the man. Although Burton did not produce the long poem that he hoped to be remembered by, many of the fragments that Lady Burton quotes in her biography of Sir Richard Burton are worthy of praise. Burton lacked the ability to write a long poem. Stone-Talk, his first attempt at a long poem, hardly won its author any admirers. The

1. Brodie, op. cit., pp.279, 276 and 333, Also Farwell, op. cit., pp.342-5.

2. Os Lusidas (1880)
Camoens the Lyrics (1884)
Poetry in The Nights (1885-1888)
Priapeia, (1890)
The Carmina of Coius Valerius Catallus, (1894)

Kasidah itself, though praised by many people and though it went into several editions, hardly rises to the standard Burton aimed at.

Stone-Talk and The Kasidah are Burton's only long poems. The rest are short poems and fragments. These fragments, Lady Burton tells us, were scattered mainly in the margin of his private journal or on small pieces of paper. Miss Letchford who was staying with the Burtons in Trieste at Burton's death, said that Lady Burton had burnt many poems amongst the many manuscripts she destroyed. Deploring the loss incurred by the burning of these poems she said; "I remember a poem of his written in the style of 'The House that Jack built,' the biting sarcasm of which, the ironical finesse - is beyond anything I have ever read."¹

The fragments and short poems of Burton's that survived make an extremely interesting study. Unfortunately all we have of Burton's short poetry is just what is included in Lady Burton's biography of her husband. Few and short as they are, they reveal many aspects of Burton that he sternly refused to disclose publicly. They reveal his inner self, and show that part of his nature and character that he tried hard to hide from everybody else. Burton seems to delight in expressing his private thoughts in verse. Some of these poems are descriptive,² others are narrative but most are meditative.

1. Wright, op. cit., vol. II, p.251

2. "Legend of the Lakki Hills." This poem is much longer than the rest. It consists of some 93 lines. See Life, by Isabel Burton, vol. II, pp. 63-5.

Contrary to the general image of Burton, most of these meditative poems are religious. They reflect on the creator of this world, his supreme power; on that unseen glory of which men have a sense.

Perhaps, the most explicit expression Burton makes about his belief in God comes in a poem Lady Burton found amongst his writings. In it he says that when man departs from this world he has

nor lover, kin, nor friend!

then as if awakened by a sudden flash of truth he retorts

Ah yes, thou hast; but close thine eyes
Upon this world and gaze above.
There, and there only shalt thou find
Unchanging and unmeasured love.
Then dare thy way, and meekly bend
Thy footsteps t'ward the heavenly Friend.
"Dies Irae!"

Lord, Saviour, God, my only stay,¹
Desert me not that dreadful day.

The belief in God expressed in this poem does not match exactly the image of God he offered in his Kasidah.² Though not able to define exactly his ideas of God, Burton believed in a supreme being, in a Creator. In a power managing and maintaining the harmony of the Universe. In many of his fragments Burton personified this being as an unknown voice, or a phantom of light;

And oh, that voice! Can words express
The fullness of its loveliness
Its rare and wondrous melody?
Ah, no! no mortal tongue may be
So powerful in poesy!³

1. Ibid., vol. I, p.196

2. In The Kasidah Burton denies the existence of a God in the traditional sense. He believes that man makes his own God to restrain himself from evil temptations. See The Kasidah, by Sir Richard F. Burton, Philip Allan & Co., London, 1925, Book four.

3. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. II, p.64

In another poem he says:-

I hear again that smothered tone,
As if the sea were not alone.¹

Burton's idea of God began to be complicated and unconventional when he immersed himself in the study of other religions, especially Islam, Judaism, Hinduism and Sikhism. Earlier in life his concept of God was as conventional as that of any good Christian. In a poem he wrote to his wife on leaving for Africa he says:-

Mine ear will hear no other sound
No other thought my heart will know.
Is this a sin? 'Oh, pardon, Lord!
 'Thou mad'st me so.'²

Burton was unique, unconventional and a man of wide reading and extensive knowledge. He was well versed in the writings of both ancient and modern authors. Yet, when he wrote, he sought to be original. He was not satisfied with imitating anybody when it came to expressing his feelings and ideas. The foot-notes to his Arabian Nights; the retranslation and expansion of the Perfumed Garden; and the dedication of volume V of the Supplemental Nights to the curators of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, are excellent examples.

Burton never lived at peace either with himself or with the authorities. The rebel in him was always stirring him to get out and challenge those whom he believed to be evil, and to put right what he believed to be wrong or misleading. As he was advised several times not to publish his essay on the Jews, Lady Burton was urged to buy the copies of Stone Talk from the market.

1. Ibid., Vol. II, p.341

2. Ibid., Vol. I, p.256.

Lord Houghton, to whom she showed the poem told her that "he was afraid that it would do Richard a great deal of harm with the 'powers that were'." ¹ The poem contains glimpses of Burton's past life and adventures. But it is mainly a bitter satire "enumerating many of the crimes which England has committed, and castigating her hypocrisy."²

Fortune was not kind to Burton during his life time. At least he thought so. And it seems as if fate was playing false with him after his death. The works upon which he laboured hard and from which he hoped much were soon forgotten after his death. The Kasidah, The Perfumed Garden and The Kama Sutra,³ works which Burton gave little heed to, not only survived and kept his name alive, but are practically the only works of Burton that can be found in print today. It is beyond any doubt that The Kasidah is the best of the three because its readers, unlike those of the other two, are rather select. The book must have genuine merits to be still in demand more than ninety-six years after its first appearance.

The Kasidah is perhaps one of the most interesting works Burton ever wrote. It tells more about its author than he cared to reveal. It clearly shows his life-long interest in religions, his great knowledge of the religions of the world and his deep involvement with Sufism. It indicates his interests in things that are mysterious and unknown. Its being so revealing is, most likely, one of the main reasons why Burton refused to publish the poem under his own name.

1. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 392-5. See Stone Talk---, by Frank Baker, D.O.N., Robert Hardwicke, London, 1865.

2. Penzer, op. cit., p.77.

3. See p. 233 post. (The Perfumed Garden).

All his life Burton was attracted to spiritual practices. He loved gypsies¹ and admired their mysterious life, particularly its spiritual aspect. Lady Burton tells us that he wrote many letters to leading newspapers and periodicals about spiritualism.² In his Annotated Bibliography of Sir Richard Burton, Penzer gives a long list of the numerous articles on spiritualism Burton published.³ Burton's fascination with spiritualism led him to the study of Sufism. As early as his days in the British Army in India Burton studied Sufism and was given a Murshid's, or, a Master-Sufi, Diploma⁴ in the Kadiri order.⁵ Whether the Diploma is genuine or not and whether it was given to him by an authorised person, and whether he earned the Diploma is beside the point. In any case Burton's interest in Sufism and his work on the subject cannot be denied. In fact having exceeded his authority in Damascus when he was driven by his strange curiosity to meddle with the Shazlis⁶ proved to be one of the major factors in his recall from Damascus.

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1. See pp. 280-81 post.
 2. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. I, p. 157.
 3. Penzer, op. cit., pp. 191-287.
 4. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. II, pp. 341-6. See also The Sufi Orders in Islam, by J. Spencer Trimingham, At the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971, p. 193, n.1.
 5. For the founders of the Kadiri order see Sufism, its Saints and Shrines, by John A. Subhan, Samuel Weiser inc. New York, 1970, pp. 253-74. For amusing anecdotes revealing the powers of its saints see The Way of the Sufi, by Idris Shah, Jonathan Cape, London, 1968, pp. 126 - 34. For its groups see Trimingham, op. cit., pp. 271-3. For Sufi practices see The Persian Sufis, by Cyprian Rice, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1969, pp. 88 - 103.
 6. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. I, pp. 547-8 and 597. See also Correspondence Respecting Consul Burton's Proceedings at Damascus, 1868-71. This report is at the Public Record Office, Kew, London. Catalogue No. FO. 424.

The Kasidah is not a genuine sufic poem. It is not pure enough. Moslem religious poetry falls into two main sections. First what has come to be known as Al-Burdah. This type of poetry usually concentrates on the praise of the Prophet stating his virtues, morals, personality and deeds. At the same time it touches on religious aspects like devotion, and preaching good conduct in this world in preparation for the day of judgement. The name Al-Burdah originated from a confrontation between the great Moslem poet Ka'eb bin Zouhier and the Prophet Mohammad. It is related that when Ka'eb was still an unbeliever he wrote a poem attacking Islam and its Prophet. On hearing this, Mohammad announced the poet's condemnation. He made terminating the poet's life the legal right of any Moslem. The poet was struck with terror. He asked his brother who was already a Moslem to intercede for him with Mohammad. His brother told him that the Prophet was most forgiving. All he had to do was to just apologize and ask forgiveness. The poet did better. He embraced Islam and composed a famous poem¹ in praise of the Prophet in which he offered his apology and praised Mohammad's virtues and forgiving nature. The Prophet was pleased with Ka'eb's becoming a Moslem and was delighted with his sweet and touching poem. Mohammad then awarded Ka'eb his own burdah (cloak, gown) and he himself put it on Ka'eb's shoulders. This was both a gesture of accepting

1. See Sharh Diwan Ka'eb bin Zouheir, (In Arabic), ed. by Ali Sa'ed Al-Sukari, Dar Al-Kawmeyah, Cairo, 1965, pp. 6-25.

him into Islam and a sign of forgiveness. From that moment Ka'eb's poem came to be known as Al-Burdah. From then on any poem composed in praise of the Prophet and extolling his nature, merits and virtues is called Al-Burdah. Among the most famous Burdahs are those of Busieri (the mantle poem)¹ and in our own times Ahmad Shawki's.²

The second section of Islamic poetry is what is known as Sufi poetry. It is characterized by being sometimes lyrical and is often set to music.³ A major fundamental characteristic of Sufi poetry is the excessive use of parables, similes, allegory and metaphors. This often tends to mislead the reader who is not aware of the special use that is made of these in Sufi poetry. On the face of it the reader will find verse in praise of love, wine, dancing and beauty.⁴ To the Sufi the meaning is much deeper and the implications are very much wider. To him the words have a special significance different from their literal meaning and face value.⁵ The eloquence of Sufi poetry, fundamentally a poetry that deals with the existence of man, his life and unknown future, and the genius of its poets helped to make it famous all over the world. The works of poets like

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1. Kasidat Al-Burdah, (In Arabic), by Al-Imam Al-Busieri, explained and commented on by Tawfiq Al-Husaini, Ammodah, Syria, 1959. This Burdah is mentioned by Burton in his Arabian Nights, vol. 5, p. 174, note 3.
 2. Nahj Al-Burdah (In Arabic), by Ahmad Shawki, Cairo 1327 Hijrah, pp. 5-27. See Aspects of Islamic Civilization, by A. J. Arberry, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1964, pp. 360, 365-77.
 3. See the article "Sufis" by R. A. Nicholson, in The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. XII, pp. 10-17.
 4. Ibid., p.16
 5. For the technical and allegorical expressions in use among the Sufi poets see Oriental Mysticism by E. H. Palmer, Frank Cass & Co., London, 1969, pp. 69-81.

Omar Kh^ay^am, Sa'di and Hafiz won so much admiration and praise that they became part of universal culture and literature.¹

The controversy whether Sufism is a branch of Islamic culture or not, has continued since its early days without a satisfactory conclusion being reached.² Some see Sufism as an inseparable part of Islamic belief.³ Others feel that Sufism in many of its lines of thought has drifted so much that it contradicts fundamental and basic issues in Islam.⁴ This dispute is still as far from being resolved as that of the derivation or origin of the word "Tasawwuf" (Sufism). The majority are inclined to feel that it is derived from "Suf" (wool) for the Sufi's wear woollen garments as a way of renouncing all worldly interests and desires such as luxuries, wealth and material gains or delights. On the other hand, Al-Kushairi says that this could not be the case because the wearing of woollen garments was well known to mystics before the rise of Sufism or even of Islam. And in any case not all

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1. See Arberry, op. cit., pp. 344-58, 288-99 and 308-11.
 2. The use of Arabic references here was inevitable. Many works of English writers can be referred to for both sides of the argument. Such works as Sufism, by A. J. Arberry, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1950. The works of R. A. Nicholson are useful too. Among them The Mystics of Islam, London, 1914, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, Cambridge, 1921; The Idea of Personality in Sufism, 1923. See also the useful article "Tasawwuf" by Louis Massignon in The Encyclopedia of Islam, Leyden, 1924. See also An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine, by Titus Burckhardt, Lahore, 1968. First published 1959.
 3. An Oriental Bibliographical Dictionary, founded on material collected by the late Thomas W. Boole, A new edition revised and enlarged by Henry George Keene, W. H. Allen and Co. Ltd., London, 1894, p.388.
 4. A Dictionary of Comparative Religion, ed. by S. C. F. Brandon Werdenfield & Nicholson, London, 1970, pp. 593-4.

Sufis wear these garments. He explains that Sufism is derived from "Safa" (purity) "which is more characteristic of these people."¹

Those who see Sufism as an inseparable branch of Islamic thought base their argument on the fact that Sufi code, in the first place, was derived from certain verses in The Qur'an and certain Traditions (Hadiths) of the Prophet.² It is also based on the practices of ^{the} Prophet himself, especially his insistence on renouncing luxury and leading a lowly life.³ Dogmatically it is an amalgamation of philosophy and religion. It rests, in the first place, on the desire to know oneself.⁴ In the second phase of the development comes the attempt to free oneself from oneself, to purify the soul and to develop a personal will power by which the Sufi could curb his desires.⁵

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1. Al-Risalah Al-Kushairiah, (In Arabic), by Abi Al-Kasem Abd Al Karim Al-Kushairi Al-Nisabouri Al-Shafi'i, Matba'et Al-Babi, Egypt, 1940, p. 138. See also Tariekh Al-Tasawwuf Al-Islami, (In Arabic) by Dr. Abd Al-Rahman Badawi, Wakalet Al-Matbou'at, Kuwait, 1975, pp. 5-14.
 2. Tariekh Al-Tasawwuf fi Al-Islam, (In Arabic) by Dr. Kasem Khani, translated from the Persian into Arabic by Sadek Nash'at, Maktabat Al-Nahdah Al-Masriah, Cairo, 1970, p.15. See also Al-Tasawwuf fil Islam, Manabi'auho wa Atwaruh, (In Arabic) by Muhammad Al-Sadek 'Arjoun, Maktabet Al-Kuliat Al-Azhariah, Cairo, 1967, pp. 10 and 44-5.
 3. Mohammed, by Maxime Rodinson, trans. from the French by Anne Carter, Penguin Books, London, 1971, pp. 78-9. Also Al-Tasawwuf Al-Islami fi Al-Adab wal Akhlak, (in Arabic), 2 parts in one volume, by Dr. Ziki Mubarak, Dar Al-Jiel, Beirut (N.D.), part II, pp. 95-105.
 4. Ibn Bajjah, a great Andalusian Moslem philosopher, stresses that the true knowledge of one's self is the most noble of all learning for on it is based all other knowledge and learning. See Ibn Bajjah, (In Arabic) by Tayseer Shaykh Al-Ard, Thinkers from the East and West Series, No. 1. Dar Al-Anwar, Beirut, 1965, p.20.
 5. Klein, op. cit., pp. 233-5.

This can be achieved by following the "path" under the guidance of a master-sufi. Once the new-comer is well established in the practice he undergoes a change. He strips himself of his old character and acquires a new one; much purer, much stronger than the former and destined for the journey towards God.

This is basic for the search after and the understanding of the "Truth" (God), which is the ultimate goal of the Sufi's journey along the path.¹ Sufis place the love of God and search for knowledge of God, the supreme Being, the creator of the universe, the bestower of life and death, as the first objective of their life.² This is basically and essentially an Islamic concept.³ Practical Sufi practices fall into three main parts. The renunciation of worldly interests, keeping a constant watch⁴ and permanent ties with God, and never ceasing to mention Him.⁵

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1. Khani, op. cit., p.13. See also Al-Sufiah Baynal Amsi wal Yaowm, (in Arabic), by Dr. Sayed Housein Nasr, Al-Dar Al Mutaahidah lil Nashr, Beirut, 1975, p.21.
 2. See Kurat Al-Iyeun Al-Mub-sirah bi Talkhies Kitab Al-Tabsiral 2 parts (In Arabic), by Muhammad Al-Malla Al-Hanafi Al-Ihsa', Manshurat Al-Maktab Al-Islami, Damascus (n.d.) part II, pp. 170-77.
 3. In his famous book Al'Obodiah, the great Moslem philosopher and thinker Ibn Taymieh says that one's first love and care should be to God and his messenger Muhammad. He stresses the importance of always placing God and his Prophet first in any consideration whether joyous or sad. See Al'Obodiah, by Ibn Taymieh, Islamic Bureau for printing and publication, Beirut, 1969, pp. 44-5.
 4. For a sample of "Al-Munajah" (Intimate Discourse) of the Sufi see Ibn Ata'illah's Sufi Aphorisms (Kitab Al-Hikam), trans. from the Arabic by Victor Danner, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1973, pp.64-60.
 5. See 'Arjaun, op. cit., p.11. For the last part see Burton's Sufi Diploma, Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. II, p.346.

Orthodox Moslems do not see in Sufism the purity and straight forwardness claimed by the Sufis. They see in it many aspects which contradict basic Islamic beliefs. The main objection is the idea of unity with God advocated by some extremist Sufis. Some such Sufis identify themselves with the almighty Creator. They claim that, having reached a refined stage in their spiritual development, they and God become one. It is the stage of oneness or hypostasis. This is outrageous to the orthodox believers. If men, however pious, pure, virtuous and holy they may be, could not be compared with Prophets, how could a man, whatever he be, come to believe that he sees God in himself and himself in God?¹ Orthodox Moslems feel that Sufis have let their imagination run away with them. Their flights of fancy have made them stray from their original path which left orthodox Moslems little to complain about.

Thinkers did not stick to the worship of God and meditation on life, death and the after life. Their diligent research into the ways that lead to the purification of the soul led them into advocating new principles.² Some groups like the Mu'tazilah, for instance who had Sufis among its leaders, touched on fundamental aspects of Moslem theology such as fate and pre-destination and came out with new ideas that were alien to traditional Moslem belief. Although they admitted that The Qur'an was the book of God "they flatly

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1. See Aspects of Islamic Civilization, by A. J. Arberry, pp. 218-225, and Chapter Ten "Faith and Doubt" for Sufi Doctrine. The Unity with God is a fundamental Sufic belief. See Burton, The Kasidah, Book 2, stanzas 13, 14 and 21.
 2. Abu'l Hasan 'Ali Ibn Isma'il Al-As Ari's Al Ibanah an Usul Ad-diyannah, trans. with introduction and notes by Walter Conard Klein, Connecticut, New Haven, 1940, p.15.

rejected its deification."¹ Abu Al'ala' Al-Ma'ari, the author of Risalet al-Ghufran goes as far as to reject all religions, mocks the belief in judgement day and more so, life after death.² Ikhwan Al-Safa were more secretive than the rest of the Sufis. They were a small group that compiled a great encyclopedic work in fifty tractates (Rasa'el) published anonymously. They were divided into four main topics. The first is "the principle of Mathematics and logic," (11 tractates); the second is "Natural sciences and psychology," (17 tractates); the third is on "Metaphysics," (10 tractates); and last on "Sufism, fortune reading and magic," (11 tractates).³ This group advocated that religion alone is not enough for the satisfaction of the soul and the spirit. They cherished the belief that such satisfaction can only be achieved through mixing the Arab religion (Islam) with Greek philosophy. This group, like the Mu'tazilah, were not devoid of political interests and ambitions. Then in a way their sufism was more or less a cover for a much deeper scheme and higher ambition in altering the line of thought of their society.⁴

Abu Al'atahiah, one of the greatest poets of the Abasiad period was renowned for his ascetic poetry, "His poetry", Nicholson points out, "breathes of profound melancholy and hopeless pessimism. Death and what comes after death, the

1. Nicholson, op. cit., p.368

2. Ibid., pp. 313-24

3. "Anta Tas'al wa nahnu nujeeb," Al-Arabi (in Arabic). A monthly magazine, July, Kuwait, 1974, p.143.

4. Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 366-72

frailty and misery of man, the vanity of wordly pleasures and the duty of renouncing them - these are the subjects on which he dwells with monotonous reiteration, exhorting his readers to live the ascetic life and fear God and lay up a store of good works against the Day of Reckoning."¹ Abu Al'atahiah misled and deceived his readers and critics for nearly twelve centuries. Abu Al'ala' Ma'ari,² a Sufi himself, was not fooled by Abu Al-atahiah's piety and simple life and whenever he quoted him he used to say "The cunning Abu Al'atahiah said."³ It was proved that all the preaching of Abu Al-atahiah was just an act with no foundations deep down within him. His sole objective was to monopolize the writing of ascetic poetry because it was very rewarding. He was patronized by Zubaidah, the wife of Haroun Al-Rashid, who paid him generously hoping that her husband would be deterred by Abu Al'atahiah's poetry, from indulging in wine and women. In support of this argument Dr. Mohammad Abd Al-Aziz Al-Kifrani asserts that Abu Al'atahiah was furious when Abu Nawas wrote some ascetic poetry and sent him word urging him to leave this field for him and to stick to his own field of love and wine. Abu Al'atahiah's advice to his son not to follow in his own footsteps is another indication of his insincerity and true attitude towards asceticism.⁴ Such exploitation of religion and religious practices for personal benefits whether political,

1. Ibid., p. 298.

2. See p. 114 above.

3. "Cunning" (Dahiah) and "Abu Al'atahiah" rhym in Arabic.

4. Al-Shi'r Al-Arabi haynal Jumoud wal Tatawour, (In Arabic) by Mohammad Abd Al-Aziz Al-Kufrani, Dar Nahdat Masr lil Tiba'ah wal Nashr, Cairo, 1958, pp. 100-106.

philosophical or financial by the Sufis is what orthodox Moslems object to. Humbleness, poverty and denunciation of material and wordly pleasures are not necessarily a proof of virtue and piety.

Of the two major Moslem sects Sufism tends to lean towards the Shi'ite rather than the Sunni. They have a great deal in common.¹ Their devotion to, and worship of, saints is similar to that of the Shi'ite. They are careful to observe their chain of descent and to keep that chain unbroken.² Orthodox Moslems oppose over praise of saints and constant reference to them. They prefer the attention to be focussed on God himself.³ Whatever one needs one could ask directly from God. All help, and, mercy and beneficence should be sought from almighty God. All praise, love, worship and devotion should be paid to Him. The importance of Munlas or Murshids (teachers) is over emphasised by the Sufi. They say that the new-comer to Sufism must follow the path under the instructions of an experienced and advanced Master Sufi.⁴ Sufism is attacked by Orthodox Moslems at more than one level including many aspects upon which the two do not agree. The criticism covers the wearing of tattered garments; the worship of saints; their sects (stages of the journey to God); their symbols;

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1. See Sayed Hossien Nasr, op. cit., pp. 125-45. The subject is also discussed by the author in his books Three Muslim Sagas, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1964, pp. 83-90, and Ideals and Realities in Islam, Beacon Press, Boston, 1966, Chapter 5.
 2. See Burton's Murshid Diploma, Pilgrimage, vol. II, pp.341-46.
 3. See p. 112 ante.
 4. Kawa'id Al-Tasawuf, (in Arabic) by Abu Al-Abas Ahmad Zarrugi Matba'at Al-Nahdah Al-Jadidah, Cairo, 1968, principle 65, p.39.

their deviation from traditional belief; their lack of cleanliness; their wanderings, their going on journeys without provisions; their unjustified "tawakkul" (dependence on God) (because "tawakkul" must be supported by positive action); their accepting money they have not earned; their lack of interest in earning an honest living; for not treating themselves when ill; their preference for loneliness; for not marrying; for their attitude towards the dead; for their deliberate misinterpretation of The Qur'an to serve their own purposes; their eating and drinking habits; their lamentations; their singing and dancing; the fits of insanity, and many other aspects of their life and beliefs.¹

Islam is simple, straight forward and open to anyone who desires to learn and understand. From this point of view Orthodox Moslems oppose Sufism for its secrecy. They feel if Sufism is meant for all to follow, like a religion, it should be simple and straight forward for everyone to understand. Sufism is anything but that. Sufi literature is one of the most complicated there is. Sufis are renowned for their sweet and beautiful poetry. Like Gulliver's Travels it can be taken at two different levels. None will understand the true implications of the Sufi poem save the specialist who is acquainted with their terminology and its usage.² Reading the

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1. Perhaps the most thorough and detailed criticism showered on Sufis is that of Ibn Al-Jawzi. See Talbys Iblis, (in Arabic) by Jamal Al-Din Al-Jawzi Al-Baghdadi, Dar Al-Kutub Al-Ilmiah, Beirut (1368 Higrāh) pp. 161-388.
 2. Sayed Housein Nasr, Al-Sufiah Baynal Amsi wal Yaoum, pp. 16-17.

poetry of Ibn Al-Farid, a renowned Arab Sufi, one is bewildered with the detailed description of the beauty of his beloved and his enchantment with wine. In fact he is nick-named "The Poet of lovers."¹ In many of his poems he dwells on the physical beauty of his beloved and his desire to enjoy her. To the Sufi deep down, Ibn Al-Farid's poetry, like that of any other Sufi, is but a discourse with the Creator. The Sufi tactics in expressing their ideas and feelings in their poetry are extremely obscure and vague for the non-Sufi. This ambiguity is what does not please Orthodox Moslems. What is good for one to learn and know should be good and available to any other.²

Burton did not reach that stage of obscurity in his Kasidah. He might have wished he had so that his poem would attain the individuality needed for its success. He would have liked it to rank with the poems of the greats such as Hafiz and Omar Khayyam.

It seems odd that a man who loved poetry so much, who was a great translator of poetry and whose life-long ambition was to establish himself as a good poet, should publish his major poetical work under a pseudonym and die without publicly claiming its authorship. Burton was not a naive person and The Kasidah was not an ordinary poem. The question of his

1. See Ibn Al-Farid, Sultan Al-Ashi'keen (in Arabic) by Dr. Mohammad Mustafa Hulmi, 'A^llam Al-Arab Series, No. 15, Al-Mu'asasah Al-Masriyah Al^lAmah, Cairo, 1963, pp. 220, 249. For examples of Ibn Al-Farid's poetry see R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 396-8.

2. For a conclusive account of Sufism and its development and doctrine, see Islam, by Fazlur Rahman, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1966, pp. 128-66.

religion was, in a way, a mystery to the public. Having attacked Christian missionaries abroad, married a Catholic wife, and defended Islam many people could not really see where his religious loyalty lay. Many believed that he secretly became a Moslem. Others felt that he was Converted by his wife to Catholicism. The man himself was not very helpful, for he publicly declared that the question of religion is a personal matter and that he would never confess.¹ The Kasidah itself is a philosophical expression of his ideas on religions, God, life, death and resurrection.² Had he admitted that he wrote The Kasidah, the mystery would have been cleared up. Burton preferred to keep such delicate aspects of his life private. He was inclined to feel that very few would fully understand and appreciate his point of view.³ Again the account he gave at the end of the poem of Haji Abdu is nothing but his own idea of himself. Having listed the linguistic abilities of the Haji, his great knowledge, his extensive travelling, and his merits and virtues, Burton sums up Haji Abdu's qualities saying, "Briefly, his memory was well-stored, and he had every talent save that of using his talents."⁴ Farwell was right in saying "such was Burton's not unrealistic impression of himself."⁵

1. See p. 320 post.

2. Brodie, op. cit., p. 276

3. See Burton, The Kasidah, Book 9, stanzas 43 and 44. See also Page 138 post.

4. Burton, Kasidah, p.121

5. Farwell, op. cit., p. 345.

Another possible and very important reason for publishing The Kasidah under an oriental pseudonym was the vogue of oriental translations at the time. Oriental works were very popular and many names like Payne, Lane, Lane-Poole, Fitzgerald and others acquired fame through the production of oriental works.¹ It is possible that Burton thought that publishing his poem as the work of an oriental writer would give it a much better chance of success. Undoubtedly the most influential of the oriental translations on Burton himself was Fitzgerald's translation of The Rubaiyyat of Omar Khayyam. Britain was enchanted with The Rubaiyyat. It gave the materialistic European society the spiritual depth and meditation it long desired. The Kasidah harps on the same cords but, unfortunately for Burton, it did not produce the same note. His verses were not received with the acclaim he dreamed of. They were looked upon as second-rate compared with The Rubaiyyat. They were thought of as an inferior imitation and have remained so to the present day. Attributing The Kasidah to a learned Oriental author, publishing it under a pseudonym and the account of the poet (Haji Abdu) at the end of the poem were of little help in raising the general opinion of the poem.

Another reason for publishing The Kasidah under a pseudonym, worthy of speculation, is the fact that Burton

1. John Payne translated the Arabian Nights into English in nine volumes in (1882-1884). He also published a collection of Tales from the Arabic, 3 vols. in English in (1884). Edward Lane's Arabian Nights in three volumes in (1838-1840) were then for a long time the most popular and well known. Lane's Modern Egyptians in two volumes published in 1835 was also common and popular. Lane's Arabian Society in the Middle Ages, ed. by Stanley Lane-Poole in 1883. And Fitzgerald's rendering of Omar Khayyam's Rubaiyyat in English in 1859 were very popular indeed.

looked upon poetry as a feminine act. Much as he loved to be thought of as a poet, he, none the less, "took infinite trouble to hide what he felt to be the poetic or 'womanly' side of his nature."¹ Brodie feels that this was one of the main reasons why Burton published his major creative work under a pseudonym. It seems as if Burton was convinced that writing poetry was not in keeping with his image as the manly fearless traveller and discoverer. . Though the Kasidah "did not catch fire," Burton might have been encouraged to confess that he was its author by the favourable response the poem drew from some of his friends. It is possible that Burton was deterred from doing so by the review on The Kasidah in "The Scotsman" of February 8 - 1881. The reviewer said "We feel pretty sure that the ingenious writer is perpetuating a mystification."² Then the reviewer went on to speculate that the author was a Mrs. Harris. Burton must have been not only humiliated but outraged. After reading this review he was probably more determined than ever not to declare that he was the author of The Kasidah.

Many people including some of Burton's friends believed that he was the translator of Haji Abdu's poem as Fitzgerald was of Omar Khayyam's. Some must have suspected that he was the author. The title of the first issue of The Kasidah.

1. Brodie, op. cit., p.276

2. Quoted in Ibid., p. 277.

stated "Translated and Annotated by His Friend and Pupil F.B." The initials F.B. (Frank Baker) Burton used earlier for his first poem Stone-Talk. Anyhow the second edition in 1894 stated that The Kasidah was translated and annotated by Sir Richard F. Burton.¹ But the title page still said that Burton was the translator and not the author of the poem. However in 1893 Lady Burton clearly explained that The Kasidah was Burton's. "On the return journey from Mecca, when Richard could secure any privacy," she tells us, "he composed the most exquisite gem of Oriental poetry."² Then she went on to express her delight in the poem. How it is better and "nicer" than anything she had ever read and how it has no "equal either from the pen of Hafiz, Saadi, Shakespeare, Milton, Swinburne, or any other."² Lady Burton was over enthusiastic about the poem. She tried to point out its beauty and to convince her readers that it was written in 1853. This enthusiasm was not so much for the poem itself as it was an attempt to portray her husband as an original poet.

The account Burton gave of Haji Abdu El-Yazdi at the end of the poem hardly fooled anyone. It was a clear listing of Burton's own abilities, nature, desires and achievements. "Yazd" is a town of medium size between Nesabour, Shiraz and Asbahan³ in Persia. Many famous writers who come from that town

1. Penzer, op. cit., pp. 97-102

2. Isabel Burton, Life, Vol. I, p.184.

3. See Mu⁵jam Al-Buldan, (In Arabic) 20 vols, by Ya⁶Keub Al-Hamoui, Dar Al-Sayad, Beirut (n.d.) volume 20 pp. 435-6.

are known as "Yazdi."¹ A thorough search in all available manuals and biographies of writers from all over the world especially Orientals proved that Burton's Haji Abdu El-Yazdi does not exist. There are several by the name Abdulah El-Yazdi but none wrote a poem like El-Kasidah. They were mostly theologians, thinkers and philosophers of the Shi'ite sect.²

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1. "Yazdi" is the adjective of "Yazd" as is "Londoner" of "London."
 2. See Khulaset Al-Athar fi A'yan Al-Karn Al-Hadi 'Ashar (In Arabic), by Al-Muhili, in 4 volumes. Dar Sayad, Beirut, (n.d), vol. 3, p.40. Also Al-A'lam, Kamous Tarajem li Ashhar al-Rijal wal Nisa'minal Arab wal Musta'ribeen wal Mastashrikeen, (In Arabic), 12 vols, by Khair Al-Din Darkazali, 3rd edition, Beirut, 1969, vol. 4, p.209. Also Mu'jam al mu'alifeen, Tarajem Musanifi Al-Kutub Al-Arabiah (In Arabic), 15 vols., by Omar Rida Kahaleh. Matba'et Al-Taraki, Damascus, 1958, vol. 6, p.49. Also Matbou'at Majma' Al-Lughah Al-Arabiyah bi Dimashk. Favras Mahktutat Dar Al-Kutub Al-Zahiriyyah, (in Arabic) by Abd Al-Hamid Muhsen, Damascus, 1970, p.118. There are several Mss. by Abdulah Yazdis at this library none of which relates to The Kasidah. See also Geschichte Der Arabischen Litteratur, by Prof. Dr. C. Brockelmann, 2 vols. and 3 supplements, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1938, Supplement II, p. 588. See also Hadiyat Al'Arifeen wa 'Athar Al-Musanifeen, (in Arabic), by Ismael Pasha Al-Baghdadi, 3 vols., Istanbul, 1951, vol. I, p.437. Also Kashf Al Zunun 'An Asami Al-Kutub wal Funun, (in Arabic). The Islamic Press in Tahram, 1967, vol. I, p.476. Also Al-Kashaf 'An Makhtutat Khaza'en Kutub Al'Awkaf, (in Arabic) by Mohammad As'ad Talas, Matba'et 'Al'Aani, Baghdad, 1953, p.208. And Favras Al-Makhtutat Al-Arabiah Al-Mahfuzah fi Al-Maktabeh Al-sha'beyah bi Sufia fi Bulgharia, (in Arabic), 2 vols, by Dr. Adnan Darweesh, Damascus, 1974, p.198.

The Sufic qualities and merits of The Kasidah have been amply and carefully analysed by Idris Shah.¹ It would be mere repetition to discuss the sufic elements of the poem. Instead attention will be given to the internal evidence that would help to prove Burton's authorship of The Kasidah.

The poem is divided into nine Books. Each deals with a separate prominent topic. Book one deals with the philosophy of life from the Sufic point of view. The verses in this book harp on the helplessness of man and his ignorance, and how he is no more than a toy in the hand of Fate. He is a weakling that can do nothing either for himself or for others.

Why must we meet, why must we part
Why must we bear this yoke of MUST
Without our leave or asked or given
By tyrant Fate on victim thrust?

This Sufi sentiment is also expressed by Omar Khayyam;

In agitation I was brought to birth
And learned nothing from life but wonder at it;
Reluctantly we leave, still uninformed
Why in the world we came, or went, or were.

My presence here has been no choice of mine;
Fate hounds me most unwillingly away.
Rise, wrap a cloth about your loins, my Saki;
And swill away the misery of this world.³

This sentiment is repeated again and again in the first Book and often in others. Abu Al'ala' Al-Ma'ari, a prominent blind Sufi who refused to marry had this inscribed on his tombstone. "This is (death) what my father has inflicted upon me but I have not inflicted this upon any one." Sufis are too fussy

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1. The Sufis, By Idris Shah, W. H. Allen, London, 1964, pp. 249-60.
 2. Burton; The Kasidah, Book I, stanza 13.
 3. The Rubaiyyat of Omar Khayyam, a new translation with critical commentaries by Robert Graves and Omar Ali-Shah, Cassell, London, 1967, p.56.

about life and its miseries. They are too pessimistic. They see little happiness in this world and all joy in the next. It is said that a man was going through a strange far away land. Everything looked normal in one of the towns he visited. When he passed by the grave-yard he noticed that the ages of the dead were very young. The eldest hardly exceeded ten years. Looking around the village he saw people of all ages. He was puzzled. Was there another cemetery for old people? If not, what is the secret? Upon enquiring he was told this was the only cemetery for the town. But its people inscribed on the tomb stone only the sum of the happy days one lived. As Burton echoes;

That Eve so gay, so bright, so glad,
This Morn so dim, and sad and grey;
Strange that Life's Register should write,
This day a day, that day a day!¹

The second Book reflects some Sufi beliefs and portrays their peculiar sentiments on life. It reflects their miserable nature and deep pessimism.

And this is all, for this we're born
To weep a little and to die.²

In Book three this idea still persists. But man keeps wondering, keeps asking, how, why, and where. Man is feeble and helpless against the forces of Life and the devastating blow of death.³ Book four is perhaps the most dangerously daring in the poem. It deals with a fundamental aspect in all religions. God and the question concerning His nature and existence. Burton does

1. Burton, Kasidah, Book I, stanza 14.

2. Ibid., Book 2 stanza 10.

3. Ibid., See particularly Book 3, stanzas 6, 9, 10, 22, 23 and 31.

not believe in the existence of a God in the traditional sense.¹ Burton believed in a Creator but not a God. He was not able to define exactly what he felt towards that Creator. "His writings about the Creator are as mysterious as his ideas of the Creator himself."² God should be non-human-like. He objects that;

You bring down Heav'n to vulgar Earth;
Your maker like yourselves you make.³

Book five deals with the Universe; The Earth, The Sun, The Moon. In this book as in his essay El-Islam, he traces the development of the Earth and Man from ignorance to knowledge.⁴ Book six concentrates on Faiths. It expresses the vanity of the followers of these religions;

All Faith is false, all Faith is true:
Truth is the shattered mirror strown
In myriad bits, while each believes
His little bit the whole to own.⁵

Burton is expressing here what he had long been echoing. Religions are complementary to one another. No religion is complete or perfect on its own, and, as they stand, they are all false. Burton's attack on religions was not as fatal as that of Al-Ma'ari:

Hanifs⁶ are stumbling, Christians all astray,
Jews Wildered, Magians far on error's way.
We mortals are composed of two great schools -
Enlightened Knaves or else religious fools.⁷

While Book seven deals with the question of the soul and life,

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1. Ibid.; Book 4 Stanzas 3, 4, 5 and 18.
 2. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. II, p.341
 3. Burton, The Kasidah, Book 4 stanza 14.
 4. Ibid.; Book 5 stanzas 10-19.
 5. Ibid.; Book 6 stanza 1.
 6. Moslems.
 7. R. A. Nicholson, op. cit., p.318.

Book eight deals with a more fundamental issue. It covers the question of Heaven and Hell. Burton says there is no Heaven or Hell. These are created by man's fancy to keep him on the straight road.

There is no Heaven, there is no Hell;
These be the dreams of baby minds;
Tools of the wily Fetisheer,
To 'fright the fools his cunning blinds.¹

He declares that Heaven and Hell are on earth. Man lives his life in spiritual conflict reflecting on life after death. His reason leads him to believe there is no such life. His passion tempts him to believe there is.²

Who e'er returned to teach the Truth,
The things of Heaven and Hell to limn?
And all we hear is only fit
For grandam-talk and nursery-hymn.³

Heaven and Hell are created by the man of religion in order to control his flock.⁴ Then in the following stanzas Burton expresses the belief that fortunes are divided and distributed equally in life, joy, sorrow, happiness, woe, weal etc.---; and that man's faith is usually the accident of his birth. Then he sets out the contention between all the religions; how they look at each other with sarcasm and contempt. He then terminates the discussion with his famous advice. If you want to live in honour make and follow your own laws.⁵ A rule Burton followed all his life.

1. Burton, The Kasidah, Book 8, stanza 1.

2. Ibid., Book 8 stanzas 2 - 5.

3. Ibid., Book 8, stanza 8.

4. Ibid., Book 8, stanza 6.

5. See Page 107 ante.

Book nine embodies Burton's preaching. He gives several pieces of advice to the man who would rather not live in the shadow of life. The first piece of advice is to seek knowledge, to learn and never be content with ignorance.¹ The second is to be an initiator, to be creative, and not a mere imitator.² The third is to be self-centred.³ The next is to be strong, and to rely on himself. Never to look at the past, or anticipate the future.

'Eat not thy heart,' the sages said;
'Nor mourn the Past, the buried Past;
Do what thou dost, be strong, be brave;
And, like the star, nor rest nor haste.'⁴

This insistence on self-dependence and personal determination is a prominent feature of Burton's personality. He never bowed to the wishes or orders of others. He always set his own course and followed his own scheme. Perhaps the next stanza portrays Burton's personal attitude better than any other.

Pluck the old woman from thy heart:
Be stout in woe, be stark in weal;
Do good, for Good is good to do:
Spurn bribe of Heaven and threat of Hell.

Burton hardly ever let his wife stand in the way of his plans and ambitions. Even in the most romantic period of their relationship he could not let his emotions over-rule his purpose. When they were engaged he went to Africa without properly saying good-bye to her. He knew that she would try to stop him so he just sent her a note informing her that he would be away for three

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1. Burton, The Kasidah, Book 9, stanza 14.
 2. Ibid., Book 9, stanza 15.
 3. Ibid., Book 9, stanzas 20-21.
 4. Ibid., Book 9, stanza 26.

years.¹ Burton advises his reader to take his chances as they come, for, if he does not he might not have the same luck again. All can be replaced except time. Everything in life can be repaired and restored except life itself.

But who shall mend the clay of man,
The stolen breath to man restore.²

At last Burton reaches a compromise with himself. He soothes Haji Abdu assuring him that he will not be listened to until man is wise and mature enough.

Cease, Abdu, Cease! Thy song is sung,
Nor think to gain the singer's prize;
Till man hold Ignorance deadly sin,
Till man deserves his title "Wise:"

In Days to come, Days slow to dawn,
When Wisdom deigns to dwell with men,
These echoes of a voice long stilled
Haply shall wake responsive strain:³

A careful reading of the poem will prove that it does not fall into the category of genuine Sufi poetry. It is in truth the reflections of a man frustrated and disappointed with life and his fellow man. Undoubtedly, Sufi spirituality prevails in the poem and sever^{al} Sufi attitudes are clearly expressed in it. But it is Burton's and not Haji Abdu's Sufism. It is not the spiritualism of an oriental writer. The Sufism in this poem is marred by many incidents and references one hardly finds in a poem written by an oriental Sufi be he a Persian or an Arab.

Internal evidence indicates that Burton was the author. First of all the oriental colouring in the poem is very faint.

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1. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. I, p.255
 2. Burton, The Kasidah, Book 9, stanza 40.
 3. Ibid., Book 9, stanzas 43-44.

A quick comparison between The Kasidah and The Rubaiyyat, or any other Sufi poem for that matter, will reveal this point. The poem like the Rubaiyyat opens by describing the victory of light (day, virtue) over darkness (night, evil); but that is all. Again the use of Sufi terminology, parables, similes --- etc. is not sufficient. Terms like "journey," (journey to God); "Islam," (Resignation and submission to the decrees of God); "Drink," (wine, The Domination of Divine Love over the heart); "Saki," (cupbearer. The appearance of Divine Love which calls for thankfulness); "singer," (Independent. Confessing the Unity of God); "Hawa," (Desire. A yearning after the future life kindled by God in the heart of man); and many others¹ that are a common and basic feature of Sufi poetry are hardly used. Such terms are the core of any Sufi poem.

The poem is shallow. It lacks the depth of impression and the duality of meaning that is characteristic in Sufi poetry. The Sufi speculation in the poem is hardly deep enough. Burton's poem is negative and infested with a sense of uneasiness all the way through. It comes to life in the last Book. Once more, if we compare it with its rival poem The Rubaiyyat we see the difference. From the start Omar urges his listener to wake up, enjoy himself (in the heavenly pleasures), and to take his fill. He warns him about the

1. Oriental Mysticism, by E. H. Palmer, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., London, 1969, pp. 69-81.

short span of life. Burton on the other hand seems to be lamenting all the time. He appears to be absorbed in his own misery and contemplation of a lost chance.

Burton deals with many aspects of Sufi doctrine. The renunciation of this materialistic, mortal world;¹ the difference between the importance of Sufism and asceticism;² the relationship between man and God and man and the Universe; the question of good and evil,³ and many other things,

There are several points that give the poem away as the work of an Occidental writer. First is the reference to ancient religions. This is odd in an Oriental Moslem Sufi whether contemporary with Burton or prior to his times. Professor Taftazani⁴ assures me that none of the Oriental Sufi poets had ever shown such knowledge in his poetry. The sentiments expressed in some parts of the poem could have come only from a Western writer, particularly an Orientalist. The Orientalists of the nineteenth century had this interest in the religions of the world. Moslem Sufis, as a rule, concentrated on Islam, God, and meditation on the feebleness of man, the vanity of life and the eternity of the "Truth."

The reference to "Buddha" and "Confucius" and their teachings⁵ could only have been made by Burton and not Haji Abdu.

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1. Burton, The Kasidah, Book 3, stanzas 19-23
 2. Ibid., Book 4, stanza 6.
 3. Ibid., Book 5, stanza 1.
 4. Professor of Moslem Philosophy at Cairo University, formerly Fellow of the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada in (1955-6). He wrote three books dealing with Sufism and leading Sufi personalities.
 5. Burton, The Kasidah, Book 4, stanzas 3 and 4.

It is unlikely for Oriental Sufis then to know anything about "Buddha" or "Confucius." They shunned learning of this sort. The author of The Kasidah refers to the God of the Jews as "Yahveh"¹ which is unusual for a Moslem Sufi. Moslems believe that God is One and remains God "Allah" for all religions. Again the reference to the trinity² when the author was talking about the "Nazarene" is contrary to Moslem belief. A Moslem Sufi, even if he wanted to express the idea of Christian trinity, would never have expressed it in this way. As said earlier, to the Moslems, "God" is One who has no second or third. The term "Fetisheer"³ calls for some attention. This was a new term popular among anthropologists and sociologists in the nineteenth century. Moslems usually used either "magic" or "paganism" in the same content. The comparison in The Kasidah between the religions of the world reflects Western culture⁴ and not Moslem culture. Lastly the use of the term "Nirwana,"⁵ (a Buddhist term for the extinction of individuality) is strange here. A Moslem Sufi would have used the term "Fana" which figuratively means the same. Beside these technical aspects that make the poem the work of a Western writer there are parts of the poem that reflect Burton's own life.

Burton's biographers are all of the opinion that The Kasidah

1. Ibid., Book 4, stanza 21.

2. Ibid., Book 4, stanza 25.

3. "Fetish" means "inanimate object worshipped by savages for its magical powers or as being inhabited by a spirit." The Concise Oxford Dictionary, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964.

4. Burton, The Kasidah, Book 8, stanza 24 passim.

5. Ibid., Book 9, stanza 42.

was not finished in 1853 as Lady Burton claimed. They feel that it was written in parts over many years. The poem kept growing as time went by until it was ripe in 1880, the year of its first publication.

There are many reasons that support this belief. The lack of material evidence prevented the Burton scholars from confirming what parts of the poem or how much of it was written at a certain time. -- Burton, as pointed out earlier, was not capable of writing a long poem in one go. From internal evidence his biographers came to the conclusion that it was written at various stages of his life. Brodie points out Burton's reference to his happy childhood in France and to the small chateau in which they lived on the right bank of the Loire. They called the chateau "Beauséjour."¹ She also says that there is a hint at the death of his parents. This means that the poem was definitely not finished before 1859 when Fitzgerald published The Rubaiyyat.² She also points out that some stanzas show utter disappointment; such as the disappointment he felt at the beginning of his diplomatic career at Fernando Po.³ Then in conclusion to her argument she says, "there is abundant internal evidence, as well as the many references to ageing and decay, which indicate that it was written at least in large part when he was well past fifty."⁴

1. Brodie, op. cit., p.29. See also Kasidah, Book 3, stanza 24.

2. Brodie, op. cit., p.357.

3. Ibid., P.203, see also Kasidah, Book 3 stanzas 33-4 and Book 9, stanzas 11-14.

4. Brodie, op. cit., p.227.

Farwell agrees with Brodie that it was written much later than 1853. He points out that Burton's disappointment with Riaz Pasha over the Midian expedition is clearly expressed in the stanza which says:¹

How every high heroic thought
That longed to breathe empyrean air,
Failed of its feathers, fell to earth,
And perished of a sheer despair;²

To all that, can be added a few other important points. A poem like The Kasidah shows a vast knowledge and wide experience. In 1853 Burton was only thirty-two years of age. He might have had the knowledge displayed in the poem but it is most unlikely that he had the experience. This was provided by his later travels and expeditions in the East and Africa and from his dealings with people at all levels. The poem conveys an image of a man who struggled with life until he knew life inside out. It shows bitter feelings and foiled ambitions. Such feelings Burton did not have in 1853. He began to feel really sour much later. In 1853 he was a hero after his return from his pilgrimage. He was full of hope, full of life. His aspirations were diminished much later when he was faced with the bitter reality. When he realized that he could not achieve all he had dreamed of or fulfil his ambitions. He realized then how weak man is in the clutches of Fate. The poem reflects the embitterment of later years. His disappointment in Africa with Speke; in Midian with Riaz Pasha, in Damascus with the Jews; with the Foreign Office, and his final consulate at Trieste

Burton's Damascus consulate must be considered in connection with his sufism. The collection of proverbs Burton made in

1. Farwell, op. cit., p.345.

2. Burton, The Kasidah, Book 3, stanza 13.

Damascus and his writings about Syria, his excursions and archaeological findings go to prove that he was not merely a diplomat there. He was a scholar as well. Burton made friends with the learned and enlightened people of the Damascene community as well as the influential and renowned. The collection of proverbs, more than anything else, shows his genuine interests in the Syrian people and their culture. Two of these whom Burton became acquainted with in Damascus are very likely to have influenced his Sufi interests. Al-'Amir Abd Al-Kader Al-Jaz'iri (Prince Abd Al-Kader of Algiers) and Shaykh Abd Al-Ghani El-Nabulsi. Both were prominent Sufis. Burton knew the former personally and the latter through his works.¹ Burton knew the Amir, who was exiled in Damascus, rather intimately. Lady Burton tells us that the two often met and engaged in discussions of all sorts.² Abd Al-Kader was a man of vast experience. He wrote several Sufi poetical works.³ It is very likely that the conversation between the two drifted to Sufism and that Burton saw the Amir's works. If he did see them, or even if he just discussed them or exchanged views on Sufism with the Amir, it is very likely that he was influenced by him. Two of the Amir's manuscripts at Al-Zahiriah Library in Damascus are of special interest and

1. J. S. Trimingham; op. cit., pp. 70 and 95.

2. Isabel Burton, Life; vol. I, pp. 19-20, 180 and 485-6.

3. For the sufism of the Amir see Al-Tasawwuf wal Amir Abd Al-Kader Al-Hasani Al-Jaza'iri, (in Arabic) by Jawad Al-Murabet, Dar Al-Yakazah Al-Arabeyeh, Damascus, 1966. It is interesting to know that the Amir, like Burton, was of the Kadiri order. See "Abd Al-Kader Al-Jaza'iri Mutasawifan" (in Arabic) by Fareed Jiha, Al-Ma'rafah (a monthly magazine) No. 185, Damascus, July, 1977, pp. 125-40.

and great significance. They reveal how deep and confirmed his Sufism was as well as his mastery of Sufic technique.¹ The first manuscript has two poems, one long and one much shorter. The long poem expresses the Amir's trust and faith in God. It is a prayer for deliverance from the miseries of his exile. In it he says:²

My Lord, your denial has grown long,
I have lost patience, I am not so strong.
My Lord, I couldn't help but mourn,
Is there to this dreary night a dawn?³

The second poem⁴ has a more distinct Sufi character. It opens:

The veil has been removed and all Reason washed,
The "I" vanished, the "You" vanished, the "He"
vanished and all brushed.
Nobody but us left and there wasn't any but us,
I the Saki,⁵ I the drinker, the wine the Ka's.⁶

The second manuscript⁷ is a mixture of prose and poetry. But the theme is the same as the other two; Sufism and Sufi meditation. It opens with a long poem in which the Amir relates how he had a discourse with God and how delighted he was with the experience.⁸

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1. See manuscript entitled Sharh Al-Baytayn (The explanation of the two lines of poetry), MS. No. 245 (3), at the Zahiriah Library in Damascus, (n.d.) pp. 54A-55B. A photocopy is available (In Arabic).
 2. The translation of poetry from this and following manuscripts is mine.
 3. MS. at the Zahiriah Library in Damascus with the title Kasidatan, (two Kasidas) No. 245 (4), (n.d.) p.6B. A photocopy is available.
 4. Ibid., p.6B.
 5. Cupbearer.
 6. Cup.
 7. Al-Mawakef (Situations and attitudes) MS. in 3 volumes No. 9263, at Al-Zahiriah Library in Damascus (n.d.) vol. 1, pp. 6-18.
 8. Ibid., p.7.

Burton was, undoubtedly, acquainted with the works of Shaykh Abd Al-Ghani Al-Nabulsi.¹ The Shaykh's poetry is not only refined but genuinely Sufic of the first degree. It is smooth, deep, lyrical and full of allegories, parables and similes. His Diwan Al-Hakikah,² an anthology of Sufi poems, contains some of the most beautiful of his poetry. It opens with:-

I look for myself in my wine cup,
and listen to music in my Taverns.
I play my flute and then listen with tarab,³
And clap with joy when the dancer turns.

Then from the garden I inhale the breath of Truth,
While my eye dwells on the garden of my youth.
My longing for the beauty of my beloved,
Is great. Such longing I for no other held.

The possibility of Burton's having been influenced by these two poets and others like them in Damascus cannot be overlooked. In 1853 Burton was young. By 1880 he had matured enough and acquired the experience and material needed for the composition of The Kasidah. It is not unlikely that much of the pessimism portrayed in Burton's poem had its roots in Damascus. Damascus, indeed, was the greatest hope of his life as well as the biggest and bitterest disappointment.

The Kasidah, was Burton's unique and original way of

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1. Burton, Unexplored Syria, vol. II, p.288, Proverb No. 149. See Page 98 ante.
 2. Diwan Al-Hakikah (The Anthology of Truth), MS. at the Zahiriah Library in Damascus, MS. No. 9234. The MS. shows the date of 1261 Hijrah.
 3. Enchantment.

expressing his religious beliefs. It offered him the chance, for the first time, to express freely his opinion of man, life, and religion. Though there is very little in the poem that is original, The Kasidah remains Burton's best creative and original work. Having stood the test of time its merits are well established. In fact, of the millions of words Burton wrote only The Kasidah is quoted.¹ Some of its verses have become proverbial. It is singular, nevertheless, to think that Burton's name survived because of what he most tried to hide of his nature.- the poetical qualities - and because of the work he persistently refused to claim.

1. Familiar Quotations, by John Bartlett, Eleventh Edition, ed. by Christopher Morley. Macmillan and Co. Ltd., London, 1937, pp. 543-4.



SIR RICHARD BURTON,

ABOUT 1888.

CHAPTER IV

The Book of The Thousand Nights and a Night

The truth is, that at this present writing, the Arabian Nights is the most popular book in the world. It is the only book of which it can be said that it is a favourite with all ranks and times of life, and which is constantly occupying attention in all quarters of the globe.¹

The enthusiasm displayed by Leigh Hunt, in 1839, in the statement quoted above is no more than a reflection of the general and public attitude towards The Arabian Nights in the nineteenth century, over a century and a quarter after it was first introduced into England. This popularity, however, is, by no means, an advance on the popularity The Nights enjoyed in the eighteenth century. The Nights were read by people of all ranks, ages and tastes. The English reader was captivated by the charms of Galland's Arabian Nights which began appearing in England in English translation in 1704. The public response of delight and approval was prompt. The men of letters set out immediately to exploit the newly found mine of literary wealth.² Soon it was realized that The Nights'

1. "The London and Westminster Review," vol. xxxiii, London, 1840, p.106. For reasons behind this popularity see Leigh Hunt's London Journal, Wednesday Oct. 22nd 1834 No. 30 p.233.

2. The first composition in English to be based on material from The Arabian Nights was a satire by Count Hamilton in 1705 entitled Le Beller (The Ram). He followed that by three other literary satires between 1710 and 1715.

rich resources of ideas, setting and style are so original and so interesting that they were bound to be popular and useful. Eastern names of people and places, Eastern philosophy, sentiment and belief began to appear in the literary production of the period.¹ In fact no better proof could be sought or desired of the merits of a work which is extremely picturesque, full of fancy and wild imagination, and with candid didactic, moral or pedantic purposes than to win such popularity and admiration in the Augustan period, when classical taste in literature was prevailing. As a rule, the Augustans did not favour such language and composition as in The Nights, and did not encourage the expression of personal feelings or emotions,² in both their writings and polite conversation. Again the increase in the reading public, particularly among the middle class, created a demand for a new literary output. Professor Gibb, explained that the immediate success of Galland's Arabian Nights was due to "the crisis through which French and English

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1. Addison gave a lead in using Eastern elements and referring to Eastern stories and incidents in his writings especially The Spectator. See p.154 post.
 2. Lord Lyttleton's sad poem on the death of his wife is a good example. It is easily realized how the poet was torn between two strong impulses; the first was his love for his wife and his sadness at her death, a situation that was calling on him to express his personal emotions; the second is his care to abide by the prevailing rules and taste of the time. "Two voices are there in this monody," said Sutherland, "one giving us the natural unaffected melody that corresponds to Lyttleton's real feelings, the other supplying the sort of orchestration that an eighteenth century poet considered proper." A Preface to 18th Century English Poetry, by James Sutherland, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1948, p.73

literature was passing, owing to the expansion of the reading classes and the demand for a more popular type of literary production."¹ However, the dominant classical taste and rigid rules did not hinder or deter The Nights from advancing, though slowly at first, to its position as an influence on English literature from the time it first appeared in English to the dawn of the twentieth century. This influence varied in its intensity and nature from one period to another as did the genres of literature it influenced most at particular stages. The golden epoch for The Nights, both for popularity and influence, was during the romantic movement at the end of the eighteenth century and all the way through the first half of the nineteenth. This influence is clearly seen in the literature of the period and easily traced, particularly in the poetry and the novel. Understandably, the enthusiasm of the writers at the beginning of the eighteenth century was candid and implicit. But those of the latter half of the eighteenth century and those of the nineteenth century had a different story to tell. The majority of these writers expressed their delight in, and admiration for, The Nights. Perhaps the most beautiful and natural tribute came from young Tennyson in a poem that could be taken as an example of the fancy and dreams that played on the imagination of almost every youth who spent hours immersed in a world of enchantment, of jinnis, magicians and

1. "Literature", by Professor H.A.R. Gibb, in The Legacy of Islam, ed. by Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1931, p.201

of the golden prime
Of good Haroun Alraschid.¹

When Hawthorne announced, "to Persia and Arabia, and all the gorgeous East I owed a pilgrimage for the sake of their magic tales,"² many a reader echoed this sentiment.

When Gallard introduced The Arabian Nights to Europe in 1704 people were astonished by the ease and care free attitude it displayed. Most people were under the impression that this was a work that one could read for pleasure alone. This might not be wholly true as some stories in the collection are well set out lessons in life, and a realistic sketch of human nature.³ But indeed the didacticism and morality in the work, where they occurred, are so well concealed that only those who lay the book aside and reflect on what they have been reading could realise the significance and full meaning of the development of the episodes, and the lesson inherent in the stories. In the West both reader and writer were so struck by the wild fantasy, unrestricted imagination and the elements of the supernatural that most of them did not see anything else.

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1. "Recollections of the Arabian Nights," Poems, by Alfred Tennyson, Edward Moxon and Co., London, 1862, pp. 13-19.
 2. Nathonal Hawthorne, by G. E. Woodberry, in the American men of letters series, Boxtton and New York, 1902, p.54.
 3. The stories and tales in The Arabian Nights are based on human nature: Love, hate, fear, courage, vanity, wickedness and kindness. Burton discussed the sketches of human nature in the "Terminal Essay", Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 8, pp. 105-144. Commenting on an incident in "The Third Calender's Tale," Burton says "The situation is highly dramatic; and indeed The Nights, as will appear in the Terminal Essay, have already suggested a national drama." Ibid, vol. 1, p.137 note 1. On this point see also The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century, by Martha Pike Conant, Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., London, 1966, p.9.

Galland's translation was very successful and very rapidly swept through Europe. The two major factors behind this success were the timing of the translation and Galland's genius as a story teller.¹ The Nights were introduced to Europe when they were most needed to counterbalance the strict demands and explicit didactic and moral aims of the neo-classicists. Had The Nights been translated at the end of the century when the romantic movement was well on its way, or later in the nineteenth century, the reaction, most likely, would not have been as spontaneous and as enthusiastic. The Nights played an important role in speeding the Romantic Movement² giving it wider and deeper dimensions in theme, expression and imagination. Miss Conant rightly refers to the history of the oriental tale in general, and The Arabian Nights in particular, in England as an "episode in the development of English Romanticism."² The impact of The Nights lay in its romantic character. The fact that can not be ignored or denied in accounting for the popularity of The Nights, is its originality. Everything about it was new to the West.³ The society, values, modes of life and thinking, feeling, sentiment, style, and, most of all, its characters. For the first time characters like the Caliph, Wazir, Cadi, sages, philosophers, councillors, poets, executioner, eunuchs, slaves - males and females, singers and dancers, harems,

1. Burton, "Terminal Essay," Nights, vol. 8, p.86.

2. Conant, op. cit., p. viii.

3. The English Novel. A Short Critical History, by Walter Allan, Phoenix House, London, 1954, p.85.

magicians, jinnis, thieves, princes, princesses, robbers, villains and heroes, from all walks of life are met with in English in a single work with such singular beauty, harmony and force.

Galland's ability as a story-teller was a great advantage, He realized that in introducing The Nights as they really were in the original would mean running the risk of a severe reaction from the polite society of Europe and possibly complete condemnation and utter rejection and failure. So with extensive material at his disposal he tailored his translation to the fashions of his time. He, first of all, omitted all the coarseness of the original and the minute details which he believed either unimportant or boring to the French reader, for whom the work was intended. He amplified some passages, and omitted others, he abridged some incidents and substituted others.¹ In fact he made so many changes that many share Burton's feeling that "Galland's paraphrase, which contains only a quarter of The Thousand Nights and a Night, (was) a wholly different book," because its "attempts to amplify beauties and to correct or conceal the defects and the grotesqueness of the original, absolutely suppress much of the local colour; clothing the bare body in the best of Parisian suits."² To achieve his objective Galland adapted his original to the literary, social and religious views of his time. A gifted story-teller, he succeeded in making a compromise between the stories as narrated in the original and the way in which the

1. For details of Galland's alterations see The Arabian Nights in English Literature to 1900, by Dr. Adel M. Abdullah, Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge, 1962, p.25.

2. Burton, "Terminal Essay," Nights, vol. 8, p.101.

French would like to see them written. But, in the process, the original lost a great deal of its local¹ and folklore colouring.

The reactions and opinions concerning the liberty Galland took in his translation of The Nights were of as interesting a variety as were the motives that Galland's critics had for their criticism. The comments were based on each critic's own belief in the importance, nature and significance of The Nights for the Western world. Lane who saw in it the best reflection literature could offer of the Egyptian community,² manners, customs, beliefs and ways of life condemned Galland for his omissions and alterations, and to him alone he attributed "its chief faults" and the misleading picture of the East and the Arabs that the readers conceived from that translation.³ Southey, who was more interested in the delicate and delightful imaginative structure of The Nights, believed that The Nights "have lost their metaphysical rubbish through

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1. James Beattie condemned such an attitude. See "Fable and Romance," Dissertations Moral and Critical, by James Beattie W. Straham, London, 1873, See also Conant, op. cit., p.235.
 2. In his book An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, 1836, vol. 1, p.V, Lane remarks "There is one work, however, which presents most admirable pictures of the manners and customs of the Arabs, and particularly of those of the Egyptians: it is 'The Thousand and One Nights' or 'Arabian Nights Entertainments'." Then expressing his dissatisfaction with the versions of The Nights available added "if the English reader possessed a close translation of it with sufficient illustrative notes, I might almost have spared myself the labour of the present undertaking."
 3. The Thousand and One Nights Commonly Called in England The Arabian Nights Entertainments, 3 vols., by Edward William Lane, Charles Knight and Co., London, 1839, vol. 1, p.viii.

the filter of a French translation."¹ Burton was in the lead amongst the orientalists who appreciated Galland's talents. He understood his intentions and on the whole excused his actions. With a life-long motto that the end justifies the means, Burton forgave the alterations Galland made on the ground that Galland "errs mostly for a purpose, that of popularizing his work; and his success has indeed justified his means."² Burton himself defied and ignored the opinions of many of his friends as well as of his wife when they advised him to cut down the erotic parts in his translation. He was convinced that this aspect of his work, more than anything else, would give his version popularity and also an advantage over Payne's more literary translation. Burton commended Galland for his talent as a story-teller and for his "pleasing style."³ He thought that the "Immortal fragment" would never "be superseded in the infallible judgement of childhood."⁴ Nevertheless, Burton, whose sole wish was to see produced an exact replica of the original, criticized various aspects in Galland's version. He criticized Galland's exclusion of verse and rhymed prose; his rejecting of proverbs, epigrams and moral reflections, his disdaining "these finer touches of character which are often

1. The Poetical works of Robert Southey Collected by himself, 10 vols. Longman & Co., London (1859), (notes to Thalaba) vol. 5, p.29.

2. Burton, "Terminal Essay," Nights, vol. 8, p.98.

3. Ibid, p.86. The Edinburgh Review commended Galland's talent of "easy, skilful, effective narrative," and his "bright flexible style." As a story book it considered his version the "most artistic version, the best literary paraphrase of the Nights that exists." "The Arabian Nights," by Stanley Lane-Poole Edinburgh Review 164, 1886, p.167.

4. Burton, "Terminal Essay," Nights, vol. 8, p.86

Shakespearean in their depth and delicacy," and his expunging "the often repulsive simplicity, the childish indecencies and the wild orgies of the original."¹ Burton's criticism of Galland, on the whole, was more of a gentle rebuke than an attack. In fact Burton, having sarcastically pointed out how "the British Encyclopedia has been pleased to ignore this excellent man and admirable Orientalist, numismatologist and litterateur"² proceeds to give an account of the Frenchman's life and achievements. Payne, on the other hand, adapted a half way attitude between Lane's severe censure and Burton's approval. He compromised by censuring Galland's "wilful changes," as detrimental to the picture of the manners and customs of the Arabs and by admitting Galland's great contribution, most evident in his style and in catching "the true spirit of the oriental romance as seen by European observers through the intervening media of distance and difference."³

On the whole, I believe, Galland had no alternative if The Nights were to be given any chance of success. When we consider the problem Elijah Fenton and the Rev. William Broome, Pope's friends and collaborators who were helping him translate

1. Ibid, p.101

2. Ibid, p.86

3. "Terminal Essay," The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night, 9 volumes, by John Payne, Villon Society, privately printed, London, 1882-84, vol. 9, pp. 276-7.

the *Odyssey*,¹ were confronted with we realize the social and literary standards and rules Galland had to abide by. Having complied with the existing taste Galland's translation immediately claimed its right to fame and popularity. Galland's Arabian Nights which began appearing in English in 1704, had made a deep impression in cultivated circles. It was not only read, enjoyed and admired by children and idle people "whose imagination is complimented at the expense of their judgement,"² but also by those whose opinions and judgement on literary taste and standards was exemplary and an undeniable force and influence in cultivating classical taste and enforcing classical dominance over the literature of the period. Pope, the leading figure of the Augustan era, read them and enjoyed them so much that he

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1. "On his way through Book XX Fenton ran into trouble, and wrote to Broome about it:

How shall I get over the bitch and her puppies,
the roasting of the black pudding, as Brault
translated it, and the cow-heel that was thrown
at Ulysses' head, I know not."

To solve this problem the translator had to alter the phrases and express the situation figuratively for the "Refinement" of the Augustan taste forbids the free use of what is termed "vulgar expressions and terminology" in literature. Sutherland, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 and 89. See also The Works of Alexander Pope, 10 vols., ed. by Whitwell Elwin and William John Courthope, John Murray, London, 1871-89, vol. 8, p.79.

2. With the Arabian Nights in mind, Richard Hole remarks that "however we may be occasionally amused by their wild diversified incidents, they are seldom relished but by children, or by men whose imagination is complimented at the expense of their judgement." Remarks on the Arabian Nights, by Richard Hole, printed for T. Cadell Junior and W. Davies, London, 1797, p.8.

thought of writing a "wild" Persian story himself.¹ Swift, his contemporary and the leading prose satirist of the eighteenth century read The Nights and was influenced by them.²

The numerous editions that The Nights went through, testify to its popularity in the eighteenth century. By 1713 four English editions had appeared, and by 1720 stories from The Nights began to appear serialized in journals and newspapers.

On May 14, 1720, while Robinson Crusoe, was still running in the (original London Post) a new journal called the (Churchman's Last Shift) appeared, which supplemented the news-----with "The Voyages of Sinbad the Sailor" in weekly instalments. The collection of tales engaged readers of the journal for over twenty weeks, and it was followed by a second excerpt from The Arabian Nights-----On January 6 of that year (1723) Parker's London News, a thrice-weekly news-sheet-----commenced a serialization of the Arabian Nights which occupied three years and four hundred and fifty-five instalments.³

This serialization was sufficiently popular with readers to lead the paper, even before The Nights was completed, to undertake a new series of reprints of various classics of English and foreign fiction.

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1. Observations, Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men, by the Rev. Joseph Spence, John Murray, London, 1820, p.2.
 2. Journal to Stella A.D. 1710-1713, by Jonathan Swift, ed. by Fredrick Ryland, George Bell and Sons, London, 1897, p.327. (Letter XL, January 26 1711-12.) See p. 152 Post.
 3. The English Novel in the Magazine, by Robert D. Mayo, Oxford University Press, London, 1962, p.59.

The response to The Arabian Nights from the English public led to the introduction of other oriental works and collections.¹ By 1760 Persian, Turkish, Chinese, Mogul, Tartar, and Peruvian tales were available in English² which opened the way for oriental stories, in the periodicals, in Collin's Persian Ecologues, Johnson's Rasselas, Goldsmith's Citizen of the World, Beckford's Vathek and Byron's Eastern Tales.³

The popularity of The Nights at the beginning of the eighteenth century was not confined to the public and those who opposed and detested neo-classicism. Almost everybody read and enjoyed them. In fact most of the writers of the period like Pope, Addison, Steele and Swift were acquainted with, and influenced by them. Although they did not believe in fantasy and distrusted imagination and avoided them in their writings they were not ashamed to admit that they were fascinated by these tales. Others like Pope's friend Bishop Atterbury, were so affected by the dominating spirit of classicism that they did not appreciate the new foreign taste in literature and actually thought "The Arabian Tales" "so extravagant, monstrous and disproportioned" that they "gave a judicious eye pain."⁴ Nevertheless the overwhelming opinion

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1. Such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Turkish Letters, London (1763) which were the result of her personal experience in Turkey during her husband's embassy engagement there between 1711-1718.
 2. Persian (1714), Turkish (1708), Chinese (1725), Mogul (1736), Tartar (1759), Peruvian (1764).
 3. The Augustan World, by R. R. Humphreys, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1954, p.96.
 4. Works of A. Pope---10 vols., ed. by Rev. W. L. Bowles, J. Johnson etc. London, 1806, vol VII, pp. 110-112. Richard Hole points out that "The incredibility of its (the Nights) stories is a principal cause of its being held in contempt more particularly by the grave and the learned." Remarks, p.11, see also Conant, op. cit., p.255

was in favour of this type of literature and its popularity kept increasing as the century advanced until the days of Sir William Jones, the great orientalist, when the knowledge of, and the attitude towards and the appreciation of, the orient and its literature began to undergo a dramatic change. This was due to the increased contact with the East through travellers, orientalists, missionaries and traders.

The influence of oriental fiction on the literature of this period is of two kinds. First it inspired a great many writers and influenced their writings. Swift's Gulliver's Travels, the best satirical novel in English literature, has striking similarity to The Arabian Nights, in general, in the mingling of reality and unreality together and the absence of any connection between the voyages or episodes except for the presence of the hero. Again, Gulliver and Sinbad have a lot in common. Both were adventurers, both made their journeys, by sea, and both met dwarfs and giants. Johnson, who was not an admirer of Swift, when commenting on Gulliver's Travels, remarked that it is easy when one thinks of little people and big people. It is most likely that Swift drew the idea from Sindbad. Again the incident when Gulliver puts five of the Lilliputians, who were shooting arrows at him, in his pocket is similar to the incident when Og, King of Aad,¹ being gigantic, puts six of Mousa's doctors in his pocket when Mousa, the Prophet, and his men went to preach the Jewish religion

1. "Turkish Tales" in Tales from the East, 3 vols, by Henry Weber, Edinburgh, 1893.

to the people of Aad. . . Defoe's Robinson Crusoe again, has, in some parts, a striking similarity to Jaafar Ebn Tophail's philosophical romance The Life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan.¹

The sudden advent of The Arabian Nights, full of life, and the glamour of the East, captured the imagination of both reader and writer, and opened a new chapter in the history of the oriental fiction in England.² This store house of new stories provided writers not only with the "spirit of adventure" but also with a handy disguise from behind which many a critic of society, life, literature and politics voiced his opinions.³ The oriental image was put to good use in literature. Various aspects of the oriental tale, its setting, location, fantasy, colouring and terminology were used, in one way or another for moral, philosophic and satirical purposes. The oriental image is found throughout the literature of the whole century. The oriental disguise, which was used mainly as a cover, was employed in almost all the major genres; the novel, the romance, poetry, drama, the periodical essay and in the pseudo-letter. It was so important and so amply used that it became a distinct feature of

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1. Colridge believes that the popularity of The Arabian Nights was occasioned by the "impulse of motion----- without excitement" its reading communicates to the mind. He goes on to say that "The charm of De Foe's works, especially Robinson Crusoe, is founded on the same principle. It always interests, never agitates." Colridge's Miscellaneous Criticism, ed. by Thomas Middleton Raysor, Constable & Co., London, 1936, p.194. See also Conant, op. cit., pp. 126-30.
 2. Conant, op. cit, p.XXII.
 3. Ibid, chapter IV pp. 155, 225.

eighteenth century literature.¹

The eighteenth century was the golden age of satire. Satirists made use of oriental disguise.² In the periodical essay, an important and popular branch of literature in the eighteenth century, from Addison and Steel to Johnson and Hawkesworth, oriental disguise was a very significant and basic part. The avowed aim of the Spectator and the Tatler was to entertain and preach; and instruction, Boswell says, was the predominant purpose of the Rambler.³ To Addison, Steele and Dr. Johnson the East was the home of the Bible and sages and the source of wisdom and sound philosophy. With the oriental literature in vogue it was convenient for these novelists and their followers to utilize the oriental tale to inculcate right living and moral conduct.⁴ Addison and Steele used it for their didactic and moral writings and Johnson for his didactic and philosophical arguments. Here we must bear in mind that the oriental tales in the periodical essay hardly have anything in common with the genuine oriental tales except names of people and places and the occasional turn of phrase. With one exception, for example, all the

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1. Ibid., Chapters I, II, III and IV.
 2. "The prose writers of the period were under the spell of the new tales from the orient." Islam in English Literature, by Byron Porter Smith, American Press, Beirut, 1939, p.79.
 3. Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. with an introduction by Mowbray Morris, The Globe Edition, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1908 pp. 66.74
 4. The oriental tale was used for social criticism. In Spectator No. 50, Addison criticizes church goers, the Whigs, the Torys and the nobilities.

philosophical and moral ideas in the twenty-nine oriental tales found in the early periodicals, from the opening number of the Tatler in 1709, to the last issue of the Freeholder, in 1716, are either noticeably English in character or else in universal ideas, common to English and oriental thought. The ample evidence abounding^w in the Spectator, Tatler, Freeholder, Guardian, Mirror, Rambler, Idler, and Adventurer, falls into three categories; moral, philosophical, and satirical.

The first oblique use of a tale included in The +Nights was made by Addison¹ to illustrate a philosophical and moral concept. Addison invented some of the oriental tales he used in the Spectator, Guardian and Freeholder. "The Vision of Mirza" (1711), his masterpiece, is a fine sketch which together with Dr. Johnson's Rasselas (1759), represents the peak of the philosophic pseudo-oriental tale in England. The relation of The Arabian Nights to these two works and others of the same calibre is that of a godfather; the oriental elements in them are insignificant and do not exceed the use of a proper noun or a turn of phrase.

The moralists were neither interested in the manners and customs of the East nor in its picturesqueness. Only names of persons and places and the sketch of the adapted tale were left intact. The story is quoted to illustrate a point of view. It was made subsidiary to the inculcated philosophy or moral.² As in the philosophic tale, Addison utilized

1. Spectator, No. 94, June 18th 1711

2. In Spectator No. 195 Addison illustrates "how beneficial bodily labour is to health," and in No. 535 he discusses "hope." In Nos. 343 and 578 he touches on the subject of the transmigration of souls; and in Nos. 584 and 585 he deals with the benefits of unity.

oriental and pseudo-oriental tales and wrote a few on their mode.¹ From the Nights he adapted the day-dreams of Alnaschar to illustrate his argument about the disappointment and misery that result from "vain and foolish Hope."² "The story of Schacaha with the Barmecide."³ is borrowed to illustrate the virtues of complaisance.⁴

The Rambler and the Idler were, more or less, successors of the Guardian, the Spectator, the Freeholder and the Tatler. In his essays Dr. Johnson too adapted and invented oriental tales to instruct in the guise of entertainment.⁵ Johnson used orientalism for two main reasons. The first was to simplify and exaggerate experience, and thereby clarify its meaning, to escape from a familiar world into an environment hypothetically pure. Secondly to raise and ennoble his argument.⁶ To Johnson the story was merely a means to an end, a frame, the simpler the better, in which to hang his picture of a disappointing and tormenting world. His use of oriental colour is as faint as Addison's. Like him, he used in his invented tales a semi-Biblical style. Only in one of his essays does Dr. Johnson adapt from The Arabian Nights. In the seventeenth number of the Rambler (1750)

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1. Such as the "story of Halim and Abdullah," (Guardian No. 176), and the "Story of Hilba, Harbath and Shalum" (Spectator Nos. 584 and 585).
 2. Spectator No. 535. Thursday, Nov. 13, 1712.
 3. "The Story of Schacaba, the Barber's sixth brother," Galland's Arabian Nights Entertainment, Glasgow, 1870.
 4. The Guardian, No. 162, Sept. 16th, 1713.
 5. Idler, Nos. 75, 99 and 101. Rambler Nos. 120, 190, 204 and 205.
 6. The Choice of Life, Samuel Johnson and the World of Fiction by Cary McIntosh, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1973, p.89.

he borrows from the "Sixth voyage of Sindbad the Sailor" the episode in which the King of Serendip is reminded that he is mortal in order to corroborate his argument that "the consideration of mortality" is a certain and adequate remedy against" our desires, our griefs and our fears."

In his turn, Dr. Johnson was imitated by such contributors to the Adventurer as Dr. Hawkesworth who made the characters of his pseudo-oriental tales see visions and be castigated by them. Like Dr. Johnson he used oriental colour sparingly. But unlike Johnson, Hawkesworth loudly voiced his feelings towards The Nights. When talking of "the different kinds of Narratives, and why they are universally read," he declared that

the most extravagant, and yet perhaps the most generally pleasing of all literary performances, are those in which supernatural events are every moment produced by the genii and fairies; such as the Arabian Nights Entertainments.¹

The pseudo-letter, though not as popular as the periodical essay, was an important medium of the eighteenth century satire.² Again the oriental disguise was a major device in this genre. It was used as a cover for the biting satire underneath, which was mainly directed at English Society and occasionally at politics. Perhaps Goldsmith's Citizen of the World (1760), stands out above the rest as the best and most important.

In this work Goldsmith combines moral satire with Addison's

1. Adventurer No. 4

2. See Martha Pike Conant, op. cit, pp. 157-199.

and Johnson's periodical essay and Hamilton's¹ literary parody. Although it belongs more to the history of the oriental tale than to the influence of The Arabian Nights, one cannot overlook Goldsmith's literary satire of the style of the pseudo-oriental tale. Moreover, he most probably got the idea of his looking-glass of Lao² "which reflects the mind as well as the body" from "The History of Prince Zayn al-Asnam and the King of the geni."³

The contribution of The Nights to the development of the English novel is unmistakable. The realism inherent in the descriptions of everyday life in The Nights coincided with the rising interest in realistic fiction. Despite all the misty atmosphere of wonder and magic, there is in The Arabian Nights a strange sense of reality in the midst of unreality, a verisimilitude which accounts in large part for the steady popularity The Nights has enjoyed with the English people. The cities of Baghdad, Damascus, and Cairo; the countries of the East; the seven seas, are all real places and Haroun Al-Raschid, Abu Nawas and Ja'afar are real people.⁴ Verisimilitude in The Nights is so cleverly manipulated through detail that one can see the characters, "hear them speak, and guess at their characters as one might in observing passers-by in the bazars of some strange Eastern city."⁵

1. See Adel Abdullah, op. cit, p.160.

2. Letters XLV and XLVI, Citizen of the World, 2 vols., by Oliver Goldsmith. Printed for the author, London, 1762.

3. Golland's translation, op. cit, pp. 428-437.

4. Conant, op. cit, p.5.

5. Ibid, p.12.

Undoubtedly, as discussed earlier, The Nights and the oriental tale were a source of inspiration to the novelists of the eighteenth century. In fact Miss Conant believes that "The Arabian Nights was the fairy godmother of the English novel."¹ We have seen earlier the points of similarity between Swift's Gulliver's Travels and Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, and oriental fiction. The Arabian Nights stories, on the other hand, possess characteristics parallel to those of the novels of Defoe and Richardson. Of these one may cite the autobiographical episodic method with its emphasis on human experience, a remarkable sense of place and time, heroes travelling for the love of gain, the reconciliation between courtly love and the institution of marriage, a "significant departure from the classical literary prospective" into a "subjective individualist and private orientation,"² embodying many of the positive as well as the negative aspects of urbanization, such as a distrust of urban environment and pursuit of fortune, a compromising nature "between the wits and less educated, between the belles lettres and religious instruction," and finally the provision of a sexual outlet.

Some of the stories of The Arabian Nights share with the English novel of sentiment such characteristics as transport

1. Ibid, p.243.

2. The Rise of the Novel, Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Feilding by Ian Watt, Chatto and Windus, London, 1957 p.176.

of passion, deadly remorse, languishing airs and violent agitations.¹ It is hard to say whether The Arabian Nights enhanced such tendencies in the sentimental novel or not; but, undoubtedly, both contributed greatly to the advent of romanticism. Bernbaum believes that;

If the first English translation had been worthy of the Arabian original or even the French intermediary, the Pre-Romantic Movement might have been accelerated by contact with a world so different from the neo-classic, so unrationalistic, so colourful in its imaginative freedom, sensuousness and fatalism.²

Nevertheless, the matter and the manner of The Arabian Nights, undoubtedly enhanced the romantic tendencies of the age which in the view of Professor Phelps go back to the first quarter of the eighteenth century.³

Many writers in the eighteenth century found in The Nights a welcome change from the literary tastes of the time. Beckford found in The Nights and other Eastern fiction an escape from the dryness of the classical tradition. In a letter in 1835 Beckford told Redding "I preferred it (oriental literature) to the classics of Greece and Rome. I began it myself as a relief from the dryness of my other studies."⁴ Beckford was fascinated with the East and its magical setting and surrounding. "Don't fancy me," he wrote to Mrs. Harvey in

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1. A good example is The Man of Feeling, by Henry Mackenzie, (n.p.) London, 1771, in which Harley, the hero of the novel, weeps and goes through fits of sorrow and agitations at the thought of parting with his family.
 2. Guide through the Romantic Movement, by Ernest Bernbaum, second edition, Ronald Press Co., New York, 1949, p.11.
 3. The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement, by W.L. Phelps, Ginn & Co., Boston, 1893.
 4. "Beckford Vathek and the Oriental Tale," by Fatima Mousa Mahmoud, in William Beckford of Fonthill, (Bicentenary Essays), Supplement to Cairo Studies in English 1960, p.90.

April 1788, "my Dear sister, I am enraptured with the orientals themselves. It is the country they inhabit which claims all the admiration I bestow on that quarter of the Globe."¹

Beckford was well read in both the classics and contemporary writers. "At a very early age" Beckford "came across a copy of the Arabian Nights," which "had more effect upon his life and character than any other incident. He read and re-read these stories with avidity, and the impression they made on him was so strong that Lord Chatham² instructed Lettice³ that the book must be kept from him."⁴ This with his knowledge of Arabic and other Eastern languages, Beckford had a vast number of sources at his disposal. He drew many sources for Vathek, amongst which was The Arabian Nights, the Persian Tales, the Mogul Tales and others. The Arabian Nights, as in many cases, gave a fresh start, occupied the first place among his other reading and above all served as a model for oriental colouring. "More than twenty-five borrowings from The Arabian Nights of Galland with which Beckford embellished his text can be cited."⁵

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1. The Life of William Beckford, by John Walter Oliver, Oxford University Press, London, 1932, p.23.
 2. Beckford's guardian.
 3. Beckford's tutor.
 4. Life and Letters of William Beckford of Fonthill, by Lewis Melville, William Heinemann, London, 1910, p.20.
 5. See Adel M. Abdullah, op. cit, p.206. The Monk (1795) by M. G. Lewis, which is based on one of The Turkish Tales, (1708), together with Beckford's Vathek (1784) constitute the culmination of the use of oriental material for Gothic purposes.

The influence of The Arabian Nights and the oriental tale on Horace Walpole is easily observed from his works such as Letters from Xo-Ho (1757) and Heiroglyphic Tales (1785).

In the Preface to the second edition of The Castle of Otranto (1764), Walpole mentioned¹ that he formed his gothic novel by blending ancient and modern romance. Such characteristics as the gothic villain, Walpole's machinery - castles, giants, armour, the supernatural -, the backward movement of the Gothic play, the time and manner of the first appearance of the hero - in a moment of crisis and in humble garb, yet with something in his mein and bearing that bespeaks extraordinary qualities -, the ineffectiveness of the hero and the large proportion of the narrative element: all these are common to the Gothic drama and the oriental tale. The similarities between The Nights and the Gothic novel is evident in character portrayal, in their use of the supernatural, in their thrilling episodes, happy endings, and the application of poetic justice. "Walpole had made his supernatural," wrote Lord Ernle, "by raising the apparition of Alfonso to gigantic proportions. In this device he may have imitated Eastern tales, in which enormous size not only embodies power, but strikes terror."²

The popularity of The Nights increased as the eighteenth century advanced and before the century was over its literary

1. The Castle of Otranto, by Horace Walpole, second edition, The King's Classics, ed. by I. Gollacz, Alexander Maring, London, 1907, p.LV

2. The Light Reading of Our Ancestors, by Lord Ernle, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1927, p.291.

merits was established.¹ Earlier in the century The Nights aroused excitement by its new style, new stories, light attitude and boundless fantasies. Whenever there was occasion to express excess of joy and excitement The Nights was used in the comparison.² Smollett makes the bewildered Lydia Melford compare her first impression of London to "All that you read of wealth and grandeur, in the Arabian Nights Entertainment, and the Persian tales, concerning Baghdad, Damascus, Ispahan and Samarkand."³ Many writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries alluded to The Arabian Nights in the way Smollett did. In Martin Chuzzlewit, Tom Pinch was dazzled by the

1. Richard Hale, op. cit., p.1.

2. When Henley wanted to describe the reflection of the sunshine on the London Jewellery shops on a beautiful October afternoon, he fell back on the image of wealth The Arabian Nights evoked.

And every jeweller within the pale,
Offers a real Arabian Nights for sale.

"London Voluntaries," poem No. III, The Works of W. E. Henley, 7 volumes, David Nutt, London, 1908, vol. 2, p.84. See also Henley's poem "Arabian Nights Entertainments" Ibid, vol. I, pp. 59-78. Again in "Maud" we have:

Is it an echo of something
Read with a boy's delight
Viziers nodding together
In some Arabian night?

Alfred Lord Tennyson, "Maud," Part I section VII, third stanza; The Life and Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson, 12 vols., (Edition de Luxe), Macmillan & Co., London, 1899, vol. VII, p.192. Many more such examples can be given.

3. The Expedition of Humphry Clinker, by Tobias Smollett, Penguin Books, London, 1973, p.123.

illustrations in the shop window that he says;

There was another---trying shop; where children's books were sold---- and there too was Abudah, the merchant, with the terrible old woman hobbling out of the box in his bedroom: and there the mighty talisman - the rare Arabian Nights---with Cassim Baba divided by four, like the ghost of a dreadful sum, hanging up all gory, in the robber's cave.¹

At the turn of the eighteenth century there was a great demand for books on Eastern manners and customs. Scholars like Edward William Lane crossed the Mediterranean to acquire first hand knowledge of those countries they wrote about. Others and particularly writers of fiction were contented, sometimes, with second or third hand knowledge, and frequently invented their own stories. The small anonymous collection of tales entitled Modern Arabia Displayed (1811), professedly modelled on The Arabian Nights, attempts to "continue the chain of information"² started by that book "down to the latest period" in the garb of entertainment. Two years later Byron was to raise a storm from the East Mediterranean. The four stories set in the Arabian Peninsula for the first time, are imitations rather than direct borrowings from The Arabian Nights.³

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1. The Life and adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit, by Charles Dickens, Chapman & Hall Ltd., London, 1890, p.58. See also Victorian Novelists and their Illustrations, by J. R. Harvey, Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1970, p.69.
 2. Modern Arabia Displayed, London, 1811, Preface, pp. III-IV.
 3. "Stick to the East" wrote Byron to Moore in 1813, "the Oracle---told me it was the only poetic policy. The North, South and West have all been exhausted; but from the East we have nothing but Southey's unsolables---" as quoted from "Why Lalla Rookh was Young," an article by Agnes Repplier, in The Atlantic Monthly (1907).

In his early days Sir Walter Scott read a great "quantity of fairy tales, Eastern stories, romances, etc."¹ The effect of his reading and the popularity of The Arabian Nights made it possible for him to stud his novels with allusions to them.² The Talisman (1825) is the most Eastern of Scott's works. In its introduction Scott admits that he is not equipped to compete with the travellers in delineating the East, "a part of the world with which (he) was almost totally unacquainted, unless by early recollections of The Arabian Nights Entertainment!"

In David Copperfield (1849-50) his autobiographical novel, Dickens mentions The Arabian Nights, and the Tales of the Geni among his father's collection of books which he discovered and read. Like Scott, he was saturated with The Arabian Nights. Dickens' novels abound with allusions to stories and episodes from the collection.⁴ As a child Rochester's town-hall appeared to him as "the model on which the geni of the lamp built the palace of Aladdin."⁵ Various others of his works allude to The Arabian Nights, like Master Humphrey's Clock (1840) and Martin Chuzzlewit (1844).

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1. Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott, 2 vols. by J. G. Lockhart, Caxton Publishing Co., London, 1909, vol. 1, p.207.
 2. See Waverley, by Sir Walter Scott, Waverley Novels edition, Edinburgh, 1901, vol. 1, p.54. And The Monastery, by Sir Walter Scott, ed. by Andrew Lang, Border Edition, J. C. Nimmo, London, 1898, p. LXXIX.
 3. The Talisman, by Sir Walter Scott, Waverley Novels, Edinburgh, 1902, p. XI.
 4. Many other writers of the period were equally influenced such as Maria Edgeworth as can be seen from her works Murad the Unlucky, (1802) and Helen (1834). George Crabbe's writings show that he was deeply impressed by The Nights as easily observed in his "Silford Hall." Poems by George Crabbe, 3 vols. ed. by A. W. Ward, Cambridge, 1907, vol. 3, p.197.
 5. The Life of Charles Dickens, 2 vols., by John Foster, Chapman and Hall Ltd., London, 1911, vol. I, p.98

George Eliot was most enthusiastic about the East. "Almost all our good things," she wrote in the "Leader,"¹ "our most precious vegetables, our noblest animals, our loveliest flowers, our arts, our religious and philosophical ideas, our very nursery-tales and romances, have travelled to us from the East."

Mark Twain, in Hucklebury Finn, (1884), not only comically identifies Henry VIII with Shahriyar but makes him kill a wife a day after telling a tale "till he had hogged a thousand and one tales."²

With R. L. Stevenson we are brought back to romance. In all his childhood Stevenson could recall one exciting and happy home-coming besides the day he returned with some new play for his toy theatre "and that was on the night when (he) brought back with (him) the Arabian Nights Entertainment."³

Stevenson imitated the matter and the manner of The Arabian Nights in at least four of his works. In the New Arabian Nights (1883), stories are included one inside the other, breaks are made at an interesting point,⁴ and Prince Florizel imitates Haroun al-Raschid by roaming about in disguise, by asking people to narrate stories, and by rewarding them. More New Arabian Nights (1885) by Stevenson and his wife, adds a few more imitations. London is the Baghdad of the West,⁵

1. Jan. 5th, 1856.

2. The Adventurers of Hucklebury Finn, by Mark Twain, Chatto and Windus, London, 1884, pp. 230-31.

3. The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson, by Graham Balfour, Methuen's Shilling Books, London, 1913, 11th edition, p. 48.

4. "The Rajah's Diamond," vol. 1. New Arabian Nights, 12 vols. by Robert Louis Stevenson, Chatto & Windus, London, 1883.

5. "The Dynamiter," More New Arabian Nights, by Robert Louis Stevenson, Longmans & Co., London, 1885.

the role played by Fate in the dispensation of human affairs is stressed, digressions are referred to, rhymed prose is parodied. Stevenson's other two works drawn from The Nights were Prince Otto (1885), and Island Nights Entertainments (1891) both which are as interesting as the first two.

In 1789 Thomas Russell was the first to compose a sonnet¹ commending the author of The Arabian Nights for his use of adventure and the supernatural, especially in such stories as Prince Ahmad, Julnar, Aladdin and Sindbad. Russell rounds off his sonnet with the romantic notion that "Truth itself" is less attractive than "fabling lore."

This fabling lore was that which captured the imagination of the Romantics. To them the supernatural machinery of The Arabian Nights was one of its main attractions. Coleridge analysed and compared it with that of Greek mythology.²

Coleridge read The Nights when he was only six years old and it made an impression on him like that which Hamlet made on Dr. Johnson.³ In a letter to Thomas Poole, Coleridge told him that "one tale made so deep an impression on me that I was haunted by spectres whenever I was in the dark."⁴ Such an

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1. Sonnet V, "To the Author of The Arabian Nights," in Sonnets and Miscellaneous Poems, by the Late Thomas Russell, Oxford, 1789.
 2. Thomas Middleton Raysor, op. cit., pp. 193-4. See p.153 ante.
 3. Johnson read Hamlet at an early age. The ghost scenes took such hold on his young mind that he was haunted and terrified to stay alone. Samuel Johnson, by John Wain, Macmillan, London, 1974, p.29. See also Life of Johnson, by James Boswell, Oxford Standard Authors edition, Oxford University Press, London, 1953, p.52.
 4. Letters of S. T. Coleridge, 2 vols., by Ernest Hartley Coleridge, William Heinemann, London, 1895, Vol. I, p.12.

impression could not have been made on the great poet without an effect. This effect is seen in his poetry, the characteristic and typical style of Coleridge in his application of the supernatural. In fact Dr. Imdad Hussain finds some kinship between the supernatural of The Arabian Nights and that of "The Ancient Mariner." He thinks that both are produced by "the same activity of the mind as in dreaming, that is - an exertion of the fancy in the combination and recombination of familiar objects so as to produce novel and wonderful imagery."¹ "The Ancient Mariner" was described by Lowes as "A tale the inalienable charm of which lies in its kinship with the immortal fictions of the Arabian Nights."²

Wordsworth admired The Nights and its imagination, but he was not captivated by its supernatural beauties like Coleridge. Wordsworth read one of the children's abstracts of The Nights identified as the "little yellow, canvas-covered book," the "slender abstract of the Arabian tales," the "precious treasure," he "long possessed."³ He goes on to speak highly of the beneficial effects of romance on children as well as adults, for the escape it provides, and concludes, with an apostrophe in which he blesses romance writers in spite of their dreaminess and what "are philosophy" will call them for they, with their mastery over time and space make our wishes.

1. Thomas Middleton Raysor, op. cit., pp. 193-4.

2. The Road to Xandu; A Study in the Ways of Imagination, by John Livingstone Lowes, Constable & Co., London, (1927), p. 303.

3. "The Prelude" "Books," The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, Popular Edition, Edward Moxan, Son and Co., London, 1869, p. 473.

our power, our thought a deed, an empire, a possession.

Southey, Coleridge's dear friend, shared with him a keen interest in travel books and in oriental exoticism and mythology. Southey's experience and attitude towards The Nights is similar to those of his friends and contemporaries. Southey's most important work in the oriental style, undoubtedly, is Thaalaba The Destroyer, (1802) a metrical romance, and his poem "The Curse of Kehama" (1810).

The appeal of The Nights to the English public was of great significance in more than one way. Its popularity in the eighteenth century did not only mark the changing mood in eighteenth century literary taste, but also in the attitude towards the East in general and Islam and the Arabs in particular. To "most Westerners" The Arabian Nights represented "the sum of Arab letters,"¹ and they were completely thrilled by it. The popularity of The Nights probably did much to convince the reading public that something good could come out of the Moslem East. "The use of the oriental tale in England for didactic purposes would tend to strengthen the idea---, that Arabia was the fountain and source of wisdom."² Through The Nights and other oriental story collections the West came much closer to understanding the East and its life than before. The Preface to The Mogul Tales (1736) observes that "-the late humour of reading Oriental romances---- has extended our Notions, and made the customs of the East much more familiar to us than they were

1. British Orientalists, by Arthur John Arberry, William Collins, London, 1943, p.9.

2. Byron Porter Smith, op. cit., pp. 98-9

before."¹ This raised a new interest in the public, the desire to know more about the East, its people, its religions, its nature and everything that can be possibly learnt.² This demand was partly answered by travellers, missionaries, traders, most of whom came back and published books about their experiences, impressions, reactions, opinions and attitudes. But many of these people came back with the wrong idea about the East either because of prejudices they already had before setting off, or by communicating with the natives only through prejudiced interpreters³ which often blinded them to the truth and in most cases led to confusion of facts, misunderstanding and distortion of the truth. Others, like Marryat, Hope and Morier published works and stories in which the East, its people and life, are delineated in full colour. Morier's Hajji Baba of Ispahan, (1824) in which the life and people of Persia are portrayed, was extremely popular and ran to several editions in the nineteenth century.⁴

With Sir William Jones a new phase started in the East-West literary relations, that begun with his translation

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1. Mogul Tales, 2 vols., translated into English by Thomas Simon Guellette, (n.p.), London, 1736.
 2. See p. 29 ante.
 3. Cf. The Natural History of Aleppo----by Alexander Russell, London, 1756, vol. I, p.237 of the 1714 edition.
 4. Cf. "The Introduction" by G. N. Curzon to The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, by James Morier, Macmillan and Co., London, 1895. Burton praised this book as an "admirable picture of Persian manners and morals," Burton, Nights, vol. 9, p.192. n.3.

of Al-Moallakat,¹ culminated in Fitzgerald's free translation of Omar Kháyám. This new phase does not constitute a break in the tradition started by The Nights, which was merely found insufficient for the new demands and had to be supplemented. Instead of underlining the fantastic side of The Arabian Nights, as the early eighteenth century pseudo-orientalists did, the emphasis was shifted to the true manners and customs it portrayed² and thereby remained one of the main sources of sociological information about the Moslem East. In a letter to Beckford on 26th April 1785, Samuel Henley wrote: "The Arabian Nights, I expect a great assistance from, but principally in illustrating manners and customs;"³ and James Beattie in "On Fables and Romance," in his work Dissertations Moral and Critical, after criticizing the light attitude of the early eighteenth century writers towards the wealth of information in The Nights and their fascination with fantasy and "wild invention," stated that the endeavour to "point the customs" of The Nights resulted in a "good store of gold and jewels, eunuchs, slaves, and necromancers in abundance."⁴

Probably through direct contact with the East it was realized that the existing English versions of The Nights were by no means representative of the original. At first the

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1. The famous pre-Islamic poems.
 2. This was emphasised by both Lane and Burton who annotated their translations with notes and monographs on the manners, customs and literature of the Moslem East.
 3. As quoted from The Episodes of Vathek, translated by Sir Frank T. Marzials, French and English, S. Swift & Co., London, 1912, p.XIV
 4. James Beattie, op. cit., p.150. See also Aladdin and other tales from The Thousand and One Nights, a new translation with an introduction by N. J. Dawood, The Penguin Classics, Penguin Books, Made and printed in Great Britain by R. & R. Clark Ltd., Edinburgh, 1957. p. VII.

blame for the distortion was put on those who translated Galland's version into English. This led to the demand for a new and more idiomatic translation from the French.¹ When these were made, Galland's distortions and alterations of the original were discovered. This discovery, in the light of the new interests in The Arabian Nights, cast a heavy shadow of doubt over the validity of Galland's work. It was considered far from being representative of Arab manners and customs and so direct translations from the Arabic were now attempted.

In the seventy five years preceding the appearance of Burton's complete translation of The Arabian Nights several translations of The Nights in English, allegedly made directly from the Arabic, appeared. The appearance of so many translations of the same work at so short intervals implied, as Lane suggested, a dissatisfaction on the part of the translator with the versions available before his attempt. This sequence was started by Jonathan Scott in (1811) and was ended by Sir Richard Burton in (1888).

In (1811) Jonathan Scott published his translation of The Arabian Nights. Although he claimed to have made his translation directly from the Arabic, Scott relied a great deal on Galland's translation. This, and the alterations he made to the original earned him the sharp criticism of all the

1. Various new editions appeared in this period the translators and compilers of which claimed to have stuck to the French translation more closely than ever have been done before. These include: The Arabian Nights Entertainments, 5 vols, translated by the Rev. Edward Forster, William Miller, London, 1802, And Arabian Nights Entertainments, 4 vols., by R. Gough, T. N. Longman, London, 1798.

19th century translators of The Arabian Nights, especially Burton.¹ In 1838, Henry Torrens attempted a new translation of which he completed only the first fifty nights. His attempt however, was much more successful than Scott's. The volume he produced was much closer to, and more representative of, the original. More than any of the other translators, Torrens was able to capture and convey the spirit of the Arabic original in an easy flowing style that could run for pages as the original does, without being tedious or monotonous. Torren's attempt was praised by Burton as "highly creditable."²

Lane had an advantage over both Scott and Torrens in being a student of Arabic language, life and manners. Earlier in this chapter it was pointed out how Lane believed in the value of The Nights for the sociological studies of the Arabs and the Moslem East.³ However, Lane's Arabian Nights (1839-40) constitutes only about a third of the original. This is due to the omission of "such tales, anecdotes etc.---" which he believed "are comparatively uninteresting or in any account objectionable."⁴ In the

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1. For a detailed analysis and evaluation of all the translations of The Arabian Nights made in the 19th century see Adel Abdullah, op. cit., pp. 25-46.
 2. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. I, p.XXI.
 3. See p.145 ante. Lane wrote Arabian Society in the Middle Ages. Studies from the 1001 Nights, ed. by Stanley Lane-Poole, Chatto & Windus, London, 1883.
 4. Edward Lane, Nights, (1839), vol. I, p. xvii.

Preface to the 1905 edition of Lane's Arabian Nights, Stanley Lane-Poole explains that "Lane's translation was intended for the general public of both sexes, and it was absolutely necessary to excise a number of words, phrases, and passages on the score of decency."¹ This attitude of Lane later enraged Burton to whom the objectionable was merely "repulsive simplicity" and "childish indecencies."² He savagely attacked Lane for these omissions. But Lane had to face a much wider circle of angry critics than Burton for his translation of the verse into prose. The whole attitude of Lane's critics was summed up some fifty years earlier by Richard Hole in his Remarks on the Arabian Nights when he said, "what a wretched appearance would the fathers of classic poetry exhibit, if they were rendered into vulgar prose, and their most ornamental passages suppressed."³

Although Lane's performance was popular it left the public wondering, especially with his confessions of omissions and alterations, whether this was really an adequate version of the book that had pleased the world for so long; and the scholars with a feeling of dissatisfaction and a need for another translation. This gave Payne the incentive to attempt a translation of his own.

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1. Ibid., 1906 edition "Preface" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. viii.
 2. Burton, "Terminal Essay," Arabian Nights, vol. 8, p.101.
 3. Richard Hole, op. cit., p.9.

Payne's translation appeared in 1884. At the time, that is before Burton printed his, it was received as the best version of The Nights in English so far. After the appearance of Burton's translation in 1885, public opinion was split between the literary greatness of Payne's translation and the new world of knowledge that ornamented Burton's work. The controversy that was started then has continued to the present, some believing Burton's version to be the culmination of all the attempts at presenting The Nights in English in as near a light as possible to that of the original. Others hold the view that Burton was no more than a thief and a plagiarist and he "did not translate the Arabian Nights,"¹ at all.

Unlike Lane, Payne hardly made any material omissions or additions. He only toned down the erotic passages of his original to make them less objectionable. With Payne it is primarily an impropriety of style, because his interest in medieval romance left its unmistakably heavy impression on his translation of The Arabian Nights. On the whole Payne was careful in his choice of word and expression. On 12th May, 1883, Burton wrote to him "You are drawing it very mild. Has there been any unpleasantness about plain speaking? Poor Abu Nawas is (as it were) castrated. I should say "Be bold or audace , & c. ."² Burton often praised Payne's efforts and gave him support when the latter was busily engaged translating The Nights. Burton applauded Payne's "admirable version" with the belief that it "appeals to the Orientalists, and the 'stylist' not to the many headed."³ On the whole Burton had great respect

1. Thomas Wright, op. cit., vol. I, p.xiii.

2. Thomas Wright, op. cit., vol. II, p.42

3. Burton, "Terminal Essay," Arabian Nights, vol. 8, p.86.

and admiration for Payne and his translation, but could not agree with him on two points, important at least to Burton, namely, the treatment of the erotic passages in The Nights and the rhymed prose. Like Lane, nothing would induce Payne to render liberatively the bold erotic portion of The Nights. Payne toned down what passages he could and omitted others to make his version decent and clean. On the other hand, Burton, who always felt that The Nights are really little known in spite of the many translations, the numerous editions and the two centuries during which The Nights became familiar to almost everyone in Europe, was convinced that nothing short of a complete literal translation would do. As for the rhymed prose, it is part of The Nights, and an important one for that. Without it The Nights will be deprived of one of its characteristic features. This, besides its literary and artistic merit, is what made Burton disagree with Payne about preserving it. Payne believed that rhymed prose does not agree with the English language and preserving it would degrade the literary standard of the translation without doing much to retain the spirit of the original.

Burton, with certain reservations against all of the translations of The Nights from Galland to Payne, was given an added incentive to produce a translation of his own by his failure to convince Payne to be more faithful to the original¹ when it came to the erotic parts. Burton had a host of reasons to undertake such an arduous task as that of translating

1. Burton wrote, "I want to see that the book has fair play; and if it is not treated as it deserves, I shall have to print my own version. The Athenaeum," Nov. 26th, 1881.

The Nights so late in life. By the eighties Burton's body and health began to fail him and he realized that he was no longer fit for long travels and taxing explorations. This was one of the significant reasons that made Burton, at this stage of his life, turn more to literary work. He was working on Camoens: His Life and His Lusiads when Payne was working on The Nights. Burton and Payne corresponded with each other concerning the works they had at hand exchanging views and advice. Burton had sent Payne some Camoens sonnets to look over and Payne obliged him by sending back a version of the sonnets in the way Payne would have translated them. When Payne's translation of The Nights was finished Burton felt that it was not the result he had hoped for and long dreamed of. No other statement would sum up Burton's feelings and attitude towards Payne's translation of The Nights better than the one Burton sent on 29th October, 1882, to Payne concerning Payne's suggested version of Camoen. "Your version is right good, but it is yourself, not me."¹ He added "In such matters each man expresses his own individuality," and he was absolutely right, as his version of The Nights testifies. No other man, even if he had the knowledge Burton had, would have produced The Nights in the same way Burton did, for he would be needing Burton's character, courage, determination, and his principle of sticking to what he believed in regardless

1. Thomas Wright, op. cit., vol. II, p.40

of what others may think.¹ When asked by a friend why he was bringing out his translation so soon after Payne's, Burton replied that,

Sundry students of Orientalism assure me that they are anxious to have the work in its crudest and most realistic form. I have received letters saying, Let us know (who you can) what the Arab of The Nights was; if good and high-minded, let us see him; if coarse and uncultivated, rude, childish, and indecent, still let us have him to the very letter. We want for once the genuine man.²

He wanted to produce the whole of The Nights complete as he noted in his Supplemental Nights.

Burton's knowledge of the East was vast. He was aware that he knew about the East, in general, and Islam and the Arabs, in particular, much more than any other man, orientalist or not. He wanted to give this knowledge to the world but he did not know how. Mrs. Burton said that her husband began collecting information and pigeon-holing it as early as 1842.² This covers practically everything Burton came across in his travels

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1. Burton, anticipating court action against his Arabian Nights announced that he would go into the Court with his "version of the Nights in one hand and bearing in the other the Bible (especially the Old Testament---) and Shakespeare---" which he says contain some bold passages worse than his notes, and yet they reach the hands of children. Burton; "The Biography of the Book," Nights, vol. 12, p.257. Despite the storm of objection against the obscenity of Burton's Nights when it first appeared some later writers felt that the obscenity in Burton's Nights was relatively neither excessive nor offensive. See More Stories from The Arabian Nights translated from the Arabic by Sir Richard Burton, ed. with an introduction by Julian Franklyn, Arthur Barker, London, 1957, p.8. And A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca and a Seige of Sanaa, by A. J. B. Wavell, Constable and Company Ltd., London, 1912, p.158.
 2. Burton, "the Biography of the Book" Nights, vol. 12, pp. 255-6. This intention was clearly expressed in the "Foreword" to the first volume as well.
 3. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. II, p.441

in the East besides the particular subjects and topics that had always been among the foremost in the list of his special interests, namely pornography and the art of love. In his defence of these, Burton said "I had knowledge of certain subjects such as no other man possessed. Why should it die with me? Facts are facts, whether men are acquainted with them or not."¹ Burton had a burning eagerness to add all he knew to the footnotes of his Arabian Nights. In his "Foreword" to the ninth volume of The Nights, the first of The Supplemental Nights, Burton made it quite clear that he had translated The Nights mainly for the notes. Still possessing a great deal of knowledge he would like to pass on, Burton says that he "can produce a complete work only by means of a somewhat extensive Supplement."² Burton compiled The Supplemental Nights with this objective in mind. As he did in The Nights proper, Burton seized every opportunity to add some of his "unique knowledge" to the notes regardless of whether the opportunity was appropriate or not for the information provided. This made little difference to Burton for still it was a chance to take something off his mind. A good example of this attitude of Burtons is the incident which occurs in the story of "The Moslem Champion and the Christian Damsel,"³ when Burton included about half a page of footnotes on female circumcision that is of no relevance to the story. The Nights was the peg on which Burton hung his "unique knowledge" and this knowledge was the cause of the unexpected success of The Nights and the praise and applause bestowed on the translator.⁴

1. As quoted in The Life of Sir Richard Burton, by Thomas Wright vol. II, p.129.

2. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 9, p.IX

3. Ibid., vol. 4, p.228.

4. See Isabel Burton, Life, vol. II, Appendix, I, pp.617-628.

Another reason for undertaking this task was the prospect of wealth. Burton had never made any substantial gains from any of his literary works before The Nights. Burton, who was never at any stage of his life in possession of great wealth, was tortured by the thought of the good money lost by Payne's refusal to reprint his translation for the 1500 disappointed subscribers; not even when Burton offered to publish it in his name and account to Payne for the profits.¹ With the hope of catching these subscribers Burton advertised his intention of printing his version of The Nights which would be in ten volumes at the price of a guinea each.² After careful consideration, Burton, not being sure of the success that his translation would achieve, decided to print only 1000 copies. Had he foreseen that his work would be as successful as it was, he surely would not have missed the opportunity of making more money. Anyhow Burton made 10000 guineas net profit, the biggest gain he had from any achievement in his whole life.

Burton's acquaintance with The Nights is a very deep and long one. From the early days in his life when he began to master his Arabic, The Nights became something special to him. He not only read the translations available in English, whether from the French or the Arabic, but also read the original. As early as 1856 Burton stated his opinion of The Nights. "The most familiar of books in England, next

1. Thomas Wright, op. cit., Vol. II, p.52

2. For the three advertisements Burton circulated regarding his intended translation see Burton, Supplemental Nights, Nights, vol. 12, pp. 204-207.

to the Bible," he said, "is one of the least known," for "about one fifth is utterly unfit for translation."¹ But Burton was familiar with the original much earlier than that. In 1852, after several consultations with his fellow traveller and orientalist Dr. Steinhauser, who was equally interested in The Nights, Burton arrived at the conclusion that the real treasures, beauty and merits of The Nights are open only to the Arabist² for all the translations fall far short of the original. They both agreed to undertake the task of translating The Nights literally; Burton taking the verse and Steinhauser taking the prose.³ But the scheme was never carried out for both men were fully engaged in a career that hardly leaves time for anything else, the life of travel and exploration, and for Burton that of a diplomat as well.

Burton's Arabian Nights was unique in every sense, but more so was the man himself. One could quite safely assume that no man ever worked so hard and achieved so much as Burton did or was neglected and denied the glory that was his due as Burton was. His life was a chain of disappointments, some very bitter including confrontation, disagreement and dissatisfaction especially with his superiors at the Foreign Office. Burton's bitterness is reflected in his remark to his wife about the success of his Arabian Nights when he said,

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1. Burton, First Footsteps in East Africa, p.36.
 2. This aspect about the merits of The Nights was in question some sixty years before Burton raised it again. In 1797 Richard Hole, talking of The Nights, said "Its real merits, however, appear to me little known, and to be depreciated with as little justice as its authenticity was before questioned." Richard Hole, op. cit., p.2.
 3. See Geogriana Stisted, op. cit., p.399. And Thomas Wright, op. cit., Vol. I, p.126.

"I have struggled for forty-seven years, distinguishing myself honourably in every way that I possibly could. I never had a compliment, nor a 'thank you,' nor a single farthing. I translate a doubtful book in my old age, and I immediately make sixteen thousand guineas. Now that I know the tastes of England we need never be without money."¹ From his early days Burton found in The Nights a solacing and comforting friend² to whom he often turned for help to take his mind off his troubles and problems. In the "Foreword" to the first volume of The Nights, Burton tells us how the book was "an unfailing source of solace and satisfaction,"³ to him in his "official exile" in East and West Africa, and South America. The Nights was Burton's faithful companion whose Jinn, when the need arose, bore Burton "off at once to the land of (his) predilection Arabia,"³ away from the dull surroundings the great traveller often found himself in. In the "Foreword" Burton also tells how he used to read stories from The Nights to the Bedawins and how greatly everyone, including himself, was pleased and fascinated. Even in Somaliland all those who understood Arabic were eager to listen to these enchanting stories, and many a time Burton kept the men of his caravan in good humour

1. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. II, p.442

2. Al-Mutanabi says:-

أعز مكان في الدنيا سرج ساج وخير جليسي في الزمان كتاب

A horsemount is the best seat the world could have
And a book is the best companion through life.

The translation is mine. See Diwan Al-Mutanabi, (In Arabic) 2 vols., ed. by Nasif Al-Yaziji, Dar Al-Tiba'ah lil Nashr, Beirut, 1964, vol. 2, p.355.

3. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. I, pp. xvii - xviii

under trying circumstances by telling of mighty Haroun Al-Raschid or the immortal Barber. In "The Biography of the Book,"¹ Burton says that

---during a longsome obligatory halt of some two months at East African Zayla and throughout a difficult and dangerous march across the murderous Somali country upon Harar-Gay-----The Nights rendered me the best service. The wildings listened with the rapt attention of little lads and lassies to the marvellous recitals of the charming Queen and the monotonous interpellations of her lay-image sister and looked forward to the evening lecture as the crown and guerdon of the toilsome day.

Perhaps owing to the long acquaintance Burton had with The Nights and to the special position it occupied in his heart, it meant more to him than it did to any of his predecessors whose names were associated with this classic. It was his companion, a friend that was always ready to cheer up and enliven the frustrated man. It is not too much to assume that The Nights was one of the books, if not the only book, that Burton always had with him whether on his travels or when he was amidst the civilization he so much detested.² In The Nights Burton found escape from his consular duties, escape from his over-solicitous wife and comfortable home, escape from unpleasant or uncongenial surroundings, escape "from the thoughts of what he might have been and the position in which he now found himself."³ In fact The Nights seems to have been the only remedy and comfort for his restless spirit and rebellious nature. Whenever he wanted to shut himself off from the world

1. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 12, p.202. See also Burton's First Footsteps in East Africa, p.36.

2. "From Sind to Trieste the manuscript has formed part and parcel of his baggage." Standard, Sept. 12, 1885.

3. Byron Farwell, op. cit., p.364

around him, he would bury himself in the warm embrace of a book that, as soon as he glanced at any of its pages, brought back happy recollections of glorious and dear moments. Incidents of his past life flashed again before his eyes thus enlivening the present by bringing back a lamented past of unique and singular achievements.

The translation of The Nights was "a labour of love"¹ to Burton; and his wife tells us that he "was sorry when it was finished,"² showing the intimate fondness and attachment he had for the book. Burton's first task was to wipe out the old, long established idea that The Arabian Nights is a book of fairy tales good only for the amusement of children. "The main difficulty, however," Burton says, "is to erase the popular impression that the 'Nights' is a book for babies, a 'classic for children'; whereas its lofty morality, its fine character-painting, its artful development of the story, and its original sketches of rare poetry, fit it for the reading of men, and women, and these, of no puerile or vulgar wit. In fact its prime default is that it flies too high."³ Burton proved his point that the book is more than a collection of fairy stories for children. Burton, in fact, urged his subscribers and those who might read his book never to let it fall into the hands of children or those who might not approach it scientifically with the intention of learning. Burton also said that he annotated the book in detail for the sake of the

1. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 1, p.xvii

2. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. II, p.284

3. Ibid, Vol. II, p.293

student" of Moslem usage and customs,"¹ in the first place and for the community as a whole after him. Burton saw himself "in the light of a public benefactor," to a society which he said "will in good time do me. I am convinced, full and ample justice."²

As explained earlier (p.179), Burton's mind was set on making his book "a repertory of Eastern knowledge in its esoteric phase."³ He was determined to make his translation absolutely unique and original so that subscribers and students would find in it "what does not occur"³ in any other book. Burton made many promises concerning his translation and he fulfilled most of them.⁴ He promised to translate all, to suppress nothing and omit nothing and he did; he promised to be bold and open and he was. Burton had other equally important motives for his annotations, namely giving an accurate account of the East and Islam both to travellers and to fire-side adventurers.⁵ But Burton still had a more important motive, a patriotic one. He was enraged at the thought of those officers and officials who serve in the East for so long and come back with their knowledge about the East and its customs no greater than when they left their home country.

1. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 12, p.258

2. Ibid, vol. 12, p.259

3. Ibid, vol. 12, p.256.

4. See p. 227 post.

5. This term is used by Percy Adams to refer to those readers and writers of travel literature who prefer the company of a book beside a cosy fire to the actual thing. See Travellers and Travel Liars 1660-1800, by Percy Adams, University of California Press, Berkely and Los Angeles, 1962, p.17

What an absurdum is a veteran officer who has spent a quarter-century in the East without knowing that all Moslem women are circumcised,¹ and without a notion of how female circumcision is effected; without an idea of the difference between the Jewish and the Moslem rite as regards males; without an inkling of the Armenian process whereby the cutting is concealed and without the slightest theoretical knowledge concerning the mental and spiritual effect of the operation.²

Burton's real concern was not about whether the English officers in the East had any knowledge of circumcision on their return home after a long service. He was more concerned with the lack of intimacy and understanding between the rulers (the British) and the ruled (the natives of the colonies); for, he believed, if each knew one another more they could get along together much better. Burton's bitterness sprang from his belief that the majority of these officers were ignorant of the native customs of the lands they had been to. "Moslems," he writes "are not to be ruled by raw youths who should be at school and college instead of holding positions of trust and emolument. He who would deal with them successfully must be, firstly, honest, and truthful, and secondly, familiar with and favourably inclined to their manners and customs if not to their law and religion."³ He was convinced that successful rule in the colonies is based on solid knowledge of the ruled by those ruling them. Burton supplied this knowledge in the footnotes and "Terminal Essay" to his translation.

1. This statement is not true. See pp. 196-7 post.

2. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 12, pp. 257-8.

3. "Morning Advertiser," Sept. 15th 1885, as quoted by Lady Burton, Life, vol. II, p.289. See also "Translator's Foreword," Burton's Arabian Nights, vol. 1, p.xxxii.

Burton prepared his Nights, like all his other books, "with the sole object of recording every single item of necessary information concerning the subject treated---- without regard to whether by so doing he would or would not please or offend any particular section of his readers."¹ Burton was keen to produce the most complete version of The Nights possible, that "would leave very little for any future interpreter."² He was careful to restore to The Nights all material omitted³ by earlier translators and to mend the alterations and point them out.⁴ Burton was equally interested in preserving the character of The Nights; and as Penzer pointed out in his Annotated Bibliography of Sir Richard Burton, he wanted to produce The Nights in the same way an Arab would have done. He was keen to preserve both body and spirit. Burton went about achieving his aim by consulting and collating the four most reliable of all the versions of The Nights available.⁵ The second aspect was to preserve the division of The Nights for, as he once commented "Without the Nights no Arabian Nights!"⁶ The repetition of

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1. "Preface," by F. Grenfell Baker to Penzer's An Annotated Bibliography of Sir Richard Francis Burton, p.vii.
 2. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 12, p.256.
 3. See the tables of contents to all the volumes of Burton's translations.
 4. Referring to changes Burton made in his translation from that of Payne's, Brodie says that "Burton's changes were always in the direction of greater exactness." See Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit, p.343.
 5. The Breslau, The Bulak, The Calcutta, and the Macnaghten and later the Montague manuscript.
 6. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. I, p.xxiii.

the opening and closing of each Night, might seem unnecessary or boring to the western reader, especially if the Nights are short. But this is how they occur in the original and they are indispensable for preserving its character. When translating a work of art from one language into another it is difficult enough to attempt reproducing the same atmosphere, the same sentiment, the same spirit and mood, if the translation is to have any significance or to be a worthy representation of the original. When one bears in mind The Nights and its original use, one could realize that these divisions, in a sense, are the work itself. First they form the basis of the frame work, a frame which enables the story-teller to move from one story to another without breaking the harmony of the narrative, dissipating the attention of his audience or in any way taxing their enjoyment. Again these interruptions give the audience the breath needed to return to reality and realize that they have been listening only to a story. It is really extremely difficult for the people in the West, despite all the efforts of scholars and orientalists¹ to convey an exact picture of the effect that The Nights has on the audience in the East, to appreciate the real effect and visualize a realistic picture of what happens in the coffee houses where a story from The Nights is recited. The hearers often are so completely absorbed in the story that more often than not they let their imagination and dreams run away with them and forget where they are. They live the story. They become so committed mentally

1. For the importance of story-telling as an art and profession and different accounts of the various surroundings in which story-tellers work, see New Arabian Nights, 3 vols, by Jos. von Hammer, Henry Colburn, London, 1826, vol. 1, pp. vii-ix; Lane's Arabian Nights, vol. 3, pp. 372-6 and Penzer's Annotated Bibliography, p. 321.

and emotionally that they rejoice at their hero's success, are disturbed by his misfortune, infuriated and angered at those who plot against him, and are pleased with those who lend him a helping hand. Their fancy drifts with love situations and shrinks with uneasiness and a sense of helplessness when jinnis and devils or any other supernatural element is involved in the story. While listening to the story its scenes rise before their eyes in their sub-conscience. It might have sounded curious to the English that Galland was pestered by callers at his house in the middle of the night asking him to relate to them a story from The Nights; but this is quite natural for the people in the East and it would never raise an eye-brow or cause a surprised look. The division into nights not only helps to bring people back from their flights of imagination, but has a professional significance as well. Story-telling in the East was, and still is in some parts of the old cities like Damascus, an art and a profession. The story-teller takes his place on a high platform in the far end of the coffee house¹ and people sit around the tables, drinking and smoking, while listening to him. Usually he is employed by the owner of the house, and the more professional and successful he is the more he attracts customers, who in turn boost the business of the coffee-house by buying coffee, tea and cigarettes, or, as is the custom in such places, smoking a water pipe at leisure and in tranquility while following the story. If the story is interesting and well told people come the following day to hear what happened and so on. Therefore the story-teller always makes sure that he ends his

1. See photograph No. 8 . (post card)

quota for the evening at an interesting point that leaves the customers eager to come back the following night to hear the rest.

Burton knew that poetry¹ is, and has always been, the pride of Arabic literature, and that rhymed prose is one of its more popular decorative styles.²

Although Burton did not retain the metre of the original,³ his rendering of the poetry in The Nights is both admirable and expressive. Opinion regarding the metrical part of Burton's translation was a mixture of praise and condemnation.⁴ As for the "jingle," or, rhymed prose Burton preserved it, despite of "the weight of authority" that was against him, because he

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1. Wright sarcastically wonders how almost all types of characters in The Nights express their feelings in Poetry. See Thomas Wright, op. cit, vol. II, p.40. In pre-Islamic times poetry was the only recognized genre of literature and people, the majority of which were illiterate, learnt it by heart. It is believed that at some stage in those days the more able among them conversed almost completely in poetry.
 2. "Al-Saj'a" is an important feature in some genres of Arabic literature. It is used, even today, in light as well as solemn compositions. It is used in rhetorics, sermons, The Qur'an and in all works of scholarship. See Burton's "Terminal Essay," Arabian Nights, vol. 8, p.188, and also Vol. 1, pp. xxiii and xxiv. Rhyming prose has certain features that always pleased the Arab listener as well as helped get the message to him. For examples of Burton's translation of rhymed prose see Appendix III.
 3. Burton explained and gave his reasons in "The Terminal Essay," Ibid, vol. 8, pp.120-228.
 4. Thomas Wright, one of Burton's biographers, heads the list of those who were against Burton in favour of Payne. He says that Burton's metrical parts are weak and no more than verses. See Thomas Wright, op. cit, vol. II, p.117. Others feel that he is a good translator of poetry when he makes the right choice of what to translate. See Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit, p.279. In any case when Burton agreed with Dr. Steinhauser to translate The Nights Burton's share was the metrical part.

believed it should remain. Some people, like the Editor of the "Edinburgh Review" who hated Burton and whatever he did, objected to the rhymed prose as un-English. In the "Foreword" to volume one Burton declared that although, "This rhymed prose may be un-English, and unpleasant, even irritating to the English; still I look upon it as a sine qua non for a complete reproduction of the original."¹ In doing so, I believe, Burton gave his translation an added advantage. He not only succeeded in transferring these little passages into plausible English but his achievement was extremely interesting and admirable. Any one of the numerous passages of rhymed prose Burton translated could be taken as an example and proof of his success; as one of his critics said:

These melodious fragments, these little eddies of song set like gems in the prose have a charming effect on the ear. They come as dulcet surprises and mostly recur in highly-wrought situations, or they are used to convey a vivid sense of something exquisite in nature or art. Their introduction seems due to whim or caprice, but really it arises from a profound study of the situation.²

All along Burton expressed his determination to translate the original complete regardless of the outcome or the public response to it. Burton always looked upon The Nights as a scientific book, a book of learning and knowledge; and if there was obscenity in it then it must be preserved also. "If anything is in any redaction of the original, in it should go," he once said. "Never mind how shocking it may be to western minds."³ However, he frankly expressed that it was

1. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 1. p.xxiv
2. Ibid, vol. 8, p.180.
3. Thomas Wright, op. cit, vol. II, p.41

not a fault of his. "I regretted to display," he said "the gross and bestial vices of the original, in the rare places where obscenity becomes rampant, but not the less I held it my duty to translate the text word for word, instead of garbling it and mangling it by perversion and castration."¹

Burton preserved the erotic parts of The Nights first because they form an important and characteristic part of the original and because they often embody the significance of the story.

Referring to many stories in the previous translations Burton said, "the very point which enables you to understand the action is left out, because the translator was afraid of Mrs. Grundy."²

The coarse and pornographic in The Nights is often an indispensable part of the comic. The adventure of the Barber's second brother in the harem of the Wazir, which ends by having him dropped through a trap, naked and sexually excited loses most of its interest with expurgation.³

When, in 1883, he was explaining what he meant by "literalism" Burton said that it is "literally translating each noun (in the long lists which so often occurs) in its turn, so that the student can use the translation."⁴ Burton was hoping to find in English an equivalent for every Arabic⁵ word in order to preserve the tone and style of the original. For all his troubles he was accused by Wright and others of

1. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 12, p. 256.

2. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. II, p.284.

3. "The Barber's Tale of his Second Brother," Burton's Arabian Nights, vol. I, pp. 299-303.

4. Thomas Wright, op. cit, vol. II, p.42

5. Ibid, vol. II, p.43. For the problems Burton faced in this respect see p. 226 post.

soiling "his translation by the introduction of antique words that are ugly, uncouth, indigestible and yet useless."¹ But as a matter of fact, Burton's choice and coinage of words² was much more successful than that of any of the other translators and it served well in reproducing the original in English - both in content and spirit. He did not completely succeed for no man ever will, but he came nearest to achieving that. Why should Burton's dedication and hard search for the right word, to preserve the atmosphere and sentiment of the original in English, be a sin and a defect while Payne did the same and Lane told us that the more modern stories in The Nights were written in old diction and style in order to preserve the harmony of the work throughout.³

The value of Burton's translation lies mainly in the annotations. Burton studded every page of his sixteen volumes with notes that were to give pleasure as well as knowledge to his readers and arouse their astonishment and surprise. Even

1. Ibid, vol. II, p.119.

2. Burton used words from Old English, Shakespearean English, 17th century words and so on. See Ibid, vol. II, p.118. Words Burton coined were such as "aidance," Arabian Nights, vol. 7, p.375, note 3, and in vol. I, p.126, note 1, he says that he used an Irish term "as English wants the word."

3. Historians and authorities on The Nights tell us that it was altered a great deal, though gradually, at the hands of copyists who attempted to preserve the harmony of the book by keeping the style of the stories, regardless of their dates, as similar as possible, and make it representative of the Arab Moslem East. See "Alf Laila Wa-Laila," by J. Oestrup, Encyclopedia of Islam, (1913) vol. I, pp. 252-256.

Wright¹ himself admitted their excellence and that "no one would now attempt to minimize "their" enormous value."²

The importance of the notes to the success of Burton's translation is fully realized by the complete failure of Lady Burton's expurgated edition. Only 457 copies were sold in two years, a fact that made Lady Burton furious,³ but which Burton noted with obvious satisfaction in his Supplemental Nights. "The public would have none of it," he said, "even innocent girlhood tossed aside the chaste volumes in utter contempt, and would not condescend to aught save the thing, the whole thing, and nothing but the thing, unexpurgated and uncastrated."⁴

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1. In the Payne Burton controversy over The Nights, Wright was on Payne's side all the way. He openly confessed that he wrote his biography of Burton principally "to show that Burton had stolen the translation from Payne." See The Life of John Payne, by Thomas Wright, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1919, p.186.
 2. Thomas Wright, Life of Sir Richard Burton, vol. II, p.120.
 3. In utter disappointment Isabel said, "I do not know whether to be amused or provoked because people are prejudiced against "Lady Burton's edition of the 'Arabian Nights'," as a milk-and-water thing. I did not write or translate it, it is Richard Burton's "Arabian Nights," with a coarse word or two cut out here and there, and a Society word introduced, but in no wise altering the text. See Life, vol. II, p.286. Even so, Lady Burton's edition is "regarded as the standard English Edition," The National Encyclopedia, 14 vols., William Mackenzie, London (n.d.) vol. 2, p.369.
 4. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 12, p.276.

Burton's notes are inclusive of almost anything that might be of interest to the individual or to a body or group whether specialists or mere enthusiasts. Burton acted like the ideal travellers Fielding talked about in the "Preface" to his Journal of a Journey to Lisbon, who "have had a good sense enough to apply their peregrinations to a proper use, so as to acquire from them a real and valuable knowledge of men and things; both which are best known by comparison."¹ Burton's brain was able to store and keep in memory most of that he had seen or done all his life and these notes are the scan of that brain.² There are geographical notes, historical, astrological, geometric, bibliographical, ethnological, grammatical, linguistical and pornographic. They include recipes for hashish and a classification of aphrodisiacs into medical, mechanical, and magical, with appropriate recipes; and also on rape, infanticide, euthanasia, suicide, adultery and murder.³ The impact of the notes rests in the fact that they are the fruit of personal observation.

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1. The Works of Henry Fielding, 11 vols. Bickers and Son, London, 1903, vol. X, p.188. Fielding continues, "If the customs and manners of men were everywhere the same, there would be no office so dull as that of a traveller; for the difference of hills, valleys, rivers, in short, the various views in which we may see the face of the earth, would scarce afford him a pleasure worthy of his labour; and surely, it would give him very little opportunity of communicating any kind of entertainment or improvement to others."
 2. See p. 177 ante.
 3. In his discussion of murder he included the practise of Egyptian wives who murder a husband by tearing out his testicles. "Tale of Aziz and Azizah," Arabian Nights, vol. 2, p.231 note 2; note 1 in the same page talks of an original crime, and vol. 8, p.42 note 3.

Lady Burton tells us that Burton started his "Arabian Nights" in April 1884, "taking it up from the material already collected with Dr. Steinhauser thirty years before."¹ Wright with the intention of disproving Burton's claims for The Nights stated that in 1882 Burton had nothing beyond "a sheet or two of notes."² This is not true of course, for Burton, as explained earlier, (p. 182), made the Nights his regular companion, and whenever he found himself where he did not particularly wish to be, like Africa and Brazil, he resorted to The Nights to take his mind off his unsatisfactory situation and lift his spirits. The work on The Nights, Burton says,³ was on and off for about thirty years; but it did not start in earnest until, as stated earlier (p.175), he gave up all hope of future and further travels and explorations. By 1882, when Burton consulted Payne for The Nights, there must have been more material than Wright suggested for in 1871 in Damascus Burton showed Lord Redesdale "the first two or three chapters."⁴

The information for the notes and "Terminal Essay" in Burton's translation was collected over a period of almost half a century, from Sind, Africa, Egypt, Arabia and Syria, as well as from his vast reading on the East, the Arabs and Islam. This information, gathered over the years with care, love and dedication, as already pointed out, was intended - with all sincerity - for the benefit of the students. But, as is natural and expected in a work of such magnitude and range as

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1. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. II, p.274.
 2. Thomas Wright, Life of Sir Richard Burton, vol. II, p.37.
 3. Burton says, "During some years of service and discovery in Western Africa and the Brazil my studies were necessarily confined to the "Thousand and One Nights," Arabian Nights, vol. 12, p.232.
 4. Lord Redesdale, op. cit, vol. 2, p.573.

The Nights, bearing in mind that he compiled and printed his colossal work in a relatively short time, Burton made quite a number of mistakes, some quite serious, and all misleading to the student.

Burton's first and major mistake, which accounts for most of the others; is his generalization. He, quite often, when talking about a certain practice or custom, says that "the people of the East," or "Eastern people," do so and so or believe in so and so; while, the many nations of the East, although they are all Eastern in the geographical sense of the word, quite often, differ in their habits and customs, more so as the distance between them increases and the distinctive racial characteristics grow wider apart, as is the case between the Arabs and the Indians or Chinese for instance. The second aspect is that he sometimes referred to certain practices as general in Islam while they are actually the custom or habit of a certain school or a particular sect of the religion. A good example of the point at hand is when Burton says "All Moslem women are circumcised."¹ This is not true of course.² But, having failed to give the source of this information or the people who practise it and their reasons for doing so, Burton led the student to grave error. Moslem rituals and law are divided into two main sections. The first is "Al-fard" (obligatory), which is the direct teaching of God, that all Moslems must follow to the letter, like the five daily

1. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 12, p.258.

2. See pp. 197-8 post.

prayers, fasting, the pilgrimage, alms giving, refraining from taking certain prohibited foods and drinks and so on. The second is the "Sunnah" (the actions and recommendations of the Prophet). These are not obligatory, but it is preferable for the Moslem to follow them. Here he has a choice; he will be rewarded if he does, but not punished if he does not. Female circumcision is one of these.

Burton was wrong in his information concerning female circumcision for Islam does not compel the female believers to be circumcised.¹ In fact Burton contradicted himself when he said "It is now (or should be) universal in Al-Islam, and no Arab would marry a girl "unpurified" by it," for earlier in the same volume he says that circumcision is a sunnah for Moslems as it is not mentioned in The Qur'an. So how could a race whose religion, according to Burton, does not compel its men to circumcise, be so strict about marrying a girl who has been "purified" by circumcision. Usually all Moslem males are circumcised but the majority of Moslem females are not. Burton could have heard of female circumcision in hot damp countries like India, Egypt, Harar and Dahome,² where females are circumcised because it is believed that the females of these climates are sexually vigorous and that circumcision would help to curb their sexual desire,³ as well as cut down

1. A. J. Wensinck, Concordance---, vol. 2, p.11.

2. Burton, Nights, ^{vol. 9,} pp. 307-9, note 2. In his A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome, 2 vols., Tinsley Brothers, London, 1864, and vol. II, p.159, Burton mentions how important female circumcision is in Africa and how "a woman in the natural state is derided by others."

3. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 3, p.28, note 1 and vol. 3, p.349, note 2. Burton says that he discussed the topic in his City of The Saints.

on abnormal sexual relations amongst these females. In any case, Burton was misleading on this topic, for although female circumcision is favoured in Islam, in Syria it is, if heard of, wondered at but not practised.

Numerous examples of Burton's sweeping statements can be given. But here it suffices to indicate their danger by giving an example or two. In the story of "The Ebony Horse" Burton says, in explanation of the Prince's finding the Princess lying naked on the couch that "Eastern women in hot weather lie mother-nude under a sheet here represented by the hair."¹ This statement is misleading as it does not clearly state whether this practice is the habit of Indian, Persian, or Arab women. If Burton was implying that it was the habit of Arab women, for The Nights is an Arabic classic, then the implication is absolutely absurd for obvious reasons. Firstly, for religious reasons; both Moslem male and female should avoid unnecessary indecency and nakedness, even in private, out of respect for the angels which Islam believes are everywhere though their presence is never felt, nor seen. Secondly the woman's body is "'aurah," that is, it should not be exposed, to any male, including her family, except her husband. Thirdly because only very few people could afford the luxury of such privacy when the majority of the people live in crowded houses, often several families to the single house. The Princess might afford such luxury but certainly not all "Eastern women."

1. Ibid, vol. 3, p.422, note 1.

Another example of Burton's sweeping and vague statements is "May your shadow never be less"¹ which Burton explains is used by people in the East to express gratitude when they receive charity and aid from their betters. Being from the East myself did not make this statement less strange to me. I translated it into Arabic and tried to compare and match it with similar phrases but to no avail. I could not place it, so I presumed that it was in use, perhaps, in earlier times or when Burton was in the Arab world and, like many others like it, died out with time. Not until the sixth volume (p.320) was I able to find out why I did not recognise the phrase, for there, after six volumes, Burton tells us that this phrase is Persian.

Burton's mistakes in the foot-notes are of several kinds. The major one is his misunderstanding of the meaning of the original word in Arabic and consequently wrong information is given. Others lie in failing to understand, and therefore to explain correctly, a custom or an attitude. Burton, in some places got his information mixed up, and, probably, because he was working hard and fast he did not check his notes carefully; for if he had he would, I am sure, have corrected many of the obvious mistakes that a man with Burton's knowledge of the Arabs and Islam is unlikely to make. Such a mistake is when he says, "Arab 'Khutbah,' the sermon preached from the pulpit (mimbar) after the congregational prayers on Friday-noon."² Here, there are two mistakes. The first is that the

1. Ibid, vol. 6, p.320, note 1.

2. Ibid, vol. 9, p.237 note 2. Only the sermons for the two "A'ids" (holy festivals) are preached after prayers.

sermon is given before and not after the prayers. The second is that the pulpit is "minbar" in Arabic and not "mimbar" as Burton put it. Another such mistake that could be attributed to haste, for Burton knew better, is when he said "Yaum al-Ahad," which begins the Moslem week."¹ The Moslem weekend is Friday, the holy day; naturally the day that follows, "Al-Sabt" (Saturday), begins the Moslem week.

Burton's mistakes² in the foot-notes are of particular significance because they cast a shadow of doubt on his knowledge of Arabic and Islam. Several times in the notes Burton repeated the claim that "Easterns, ---have no way of saying 'Thank You'."³ Besides being a generalization, this statement, by which Burton aimed to show that gratitude is unknown to Moslems,⁴ is completely untrue. Burton tried to explain that the common phrases people repeat, such as "Allah increase thy weal," "May God repay you," "May God never deprive us of you," and "May God keep you," when charity or kindness is offered them, are mere replacement for "Thank you," because he believed that "Arabic has no equivalent to our 'Thank you.'"⁵ All those who are acquainted with Arabic know

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1. Ibid, vol. 11, p.134, note 1. Burton could have been misled by the word "Ahad" (one) and therefore the first day of the week while it is the second after "Al-Sabt," (Saturday). But, if the case is so, it is a serious mistake for a man who professed to much knowledge of Moslem life and religion.
 2. For Burton's minor and technical mistakes see Appendix II.
 3. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 3, p.136, note 1.
 4. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. 1, pp. 75-7
 5. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 5, p.140, note 1.

that this statement is wrong. The word "Shukran" (Thank you) in Arabic, is a very old one. Had Burton read The Qur'an¹ thoroughly in the original or taken the trouble to review the Traditions he would have realized how mistaken he was, Arabs are a race who appreciate kindness and express gratitude in practically everything they do. But, on the whole, Moslems like to mention the name of God a great deal. To show piety and deep gratitude, they express their gratefulness in a short prayer asking God to reward their benefactor in the belief that God's reward is always far better than man's. In this sense they are not satisfied with a formal "Shukran" (Thank you). Nothing short of asking God Almighty to reward the benevolent, who lends a helping hand, will make them feel that they have really expressed adequate gratitude for the help received.

Burton's knowledge was encyclopaedic. Often when he was discussing a ritual, a belief or a law in Islam, he liked to compare it with similar rituals, beliefs or laws in other religions, mainly Judaism, Christianity and Hinduism.² In doing so, naturally, Burton found many similar ideas and beliefs in these religions. But instead of attributing the similarity, as he should have done, to the fact that all revealed religions are those of one and the same God, he often remarked that such and such an idea is borrowed from Christianity, or that such and such a Moslem ritual is taken

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1. The word "Shukr" (thanks) occurs frequently in The Qur'an in verses such as " وَبَارِكُوا فِيهِمْ " (with thanks blessings last) and " لَنْ يَزِيدَنِي شُكْرًا " (If you thank I will increase). In a "Hadis" (Tradition), the Prophet says that "He who does not thank the people, does not thank God," Related by Al-Buckhari in his Al-Adab Al-Mufrad. (in Arabic)
 2. See Arabian Nights, vol. 6, p.17, note 2; vol. 3, p.97 note 2 and vol. 3, p.395, note 5.

from Judaism or some other religion. Moslems object strongly to such a statement for it implies that Mohammad was intimately acquainted with the teachings of the older religions and their holy scriptures; that he had read about them and chose what he thought best for his purposes. Mohammad was illiterate, never read a book or wrote a word in all his life. This fact gives Islam a more authentic character and more force than if Mohammad had been an educated man able to borrow from the older civilizations and invent laws of his own. Moslems, however, accept nothing whatsoever that could in any way throw doubt on the fact that The Qur'an and Islamic laws and teachings are anything but inspiration from God through his Arch-angel Gabriel. Burton could not have meant to be unjust to Islam as a religion or Mohammad as a Prophet, for he defended them both in his notes, the "Terminal Essay," and his essay El-Islam (1898). In fact Burton's defence of Islam is an aspect of Burton's writings and attitude that no Moslem would fail to appreciate. It is not too much to presume that Burton's views on Islam were one of the major factors that influenced his unpopularity during his life time. Burton adapted an effective policy in his discussion of Islam, that of comparing the aspect under consideration to a similar one in Christianity and, or, Judaism.¹

1. Such as when Burton says "Mohammed is soundly rated by Christian writers for beheading two prisoners, Utbah ibn Rabi'a, who had once spat in his face and, Nazir ibn Haris, who recited Persian romances and preferred them to the "foolish fables of the Koran," What would our forefathers have done to a man who spat in the face of John Knox and openly preferred a French play to the Pentateuch?" Arabian Nights, vol. 5, p.255, note 2. See also Ibid, vol. 6, p.185, note 3. Burton employs the same technique throughout his essay El-Islam.

Perhaps not too happy about the role the church plays in the life and affairs of the individual,¹ starting with baptism and the marriage ceremony and ending with confession and burial rites, Burton attempted to present Islam as the counterpart, or the religion that grants its followers much more freedom than the men of the church would consent to. Burton was trying to show that Islam places a great deal of trust in the believer, who should shoulder the responsibility of his own actions, for which he is answerable only to God. But the way Burton presented some of his notes about Islam makes the newcomer feel that it is a religion of unrestricted liberties with few or no laws for the followers to observe. Burton's statement, "Thus a Moslem can not only circumcise and marry himself, but can also canonically bury himself,"² is totally misleading as it stands, for Burton did not give enough explanation to clarify what he meant. What he meant, probably, is that in all three situations the services of a man of religion is not necessarily demanded as in baptism, marriage and the death ceremony for Christians. Regarding circumcision first, Islam does not insist that it should be performed by a man of religion. Any man of experience in this matter and able to perform the operation efficiently may practise circumcision even on himself and his own children if he has the heart. As for marriage, Burton's declaration is wrong as it stands. In Islam marriage should be made public to avoid and prevent any public scandal and dishonour that might result from the secretly married couple

1. See pp. 282, 315-19p^{ost}.

2. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 6, p.181, note 1.

being found living together; and for the legitimacy of their children. A Tradition of the Prophet states that "No marriage (is valid) without a guardian and two witnesses," and Burton mentioned in the notes that the girl's father usually acts as her guardian in marriage, and that a dowry, or part of it, is paid in the presence of witnesses.¹ In marriage, the bride to be, regardless of her age, should always have a guardian acting on her behalf. Such condition does not apply to the man, but usually his father speaks for him regarding the dowry and the preparation for the marriage. Usually few close relatives of both the husband and wife to be are present at the time the marriage is discussed between the two families. Any two of them could act as witnesses and in the absence of relatives at least two witnesses should be present with the bride's guardian. The third part in Burton's misleading statement arises from the situation in the story of "Hassan of Bassorah,"² when Hassan is tricked by the magician and left on the top of the mountain faced with certain death, for there was no way to climb down the very steep sides. On realizing that his life was in danger, Hassan, like any human in distress, began to pray to God for safety and deliverance. In Islam there is a variety of prayers, supplications, beside the five daily ritual-prayers, which the Moslem can say alone; each for a separate situation such as

1. Burton says "Arab "wakil," who in the case of a grown up girl, declares her consent to the marriage in the presence of two witnesses, and after part payment of the dowry;" Ibid, vol. 11, p.127, note 2. And in Ibid, vol. 12, p.62, note 1, he says "Throughout Islam, in default of a father the eldest brother gives away the sister, and if there be no brother this is done by the nearest male (ولي, wali) on the "sword" side."

2. Ibid, vol. 6, pp. 180-181.

when sick, or on travel, or about to make an important deal or decision. They help to ease his mind and put it in the right frame. They free him from his psychological tension and, having put his trust in God, prepare him to face the worst. Burton was probably misled by the term "funeral-prayer," which Hassan said, and perhaps also by Lane's notes on the subject,¹ into remarking in the footnotes that "a Moslem---can also canonically bury himself." Such a practice is not in Islam. It might be a habit or a practice of the Bedawins, who live in very hard conditions, or some Sufi schools, for the man when he feels that death is near, to prepare himself for it, or sometimes, dig his own grave. Moslems follow what is preached in The Qur'an, practised by the Prophet and expressed in his Traditions and in none of these is the Moslem requested or permitted to go through such preparation, for no one knows the hour of death except God. He is asked to prepare himself psychologically if he felt that the hour is near but never physically. The "funeral-prayer" in the sense implied by Burton is offered after the person is dead and not before, so, Hassan, could not possibly have prayed his own death prayer in the way Moslems pray over their dead in the mosque before they bury them. And, before that, the dead must be

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1. William Edward Lane, Modern Egyptians, vol. II, chapter XV.
 2. Moslems' tombs must not be made from brick, stone, or blastered from the inside to aid rapid decomposition, for the dead are buried without a coffin, only wrapped up with the shroud. See Burton's mistake in his Arabian Nights, vol. 11, p.96, note 1.

washed¹ and wrapped in a shroud somewhere, normally in the house of the dead person. In difficult circumstances and in certain out of the way situations,² all rules may be broken.

Burton, with his usual characteristic nature of occupying himself with several projects at the same time, had little time to spare for an important task like The Nights. The knowledge Burton offered to the reader in the footnotes about the Arabs was marred by mistakes and contained wrong ideas that often gave

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1. In Ibid, vol. 9, p.193, note 3, Burton does not distinguish between the prayer (supplication) and the recital of The Qur'an over the dead before he is washed, and the actual prayers in the mosque. And in vol. 1, p.327, note 3, Burton says "Prayers over the dead are not universal in Islam; but when they are recited they lack the "Sajdah," or prostration." Here again, Burton is misleading for in Islam prayers over the dead are unavoidable and must be carried out. But they are not compulsory on all present for some can go into the mosque to attend the prayers and those who wish could wait for them outside the mosque to accompany the dead to the cemetery. In the story of "Ali Baba and The Forty Thieves," there is a brief, but more accurate, account of the way the dead are prepared for burial. See Burton's Arabian Nights, vol. 10. p.218.
 2. Such as martyrs, who are not washed for burial, or people who were blown to pieces or their form greatly distorted and deformed are permitted to skip the washing, but they are prayed over.
 3. In moments of crisis or special situations where it is impossible to follow the rules, for any good reason, such as preserving life, Moslems are allowed to break the most sacred of all rules, as is said "At times of necessity, forbiddens are allowed." See "Sixth Voyage of Sinbad the Sailor." Burton's Arabian Nights, vol. 4, p.400. See also, Ibid. vol. 4, p.376, note 2.

a false impression. A fundamental part of that knowledge, which is always associated with Arabs and Islam, is polygamy, the harem and the husband's treatment of his wife. It is granted that Burton knew the East and its life fairly well, but, as already pointed out in this chapter (p. 198) some of the sweeping statements regarding the women in the East were definitely wrong if Arab women were what Burton had in mind. His inconsistency here attracts attention. In the story of "The lovers of the Banu Ozrah"¹ Burton, referring to the girl who denied a lover till he died and then herself wept so much that she fainted and later died, said that such a situation is "not unoften seen in real Eastern life." Then in the story of "The Three Sisters and their Mother,"² Burton comments that "In Moslem tales decency compels the maiden, however much she may be in love, to show extreme unwillingness; and this farce is enacted in real life." These two statements are obviously contradictory to each other and the generalization in them makes them extremely vague. In the first statement he says such a situation is seen in "Eastern life," but in which part, or among which race is left for the reader to guess. In the second he is a little more specific in saying "Moslem tales," but again this is too general a term. Among the Arabs of the earlier ages if a rumour of love between two, whether from the same tribe or different tribes, is spread, shame is brought on the family of the girl and her family usually refused to let them

1. Ibid, vol. 4, pp. 36-8.

2. Ibid, vol. 10, p.451, note 1.

marry.¹ In the tribal and ancient Arab history many such situations can be seen. The more famous are those of Antar and Ablah and Kays and Layla,² for both Antar and Kays were famous in their times, the first as a fearless knight and a poet and the second as a poet. Girls were expected to show and practice extreme bashfulness. Even today a degree of bashfulness is expected when it comes to the question of any relationship with the other sex; and so when the girl is asked by her family if she would marry a man who asked for her hand in marriage, often the girl is too shy to answer and her silence is taken as an acceptance, when arose the popular saying "silence is consent."³

Two more of Burton's absurd statements occur when he says "Moslem women have this advantage over their Western sisterhood; they can always leave the house of father or husband and without asking permission, pay a week or ten days' visit to their friends. But they are not expected to meet their lovers."⁴ And when he says that "---Moslem women often hide and change their names for superstitious reasons, from the husband and his family."⁵ It is very likely that

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1. Because it could be taken as a cover up for a liberal relationship between the lovers and possibly to cover the girl's shame of love pregnancy. So to save their honour and pride and to prove that there was no physical love relationship between the lovers, the family stands in the way of the marriage.
 2. "Kays," (the Arab Romeo), was a poet, but could not marry "Layla" because he expressed his love for her in his poetry. The same is with "Antar," a famous black knight, and his cousin the fair "Ablah." See Burton's Arabian Nights, vol 1., p.329, note 3; vol. 3, p.63, note 2; and vol. 2, p.403, note 1.
 3. A Tradition of the Prophet says "Believing is some and seventy branches, the highest is saying "There is no God but One God," and the meanest is lifting harm off the streets. And bashfulness is a branch of believing." See Sunan Ibn Majah, vol. 1, p.22.
 4. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 4, p.59, note 1.
 5. Ibid, vol. 6, p.254, note 1.

Burton's aim was to show that Arabs do not treat their wives as prisoners or slaves, as was generally believed in his times. But these statements besides being sweeping and general, give a false impression of the freedom permitted to the Moslem woman. Such freedom is neither allowed in Islam nor permitted by custom and Burton gives a more realistic picture of the male's supervision over his females, whether wife, mother or sister, in the Moslem Arab East when he says;

Amongst Moslems bastardy is a rare offence and a love-child is exceedingly rare. The girl is not only carefully guarded but she also guards herself, knowing that otherwise she will not find a husband----. The wife is equally guarded and lacks opportunities, hence adultery is found difficult except in books.¹

And in another note Burton says that the Moslem woman is not allowed to walk alone in the street. These two statements are the more characteristic of the Arabs and Islam. For as mentioned above it is not the custom in Islam to give such unquestioned liberty to women and, certainly, it is not customary for the Arab to let his women be absent from home for any length of time without having sufficient knowledge of their exact whereabouts and their associates. Such statements, however are serious mistakes. They are, no doubt, the fruit of his sweeping generalizations, for "Eastern people----" or "Moslem women----" are terms that denote many nations, races and peoples of differing attitudes, habits, customs and ways of life. The liberty which Burton claims the "Moslem women" enjoy over their Western sisters is unknown among the Arabs, a race that associates its honour with the actions and

1. Ibid, vol. 6, p.268, note 1.

reputation of its females. It could be the practice of other Asian peoples, but not the Arabs. In the story of "Julnar the Sea-born and her Son," Salih, who was asking for the hand of Princess Jauhara in marriage to King Badr, reminds her father the King, of the sage's saying that "a girl's lot is either grace of marriage or the grave."¹ In fact in old times there was a saying that a female leaves home three times only in all her life. First to the court (for marriage), the second to her husband's home and the third time to the cemetery. The merchant's wife in the "Adventures of Mercury Ali of Cairo," in reply to Ali's inquisitiveness, says, "I am a merchant's daughter and a merchant's wife and in all my life I have never been out of doors till today---."² So obviously the people who are so strict about the movements and actions of their women could not possibly allow them the liberty Burton stated they had.

It is true that most Arabs, even today, would like to know everything about their women and their activities, but it must be borne in mind that, generally speaking, they in no way restrict their freedom or force them to act against their will. The Arab, as Burton often expressed in the footnotes and elsewhere, respects his women and asks their opinion in all matters that concern them both personally in any

1. Ibid, vol. 6, p.74. "The Grave" here means the confinement to her father's house.

2. Ibid, vol. 5, p.375.

way.¹

Burton not only contradicted² himself in the notes, but frequently repeated information or discussed a subject he touched upon earlier. Sometimes he did so intentionally mainly because what he had to say about a particular topic, like eunuchs and circumcision, is too much for one footnote, or that various points of the same topic are discussed in different places as the need and opportunity arose, such as "aurah" (shame) and Arabic poetry.³ In such cases he generally referred his reader to the earlier parts where the

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1. As in any other matter, there might be some situations or incidents where one might point an accusing finger to. Such expressions happen mainly in families with illiterate parents. Such circumstances have diminished a great deal a long time ago. As Burton pointed out even slave girls are not sold to a buyer, regardless of the price offered, if the girl rejects him. Arabian Nights, vol. 7, p.27, note 6. See also vol. 11, p.313, note 2. Burton also remarks that "it is a Pundonor (sic) amongst good Moslems not to buy a girl and not to have marital relations with her, even when bought, against her will." Ibid, vol. 9 p. 293, note 2.
 2. Another example of Burton's self contradictions is when he says that "'Early to bed and early to rise,' is a civilized maxim; most barbarians sit deep into the night in the light of the moon or a camp fire and will not rise till nearly noon---. The Shaykhs of Arab tribes especially transact most of their public business during the dark hours." Ibid, vol. 6, p.8, note 1. Then further on in the same volume, p.298, note 3, discussing the effect of what one sees first in the morning on the rest of his day says that superstitious idea is instinctive" to a race (Arabs) of early risers."
 3. Such as eunuchs, a topic Burton discussed no less than four times; vol. 1, p.26, note 1 and p.261, note 2; vol. 4, p. 15, note 1; and vol. 9, p.47, note 1. Many other topics are repeated several times in the notes such as the fictional bird "The Rec"; magicians, Egyptian and Maghribi; tatooing; kohl (eye-make-up); physiognomy; the "Kata" (sand grouse); and 'Al-Ashrafi (a gold coin).

topic under discussion is mentioned. In a few cases, probably forgetting that the topic in hand had been mentioned before, Burton gives the information again without any cross references.¹

In some of the notes Burton failed to give the other side of the coin. These notes are not, in any way, wrong or misleading. They could have been of more benefit to the student had Burton given further explanations or, in the case of words, other meanings and usages. Of all such notes three, because of their importance and nature, deserve to be mentioned here.² In the tale of "Nur al-Din and his Son," when Ajib was expressing to the cook, who is actually his father and neither knows that yet, his readiness to search for his lost father he says "--- and indeed I come forth, I and my grandfather, to circle and search the world for him," Burton comments that "Easterns always put themselves first for respect."³ Burton could have added, of habit as well. In pre-Islamic times men were measured by their valour and courageous deeds. It was a great honour for the man to say "I charged first at the enemy," or "I lead the attack," or "I faced the raiders and chased them--" and so on, implying that not only has he courage but also that he put himself in the danger line, in front, protecting those behind him. An act of self sacrifice for others. This practice lingered on in the speech of the people and became a habit with

1. "Al-Hajaj," a statesman and a soldier during the Omayyad Dynasty, was mentioned in Vol. 3, p.133, note 1, and in Vol. 5, p.296, note 1, without any hint in either note to the presence of the other.

2. The others will be found in Appendix IV.

3. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 1, p.217, note 1.

neither its original significance nor any disrespect to others. After Islam, pious Moslems refrained from using the pronoun "I" even in the most casual of conversation for the simple reason; that Iblis refused to bow to Adam when God ordered all his angels to do so saying, "I am better than he for you made me of fire and made him of earth."¹ So, in order not to imitate the self loving attitude of the rebellious, once favoured, angel, people usually use the plural "we" for the singular "I". Burton did not mention this when he often pointed out the use of the plural in place of the singular. Only once he said that the plural is used in place of the singular to give an air of greatness to the person addressed.² The third of Burton's insufficient comments occurs when he explains the statement which says "Women are lacking in wit and religion," commenting "A Hadis attributed to the Prophet, and very useful to Moslem husbands when wives differ overmuch from them in opinion."³ Such a comment from Burton will certainly leave the reader wondering at the religion (Islam) which believes its women to be mentally handicapped and faithless. Burton's labour was devoted to the notes that deal with topics that agreed with, and reflected his personal interests such as pornography, sex, abnormality, circumcision, eunuchs, murders, and the like. The other notes, like the one we have here, he passed over very quickly which often left the reader in doubt or gave him a wrong impression. The

1. Q. 7, 12.

2. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 3, p. 258, note 1. In an act of respect people, sometimes, use "Antum" (second person plural) in place of "Anta" (second person singular).

3. Ibid., vol. 9, p.24, note 3.

Tradition we have here means that women, generally speaking, are ruled by their emotions as well as their wits, that their decisions and opinions are hardly void of sentimentality; and they are lacking in religion because of their monthly period, during which the woman is impure for the purposes of performing religious duties and so has to stop prayers, fasting and even reading The Qur'an. In this light, the Tradition does not do women injustice in any way, but the way Burton left it certainly confirms the old long cherished belief in the West that Arabs and Moslems look upon women as their inferiors and treat them like slaves.

There is no doubt that the information in Burton's notes and "Terminal Essay" are invaluable and extremely interesting. In spite of the errors pointed out, Burton's notes, like all such knowledge about previous ages, remain a living record of a dead world and its people. They portray a picture of medieval Arabs and their customs, some long forgotten¹; the man's "right to marry his first cousin,"² the ancient customs of the wedding night,³ units of weight and measure,⁴ the concept of revenge,⁵ as well as the local dress for both women and men, are now aspects of the past, some of which are remembered with nostalgic feelings.

1. See page 41 ante.

2. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 1, p. 64, note 2.

3. Ibid., vol. 3, p.359, note 1.

4. Ibid, vol. 5, p.112, note 1, and vol. 6, p.171, note 5, and page 42 ante.

5. Ibid., vol. 6, p. 184, note 4.

Burton's "Terminal Essay" was a general summing up of what Burton had to say about The Nights in general and about the notes in particular. He discussed in detail the technical aspects of The Nights, such as authorship;¹ date and place of origin. Then he talked of "The Matter and Manner of the Nights", "The Saj'a," "The Verse," and various other topics relating to The Nights and its merits as well as its history in Europe.

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1. This topic was the subject of controversy ever since The Nights came to be considered seriously in Europe. Opinions differed, some believe that the book and its frame are of Indian origin; See Chamber's Encyclopedia, London (1967), vol. 1, p.518, and The New Encyclopedia Britannica, (15th edition) vol. IX, p. 976. Others, including Burton, believed it to be of Persian origin, see "The Arabian Nights," by Benjamin W. Wells, American Encyclopedia, (1927) Vol. 2, p.122, and Burton's "Terminal Essay," Arabian Nights, vol. 8, pp. 70-72. These presumptions were sparked by Von Hammer's discovery (see his New Arabian Nights, London (1826), vol. 1, p. xxiii) of a passage in Al Masu'di's Muruj al-Dahab wa Ma'adin al-Jauhar (The Golden Meadows) which states that The Nights were translated from a Persian book of similar setting called Hazar Afsanah; the existence of which is yet to be proved. See Lane's Arabian Nights, vol. 1, p.X. For the passage mentioned above see The Golden Meadows, (In Arabic), 3 vols., by Al-Masu'di, Libanese University Publications, Beirut, 1966, vol. 2, p.406, and also Kitah Al-Fihrist, (in Arabic) by Ibin Al-Nadim, Khayats, Beirut, 1964, p. 304 in which it is stated that the book was composed for Queen Hamani, daughter of Bahman. For Queen Hamani see "تاريخ الرسل والملوك" Annals Ques Script (In Arabic) of Ahu Djafar Mohammed Ibn Djarir, E. J. Brill, Lu Gd, Bat., 1964, p.688. Alexander Kingdale goes as far as to suggest that The Nights were written by a Greek simply because "for creative purposes," the oriental" is a thing dead and dry - a mental mummy." Ethon, By Alexander W. Kingdale, John Ollivier, London, 1845, p.96.

But the more important topics of "The Essay" are "Al-Islam," "Woman," "Pornography," and "Pederasty," topics that, with the history of the Arabs and their literature occupied the major part of his notes.

By the time Burton produced the last volume of his translation, The Nights were looked upon as a much more valuable composition than "just a collection of stories of fantasy and imagination. They were looked upon as a guide to the East,¹ and a reflection of its life, customs and manners. With his annotations Burton smoothed and outlined the way for the student. He believed that those who read his notes in addition to those of Lane would be "complete proficient" in the knowledge of oriental practices and Islam.² The importance of The Nights as a significant source of information about the East and Islam was realized much earlier than Burton or even Lane.³ In "The Preface to the English Volume Containing 'The Curse of Kehama,'" Southey mentions his "intention of exhibiting the most remarkable forms of Mythology which have at any time obtained among mankind, by making each the ground-work of a narrative

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1. This attitude was adopted in the days of Sir William Jones, and was advanced by Lane and fully exploited by Burton.
 2. "Lane begins with Islam, from creation to the present day, and has deservedly won for his notes the honour of a separate reprint. Captain Burton's object in his annotations is to treat of subjects which are completely concealed from the multitude. They are utterly and entirely esoteric and deal with matters of which books usually know nothing." The Lincoln Gazette, October 10th, 1885, as quoted in Lady Burton's Life, vol. II, p.618.
 3. See Page 172 ante.

poem;"¹ and he first began by embodying "the Mohammedan religion" in Thalaba "as being that with which" he says "I was then best acquainted myself, and of which every one who had read the Arabian Nights Entertainments possessed all the knowledge necessary for readily understanding and entering into the intent and spirit of the poem."¹ It has been suggested that with the aid of Burton's notes one "may know as much of the Moslems as the Moslems know of themselves,"² and I can confidently assert that the reader of those notes will know more about Islam than the average Moslem does, who is usually happy enough and contented to follow the "Sunnah" or any of the four major schools in Islam. The notes provide a panoramic view of Islam, the complete religion, with the differences of opinions and attitudes between its various sects and schools. The knowledge of Islam displayed in the notes is that sought and possessed only by the keen enquirer and the specialist.

Most of Burton's readers, keeping in mind that The Nights is an Arabic classic, failed to realize that the notes display his knowledge of the literature and culture of many other nations. Feilding said that the benefit of travel comes from comparison, and Burton always compared languages, races, habits, superstitions customs and beliefs, pointing out the differences.³

Burton's notes were the product of two major sources; his personal experience and his reading. His notes abound in references to a host of writers⁴ and works in various languages,

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1. Poems of Robert Southey, ed. by Maurice H. Fitzgerald, Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, London, 1909, p.15. See also Oriental Influence in English Literature in the Nineteenth Century, by Marie E. de Meester, Heidelberg, (1915) p.23. Stories like the "Tale of King Omar bin Al Nu'uman and his Sons," Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 2, pp. 104-110 and 305; and "Abu Al-Husn and his Slave-Girl Tawadded," Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 149-196, abound in valuable information about Islam and its sects and schools.
 2. "The Lincoln Gazette," October, 10th, 1885.
 3. Such as Arab bread, Arabian Nights, vol. 1, p.120, note 4; the word Jinn and its pronunciation and derivation among Moslems, Christians and Hindus, Ibid., vol. 3, p.13, note 1.
 4. See Appendix I.

mainly Arabic and English.¹ The Qur'an² his Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah, (1855) and The Dabistan were amongst the works constantly referred to by Burton throughout the work. Lane's Modern Egyptians (1835) and the notes to his Arabian Nights, were, obviously, of great help to Burton as was Payne's Nights and Burckhardt's works. For obvious reasons⁴ Burton did not lavish too much praise on either Lane's Modern Egyptians, Lane's Nights, or the man himself, although from time to time he commended some notes and praised Lane for some accurate descriptions and detailed accounts.⁵

The notes reflect Burton's anxiety and concern over several matters that were on his mind at the time. When he was preparing the first few volumes for printing Burton was anticipating a storm of protest against the boldness of some of his notes or even prosecution. But the storm failed to rise and criticism turned to praise. Most of Burton's readers were too fascinated with their new knowledge about the East to bother about the odd bold note in the first three

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1. Other languages were Hindi languages, Persian, Turkish, German, French, Italian and Spanish.
 2. The original as well as the translations of Rodwell and Sale.
 3. Dabistan, or School of Manners, translated from the original Persian by David Shea and A. Troyer, London & Paris, 1843.
 4. In order not to show his real debt to Lane, as Burton was writing a similar work.
 5. In volume 9, p. 287, note 1, Burton praised Lane's notes "On Fate and Destiny; Lane's Arabian Nights, vol. 1, pp. 58-61. Burton was also pleased with Lane's chapter on "Death and Funeral Rites" in his Modern Egyptians, vol. 2, chapter XV.

volumes. This unexpected response encouraged Burton to be more open and more daring. In the first three volumes no more than six notes¹ can be really called objectionable even by the most conservative and reserved. This favourable public reaction and the rather mild criticism of the press gave Burton the courage to print what he really wished to get off his chest. I believe note 1 on Page 160 in volume 3 was the starting point of a unique display of the forbidden knowledge that culminated in Burton's discussion of "Pornography" and "Pederasty" in the "Terminal Essay." From the middle of volume three to the last volume of The Supplemental Nights, Burton's notes became more frank, more open and in some cases repulsive, while in the six notes in the first three volumes Burton's discussion of what might have been repulsive is decent and brief.

On 21st October, 1885, hearing that Sir John Drummond was about to retire, Burton applied for the consular post in Morocco. He anticipated that he would get the job so, as usual, he went to Morocco on 21st Nov. 1885, to inspect the community and surrounding of his new consulate.² Burton did not get the post. But this incident, which no doubt occupied his mind for some time, had a noticeable effect on his Nights. From the sixth volume onwards there is a constant reference to Moorish terminology, local Arabic customs, habits and usage.

1. Vol. 1, p.249, note 3, "on kissing," and page 292 note 1 "on abuse"; Vol. 2, p.132, note 2 on "Lisbian Love"; and vol. 3, p.28, note 1^{en} "sexual power in man and woman, and p. 160, note 1, on sex remedies in the East, and p. 349, note 2, on abnormal love among women in the East.

2. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. 2, p.297.

This, besides reflecting Burton's hopes of getting the post, shows that while Burton was putting his notes together and preparing the rest of The Nights for printing, he was busy reading and researching for information about the new community amidst which he hoped he would spend the rest of his life.¹

In the Supplemental Nights the notes play an additional role to that in The Nights proper. Those of The Nights were mainly to display his knowledge of Eastern customs, religions, beliefs, habits, and at times, to make historical, grammatical and linguistic remarks. But rarely did they explain the text. The manuscripts from which Burton compiled his Supplemental Nights were greatly distorted and corrupted.² In some of the stories parts and important links were missing. Burton frequently had to explain and refer to these distortions and to point out any changes he had to make in some of the stories in order to make them worth printing.³

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1. "Arab 'Matta'aka 'llah' = Allah permit thee to enjoy, from the root Mata', whence cometh the Moroccan Mata'i = my, mine, which answers to Bitai in Egypt." Vol. 7, p. 199, n.1. In the earlier volumes Burton's comparisons did not go beyond Egypt west, but from the sixth volume on the Maghrib (Morocco) is more and more mentioned.
 2. See "The Translator's Foreword," Burton's Arabian Nights, vol. 10 pp. 347-50. Burton used the Wortley Montague manuscript for volumes IV and V of his Supplemental Nights. For the history of this manuscript see "A Manuscript Translation of The Arabian Nights in The Beckford Papers," by Fatma Moussa-Mahmoud, Journal of Arabic Literature vol. VII ed. by M. M. Badawi, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1976, pp. 6-23.
 3. In note 3, p.313, vol. 11, Burton says "This tale (the Loves of Hayfa and Yusuf) is head-less as the last (Tale of the Simpleton Husband) is tail-less." In both stories Burton made up the missing parts. Again in volume 11, p. 391, note 1, though he does not say where from, he says that he "supplied the missing link," between the story of "Mohammed the Shalabi and his Mistress and his wife" and "The Fellaah and his wicked wife."

In addition to being the means by which Burton offered his knowledge of the East to the reader, the notes also provided a long awaited outlet through which he was able to express his views and criticism. He expressed his unhappiness about the British rule in India and Egypt,¹ criticized the Western moral system and the self imposed ignorance of what he believed to be vital and essential matters to every human soul.² He voiced his opinion of some nations and races³ as well as of various distinguished personalities in Arab History.⁴

1. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 1, pp. xxxii and 175
2. Ibid, vol. 1, p. xxviii and the "Terminal Essay."
3. Burton says "But the deductions from the fable and the testimony to the negro's lack of intelligence, though unpleasant to our ignorant negrophils, are factual and satisfactory." Ibid, vol. 3, p.365, note 1. And in vol. 3, p.439, note 1, Burton says that Persians are reputed liars, an opinion James Morier shares with him. See Hajji Baba of Isbahan, by James Morier, Macmillan & Co., London, 1895, p. xxiii. In vol. 5, p. 99, note 2, Burton implies that Egyptians are a nation of rascals. In vol. 9, p.202, note 2, he expressed his opinion of the Indian race thus;

When rice have strength, you'll haply find,
In Hindi man, a manly mind.

Of the Syrians he says that their women are the jealous type and their men are fanatic, "Yet they are a notoriously timid race." Ibid, vol. 1, pp. 271-2, note 1.

4. Such as Haroun al-Rashid, Abu Nawas, Abu Tamam, The Orthodox Caliphs, and Al-Hajaj. In volume 3, p. 133, note 1, Burton compares the British rule in the colonies with that of Al-Hajaj in favour of the latter.

It is true that very few notes in The Nights proper are used to explain the text or elucidate the stories but one can never say as Wright did,¹ that most of the notes can be dispensed with by the general reader; because the book was not compiled for the use of the general public in the first place but for that of the student and the specialist.

Nevertheless one cannot help feeling that some of the notes are included just because they happened to cross Burton's mind or come his way at the time for they show no real, direct relation to the text and the information in them is hardly of any interest even to the specialist. Such notes are often long and boring, for example those on "egg-plants,"² the history of the word "Pasha" and its variants,³ or the long dull note on "eunuchs" that is out of place and bears no relevance to the text,⁴ or the tiresome note on freemasonry,⁵ the notes on medals and awards of honour in Ethiopia, and on the beliefs and superstitions regarding the umbilical cord both in England and in the East,⁶ both of which are not only boring but irrelevant as well.

Burton's translation of The Arabian Nights was, no doubt, the apex of his literary achievements. It crowned all his other successes and provided a happy ending to a long life of struggle .

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1. Thomas Wright, Life of Sir Richard Burton, vol. II, p.186
 2. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 3, p.417, note 3.
 3. Ibid, vol. 10, p.252, note 5.
 4. Ibid, vol. 9, p.47, note 1.
 5. Ibid, vol. 11, p.92, note 1.
 6. Ibid, vol. 11, pp. 435, 436, notes 1 and 2 respectively.

and disappointments. As noted earlier in this chapter (p. 171) Burton's version came after several made in the same century. The fact that no other attempt has been made since, is, alone, enough testimony to its merits and excellence. It is the most complete of all the translations and may well be the last. Burton left no stone unturned in his search for every means that could contribute to the perfection of the work that had taken him almost thirty years. One thing more can be said without hesitation regarding Burton's Arabian Nights. It is almost as interesting and as engaging as the original. It is enough to take any of the volumes and glance at its pages. Before long, the reader will find himself completely fascinated and unable to lay the book down. Its light effective style,¹ and carefully chosen diction, with Burton's interest in preserving the matter and the manner of the work; its soul and its atmosphere, make his version a reasonable representation of the original, though not Alf Layla wa Layla itself. His verse is admirable and musical² enough and his rendering of the rhymed prose "jingles" is very successful.

1. A literary friend praising Burton's style said "If I wanted young folk to learn a good style, I would train them on the Nights." (The Lady Burton's Edition), as quoted by Lady Burton, Life, vol. 2, p. 293. Fawn Brodie rightly remarks that "His somewhat archaic style actually served to soften the grossness and the terrible frankness of the tales, and gave them an esoteric flavour that added greatly to their charm." The Devil Drives, p.342.

2. Musicality or rhyme is very important in Arabic poetry and Burton succeeded in giving a good representation of it in English. Such as when he translates the proverb;

ما طار طير وارفع إلا سقا طار وقتر .

No flier flieth however tall x but as he flieth shall come to fall.

Europe was convinced that The Arabian Nights was a reflection of Moslem life and Arab manners and customs. Burton's translation confirmed this view once and for all. Burton not only preserved the divisions of The Nights, the poetry, the rhymed prose, and the spirit of the original but also retained and preserved even the minutest details of the Arab's reaction, expressions, and remarks that some of the previous translators had dropped out completely or modified because such expressions might sound strange or unfamiliar in English. Ejaculations, expressions of gratitude, expressions of joy, congratulations and condolences, lamentations, curses and terms of abuse, that are heard in the daily conversation of the Arab are all preserved intact by Burton and, in turn, they preserve a great deal of the humour and character of the original.

Burton's habit of mixing with the natives in disguise enabled him to gain a great deal of knowledge that is usually not found in books. Getting that close to the people made all the difference and set Burton in a class of his own apart from the rest of the orientalisists. Despite the many mistakes he made, the notes reveal a unique knowledge of the special usage of some Arabic words. A good example of this knowledge is when Burton says "'Kalb' here is not heart, but stomach."¹ The word "Kalb" means (heart) in Arabic but in colloquial speech it is used to refer to the stomach in such phrase as "Kalbi Byuja'ni" (my stomach aches). This usage of words could not be

1. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 9, p.21, note 1. Burton usually gave both proper and colloquial pronunciation of words such as (Sauba or Thaub). If one is given, as is sometimes the case, it could be because he did not know the other.

picked up from books but from the ordinary people. Very few orientalists get as close to the people, but fewer still are those who have as much knowledge as Burton had.

As early as 1852, Burton felt that because of the absence of an accurate translation of The Arabian Nights, "no general reader is aware of the valuables it contains, nor indeed will the door open to any but Arabists."¹ In spite of his earnest attempt to open this door to the public, Burton's statement, in a way, is as true today as it has ever been. In any work of art there is always something in the original that can never be transposed into any other language no matter how proficient the translator may be. It is that something, special and characteristic of the original, which never allows any translation to be an exact duplication.² In any translation, regardless of its qualities, many an aspect of the original is lost. On examining any story in The Nights we find that it has taken the translator a few pages to express what in the original filled the space of a few lines or half a page.³ In this way a great deal of the impact of the original,

1. Ibid, vol. 1, p. XIX.

2. This does not mean that translations are always inferior. On the contrary, many feel that Ahmad Rami's rendering of Rubaiyyat Omar Al-Khayyam, in Arabic is much more musical, expressive and attractive than its Persian original. Nevertheless, it is the same poem Omar wrote. Can any of the translations of The Iliad be fully accepted as Homer, in their content, spirit, implication and figurativeness? Though many of these translations are admirable they are never the original, as almost all who are familiar with the original will testify: they are not Homer's masterpiece.

3. This explains why Payne and Burton were able to fill, respectively, nine and ten big volumes of The Nights, in English, while most Arabic editions occupy much less; some two volumes, the majority four and very few more than that.

its force of expression and, sometimes, points of significance are lost. For this reason, amongst others, Islam insists that the believers should read The Qur'an in Arabic. Burton realized what, otherwise, would be lost. "The Koran", he said, is "beautiful in the original and miserably dull in European languages."¹

In several parts of the work Burton expressed and explained some of the difficulties he faced in translating The Nights. One of the major problems was the vast difference in the number and nature of the Arabic² and English words, which forces the translator to use archaic or foreign words, or to coin his own as Burton did. In most cases even such words fail to convey the exact sense, implication, force, or spirit of the original. Another factor is that many Arabic words tend to have more than one or two meanings. In the "Tale of Nur al-Din Ali and his Son,"³ when the King, testing Hasan's wit and knowledge, asked him a question; "Now explain to me how many meanings be there in the Arabic language for the word Kahl or mole." The answer was "Seven and fifty and some by tradition say fifty."⁴ This aspect makes translation very difficult especially if more than one meaning of the word is implied in the context. Such puns

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1. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 5, p.204, note 1.
 2. Burton says that while English has only 100,000 words, Arabic has 1,200,000, a fact that sometimes makes finding the word with the exact meaning in English for some of the Arabic words quite a problem. See Arabian Nights, vol. 3, p.121, note 2.
 3. Ibid, vol. 1, p.231.
 4. Burton gave many examples of the multi-meaning of Arabic words like "Adab" (good morals), vol. 7, p.120, note 3; and "Ka'ah" (a hall), vol. 1, p.78, note 5.

or play on words created many problems for Burton.¹

Burton probably spoke too soon when he expressed his intention of producing a literal translation of The Nights, for when it came to the actual work he failed to keep his promise.² Different people have different temperaments and different tastes. The general setting of The Nights is fully accepted by the Arab audience. The ejaculations and the other expressions, and the repetition of some parts of the story, long or short, by the narrator do not seem to them odd, boring or a tax on their enjoyment and patience. To the westerner the constant repetition of certain phrases and even the set clichés with which The Nights begin and end could be a disadvantage.³ Burton who professed that he would be completely faithful to his original made many changes, some of which he pointed out. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to assess the accuracy of Burton's translation because he did not compile his translation from one Arabic edition only. As is stated in various places in The Nights, he used several different Arabic manuscripts. He collated and incorporated these manuscripts thus coming out with his unique version. With the objective

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1. He felt this difficulty especially when translating poetry as he stated in vol. 1, p.92, note 2, and vol. 2, p.387, note 1.
 2. Burton kept his promise of keeping the content of The Nights intact including the pornographic parts; but could not help making some changes and alterations.
 3. Lane omitted the divisions of The Nights, see Lane's Arabian Nights, vol. 1, p. xviii. Von Hammer and Payne omitted rhymed prose, see Von Hammer's New Arabian Nights vol. 1, p.xxvi; and Galland cut out all ejaculations, proverbs, and Moslem phrases and expressions. See Burton's "Terminal Essay," Arabian Nights, vol.8, p.101.

of being different Burton selected from every edition what suited him best. As he often pointed out, he sometimes took from a particular edition the story as whole, sometimes just parts or certain incidents. Burton's choice was determined by his search for the more dramatic version in the original editions he had or the one that helped to accommodate a note he wanted to add. It is beyond any doubt that Burton's major interest and concern was with the notes and not The Nights. In the story of "The Ebony Horse,"¹ Burton took from the Breslau edition that part of the story where the Prince lands with the flying horse on top of a palace in a strange land. In all the other editions² the Prince, on descending from the roof of the palace, finds the Princess amidst her slave girls guarded by one eunuch. Then taking the party by surprise the Prince knocks the eunuch down with a mighty blow, takes his sword, scares the slave girls away and sits respectfully and decently with the Princess. In the Breslau text this incident varies. On descending from the roof of the palace the Prince finds the Princess asleep covered by her hair on an ivory bed ornamented with jewels. Flabbergasted by her beauty he thinks little of any consequences, bends down and kisses the Princess on the cheek. The original text does not say that the Princess was naked.³ It simply says that she was covered with her hair

1. Ibid, vol. 3, night 359.

2. See Lane's translation, vol. II, p.522; Payne's translation vol. IV; the "Al-Milayji Edition," (In Arabic) 4 vols, fourth reprint, Cairo, 1903, vol. 2, pp. 138-146; and the Sha'b Edition," (In Arabic) 2 vols, prepared by Rushdi Saleh, Cairo 1969, vol. 1, pp. 613-629.

3. See Thousand und Eine Nacht, Arabisch , 12 vols. von Dr. Maximilian Habicht, bei Ferdinand Hint, Breslau, 1843, vol. 3 p. 339. The copy consulted is the one in Burton's collection at The Anthropological Institute Library in London.

which could be a figurative reference to the Princess's hair as being so long and thick that it covered her when she was lying down. Burton chose the Breslau edition and altered the text here simply to add the note which says "Eastern women in hot weather lie mother-nude under a sheet here represented by the hair."¹

Such alterations are very difficult to detect unless the sixteen volumes of Burton's translation are carefully scrutinized and compared with Arabic editions and other English translations. In The Nights proper Burton points out three changes² he made in the original text. In all three of them the alteration was giving a name much earlier than in the original, either for the convenience of the reader or to avoid vagueness. In the Supplemental Nights, Burton's changes were more substantial;³ they included abbreviation of some of the already narrated incidents,⁴ the joining together of two or three of the shorter nights into one night,⁵ omission of unnecessary phrases,⁶ and supplying the missing links.⁷

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1. Burton; Arabian Nights, vol. 3, p.422, note 1. The statement in this note was discussed earlier. See p. 198 . ante.
 2. Ibid, vol. 5, p.275, note 1; vol. 6, p.62 note 1; and vol. 7, p.327, note 2.
 3. In the "Foreword" to the 12th volume Burton explicitly stated that he has not "hesitated when necessary to change the order of the sentences, to delete tautological words and phrases, to suppress descriptions which are needlessly re-iterated, and in places to supply the connecting links without which the chain of narrative is weakened or broken." Arabian Nights, vol. 12, p.xxiii.
 4. Ibid, vol. 10, p.57, note 1; vol. 10, p.466, note 1; vol. 11, p.279, note 1 and vol. 12, p.59, note 1.
 5. Ibid, vol. 11, p.56, note 2.
 6. Such as "Kal Al-Rami" (the Reciter Saith) which Burton omits throughout the volume. Ibid, vol. 12, p.1, note 1.
 7. Ibid, Vol. 11, p.391, note 1 and p.400, note 2.

For the conclusion of The Nights Burton's choice, again, fell on that of the Breslau edition, simply because it is much more elaborate and dramatic than any other edition, English or Arabic.¹ While the conventional ending of The Nights is that King Shahrayar forgives Shahrazad, praises her and her family, spares her life and marries her; the Breslau text makes Shah Zaman, Shahrayar's brother, give up his Kingdom to marry Dunyazad, Shahrazad's sister, because the latter made it clear to Shahrayar, when he told her of his brother's wish to marry her sister, that the two sisters could never separate. Burton always preferred elaborated and exaggerated accounts, when there was a difference in the various editions, because he felt that "exaggeration is a part of the humour."²

1. The Breslau edition of The Nights, prepared and printed in Breslau by non-Moslems and non-Arabs, not only varies a great deal in many of its stories from the conventional Arabic editions, but contains many mistakes the sort that can only be made by a non-native speaker of Arabic. Shahrayar's wazir became his father-in-law at the end of the book. In Arabic he is referred to Shahrayar as "عم" or "حم", both meaning father-in-law (the second word also means a paternal uncle) in Arabic. In the story he is referred to as "سهر", son-in-law. See vol. 12, p.424. The authenticity of the book is doubtful, its language is very weak and abounds with spelling mistakes. Authorities on The Nights like Dr. Khulusi with whom I corresponded over the matter, and Dr. Adel Abdullah with whom I spoke personally, expressed their surprise at the ending of The Nights in Burton's version as unconventional and nothing like the known and accepted ending.
2. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 1, p.11, note 1. In vol. 9, p.282, note 1, Burton disagreed with Payne on the use of a word so he says "I follow the text because the exaggeration is greater."

In the light of the changes Burton made, it is only reasonable to assume that Burton's The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night is not a faithful representation of the Arabic Alf Layla wa Layla. Burton and Payne came the closest to producing an adequate translation of the original but both their versions come nowhere near the magic, enchantment and beauty of the original. Burton's version is Burton's Arabian Nights translated and compiled in a way that serves his own purposes. In an article on The Arabian Nights, Ameen Rihani, an Arab Scholar, insisted that both Payne and Burton failed to convey "the magic and music, the spirit-stirring lyricism of the original," which he attributed to the fact that "the Arabic rhythm, do what we may, cannot be produced in English."¹

Right from the time when the first version of The Nights appeared in English in 1704 to the present times, The Nights, have been constantly praised and attacked, hailed and condemned, commended and criticized, imitated and parodied. These contradictory attitudes existed side by side, but the former² was always the louder and stronger and the latter was

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1. "The coming of The Arabian Nights," by Ameen Rihani, Bookman, xxxv, pp. 503-8, June, 1912.
 2. Beside the numerous editions of The Nights and other collections of oriental tales, collections of anecdotes and essays appeared, in England in the last two centuries, containing a great number of oriental and pseudo-oriental tales which testify to the popularity of the new taste. Mr. Addison's work Interesting Anecdotes, Memoirs, Allegorics, and Poetical Fragments---, 4 volumes, (n.p.), London, 1794, is a good example. The four volumes contain at least seventeen stories of oriental flavour.

often neglected or subdued. The Arabian Nights, the book that never ceased to amuse the East with its magic and fantasy for many long centuries, became known in Europe only about 250 years ago. Many translations of it were made from the Arabic, and from other European languages, into many of the tongues of Europe. Each of these translations had its individual flavour and purposes. Galland and Lane translated The Nights as their times required; the first to amuse the public, and the latter to inform the eager public in an entertaining way more fully about the East and Islam, topics that were of great public interest at the time. Burton, on the other hand, made his translation for the future¹; for the times when sex education has become just another subject on the time-table of the more modern schools and Lady Chatterley's Lover, just another novel that one can read in a train to while away the time on a long journey.

1. The Standard, on September 12th, 1885, says "-----the day when the experience of a life was embodied into this fresh translation (Burton's) of the "Alf Layla wa Layla" marks a distinct stage in the history of Oriental research." See "The Bibliography of the Book," Burton's Arabian Nights, vol. 12, p.211.

THE PERFUMED GARDEN

The Perfumed Garden has been described as a parnegyric of love, a song of sexual delight, a collection of joyous imaginings, a work of rare and curious erotic knowledge, a contribution to anthropological and ethnological research, useful alike to the student of languages, of orientalism and psychology.

Thus Mr. A. H. Walton concluded his introduction to the 1963 edition of Burton's translation of The Perfumed Garden, and with a tone of confidence he assured us that "It is all of these." It is rather peculiar when we consider that Burton's name survived with the general public through one of the least of his literary productions, through a book he produced with no previous serious planning, no publicity and very little fuss, during one of the busiest periods of his life.² His time then was fully taken up with the translation of The Arabian Nights. Neither Burton nor any of his biographers claims that Burton's first translation of The Perfumed Garden was considered by him as a serious work or that he had had any hopes for it or any ambitions for its future. When The Garden appeared in French in 1886 Burton's interest in it was aroused by two aspects. First the nature and content of the book, for he was all his life interested in sex, pornography and sexual relations of all kinds, normal and abnormal. Second, by the fact that Burton had been acquainted with the book earlier in his life.³ Why Burton

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1. The Perfumed Garden of the Shaykh Nefzawi, translated by Sir Richard Burton, ed. by Alan Hull Walton, Panther, London, 1974, p. 58.
 2. Burton's Perfumed Garden was printed and distributed privately in 1886, by the Kama Shashtra Society. This translation was made from the French Liseux edition published in the same year.
 3. Burton refers to The Garden in his Pilgrimage, see vol. 2, pp. 281-2 footnote. See also Perfumed Garden, p.20

did not translate the book earlier than he did is open to speculation. One could safely assume that he was deterred by the fact that the book and its content were too erotic and offensive to the taste of the time.

No other of Burton's numerous works received the publicity given to The Perfumed Garden. No other work stirred so much concern and provoked so much controversy. The Garden might not be Burton's best work, but it is certainly the most popular and the most widely used. Very few of his numerous and voluminous works had wide popularity. Fewer still are those that broke through the specialist barrier and reached a wider circle of the reading public. His most famous and celebrated literary works were, and still are, undoubtedly, The Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, and The Arabian Nights. But the most popular in terms of the number of editions and reprints is definitely his Perfumed Garden. Its only serious rival is The Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana, a work of similar nature to that of The Garden.

Burton was not only in the habit of working on several books at the same time, but to the last day of his life he talked of further books he wanted to write and discussed them with his friends. Retranslating The Perfumed Garden directly from Arabic was the first serious item on his list after The Nights. Inspired by the popularity of The Nights, and the response to his privately printed edition of The Perfumed Garden, he decided to reproduce the book directly from its Arabic original. The importance of The Garden to Burton himself is beyond doubt. I am inclined to believe that it is a mistake on the part of some of Burton's critics and biographers to assume

that Burton cared little about The Garden.¹ The entry² in his diary for March 31st, 1890, regarding The Perfumed Garden in which he says, "Began or rather resumed, 'Scented Garden' and don't care much about it, but it is a good pot-boiler," does not, in any way, reflect his opinion of the new translation. It is a reminiscence of the translation he had made four years earlier. Had he not cared enough about it he would not have travelled to Tunis and Algiers³ in search of a complete Arabic manuscript of the work. He would have not devoted the last six months of his life entirely to it. It was his last work and was meant to be the last of its kind.⁴ His wife was anxious about her husband's preoccupation with erotic literature. She repeatedly urged him to abandon his translation of The Garden and turn instead to writing his own biography. Finally he said to her, "Tomorrow I shall have finished this, and I promise you that after this I will never write another upon this subject. I will take to our biography."⁵ The next day he was dead.

Burton worked hard on the new translation enriching it with fresh knowledge and information, and as the work progressed, he began to see it in a new light. These additions had greatly increased the bulk of the work.⁶ Seeing his book take its final form made it increasingly significant to him. He told

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1. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. 2, p.441. See also Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit., p.321.
 2. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. 2, p.441.
 3. Thomas Wright, Life of Sir Richard Burton, vol. 2, pp. 210-215.
 4. The Romance of Isabel Lady Burton, 2 vols, by W. H. Wilkins, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1897, vol. II, p.723.
 5. Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit., p.19.
 6. See p. 239 post.

Dr. Grenfell Baker, his private physician, "I have put my whole life and all my life-blood into that Scented Garden, it is my great hope that I shall live by it. It is the crown of my life."¹

This shows how important The Perfumed Garden was to Burton. The difference between The Arabian Nights and The Garden, as far as Burton was concerned, was this. When he translated the former he was not sure of how it would be received, nor certain about its success and the public reaction to it. When he translated the latter he was fully aware of its future and potential rewards.² Burton's motives for retranslating The Perfumed Garden are very clear and straight forward. Of the three main incentives behind Burton's labours on The Garden his wife gives only one. In a letter to Lady Guendolen Ramsden, daughter of her friends the Duke and Duchess of Somerset she said "My dear husband did it simply to fill our purse again."³ The other two motives, which I believe were more important to Burton's personal satisfaction, were, first his life-long interest in pornography and second his desire to give the public what still remained of that special branch of knowledge which he had accumulated over the years relating to oriental people and their peculiar habits and ways of life. The translation provided him with a golden opportunity, after The Nights, to put on record⁴ the remainder of that knowledge that

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1. Ibid, p.321. If he did not actually live by it, his name certainly did.
 2. In a letter to Mr. W.F. Kirby, 15th May, 1889, Burton said "The Scented Garden is very hard work, and I have to pay big sums to copyists and so forth, yet it will, I think, repay the reader." Thomas Wright, op. cit., vol. 2, p.209.
 3. Bryon Farwell, op. cit., p.400.
 4. Norman M. Penzer, op. cit., p.176

that he still had partly in his private note-books and partly in his remarkable memory.

Burton's first translation of The Perfumed Garden was published by The Kama Shastra Society. It is most likely that the new translation would have been published by the same society had Burton lived to see the book in print. The Kama Shastra Society was established in 1883 by Burton and his friend F. F. Arbuthnot. The aim of the society, as W. G. Archer pointed out in his Preface to The Kama Sutra,¹ is indicated by its name. It was to translate and issue rare works concerning love and sex.² The society was short lived. It was dissolved following Burton's death in 1890. Six works in all were published by the Kama Shastra Society. The Kama Sutra (1883) and, The Ananga Ranga (1885) translated by Burton and Arbuthnot; The Arabian Nights (1885-1888), and The Perfumed Garden (1886), translated by Burton; The Beharistan (1887) and The Gulistan (1888), translated by Edward Rehatsek and edited by Burton.³ However, there is no doubt that The Perfumed Garden and the Arabian Nights are the best and most important of the Society's publications. The Garden itself has no literary merit or value,⁴ and in no way could compare with Burton's finer works such as The Pilgrimage, The Nights or The Kasidah.

The new translation of The Perfumed Garden was Burton's last work. During his final years his vigour had gone

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1. The Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana, translated by Sir Richard Burton, and F. F. Arbuthnot, ed. with a Preface by W. G. Archer, Introduction by K. M. Panikkar, George Allan & Unwin, London, 1963, pp. 11-17.
 2. Burton, The Perfumed Garden, p.17. See also Thomas Wright, Life of Sir Richard Burton, vol. II, p.62.
 3. See Fawm M. Brodie, op. cit., p.373.
 4. Thomas Wright, op. cit., vol. II, p. 256.

completely and his health was deteriorating rapidly. His condition was so bad that he had a private physician, Dr. Baker, by his side all the time. Even so, he spent the last six months of his life working extremely hard on his new version of The Garden. His biographer Thomas Wright tells us that "At no work that he had ever written did Sir Richard labour so sedulously as at The Perfumed Garden."¹ He put his "life-blood" in it, and gave it all he could give, in his condition, of effort and knowledge. He was hoping to repeat the success of The Arabian Nights with the new translation. He was anxious to reproduce The Scented Garden in full and unexpurgated; for the French edition from which he made his first translation was a chapter short. Chapter 21 in the original dealing with homosexuality was missing. On seeing the last volume of his Supplemental Nights in print Burton set out in search of a copy of The Perfumed Garden in Arabic. Weak as he was, he travelled at the end of 1889 to Tunis and Algiers hoping to obtain the sought-after manuscript and gather as much information about it as he could. This trip was made some five months before the date of the diary entry² about The Garden which proves that the comment recorded there is one of despondency rather than lack of interest, for the trip proved fruitless. Writing from Tunis to Mr. A. G. Ellis he said, "My prime object in visiting Tunis was to obtain information concerning the Scented Garden, to consult Mss & c. After a month's hard work I came upon only a single copy, the merest compendium, lacking also Chapter 21, my chief want."³

1. Ibid, vol. II, p.217.

2. See page 235 ante.

3. Thomas Wright, op. cit., vol. II, p.215.

He also expressed his disappointment to Smithers. On January 5th, 1890, he wrote to him saying "I have done little with the Garden at Tunis where I expected much."¹ His luck at Algiers was no better than at Tunis. Whether Burton was able to obtain a copy of The Scented Garden with chapter 21 and whether he translated that chapter remains a mystery,² for none except Lady Burton had seen the new translation.

Burton was anxious to obtain the missing chapter in order to produce The Garden as a complete manual of love and sexual behaviour. Probably having failed to lay his hands on the missing chapter he made up for the loss by giving a summary of the ideas of the German scholar Karl Heinrich Ulrichs who, under the pseudonym of Numa Numantius, had written about and defended homosexual love. The new finished Ms. was much bigger than his old version. The small book was swollen with annotations into two volumes of 1282 pages. The main text comprised 882 pages, with a preface of 100 pages, 50 pages of a "parody of sermons" an excursus of 200 pages, with an extra 50 pages identified as "Law & Prophets."³ The new Garden was to contain the most curious knowledge about sex, most of which was still unknown to Europe. "It will be a marvellous repertory of Eastern wisdom", Burton said when giving an idea of his new work, "how Eunuchs are made, and are married; what they do in marriage; female circumcision, the Fellaah copulating with crocodiles, etc.---."⁴ He also intended to include fresh

1. Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit., p.321.

2. Nowhere does Burton record that he obtained chapter 21, but A. H. Walton suggests that he had. See Burton, Perfumed Garden, p.21. See also Thomas Wright, op. cit, vol. II, p.197.

3. Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit., p.368.

4. Byron Farwell, op. cit., p.399.

material on Chinese eunuchs.¹ On the whole the new translation of The Perfumed Garden was to contain Burton's life-long research in the field of erotic literature, his knowledge of sex and sexual practices and behaviour among the races of the world.

Lady Burton was greatly disturbed at seeing her husband so absorbed with the new translation of The Perfumed Garden. She was unhappy and uneasy at the thought of her husband producing another erotic book while he should, at his age, be more concerned with decent subjects like his own biography. She feared that such a work would give the wrong impression to posterity of her husband's character and "honourable intentions." "The whole contents might be so misunderstood by the uneducated," she said, "that the good, noble, glorious life of Richard Burton----might sixty years hence receive a very different colouring from the truth, and be handed down to posterity in a false light."² Her worries sprang from her care for his reputation but she could not do anything about it.

Perhaps the biggest mistake Burton made in all his life was to leave his wife the sole executrix of all he possessed including his books, writing materials, diaries and manuscripts. Finding herself solely in charge, Lady Burton now had the chance she had long waited for to dispose of everything that, she believed, might be discrediting to her husband's great name and reputation. She was very hasty in deciding the fate of

1. Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit., pp. 321 and 367.

2. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. II, p.443.

some of his valuable works. Having shut herself away with his papers and books she quickly sifted through them and set a great deal of his papers, valuable manuscripts, fragments, notes and his private journals on fire. Isabel was not only wrong in deciding to burn what she burnt, but also in estimating the real value and importance of the papers she set ablaze. Most of all she was utterly wrong about the public's attitude and reaction to her unforgivable deed. She was showered with abuse and condemnation in private letters and by the press.¹ The most immediate problem for her was the 1500 subscribers who kept writing asking her when the promised book would be in their hands. Unable to answer each of them individually she sent a letter to "The Morning Post" explaining what had happened to the manuscript and gave some of the reasons for what she had done. The appearance of the letter on June 19th, 1891 turned the patience of the subscribers into fury and their politeness into abuse and reproof. The attack on Lady Burton came from all directions. The learned world felt a great loss. By the burning of Burton's papers² they believed that they had been robbed of irreplaceable treasures and deprived of unique knowledge about the Orient and its people. Burton's own family were no less upset, not so much for the loss of Burton's literary treasures as for Burton's name. Georgina Stisted, writing on behalf of Burton's family, said they were angry, "Not so much on account

1. Ibid, vol. II, pp. 438-445. See also Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit., pp. 327-8, and Thomas Wright, op. cit., vol. II, p.264.

2. Norman M. Penzer, op. cit., p.176.

of the destruction of the manuscript, insulting though it was, but on account of the wrong impression concerning the character of the work conveyed by a deed which the widow made no secret of, when she should have veiled it in absolute silence.¹

Shocked by the public reaction to her letter in "The Morning Post," Lady Burton sent a further one to the "Echo" in an attempt to explain her motives for burning The Scented Garden. She started by telling the public that her husband had left all his writings to her to do with them as she saw fit according to her own judgement and discretion.² Then she went on to express her point of view. In her defence of the burning of his papers she made two contradictory statements. Disappointed with the public reaction she said that she had a feeling that the public would feel the same as she did towards a book of that nature and would look at the matter from the moral point of view. Although she never "calculated or thought of either praise, or blame," she believed many would appreciate what she had done - and now, in her anger she bitterly said in the tone of the moralist, "If England progresses in this line at the rate she has done for the last fifteen years, let us say in another sixty or seventy years, my husband's "Scented Garden" would have become a Christmas book for boys, on the plea that the mind should be trained to anything."³ The deterioration of morality in England was never so dramatic but the numerous editions and reprints the book went through since its first appearance in 1886 show how well founded her fears were. They

1. Georgiana Stisted, op. cit., pp. 404-5.

2. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. 2, p.442.

3. Ibid., vol. 2, p.440.

also show how wrong her next statement was. A couple of pages later, explaining that she had thoroughly examined the manuscript, she said, "I judged, after long thinking, that the subject would be unpopular," for, she argued, her husband would not be around to explain to his friends and to the world the beauties and merits of the book.

Lady Burton was wrong again for the reputation and popularity of the book were well established from the appearance of the first translation in 1866. It needed neither Burton nor anybody else to boost it. Burton did not gamble when he retranslated the book. He was sure of its success especially with the new material and additions he provided to support Nefzawi's treatise.

Had The Scented Garden not been what it is, a book of erotic nature, I think it would have attracted little attention and aroused little concern. Like many of Burton's lesser works it would not have earned more than a passing remark or a brief review. The row was over what the public felt it was deprived of in the field of sexology from a man of Burton's experience. Therefore opinions regarding the loss inflicted by the burning of the new manuscript varied a great deal. While Wright, who championed morality and decency throughout his biography of Sir Richard Burton,¹ explicitly pointed out that he "never expended a sigh over the loss of the Scented Garden,"² others

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1. Throughout his biography of Sir Richard Burton, Wright persistantly compared the moral standing and values of Burton and Payne, and always happened to be in favour of the latter. Wright said (Vol. 2, p.62) that Payne was against Burton's scheme for the Kama Shastra. For Payne's remarks on The Scented Garden see Thomas Wright's Life of John Payne, p.102.
 2. Thomas Wright, Life of Sir Richard Burton, vol. 2, p.259. On p.256 Wright gave four reasons which, he believed, make the burning of the manuscript no less.

like Penzer¹ and Brodie² felt that the loss for the student could never be overestimated. Apart from the sound advice scattered throughout the book on behaviour and the precautions one should take if one desires to be spared the unpleasant consequences of unhygienic and irrational copulation, the book has little to offer that is scientific. It is true that the book gives prescriptions for a number of various mixtures that are said to help sustain and strengthen male virility and overcome coldness in women; drugs to improve the dimensions of the male organ, and other "that take away the bad smell from the armpits and sexual parts of women, and contract the latter," all of which were designed to boost the pleasures of sexual intercourse. But most of these remedies are rendered useless either by the names of their components, even in Arabic, being archaic and unintelligible to the modern reader, or being difficult to get. It is very unlikely that any of the readers of such books takes these prescriptions seriously or pays any attention to them. The general reader is more fascinated by the tales and anecdotes and, if at all, he would be more interested in the technical knowledge the book offers than in the medical. The latter could be of interest to the scientist or specialist but hardly to the ordinary reader.

The Perfumed Garden is a unique and curious manual of love and sexual relation.³ Nefzawi starts the book by declaring

1. Norman M. Penzer, op. cit., p. 176.

2. Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit., pp. 325-31.

3. This is the Western opinion of the book. It cannot be applied to other parts of the world without the hazard of giving a false statement. For instance, the book is unknown in Damascus. Other sex manuals are circulated there of which the most popular is Kitab Ruju' Al-Shaykh ila Sihah fi'l Kuwwati al Bah, by Ahmad bin Sulyman Ibn Kamal Pasha, Damascus (n.d.). See Burton's Perfumed Garden, p. 35

that sex is one of God's innumerable bounties to man, and that love is an art in its own right. The Shaykh points out that any couple who desire to make their married life a relationship and partnership of never ceasing happiness and delight should not neglect to learn the art of various techniques of love, whether in preparation for or in the act of coition itself. With the intention of guiding both the man and the woman in the act of love the Shaykh clearly points out all that heightens the sensations and delights of the lovers and all that kills the inclination for copulation in either partner. He divided the book into twenty-one chapters. There are chapters on "Praiseworthy Men" and "Praiseworthy Women." Chapters on men and women held in contempt on the grounds of their sexual potentialities and behaviour. Chapters on "Observations useful to Men and Women," and foods that are favourable to the coitus. The most engaging sections of the book are those of the tales and anecdotes of lovers. These tales and the poetry in the book are included by the author mainly to explain, clarify or prove a point under discussion. For this reason these tales are distributed among most of the chapters of the book when the author could easily have collected them in one separate chapter.

On comparing Burton's Perfumed Garden with its Arabic original¹ I found that Burton was less faithful and still less close to the original than he was in his translation of The Arabian Nights. Burton's version of The Garden is a mere

1. During a visit to Damascus I was fortunate enough to find a manuscript of The Perfumed Garden at Al-Zahiriah Library. All comparison between Burton's translation and the Arabic original will be based on this manuscript, and all reference to the Arabic original of The Garden will be made to this manuscript.

rendering of the book in English. The comparison reveals many omissions and many more additions to the material of the original. Walton pointed out in his "Introduction" to the 1963 edition of Burton's Perfumed Garden that some modifications were made in that edition.¹ He said that four names for the male sexual parts and five names for the female sexual parts were omitted "because it was felt that the particular examples were too coarsely humorous, in a sense not easily appreciated by the Western mind." He also said that the chapter on abortion² and four Indian love positions were omitted on account of their being impractical and dangerous. The other omissions he made were "The Story of the Man who was made a Cuckold by his ass," and "The Story of the useless precautions," both from the chapter "On the Deceits and Treacheries of Women." The first because it throws no light on the subject and might offend the taste of many readers. The second because it had appeared in a better context and form in a French book, Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles.

Burton's knowledge and interest in pornography could not have been more useful to him than when he translated The Perfumed Garden. No doubt Burton included all such knowledge which he had picked up in India, Egypt, Arabia and Syria. Details of the differences between Burton's version of The Garden and the original will be given in an appendix at the end of this work.³ It is enough to point out here that the poetry in the translation does not always correspond exactly with that of the original. Some poems in the original are missing in the translation. At the same time there are several

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1. Burton, The Perfumed Garden, p.49
 2. Chapter 16 in the Arabic original.
 3. See Appendix V.

verses in the translation that are not in the available Arabic original of Nafzawi's Garden. Many of the poems in Burton's translations are a line or two shorter than the original and some have an extra line. But what really makes it justifiable to point an accusing finger at Burton is the inclusion of some twenty-five Indian love positions. In chapter six he says "There are other positions beside the above named in use among the peoples of India." "It is well," he continues, "for you to know that the inhabitants of those parts have multiplied the different ways to enjoy women, and they have advanced farther than we in the knowledge and investigation of Coitus."¹ Obviously this is Burton's statement because it echoes many of his footnotes in The Arabian Nights, in style, content and tone. It is Burton and not Liseux² because this statement portrays a side of Burton's interests, experience and youth. It is Burton and not Nefzawi because the Arabic original of The Perfumed Garden does not deal with the Indian art of love or mention any of these positions. Another example of Burton's insertions occurs in chapter seven³ where he gives advice to young men against copulation with old women warning them that making love to old women has fatal consequences:

Be on your guard and shun coition with old women;⁴
In her bosom she bears the poison of the arakime.

These lines must have been supplied by Burton because they do not exist in the Arabic manuscript. Another example of additions that could be safely attributed to Burton is the inclusion of some stories in the chapter "On the Deceits and

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1. Burton, The Perfumed Garden, p. 133
 2. See Appendix V.
 3. Burton, The Perfumed Garden, p.160.
 4. "Arakime" is the plural of "Arkam" a deadly poisonous snake.

and Treacheries of Women." This chapter is much larger in the translation. It contains seven stories of which only three are found in the Arabic original.¹

Having been unable to see Liseux's French version of The Perfumed Garden, from which Burton made his first translation, I cannot be absolutely sure of whether it was Burton or Liseux who was responsible for the alterations and difference between Burton's version and the Arabic original. Bearing the interests, experience and knowledge of the two men in mind I think it is reasonable to attribute major alterations and additions to Burton and omissions to Liseux.² In the light of this hypothesis it should be pointed out that Burton rendered many valuable services to Nefzawi when he translated the Shaykh's Perfumed Garden. Besides introducing Nefzawi's name to English readers Burton's translation makes improvements on the Arabic original. The first improvement is the paragraphing of the book, for the original has no paragraphing of any kind. The prose flows from the beginning of the chapter to the end interrupted here and there by the inclusion of a few lines of verse or poetry. The

1. Those found in the original:

- a. Story of a deceived husband being convinced himself of infidelity, p.210.
- b. Story of the lover against his will, p.214.
- c. A Larceny of Love, p.215.

Those that are not in the original:

- a. Story of woman with two husbands, p.218.
- b. Story of Bahia, p.219.
- c. Story of the man who was an expert in stratagems and was duped by a woman, p.222.
- d. Story of the lover who was surprised by the unexpected arrival of the husband, p.224.

One story, that of "The man who was made a cuckold by his ass" was translated by Burton but omitted by the editor. See Burton's Perfumed Garden, p.49. Original manuscript, p51

2. For a brief account of Isidore Liseux, his background and interests see "Introduction" to Burton's Perfumed Garden, pp. 15-16.

translator also provided sub-titles for the various stories to separate them from the rest of the chapter in which they were included. In the Arabic manuscript, Nefzawi usually and uniformly began his chapters by greeting the Wazir, stating the topic of the chapter and then proceeded to give what he had to offer. The stories are inserted in Nefzawi's book with nothing to indicate their beginning or end. In the translation each story is given a separate title. This not only gives individuality and character to the tales but also makes it easier for the reader to follow the text. It must have been extremely difficult for Burton to translate The Garden from the Arabic original. The manuscript I have in my possession is hand written in the Maghribi character which makes reading very difficult indeed. Born with the language, I found it very difficult to interpret much of the contents of Nefzawi's book. Burton's translation was a great help to me in following many of the passages of the book that, otherwise, would have been extremely difficult to interpret.

None of Nefzawi's stories has its moral explicitly expressed. In the translation practically every story is concluded with a moral. "The Story of the Negro Dorerame" in chapter two, for example, ends thus in the translation:

This story presents but a small part of the tricks and stratagems used by women against their husbands.

The moral of the tale is, that a man who falls in love with a woman imperils himself, and exposes himself to the greatest troubles.¹

1. Burton, The Perfumed Garden, p.118

while the story in the original is simply ended when the Shaykh says:

And this is the least of what happens of women's wiles and their trickery against their husbands, and you must know that a man who falls in love with any woman but his wife is sure to perish and end with the greatest of harm.¹

As we have seen earlier, Burton added new material to Nefzawi's text. This material helped not only to enlarge the work and make it more interesting, but also to clarify the original contents. Chapters six, eight and nine, for example, are much larger in the translation than their Arabic original. This increase in size is mainly due to added commentary. It is interesting to note that the commentary and clarifying materials were not added as footnotes but simply embodied in the original text. Thus the chapters were enlarged without showing any obvious indications of the additions to those not acquainted with the Arabic original. Sometimes whole paragraphs were added, sometimes only a few sentences here and there. All in all these additions helped to make the work more wholesome and more akin to the type of editing the Western reader was accustomed to. Such alteration of the original text is easily observed in chapter six, which deals with love positions. While Nefzawi was content to give a brief account of every position Burton gave a full account of the techniques of every position pointing out both its advantages and disadvantages. Burton's knowledge of Arabic and other Eastern languages came in handy in translating and explaining the names and nature of the herbs, spices and other ingredients that went into the Shakyh's aphrodesiacs.

1. Kitab Al-Rawd Al-Ater fi Nizhat Al-Khater, (In Arabic), by Mohammad Ibn Mohammad Al-Nafzawi, 11 Muharam 1310 Hijrah, p.27. Manuscript at Al-Zahiria Library in Damascus. (The translation is mine).

The Perfumed Garden is composed in a style similar to that of The Arabian Nights. It is a straight forward work carefully balanced between scientific research and entertainment. Though The Garden is totally committed to sexology and the discussion of sexual techniques, attitudes and manners it is more solemn and grave than The Nights. In fact the book had all along been praised for the seriousness with which it handled the subject.¹ While the blend in The Nights is of reality and fantasy, facts and fiction; the blend in The Garden is that of sexual scientific knowledge and amusing pornographic anecdotes. The stories in The Garden are as amusing and as engaging as those of The Arabian Nights. Their theme, however, is more uniform and constant. It is always love and sex.

The serious attitude and solemn nature of the book with the tying of its subject to religious morality were as important for its popularity as its contents. They elevated it above the cheap sex manuals and pornographic publications that were mainly smuggled into England from France and the continent in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In his admirable "Introduction" to The Perfumed Garden Walton gave a brief but general survey of sex and pornography in the East and West. He was careful to point out the serious and practical attitudes adopted by the people of the East towards this delicate and important subject.² The main advantage sex manuals of the East have over those of the West is their ease in handling the topic,

1. Burton, The Perfumed Garden, pp. 28, 38, 68 and 70. In his "Introduction" Nefzawi warns that the book is not for those who would not approach it seriously.

2. Ibid, pp. 9-12.

and in the absence of modern medical and technical terminology.¹ Walton also emphasized Nefzawi's important role in promoting the study of sexology in the West. Of the erotic atmosphere in The Garden Walton had a high opinion. He said it was similar to that one meets with in important and serious works like The Song of Solomon, and Donne's The Ecstasy. Then he added, "It is the pure, free, non-obsessional, non-guilt eroticism of the Greeks or the Elizabethans."²

The Kama Shashtra Society edition of The Perfumed Garden appeared in critical times when the tension between the supporters and opposers of easing censorship and restrictions on sex was mounting high. The controversy was waging between those who saw more harm than good in these restrictions and those who wished to see them more rigorously imposed. The mixed public reaction aroused by Burton's privately printed translation of The Arabian Nights is an example of these conflicting opinions. The attack launched on Burton by the press accusing him of immorality and lack of decency points out the views of one side;³ and the attack on his wife for burning the manuscript of his new translation indicate the attitude of the opposing side. These were times of censorship and rigid laws against pornography. Nevertheless a great deal of pornographic material was circulated in the underworld.⁴

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1. Ibid, pp. 46-48. See also Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit, p.298.
 2. Ibid, p.29.
 3. "Edinburgh Review," July 1886. See Thomas Wright, op. cit, vol. II, p.128.
 4. The Erotic in Literature, by David Loth, Secker & Warburg, London, 1962, pp. 110-14. See also Pornography. The Longford Report, Coronet Books, London, 1972, p.19. For a summary of the development of pornography in Britain see Appendix VI.

The ideas some Western writers and critics have of the East and its life are more romantic and fanciful than The Arabian Nights itself. During researches for this chapter I came across two statements regarding sex life in the Moslem East that I believe worthy of discussion and some clarification. The first occurs in Thomas Wright's Life of Sir Richard Burton. In his discussion of pornography and its effect in arousing the sexual desire of the reader Wright had The Perfumed Garden in mind when he said "Moslems read it, just as they took ambergrized coffee, and for the same reason."¹ The implication was that in the East love books and sex manuals are read in the same casual manner as people read newspapers in the West. Needless to say, this statement has not a single element of truth in it. The popular picture of the sex life of the Moslem East is elegantly summed up by Lewinsohn. "The sexual history of the Mohammadan countries," he said, "is often depicted in terms of sultry nights of love, voluptuous women of the harem, and ludicrous eunuchs."² There has always been a tendency in the West to believe that the Orient actually led a care free life, the type suggested by The Arabian Nights. The free love scenes and adventures of The Arabian Nights, together with Moslem polygamy and the material concept held by Moslems of Paradise led the West to believe that the East indulged in the pleasures of the flesh with complete ease and freedom. In fact they held the

1. Thomas Wright, op, cit., vol. 2, p.191.

2. A History of Sexual Customs, by Richard Lewinsohn, translated by Alexander Mayce, Longman's, Green and Co., London, 1958, p.102.

same view of the East as Eastern people hold of today's Europe, where, they believe, one can quite easily seek any pleasures one desires, that his own country forbids, if he knows how and has the means. This attitude of the West towards the East is not utterly wrong but nowhere reality.¹ In fact The Arabian Nights was for many centuries rejected as part of Arabic literature by many leading Arab literary figures on the ground of its immoral and obscene elements. Erotic publications in the East have always been, and still are, circulated in complete secrecy and with exceptional care for the fear of prosecution. Burton's difficulty at Tunis and Algiers in obtaining a copy of The Perfumed Garden in Arabic is a sound proof of how tight the restrictions on pornographic publications in the Moslem East are. Nefzawi was a Tunisian and, logically enough, Burton thought that he could easily get a copy of the Shayk's treatise in Tunis. The final outcome of his diligent search was that "Nobody had ever heard of it."² This situation regarding pornographic publications has hardly changed since Burton's days. In the summer of 1976 I sought in Damascus the list of Arabic pornographic books mentioned by Walton in his "Introduction" to Burton's Perfumed Garden and I had to endure the same disappointment Burton suffered in Tunis. Booksellers who have the courage to admit that they have heard of them quickly assured me that they did not have them and did not know

1. Wendell Phillips, who had a first hand experience of the Arabs assures us "that the institution of the harem as generally pictured in the West is as unknown in Oman and in most Arab lands, as courtly love in Europe." Wendell Phillips, op. cit, pp. 139-40.

2. Thomas Wright, op. cit, vol. 2, p.210.

how to get them. Not to mention the embarrassment involved when one asks a book dealer for books of this nature, I realized that I should never be able to get them directly. So I requested some friends to ask some book sellers they know personally for me, but it was of no avail. As stated above, I was fortunate to find the manuscript for The Perfumed Garden at Al-Zahiria Public Library.¹ The Nights is the only exception for the sexual scenes and obscene parts in it are relatively very few compared with the magnitude of the work. Nevertheless unexpurgated copies are rare. Completely erotic books are never easily obtained and definitely never openly sold. They are usually circulated among friends and of those only the trustworthy who are guaranteed to keep their heads and not tell anyone about possessing such a book; or if caught with it would not betray the lender or seller. Wright's implication that people in the East read pornographic literature as naturally as people in Britain read their Shakespeare or Bunyan is absolutely unfounded.

The second statement is two-fold. It occurs in the "Notes of the Translator Respecting the Shaykh Nefzawi"² that

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1. Lady Burton refers to Al-Zahiria Library as "The Arabic Library at Damascus." Life, vol. I, p.481. She says it "was a rich find for Richard." If Burton did really investigate the treasures of that library he would most certainly have come across the manuscript of The Perfumed Garden. Why he did not mention Damascus as a possibility when he was searching for an Arabic original remains a mystery. The best explanation that comes to mind is either Burton did not see the manuscript, or forgot completely about his find in Damascus or simply because the version at Damascus lacks chapter 21 which was his main interest.
 2. The Panther edition is confusing for it does not state which translator, the French or the English. The Luxor edition does. See The Perfumed Garden of The Cheikh Nefzaoui, translated by Sir Richard Burton, Luxor Press, London, 1967, p. xvii.

comes after Walton's "Introduction" to Burton's Perfumed Garden. The first part involves a confusion between the Badawi Arab and the urban Arab. The second concerns Islam's attitude to abnormal sex relations. Earlier Walton correctly stated the exalted position women enjoy in Moslem society, generally reflecting Burton's opinion given in the "Terminal Essay."¹ Then analysing the nature and techniques of the sex in Nefzawi's book, the French translator found that abnormal and, what is known today as, oral love have been left out. In an attempt to explain this phenomenon he poses a question:

Should we look for the cause of this gap to the contempt which the Mussulman in reality feels for woman, and owing to which he may think that it would be degrading to his dignity as a man to descend to caresses otherwise regulated than by the laws of nature? Or did the author perhaps, avoid the mention of similar matter out of fear that he might be suspected of sharing tastes which many people look upon as depraved?²

In the first question the French translator committed two mistakes. The first is that he attributed to Islam what it is totally free from, that is the feeling of contempt for women. It would be dwelling on a matter fully explained by Arabic scholars and orientalists like Burton, Nicholson and Arberry, if an attempt to refute this statement was made. Enough has already been said, as Walton expressed, on the respect, freedom and appreciation women enjoy in Islam.³ It will suffice to

1. Burton, The Perfumed Garden, Panther edition, pp. 32-36. See also "Terminal Essay," Arabian Nights, vol. 8, pp. 173-83.

2. Burton, The Perfumed Garden, Panther edition, p.72

3. See "Nikah," by Joseph Schacht, The Encyclopedia of Islam, 1936, vol. III, p.912.

to quote here a few sayings of the Prophet Mohammad regarding women to prove the falsity of this assertion:

Of Women:

- a - The world and all things in it are valuable; but the most valuable thing in the world is a virtuous woman.
- b - God enjoins you to treat women well, for they are your mothers, daughters and aunts.
- c - Whoever hath a daughter and doth not bury her alive, nor scold her, nor prefer his male children to her, may God bring him into Paradise.¹

Of Mothers:

- a - Heaven lieth at the feet of mothers.
- b - He who wisheth to enter Paradise at the best door must please his father and mother.²

Of Wives:

- a - "O Apostle of God! What is my duty to my wife?" He said, "That you give her to eat as you eat yourself, and clothe her as you clothe yourself, and do not slap her in the face nor abuse her, nor separate yourself from her in displeasure."
- b - A virtuous wife is a man's best treasure.³

Women share equal rights with men in Islam for self-advancement, spiritually, intellectually, morally, socially and economically.⁴

Moslem women enjoy all the civil and social rights the men enjoy⁵ even in divorce.⁶

1. Islam our Choice, compiled by S. A. Khulusi, The Working Muslim Mission and Library Trust, Surrey, 1961, p.311.

2. Ibid, p.309.

3. Ibid, p.310.

4. Ibid, p.343.

5. Morroe Berger, op. cit., p.130

6. It is easier for Moslem men to divorce their wives. But a Moslem woman can divorce her husband on the ground of immorality, bad treatment or his inability to support her.

One of the common mistakes made when viewing the Moslem East ^{is} the confusion between the Bedawin Moslem Arabs and the urban Moslem Arabs.¹ Each, being shaped by his environment and life conditions, is of a totally different character temperament and mould. It is utterly wrong and completely misleading to attribute what is characteristic of the one to the other or even to mix them. The urban Moslem softened by civilization and luxury has a completely different attitude towards his women and the manner of treating them. The Bedawin, hard by nature, roughened by the severe unrelenting hostile conditions of desert life,² and persistently driven to survive on the bare minimum of subsistence hardly has any consideration for domestic and sexual manners. His main concern is survival and raiding is his manly occupation.³ Sex is the only sensual luxury Bedawins have to enjoy. It is true that Bedawins do not have polished Western manners towards their women but certainly they preserve their respect for them. More so if the woman is of a noble family. In Bedawin marriage the noble takes the noble. If the husband happened to be of inferior nobility to that of his wife, he never forgets the fact and is always careful to acknowledge his good fortune. Bedawins, as Thesiger put it, "consider that women are provided by God for the satisfaction of men. Deliberately to refrain from using them would be not only unnatural but also ridiculous."⁴

1. See William Gifford Palgrave, op. cit., p.303.

2. Wendell Phillips, op. cit., pp. 148-55. See also pp. 10-13 ante.

3. K. Hitti, The Arabs. A Short History, p.13

4. Arabian Sands, by Wilfren Thesiger, Longmans, London, 1959, p.152.

Watching the horizon like a hawk with absolute seriousness either in anticipation of a raid or contemplating life and the brutality of his surroundings it would be out of keeping with his character to turn to his wife with the hazy eyes of passion and the soft amorous caresses of the lover. It is in his nature to be consistent in his seriousness, even in sex. Of the art of love he does not know anything except what he learnt by nature. I do not believe genuine Bedawins ever knew of the sexual techniques their brethren in the city know and practice. Their society is liberal and the two sexes in Bedawin community work side by side. But their worlds remain separate. When the time of repose comes in the evening the men gather on their own separate from the women and children. Burton tells us that when he related some stories from The Arabian Nights "The women and children stand motionless as silhouettes outside the ring."¹ The men are always in front and always come first. To the Bedawin this is a way of life. "Contempt," in the sense implied by the French translator never enters the Bedawin's attitude toward his women, as it certainly does not into that of the urban Moslem.

The second question in the paragraph quoted above again implies a confusion between the actual teachings of Islam and the practice of some Moslems. As in any other religion it would be untrue to assert that one can deduce the doctrine of a religion by observing the behaviour of its followers and adherents. Few Moslems, as is the case with the Christians and

1. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 1, p. XVIII

Jews, follow the teachings of their religion to the letter. Only the men of religion and the very pious are the true representatives of a religion. Finding permissiveness and perversion on the increase in Britain does not therefore mean that Christianity permits them just because Britain is a Christian country. What Christianity teaches its sons to follow and what they actually do are often two completely different matters.

A page earlier the French translator mentioned some abnormal sexual practices like tribades (unnatural vice between women), bestiality (unnatural sex between a human and an animal), and cunnilinges (oral sex), and wondered why they have not been included by Nefzawi though there is ample evidence that he was familiar with them. He asked, "What may have been the motive for these omissions?" The answer is simple. They were omitted for religious, cultural and social reasons. In his "Introduction" Nefzawi explicitly stated the seriousness of the work and its religious attitude. He began the book in a purely Moslem fashion by thanking God for his mercy, compassion and countless bounties:

Praise be given to God, who has placed man's greatest pleasure in the natural parts of women, and has destined the natural parts of man to afford the greatest enjoyment to women.¹

Islam like Christianity and Judaism does not encourage perversion or abnormal sexual behaviour.² Islam's attitude towards sex is very clear and straight forward. Sex outside wedlock is absolutely forbidden. This, of course, does not

1. Burton, The Perfumed Garden, p.73.

2. The Longford Report, pp. 138-149.

mean that adultery and fornication are unknown among Moslems. As stated earlier the teachings of a religion and the practices of its followers are often two different things.

From the Islamic point of view sex and sexual relation between man and woman are of the most important and fundamental aspects of human life. Islam looks upon sex as a normal natural phenomenon of human existence that can neither be suppressed nor over-looked. Careful to preserve the moral codes it set out for the perfect society, Islam outlined the relation between the two sexes very carefully and in great detail.

Human beings are by nature attracted to the opposite sex. Their resistance to this attraction is frail and weak. Once man's instinctive sexual desires are aroused by any stimulating factor it would be very difficult for him to control his emotions. His instinct will have power over his reason. He would hardly think of morality or of the consequences of any irrational behaviour for himself or his partner. Mainly for this reason Islam discouraged the mixing of the two sexes as a safeguard against temptation. "What the eye does not see the heart does not fret about." Contrary to the common belief in the West, Islam does not forbid the mixing of the two sexes if each appeared decently in the presence of the other. It rather discourages such meetings without necessary reasons. With time this cautiousness developed into the complete separation of the two sexes. Life for the women in their isolation from male society is not as depressing and miserable as some people in the West see it. They have their own world, atmosphere and preoccupations that males are not encouraged to share. The women members of a British television film crew who recently filmed a documentary film in Morocco were rather impressed by

the social set up for Moroccan women. They realised how wrong their ideas were of the life of Moslem women. Melissa Llewellyn-Davis, the director of "Some Women of Marrakesh," having spent six weeks among Moroccan women, (for men were not allowed to film women) said; "I'd prefer to be a woman in Marrakesh to being shut up in a suburb in the Western world. Moroccan women have a psychological solidarity. They don't despise other women,----- . They are not in competition with men. Making your mark is a Western notion."¹ Marilyn Gaunt, another member of the crew, never believed that she could enjoy a party without men and alcohol as she did. They found Moroccan Moslem women much more liberated than they anticipated. Ibn Sina summed up the motive behind the separation of the two sexes thus: "Three things follow from the love of a beautiful human form: (i) the urge to embrace it, (ii) the urge to kiss it (iii) the urge for conjugal union with it."² For this reason and because one thing leads to another in addition to the fact that love can be flamed by a glance, Islam forbids deliberate staring at the other sex.³

Having forbidden sex in any form before marriage and discouraged the mixing of the sexes Islam encouraged early

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1. "The Liberated ladies who live behind the veil," by Alix Coleman, T. V. Times, Jan. 22-28, 1977, pp. 13-14.
 2. "A Treatise on Love by Ibn Sina," translated with an Introduction by E. L. Fackenheim, Mediaeval Studies, VII, (1945), p.221.
 3. It is said that once Mohammad said to Ali, the fourth Orthodox Caliph, "O, Ali do not follow one glance with another glance, for the first is allowed you but the second is not." The Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs, The Development of the Genre, by Louis Anita Giffin, University of London Press Ltd., London, 1971, pp. 123-7.

marriage.¹ Mohammad called on all those who could afford to marry not to delay as marriage preserves chastity and protects virtue and diverts the mind from any immoral or illicit relation.

A code of sexual conduct is laid down by Islam for married couples to follow. They may enjoy sex in any manner they wish. They should avoid lust and unnecessary animal sensuality and sexual indulgence. Sex in Islam is a duty and a pleasure at the same time. It is a duty because it is the only means of preserving the human race. It is also a basic way of increasing the flock of the faithful and enforcing the ^{ir}ranks. Islam also recognizes the emotional involvement and sexual satisfaction and pleasure in sex. According to Islam man is entrusted with his body² by God and should in no way abuse that trust. Man may enjoy the bliss of sexual union as often as he pleases. The Qur'an says "Your wives are as a tilth for you, so approach your tilth as you like and lay up a store of good for yourselves. Be mindful of your duty to Allah, and be sure you shall meet him."³ The Qur'an reminds the Moslem that he should never forget God even when amidst his sexual pleasures with his wife and should always bear in mind that he will be meeting Him. Though The Qur'an does not explicitly forbid unnatural sexual relations, that reminder that man will be meeting God is interpreted as a warning against any abuse in the sex act. Some interpret the verse " approach your tilth as you like" as a hint from God that man can have intercourse

1. See Zad Al-Masir fi Ilm Al-Tafsir, (in Arabic), by Ibn Al Jawzi, nine volumes, The Islamic Bureau for printing and publishing, Beirut and Damascus, 1965, vol. 6, p.36.

2. Suicide is a sin in Islam. Man cannot terminate his own life or intentionally inflict any injury to his body. God has given (Body and soul) and only God can take what he has given.

3. Q. 2, 223.

with a woman in both her proper sexual parts and the rear as well. Others say that the verse only permits the freedom of choosing the sex techniques. They see in it only a permission to man to approach his woman from any side or angle he wishes providing the intercourse takes place in the woman's natural sexual parts (the vagina).¹ The argument is settled by the ample sayings of the Prophet prohibiting copulation with the woman in her rear.² A Tradition of the Prophet says "God is not ashamed of the truth, do not approach women in their bottoms."³ Another version of the same Tradition says "Cursed is he who approaches women in their rear."⁴ The Imams of the four leading schools in Islam unanimously declare sexual intercourse with a woman in her "anus" sinful. Some Moslem theologians assert that shrouding the sexual relation between the man and his wife is a basic requisite of a pure marriage. It is a sin for either partner to talk of his private sex life or relate what happens between him and his partner to any other.⁵

This brief survey of Islam's attitude towards sex explains why Nefzawi did not dwell on the abnormal sexual practices found in modern sex manuals. They are alien to the teachings of Islam and contrary to culture, tradition and social taste. The illicit adventures of some immoral and irresponsible

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1. See The Glory of The Perfumed Garden, anonymous, Neville Spearman, London, 1975, pp. 247-50.
 2. There is a detailed discussion of this point in Tafsir Al Qur'an Al-Azim, 4 vols. (In Arabic) by Ibn Kathir, Dar Ihya 'Al-kutub Al-Arabiyah, Cairo, 1950, vol. I, pp. 260-5.
 3. Sunan Al-Darimi, 2 vols (In Arabic) by Abu Mohammad Abdalah Ibn Abd Al-Rahman Al-Darimi, Cairo, 1966, vol. 2, p.69.
 4. Ibn Al-Jawzi, op. cit., vol. 1, p.252.
 5. Irshad Al-Ibad ila Sabil Al-Rashad, (In Arabic), by Zein Al-Din bin Abd Al-Aziz bin Zein Al-Din Almlibari, Takadum Press, Cairo, 1346 Higrāh, p.78.

characters like Abu Nawas¹ in The Arabian Nights and some pornographic romances where the love for boys is a prominent feature represents only the minority who drifted from the accepted tracks of morality and indulged in a sensual world of their own. Again the inclusion of such material on abnormal love would be contrary to the aims of the book stated by Nefzawi in his "Introduction."²

Nefzawi adopted a scientific approach for the book. Indeed, the subject of love, its failures and remedies from the physician's point of view, have always been a topic of interest to specialists in the East. But not the erotic.³ They wrote about it frankly, with ease and complete decency in the hope of helping those who might be troubled by problems of that kind.

Love has always occupied a prominent place in Arabic literature. Since the early days of Islam love has always aroused the interest of the leading Arab writers. The discussion of love, its nature, its motives, and ends fell to the lot of great Moslem philosophers, critics and theologians and not to hack writers.⁴ According to Moslem thinkers

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1. See Reynold A. Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs pp. 292-6.
 2. See Page 245 ante.
 3. Few erotic manuals are written with honourable intentions. The major incentive is rebellion against creed and tradition in emphasizing the animal sensuality of love at the expense of the spiritual. Some manuals composed by minor literary hacks were attributed to prominent literary figures either to boost their sale or to disrepute and discredit the man it is attributed to.
 4. See Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs-----by Lois Anita Griffin. See also "Al-Hub inda Mufakiri Al-Islam wal A'imah (In Arabic), by Mohammad Fayed Haykal, Al-Arabi, No. 204 Nov. 1975.

there are three kinds of love. Mystical love,¹ the love of God, which is basically religious and considered the highest and most profound; profane love, or earthly love, which is the basis of all human relations; and finally lust, or animal love, which is rejected by Moslem theologians as unbecoming of human dignity.

Many leading Arab writers like Al-Suyutti, Al-Jahez, Ibn Sina, Abi Hayan, Ibn Jawzi and others have sung the praises of the first two types of love. The mystical was the branch of love that fell mainly to Sufi writers and some theologians.² Profane love was mainly the preoccupation of poets and philosophers. Lust is hardly discussed in serious literature. Only in sex manuals, like Nefzawi's Garden, do we meet with this type of love. To Moslem thinkers this is not love, but purely physical sexual desire devoid of any spiritual or psychological rewards.

To Al-Suyutti, a leading Arab writer on Moslem theology is attributed the composition of a number of sex manuals like The Perfumed Garden. Walton rightly points out that this claim is refuted by many leading Moslem writers.³ They affirm that a man of Suyutti's serious nature and religious background could not have written on such a subject. The small love manual

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1. For an anthology of Mystical love poetry see The Mystics in Love, ed. by Shelley Gross, A Bantam Book, New York, 1976.
 2. See the chapter on "The Kasidah" p. 109 ante.
 3. Burton; The Perfumed Garden, p.34

entitled Kitab Rashf Al-Zulal min Al-Sihr Al-Halal,¹ attributed to Al-Suyutti proves their argument. It is based on sensuality and has no claim to the higher spiritual or moral aspirations of love. Nevertheless Al-Suyutti wrote about the medical side of sex. His book Kitab Al-Rahmah fi Al-Tib wal Hikmah,² is still a valid medical reference today. Many other writers wrote about love and sexual relations. Their writings usually covered hazards of sex, advice on nutrition, sex diseases and their remedies.³ The inclusion of such a topic in the best of books is in no way degrading to its literary or moral values.

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1. Literally translated, The Sipping of the Purely Fresh of The Licit Magic, a small sex manual of 32 pages containing the relations of 20 newly wed men of what had happened on their wedding night. This is contrary to Islam (see p.264 ante). The manual begins by pointing out the degradation of making love to boys and beauties of marriage.

Boys are loved by the degraded
In dames there is beauty and love play,
The anus is the abode of harm and faeces
And in the clitoris honey is enjoyed.

Kitab Rashf Al-Zulal min Al-Sihr Al-Halal, by Jalal Al-Din Al-Suyutti, Cairo (n.d.), p.3. (The translation is mine).

2. The Book of Mercy in Medicine and Treatment, (in Arabic), by Jalal Al-Din Al-Suyutti, Beirut, Lebanon (n.d.)
3. See Tazkirat aulil Al-bab wal Jame^h lil Ajab Al-Ijab, (in Arabic), 3 vols, by Daoud Al-Aziz Al-Antaki, Cairo (n.d.), Vol. II, pp. 116-7. Also Tashil Al-Manafe^h fi Al-Tib wal Hikmah, by Ibrahim Ibn Abd Al-Rahman Bin Abi Bakr Al-Azrak, second edition, Milayji Printers, Cairo, 1329 Higrāh, pp. 92-103, 116-119, and 178-97. And Al-Asrar Al-Rahmanieh fi Al-Nabat wal Masaden wal Khawas Al-Hayawanieh, by Mohammad bin Ahmed Afandi Al-Iskandarani (n.d.) (n.p.) pp. 180-229 and 236-241.

No doubt Burton owed a great deal of his knowledge in the field of sexology to Arabic literature and references; just as his fame among the general public owes a great deal to this knowledge. Burton is seen as a pioneer in the field of sex studies and is referred to as "the greatest of all students of Persian-Arabian eroticism."¹ His writings on the subject are distinguished by the vigour characteristic of the man himself.² His views are often echoed and his writings are frequently quoted.³ His services to sexology are aptly acknowledged by the majority of those interested and involved in the field of sex and its history in modern times.

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1. The Jewel in the Lotus, by Allen Edwardes with an Introduction by Dr. Albert Ellis, A Bantam Book, New York, 1976, p. IX.
 2. Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit., p.296.
 3. Burton is often quoted as an authority on sex and his writings are referred to in sex manuals and magazines. See, for example, "The Perfumed Trap," by Francis Selwyn, Penthouse, 1976, vol. 11, No. 7, p.100. Allen Edwardes, op. cit., pp. 175, 181, 182 and 186-7. And The Joy of Sex. A Gourmet Guide of Love Making, ed. by Alex Comfort, Quartet Books Ltd., London, 1976, pp. 135 and 163. And "Rear Windows," article by Michael Aldous in Men Only vol. 42, Number 3, 1977, pp. 52-3.

CHAPTER VI

The Jew The Gypsy and El-Islam

He (Burton) was always writing: in the house, in the desert, in a storm, up a tree, at dinner, in bed, ill and well, fresh and tired - indeed, he used to say that he never was tired.¹

Burton was a many-sided man and had a wide range of interests as his works clearly testify. He wrote on many topics ranging from mineralogy, exploration, travel and anthropology, to religion, literature, pornography and mysticism. The Manuscripts that Burton left reveal some of his more important interests such as pornography, The Perfumed Garden, and anthropology, The Eunuch Trade in Egypt; others embodied memories of personal experiences both sweet and bitter. Of these there are the two essays El-Islam and The Jew.² In addition there were two sets of diaries, the private one in which he jotted down things that had to do with his private life or that of his wife, including his feelings towards her and his frank opinion of her. In the public or general diaries he set down his observations, especially during his travels, remarks on his public relations and anything he heard from anyone that he believed to be interesting or likely to be useful.

1. Thomas Wright, op. cit., vol. 2, p.138

2. Byron Farwell, op. cit., pp. 408-409.

After Lady Burton's death, some of Burton's manuscripts were handed over to her biographer W. H. Wilkins. In 1898 he published three of Burton's essays in one volume. It was named after the essays The Jew The Gypsy and El-Islam and the essays were printed in that order. Of these essays El-Islam, or The Rank of Muhammadanism Among The Religions of The World is the one that is of major interest and will be the centre of discussion in this chapter. Nevertheless the other two essays deserve brief discussion here for two reasons. The first is their being published in one volume with El-Islam The second because they both have something to do with the Arab world. The Jew will be discussed here because most of the material was collected in Damascus and because it portrays Burton's bitter feelings about the way his services were terminated as consul in that city. The Gypsy will be discussed again for two reasons. First because it has some bearing on Burton's character and second because it deals with the gypsies in the Arab World.

The Jew

This is the only essay among the three that Burton left completely finished and ready for printing. Wilkins believes that Burton collected the material for this essay between 1869 and 1871 while he was at the head of his consulate in Damascus. Burton, as a rule, almost always, published his works soon after completion. The exceptions were few. Of these were The Kasidah,¹ which Lady Burton says was written in 1853 although

1. See p.122 ante.

it was not published until 1880 and The Jew, which Wilkins asserts was finished by the end of 1874 but published 24 years later after his death in 1898.

Burton was a very independent sort of man. He followed no rules or conventions unless he believed in them. In Damascus he was approached by some members of the Jewish community in the city asking him, as British protected subjects, for assistance in claiming money they had lent to villagers. Before Burton's time these money lenders enjoyed the services of the British Consulate in Damascus and made the most of it. As a result, many of the poor villagers ended up in prison and the money lenders claimed possession of the peasants' lands and possessions in repayment of the debts. Burton could not see himself participating in such acts of cruelty and oppression against the defenceless villagers so he utterly refused to give these usurers any help. They were enraged and tried to stir up trouble for him in the city and make his stay in Damascus as unpleasant as possible. Finally they succeeded in bringing about his recall from Damascus.¹

Having suffered so much indignity by the recall and having seen his dreams and plans for the future² completely shattered, Burton put the blame on the Jews in Damascus and began to bear a grudge against the Jewish race as a whole. In none of his works prior to this incident do we meet with such open hatred and hostility for the Jews. On the contrary, in The Highlands of Brazil, published in the same year Burton was given the Damascus post, he praised the Jews and remarked, "Had I a choice

1. Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit., p.256.

2. See p. 80. ante.

of race, there is none to which I would more willingly belong than the Jewish-----."1

Burton's bitterness against the Jews did not wear off after he was given the consulate at Trieste. The post was not enough to console Burton and make up for the injustice done to him in Damascus. It could not compare with the Damascus consulate, it was remote from the East and had no future. As soon as he settled down he took out the notes and information he had gathered in Damascus, and at the British Museum, and wrote the essay in which he poured out all his bitterness and disappointment. As a scholar, Burton attempted to balance his criticism with praise. He attributed to the Jews immense passion, pugnacity, love of mysticism, and "excessive optimism." The Jews, he said, are bold and resolute, persistent and heroic, but also subtle and unscrupulous. Nevertheless it is evident that Burton's aim was to expose the Jews and put them in such a light as would lead to their humiliation and dishonour just as they had humiliated him by the recall from Damascus. He was out to avenge himself.

Blinded by his bitterness Burton became the victim of generalization. No race under the sun can be all evil, or all virtue; all dull or all brilliant. Burton's sweeping statements and generalizations occur in rapid frequency like an excited pulse. One example will suffice to give an idea of Burton's attitude and line of thought. When discussing the remarkable health of the Jewish race and the rarity among them of fatal

1. Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil, 2 vols, ed. by Isabel Lady Burton, Tinsley Brothers, London, 1869, vol. 1, p.403n.

diseases that other races suffer from, he remarks that "They seldom suffer from the usual infectious results even where the women are so unchaste that honour seems as unknown to them as honesty to the men."¹ Burton lost all faith in the Jews and all sympathy for them. They were to him a race of murderers who would not hesitate to strike at any other race the moment they have the opportunity. To him even the modern civilized Jew was capable of "a terrible destruction," he was "a sleeping lion---ready to awake upon the first occasion."² Burton pointed out that if the development of the Jewish influence on the world economy continued at the same rate it had when Burton wrote the essay they would before long "with a few pulsations of the telegraph, unthrone dynasties and determine the destinies of nations."³ He also stressed the vices of the race and their dangerous nature, and that they were capable of ritual murder. He listed a score of murders attributed to the Jews from 1010 to 1840.⁴

Burton knew the extent of the embarrassment that the publication of his essay would cause some of the high officials in the government and their friends; so he used it as a threatening weapon or, as most of his biographers prefer to call it "the whip" with which he was ready to lash all those that did not see things his way. Dissatisfied with his Trieste

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1. Burton, The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam, pp. 8-9. A page earlier he said "They (Jewish women) are nowhere remarkably distinguished for chastity, and in some places, Morocco for instance, their immorality is proverbial."
 2. Ibid., p.30.
 3. Ibid., p.62.
 4. Ibid., pp. 32-3 and 120-129.

post, Burton brought the essay to London in 1875 with the intention of publishing it. But, surprisingly enough, for Burton was not as a rule influenced by anything but his own will, he refrained from publishing the essay on the advice of some of his friends¹ who were endeavouring to obtain for him a K.C.B. and the consular post in Tangier. They felt that it would be unwise for Burton to make enemies of the Jews in England for their prominence in the country and their influence with the government were sure to worsen his already bad relations with the officials and wipe out any chance of promotion or of favour. So the essay was shelved again. In May 1877 Burton wrote to a publisher, Grattan Geary, saying that his manuscript on the Jews was ready, but adding, "you must tell me that you want it, or rather you are not afraid of it."² Somehow the paper was not published. When Burton failed to obtain the post at Tangier - Morocco, "the one thing," Wilkins says, "he stayed in the Consular Service in the hope of obtaining" he recopied the manuscript and was bent on publishing it. This time his wife, who was trying to get permission for him to retire on full pension, intervened. She pointed out that since it had waited so long, it might as well wait till March 1891 when his term of service ended. Then he would retire from official life and be free to publish what he liked. So, back to the shelf it went never to be published either in his life time or in that of his wife, although she once declared that she was going to publish it with some other essays. Why Lady Burton did not publish it is not clear.

1. Ibid., pp. viii - xi.

2. Quoted by Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit, p.363.

But even when Wilkins was bold enough to publish the essay in 1898 he was apologetic stating that "Lady Burton had The Jew next on her list of publication at the time of her death," and he added "In publishing it now, therefore, one is only carrying out her wishes and those of her husband."¹ Even so, he did not dare publish the essay in its complete form. He omitted the part on human sacrifice among the Sephardim or Eastern Jews, which was deemed the most humiliating and dangerous part of the entire essay to the Jews. In 1908, Manners Cutton attempted to publish that part of the essay but was prevented by Lady Burton's literary trustee, D. L. Alexander, who held that the manuscript had been only lent to Wilkins. The essay, however, even without the omitted part, has always been as Mrs. Brodie pointed out, "an ambarrassment to Burton's biographers."²

The Gypsy

The second essay of the book, The Gypsy, is a good testimony of Burton's interest and research in ethnology and anthropology. It also shows, like the majority of his other works, the great labour he put into his writings. In addition to the practical or field research² Burton undertook on the topic, he read a great deal about the subject as is evident from his quotations and references. The essay attempts to give a general study of gypsies in all lands, their origin, appearance, languages, nature, physical and habitual characteristics and their relation to one another. Burton was mostly interested

1. Burton, The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.X.

2. Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit., p.363.

in proving the affinity between the Jats and the Gypsies.

For his studies of the gypsies in the Arab World Burton relied, to a fair extent, on the writings of Newhold and Von Kremer.¹

It is not surprising that a man of Burton's nature, who had some sort of interest in everything he set eyes on, should be interested in gypsies and their peculiar way of life. Associating manliness with bodily power and physical achievements, he admired these qualities in the gypsy races. Lady Burton too was an admirer of gypsies, and her interest in them was one of the very few interests she shared with her husband. Burton began to study gypsies and collect information about them early in his life, and so did his wife. "When I was a girl in the schoolroom in the country," she wrote, "I was enthusiastic about Gypsies, Bedouin Arabs, everything Eastern and mysterious, and especially wild lawless life."² She tells us how a gypsy friend of hers, by the name of Hagar Burton, wrote her horoscope foretelling both her future life and husband to be, and how accurate the horoscope turned out to be.³ Burton's interest in gypsies was different from that of his wife. He was interested in them as a race rather than in particular individuals or in certain groups. All his life and during all his travels there was always time to spare for gypsies if they happened to be around. In Sind, India, Egypt, Morocco, Syria, Arabia and Europe Burton came across gypsies, conversed with them and learnt more and more about them.⁴ His wife tells us

1. See Burton, The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam, pp. 219, 220, 234-250, 251-2, 256-7.

2. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. 1, p. 253.

3. Ibid, pp. 251-255.

4. Burton gave a hint to his work on gypsies as early as 1851. See Sinde, or, the Unhappy valley, 2 vols, by Richard F. Burton, Richard Bentley, London, 1851, vol. I, p. 116n.

that they visited many gypsy camps together and, everytime, he was asked by the gypsies to join them and be their King.¹

It is not strange that Burton was asked by gypsies to join them and be their King, for he had much in common with them, in appearance, disposition and speech. His wife tells us that when with gypsies he spoke their language, Romany. All those who knew Burton including his wife were convinced that Burton had gypsy or Badawi blood in him.² Burton's face and eyes were strikingly like those of a gypsy. His eyes had peculiar brightness and a piercing look that seemed to penetrate into the inner-self of the person he was looking at as if to read the concealed. To some, his looks were frightening. Like the gypsies he was also very superstitious.³ "From Arab or Gypsy," Lady Burton says, "he got---his mysticism, his superstition (I am superstitious enough, God knows, but he is more so), his divination, his magician-like foresight into events, his insight, or reading men through like a pane of glass, his restless wanderings, his poetry."⁴ It was an extraordinary restlessness for a man who was not a gypsy, a restlessness which prevented him from ever settling down long in one place. He shares with them the same horror of a corpse, death-bed scenes, and graveyards. Though brave and courageous to the point of recklessness, he avoided churchyards. He had the gypsies' aptitude for reading the hand at a glance, and was

1. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. I, p.253.

2. Ibid., vol. I, p.251.

3. Thomas Wright, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 137, 251.

4. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. I, p.396.

interested in "Ilm El-Raml," geomancy,¹ an art he frequently commented on in the foot-notes to his Arabian Nights.

It was not left to his wife and friends to note these gypsy traits in Burton. He himself acknowledged this fact, and was delighted, if not proud, to do so. Writing to Mr. J. Pincherle, who dedicated his Romany version of the "Song of Songs" to him, Burton says, "I accept the honour of your dedication with the same frankness with which you accompanied its offer. And indeed, I am not wholly dissociated from this theme; there is an important family of Gypsies in foggy England, who, in very remote times, adopted our family name."²

In her biography of her husband Lady Burton says that he was affiliated to gypsies "by nature, if not actually by right of descent."² This, in a way, explains Burton's enthusiasm for the subject and justifies the labour he put into the work. It was, in a way, a search for self discovery and understanding. The manuscript and the material for it occupied one of the tables in his bedroom at the time of his death. But unfortunately it was not finished. Wilkins published the fragment as he found it, which Wright says contains many errors.³ The essay is of no literary value, and, its subject bears no direct relevance to this research. But, nevertheless, it will not be amiss to discuss briefly at this point what Burton had to say about the gypsies in the Arab World.

The essay is an attempt at a general study of gypsies anywhere. But Burton seemed more relaxed when he was dealing

1. Burton, The Jew. The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.239.

2. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. I, p.251.

3. Thomas Wright, op. cit., vol. II, p.177.

with the gypsies in the parts of the world covered in his travels. His long-standing interest in women and sex is easily traced in The Gypsy, where he describes the vigour, physique and beauty of gypsy women in general. Perhaps he is happiest in his account of the Spanish Gypsy woman. "Their women" he says, "sell poultry and old rags---and find ⁱⁿ interpreting dreams, in philter selling, and in fortune telling the most lucrative industries. They sing, and play various instruments, accompanying the music with the most voluptuous and licentious dances and attitudes---. From the Indus to Gibraltar, the contrast of obscenity in language, and in songs with corporal chastity has ever been a distinctive characteristic."¹ Then after discussing gypsy marriages and the festivities and merriments that usually colour the occasion, and the extensively high cost of such occasions that usually leave the bridegroom in debt for life, he returns to weave for us a delicate picture of the striking beauty of their women. "Spanish Gypsies," he continued, "are remarkable for beauty in early youth; for magnificent eyes and hair, regular features, light and well-knit figures. Their looks, like the Hindus, are lamp-black and without a sign of wave."¹

Quoting extensively from the works of Newhold and Alfred Von Kremer, a great deal of what Burton had to say about the Arab Gypsies was entered in footnotes. These were mainly explanatory notes particularly on the meaning and derivation of words. The Ghawazi gypsies in Egypt, Burton quotes, are "arch-seductresses, whose personal beauty makes them dangerous."² The Gypsies of Sa'id (upper Egypt)---have purely Asiatic, not

1. Burton, The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.275

2. Ibid., p.236. See also Arabic Proverbs, by John Burckhardt, John Murray, London, 1830, p.145.

African features, with dark brown skins, piercing black eyes and lank hair, also black."¹ Another gypsy tribe in Egypt, the Ghagar, Burton tells us, "practice female circumcision upon Muslim girls, bore ears and nostrils, and tattoo lips and chins."² Of the men Burton had little to say beside their character and occupation. "With few exceptions the Ghagar are all thieves. Ostensibly the men are athletes, monkey leaders and mountebanks attending several fairs. They are also metal workers and horse dealers."³ "The Nawari of Egypt," he explained, "were hereditary robbers, like certain tribes in India."⁴ The male Helebis, he says, "are ostensibly dealers in horses and asses and black cattle. They pretend to great skill in the veterinary art, but their character for honesty does not stand high with those who know them best."⁵ In the part of the essay on African gypsies Burton included the list of gypsy vocabulary compiled by Von Kremer at Cairo. The list compares the speech of several gypsy tribes in Egypt.

Whether at home in England or abroad on his travels Burton's interest in gypsies always remained alive and strong. He hardly ever missed a chance to learn more about them, and, as his wife tells us, he was one of the original members of the Gypsy Lore Society.⁶

1. Burton, The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.237

2. Ibid., p.257.

3. Ibid., pp. 256-7

4. Ibid., p. 257.

5. Ibid., p.254.

6. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. I, p.252

El-Islam

In the volume under discussion in this chapter, The Gypsy is bracketed with what could easily be considered two of the most critical, if not the most important, essays Burton had ever written; The Jew and El-Islam. The former provoked the anger of the Jews against him and won for him their hate, contempt and enmity. It also placed him in an awkward position with many people who saw the essay as an expression of his antisemitism. In the latter Burton's position as far as the Jews are concerned did not improve at all. While in The Jew he exposed them as a wicked race, in El-Islam he pictured them as a people mentally unfit for receiving and cherishing divine guidance. At the same time Burton's essay El-Islam won for him the hostile reaction of many Christians who saw the essay as a mere exaltation of Islam at the expense of Christianity; or, as Wright put it, "mainly a glorification of the crescent at the expense of the Cross."¹ In addition to the fact that The Gypsy and El-Islam were unfinished, I believe the volume was never reprinted because not many people could share Burton's humour in The Jew and El-Islam.

In order to show the "Rank of Muhammadanism among the religions of the world," Burton had to dwell at great length and in some detail on the development of religious thinking from the creation onwards. This, naturally, occupied much of the essay. His discussion of Judaism and then of Christianity stating the reasons for their rise and decline, and the logical needs for the rise of a new religion, left comparatively little space for his discussion of Islam.

1. Thomas Wright, op. cit., vol. II, p.130.

Burton's arrangement is in a way acceptable and logical since his aim was to show the position that Islam holds in the scale of the religions of the world. Nevertheless, one cannot help but feel that, since this was the first and only time he attempted to write directly about Islam - a religion for which he cherished a high respect and deep admiration, and which helped to shape his ideas and attitudes - Burton let the opportunity slip and did not exploit it to the full. Burton, without doubt, was a man who thought highly of Islam and defended it at all levels. He explained the misunderstanding and wrong interpretation of the religion of Islam in Europe, which he says was due to "profound ignorance." The discussion of Islam in this essay is to a certain extent personal. It indicates Burton's attitude towards the various schools of Islam and its sects. Burton could easily have adopted a wider approach to the subject and talked more about Islam itself; its laws, its rites and its teachings. This could have at least provided a genuine picture of the "saving faith" to Europe. Instead, Burton concentrated on particular topics in Islam such as the question of polygamy, confession and the position of man in the order of beings. These aspects he was not satisfied with in relation to Christianity.

El-Islam begins by presenting a general and brief idea of the concept of God among the ancient pagans. Burton's extensive knowledge and experience are put to use straight away. Burton disagrees with Plutarch that man everywhere has known some sort of God and practised some form of religion. Burton's explorations in lands not seen by a whiteman before and his experience with primitive people and savages led him to assert that Plutarch's statement is not entirely true. "The necessity

of a Demiurges - a Creator" - he explains "so familiar to our minds is strange to savages."¹ Then with the passing of time, man, Burton says, felt a necessity for a guiding force or figure. But the mental capabilities of primitive man were limited and thus he was unable to speculate on the metaphysical or to go beyond his material surroundings into the spiritual world. Man looked only at physical nature around him. Some races worshipped the sun, some the moon, some fire, some thunder, some trees and others stone. Having later developed the power of extending his thoughts beyond his material surroundings and contemplating what might be behind them, man felt that the Gods he had believed in so far did not have the glory and sublimity that befit an all supreme Creator. In fact all his early notions of the Gods fell short of his needs and failed to provide him with the spiritual ease and comfort he so much needed. They were not awesome enough. This search for the true God brings to mind the story of the Prophet Abraham in The Qur'an. Abraham's people worshipped the sun and the moon and the stars. Abraham was not happy with what they worshipped because he did not see in any of them the glory and awe he believed a God would have. After long contemplation of nature and its creator he said to his people "Oh my people, I am free from what you believe in. I have directed my soul to him who has created heaven and earth, and I am not of those who associate partners with God."² Burton says that this worship

1. Burton, The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.289

2. Q.6. 25-30. See The Quran, Arabic text with a new translation by Muhammod Zafrulla Khan, Curzon Press, London, 1971, pp. 126-7.

of nature led to the worship of nature's creator, the all supreme God.

Burton then moves on to relate the story of Moses' struggle with his people, the extent of his mission, his efforts, the hardships he went through and the results he achieved. He stresses that Moses was the Prophet of a particular race and not of humanity as a whole. Discussing and analysing the teachings of Judaism, he says, "Moses, then, was essentially a benefactor to the Hebrews, but he was not a benefactor to man."¹ The Hebrews, according to Burton, were a race of brick-making slaves, debased by slavery.² Being thus, they lost faith in themselves, which made Moses' mission the more difficult; for he was concerned with raising the morale of his people and strengthening their confidence in themselves. According to Burton, Moses, whose aim was to make his people a holy nation of priests and worshippers of "the One Supreme," met with utter failure for "the Hebrew mind was thoroughly unfitted to receive pure truth."³ Moses worked hard and patiently in serving his people and what he left to his followers was "the essence of old Oriental learning---- the most interesting document of the kind ever penned by man."⁴ Nevertheless, Moses' failure to provide an original idea of the future, and to visualize an adequate system of rewards and punishment "was the great defect in his grand scheme."⁵

1. Burton, The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.313

2. Ibid., pp. 304-5.

3. Ibid., p.306.

4. Ibid., p.311.

5. Ibid., p.312.

Many of Burton's critics and biographers are inclined to feel that all his life he tended to more and more critical of Christianity and sympathetic to Islam; or, in other words, he was more Mohammadan than Christian.¹ Had Burton been really so, he would have embraced Islam as many people in the West from all walks of life have done.² Being the man he was, I do not think anything or anyone could have stopped him. But he never did, for he was a true and zealous Christian deep at heart.³ His concern over the Shazlis in Damascus was the main factor behind his downfall there. In reply to a letter from the missionary representatives in Damascus, he wrote:

----Meanwhile I recommend to your prudent consideration the present state of affairs in Syria. A movement which I cannot but characterize as a Revival of Christianity, seems to have resulted from the peculiar action of the authorities, and from the spirit of inquiry awakened in the hearts of the people. It numbers its converts by thousands, including men of high rank, and it is progressing even amongst the soldiery. I need hardly observe that it is the duty of one and all of us to labour in the grand cause of religious toleration and to be watchful lest local and personal interpretations are allowed to misrepresent the absolute rights of all converts to life and liberty.⁴

This passage speaks for itself. It reveals that side of Burton

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1. Lesley Blanch went as far as to assert that "While Burton tried to maintain a scrupulous detachment in his dealings with the Moslems, it was impossible for him to conceal his preference for them over the Jews and Christians." The Wilder Shores of Love, by Lesley Blanch, Readers Union, John Murray, London, 1956, p.83.
 2. See Islam Our Choice, compiled by Dr. S. A. Kuhlusi, The Woking Muslim Mission & Literary Trust, Woking, Surrey, England, 1961.
 3. In The Pilgrimage, Burton expressed how he would like to see Christianity advance in Egypt. See p. 45 ante.
 4. Quoted in Richard Burton, Explorer, by Hugh J. Schonfield, Herbert Joseph Limited, London, 1936, p.256. For details of Burton's involvement with the Shazlis see Isabel Burton, Life, vol. I, pp. 546-69.

which very few people were aware of. It reflects his true and genuine Christian qualities. Burton defended Islam and attempted to bring about a better understanding of it among his countrymen. But when it came to the crunch he stood by his Christian principles and was all in favour of helping the "lost Shazlis" to become Christians. He was a bold and honest Christian who never hesitated to express what he felt about anything including other religions regardless of the public attitude. In El-Islam he had nothing but reverence and respect for Christianity and Jesus. True, he was dissatisfied with the men of the church, of all sects, for he felt they were not doing justice to the religion and teachings of Christ. On more than one occasion Burton expressed the view that the negligence of the churchmen was the main factor in tarnishing the name of Christianity. Stating the reasons for the decline of Christianity in the East, Burton puts the blame on the church. "The Church," he says, "was distracted by the forwardness of her children, and the Religion of Love was dishonoured by malice and hate, persecution and bloodshed."¹ Christianity itself is "a religion of the highest moral loveliness."² It is a religion that abounded in "principles of almost superhuman beauty, often couched in highly poetical language, principles not the creation of one mind, but the current coinage of philanthropy from time immemorial."³

Speaking of the mission of Jesus, Burton said, it was to establish and confirm the law of Moses. But unlike Judaism,

1. Burton, The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.319.

2. Ibid., p.315.

3. Ibid., p.316.

the teachings of Christ were not for the Jews only but for mankind as a whole. He said Christ was met with a hard and determined opposition for his tenets were offensive to the ruling factions at Jerusalem and the spirituality he advocated could not compete with the materiality and glamour of the wealth the Jews were led to expect in life by former preachers. So he was popular neither with the rulers nor with the crowds.¹ Burton was of the opinion that Jesus, perhaps very much concerned about introducing spirituality as an essential aspect of life, overlooked some of the essential material factors that were important to the people and equally important to the continuity and popularity of the religion. The neglect of some of the necessary material aspects in life such as "details of ablution, dietetics, and even formulae and positions of prayers."² was of major significance in the initial struggle of Christianity and the reason for its lack of popularity in the East. According to Burton it was St. Paul's daring hand that saved the religion. His amendments and declarations not only severed the remaining ties "connecting Christianity with Judaism," but helped to balance the tenets of Jesus and thus produce a Christianity that was a complete religion capable of standing alone on its own feet. He provided the new religion with what was necessary for its universality and spread.³

The way in which Burton presented the development of religious thinking and practice in the world, corresponds in some respects with the Moslem belief concerning the development of heavenly religions and ideas of God. Moslems believe that

1. Ibid., pp. 314-16.

2. Ibid., p.316.

3. Ibid., pp. 317-18.

religions complete one another like the sequence of any line of evolution. The shortcomings of the earlier religion are corrected and made up for in the new. Christianity improved on Judaism by introducing and emphasizing the spiritual side of life; and Islam came to provide what the founders of Christianity overlooked.¹ Islam was careful to observe daily prayers, ceremonial cleanliness and eating habits. These aspects are of great importance, and sometimes fatal, in their consequence for the religion as a whole and also for the people's attitude towards, and belief in, its practicality particularly in the East.

Believing in all the other Prophets and Messengers of God is an essential and fundamental principle of Islam.² Moslems are directed by The Qur'an to believe in them all. But while their belief in these Prophets and Messengers is firm, their attitude towards the scriptures they left is not so certain. They believe that only The Qur'an is preserved unaltered as dictated by God through his Prophet Mohammad. They believe the other scriptures suffered one of two fates:- they were either lost completely like those of the ancient Prophets, or altered and rewritten by men as was the Bible. While not believing in the divine nature and origin of the existing versions of the Bible, Moslems have unquestionable faith in the divine birth of Jesus Christ. "The Muslims," says Luther,

1. Ibid., p.338.

2. See Muhammad and Christ, by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Printed at the S.P.C.K. Press, Vepey, Madras, 1921, p.1.

"pay the most honourable testimony to Jesus Christ."¹

Moslems respect all religions as they do their own, for they are all the religions of one and the same God. An English author, Bosworth-Smith,² relates that in the past a Christian who embraced Islam began to blaspheme Christ, imagining that this would please his new co-religionists. Thereupon his Moslem hearers brought him before the magistrate who condemned him to death. Islam had always considered Christianity a sister religion. The Moslem reverence for Christianity can be seen in the fact that after the coming of Islam Jerusalem was for many years made "the point towards which the prayers of the believers should be directed."³

Another example is the sharing of the cathedral of St. John in Damascus by Moslems and Christians for prayers for eighty years,⁴ after the city had been conquered by the Moslems. Unable to tolerate the ringing of bells and the singing and chanting of the Christian service, for the Moslem worship is on the whole silent, the conquerors did not throw the Christians out nor did they stop them from praying. They might have done so. Instead they quitted the church themselves, and left the Christians alone in their worship. In fact many

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1. The Table Talk of Martin Luther, trans. and edited by William Hazlitt, H. G. Bohn, London, 1855, p. 359. See also The Ideal Prophet, by Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din, Foreword by Lord Headley, The Basheer Muslim Library, "The Islamic Review Office," The Mosque, Woking, 1925, p.4. And the excellent article "Al-Sayed Al-Maseeh fi Shi'ri Shawki," by Dr. Ahmad Abd Al-Rahman Isa, Al-Arabi, no. 181, Dec. 1973, pp. 154-161.
 2. Muhammed and Muhammedanism, by R. Bosworth Smith, second edition, Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1876, p. 269. See also Jesus in the Qur'an, by Geoffrey Parrinder, Faber & Faber, London, 1965.
 3. Bible and Islam, by H. P. Smith, Nisbet and Co., London 1897, p.39.
 4. The Preaching of Islam, by T. W. Arnold, Constable & Co., London, 1913, p.5.

Moslem dignitaries built churches. A Moslem general, whose mother was a Christian, had a church built for her.¹ Islam's insistence on the caring for one's parents and especially the mother is seen in the Tradition of the Prophet which says, "If your Christian mother is infirm and cannot walk, carry her on your back (that is, if you cannot afford to drive her) to her church."² The Tradition also reflects the attitude of peace and respect the Prophet had taught towards Christianity. Burton realized that there was no hostility in Islam against any other religion and was eager to point that out.

With their attention and research fixed on Burton the explorer, traveller, diplomat and writer, most of his biographers tend to skip lightly over the spiritual side of his nature, and his interest in religions. Even the account of his journey to Mecca is looked upon, by many, as his greatest and most adventurous travel book. The general idea of Burton is that he was a man of no religion.³ Having openly expressed his belief that none of the religions of the world is complete enough to meet all man's spiritual and material needs,⁴ one would not expect any devotion to one faith on the part of Burton. This belief in the shortcomings of the religions of the world, did not, as might have been expected, keep Burton from wanting to learn more and more about them. His wife tells us that "he never missed the chance of a pilgrimage

1. Ibid., p.59

2. Quoted in The Crescent Versus The Cross, by Halil Halid, Luzac & Co., London, 1907, p.22.

3. Byron Farwell, op. cit., p.91.

4. See pp. 287 - 8 ante.

to any holy Shrine."¹ One of the first things Burton usually attempted to learn about any new people he came across in his travels was their religion. His active interest in Eastern religions is well known. And when in Great Salt Lake City, Burton asked to be admitted to the Mormon fold.² He was convinced that knowing the religion of a people is the best way to understand them and establish good relations with them. In his search for "Truth" Burton studied all the religions he came across, took what he believed best in each one of them, and, as his wife asserts, practised it.³ By birth he was a Protestant and in India he "studied Hinduism with such thoroughness that soon he was as familiar with the religions as any foreigner could be."⁴ There he was also initiated into Sikhism by an old priest.⁵ Dissatisfied with the Protestant church he sometimes attended the services of the Catholic church, and at the time of his marriage he called himself an agnostic. Moslem Sufism was the religion he resorted to in moments of depression; and his interest in, and practice of, Islam are well known. Besides, though he did not actually practise them, he was acquainted with various other religions such as Judaism, and the religions of the pagans and of the ancients. Burton was of no single religion. He lived as a man of all religions and of no religion at all and died as such. He practised them all but belonged to none. In fact he said that he chose the name Abdullah, the slave of God, because it goes well with all religions.⁶

1. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. II, p. 283.

2. Fawn M. Brodie, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

3. Isabel Burton, Life, Vol. II, p. 546.

4. Byron Farwell, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

6. Burton, Arabian Nights, vol. 3, p. 440, n.1.

Travellers and explorers, moving from one part of the earth to another, and mixing with different people and races, are often obliged to take up a study of certain aspects of the area they intend to work on next, such as language, customs, beliefs, attitudes and the like. Such preparations help them in their exploration and investigation and make their labour easier and more fruitful. Once their task is over and the mission is accomplished, most of the material and knowledge the traveller equipped himself with before the journey is forgotten or replaced by fresh knowledge or a new line of interest. The rest fades away with the years and very little of the knowledge that made the journey or expedition possible and contributed to its success, remains in the memory or comes to mind at moments of recollection. But Burton's study of Islam and Arabic was not of this sort. He started studying them from early manhood, and his interest in them never subsided to the end of his days.¹

The East, "that classic land of the supernatural,"² had irresistible attraction for Burton. With his heart set on a future career in the East, while still at Oxford, he began to study Arabic. Some years later in Sind, having mastered enough Arabic, he studied Islam with other religions. Burton had always been enthusiastic about religion, and as noted earlier in this chapter, his over enthusiasm at times landed him in deep trouble.

Such deep and earnest study of Islam in early life influenced Burton's attitudes and shaped his opinions about

1. Burton's interest in the East was initiated by the study of Arabic in his teens while at Oxford; and the last works of his life were on Arabic and Islamic topics, The Arabian Nights, The Perfumed Garden and El-Islam.

2. Burton, The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam, p. 102.

Moslems and their religion. Islam as a religion, and Moslems for that matter, never ceased to appear in his writings and comments. In A Mission to Gelele King of Dahome Burton often draws a comparison between the appearance, manners and behaviour of the Moslems and the Kafirs, which is always in favour of the former.¹ In First Footsteps in East Africa, or An Exploration of Harar, he dwells on the customs of the Moslems in East Africa, discusses some of the schools of Islam.² and describes the Friday prayers in the mosque.³ In the same book he relates how his knowledge of Islam helped him to settle an argument about the order of beings, and to convince his listeners that in Islam Man ranks highest, then come angels and finally geni.⁴ Then he tells us how his authority as a Moslem theologian was finally established when he produced his master Sufi diploma, and how "Shaykh Jami-----owned himself (his pupil)"⁵ Wherever he went Burton was fond of testing and using his knowledge about Islam. Drake-Brookman relates that Burton once led the prayers in a mosque in Zayla.⁶ Islam formed a prominent feature of the foot-notes to his Arabian Nights⁷ and occupied a fair part of the "Terminal Essay." It was also the centre theme of The Kasidah and The Pilgrimage.

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1. Burton, A Mission to the King of Dahome, vol. I, pp. 264-66; Vol. II, pp. 45-6, 118 and 216.
 2. Burton, First Footsteps in East Africa, pp. 9, 10, 37, 114-5.
 3. Ibid., pp. 61-63.
 4. Ibid., p.349.
 5. Ibid., p.372.
 6. British Somaliland, by R. E. Drake-Brockman, Hurst and Blackett, London, 1912, p.24.
 7. See, for instance, vol. II, pp. 104-110; p.305, note 1; p.404, note 1; Vol. III, p.340, note 1; p.374, note 3; Vol. IV, p.120, note 1; p.144, note 1, p.370, note 2; and Vol. V, p.33, note 1 and p.255, note 2. Many other examples can be given. See also "Terminal Essay."

In El-Islam Burton's defence was divided between Islam and its Prophet Mohammad. One of the major motives behind writing the essay, it seems, was the misunderstanding of the religion and its Prophet common in the West in the 19th century. This attitude however was by no means new. In fact it was the fruit of centuries of apprehension and distrust. The further we go back in history the worse the tension gets among Christians in the West regarding Islam and its threats to Christianity. It is not the aim of this research to go into the history of Islam in England especially when the topic has been adequately dealt with by writers like Byron Porter Smith and others.¹ Smith has given a survey of the reputation of Mohammad and Islam in English literature from the Middle Ages to the middle of the 19th century. He also pointed out the marked improvement the attitude in England towards Islam and its Prophet underwent during this period. In the past, especially in the Middle Ages, many stories about Mohammad, his origin, life and character were fabricated to debase him and degrade the religion he established.² Of all such stories the one about his suspended iron coffin seems to have been the favourite with most writers. It certainly persisted long after most of the others were forgotten. This legend was exploited by many leading writers like Marlowe,³ Addison,⁴ and Prior.⁵

1. See Byron Porter Smith, op. cit., "Preface."

2. Ibid., pp. 1-18.

3. Tamburlaine The Great, in two parts, by Christopher Marlowe, Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 1930, p.190, part 2, I, ii, 62-67.

4. See Spectator No. 191, Oct. 1711

5. Poems on Several Occasions, by Matthew Prior, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1905, p.229.

By the 18th century most of these legends about Mohammad died out. Nevertheless new grounds for criticism were furnished. Misunderstanding Islam's emphasis on the importance and benefits of reading The Qur'an, writers like Shaftesbury alleged that "The Mahometan clergy" suppressed "all true Learning, science; and the politer Arts," for the purpose of leaving "their SACRED WRIT the sole standard of literate performance."¹ Some writers, out of ignorance, attributed to The Qur'an material which it does not contain.² Others, like Crozier, deprive the Moslems of any intellectual capabilities. When Islam's "first burst of fanaticism had subsided," he says "and its secret structure began to reveal itself, it was found to be incapable of expansion, devoid of sympathy, and fatal to material and intellectual achievement."³

Many 19th and 20th centuries writers like Lane and Burton wrote about Islam with the intention of pointing out its merits and depicting its peaceful nature in the hope that this would automatically lead to sounder relations with the Moslem East. But it was of no avail among the more fanatical of the Christians. Missionaries, for instance, still fostered the

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1. Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, 3 vols. by Third Earl of Shaftesbury (Anthony Ashley Cooper), 5th ed., John Darby, London, 1732, vol. III, p.235.
 2. See Some Years Travels into Divers Parts of Africa and Asia the Great, by Sir Thomas Herbert, Printed by R. Everingham for R. Scot, T. Basset, F. Wright and R. Chiswell, London, 1677, pp. 262-67.
 3. Civilization Progress, by J. B. Crozier, Longman & Green & Co., London, 1885, p.431. Compare this statement with what Burton had to say about the Syrians' intellectual capabilities. Unexplored Syria, vol. I, p.XIII. Many writers praised the Moslem intellectual capabilities and their love for learning. See Haili Haid, op. cit., p.23. And History of the Conflict between Religion and Science, by John William Draper, Henry S. King & Co., London, 1875, chapter five.

hatred and fear of Islam that was generated by the Crusades and many centuries of misunderstanding and isolation. A scholarly advocate of the spread of the Christian ideals in the East says "Muhammedanism is perhaps the only undisguised and formidable antagonist of Christianity. From all the varieties of heathen religions Christianity has nothing to fear---. But in Islam we have an active and powerful enemy."¹ Such missionaries not only advocated hostility against Islam but were out to suppress it wherever they could.² Islam was to them a plague, "a mighty system invented by the devil to counterfeit the Gospel, a master-piece of satanic ingenuity."³ With such attitudes and hatred their aim was to wipe out Islam. They believed that Islam was crumbling and that they would succeed in abolishing it.⁴

On the other hand there were many writers, most of whom had travelled among Moslems, who expressed a kind opinion of some

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1. The Mohammedan Controversy, by Sir William Muir, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1897, p.2.
 2. See for example, New Lights on Dark Africa, by Dr. Carl Peters, Ward and Lock, London, 1891, p.403. A short account of the historical development and present position of Russian Orthodox Missions, by Evgeny K. Smirnov, Rivingtons, London, 1903, p.10. And Life of Lord Lawrence, 2-vols., by R. Bosworth Smith, Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1883, vol. II, p.248.
 3. Essay on the Prevailing Methods of the Evangelization of the Non-Christian World, by R. N. Cust, Luzac & Co., London, 1894, p.266.
 4. See The Evangelization of the World in this Generation, by John R. Mott, Student volunteer movement for foreign missions, New York, 1865, p.145. See also Duncan B. Macdonald's works, Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory, George Routledge & Sons Ltd., London, 1903; The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1909, pp. 37-9, and Aspects of Islam, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1911, p.12. And The Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam, ed. by J. H. Oldham, Oxford University Press, London, 1915, pp. 6-7.

aspect or another of Islam. Some praised the Moslems for their system of charity,¹ others for tolerance,² and cleanliness.³ Voltaire praised Mohammad and his qualities as a leader,⁴ and Gibbon corrected the long cherished belief that Umar had ordered the burning of the great library at Alexandria when the Moslems conquered Egypt. He pointed out that such action is directly contrary to Moslem law and practice.⁵ But, perhaps, the most impressive attitude of tolerance towards Islam among the early writers was shown by Bunyan. "How can we tell," he asks,

but that the Turks have as good scriptures to prove their Mahomet the saviour, as we have to prove our Jesus? And could I think that so many ten thousands, in so many countries and kingdoms should be without the knowledge of the right way to heaven--- and that we only, who, live in a corner of the earth, should alone be blessed herewith.⁶

In the 19th century many travellers and scholars wrote, fairly if not favourably, about Moslems and their religion.

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1. Sir Thomas Herbert, op. cit., p.25.
 2. The History of the Holy Warre, by Thomas Fuller, 3rd edition, printed by R. Daniel and are to be sold by J. Williams, Cambridge, 1647 , p.8.
 3. J. H. Oldham, op. cit., p.28.
 4. An Essay on Universal History---etc., 4 vols, by Voltaire, translated by Mr. Nugent, 2nd ed. printed for J. Nourse at the Strand, London, 1759, pp. 39-48
 5. The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 6 vols., by Edward Gibbon, ed. by H. H. Milman, second edition, John Murray, London, 1846, vol. V, pp. 136-8.
 6. The Practical Works of John Bunyan, 6 vols., ed. by the Rev. Alexander Philip, George King, Aberdeen, 1841, vol. 1, pp. 60-61.

Men like Lane, Bosworth-Smith,¹ Stanley Lane-Poole,² Carlyle,³ and Isaac Taylor.⁴ Carlyle's lecture in Mohammad was one of the best in paving the way for a better appreciation of Islam in the West. He argued in favour of, and defended Mohammad's use of the sword⁵ in spreading Islam, praised the sincerity of The Qur'an,⁶ and admired Mohammad's heroic qualities more than anything else "for his total freedom from cant."⁷

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1. See Muhammad and Muhammedanism, in which he gives a sketch of Mohammad's consistent humble good nature and tolerance, p.93. On the same point Ronald V. Courtenay Bodley says "I doubt whether any man whose external conditions changed so much ever changed himself less to meet them." The Messenger, The Life of Mohammed, Robert Hale Ltd., London, 1946, p.9.
 2. The Speeches and Table Talks of the Prophet Muhammad, chosen and translated (from the Koran), by Stanley Lane-Poole, London, 1882. In the "Introduction" the author gives an admirable account of the Prophet's nature and character, almost as good as a Moslem would have given it. See pp. XXVII-XXX.
 3. The Works of Thomas Carlyle, 30 vols, Chapman & Hall Ltd., London, 1897, vol. 5. On Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History, second Lecture "Hero as Prophet," Friday 8th May, 1840.
 4. "Mohamedanism", a lecture delivered at the Church Congress at Wolverhampton, by the Reverend Canon Isaac Taylor on October 7th, 1887, and reported in The Times, London, for Saturday 8th Oct., 1887. In his zeal for Christianity and eagerness to aid its progress and increase its popularity among the nations to whom it was newly introduced, he was bold enough to declare that "Islam has done more for civilization than Christianity."
 5. Thomas Carlyle, op. cit., p.61.
 6. Ibid., p.67
 7. Ibid., pp. 71-2.

After getting to know more and more about Islam many people felt that the teachings of Islam and Christianity run close together and differ only on matters of technicalities.¹ "Islam and Christianity as taught by Christ himself," says Lord Headley, "are sister religions, only held apart by dogmas and technicalities which might very well be dispensed with."² In our century many Arabists and Oriental scholars such as Nicholson and Arberry wrote about Islam. Their writings are very rational and balanced expressing an objective and unemotional view of Islam and its teaching.³ Compared with what had been written a century or more ago, their writings reveal how much Europe has moved towards accepting the facts and truth about Islam.

Certainly, Burton was not the pioneer in adopting an attitude of sympathy, understanding and appreciation towards Islam. But when it comes to direct and personal experience in this field, Burton, without a doubt, heads the list. He occupies an unchallenged position in that respect. In his travels in the East and Africa Burton lived among Moslems as one of them.⁴

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1. Goethe's immortal words "we resign ourselves to God. If this be Islam, do we not all live in Islam?", quoted by Carlyle in his essay, eloquently ^{EXPRESS} what many Christians have felt about the two religions.
 2. A Western Awakening to Islam, by Rowland George A. A. Winn (5th Baron Headley), J. S. Philips, London, 1914, pp.11-13.
 3. Such as The Holy Koran. An Introduction with Selections, George Allen Unwin Ltd., London, (1953), and Avicenna on Theology, by Arthur J. Arberry, Wisdom of the East series, John Murray, London, 1951, and Studies in Islamic Poetry (with text and translation of the "Meditations" of Ma'ari), by Reynold A. Nicholson, University Press, Cambridge, 1921.
 4. See in this thesis chapters on "Pilgrimage," "The Kasidah" and "Arabian Nights," pp. 7, 44, 224.

Burton discussion, in El-Islam, of the development of religions in the world occupied almost half the essay. The rest was divided between two important points. First his defence of the faith and second his argument for the genuineness of Mohammad's mission and the outstanding qualities of his prophetic nature and character. Burton "proposed to touch briefly upon the points wherein due measures of justice has not yet been dealt by philosophic and learned Europe to the merits and value of El-Islam."¹ These points cover the accusations that Islam is "a perceptive faith---adapted only to that portion of mankind whose minds ---are unripe for a religion of principles," and a "faith of pure sensuality"; the belief that Mohammad "began his ministry as an enthusiast and ended it as an imposter"; and that being "unable to abolish certain superstitious rites and customs of the ancient and Pagan Arabs," he, "incorporated them into his scheme."² Bur in the discussion Burton touched upon other equally important points, namely, polygamy, Islam's attitude towards women and the spread of the saving faith by the power of the sword.

Islam is unique in being more than a religion. As noted in the chapter on the pilgrimage (p.31), it is a way of life.³ Moslems' closeness to their religion is seen in the fact that religion does not only colour their daily life but enters into

1. Burton, The Jew The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.321

2. Ibid., pp. 322, 326, 330 and 332.

3. See What is this Moslem World? by Charles Roger Watson, Student Christian Movement Press, London, 1937, pp. 38-9, also The Faiths Men live by, by Charles Francis Potter, Kingswood, Surrey, 1955, p.81.

their literature and poetry. In every action of his daily life a true Moslem can turn to his religion for guidance.¹ This provided a unity among Moslems that is rare in any other religion or creed.² Leading Arab thinkers and theologians strongly feel that the only way for Moslems to recapture their former glory is by a sincere return to Islam. "I hope that in the end Islam will prove its strength once again, and its strength is tremendous," Dr. Taha Husein once said, "and that through it we shall find our long lost sense of values."³ Many writers in Europe were inclined to believe that Islam started weak and limited and developed with time. This, as Dr. A. H. Mahmoud⁴ explains, is not true for Islam started full of strength and vigour, a strength that is derived from the personality of the Prophet,⁵ his sincere and strong belief in his sacred mission,⁶ and the teachings and legislation of The Qur'an. It is true that like any movement it started in a small community and later spread out, but its doctrine was the

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1. Elizabeth Monroe, op. cit., p.163.
 2. See Arberry's Islam Today, p.11 and Aspects of Islamic Civilization, p.9.
 3. Quoted in Search for Tomorrow, by Rom Landau, Nicholson and Watson, London, 1938, p.43.
 4. Al-Tafkir, Al-Falsafi fi Al-Islam, (in Arabic), by Dr. Abd Alhalim Mahmoud, Maktabet Al-Anglo Al-Masreyah, Cairo, 1964, pp. 6-7.
 5. "While fully recognizing, and giving due credit to other causes," says Mason, "I believe that the personality of the prophet as understood and believed in by his followers, has been a powerful factor in maintaining the Moslem religion." The Arabian Prophet, tran. by Isaac Mason, Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai, 1921, Preface, P.V.
 6. Burton says "No; the man honestly believed, like Moses, that the voice of Allah spoke within him." The Jew The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.332.

same from its birth, right to the present day. These unaltered teachings are the true force behind the vitality of Islam and its power to defy the corroding and corrupting forces of time.¹ Burton believed in the power of Islam and its ability for endurance and survival.²

To return to Burton. In his discussion of the point that Islam is "merely a perceptive faith," he explained how the religion is one of principles and how these principles are clearly stated in The Qur'an and admirably expressed by Moslem poets. But, Burton feels that The Qur'an - like all other scriptures is not wide enough to suit the needs of the more modern and civilized communities; a comment most Moslems object to. They feel that The Qur'an has the answer to any problem that could face man at any time or age if The Qur'an is interpreted in the light and attitude of the times. In an attempt to prove that this point is not out of line with the other religions, applying his technique of comparison,³ Burton asks, "What Christian nation has ever been ruled by Christian law?"⁴ Then he points out that the Moslems have still the "sirah" and Traditions of the Prophet to resort to if they do not find a ready solution in The Qur'an. This is completely out of the question from the Moslem stand point, because it implies that The Qur'an, Sunnah and the Traditions are

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1. Some writers like Montgomery Watt see a promising future for Islam, and others like Macdonald feel that the religion is decaying and its remaining days can be counted. See Islamic Revelation in The Modern World, by Montgomery Watt, at The University Press, Edinburgh, 1969, pp. V-VII. And also Macdonald's Aspects of Islam, p.12.
 2. Burton, The Jew The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.346.
 3. See Ibid., pp. 322 and 330-1. Quite often, when comparing religions, cultures, habits and attitudes between the races of the world, Burton fails to give the source of his information and quotations.
 4. Ibid., p.324.

complementary to one another. The Sunnah and Traditions are not complementary to The Qur'an in the common meaning of the word, but rather explanatory. They explain what in The Qur'an could be incomprehensible to the ordinary man. The Sunnah presents an exemplary model for the life of a true Moslem, one for believers to follow and imitate. From his own comments, it seems that Burton was keen on establishing the divine origin and purity of The Qur'an when he said, "In that faith almost every tenet or practice to which a philosopher could object may be traced to the Sunnat and Ahadis; the Koran is wholly free from them."¹ This statement is right to a certain degree, for the Sunnah and Traditions were compiled from memory after the death of the Prophet so consequently many Traditions were attributed to the Prophet that later were discredited as inauthentic. Then he went on to insist that Islam "has existed, and can exist independent of them."² Regardless of the importance of the role of the Sunnah and Traditions in Moslem theology, and the Moslem views on them, Burton errs here by being too general. The Traditions of the Prophet are of two kinds, Al-Nabawi, and Al-Kudsi. The Nabawi, or prophetic, Traditions are those that were the sayings of the Prophet himself. On the other hand, the Kudsi, or holy, Traditions are held by Moslems to be the word of God revealed to Mohammad through the arch-angel Gebrael. These cannot be set aside for they are equal to The Qur'an in reverence, holiness, and almost in eloquence.

1. Ibid., p. 325.

2. Ibid., p. 326.

Burton's argument in his refutation of the second accusation, that Islam is merely a religion of sensuality, is both sound and admirable. Burton covered the whole field and explained every point he could think of. In his protest against the ineptitude of this accusation he points out that Islam forbids a man to look at pictures (of life) or statues. That Islam condemns the use of inebriants and would not allow the most harmless games of skill or chance; and that Islam prohibits music, dancing and poetry or fiction for any but strictly religious purposes. Burton wonders how a religion "which debars man from the charms of female society, making sinful a glance at a strange woman's unveiled face," could be charged with sensuality.¹ Having gone through the set of rules by which the Moslem must abide if he desires to be saved, like praying, fasting,² almsgiving, the rejection of unnecessary luxury, seeking after the riches of the soul rather than of the body, Burton exclaims that "Those who best know El-Islam instead of charging it with sensuality, lament its leaven of asceticism."³

While on the subject of sensuality Burton suggested that "The popular error that the Muslim Prophet denied immortal souls to women and therefore degraded them to the mere instruments

1. Ibid., p.328.

2. Mr. Kay says "Any stranger who tried to observe the hunger-stricken Ramazan, will never accuse Islam of pandering to the appetites of sense." The Semitic Religions Hebrew, Jewish, Christian, Moslem, by David M. Kay, T. T. Clarke, Edinburgh, 1923, p.167.

3. Burton, The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.328

of man's comfort and passions might also have tended to represent Islam as a scheme of sense."¹ In the "Terminal Essay" to his Arabian Nights, Burton devoted a separate section to women, and elsewhere he explained the origin of the mistaken belief held in the West that Islam regarded women as creatures without souls. Higden believed that the sensuousness in Islam was a wicked scheme of Mohammad's by which he lured people to his new false religion.² In the introduction to his translation of The Qur'an Sale refuted the "falsehood of a vulgar imputation on the Muhammadans who are by several writers reported to hold that women have no souls."³ This matter was one of the major aspects of Islam that kept the people in Europe apprehensive about it. Voltaire plainly says that the falsehood of all this is evident "yet it has all been believed."⁴

Burton pointed out that woman in Islam is not a mere object of pleasure, or a creature without a soul. He explained that the dignity of woman and her rights are rigorously preserved in Islam.⁵ Polygamy in Islam was misinterpreted in Europe as a practice that debases the dignity of women and it was also held as a proof of the "sensuality" of the religion. Burton did not

1. Ibid., p.326.

2. Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis, 9 vols., ed. by J. R. Lumby, London, 1865-86, vol. VI, p.27.

3. The Koran, 2 vols., tran. by George Sale, printed for L. Hawes, W. Clarke, and R. Collins, London, 1764. See also The Lord Jesus in the Koran, by J. Shillidy, D. D., Surrat, 1913, p.109.

4. See the article "Alcoran," in Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary, 6 vols., by M. De Voltaire, printed for J. & H.L. Hunt, London, 1824, vol. 1, pp. 67-77.

5. See Rahmet Al-Islam lil Nisa' (in Arabic), by Mohammad Al-Hamed, 2nd edition, Maktabet Al-Da'wah, Hama, Syria, 1969.

dwell in polygamy as he should have done,¹ but just drew attention to the fact that "The Muslim may not take to himself a single spouse, unless able to make a settlement upon her, to support, clothe, and satisfy her."²

The indulgence in polygamy permitted by Mohammad was not, as Thomas Carlyle once pointed out, "of his appointment. He found it practised, unquestioned, from immemorial time in Arabia. What he did was to restrict it."³ In his Sexual Life of the Arabs, Salah Al-Din Al-Munajjed points out "that our Arab ancestors were not like us. Their stand on sex was one of utter freedom."⁴ Many people in both the East and the West feel that knowing or having more than one woman in his life is natural to man. A French writer says "we have only to open our eyes, to perceive, that, in the present day, in countries reputed to be the most civilized, and even in classes reputed to be the most distinguished, the majority of individuals have polygamic instincts which they find it difficult to resist."⁵ Another Western writer

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1. Probably because he discussed the topic in several of his works, besides the "Terminal Essay" and The Arabian Nights. See Abeokuta and the Cameroons Mountains. An Exploration, 2 vols., Tinsley Brothers, London, 1863, vol. 1, pp. 208-19; and The City of the Saints, Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, London, 1861, pp. 457-63.
 2. Burton, The Jew The Gypsy and El-Islam, p. 327
 3. Thomas Carlyle, op. cit., Chapter II. See also Wendell Phillips, op. cit., p. 141.
 4. Quoted in The Arab World Today, by Morroe Berger, p. 46 from Sexual Life of the Arabs (in Arabic) by Salah Al-Din Al-Munajjid, Dar Al-Kutub, Beirut, 1958, p.6. In chapter 4 of The Arab World Today there is an interesting section On love, marriage and divorce entitled "Men, Women and Families.
 5. The Evolution of Marriage and of the Family, by Charles Jean Letourneau, Walter Scott, London, 1891, p. 136.

describes this awkward truth in the following manner:-

Man lives in a state of polygamy in the civilized countries in spite of the monogamy enforced by law; out of a hundred thousand men there would be barely one who could swear upon his death-bed that he had never known but one single woman during his whole life.¹

Polygamy not only existed in Arabia before Islam, but was known to many of the ancient races of the world.² In his very interesting book, The Family and Society, Dr. Wafi discusses all the different forms of relations between man and woman known throughout history. He is more specific than other writers on the subject for he not only discusses the various forms of sexual relations known to the human race but also states clearly where and when such practices existed. He said that polygamy was known to the ancient Saxons, Hebrews, and Arabs.³ When Mohammad began to advocate Islam, his

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1. Conventional Lies of our Civilization, by Max Nordau, translated from the 17th edition of the German work. William Heinemann, London, 1895, p. 301.
 2. Ta'adud Al-zawjat fi Al-Islam wal Hikmah min Ta'adud Azwaj Al-Nabi, (in Arabic) by Abdullah Ilwan, Dar Al-Kalam, Damascus, 1973, pp. 14-19. Mr. Ilwan says, beside other nations, polygamy was known to the ancient Chinese, Athenians, Indians, Babylonians, and Egyptians.
 3. Al-Usrah Wal Mujtama', by Dr. Ali Abd Alwahid Wafi, Dar Ihya' Al-Kutub Al-Arabiyah, Cairo, 1948, pp. 68-86. Dr. Wafi discusses the various forms of sexual relations between the sexes:
 - a - "Common Sex," where in a defined group of men and women every man is for every woman. (pp. 68-75).
 - b - "Mixed Polygamy," where a number of men and women marry as a group and share each other. (pp. 76-78)
 - c - "Polygandry," one wife and a number of husbands. (pp. 78-82)
 - d - "Polygamy," one husband and a number of wives. (pp. 82-86)

immediate concern was to purify society and cleanse it of its evils and immorality. Sexual practices among the Arabs and elsewhere were, to say the least, utterly repulsive and immoral. Mr. Awa lists no less than eleven different types or schemes of sexual relations practised in Arabia before Islam all of which are unacceptable by any moral standards.¹ As we have seen earlier, even in modern times and in civilized societies this immorality exists on a large scale. Taking into consideration the feebleness of human nature against the temptations of sex and lust, Islam realized the importance of polygamy if the purity of society is to be achieved. The reasons behind allowing polygamy in Islam fall into three categories, social, personal, and moral. The social reason arises from the fact that the number of women in most societies exceeds that of men. This is more so in the time of war. In Moslem societies women are not encouraged or permitted to live alone. So, in order not to leave these extra women, whether in the time of peace or war - especially in societies where the women do not work and earn their own living - in need of support and protection and to prevent them from being forced into the pit of vice by want, Islam permitted men to marry more than one wife. Polygamy in Islam is left to personal choice and never was obligatory or encouraged especially in normal times. This humane attitude towards women was adapted by the ancients before Islam, though the motives were quite different. In his essay "On Polygamy,"

1. Al-Usrah bayna Al-Jahiliyati wal Islam, (in Arabic) by Bashir Al-Awa, 2nd edition, Dar Al-Fikr Al-Islami, Damascus, 1958, pp. 16-24. See appendix VIII.

David Hume says, "the Republic of Athens, having lost many of its citizens by war and pestilence, allowed every man to marry two wives in order the sooner to repair the waste which had been made by these calamities."¹ The personal reasons behind polygamy are numerous.² The most obvious of these reasons is when the wife could not conceive and the husband wants to have children of his own, or when the woman is suffering from a permanent incurable ailment that makes the fulfilment of her duties as a wife and mother impossible. In these cases most Moslems feel that it is unjust for the man to divorce his wife and discard her, especially in societies where women previously married cannot easily find a husband. The moral reasons are two fold. The first is to stop prostitution and immoral sexual practices by creating the chance for every female in the society to have a roof over her head and somebody to provide for her. The second is to avoid having illegitimate children.

What should be clear here is that Islam did no more than leave open the door for anyone who felt that he should marry again. In no way does Islam ask the believers to take more than one wife nor does it force a woman to become a sister-wife. "In fact most Mohammedans in all ages have had only one wife."³ The statistics for polygamy in 1971 in Syria show the meagre figure of two in every thousand, the majority of which have been for good reasons.⁴ The subject of polygamy has always been the

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1. "Essay on Polygamy and Divorce," by David Hume. The Philosophical Works of David Hume, 4 vols., Little Brown, and Company, Boston, 1854, vol. 3, p. 200.
 2. See Abdullah Ilwan, op. cit., pp. 29-31.
 3. A Student's Philosophy of Religion, by William Kelly Wright, Macmillan and Co., New York, 1935, p. 508.
 4. Al-Islam fi Kafas Al-Itiham (in Arabic), by Shawki Abu Khaleel, 2nd edition Dar Al-Fikr, Damascus, 1974, p. 212, n.1. Mr. Abu Khaleel presents the case of the position of women in Islam in the most admirable and scholarly manner. See Ibid., pp. 204-27.

centre of arguments against Islam in the West. But as time goes by more and more writers in the West are looking at the subject objectively and academically reaching an attitude that certainly helped some to understand the real purpose of polygamy and to appreciate its true nature and social values.¹

The story of Moslem cruelty and the spread of their faith by the sword was for long a favourite among fanatical Christians. Islam was never hostile to any other religion or forms of the worship of God.² It was all against heathenism and paganism. Moslems conquered the neighbouring empires for reasons of security in the first place and also to introduce their new religion to the world. Islam never had missionaries in the same sense as the Christian ones. Moslems are asked to spread their faith by being a good example of what the religion can do for those who adopt it, morally and spiritually; by showing how it can turn the most hostile and inhumane into peace loving people with a strong sense of community and a sincere concern for the welfare of all. This it had done with the hostile pagan Bedawin tribes of Arabia. "They (Arabs) were no blood thirsty savages, bent solely on loot and destruction. On the contrary, they were an innately gifted race, eager to learn and appreciative of the cultural gifts which older civilizations had to bestow."³

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1. The Case for Polygamy; or the case against the system of monogamous marriage, by John Ebenezer Clare Macfarlane, Search Publishing Co., London, 1934, p.30 and also The Life and Teachings of Muhammad, by Annie Besant, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, 1932, pp. 3, 25, 26.
 2. See The Gospel of Islam, by Duncan Greenless, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, 1948, p.2., and also Mabade' Al-Islam, (in Arabic) by Abu Al-A'ala Al-Maududi, Kutub Kaimeh Series, no. 2, Dar Al-Kalam, Damascus, 1973, pp. 104-110.
 3. The New World of Islam, by Theodore Lothrop Stoddard, Chapman & Hall, London, 1921, p.3.

Moslems soon settled in the new lands practising their religion and letting those who preferred to retain their former religion practise theirs.¹ They intermarried, mixed with the people in a harmony hardly ever seen between the conquered and the conqueror. Non-Moslems in the new community, as in Arabia, enjoyed the full social rights and privileges bestowed on the Moslem. They had to pay only a small capitation tax.² Islam never discriminated between the Moslem and non-Moslem, either in rewards or in punishment, or between black and white.³ Everybody in the community abided by the same rules and was ruled by the same law. The spread of Islam at the point of the sword has been refuted by many Western historians as "one of the most fantastically absurd myths that historians have ever repeated."⁴ Gibbon attributes the success of Islam "not only to the 'Holy Wars', but also to its appeal as a religion which satisfied the instinct in man to worship the Supreme Being."⁵

In the "Introduction" to Islam Today,⁶ an estimate of the Moslem population outside the Arab World and neighbouring

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1. See Philip K. Hitti, The Arabs, A Short History, p.75. And Also Azamat Al-Islam, (in Arabic), by Ridwan Ibrahim, Rabitet Al-Adah Al-Hadith, Cairo, 1954, pp. 44-56. Mr. Ibrahim says "Islam's greatness springs from its democracy and love for freedom."
 2. Burton, The Jew The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.332.
 3. W. G. Palgrave, op. cit., p.173
 4. Islam at the Cross Roads, by De Lacy O'Leary, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, 1923, p.8.
 5. Edward Gibbon, op. cit., vol. V, p.28.
 6. A. J. Arberry and Rom Landau, op. cit., pp. 12-13

Asiatic countries was given in order to show the spread of Moslems all over the world. Anyone acquainted with the Military history of Islam realizes immediately, that the Majority of these communities lie beyond the limits reached by the Moslem armies - such as the communities in the Far East, in Central Africa, Central Europe, Russia, Indonesia and the two Americas. No Moslem army reached those far off places, but Islam did. Islam reached them through Moslem emigrants. It could be argued that Moslems, being victori^oans, could afford to set a good example. Then what about the army of savage pagan Tartars who conquered Baghdad and destroyed its magnificent library? No sooner had those barbarians settled down than they embraced the religion of the people they so savagely slaughtered. Many of them returned home to tell their people about their new religion, many of whom in turn embraced it.¹

The rapid spread of Islam, as Gibbon pointed out, was not wholly due to the "Holy Wars." Shaykh Abdu lists a number of factors that were more important and effective than the sword. These were the preaching of "Truth"; Islam's help to the down trodden people of the communities it came in touch with; its social justice and the equality between all its citizens;² the freedom granted in trade and in religion to all, Moslem and Non-Moslem alike; subduing the vices and immoralities of the societies, raising the morality and the confidence of man; abolishing social and religious discrimination and its advocacy of peace and love. With the finger of many historians pointed

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1. Al-Muslimun wal Islam (in Arabic) by Shaykh Mohammad Abdu, Al-Hilal Book, Cairo, Dec. 1963, pp. 182-194.
 2. Whither Islam? A Survey of Modern movements in the Moslem World, by various authors, ed. by Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb, Victor Gollancz, London, 1932, p.379.

at the Crusades, it was agreed that the sword had never been successful in making people embrace what they did not believe in. They had to be convinced of its merits and values. The Moslem armies did not remain for ever in the lands they conquered, but Islam did. These people could have returned to their former religions had they wanted to, as certainly some did, when the grip of Moslem rule began to weaken. In fact the mercy of the Prophet, his justice as well as that of his four successors is too well known to need discussion here. He was an example in his humility, mercy and tolerance.¹

Mohammad's life was an inspiration to his followers.

Talking about Mohammad Hogarth says:

Serious or trivial, his daily behaviour has instituted a canon which millions observe at this day with conscious mimicry. No one regarded by any section of the human race as Perfect Man has been imitated so minutely. The conduct of the Founder of Christianity has not so governed the ordinary life of His followers. Moreover, no Founder of a religion has been left on so solitary an eminence as the Muslim Apostle.²

Mohammad befriended his companions and followers. He never attempted to rise above them, either as Prophet, or as leader. Mohammad's strength arises from his constant unshaken belief in the truth of his mission.³ It was strong

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1. Many Western writers wrote about Mohammad's noble qualities and his strong personality and character. It suffices here to mention just a few. See Islam: her moral and spiritual value. A rational and psychological study, by Major Arthur Glyn Leonard, with a foreword by Syed Ameer Ali, second edition, Luzac & Co., London, 1927, pp. 20-21 and 338. Islam, by Alfred Guillaume, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, London, 1954, p.2. The Awakening of Asia, by H. M. Hyndman, Cassell & Co., London, 1919, p.9., and also Muhammad at Mecca, by William Montgomery Watt, at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1953, p.52.
 2. Arabia, by D. G. Hogarth, at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1922, p.52.
 3. See p. 301 ante.

to begin with and remained so to the end through good and bad times, through victory and defeat. Burton, perhaps, reaches the highest point of the essay in his account of the life and character of Mohammad. Of his forgiving nature and tolerance Burton says, "After several years' exile, he re-entered as a visitor the walls of his native city, whence he had fled, prosecuted and proscribed."¹ When the city fell to the Moslems Mohammad restrained his soldiers from all shedding of blood and declared that he who entered his own house was safe, that he who entered the Ka'aba was safe, and that he who entered Abu Sufyan's house was safe. Mohammad, then, was in a position where he could have avenged the torture and all the humiliation Koreish had visited on him, but he did not. "And when the haughty leaders of the Koreishites," says Gilman, "appeared before him he asked:

What can you expect at my hands?
Mercy, O generous brother!
Be it so; you are free! he exclaimed.²

This is the Prophet's merciful and humane nature that Burton was trying to put across to the reader. Burton also explained how Mohammad raised human dignity. How he "did away with the incestuous marriage with the father's widow," and "abolished the Wad el Banat, or the murderous inhumation of female children." How he corrected the laxity and immorality of the age "by making drinking and gambling penal offences, and by forbidding modest women to appear in public unveiled." He also attempted to curb in his people some of their rather peculiar practices like

1. Burton, The Jew The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.336

2. See The Saracens, from the earliest times to the fall of Baghdad, by Arthur Gilman, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1887, pp. 184-85.

self-mortification.¹ Burton sees in Mohammad's death-bed scene one of the most convincing moments in all his life of the sincerity of his mission.² During these moments man loses control over himself, drops his guard, and the truth in him reveals itself. "Neither they (his followers) nor Muhammad even at his dying hour seem to have doubted his inspiration. The prophet's last words were, 'Prayer! Prayer!' and, according to the Shiah, a few minutes before breathing his last he called for an inkholder and a pen to write the name of his successor. Is this the death-bed scene of a hypocrite or an imposter?"³

Two aspects in Islam were, more than anything else in that religion, the basic reasons for Burton's admiration of Mohammad and his tenets. First, the absence of priesthood⁴ and second the fact that Islam exalts man and places him high above angels in the order of beings. The religion freed the faithful from the inconvenience and embarrassment of confession. In Islam all the believers are equal.⁵ When a Moslem wants to confess he confesses to God and from Him directly he asks forgiveness. "Direct access to God, makes one of the strong appeals of Islam."⁶ In Islam there is no body of men with

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1. Burton, The Jew The Gypsy and El Islam, p.337.
 2. See Zahret Al-Adab wa Thamar Al-Albab, 4 vols, (in Arabic), ed. by Dr. Ziki Mubarak, 2nd edition, Cairo, 1925, vol. 1, pp. 66-69.
 3. Burton, The Jew The Gypsy and El-Islam, p.331
 4. The Caliphate, by Sir Thomas W. Arnold, At the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924, pp. 15-17, and also Burton's El-Islam, p.342
 5. Sir Thomas W. Arnold, The Preaching of Islam, p.416. Also The Prospects of Islam, by Lawrence E. Browne, S. C. M. Press Ltd., London, 1944, pp. 12-13. See also p. 36 ante.
 6. See The Expansion of Islam. An Arab Religion in the non-Arab world etc. ---- by William Wilson Cash, Edinburgh House Press, London, 1928, p.177 and Shifting Sands etc. (An account of the Arab Revolt during the Great War), by Norman N. E. Bray, second impression, Unicorn Press, London, 1937, n.16.

ecclesiastical power, as in Christianity, set apart for the performance of religious duties. Prayers must be offered in as much mental relaxation as possible and can be said anywhere at convenience, individually or in a group. When prayers are made in an assembly, if there is no Imam around, any one can lead the prayers, providing he is sound enough in the religion. Moslem theologians are in no way looked upon in a different light from the humblest believer except in respect for their learning and devotion to the study of the word of God. They have no power to question the inner feelings of their fellow believers nor to know their private secrets. In Islam there are no mediators, and men of religion have no divine power. Burton could not stomach the idea that there is in life someone to whom he had to unfold the inner secrets of his soul. He expressed the opinion that one's religion is one's own private affair and is of no concern to any other. Addressing the Anthropological Society of London in the 1860 s, he said, "My religious opinion is of no importance to anybody but myself, No one knows what my religious views are. I object to confession, and will not confess. My stand point is, and I hope ever will be, the Truth, as far as it is in me, known only to myself."¹

Summary

In El-Islam Burton briefly expressed his firm belief in Mohammad's mission and character.² His discussion of Islam is

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1. Byron Farwell, op. cit., p.245 and Isabel Burton, Life, vol. II, p.448.
 2. Burton's argument on Mohammad can be summed up by what a Moslem Writer said of the Prophet. "So is the great, he is born hardly known to anyone, and departs from this world unknown only to few." Mohammad, huwa Al-Mathalu Al'A,la fi Al-Kamal Al-Insani, (in Arabic), anonymous, Damascus, (n.d.), sixth section, p.16.

well directed. From a Moslem's point of view the essay is very satisfactory and excellent in some of the points it covered. It is sound in its repudiation of the accusation of sensuality and in its depiction of the character and superior nature and personality of the Prophet. His discussion of polygamy and his defence of Mohammad's use of the sword fall short of the excellence Burton achieved on the previous points. Burton could have expanded these two topics,¹ and presented Islam's complete case and argument on these important issues. Burton's irreverent tone when talking about The Qur'an is one of the things Moslems object to in the essay. Their objection is based on two points that were also repeatedly mentioned in Burton's footnotes to his Arabian Nights namely, that little is new in The Qur'an, which implies that part of its material is taken from human sources and earlier religions and civilizations. This is contrary to Moslem belief which holds The Qur'an as the unaltered divine book of God. The second is that, like all the other scriptures, it falls short of providing a complete legislative system adequate to the needs of later civilizations.

Christians, no doubt, have their reasons for being unhappy with the essay. Burton's praise of Christianity was counter-balanced by his criticism of its shortcomings. In doing so he landed the superiority of Islam over Christianity in certain areas, some of them basic, such as the condemnation of man as a

1. Wilkins attributed the fact that Burton's essay El-Islam was unfinished at his death although it was started 36 years before to the possibility that Burton "contemplated writing more fully on the subject." See Burton's The Jew The Gypsy and El-Islam, "Preface," p.xiv.

fallen creature. On this point he says:-

---we are fallen beings, fallen not through our own fault; condemned to eternal death, not by our own demerits; ransomed by a Divine Being, not through our own merits. El-Islam, on the contrary, raised man from this debased status, and with the sound good sense which characterizes the creed inspired and raised him in the scale of creation by teaching him the dignity of human nature. Thus modern Spiritualism is giving a shock to Christianity, whereas El-Islam has power to resist it.¹

The other areas of objection, as far as Burton is concerned, are confession, the system of ceremonial cleanliness and prayers in Christianity. He was particularly unhappy about the fact that Christian prayers must be offered in Church and once a week only, on Sunday. He felt that such strictness is not only a source of inconvenience to Christian worshippers but also a restriction to their freedom as well. He also pointed out that the Christian scripture is exactly what Moslems believe it to be; a distortion and a mere image of the original revelation of Christ.

Regardless of the hostility and criticism directed at Burton because of the publication of this volume, the essays are interesting and important for various reasons. The Jew is important for the light it throws on the depth and extent of Burton's disappointment and disgust with the turn that matters took in Damascus, and his hate for those who he felt, were behind that turn. The Gypsy, because of its connection with Burton's nature and character beside its anthropological interests. El-Islam, though not complete is significant for the fondness it reveals in Burton for Mohammad and Islam, and for revealing Burton's views on the topic that was to have a great deal of

1. Ibid., p.343.

influence on his life. The merits and the value of the volume as a whole lie in the fact that its contents go a long way towards explaining and revealing major aspects of the feelings, attitudes and interests of its author.

CHAPTER VII

Non-Literary Works

Not even gold could completely distract him from his many other interests, however, and he spent much time examining ruins and ancient inscriptions, inquiring into local tribal customs, collecting botanical specimens, pickling reptiles and making collections of local insects and 'other creeping things.'¹

The study of the East, its life and people was not a passing interest in Burton, but rather a life-long obsession. All his works on the East reveal an extraordinary dedication and total commitment and involvement. This dedication and love for his work in and on the East is the major factor in making Burton different from any other European who worked there. He not only had an exceptionally inquiring nature but also an incredible ability to adapt himself to whatever surroundings he found himself in and, before long, he would find himself totally immersed in it. Very few of the Europeans who worked in the East had the gift of being able to become almost one of the natives, not only in appearance but in outlook as well. When Dodge was talking of Burton's pilgrimage experience he mentioned that Burton "said himself in after-years that he actually thought as a Moslem, and for the time being really regarded all Europeans as infidel dogs."²

In addition to his ability to look and think like an

1. Byron Farwell, op. cit., p.330.

2. Walter Phelps Dodge, op. cit., p.66

Easterner Burton had an extraordinary hunger for knowledge and a virtually limitless number of interests. He never failed to find something that would satisfy his interests wherever his travels happened to land him. Whether in the wilderness of the desert, the swamps of Africa, or the top of the Andes, there was always that something which would arouse his curiosity and attract his attention. The list quoted above provides a good example. Having failed to find gold in Midian, Burton turned the expedition into one of geographical and natural history research. "From the geographer's point of view," Brodie says, "Burton's second trip to the Midian was more important than his journey to Mecca."¹ Burton often turned his dull consular appointments into exciting opportunities, and the failure of the original objective of his travel and exploration into success by his little excursions and secondary interests and by diverging from the well trodden tracks.

Burton turned a man of letters late in life.² When his strength and his ambitions were at their peak he had paid little heed to literary production of his own. Burton was widely and extensively read. He always carried out research before he set out on his feats of discovery and exploration. To his amazement he often found that few of the writers whose works he consulted ventured to go deeply into the subject in hand. "After reading all the works published upon the subject," Burton announced when he was preparing to explore Sind, "I felt convinced that none but Mr. Crow and Captain J. McMurdo had dipped beneath the superficialities of things."³ Much the same sentiment was expressed

1. Fawn M. Brodie, *op. cit.*, p.282.

2. See p. 176 ante.

3. Selected Papers on Anthropology, Travel and Exploration, by Sir Richard Burton, ed. by N. M. Penzer, A. M. Philpot, London, 1924, p.18.

in the Preface to his Letters from the Battle-field of Paraguay.

"Returned home," he said, "I found blankness of face whenever the word Paraguay----was named, and a general confession of ignorance and helpless lack of interest."¹ Providing his fellow country men with knowledge and information of little known places and races and enlightening them about little known events and topics from abroad was Burton's major and primary concern in his writings.² He actually stated that "It is an explorer's duty to record as well as to receive impressions of what appears novel to him."³ His Etruscan Bologna was written merely because references and material on the subject were not available to the public.⁴ When in Syria he found out that "although certain lines of transit have been well trodden, yet few travellers and tourists have ever ridden ten miles away from the high roads."⁵ By nature Burton's curiosity and attention were attracted to, and focused on, what others neglected or feared to attempt.

Burton's multifarious interests were in a way a major contributing factor to his fame; but, at the same time, they were the basic cause of his not attaining the sublimity and high standard he would have much loved to achieve in his writings. No man, however great a genius he might be, could be an expert in

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1. Letters from the Battle-field of Paraguay, by Richard Burton, Tinsley Brothers, London, 1870, p. VII.
 2. See the following of Burton's works. Falconry in the Valley of the Indus, John Van Voorst, London, 1852, p. XI; Abeokuta and the Cameroons Mountains, Tinsley Brothers, London, 1863, p.VI; Wanderings in West Africa, Tinsley Brothers, London, 1863, pp. VII, VIII; The Nile Basin, in II parts, Tinsley Brothers, London, 1864, part I, "Prefatory Remarks," p.6. and Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast, 2 vols. Tinsley Brothers London, 1872, vol. I, p.XII
 3. Burton, Abeokuta-----, p.V.
 4. Etruscan Bologna, a Study, by Richard F. Burton, Smith Elder and Co., London, 1876, p.VII.
 5. Burton, Unexplored Syria, vol. I, p.XII

every field of learning. But no man tried harder than Burton. He did not confine his learning and research to one field or a single line of interest. He was interested in the sciences as much as he was fascinated by the arts. This wide range of interests prevented him from ever achieving perfection in any of them.¹

Burton's writings about the Arabs, the Arab world and Islam, if taken as one topic, constitute a much greater portion of his works than any other subject he ever wrote about. The discussion of these topics and reference to them form a continuous trend in Burton's writings regardless of the topic the work deals with. Beside the six literary works² that constitute the body of this thesis, Burton wrote four³ other non-literary works dealing with the Arabs and the land they occupy. These works, nevertheless, are useful. Their importance extends to various departments of learning such as mineralogy, archaeology, anthropology and science in general.

In this category of Burton's works his writings on Midian stand out as the most important. Burton led two expeditions to Midian in 1877 and 1878 in the hope of finding gold. He was hoping to make a substantial strike and thus reward himself and his sponsor Ismael I, the Khadive of Egypt, with riches and wealth. Both trips were a failure as far as

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1. See "Introduction" to Burton's The Lake Regions of Central Africa, by Alan Moorehead, Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd., London, 1961.
 2. A Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, 3 vols, (1855-6); "Proverbia Communia Syriaca," appended to Unexplored Syria, 2 vol. (1872); The Kasidah, (1880); The Perfumed Garden, (1886); The Arabian Nights, 16 vols. (1885-88); The Jew The Gypsy and El Islam, (1898)
 3. The Gold Mines of Midian and the Ruined Midianite Cities, (1878); The Land of Midian (Revisited), 2 vols. (1879); Unexplored Syria, 2 vols, (1872); and The Guide Book to Mecca, (1865).

gold is concerned. This failure was reflected in his accounts of the expeditions. The high spirit in which Burton started his planning and made his arrangements soon turned into despondency and utter disappointment.

Though he failed to achieve his primary objective; that is to find gold, Burton wrote an account of both trips. The first, The Gold Mines of Midian and the Ruined Midianite Cities (1878), reflected cheerful expectations. The work was glowing with hope and confidence. One could hardly fail to sense Burton's joy; not so much for gold as for the idea of being once more in the desert of the land he loved so much;¹ the land that was the field of the first and greatest exploit of his life, the pilgrimage to Mecca. After his recall from Damascus he had the feeling of being imprisoned at his post in Trieste. He longed for a chance to break away from his official duties and as Moorehead says "Still the tiger paces about his cage awaiting the moment to break free again."² His first book on Midian opens with perhaps one of the most moving paragraphs Burton ever wrote. The words of which poured out from the inner depths of his heart.

At last! Once more it is my fate to escape the prison-life of civilized Europe, and to refresh body and mind by studying nature in her noblest and most admirable form - the Nude. Again I am to enjoy a glimpse of the glorious Desert; to inhale the sweet pure breath of translucent skies that show the red stars burning upon the very edge and verge of the horizon, and to strengthen myself³ by a short visit to the Wild Man and his old home.

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1. Wright affirms that Burton was not really disappointed with the outcome of both expeditions. He stresses that Burton was after the adventures more than anything else. See Thomas Wright, op. cit., vol. 1, p.281.
 2. Alan Moorehead, op. cit., p. VIII
 3. Burton, The Gold-Mines of Midian, p.1.

Behind the first trip to Midian there was an inner desire in Burton to relive the glorious days of his pilgrimage. It was a nostalgic recalling of the memory of the happy days. The second book on Midian, The Land of Midian (Revisited), (1879) was an account of the second expedition. It contained all the details of the journey - the preparations for the trip, the description of the route and the records of the findings and discoveries he had made. Both Midian books are classed among Burton's inferior writings. It is hardly surprising that they were not particularly popular. They were crammed with details of archaeological, botanical and geographical findings, not to mention the data he included on insects, plants, minerals, stones, ruins, remains and roads - all of which proved boring reading to the non-specialist. This fact Burton himself acknowledged.¹ Burton was disappointed with the outcome of the expeditions. The hopes reflected in the first book turned to disenchantment and disappointment in the second.² Both works were dull and uninspired. Like his Unexplored Syria they included everything Burton found or saw regardless of how trivial or irrelevant it might be. He paid little attention to editing and seemed to prefer to include everything he had regardless of the risks such action would have for the popularity of the work. In To the Gold Coast for Gold (1883), Burton touched on this

1. Byron Farwell, op. cit., p.340

2. Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit., p.283.

problem when he reflected;

Indeed, we travellers often find ourselves in a serious dilemma. If we do not draw our landscapes somewhat in pre-Raphaelite fashion they do not impress the reader; if we do, critics tell us that they are wearisome, longueurs, and that the half would be better than the whole.¹

It appears that Burton was wrong to side with the reader in this because this cramming of information, more than anything else, seemed to be the main reason for the dullness and unpopularity of both works.²

The two volumes of Unexplored Syria were, more or less, like the two works in Midian. The major handicap of the work is that it was written by three authors of different character, experience and temperament; Lady Burton, Tyrwhitt-Drake, and Burton himself. Lady Burton's name is not mentioned amongst the authors of the book, but whole paragraphs, from the manuscript of her Inner Life of Syria and Palestine were taken intact and used in Unexplored Syria.³ Lady Burton's book did not appear until 1876, five years after Unexplored Syria.

In short, Unexplored Syria, is a jumble of heterogeneous material. If it serves any purpose at all it shows the state of confusion the Burtons were in at the time. It shows their perplexed minds about their experience in Syria. It was a habit of Burton's to write about places he had been to and about what he did and had seen there. Burton must have been sick to the heart with what happened in Damascus. Yet he could not but write about his explorations in Syria. Probably,

1. To the Gold Coast for Gold, 2 vols., by Richard F. Burton and Verney Lovett Cameron, Chatto & Windus, London, 1883, vol. 1, p.X.

2. Byron Farwell, op. cit., p.340

3. See Ibid., p.299 and Fawn M. Brodie, op. cit., p.270.

torn between the two equally strong impulses of writing about his experiences in Syria, on the one hand, and wiping the memory of that phase of his life completely from his mind, the result was a work lacking in harmony, interest and purpose. It has hardly anything exceptionally interesting even to the scientist or specialist. Nor has it anything particularly amusing for the general reader. The two volumes were a compilation of the accounts of explorations and excursions that Burton made in the twenty-three months he was in Syria.

Although Damascus was one of the posts Burton liked very much, he could not force himself to play the role of the diplomat he was supposed to be. He could not subdue in himself the spirit of the adventurer and explorer. "Newly transferred to Syria and Palestine," he explained, "I imagined - as many would do the same - my occupation as an explorer clean gone."¹ Finding that most tourists and travellers before him behaved as they should and stuck to the beaten paths, the devil in him began to stir again. The chance of doing something nobody had done before began to gleam before his eyes. As usual, at the expense of his consular duties, he conducted excursions to the desert and wilds of the country collecting notes and gathering information about, and specimens of, practically everything he laid eyes on, from skulls and stones, to plants and inscriptions.

On the whole, Unexplored Syria, is a collection of geographical, anthropological and archaeological information. The geographical interest of the book is, perhaps, more prominent and important than the rest. Of the seven appendices,

1. Burton, Unexplored Syria, vol. I, p.XII.

and for that matter the book as a whole, only appendix II of volume one is of any literary interest. It deals with the collection of Syrian proverbs.¹

The fourth book in this category of Burton's works is The Guide Book. A Pictorial Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medinah (1865). Being a rare pamphlet, this work was included by Penzer in his Selected Papers on Anthropology, Travel and Exploration.² It is, more or less, a summary of the "Pilgrimage." Perhaps its major interest lies in the attention it pays to "some of the more Remarkable Incidents in the Life of Mohammed, the Arab Law giver."

In addition to the numerous and voluminous works Burton produced, he contributed many essays to the various learned magazines, periodicals and newspapers.³ He also gave lectures to various learned societies in London such as The Royal Geographical Society, The Royal Asiatic Society, and The Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Many of these essays, articles and lectures, in one way or another, touched on some topic relating to the Arab world and Islam. Penzer³ listed all the articles and lectures produced that he knew of. He missed a few and these were pointed out by Farwell in his biography of Burton.⁴

These articles and lectures cover a wide range of topics, from spiritualism and slavery in Egypt to explorations and discoveries of all sorts. Many of these essays deal with Burton's research and findings in Arab countries like Egypt,

1. See chapter two in this work pp. 56-99.

2. See Burton's, Selected Papers---, pp. 23-64

3. See Penzer's, Annotated Bibliography----, pp. 191-287.

4. Byron Farwell, op. cit., pp. 416-17.

Syria and Arabia. These articles were of different kinds. Some were straight forward statements or accounts of discoveries made during some of his explorations. Others were written to express an opinion on a particular topic such as spiritualism, or British rule in the East. Some were a reply to criticism, notices or remarks directed either at some of his books or at an article he had published.¹ Many of Burton's articles succeeded in rousing the interest of the readers. Some even led to a series of discussions, suggestions and letters in the various periodicals. His article on the "Hamath Stones," published in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," is a good example. It led to a chain of articles which discussed its contents.²

In addition to the books and articles directly related to the Arabs and Islam that Burton wrote, he often referred to the Arabs, their culture and religion in his other works. Islam as a faith and the Arabs as a race were the most frequent topics in Burton's writings. As a traveller, diplomat and a man of letters Burton often chose new topics and dropped old ones, just as he did with languages. But the subjects of Arabs and Islam, in varying degrees, persisted in practically all his

1. For more details of these articles see Penzer's Annotated Bibliography, pp. 191-287.

2. Ibid., pp. 220-222.

writings from his early days in Sind right to his death.¹

Burton's four works on Sind² could be considered as partly related to the subject of this thesis. Although they do not deal with the Arabs, they all, except Falconry in the Valley of the Indus, touch on the customs, habits, beliefs, and ways of life of the Moslems in Sind. In the first of these four works, Scinde or the Unhappy Valley, Burton begins to display his knowledge of Moslem history and theology. The foot-notes in particular aboundⁿ in little pieces of information on Moslem history. They reflect the knowledge he had of the topic at that time.³ He gives a detailed description of Moslem prayer and praises its regularity and the fact that most Moslems

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1. This trend is seen in the earliest of Burton's writings. In the manuscript "Pilpay's Fables," which Penzer says "is chronologically the earliest writing of Burton known 1847," the footnotes are packed with all sorts of information about the Arabs and Islam. The prominent feature of this Ms. is the display it gives of Burton's knowledge of Arabic. In the footnotes he gives the meaning of Arabic words pp. 4, n.6, 7, n.3., 11, n.2; the other meanings of some words pp. IV n.4., 22, n.2., 28, n.5., 32, n.5; derivation of words and similarity of words amongst various oriental languages particularly Persian, Sansacrit and Arabic, pp. 4, n.1, 28, n.1. He also gives many Arabic sayings pp. 2, n.3, 14, n.5, 41, n.1; and makes many references to Islam and the Prophet Mohammad, pp. 3, n.3, 6, n.4, 7, n.1, 8, n.1, 11, n.1 & 2, 16, n.2, 21, n.2, 24, n.1, 34, n.3, 35, n.3. Another Ms. in the collection is of interest here. It is a translation of a poem of "Hafiz Shiyazi." It is a small note-book containing 17 hand written pages. This Ms. indicates Burton's early interest in mystic poetry. (These Mss. are among Burton's collection at the Anthropological Institute in London).
 2. Sindh and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus, (1851); Scinde; or the Happy Valley, 2 vols. (1851); Falconry in the Valley of the Indus, (1852); and Sind Revisited, (1877).
 3. Scinde; or the Unhappy Valley, 2 vols., by Richard F. Burton, Richard Bentley, London, 1851, vol. I, footnotes on pp. 61, 80, 88 and 290; vol. II, footnotes on pp. 173, 193, 219, 221 and 222.

observe it with great solemnity.¹ In addition to many other topics of this kind, Burton explains Moslem Sufism and gives examples of its poetry.² In his second work on Sind, Sindh and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus, in two volumes, Burton deals with Moslem education, Moslem funerals, Moslem marriage, polygamy, circumcision, Islam's attitude to adultery and Tasawwuf.³ In the Falconry in the Valley of the Indus, Burton moves amongst Moslems and never fails to discuss the various aspects of their life. The last work on Sind, Sind Revisited, published in 1877, is a, more or less, new version of his old work Scinde or the Unhappy Valley, (1851), with up to date information. Both works are written in the same manner and along the same lines. In the Introduction to his Sind Revisited,⁴ Burton announces his belief that Egypt and Sind look much alike and have a great deal in common. He states the object of the work as illustrating the similarities between the two countries. Naturally, Islam and the Arabs never fail to crop up throughout the two volumes. Practically the same topics discussed in Scinde or the Unhappy Valley, are discussed again in Sind Revisited. The major difference between the two works is, probably Burton's sarcastic reference to the British army in Sind and to the way the colony was run.

1. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 31-2.

2. Ibid, vol. I, pp. 117-19, 264-66.

3. Sindh, and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus, by Richard F. Burton, W. H. Allen & Co., London, 1851, pp. 295, 259-60, 308, 137-48, 273-82, 260-73, 242, 198-231, and 248.

4. Sind Revisited, 2 vols. by Richard F. Burton, Richard Bentley and Son, London, 1877, vol. I, pp. VII and IX.

The same inclination towards referring to Moslem culture and Arabic history and literature is seen in the books on his African travels, particularly if the travels happened to put him in touch with Moslem communities. Islam is discussed in First Footsteps in East Africa (1856), and A Mission to Gelele King of Dahome, (1864) more than in any of Burton's books on Africa. In the former he discusses some of the basic tenets and practices of Islam. Among other points¹ Burton discussed he explained the difference between obligatory (Fard) and voluntary prayer² (Sūnnah, or the practices of the Prophet). He also discussed Islam as practised among the Somali,³ and gave a brief history of the wars between the Moslems and Christians in east Africa.⁴ The prominent feature of the latter book as far as Moslems are concerned is the constant comparison Burton makes between them and the non-Moslems in the African communities. He is always in favour of the Moslems. He was impressed by their neat and clean appearance, their solemn attitude and grave demeanour.⁵ In Abeokuta and the Cameroon Mountains (1863) Burton mentions polygamy among Moslem and other African tribes.⁶ He talks of Imams and Walis in Islam;⁷ and analyses the welfare and condition of some

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1. See p. 293 ante.
 2. Burton, First Footsteps in East Africa, p.10
 3. Ibid., pp. 69-71, 91-2, 104 and 135.
 4. Ibid., pp. 73, 178-84.
 5. Burton, A Mission to Gelele---, vol. I, p.264; vol. II, pp. 45-6, 216.
 6. Burton, Abeokuta---, vol. 2, pp. 208-219.
 7. Ibid., vol. I, p.183.

Moslem states in Ethiopia.¹ In his Wanderings in West Africa (1863), Burton replied to the charge made by Rev. R. M. Macbriar that "Mohammedanism has injured" the tempers of the Africans "When it improved their manners." The Rev. also claimed that Islam "has not benefited their morals."² Burton's reply to these charges was positive and strong.

In opposition to all such assertions, I would record my sincere conviction; that El-Islam has wrought immense good in Africa; that it has taught the African to make the first step in moral progress, which costs so much to barbarous nature; and that it thus prepares him for a steady onward career, as far as his faculties can endure improvement. What other nation, what other faith, can boast that it has worked even the smallest portion of the enduring benefits done, and still doing, to Africa by El-Islam?³

In a foot-note on page 180 he assails the charge made by some European writers that Islam has enslaved women, humiliated them and maltreated them. Here he made his famous defence on this point, indicating the exalted position and respect women enjoy in Islam. A few pages earlier Burton discussed other matters connected with Moslems and their religion.⁴ In Zanzibar - City, Island and Coast (1872), Burton devotes a whole chapter to the history, nature, origin, religion and achievements of the Arabs on the island.⁵ In The Lake Regions of Central Africa, Burton discusses the Arabs in east Africa,⁶ and describes

1. Ibid., vol. I, p.171.

2. Africans at Home, by Rev. R. M. Macbriar, Longman & Co., London, 1861, p.394.

3. Burton, Wanderings in West Africa, vol. I, p.180.

4. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 177-81.

5. Burton, Zanzibar - City, Island and Coast, vol. I, pp. 368-407.

6. The Lake Regions of Central Africa, 2 vols. by Richard F. Burton, Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, London, 1866, vol. I, pp. 30, 32, 323, 327 and 353.

their caravans.¹ He describes the hospitality of the Arabs at Kazeh.² He discusses polygamy among the Unyamwezi,³ and circumcision is referred to in both volumes.⁴ But the most interesting aspect regarding the Arabs in this work is Burton's constant use of Arabic proverbs. Proverbs like "The son of fifty does not die at thirty"; "First at the banquet and last at the brawl"; "Defend me from the beggar become wealthy and from the slave become a free man"; "Man's heart is known only in the Fray and man's head is known only on the way"; and many others.⁵

Burton must have found himself, at one time or another, short of the opportunity to talk about his favourite topics the Arabs and Islam. This is evident in his work To the Gold Coast for Gold, (1883). But still Burton created for himself the chance he so much needed. Not finding anything more concrete and substantial to talk about, he discussed the advance Islam was making in the Gold Coast. He talked about the Moslem community in the Bathurst society.⁶ He pointed out the notable increase in the Moslem population there in the latter half of the 19th century. He asserted that "The revival of El-Islam shows itself nowhere no remarkably as in Africa."⁷

1. Ibid., vol. I, p.342.

2. Ibid., vol. I, p.323.

3. Ibid., vol. II, p.24

4. Ibid., vol. I, p.108 and vol. II, p.23.

5. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 50-86, 130, 133, 135 and 382.

6. Burton, To the Gold Coast for Gold, vol. I, pp. 278-9

7. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 54, 239.

Burton's other works are not completely void of the subject of Islam and the Arabs. Even in the most unlikely books about parts of the earth remote from the Arabs, their land and their religion it is not unusual to find a reference made to them or their culture.¹ Polygamy was one of the consistent topics Burton touched upon in his books. Whether Moslem polygamy or otherwise, the practice never failed to attract his attention. When in new lands or among societies unfamiliar to him he always sought to know that particular society's views on, and attitudes towards, the plurality of wives. He was a strong supporter of polygamy especially in developing and under populated countries.

On the other hand the superior dignity of virginity or sterility, either enforced or voluntary, is an idea revolting to reason and common sense, especially in a young country, where polygamy is morally justifiable, the evils being more counter balanced by the benefits.²

In The City of the Saints (1861) Burton discusses polygamy at length in the Mormon religion.³ In the discussion he pointed out that the overwhelming majority of nations practised and approved of polygamy.⁴ He argues that the few nations of Europe whose laws have rejected polygamy are plagued by

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1. See Burton's Goa and the Blue Mountains; or, Six Months of Sick Leave, Richard Bentley, 1851, pp. 230, 245, and Etruscan Bologna, A Study, p.101n.
 2. Explorations of the Highlands of Brazil with a full account of the Gold and Diamond Mines---, 2 vols, by Richard F. Burton, Tinsley Brothers, London, 1869, vol. 1, p.406 and 115n.
 3. Burton, The City of The Saints, p. 456, Burton's discussion of polygamy stretches from p.451 to 463 and also from p.517 to 525.
 4. Ibid., p.457.

immorality in their social relations. He states that:-

Some of the nations of Europe who believe in the one wife system, have actually forbidden a plurality of wives by their laws; and the consequences are that the whole country among them is overrun with the most abominable practices; adulteries and unlawful connections prevail through all their villages, towns, cities, and country places, to a most fearful extent. And among some of these nations these sinks of wickedness, wretchedness, and misery, are licensed by law; while their piety would be wonderfully shocked to authorise by law the Plurality system, as adopted by many neighbouring nations.¹

Burton's mind was stocked with masses of knowledge and memories of countries and nations from all over the world. Whenever he was engaged in writing a new book this knowledge kept interrupting his train of thought forcing him to draw parallels and make comparisons. He was aware that such a technique could, sometimes, be tiring and dull for the reader; but he could not refrain from employing it.² When he wrote Ultima Thule, his experiences in Syria were still fresh in his memory. Probably, for this reason, Syria tops the list of the countries Burton compared with Iceland. Almost everything he saw in Iceland was compared to a similar thing Burton had seen earlier elsewhere in the world.³

Even in some of the books he translated and in these he was asked to edit he could not help introducing what he knew of the East.⁴ In The Gulistan, for example, almost every page

1. Ibid., p.458

2. Byron Farwell, op. cit., p.302

3. Ibid., p.303. See also Ultima Thule, 2 vols. by Richard F. Burton, William P. Nimmo, London, 1875, vol. I, pp. 32, 115, 155, 285-9, 292, 318, 338, 371 and vol. II, pp. 11, 55 note 1 and 70 note 2.

4. See Morocco and the Moors---, by Arthur Leared, second edition, edited by Sir Richard Burton, Sampson Low, Marston, Searls & Rivington Limited, London, 1891, pp. IX, 74, 175, 215, 236 and 163. See also The Prairie Traveller. A Handbook of Overland Expeditions, by Randolph B. Marcy, ed. by Richard Burton, Truber and Co., London, 1865, see for example foot-notes on pp. 12, 19 and 78.

has a footnote or more that deals with the Arabs, their culture, or Islam.¹ Vikram and the Vampire, also contains several foot-notes on Islam and Moslem beliefs.² Again in his works on Camoens Burton did not fail to draw on his oriental knowledge. The information in these works covers a wide range of topics including history,³ language,⁴ archaeology,⁵ his opinion and those of others regarding various aspects of Eastern people and their life,⁶ customs and beliefs⁷ and Islam.⁸

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1. Tales from the Gulistan, tran. by Sir Richard Burton, Philip Allan & Co. Ltd., London, 1928, pp. XIV, XV, 3, 8, 32, 89, 77, passim.
 2. See for example, Vikram and The Vampire, or Tales of Hindu Devilry, Adapted by Captain Sir Richard F. Burton, edited by Isabel Burton, Tylston and Edwards, Memorial Edition, London, 1893, pp. XIII, 13, 138, 208, 214 and 217.
 3. See Camoens: His Life and His Lusiads. A Commentary, 2 vols, by Richard F. Burton, Bernard Quaritch, London, 1881, vol. 1, pp. 204 n.2, 210, 248 n.2., 272 n.1., 306 n.1., 344 and 357,n.2; vol. 2, p.459 n.1. And also Os Lusiadas (The Lusiads), 2 vols., Englished by Richard Francis Burton, edited by Isabel Burton, Bernard Quaritch, London, 1880, vol. 1, pp. III n.1, 168,n.1; vol. 2, p.257 n.1.
 4. See Camoens: His Life-----, vol. 1, pp. 204,n.2, 206,n.1, 218,n.1, 246, 271,n.1, 285, 306,n.2, 321,n.1, 358; vol. 2, pp. 380,n.1, 385,n.2, 390, 408,n.2, 413,n.1-2, 432,n.1, 480,n.1, 607,n.1. Also Os Lusiadas, vol. 1, p.35,n.2. And Camoens. The Lyrics. Part I, Part II (Sonnets, Canzons, Odes and Sextines), Englished by Richard F. Burton, Bernard Quaritch, London, 1884, Part II, p. 449,n.2.
 5. Burton, Camoens: His Life---, Vol. I, p.205,n.1.
 6. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 40,n.1, 282,n.1, 292,n.1.
 7. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 324-5.
 8. Ibid., vol. 1, p.349,n.1; vol. 2, pp. 597,n.1, 666,n.1. And Os Lusiadas, vol. 1, pp. 22,n.1, 47,n.1; vol. 2, pp. 278,n.1, 327,n.1.

The Book of the Sword is a good reflection of Burton the scholar and the wide range of knowledge he possessed. When preparing to write a book, whatever its topic, the last thing Burton would attempt was to limit the scope of the subject or cut it down. In The Book of the Sword, as in his work El-Islam, he gives the reader all he has to offer. He starts by narrating the history of weapons throughout the Ages. He analyses the development of weapons from Age to Age. The Age of Stone, the Age of Wood, the Age of Copper and so on. Then he moves on to the sword, the subject of his book, expressing the venerable position it enjoyed in the various civilizations of the world.¹ In the Introduction he explained that "with the Arabs the sword was a type of individuality,"² and that "the Moslem brave's highest title was 'Sayf Ullah' - sword of Allah."³ In this work Burton gives an account of Arabian weapons,⁴ the Arabic names of the sabre,⁵ and much other information ranging from Damascened steel,⁶ to Mohammad's sword and the sword in Moslem Africa.⁷

Drawing on his oriental experiences, especially with Arabs and Moslems, was a fixed habit with Burton.⁸ There is

1. These include the civilizations of the Arabs and the Middle East. See The Book of the Sword, by Richard F. Burton, Chatto & Windus, London, 1884, Chapters VIII, pp. 143-171; IX, pp. 172-198; and X pp. 199-219.

2. Ibid., p. XII

3. Ibid., p. XI.

4. Ibid., p.185.

5. Ibid., p.123.

6. Ibid., p.141.

7. Ibid., p.161.

8. Even in his private discussions with his wife Burton often used Moslem and Arab sayings, especially if a saying would serve his purpose and enforce his point of view. See "Preface" to Burton's Explorations of the Highlands of Brazil, by his wife Isabel Burton, Vol. 1, p.VII.

hardly a book he wrote, translated or edited, that does not contain a hint, or at least a single footnote, referring to the East or Moslems.¹ When writing his book about Paraguay Burton had little opportunity to bring in his knowledge of the East. But remaining faithful to his life-long habitual practice he brought the East into the book in the very last paragraph.

Thus much I have written out where as the Arab says, the warm south is blowing; the cool waters are flowing; the flowers and fruits are growing; and Nature looks up to the All-Knowing. Adieu! bright skies-----.

This light happy ending, short as it is, was a fitting conclusion for a writer in whose mind the image of an Arab encampment flickered with every passing thought; the Orient gleamed with every new idea; and the Arabs and their religion and culture never ceased to creep into the foremost of his reflections.

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1. In Stone Talk, Burton's first long poem in which he satirizes England and her rule in India, many of the footnotes refer to the Arabs and Islam; See for example pp. 9, 24, 27, 45, 46, 53, 91 and 101. See also The Sentiment of the Sword. A Country-House Dialogue, by the Late Captain Sir Richard F. Burton, edited with notes by A. Forbes Sieveking, and a Preface by Theodore A. Cook, Horace Cox, London, 1911, pp. 23, 62, 75, 93, 134 and 113.
 2. Burton, Letters from the Battle-field of Paraguay, p.481

Conclusion

Burton had returned to his old ways of disguise too, often wandering unsuspected, in the bazaars and mosques. Burton remains a mysterious figure; we do not know how much of his life was spent this way, nor how much he was influenced, perhaps unconsciously, by his return to the East. Did he begin, imperceptibly, at first, perhaps, to go native? It would have been, after all, more in the nature of the return of the native, for he was more at home in the East than in the West.¹

Burton was a unique figure amongst British orientalists. He was unique in character, in achievements as an explorer and traveller, and in his writing as well. The interesting fact is that, almost all his life, Burton was the centre of controversy. Whether it was about his disagreement with Speke, his recall from Damascus, the attitude of the Foreign Office to him, the consular posts they gave him, or whether it was his Arabian Nights and the controversy that arose from it or the extent of his actual knowledge as an orientalist and Arabist public opinion was divided. Some were in favour of Burton and some, for various reasons, were against him. Hardly any other man gave rise to so many controversies or aroused so much public concern.

Burton was a man of many facets. In fact many more facets than the disguises he assumed all his life. People, generally speaking, managed to see only one or two of these facts thus failing to form a genuine and complete picture of

1. Lesley Blanch, op. cit., p.71

the man as a whole and consequently failing either to appreciate his view or to understand what he was really driving at. Very few, even among his friends, managed that. Those who did were always behind Burton in whatever he did or said. They were his staunch defenders.

The general opinion held of Burton as an orientalist is that he was of unquestionable authority when it came to the question of the Arabs, their language and Islam.¹ "His reputation," Frank Harris says, "was already world wide - the greatest of African explorers, the only European who had mastered Arabic and Eastern customs so completely that he had passed muster as a Mohammedan pilgrim and had preached in Meccas a Mollah."² Because of this reputation many people felt that the Foreign Office failed to use the man's great qualities to the best advantage. Regarding his Arabic, his wife enthusiastically asserts that Al-Amir Abd Al-Kader told her "that there were only two men in Damascus whose Arabic was worth listening to; one was my husband, and the other was Shaykh Mijwal El Mezrab, Lady Ellenborough's Bedawin husband."³ On the other hand, Wright tells us that in a letter to Payne Burton said, "Of course I don't know Arabic, but who does? One may know a part of it, a corner of the field, but all! Bah!"⁴ The truth regarding Burton's command of Arabic lies

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1. See "Introduction," by E. R. Vincent, to The Pentameron of Giambattista Basile, tran. by Sir Richard Burton, William Kimber, London, 1952, pp. 5-9.
 2. Contemporary Portraits, by Frank Harris, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1915, p.163.
 3. Isabel Burton, Life, vol. 1, p.180. This is rather a peculiar statement for Lady Burton is trying to have us believe that the Amir had ranked Burton's spoken Arabic with a Bedawin, the purest of the natives speakers of Arabic, and above the thousands of Arabs, of all ranks, in the city.
 4. Thomas Wright, op. cit., vol. 2, p.40

somewhere between these two statements. No doubt, he could speak it and read it reasonably well. But, as already pointed out in the earlier chapters of this thesis,¹ it is equally certain that, at one time or another, he found himself in difficulty with the language particularly when it came to the special local usage of words.

As is quite evident from his writings, it seems that Burton set himself the task of enlightening his country-men. He was out to change their attitudes and to modify their opinions which he believed were wrong or unjust regarding other races in the world. One of these was Islam. Never in his life had Burton really shown signs of becoming a Moslem. In fact, quite often on his pilgrimage he was bored with Moslem society and its way of life and was glad when it was time to leave the cities and push on with the journey. Burton believed in the authenticity of Islam as a true religion and in Mohammad as a Prophet. He was attempting to get that message across to the public. He was hoping that the acceptance of Islam in the West as a true religion would be a major step towards a better understanding of the East and its people. Consequently, he hoped that better means and ways of handling and ruling the East would be found and that the British empire would be run with more ease and progress.

Burton failed to get his message across because he was too blunt, too daring and indifferent to public opinion. Another major factor in his failure was the fact that he often compared some point in Islam under consideration with Christianity and Judaism. This led many people to believe that he favoured

1. See chapter 2, pp. 84-88, chapter 5, p. 199.

Islam and defended it at the expense of Christianity.

Burton's study of Islam was a means to an end but hardly an end itself. He strongly believed that it was the best way to understand the Moslems, who constituted the greater part of the British Empire, and to handle them. Burton never went deep in his study and research and not to the depth that would have led to his conversion to Islam. As clearly pointed out in the earlier chapters, his knowledge of The Qur'an was anything but profound and it is doubtful whether he studied the Traditions in depth at any stage of his life. His pilgrimage to Mecca, in which many saw the beginning of his conversion, was to him no more than a challenge and a dangerous adventure worthy of his talents and character. It has already been explained in the chapter on the pilgrimage how Burton hardly troubled himself to make clear the spiritual and psychological significance of the rite, an aspect that would surely have helped to set Islam in a new light in the West. In fact, although the general attitude in Burton's writings on Islam is that of a defender, yet, in several of his works he made a number of statements on the religion and its Prophet that would never cross the mind of the true believer. In his Pilgrimage, (1853) he expressed his doubts about Mohammad's burial place (vol. II, pp. 108-111). In The Sentiment of the Sword, (1911), Burton sarcastically discarded Mohammad's prophetic status as "a vulgar error" and preferred to call him an Apostle.¹ Another interesting

1. Burton, The Sentiment of the Sword, p.113

statement made by Burton regarding Mohammad came in his Camoens. His Life and his Lusiads, (1881). Talking of the qualities that set some men in history above the rest of humanity he says in a footnote, "It is a curious consideration that these, the greatest men, were also the greatest of criminals; and two of the three, like Mohammad, epileptics, suffering from the sacer morbus."¹ In El-Islam, as he did in The Kasidah, he expressed his belief that Islam is an incomplete religion and The Qur'an is incapable of meeting the needs of modern society; and in Vikram and the Vampire, (1870), he referred to "Fate and Destiny," two of the fundamental beliefs of Islam, as "fancies."² He also belittled the importance of Mohammad's Traditions expressing the belief that they can be dispensed with. It is needless to say that none of these things ever crosses the mind of the true believer. With such attitudes, expressed at various stages of his life, it is very unlikely that it had ever crossed Burton's mind to become a Moslam. With him it was a matter of tact, and his biographers unanimously agree that he had little of that. He wanted to get his message about Islam across to the British public to improve the relations with the East, but instead he landed himself in trouble with the majority that failed to understand his aim. Burton lived and died as a good example of the open minded Christian.

Burton often expressed how he loved the East and how immensely he was attracted to it. There is no doubt that he loved to be amongst Moslems where he could feel relaxed and free from the fetters of civilization. It is certain that the

1. Burton, Camoens. His Life and his Lusiads, vol. 1, p. 40 n.1.

2. Burton, Vikram and the Vampire, p.138, n.2.

two years he spent in Damascus as the British Consul were among the happiest years of his life. There he lived, with his wife, the life they have always dreamed of.¹ The life of freedom mixing with the natives and exploring hitherto unknown parts of the wilds of the country, little suspecting what was to come and the way in which their stay there was going to end. Burton never owned up that he was wrong in anything he did in Damascus.² In fact he once said, "Consuls, like kings, may err, but must not own the error."³

In spite of the oriental character Burton had given to his appearance and, sometimes, his thoughts, "At heart he was very English."⁴ He was "a Briton of the Empire"⁵ and had the Empire in his heart. In almost all his writings he expressed his concern for England and for her future as the greatest empire of the world. On several occasions he saw things from a different point of view from the government; and without being asked he often expressed his opinion on how England could improve her position in the colonies.⁶ Burton's colonial tendencies are clearly seen in his works. In The Pilgrimage⁷

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1. Sir Richard Burton's wife, by Jean Burton, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., London, 1942, pp. 110-22. See also Lesley Blanch, op. cit., pp. 69-71
 2. Frank Harris, op. cit., p.170
 3. Burton, Pilgrimage, vol. 1, p.72
 4. Frank Harris, op. cit., p.167.
 5. Walter Phelps Dodge, op. cit., p.230.
 6. See Two trips to Gorilla Land and the Cataracts of the Congo, 2 vols., by Richard Burton, Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, London, 1876, vol. I, p.X. See also Arthur Leard, op. cit., p.IX.
 7. See page 45 ante.

he gave advice to the government on several matters regarding Egypt and India as he did in the "Introduction" to The Arabian Nights. In fact many of his books were written in the hope of opening the way for England to exploit the new territory he had discovered. His First Footsteps in East Africa, and A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome, are a good example. In Abeokuta and the Cameroons Mountains he says "I have attempted to point out in these pages the simple measures----- which in my humble opinion, will secure our influence upon the sea-board of Yoruba."¹ He also suggested similar plans for Syria, Arabia and Egypt. Burton was not so much in favour of military occupation of these regions as he was in establishing British supremacy over the vital routes of commerce in the world. He clearly expressed this view in the "Preface" to his Two Trips to Gorilla Land.

With this objective in mind Burton stocked his books with every kind of information he picked up on his travels. Although his books were generally unpopular, they were proclaimed very useful. Many of them like The Pilgrimage, Goa and the Blue Mountains, and his books on Africa, remained for a long time standard reference works; and many of his works were of great help to later travellers. Philby "set out up the coast" to explore Midian "armed with Burton's books."² Again Downey assures us that "The Great African explorer, Stanley, once compelled to reduce his baggage to the minimum, retained one book, not the Bible, as often asserted, but Burton's "The Lake Regions of Central Africa"."³

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1. Burton, Aboekuta and The Cameroons Mountains, vol. 1, p.VI
 2. Elizabeth Monroe, op. cit., p.266
 3. Farfax Downey, op. cit., p.VIII.

Burton's writings, generally speaking, afford a striking phenomenon in being a reflection of the man himself. J. S. Cotton, who knew Burton intimately, assures us that Burton's "style was as characteristic as his handwriting-----And with Burton the style was the man."¹ Penzer and Grenfell Baker tend to agree with Cotton on this point taking it as a proof of Burton's truthfulness, honesty and "unlaboured eloquence."² This is not all, for from Burton's works one could draw an accurate idea of his character and interests. His works on Africa reveal the daring traveller and explorer; The Pilgrimage reveals to the reader the adventurous side of Burton and, with The Kasidah, his interest in religions and love for mysticism. The Arabian Nights reveals not only his ability as a translator but also his love for fantasy and the supernatural and, with The Perfumed Garden, it shows his interest in the study of sexology, pornography and erotic literature. And nothing could be more reflective of his reputation and interests than the fact that from the great mass of his writings, the three works that stand out as his best achievements, The Pilgrimage, The Arabian Nights, and The Kasidah, are directly concerned with the Arabs, their language, culture and religion.² Burton today, even more than in his own days, is recognized as the greatest traveller orientalist

1. See Norman Penzer, Annotated Bibliography----, p.16. In a letter to Smithers Lady Burton, talking of her husband's writings says "----in all his writings, his first copy, his first thought, was always the best and most powerful." See The Carmina of Caius Valerius Catullus-----by Sir Richard F. Burton and Leonard C. Smithers, printed for the translators; In one volume: For private subscribers only. London, 1894, p.V.

2. See Thomas Assad, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

of the 19th century, if not of all times.¹ Appreciation of his works and achievements is growing every day.

Burton was a unique man. He could make enemies as easily as he made friends. He seemed to have had a certain spell of personal charm that never failed to impress most of those who came in touch with him or knew him intimately.² Yet, many people hated him even without knowing him personally.³ They hated him for his bold views and daring statements about topics and questions that people either took for granted or preferred not to discuss.

Loved or hated, admired or despised, Burton will ever remain a unique specimen of the 19th century traveller; a vital link between the East and the West; and the man who devoted all his life to bringing about an understanding between the two.

-
1. See The Oxford Survey of the British Empire, 6 vols. ed. by A. J. Herbertson & O. J. R. Howarth. At the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1914, vol. III, pp. 274, 281, 292. The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature; by George Sampson, at the University Press, Cambridge, 1965, p.871. Everyman's Dictionary of Literary Biography. English and American, by D. C. Browning, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London, 1962, p.104. Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology by Joseph Thomas, J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia & London, 1915, p.507. Webster's Biographical Dictionaries, G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers, Springfield, Mass., U.S.A., 1943, pp. 219-20. The Pelican Guide to English Literature, No. 6, "from Dickens to Hardy," p.470.
 2. Such a case is seen in his friendship with the poet Swinburns. See The Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne, by Edmund Gosse, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1917, pp. 121-22, 150, 183-5, 239-42. Swinburne wrote two poems on Burton. The first "To Sir Richard F. Burton. On His Translation of "The Arabian Nights"." The second, "On the Death of Sir Richard Burton." See Swinburne's Poetical Works, 2 vols., William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1924, vol. I, p.554, and vol. II, p. 1037, respectively.
 3. See Clara Boyle, op. cit., p.122.

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Appendix I

Writers and Works Burton Referred to

in

The Pilgrimage and the Arabian Nights

Burton was a man of extensive reading. This Appendix attempts to list most of the writers and works Burton referred to or used in his Pilgrimage and Arabian Nights. In addition to showing his sources, this appendix will throw light on his background reading in both its nature and extent. The first number in the brackets following the names indicates the number of the volume and the second indicates the page. The names of writers will be given as Burton gave them. In many cases he supplied only the surname thus leaving the identity of some of the authors rather vague. The names of many of these writers occur frequently so only the first citation is given here and "passim" is included in the bracket if the name occurs more than once.

I - Pilgrimage

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1- | Abd el-Karim | (III, 11n.) |
| 2- | Abulfeda | (III, 10n) |
| 3- | Al-Idrisi | (I, 261n., passim) |
| 4- | Ali Bey | (II, 59n., passim) |
| 5- | Burckhardt | (I, 261n., passim) |
| 6- | Carter, Dr. | (III, 30n.) |
| 7- | De Page | (III, 36n.) |
| 8- | De Perceval, M. C. | (II, 19n., passim) |
| 9- | El-Khattabi | (II, 167n.) |
| 10- | El-Suyuti | (III, 95n.) |

- 11- Foster, Mr. (III, 29)
- 12- Gibbon (I, 275n., passim)
- 13- Halliwall (II, 30n.)
- 14- Ibn Batutah (I, 17n.)
- 15- Ibn Khaldun (III, 95n.)
- 16- Jomard, M. (I, 275n.)
- 17- Jubayr (II, 254n.)
- 18- Keith, Dr. (III, 29)
- 19- Kutub el-Din (III, 251n.)
- 20- Lane, Edward William (I, 128n., passim)
- 21- Levick, Mr. (I, 260, passim)
- 22- Manderville, Sir John (II, 30n., passim)
- 23- Martineau, Miss (I, 307n., passim)
- 24- Moresby (I, 314n., passim)
- 25- Niebuhr (I, 215, passim)
- 26- Nolan, Captain (II, 8n.)
- 27- Pinchard (I, 275n.)
- 28- Sonnini (I, 89n.)
- 29- Spenger, Dr. (III, 28)
- 30- Tabari (I, 301n.)
- 31- Vincent (I, 275n.)

II - Arabian Nights

In addition to the various Arabic editions and translations of The Nights that Burton used constantly, there was a number of other works he frequently referred to. Burton used the majority of his own works particularly The Pilgrimage, which was brought in several times in practically every volume (1, 25n.3., passim); Unexplored Syria (2, 358n.1, passim) and First

Footsteps in East Africa (9, 137, n.2.). Other works that occur frequently include Lane's Modern Egyptians, (2, 29n.1), The Qur'an (1, 2n.4) and The Dabistan (3, 173n.1).

- 1- Abulfeda (6, 394n.1, passim)
- 2- Al-Asma'i (5, 388n.1, passim)
- 3- Al-Bayzawi (3, 236n.1, passim)
- 4- Al-Burai, Abd al Rahman (1, 348n.4)
- 5- Al-Hajjaj (9, 33n.2)
- 6- Al-Hariri (2, 106n.2, passim)
- 7- Al-Idrisi (4, 364n.1, passim)
- 8- Al-Kazwini (4, 347n.2, passim)
- 9- Al-Masudi (5, 39n.1, passim)
- 10- Al-Maydani (7, 59n.1)
- 11- Al-Shakuri (9, 3n.1)
- 12- Al-Sonnini (5, 291n.3, passim)
- 13- Al-Suyuti (1, 373 n.1, passim)
- 14- Al-Tabari (4, 63n.2, passim)
- 15- Antar (3, 63n.2)
- 16- Arbuthnot, F. F. (9, 209n.5, passim)
- 17- Arnold, Edwin (1, 354n.1, passim)
- 18- Arnold, Matthew (11, 86n.1, passim)
- 19- Artin Pasha, Yacub (4, 49n.2)
- 20- Badger, Rev. Dr. (1, 400n.1, passim)
- 21- Benfrey, Professor (1, 309n.1)
- 22- Boccaccio (1, 10n.4, passim)
- 23- Buckingham (1, 248n.1)
- 24- Burckhardt (1, 127n.1, passim)
- 25- Burnell, Dr. (7, 26n.2)
- 26- Buthaina, Jamil (9, 30n.3)
- 27- Chennery (2, 7n.2, passim)

- 28- Clouston, Mr. W. A. (5, 39n.1, passim)
29- Cowan, George P. (7, 127n.1)
30- Crichton (1, 199n.1, passim)
31- D'Herbelot (2, 65n.2, passim)
32- De Conti, Nicolo (4, 287n.1)
33- De Perceval, Caussin (1, 333n.1, passim)
34- De Sacy (5, 94n.1, passim)
35- Doughty, C. M. (11, 160n.1, passim)
36- Dozy (8, 1n.1, passim)
37- Falconer, Mr. Keith (1, 2n.4)
38- Frere, Miss (9, 44n.1)
39- Fergusson, James (4, 189n.1)
40- Forsk (7, 237n.2)
41- Francklin, Captain (2, 18n.1)
42- Galland, Antoine (1, 2n3 & 4, passim)
43- Gauttier (11, 6n.1, passim)
44- Gerard, M. Jules (4, 8n.3)
45- Gibb, E. J. W. (5, 331n.1, passim)
46- Gibbon (10, 205n.1)
47- Giles (9, 8n.2)
48- Hafiz (7, 50n.1)
49- Haudas (12, 24n.1, passim)
50- Hehn, Dr. Victor (7, 6n.2)
51- Herklots (2, 111n.1, passim)
52- Herodatus (2, 18n.1)
53- Heron (12, 36n.1)
54- Hole (4, 384n.2)
55- Homer (7, 6n.2)
56- Ibn Abbas (7, 360n.2)
57- Ibn Al-Athir (9, 117n.3)
58- Ibn Al-Fakih (6, 217n.1)

- 59- Ibn Al-Wardi (4, 364n.1)
60- Ibn Batutah (4, 390n.3)
61- Ibn Kaukal (10, 257n.1)
62- Ibn Khaldun (2, 144n.1, passim)
63- Ibn Khalikan (2, 103n.3, passim)
64- Jarir (9, 29n.2)
65- Johnston, R. L. N. (7, 127n.1)
66- Jones, Sir William (4, 18n.1)
67- Keightley, Mr. (6, 91n.1)
68- Kirby, W. K. (3, 22n.4)
69- Labat, P. (10, 132n.2)
70- Labo, father (4, 376n.1)
71- La Fontaine (9, 156n.3)
72- Lane, Edward William (1, 2n.1, passim)
73- Leard, Dr. (7, 265n.2)
74- Lee, Professor (6, 111n.6)
75- Lefroy, Sir J. H. (7, 251n.3)
76- Leo, John (9, 4n.2)
77- Lestrangle, Guy (11, 6n.1)
78- Locke, John (12, 5n.3)
79- Lyall, Mr. (4, 54n.2, passim)
80- Malcolm, Sir John (6, 143n.2)
81- Mandeville (2, 144n.1, passim)
82- Maskelyne, Ex-Professor (7, 383n.3)
83- Mitford, C. B. (11, 219n.1)
84- Moore (10, 266n.1)
85- Morier (10, 68n.1)
86- Muir, W. (9, 31n.6)
87- Neibuhr (10, 132n.2)
88- Nizami (3, 46n.2, passim)

- 89- Ockley (2, 65n.2)
- 90- Ouseley (6, 109n.3)
- 91- Palgrave (1, 350n.2, passim)
- 92- Payne, John (1, 154n.1, passim)
- 93- Petrie, W. M. Flinders (7, 383n.3)
- 94- Playfair, Colonel (11, 21n.1)
- 95- Pocock (2, 43n.2, passim)
- 96- Polo, Marco (4, 287n.1)
- 97- Pool, Stanley Lane (4, 50n.2, passim)
- 98- Pope (7, 68n.2, passim)
- 99- Preston (8, 15n.1, passim)
- 100- Rabelais (1, 309n.1, passim)
- 101- Raister, John (9, 239n.5)
- 102- Redhouse, Mr. (5, 331n.1, passim)
- 103- Reynolds (3, 340n.1)
- 104- Richardson (1, 309n.1, passim)
- 105- Riche (1, 403n.2)
- 106- Rodwell (1, 350n.4, passim)
- 107- Russell (5, 181n.1)
- 108- Sa^{di} (4, 115n.1, passim)
- 109- Sale, George (1, 221n.1, passim)
- 110- Sayce, Mr. (9, 164n.2)
- 111- Scott, Dr. Jonathan (5, 44n.1, passim)
- 112- Shakespeare, John (10, 155n.1)
- 113- Shaw (10, 366n.2)
- 114- Shurreef, Joffar (1, 195n.2)
- 115- Spencer, Aloys (6, 111n.2)
- 116- Steingass, Dr. (10, 385n.1, passim)
- 117- Strabo (2, 18n.1, passim)
- 118- Tawney, Prof. C. H. (1, 11n.1)
- 119- Thevenot (10, 132n.2)

120-	Torrens	(1; 187n. 1, passim)
121-	Totaram	(10, 132n.4)
122-	Trebutein	(6, 104n.1, passim)
123-	Von Hammer	(5, 162n.3, passim)
124-	Wallace	(3, 33n.1)
125-	Weber	(10, 359n.1)
126-	Weil	(10, 150n.1)
127-	Wieland	(9, 156n.3)
128-	Wilson, Professor H. H.	(5, 43n.2)
129-	Ya'akubi	(5, 39n.1)

Appendix II

Errors

In the Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah and in The Arabian Nights Burton made some errors which can be divided into two groups. The first will deal with mistakes made in Arabic language and literature. In the case of wrong words, the word in question will first of all be quoted as Burton gave it, then its meaning, and sometimes its Arabic form, and finally the word in its correct form. The second will deal with all other mistakes such as those of customs, habit, life and religion. Next to each item will be given the volume and page number.

The reason behind many of these mistakes is obvious and clear. Burton had little time for checking his sources and especially for checking the information he provided in the footnotes. Burton seems to have relied a great deal on his memory. Unfortunately, his memory sometimes failed him.¹ The best example for the case in hand is the line of poetry

1. In First Footsteps in East Africa, talking of the Friday prayers, Burton says "---concluding with the blessing on the Prophet and the Salaam over each shoulder to all brother believers." Burton is wrong here because the salaam over the shoulders is to the guardian angels on each shoulder, not to the brother believers. The prayer is concluded at the end of the Salaam and before it ends the Moslem is not supposed to talk to anyone. See First Footsteps in East Africa, by Sir Richard Burton, ed. by Gordon Waterfield, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1966, p.70. In Abeokuta and the Camaroons Mountains Burton makes a very serious mistake when he says, "When we first occupied the Unhappy Valley of the Indus, the Sindhian women used to bathe without dress at the wells: with Moslem decorum they were safe, but the Frank soon changed all that." See Burton Abeokuta---, vol. 1, p.159n. This habit of the Sindhian women certainly does not accord with Moslem decorum because the woman is "aurah" in Islam and her body should not be exposed to anybody except her husband. See p. 363 post, no. 27.

by Al-Mutanabi which he placed on the first page of every volume of The Pilgrimage. Burton's line is:-

الليل والنيل والبيداء تفتني
والسيف والصيف والفرطاس والقلم

The correct line is:-

فالليل والليل والبيداء تفتني
والسيف والرمح والعطاس والقلم 1

When speaking of Arabic poetry, in The Pilgrimage (vol. III, p66) Burton's statement about the rhyming in Arabic poetry is misleading. He said "as a general rule there is a rhyme at the end of every second line." This is probably due to dividing the line (بيت) when translated into English and placing each half separately, as above (in Burton's line). In actual fact what seems to the reader to be two lines of poetry is just one line, as above (in the correct line). Thus the rhyming is at the end of every line and not every second. Usually the rhyme is the same throughout the poem.

A - Language and Literature

I - The Pilgrimage:

- 1- Before going on to another item it is appropriate here to point out Burton's mistake about Al-Mutanabi's death. Burton says that Al-Mutanabi "started together with his son on their last journey, the father proposed to seek a place of safety for the night. 'Art thou the Mutanabi,' exclaimed his slave,' who wrote these lines -

I am known to the night, and the wild, and the steed,
To the guest, and the sword, to the paper and reed?'

The poet, in reply, lay down to sleep on Tigris's bank, in a place haunted by thieves, and, disdaining flight, lost his life during the hours of darkness.' (III, 60)

1. See Sharh Diwan Al-Mutanabi, 2 vols, by Abd Al-Rahman Al-Barkuki, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Arabi, Beirut, 2nd edition, 1938, vol. II, p. 85.

The story known regarding Al-Mutanabi's death is as follows:-

One day Mutanabi was with his slave on a journey in the desert when they were attacked by thieves. The poet told his slave that they should speed their animals to flee from the thieves and danger when the slave said, "Aren't you the one who said:

The steed and the night and the wild know me
So do the sword, the spear and the paper and the pen.

Al-Mutanabi's reply was "Thou killed me Ye, Boy!" He turned round, faced the thieves and was killed.

- 2- Allah have mercy upon him - Alla humma salli alayh: God pray upon him. (II, 85)
- 3- Insak = stop eating: Imsak (I, 111).
- 4- Mambar = pulpit: manbar (II, 64)
- 5- Sarab = destruction: mirage (II, 162)
- 6- Jabr = joining or breaking: joining, mending, making into a whole (II, 163)
- 7- Marzukah = fed: provided for in most ways and not only . fed (II, 163)
- 8- Makan = burial place = Makam (burial place of individuals especially saints) (II, 163)
- 9- Asdikah = relatives: friends, not only relatives (II, 289)
- 10- Hawa (or Ishk) Uzri = pardonable love = pure unsexual love; virgin love, spiritual not involvng sex. (III, 56) see Arabian Nights (V, 318n.3)
- 11- Majdul = pig tails: Jadayel (III, 90)
- 12- El-Hufrah = The digging = the hole (III, 163)
- 13- Antum min al aidin = May you be of the keepers of festival: you are of the ones that returned (completed your pilgrimage safely) or it could mean (may you be of those that will go on a pilgrimage again). (III, 277)
- 14- Jamrah = a small pebble = literally it is a cinder; and, figuratively speaking, the pilgrims throw these pebbles wishing to God to make them cinders from hell when they fall upon the devil. (III, 279n.)
- 15- Safi Ullah (Adam) = Pure of Allah: chosen of God (III, 333)
- 16- Sini = a plated copper tray = saynieh (III, 361).
- 17- Kimah = finely chopped meat = سكف , a vegetable picked from the wild after a thunder storm especially from chalky plains and hills. (III, 361)

II - The Arabian Nights:

- 1- Khuff = a riding boot: It is rather a very soft shoe, slipper-like, that fits the foot firmly and is often worn under the shoes proper like socks. A Moslem can pray in it and in ablution he can run the hand over it with water if the feet have been properly cleaned on the previous ablution (I, xxxi). Burton corrects this in (vol. III, p. 231).
- 2- Ghazl al-Banat = vermicelli: sugar candy (I, 77)
- 3- Sharmutah = shreds: prostitute. The word Burton intended is shartutah (I, 150).
- 4- 'Izā = visits of condolences = 'Azā . "Iza" means "if" (I, 180).
- 5- Jambiyah = a dagger: Janbiyah (I, 214). See Pilgrimage (III, pp. 72, 75).
- 6- Al-Ghadir = a place where water sinks: a brook, a rivulet (I, 215).
- 7- Lisam = head-kerchief passed over the face under the eyes and made fast on the other side: Litham (I, 356 - II, 128)
- 8- Sauf = a particle denoting a near future: Saufa (II, 165).
- 9- Dalilah = a woman who misguides = a woman who guides (III, 221)
- 10- Jiyad = a steed: Jawad (II, 297), "Jiyad" is plur. of "Jawad" (a steed).
- 11- Mohr = a colt: Mahr (II, 297)
- 12- Mohrah = a filly: Mahrah (II, 297)
- 13- Banat = plur. of Ibn: plur. of Bint (III, 9)
- 14- Rasy = praising in a funeral sermon = Ritha' (III, 75)
- 15- Burton says "Munyat" (desire) and "Maniyat" (death) "are written the same except when vowel points are used." Not right "Omniyah" (desire); "Maniyah" (death), (III, 76).
- 16- Nahilah = bee-hive: slender, slim (III, 111)
- 17- Al-Harith = "the gainer" bread-winner: A name of the lion, a ploughman. (III, 161n.1)
- 18- Al-Hammam = the griever: the word is from "Himmah" (resolution) and not "Hamm" (worry) therefore it means "brave" or "gallant" (III, 161n.1)
- 19- Al-Harb = witch: war, confrontation (III, 161n.1)
- 20- Buka^{*}at al-dam = low place of blood = blood stain or patch of blood (III, 194n.3)

- 21- Fi sabil 'llahi = on the way of Allah = for God, for the sake of God. (III, 362n.1)
- 22- Arab. Kinyah vlug. "Kunyat" = patronymic or matronymic; a name beginning with "Abu" (father) or with "Umm" (mother): These are "lakabs" (could be epithet or just a name) (III, 398n.3)
- 23- Shams al-Nahar = son of the day = Sun of the day (III, 422n.3).
- 24- Burhatan = during a long time: for a very little time (IV, 2n.1)
- 25- Khunsa = hermaphrodite = Khuntha (IV, 55n.1)
- 26- Asma' Jalali = The fiery or terrible attributes: Majestic, glorious names of God. (IV, 168n.1)
- 27- Aurat = a woman, a wife = "Aurah" means those parts in both man and woman which are indecent to expose. The word "aurah," came to denote a woman, or a female, for the woman is supposed to cover all her body except for her face, hands and feet (IV, 370n.2)
- 28- Anta Zalamah! = what! afoot: Are you a respectable human being? (V, 134n.1)
- 29- Burton says "A pun upon" Khaliyah" (bee-hive) and "Khaliyah" (empty). (V, 153n.1). There is no pun here for in Arabic the two words are distinguished in writing and pronunciation. "خلية" (beehive) and "غالية" (empty).
- 30- Daughter of my paternal uncle = wife: my cousin (V, 176n.2) "father-in-law" in Arabic is (uncle); the same as father's brother. To distinguish between them, it is often said "my uncle, the father of my wife." In this respect Burton's implication is wrong.
- 31- Jilbab = either habergeon (mail-coat) or the buff-jacket worn under it: It is neither. It is a gown flowing down to the feet worn mainly by men. (V, 256n.1)
- 32- Al-Malik al-Nasir = The conquering King: the maker of victory or the one that offers suppoer for it. (V, 338n.1)
- 33- Khal'a al-'izar = stripping off jaws or side beard: "Al-izar" is a large white piece of cloth women used to wrap themselves up with when they go out of doors. Women have long ceased to use it. "Khal'a" means drop, or strip or remove fromplace. Then the phrase means "strip my clothes" as the verse the lady recited clearly points out (VI, 38n.1).
- 34- Buhayrah = the tank or cistern in the court-yard: Bahrah (VI, 188n.1)

- 35- "Yasmin and Narjis," Burton says, are "names of slave-girls or eunuchs." Originally these are names of flowers but are used for girls as well. They could not be names of eunuchs because they are feminine names; particularly the second one. (VI, 326n.1)
- 36- Ghadr = cheating: treachery (VI, 364n.2)
- 37- Wuhūsh = wild cattle: wild animals (VII, 286n.1)
- 38- On p. 313 the girl's name was Kaubab al-Sahah, and on p. 361 the girl's name became Kaukab al-Salah. Both are wrong for the name should be Kaukab al-Sabah (morning star) (vol. VII). This could have easily been a printing mistake.
- 39- Zarbun = slave's shoes or sandals = Zarbul, heavy boots or sandals (VIII, 1n.1)
- 40- Hadas = Event: Hadath (IX, 215n.1)
- 41- Hajib, or Hajeb = chamberlain: it also means "eye-brow," Burton was wrong to condemn Captain Trotter (IX, 217n.1).
- 42- Mimbar = pulpit: minbar (IX, 237n.2) Cf. p.358 No. 4
- 43- Mu'tasim bi'llah = servant of Allah = one who seeks protection, both physical and spiritual, from God (XI, 53n.2).
- 44- Yastanit = listen attentively = Yatanasat (XI, 453n.1)
- 45- Kabbah = whore: Kahbah (XII, 33n.2)

B - Others

I - Pilgrimage:

- 1- "Haggis" is made with the stomach of the sheep and not its head as Burton suggested. (I, 377)
- 2- "Kaab el Akbar," Burton says, "the celebrated poet, to whom Mohammed gave the cloak." Kaab al-Ahbar was a converted Jew with whom the Prophet talked about the ancient Jewish religion. The celebrated poet "to whom Mohammad gave the cloak" was Ka'b bin Zouheir. (I, 213) see also p. 108 ante.
- 3- Burton often repeated the claim that "in none of the Eastern languages with which I am acquainted, is there a single term conveying the meaning of our 'gratitude'". (I, 75). In The Nights Burton rephrased the claim. In (vol. 5, p. 140)¹ he says "Arabic has no equivalent to our 'Thank you' (Kassara 'llah Khayrack being a mere blessing - Allah increase thy weal!)." This is not true

1. See also vol. III, p. 136n.1.
2. See p. 200 ante.

Had Burton read The Qur'an carefully or studied the Hadith, to say nothing of the great amount of Arabic literature he professed to have been acquainted with, he would certainly have come across the words "shukr" (thanks) and "Imtinan" (gratitude). These two words occur with persisting frequency in The Qur'an,¹ and there are numerous Traditions on the duty of the Moslem² to show gratitude to his brother Moslem and thank him.

- 4- "It is said," Burton points out "that Mohammed prayed long for the conversion of Omar (Ibn Al-Khatab) to El Islam, knowing his sterling qualities, and the aid he would lend to the establishment of the faith" (II, 80n.3). Mohammad actually prayed for the conversion of the two Omars - Omar Ibn Al-Khatab and Omar Ibn Al-Aas - and not for one. Both men were knights of high repute and distinction, and the Prophet used to pray: "Oh, God, support Islam be either of the two Omars." Later both embraced the new religion and became the prime force behind the establishing and spread of Islam. From this, probably, came Burton's mistake that Omar Ibn Al-Khatab and Abu-Bakr "are called 'Al-Omarayn'" (Nights vol. III, p. 83n.2)
- 5- Moslems are not buried on their side facing Meccah, as Burton suggested, but on their back facing heaven. (II, 86)
- 6- Rose-water could not be completely substituted for pure water in tea as Burton said. (III, 362n.). Excess use of rose-water gives the drink a bitter taste. To substitute rose-water for pure-water completely will make the tea impossible to drink. In The Nights, he said "I have had to drink tea made in compliment with rose-water and did not enjoy it." (IV, 302n.1)

II - The Arabian Nights:

1. Burton says "A popular saying of Mohammed's is 'All (very) long men are fools save Omar, and all (very) short men are knaves save Ali.'" (II, 65n.2) To say the least, this is blasphemous to the Moslem. The view held by Moslems of the Prophet is that of a serious, kind and understanding man. They would never expect such a general remark degrading to human nature to come from the Prophet. There is ample evidence in The Qur'an and Hadith that Islam forbids the use of such personal injurious remarks.³
2. The story of Solomon and Bilkis (Queen of Sheba), attributed to The Qur'an is untrue as Burton relates it. Burton gives the wrong reasons behind the meeting between the two and the wrong account of the development of events.⁴ (V, 29n.2)

1. See for example Q.34,14.

2. A. J. Wensinck, Concordance----, vol. III, pp. 166-167

3. See Q.49, 12.

4. See Q. 37, 23-35.

- 3- Burton was wrong to assert that Moslems would not marry a girl who is not circumcised.¹ Burton came to make his assertion through his misunderstanding of the word "Tataharat" (*تطهرت*) in the Arabic original. The word has two meanings; a) "purify" by washing and ablution, b) "circumcise." As usual with Burton's love for the dramatic, he chose the second while the first is implied in the story. (IV, 228)
- 4- Burton says that women, while suckling their babies - a period which runs into a few years, do not cohabit with their husbands. He says, "the separation begins with her pregnancy" (IV, 247n.1) and ends with weaning the child. He attributes this to orders of the Prophet. In actual fact there is no such prohibition of sex during the suckling period. Most Women in the Arab East used to prolong the suckling period. Among the many reasons for this is the belief that women do not get pregnant as long as the baby is being fed from his mother's breasts. It is looked upon as a natural contraceptive which clearly implies that a woman may cohabit with her husband during the suckling period of her babies. As a custom married couples refrain from sex during the first 40 days after the child's birth only.
- 5- The phrase expressing condolence and consolation which Burton translated (IV, 380n.2) is certainly not a "common-place of Moslem consolation" as he suggested. Such phrases are used when one suffers the loss of a dear possession or an animal. If used at all for people it is when a little baby dies and that very rarely. But it is hardly ever used at the death of a wife.
- 6- The "Kabab" Burton described is wrong. What he described here is "Lahm Mashwi" (roast meat). "Kabab" is made of minced meat mixed with finely chopped parsley and onions. (V, 132n.2)
- 7- One of Burton's constant misleading tactics was generalizing about some habit, custom or belief for the whole East as if it was a small village. He often did not say where exactly the particular habit or custom, he was talking about, was practiced in the East. For instance, he said "Water-melons are served----to be eaten with rice and meat," (V, 117n.1) and left it at that. The reader has to find out for himself where exactly in the East this custom flourished. It is certainly not known in Damascus.

1. See pp. 197-8 ante.

- 8- Burton attributes the use of the plural in place of the singular in speech as done for the purpose of "mystification and confusion." This could be so in some stories of The Nights. In general, Moslems refrain from the use of the singular "I" in their speech for religious reasons. When God created Adam He ordered all the angels to kneel before him. They all obeyed except Iblis who refused saying "I am better than he. Thou hast created me of fire while him hast Thou created of clay."¹ From this incident the pronoun "I" came to be looked upon as a symbol of vanity, conceit and impious defiance and challenge. "We" is often substituted for it. (VII, 77n.4)
- 9- "Hauran," a village in Syria, is to the south and south east of Damascus and not the East as Burton said (IX, 278n.3)
- 10- The time for the "Isha" prayer given by Burton is wrong. The time he gave is for the "Magreb" prayer, which is offered after sunset. The "Isha" prayer is offered about one and a half hours after sunset (XI, 99n.1)
- 11- "Zaynab" is Mohammad's daughter, not his aunt as Burton said. (XII, 117n.2)

1. See Q.7,13. An Arabic proverb says "whoever says "I" falls into trouble" (من قال أنا وقع بالنا). See A Dictionary of Oriental Quotations, by Claud Field, Ewan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., London, 1911, p. 184.

Appendix III

The Saj'a

or

Rhymed Prose

In the "Terminal Essay" (VIII, 188-9), Burton gave an explanatory account of the Saj'a, or, rhymed prose. He pointed out its various forms and the function and characteristics of each form. In this appendix two short passages will be quoted from Burton's Arabian Nights, where he attempted to follow closely the style of the original to the best of his ability. It is hoped that these passages, and many more like them throughout The Nights, will show that rhymed prose could be tolerated in English if attempted by a competent writer.

- 1- In the story of "The Porter and the Three Ladies of Baghdad," the Second Kalandar relates how he accidentally discovered a wooden trap-door when he was chopping wood in the forest. He opened the door and went down the long stairs under the door only to find a very beautiful girl imprisoned there by the Ifrit. Describing her beauty he says:-

"Her figure measured five feet in height; her breasts were firm and upright; her cheek a very garden of delight; her colour lively bright; her face gleamed like dawn through curly tresses which gloomed like night, and above the snows of her bosom glittered teeth of a pearly white." (I, 107)

- 2- In the story of "The History of Gharib and his Brother Ajib," describing the battle-field and the rising tension prior to the battle, Burton translates the paragraph thus:-

"Next morning as they were about to set forth, behold the vanguard of Barkan's army appeared, whereupon the Jinn cried out, and the two hosts met and fell each upon other in that valley. Then the engagement was dight and there befell a sore fight as though an earthquake shook the site and fair plight waxed foul plight. Earnest came and jest took flight, and parley ceased

'twixt wight and wight, whilst long lives were cut short in a trice and the Unbelievers fell into disgrace and despite; for Gharib charged them, proclaiming the Unity of the Worshipful, the All-Might, and shore through and left heads rolling in the dust; nor did night betide before nigh seventy thousand of the Miscreants were slain, and of the Moslemised over ten thousand Marids had fallen. (V, 247-8)

Appendix IV

Footnotes with incomplete explanation

In addition to the notes mentioned in the chapter on The Arabian Nights and in Appendix II which Burton did not explain fully, there are a few more that occur in the footnotes to The Arabian Nights. These are the following:-

- 1- Burton says, "Arab. "Walidati," used when speaking to one not of the family in lieu of the familiar "Ummi" = my mother. So the father is Walidi = the begetter" (2, 242n.1). "Walidati" is often used to refer to one's own mother as is "Walidi" for the father and hence "Walidien" (parents).
- 2- Burton says, "Nazih" is one who "travelled far and wide." The word is hardly used in that same today. It is used to refer to one who has been driven out of his land, i.e. deserted his land, either by economical hardship or act of war, with a slim hope of returning. (4, 20n.1)
- 3- Explaining the word "Al-Khayal," Burton says, "it is a synonym of "Al-Tayf" as the nearest approach to our "ghost" as has been explained." The word also means "shadow." (4, 293n.1)
- 4- Burton says, "the convert to Al-Islam being theoretically respected and practically despised----- and no one either trusts him or believes in his sincerity." (5, 243n.1). This is not totally true. They might be apprehensive of him to start with for fear of his being just pretending to have been converted to Islam in order to spy on the Moslems or for some other evil design. Once his sincerity is established by his conduct they would accept him as one of them. In fact Mohammad said, "He who had believed in his Prophet (that is before he became a Moslem) and believes in me reaps a two-fold benefit."
- 5- Burton says, "Arab. "Al-Mafarik" (plur. of Mafrak) = the pole or crown of the head where the hair parts naturally and where baldness begins" (6, 13n.1). What Burton is talking about here is "Al-fark" which is the parting of the hair when combed. The word "Mafrak" means "bifurication of roads" hence "Mafarik" is "cross roads" or where roads branch off and fork off.

- 6- Burton says, "Sayf al-Muluk drops asleep under a tree to the bulling sound of a Sakiyah or water-wheel." (6, 150n.3). In Egypt "Sakiyah" means "water-wheel" but in Syria it means "a little stream, a rivulet" that can be crossed without the water rising much higher than the ankles or at most up to the calf of the leg. The water-wheel in Syria is called "Na'ourah," as those of Hama. (6, 150n.3)
- 7- Burton says "What is behind thee?" means "what didst thou see?" Actually it has a more general implication. It is often used to mean "what news have you?" (9, 198n.3)
- 8- Burton says, "Arab. Harisah:-----Whenever I have eaten it, it was always a meat pudding." (9, 439n.1). The same name is also applied to a sweet made with semolina and syrup.

Appendix V

The Perfumed Garden

On comparing Burton's Perfumed Garden with the manuscript of Nefzawi's Al-Rawd Al-Ater fi Nizhat Al-Khater, I found that there were differences between the two in arrangement and content. The differences are so great that one begins to doubt whether Burton's Garden is a true representative of Nefzawi's work. Here I intend to point out these differences, list them, but not make a detailed comparison between the two works.

- I- As already noted in the chapter on The Perfumed Garden,¹ the main and most obvious difference is the paragraphing of the book. In the original the prose flows from the beginning of the chapter to the end interrupted here and there by the inclusion of a few lines of verse, rhyme or poetry.
- II- The second most important difference is the sub titles to some paragraphs and the stories in the translation. The original has no sub titles at all.
- III- The next important difference is that in the original manuscript the moral of the story is rather implicit while in the translation it is spelled out explicitly.²
- IV- Probably aiming at achieving the most elaborate and dramatic effect possible the translator altered the sequence of the verse in the original. This alteration took several forms: the number of the lines in the verse was either increased or cut down; and sometimes a few lines of verse were added to the book where the original has no poetry at all; and sometimes complete verses were left out in the translation.

1. See p. 248 ante.

2. See p. 249 ante.

Next will be given a full list of all such alterations in the verse and the prose as well.

1. Four lines of poetry in the original (chpt. 1, p.2), concerning the importance for women, in a lover, of wealth and youth are missing in Burton's Garden.

Women sense wealth whenever they see it
And the concept of youth to them is strange
If the Man's hair whitened and his wealth
diminished
Their favours to him turn into rage.¹

- 2- Two lines of poetry in the original (p.8):

Our prophet is a woman whom we move around
And men are all the prophets of mankind.

were elaborated into three lines in the translation (Burton, p.86):

For us a female prophet has arisen;
Her laws we follow; for the rest of mankind
The prophets that appeared were always men.

- 3- In the chapter "Concerning Praiseworthy Men," there are three verses in the story of Bahlul (Burton pp. 88-97). The first verse (Burton p.88) has a line more than the original. The line is:-

Misfortune and misery for a long time.

The second verse (Burton p.89) has a line less than the original. It comes after Burton's third line. The line is:-

I suffered between the two most evil ewes

The third verse (Burton p.92) has two lines more than the original. The first is line five:-

Always in luck's happy way, and favoured in
all things.

The second is line twenty one:-

Yet bethink thee, and speak and augment
not my trouble,

- 4- In Burton's Garden on page "99" in the chapter "Concerning Women who Deserve to be praised" there are seven extra lines in the text. They start with "She hides her secret parts----" to the end of the paragraph.

1. The translation of all missing poetry from the original is mine.

5- In "The story of the Negro Dorerame" the name of the King is Ali bin Al-Saygha and not "Ali ben Dirame" as Burton gave it. (Burton p.99)

6- In the poem the lady recites in the story of Dorerame (Burton p. 111) the third line is two in the original. Burton's line:-

Do not put trust in her vows, even were
she the Sultan's daughter

should be:-

Do not put trust in her vows,
Even were she the Sultan's daughter

7- In the chapter "About Women who are to be held in Contempt" there are a few extra paragraphs. The first addition occurs on page 127 starting from the beginning of line 3 on the page to the end of the paragraph. Then on the same page starting from the beginning of the second paragraph "And not less contemptible---." to the end of the chapter.

8- The end of chapter four is much dramatized in the translation. "No happiness can be hoped for a man with such a wife. God keep us from such a one," (Burton p. 123) because the same chapter in the Arabic manuscript does not have the same ending. It simply says "end" when the description of contemptible women ends.

9- Chapter five in the original (pp. 49-50) is very short. It comprises only the first three very short paragraphs in the translation. The rest of the chapter is probably an addition by the translator.

10- The first two paragraphs of chapter six "Concerning Everything that is Favourable to the Act of Coition" (Burton p. 129) are a paraphrasing and expansion of two sentences in the original (pp. 50-51).

11- The translation in many places of the work is not exact. On page 130 Burton says "Do not drink rain-water directly after copulation because this beverage weakens the Kidneys." The corresponding original does not specify "rain-water," but says "when you have finished your love-making do not drink water for this weakens the heart." (p.52)

12- Immediately following the last alteration we have in the translation, "If you want to repeat the coition, perfume yourself with sweet scents, then close with the woman, and you will arrive at a happy result." (Burton, p.130). The Arabic original is different. "If you want to repeat, both of you must clean up first because," Nefzawi says, "that is praiseworthy" (p.52).

- 13- The two and a half lines introductory to the "positions for the coitus" (Burton p. 131) in the translation have no origin in the Arabic manuscript.
- 14- "The positions for the Coitus" in the translation are much more expanded than in the original. They are not translated as Nefzawi explained them, probably, for the purpose of clarifying them and in some cases to point out their advantages and disadvantages (Burton pp. 131-141). Attention could be drawn to positions 1, 4, 5, 10, and 11 in particular.
- 15- The second "position" in the translation is slightly modified from the original.
- 16- When stating the various illnesses that result from the various positions of copulation, Burton says, "Rheumatic pains and sciatica" would result from making love on one side on the ground. Nefzawi gives a different illness. He says that the illness that results from that position is "varicose veins." The same mistake was repeated by Burton on p.159.
- 17- Twenty five new "positions" practised in India are included in the translation which have no original in the Arabic manuscript (Burton pp. 133-141). Chapter six in the original ends after the last of the eleven positions given by Nefzawi. In the translation, in addition to the 25 Indian positions, the chapter runs for 18 pages more. (Burton 141-158). These could have been added by Burton from his experience in the East.
- 18- In chapter seven, in the position where the woman is on top, Nefzawi says that there is a danger that some of the woman's fluids might enter the urethral canal of the man; a thing that would cause great pain and results in causing "the gravel and rupture" illnesses. The translation says that if any of the woman's fluids entered the urethral canal, "a painful stricture may supervene." (Burton p. 159). After this the translation drifts a great deal from the original. Nefzawi then talks of the harms resulting from much vigour immediately after coition; and from the wrong manner of washing "the member"; from too much coition; then of the various foods that when lacking in the diet cause different ailments and illnesses each according to its nature. The chapter in the translation proceeds differently.
- 19- Before discussing the subject of food in the translation, as Nefzawi did in the original, two lines of poetry are inserted in Burton's version that are not in the original. These lines embody a warning to young men against copulating with old women, even if they offer them the wealth of the universe, on the ground that old women are dangerous to the health of the young man and would drain all his strength away. (Burton p.160). Following this there are six pages in the translation that do not occur in the original. (Burton pp. 160-65). The addition

starts with "Know that the man who works a woman younger than he is----" (p. 160) and ends with "---- he runs into danger by indulging freely with women." (p. 165). Further on, on page 165, there is another addition. It is the paragraph that starts with "Women are more favoured than men----" and ends with, "----without reserve to the pleasures of love."

- 20- On page 165, in the additions, Burton makes a very absurd remark. He says "It is said that reading the Koran also predisposes for copulation." In actual fact the contrary is the truth.
- 21- In the names of the male member Burton's "Mochefi el relil" should be "Mochfi al-ghalil." (the satisfier, or, the extinguisher of desire). (Burton, p. 176). The description and explanation of this name is very elaborate in the translation and has no corresponding similar in the original manuscript (Burton pp. 176-7). The description and explanations of many of the names of the male member are much more expounded and elaborated in the translation than they are in the original. Such are "Mochefi el relil" (Burton 176-77), and "El Mokcheuf" (Burton pp. 180-81). Again the name for the male member given on p. 180 as "El hakkak" (the rubber) should be "El Hattack" (the tough, the strong).
- 22- In chapter nine "Sundry Names given to the sexual Organs of Women" there are many mistakes in the explanation of the names and some additions as well. In this chapter the translator took the liberty to elaborate the different names of the female parts pointing out the distinctive characteristics of each of them. As in the chapter on the names of the male member, the translation of the names of the sexual parts of the woman is more elaborate than Nefzawi's original. The translation here is not very accurate. On page 185 Burton's Garden gives (seronal) for "Pantaloon" while it should be (serwal). Mistakes also occur in translating some of the names of the female sexual organs such as nos. 3, 16, 18, 19, 23, 24, 27, and 35.
- 23- On page 190 there are six lines of verse that do not occur in the original. The same is the case with the four lines of verse on p. 193.
- 24- In the original manuscript the story of "The History of Djoaidi and Fadehat al Djemal" occurs after the name "Al-Areed" for the female sexual organs. But in the translation it is delayed six pages and is given at the end of the list explaining the meaning and characteristics of all the names of the female sexual organs.
- 25- In the verse on page 197 the third line says:-
Or him whose mother was a prostitute
The original has "wife" for "mother." (p.78)

- 26- In the story of "The History of Djoaidi and Fadehat al Djemal," the description of Djoaidi's beloved is much more elaborated and ornamented by Burton's imagination and his knowledge of the beauty that Arabs like, such as we see in The Arabian Nights. What's more! Nefzawi says that the woman was Djoaidi's own maid (slave) while the translation says she was his neighbour (Burton p. 198).
- 27- Some ejaculations were added by the translator to re-inforce the characteristic Eastern colouring of the work. (Burton p. 200)
- 28- The verse at the end of chapter nine in Burton's version has a line more than the original. The line is:-

They will tell lies about you and columniate you; (Burton p.206).
- 29- The list of the names of the sexual parts of animals with hoofs has twelve names in the translation while Nefzawi gives only eleven. The extra one is "El-Keurkite, the pointed one" (Burton p.207). In this list Burton gave three of the original names in an incorrect form. "El rermoul" should be "El-Farmoul," "Abou dommar" should be "Abou Dimagh" and "Abou sella" should be "Abou shamlah."
- 30- In the second list for the animals with "akhefaf," like the feet of the camel, there are four mistakes. "El maloum, the well-known" should be "El-Mou^llem, the teacher"; "El tonil, the long one" should be "El taweel"; "El cha'af, the tuft" should be "El shafaf, the transparent," and "Trequil el ijaha, the slow-coach," should be "Kaleel al-Anakah, lacking in elegance." (Burton, p. 208)
- 31- In the list of the "verges of animals with split hoofs like the ox, the sheep etc.---," "El heurbadj, the rod" should be "El keurbadj, the whip."
- 32- Again in the list of animals with claws there are two mistakes, "El Kibouss, the great gland," should be "El kamoush, the one that grips" and "El metemerole, the one that lengthens" should be "El mutamaghet."
- 33- The stories in chapter eleven are not written separately nor paragraphed in the original. In the translation each one is written separately and given a sub-title.
- 34- Chapter eleven is much larger in the translation than in the original. In the translation the chapter contains seven stories of which only three are found in the Arabic original. Nevertheless, there is a story in the original manuscript that is missing from the translation. It is the story of the woman who had illicit sex with her husband's ass. (pp. 93-94)
- 35- In chapter twelve on page 228 there are five extra paragraphs in the translation that do not occur in the

original. They begin with "There are also women who love---" (Burton p. 228) and end with "But this is a general characteristic of women." (Burton, p. 229)

- 36- In chapter thirteen "Concerning the Causes of Enjoyment in the Act of Generation" three paragraphs are added to the original. Two on page 231 beginning with "Know also, that the causes of the pleasure---" and ending with, "---the pleasure of the ejaculation will not be complete." On the next page occurs the third paragraph which begins with "The same result will be obtained-----"and ends with "----- and increases their vigour."
- 37- Chapter sixteen in the translation is chapter seventeen in the original Ms. Chapter seventeen in the Arabic manuscript about medicines that kill the sperms and the embryo and prevent conception, is missing in the translation.
- 38- The last paragraph in chapter sixteen in Burton's Garden, does not exist in Nefzawi's original.
- 39- At the beginning of chapter seventeen in the translation there are several extra lines. These additions are:-
"For the men, because from a good sized and vigorous member there springs the affection and love of women;"
"This is evident from the fact that many men, solely by reason of their insignificant members, are, as far as coition is concerned, objects of aversion to women."
(Burton p.241). The last three paragraphs in this chapter are extra and do not occur in Nefzawi's original.
(Burton pp. 342-3)
- 40- In the story of "The History of Zohra" it is the cavalier who had twenty armed slaves with him and not Zohra as the translation says (Burton p. 251). Again, the meal which the two sat down to share was lunch and not breakfast.

In the light of the many differences cited between Burton's Perfumed Garden and the manuscript of Nefzawi's work, it is very doubtful whether Burton's Garden could be taken as a worthy representative of the original. Another technical observation must be made here. The translation of the verse in The Perfumed Garden is nowhere near the success Burton achieved in his verse translation in The Nights. The verse in The Garden was, more or less, rendered in prose just managing to achieve the meaning of the original. The translator, it seems, was more concerned with conveying the meaning of the verse line by line. In the translation of the verse in The Garden the meaning

is not precise, and the translation is not exact. In certain cases the verse in the translation took a new form quite different from the original as in the long poem recited by the negro Dorerame in response to the verse the virtuous lady had recited to him. (Burton p. 112)

Appendix VI

Pornography

The struggle between censorship and licentiousness in pornography is as old as time itself. The argument boils down to the question of sexual freedom. Some feel that sex, being a fundamental factor in human existence, should be handled with ease and freedom and looked upon - not in disgust - but in the same casual manner as society looks upon any of its daily basic activities. Others feel that too much freedom in sex answers no human natural needs, gives no real satisfaction and could lead only to evil ends.

The argument revolves around the fact that sex has "always and everywhere played a part of transcendent importance in human affairs."¹ This fact is readily recognized by both sides. They also agree, at least today,² that a frank recognition of the importance of sex is one of the first requisities of a healthy and balanced social order. They only disagree on the nature of "sex discussions" and on how much one should be allowed to say in public. Whatever its form, nature and intensity may be, love is a natural phenomenon. The attraction of the two sexes to each other is inherent in all beings.³ But while sex in the animal kingdom is a matter of natural duty

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1. The Church and the Sex Question, by John W. Coutts, "The Living Church" Series, James Clarke & Co. Ltd., London, (n.d.), p. 21.
 2. For the attitude of the early Victorians towards sex and all suggestive words and phrases in literature, see David Loth, op. cit., pp. 110-113.
 3. "A treatise on Love" by Ibn Sina, trans. with an Introduction by Emil L. Fackenheim, Mediaeval Studies, VII, (1945) pp. 208-228.

necessary for the existence and continuation of the species, therefore purely physical; in man it has an added dimension, sensuality. For people it is a psychological union with another human being of the opposite sex.¹ Had sex in man been a matter of instinct as it is in the animal kingdom, aroused by the turn of the seasons and the change of climate, there would have been no problem or dispute. The involvement of pleasure,² both physical and psychological, for man in sex is the major factor in the rift between the disputing factions. Moralises and religionists feel that love and sex, and the spiritual ease and comfort achieved from them, are gifts from God that in no way should be abused and debased by animal sensuality. Man is elevated by His Maker above the rest of his creatures and so he must not act like them. If he has such animal inclinations he should conceal them from all fellow humans and keep them a well-guarded secret. But the natural impulse in man had the upper hand. Man being easily aroused sexually, by thought, by looking, by reading, not to mention contact, all year round and at any time of the day has always had love on his mind. Love is one of the most constant and prominent themes in literature throughout its history. Man constituted the theme of many of the masterpieces of the greatest writers like Shakespeare, Milton, Donne, Swift and Wordsworth. Most of the great work of art involve sex in one way or another; if not as the main theme, as a subsidiary one.

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1. The Ethics of Sex, by Helmut Thielicke, trans. by John W. Doberstein, James Clarke & Co. Ltd., London, 1964, p.35.
 2. The Function of the Orgasm, by Wilhelm Reich, trans. by Theodore P. Wolfe, Panther, London, 1972, pp. 70-72.

People have always enjoyed such themes and hardly objected when the discussion of sex was more explicit than was usually accepted.

In the Victorian era when Burton published his translations of Eastern love manuals the mention of sex in public was considered a sign of bad taste. The underlying theory in literature and life was that sex was an impolite subject, that the less that was said about it the better, that there must be some inherent vulgarity of mind about those who sought exact knowledge on such a theme.¹ This tight censor on sex was felt to have had effect on life in general and on new married couples in particular. By the end of the last century there was a wave against the suppression of sex discussion whether orally or in print. There was a demand for a deviation from the moralist's claim that sex is "a special subject - a marked subject,"² unsuitable for public discussion. It was claimed that the lack of sex education was behind much of the misery, frustration, and violent behaviour in young people. In 1931, Janet Chance, asserted that this lack of sex knowledge was responsible for the failure of so many marriages among young couples. Most of these marriages fail simply because of ignorance in the art of love, and the inability of the couple to achieve the physical and psychological satisfaction expected from their sexual union. So separation follows automatically.³

1. John W. Coutts, op. cit., p.22.

2. The Cost of English Morals, by Janet Chance, with an Introduction by Sir Thomas Horder, Noel Douglas, London, 1931, p.85. See also The Answer, by W. J. Chidley, Fraser & Jenkinson, London, 1911. This is a philosophical essay centred on the harmful effect of suppressing sex education.

3. Janet Chance, op. cit., pp. 33-41.

The numerous reprints of such sex manuals as The Sex Factor in Marriage is an indication of the public need for such guidance.¹ The vast amount and wide variety of sex manuals available today - most of which are aimed at helping people to get the most out of their sexual life - is a sign of the progress achieved by the pioneers of freedom in sex.² These pioneers argued that if sex education is to be of any use, when the couple need it most in their adult life, it should start early both at home and in school.³ This request which might have been shocking at the beginning of the century is a normal practice today. Sex education is one of the subjects on the time-tables of some schools in Britain today. Whether the introduction of sex education at school is good or not is open to argument. The fact is that it is there and has been taught in schools in

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1. The Sex Factor in Marriage. A book for those about to be married, by Helena Wright, Williams & Norgate, London, 1945. In the 15 years between 1930 and 1945 the book was reprinted 20 times.
 2. Besides the pornographic material designed to arouse the passions many books are published mainly to educate and instruct both married and unmarried people in the art of sex. Books like Mainly for Women, by Robert Chartham, Tandem, London, 1971. From 1904 to 1971 this book was reprinted nine times; Sex manners for men, by Robert Chartham, New English Library, London, 1972. This book was reprinted at least 17 times between 1967 and 1972; Care Free Love, by Dr. David Devlin, New English Library London, 1976; Love The French Way, by J. C. Ibert & J. Charles, trans. by Margueritte Barnett, A Four Square Book, London, 1964; Sex and Marriage, by Allen Andrews, Newnes, London, 1964; Man's Guide to Girls, Derby and Wenthrill, Kenmure Press (n.d.); Sex and the Single Girl, by Helen Gurley Brown, A Four Square Book, London, 1964; The Technique of Sex by Anthony Havis, The Wales Publishing Co., London, 1968; Sex in Society, by Alex Comfort, Penguin Books, London, 1966; The XYZ of Love, by Inge and Sten Hegeler, Panther, London, 1976.
 3. Janet Chance, op. cit., pp. 82-96.

Europe for some time before its introduction at some schools in Britain.¹

Experts feel that "talk about sex does to some extent provide much of the releasing influence that actual behaviour is supposed to give."² Professor Crane Brinton expressed the belief that there is more talk than action about sex in the West. "In the West generally," he said, "and especially after the introduction of Christian prohibitions added zest to fornication, men and women have found in sexual conquests a great reinforcement of their egos."³ Liberal discussion of sex and the reading of pornographic publications, according to qualified psychiatric opinions, more often than not become a safety valve for anti-social tendencies,⁴ thus "preventing the manifestation of overt delinquent conduct."⁵ Discussing the erotic nature of The Arabian Nights and its effect on the reader, Richard Lewinsohn says that "erotic literature can mean more to a man than the act of love itself."⁶ He gives King Shahrayar as an example. Fascinated by Shahrazad's stories his anger was cooled for a thousand and one nights with every morning being promised either the conclusion of a story already began or a new one more fascinating and interesting than the

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1. Sex and Society in Sweden, by Birgitta Linner in collaboration with Richard J. Litell, Jonathan Cape, London, 1968.
 2. Christian Sex Ethics, an exposition, by V. A. Demant, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1963, p. 111.
 3. A History of Western Morals, by Professor Crane Brinton, Weidenfield and Nicolson, London, 1959, pp. 90-91.
 4. The Banned Books of England, by Alec. Craige, Allen and Unwin, London, 1962, pp. 212-13.
 5. Burton, The Perfumed Garden, Panther, p.41.
 6. A History of Sexual Customs, by Richard Lewinsohn, trans. by Alexander Moyce, Longmans and Green & Co., London, 1958 p. 120.

one just finished. He said, "Millions and millions of hearers have caught fire from these "lying stories" by some unknown hand and have felt their youth renewed when they listened to them."¹

The question "What right do you or any group, have to decide what other people shall read or look at?"² was often repeated by the advocates of freedom of sex until that freedom was granted. The laws banning pornographic publications were modified and the restrictions were eased. But where did it all lead to? What good came out of it? No answer satisfactory to all will ever be given, for in the majority of cases people stood fast by the opinions they held before the censorship was lifted. If at all, some of those who championed freedom for writers, like Sir A. P. Herbert,³ were forced to reconsider their views after witnessing the degree of obscenity reached by some pornographic publications. "The Longford Report" was the result of a whole year's research by fifty distinguished public into the state and effects of pornography in Britain. The results of the research were interesting and alarming at the same time. Interesting because a Demant put it, it was found that many people were obsessed with sex for no non-sexual reasons.⁴ Although the report was not able to affirm that pornography was responsible for social violence and disorder, it did not fail to point out its harms and evil effects. It

1. Ibid., p. 121.

2. The Pseudo-Revolution, by David Holbrook, Tom Stacy, London, 1972, p. 178.

3. See the article by Sir A. P. Herbert in "The Times," August 16th, 1970.

4. V. A. Demant, op. cit., p.111

reflected the public concern over the spread of pornography.¹ The excessive obscenity in some pornographic productions such as films alarmed a great many people to a degree that in a UNESCO conference in Venice on Cultural Development a decision was passed that "certain film and television programmes were of a nature contrary to generally accepted moral principles." The conference asked that, "states should appeal to film producers and directors to respect the moral principles of the public."²

The shorter Oxford Dictionary defined pornography as "The expression or suggestion of obscene or unchaste subjects in literature or art." D. H. Lawrence defined it as "doing dirt on sex."³ The danger of pornography lies in the fact that it has no limits. When people argued for more sex freedom at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present they had no idea of the end their demands would lead to. While the request was to allow sex to be a topic that people could talk and write about freely it developed into all sorts of perversion, from homosexuality in all its forms to the right to present copulation, on the public stage.⁴ Such actions offer nothing but utter shame and humiliation to human dignity. Homosexuality is a point of interest here for while a few decades ago the mere mention of the word, was enough to make

1. Lord Longford, op. cit., pp. 17-31.

2. As quoted by David Holbrook, op. cit., p. 177.

3. Lord Longford, op. cit., pp. 11.

4. Ibid., p. 17.

the most liberal blush, now it is an accepted aspect of ordinary human life.¹ The public attitude towards such perversion has so dramatically and rapidly changed that Herman Beks was able to declare that "The dividing line between a homosexual minority and a heterosexual majority is---fading at last."²

Homosexuality has come to be accepted as a natural phenomenon. It is claimed that people do not become perverted homosexuals but they are rather born with it. The abnormal and unnatural for the ordinary man is quite normal and natural to homosexuals.³ Homosexuality has in late years attracted so much attention that a number of research programmes were conducted to find out its nature and the factors behind it. It was found that homosexuality starts early in life,⁴ and tends to be more acute among boys than girls. An earlier report went even further in the world of homosexuals to discuss their various techniques and their degree of preference.⁵ The spread of Gay societies

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1. Almost every sex manual printed in the last twenty five years or so includes a discussion of homosexuality. See The XYZ of Love, by Inge and Sten Hegler, pp. 154-162; and also Everything you always wanted to know about sex, by David R. Reuben, London and New York, W. H. Allen, 1970, pp. 129-151. Sex, Sin and Society, by Sydney Hyam, A Consul Book, London, 1961, pp. 38-49; and Sexual Deviation, by Anthony Storr, Penguin Books, Middlesex, 1965, pp. 70-90. (This book discusses both male and female homosexuality).
 2. "Learning to say 'I am a homosexual'," by Herman Beks, New Society, Weekly Newspaper, vol. 39, No. 745, 13th January, 1977.
 3. Sexual Morality, by Ronald Alkinson, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1965, p. 146.
 4. The sexual behaviour of Young People, by Michael Schofield, Longmans, Green and Co., 1965, pp. 52-9.
 5. A Minority, A Report on the Life of the Male Homosexuals in Great Britain, by Gordon Westwood, Longmans, Green & Co., London.

at Universities is a sufficient sign of the advancement homosexuality had underwent in recent years.

Pornography is recognized as a serious social problem.¹ The public interest shown in the research for the Longford Report underlines the importance of the subject. The Earl of Longford, the chairman of the research group, said that in his political career in the House of Lords, he opened many debates on very important topics such as prison reform, homosexuality, education, etc.---but "On no occasion did the general public exhibit a tenth of the interest of which they gave evidence in April, 1971."² Pornography is usually associated with debased morality, perversion and behaviour that are contrary to conventional social and moral standards. Numerous books about pornography are written, some in defence, some in condemnation. In the Introduction to his Pornography and Society, D. F. Barber stated that people often object to pornography because they are mixing pornography with obscenity.³ The National Secular Society issued a pamphlet called "The Longford Threat to Freedom,"⁴ in reply to the conclusions reached by the investigating committee. A general and more inclusive "reply to objectors," is offered by G. L. Simon in his Pornography Without Prejudice.⁵

Regardless of all that has been written for, or, against pornography, licentiousness in literature had always aroused concern in those who saw in such freedom a danger to social

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1. Lord Longford, op. cit., pp. 12 & 142.
 2. Ibid., p. 14.
 3. Pornography and Society, by D. F. Barber, Charles Skilton &td. London & Edinburgh, 1972, p.12.
 4. "The Longford Threat to Freedom," by Brigid Brophy, National Secular Society, London, 1972.
 5. Pornography Without Prejudice, a reply to objectors, by G. L. Simons, Abelard-Schuman, London, 1972.

morality and decency. "Plato urged the expurgation of the Odyssey to make it suitable for the young and Socrates is recorded as advising the omission of certain passages, such as those describing the bust of Zeus for Hera, as they were 'Not conducive to self restraint'."¹ Boccaccio's Decameron, which had long ranked as classic in Italy, was for a long time placed on the index of prohibited books in England.²

1. Ibid., p. 105.

2. Richard Lewinsohn, op. cit., p. 184.

Appendix VII

Islam

In the footnotes to The Arabian Nights, Burton displayed a great deal of knowledge of Islam. Some of this knowledge Burton used in his defence of Islam in his essay El-Islam, or The Rank of Mohammadanism Among the Religions of the World, which Wilkins believes was written soon after the pilgrimage in 1853.¹ Some of it was also discussed in The Pilgrimage. It was such knowledge of Islam, together with Arabic and other Eastern languages, and his familiarity with Eastern manners and ways of thought that enabled Burton to venture on his famous pilgrimage. In the footnotes Burton referred to many of his other works. The account of his pilgrimage to the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah comes at the head of these works. The topics Burton mentioned and touched upon in the footnotes to his Arabian Nights cover a wide range and, no doubt, give the student a reasonable idea of Islam, its laws, its rituals and practices as well as its sects and schools. Here it suffices to list the topics and subjects, Burton covered in his notes, that in any way relate to Islam and to the Moslems as a race, to show the extent of Burton's knowledge in that field.

I- The Qur'an

Burton referred to The Qur'an a great deal. Often to clarify some aspects of history or to explain the origin and significance of certain phrases which Moslems use habitually in the course of their daily conversation; such as:-

1- (الله) "In the name of Allah!" (I,73n.2)

1. Burton, The Jew, The Gypsy and El-Islam, p. XIV.

- 2- (الله أكبر) "the Moslem slogan or war-cry"
(I, 409n.3)
- 3- (حياي مع النبي) "a common phrase, meaning not only
praise him to avert the evil eye; but also used
when one would impose silence upon a babbler."
(IV, 32n.3)
- 4- (ائمني بالله) "we put our trust in Allah"
(IV, 335n.2)
- 5- (لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم) "There is no Majesty
and there is no Might save in Allah, the
Glorious, the Great!" (here an ejaculation
of impatience) (V, 272n.1)
- 6- (رد السلام) "And with thee be the peace and
mercy of Allah and his blessing. (VII, 43n.1 -
II, 48n.1)

Whenever Burton came across a verse from The Qur'an he tried to explain it to the best of his abilities. For this he relied on Rodwell's and Sale's translations of The Qur'an. But he preferred the former for he believed the latter to be on the whole, like Lane's Nights, too Latinized and failing to represent the spirit of the original. Burton translated some of the most important chapters and verses of The Qur'an and explained their significance. For instance, he pointed out the importance of the chapter " " saying that it is "the heart of the Koran" (III, 177n.1). The other translations from The Qur'an are:-

- 1- (الفاتحة) "Fatihah"

"In the name of the Compassionating, the Compassionate! Praise be to Allah who all the worlds made. The Compassionating, the Compassionate. King of the Day of Faith. Thee only do we adore, and of Thee only do we crave aid. Guide us to the path which is straight. The path of those for whom thy love is great, not those on whom is hate, nor they that deviate. Amen! O Lord of the World's trine."

- 2- (قل هو الله احد) "Al-Ikhlās"

"Say, He is the One God!
The sempiternal God,
He begetteth not, nor is he begot,
And unto Him the like is not." (III, 87 n.5)

3- (آية الكرسي) "Throne Verse"

"Allah! there is no god but He, the Living, the Eternal One, whom nor slumber nor sleep seizeth on!----His throne over-stretcheth Heaven and Earth and to Him their preservation is no burden, for He is the most Highest, the Supreme." (IV, 164n.7)

4- "Koran iii. 5"

"He it is who sent down to thee the book, some of whose signs (or versets) are confirmed." (XI, 186n.1)

5- "Surah LXXIII (The Bee) v.92"

"And He forbiddeth forwardness and wrong-doing and oppression; and He warneth you that haply may ye be warned." (XI, 187n.1)

II- The Prophet Mohammad:-

- 1- The Prophet's tomb is mentioned in vol. 1, p. 118., n.4.
- 2- "The greatest chosen" (Prophet), (I, 71n.2 and 365n.1) and (XI, 308n.4).
- 3- The Prophet, the Cave and the raven (III, 178n.2)
- 4- Purified the Ka'ba from all 360 idols (III, 205n.1) and (V, 186n.2)
- 5- The miracles of Jesus were curing the sick and dead, Mohammad's miracle was eloquence in The Qur'an and Ahadith (III, 442n.1)
- 6- The Prophet's tomb being suspended in the air and what corresponds to it in Christianity (V, 293n.5)

Burton also included a number of the Prophet's Traditions (Hadith)... Those that Burton gave wrongly or with insufficient explanation are dealt with in chapter five, "The Arabian Nights" in this Thesis. The others are:-

- a- "The Astrologers are liars, by the Lord of the Ka'abah! (I, 134n.1) and (IX, 87n.2)
- b- "Whoso is in love, and acteth chastely, and conceals (his passion) and dieth, dieth a martyr." (III, 323n.1)

- c- "Cleanse your mouths with toothpicks, for your mouths are the abode of the guardian angels whose pens are the tongues, and whose ink is the spittle of men; and to whom naught is more unbearable than remains of food in the mouth." (IV, 12n.4)
- d- "Prayer is a collector of all folk." (IV, 156n.2)
- e- "The Prince of a people is their servant." (VII, 175n.1)
- f- "The babe to the blanket (i.e., let it be nursed and reared) and the adulteress to the stone". (IX, 178n.3)
- g- "Visits rare keep friendship fair." (IX, 392n.1)
- h- "The dream is the inspiration of the True Believer" (X, 4n.2)
- i- "Whoso seeth me in his sleep seeth me truly, for Satan may not assume my semblance." (X, 4n.2) and (III, 3999n.1)
- j- "Between my tomb and my pulpit is a garden of the gardens of Paradise" (V, 289n.2)
- k- "Allah defend us from the ire of the mild (tempered). (VII, 59n.2)
- l- "If a man sneeze or eructate and say 'Alhamdolillah,' he averts seventy diseases of which the last is leprosy," and also "If one of you sneezes, let him exclaim 'Alhamdolillah,' and let those around him salute him in return with "Allah have mercy upon thee!" and lastly let him say "Allah direct you and strengthen your condition." (VII, 288n.1)
- m- "If one of you gape and cover not his mouth, a devil leaps into it." (VII, 288n.1)
- 7- Classification of Traditions (V, 104n.2) and (XII, 29n.2)
- 8- The collectors of Traditions (V, 104n.2).
- 9- Burton says "I cannot understand why the Apostle of Al-Islam, according to his biographers and commentators, refused to pray for his parent's soul (his mother)." It is believed that Mohammad refrained from doing so because she did not die a Moslemah. (X, 180n.2)
- 10- The companions of the Prophet (IV, 65n.2) and (VI, 332, n.3)
- 11- Abu Bakr. (II, 68n.1)
- 12- Omar Ibn Al-Khatab to the Sunni and to the Shi'ites (II, 61n.1, 64n.1 and 65n.2). Omar ate his idol God (V, 216n.1)

- 13- The auxiliaries (Al-Ansar). (VI, 332n.2)
- 14- The Prophet's seal-ring (IX, 115n.4) and (XI, 236n.1)

III - Sects of Islam:-

Throughout the notes Burton concentrated on the two main sects the Sunnis and the Shi'ahs. He explained their differences and pointed out their different points of view regarding various aspects of Islam. In volume 2, pp. 60-68 he explained the Persians' hate for the first two Orthodox or, well-guided caliphs, Abu Bakr and Omar.

- 1- The Sunnis and the Shi'ahs are compared to divisions in Christianity. (III, 207n.1)
- 2- Thirst and its significance to the Shi'ites. (III, 317n.2)
- 3- Although he does not give them, Burton points out the difference in the Wuzu (ablution) between the Sunni and the Shi'ah. (IV, 75n.1)
- 4- Burton says that the Sunnis and the Shi'ahs differ on the idea of prophets being above sinning. (IV, 165n.5)
- 5- Burton says that temporary, "Mut'ah," marriages are acceptable to the Shi'ah. Then he adds "These morganatic marriages are not, I may note, allowed to the Sunnis. (X, 24n.3)
- 6- "Ikhwan al-Safa." (II, 371n.1)
- 7- The "Murjiy" the "Jabrians" and the "Kadiri" sects. (III, 120n.1)
- 8- The Kadiri order to which Burton belonged. (III, 169n.1)
- 9- Al-Mu'tazilat. (IV, 67n.1)
- 10- The opinion of the various sects of Islam on pre-destination and fate (V, 111n.2) and (IX, 268n.1)

IV - Sufism:-

For the information on Sufism and the Shi'ah, The Dabistan,¹ was Burton's constant reference and aid.

1. The Dabistan, or School of Manners, vols., trans. by David Shea and A. Troyer.

- 1- Sufi opinion on miracles. (II, 135n.1)
- 2- A general note about Sufism and the Sufis. (II, 362n.1)
- 3- Stages in Sufi advancement in learning. (II, 73n.1; 214n.1 & 2; 327n.1)
- 4- Sufis' views on the pharoahs. (V, 31n.1)
- 5- "Al-Malakut, '---- a Sufi term for the world of Spirits." (VI, 296n.2)
- 6- A Sufi tenet, "Learn from thyself what is thy Lord." (XI, 351n.1).

V - Miscellaneous topics:-

- 1- Alms and charity (I, 313n.1) and (IV, 406n.3) Moslem charity compared favourably with Christian charity. (VII, 130n.3)
- 2- Democracy in Islam. (I, 357n.1) and (XII, 135n.1)
- 3- Intercession in Islam. (I, 365n.1).
- 4- Moslem rulers and men of religion must have their own private means for living. They must not draw from public funds. (I, 357n.1) and (II, 181n.1) and (IV, 139n.1). For Sheikhs of Islam, the title, the office, and the date see night dccccclxxvi (VI, 373n.2)
- 5- No Monkery in Islam. (IV, 139n.1) and (VI, 288n.1)
- 6- Moslem law is based on The Qur'an, the Sayings (Hadith) and Doings (Sunnah) of the Prophet. (IX, 160n.1).
- 7- Polygamy (I, 399n.4). Its conditions and woman's freedom. (III, 1n.3)
- 8- Pilgrimage:
 - a- Arafat prayer (I, 208n.1) and (XII, 29n.3)
 - b- Zam Zam water (II, 168n.1)
 - c- Types of pilgrimages (II, 70n.2).
 - d- History of pilgrimage rituals (IV, 157ns. 1, 2, 3, 4 & 6).
 - e- Tawaf or seven circuits (V, 148n.4) (IV, 157n.6).
 - f- Al-Mihrab, or prayer niche (I, 153n.1).

- g- Safa and Marwa (IV, 157n.2).
- h- Al-Madinah (VI, 183n.1)
- i- Reasons for facing towards Al-Ka'ba (IV, 151n.3)
- j- Information about Al-Ka'ba (III, 269n.1) and (VII, 353n.1)
- k- Mecca and what is forbidden within its limits (IV, 107n.2)
- l- Money belt (VII, 23n.1)
- m- The dead in the pilgrimage season (IV, 400n.1)
- 9- The call prayers (II, 199n.3) and (IV, 156n.1)
- 10- Miracles in Islam (III, 124.n.4)
- 11- The "Ghusl," complete ablution (XI, 222n.1, see also night ccccxi). Cleanliness and the wuzu, the lesser ablution (VII, 39n.2, see also night cdxl and Vol. IV, 154n.2). Al-tayammum, washing by dust when water is not available. (IV, 152n.1)
- 12- Divorce and its types (IX, 162n.1), Al-Iddah-or, the legal period that should pass before the woman can re-marry - "in the case of a divorcee---for a widow--- and for a pregnant woman." (XII, 123n.1 See also nights ccxi, dcxxiv and dccccxcix)
- 13- Difference between "Du'a" = supplication and "salat" = a divine worship, prayers (IX, 310n.4) Importance and significance of Friday (V, 35n.1 and 100n.1). The prayers for the two holy Festivals (VII, 129n.2). Prayers for the dead (IX, 193ns. 2 & 3. See also night xxxv), and (V, 321n.1). The difference in the meaning of "Salat" from God, man and angels. (XII, 75n.3) and (III, 186n.2).
- 14- Burying baby-girls alive (X, 302n.1)
- 15- Islam's view on suicide (IX, 218n.1) and (VII, 106n.1).
- 16- The hour of death (IX, 286n.1). Burton praises the Moslem view on this point.
- 17- In Islam Man ranks highest amongst God's creations (VII, 158n.1. See also night i) and (III, 396n.1). A comparison between the Moslem and the Christian attitudes towards human nature (VI, 201n.2). Burton was in favour of the Moslem attitude. The latter note is both interesting and important.

- 18- The Fard (obligatory) and the Sunnah (the Prophet's doings); their differences and their significance. (VII, 96n.1). Al-Sunna (XI, 300n.2. See also nights ccclxiii and ccccxxv).
- 19- Hell (XI, 193n.1). See also night ccccxxv).
- 20- Heaven (I, 83n.1) and (VII, 381n.1) and (XII, 88n.2). Burton says that Damascus and its surrounding orchards resemble the Moslem vision of heaven (IV, 301n.1).
- 21- Islam's view on sculpture and painting (III, 417n.1); on music and singing (VII, 312n.1).
- 22- In Islam certain foods are forbidden such as blood, the meat of pigs and the flesh of dead animals. Among the forbidden foods there are two exceptions. The Prophet said, "Two deads and two bloods are allowed us. The two deads are fish and locusts and the two bloods are the liver and the spleen." (IV, 173n.2). Wine is forbidden (VII, 13n.2) and (I, 89n.2). Islam allows all the forbidden if they help to preserve life in emergencies or extreme situations. (IV, 376n.2).
- 23- The Moslem lunar year (IV, 184n.2)
- 24- Jesus to the Jews, Christians and Moslems (VII, 96n.2) and (IV, 190n.1).
- 25- The two holy Festivals in Islam (VI, 293n.3)
- 26- The opinion of the four schools in Islam or or cursing (IV, 201n.1).
- 27- "Moslem ritual" for slaughtering animals. (IV, 333n.2)
- 28- Torture by fire is forbidden in Islam, as it is reserved only for God and the next world. (IV, 366n.1)
- 29- Fasting in Ramadan (IV, 155n.4)
- 30- The questioning of the dead in the grave by the two angels Munkar and Nakir (IV, 73n.2). Moslems are urged to bury their dead as quickly as possible (IV, 145n.1).
- 31- Circumcision in Islam. A very long and detailed note on the topic (IV, 163n.1).
- 32- The Moslem belief that devils are stoned by stars if they approach the heavens. (V, 16n.2) and (VII, 61n.3. See also night xxii)
- 33- The soul. (VII, 145n.2)

- 34- Dowry in Islam. (VII, 112n.1)
- 35- Moslem fatalism. (VII, 124n.1)
- 36- Judgement Day. (VII, 29n.2)
- 37- "Laylat al-Kadr" (V, 91n.2)
- 38- Repentance in Islam (V, 271n.1)
- 39- Moslems unlike Christians do not have to pay for the prayer over their dead. (V, 321n.1)
- 40- The word "Imam" and its derivation (V, 292n.3). For Burton's comment on this word see (X, 218n.1).
- 41- Islam's view on "Ilm al-Ghayb," the unknown. (X, 270n.1)
- 42- True Moslems do not swear by anything but God. They should resort to this only if compelled to. (IX, 203n.2).
- 43- Criticism of Moslem perjury (IX, 270n.3)
- 44- Adam and Eve (II, 27n.2) and (IV, 403n.3). "Halil" and "Kalil" are the Arab equivalent of Abel and Cain. (XI, 194n.1)
- 45- Charms are not encouraged by Islam (XII, 86n.2)
- 46- Visiting the grave-yards (I, 68n.1). Crying over the tombs (I, 126n.1).
- 47- Seeing the Prophet and other holy men in a dream (X, 4n.2; 235n.1).

It is almost impossible to list everything Burton discussed in his notes, that in any way related to Islam, without letting the list get out of hand and become boring to the reader at the same time. Those listed above by no means cover all the knowledge Burton offered on Islam in his notes. They are the most important points. These notes, if they reveal anything, show Burton's profound interest in the religion and his respect for it. He praised many aspects of Islam such as its democracy (XII, 135n.1), its law of witnesses (IX, 79n.1); and he defended many others with such enthusiasm that many of his contemporaries

were led to believe that he became a Moslem. He defended Islamic law (IX, 71n.1), and Islam's attitude towards women (VII, 313n.2). He also tried to repudiate the idea that Moslems treat their wives like slaves when he said "It is a Pundonor (sic) amongst good Moslems not to buy a girl and not to have marital relations with her, even when bought, against her will" (IX, 293n.2).

Appendix VIII

Marriage in pre-Islamic Arabia

In his excellent book The Family between the period of Ignorance and Islam, in an attempt to point out that Islam did not encourage sexual immorality when it allowed polygamy but rather put an end to it, Mr. Awa gives eleven different types of marriages that used to be practiced by the Arabs before Islam.¹ These are as follows:-

- 1- "Nikah Al-Akd" (a contract or licence marriage). This type of marriage is more or less like the existing marriage in Islam. The procedure was that the man asks for the hand of the girl he loved in marriage from her family. If the family liked him, they negotiated the terms of marriage with him - such as the dowry and other arrangements. Priests and men of religion were not necessary for the marriage.
- 2- "Nikah Al-Istibda" (the acquisition marriage). When the woman had just finished her monthly period her husband used to ask her to go to a certain distinguished man in order to sleep with him so that she could conceive by him. The man usually was of high personal qualities like looks, courage or nobility. The husband then refrains from copulating with his wife until the pregnancy from the former man was confirmed. This was done in the hope that the expected son would have the qualities of the "noble father."
- 3- "Nikah ta^sadud Al-Azwaj ma doon Al-Asharah" (the plurality of husbands below ten in number). The men used to meet together with a certain woman and each of them slept with her in turn. This used to be repeated between the same people until the woman conceived. When the baby was born she would summon them all. None of them, as a rule, would dare not turn up. Then she says to them "you know what had happened," and then she chooses one of them to be the father of the baby. The chosen father had no right to refuse or refute her choice.
- 4- "Nikah Al-Baghaya" (the plurality of husbands without limitations). The women who used to practise this type of sex relation usually had their doors open to, and accepted the love of, any man who entered their door. They also used to put a banner outside the door so that

people would be able to know where such a woman lived. If the woman conceived, a group of experts on genealogy would meet and determine the father of the child from the resemblance in looks between the two. The man could not refuse to accept the decision of the judges.

- 5- "Nikah Al-Mut'ah" (temporary marriage). This is when the woman used to marry herself to a man for a certain period of time for an agreed fee. When the time expired the contract between them automatically ended. Most likely this marriage used to be practised by strangers and travellers.
- 6- "Nikah Al-Hazan" (the sexual relation between a woman and either a lover or a friend). This type of sexual relationship was usually secretive and without the usual marriage contract. It used to be practised by men and women alike. The relationship between the two used to remain acceptable to everybody concerned as long as it did not become public. If it did, shame fell on both lovers because usually either one of them or both were married.
- 7- "Nikah Al-Badal" (wife swapping marriage).
- 8- "Nikah Al-Shighar" (Benefit marriage). This form of marriage was more like a business contract. Two men who were already married and had mature girls of marriageable age used to agree between them that each would marry the daughter of the other.
- 9- "Nikah Al-Makt" (the detestable marriage). This is when the son (usually the eldest) marries his father's wife after the father's death or after the father had divorced her.
- 10- "Nikah Al-Sabi wa Al-Istila' ala Al-Mar'ah Bilkwah" (marriage by force). The ancient Arabs used to take their wives with them when they went on a war. The women used to follow the army at the rear to be out of danger. The women of the losing side used to be taken over by the victorious fighters and, as a rule, were added to the women of the household.
- 11- "Nikah Al-'adal" (irremediable marriage). Among some of the pre-Islamic Arabs it was the custom that when the man dies his inheritors used to inherit his wife as well. They were free to do with her what they liked. Any of them could marry her to an outsider and themselves would get the dowry. If they did not want to do either of these they used to imprison her until she bought her freedom for considerable sums of money, otherwise she would have been kept imprisoned until she died.

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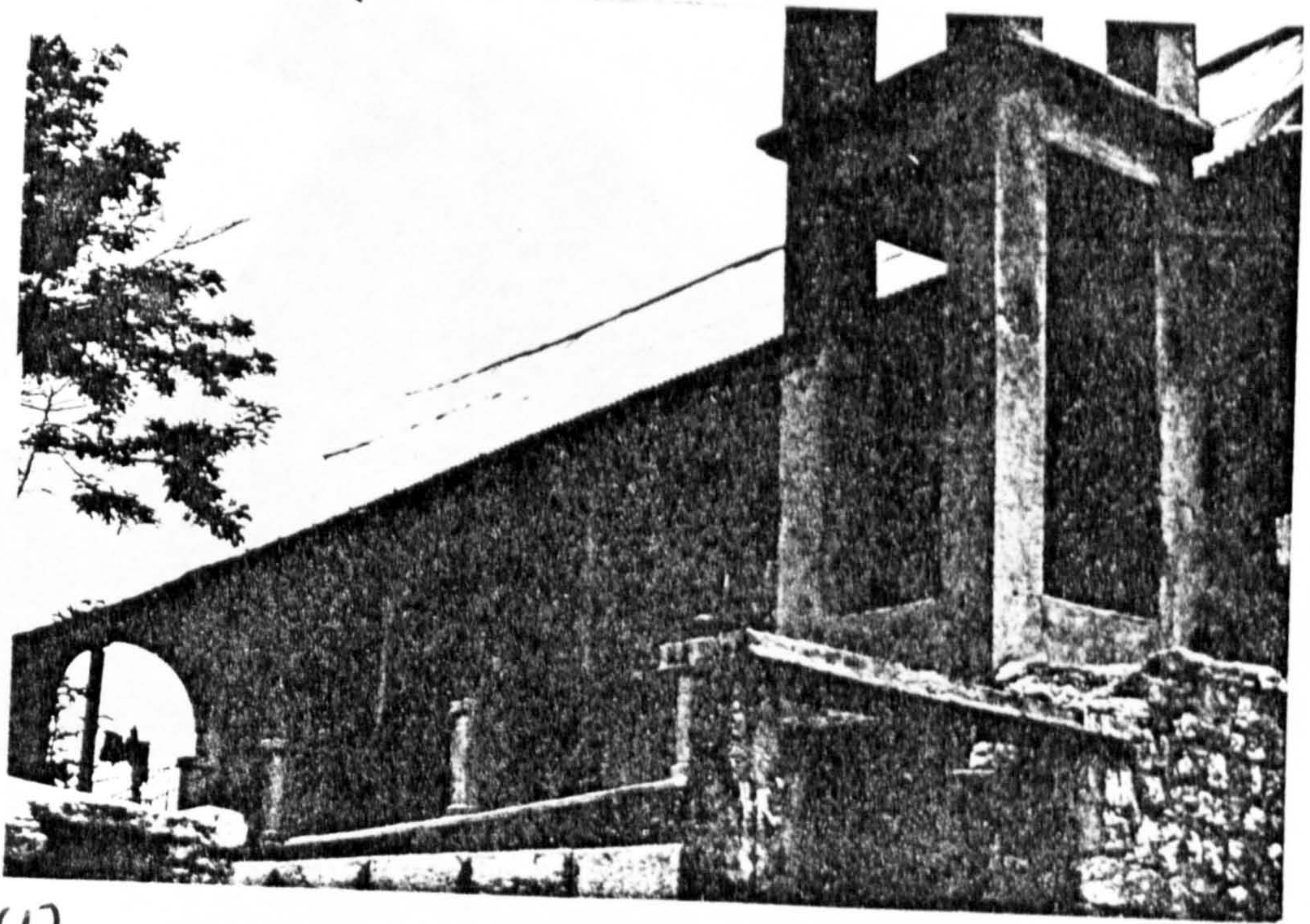
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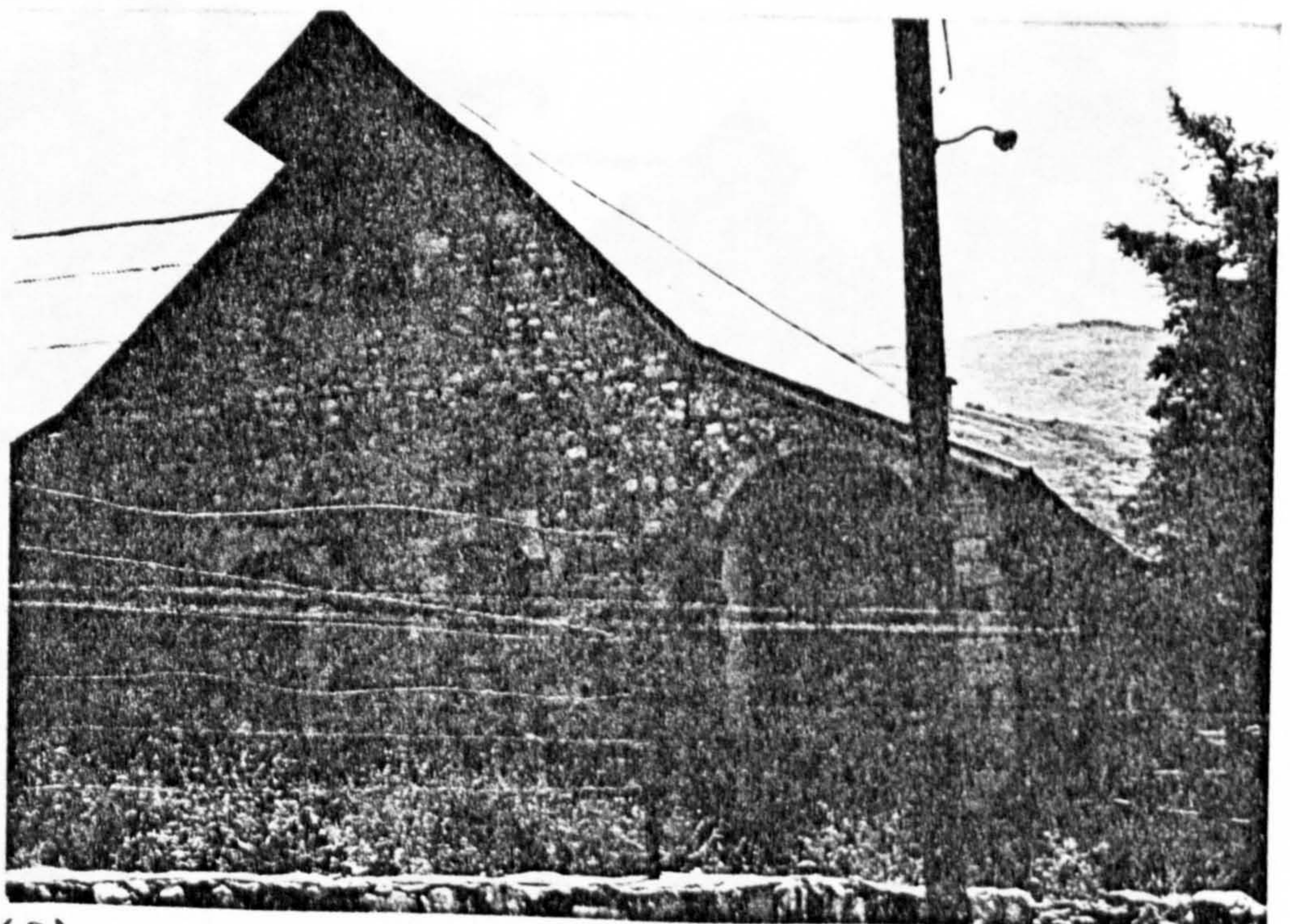
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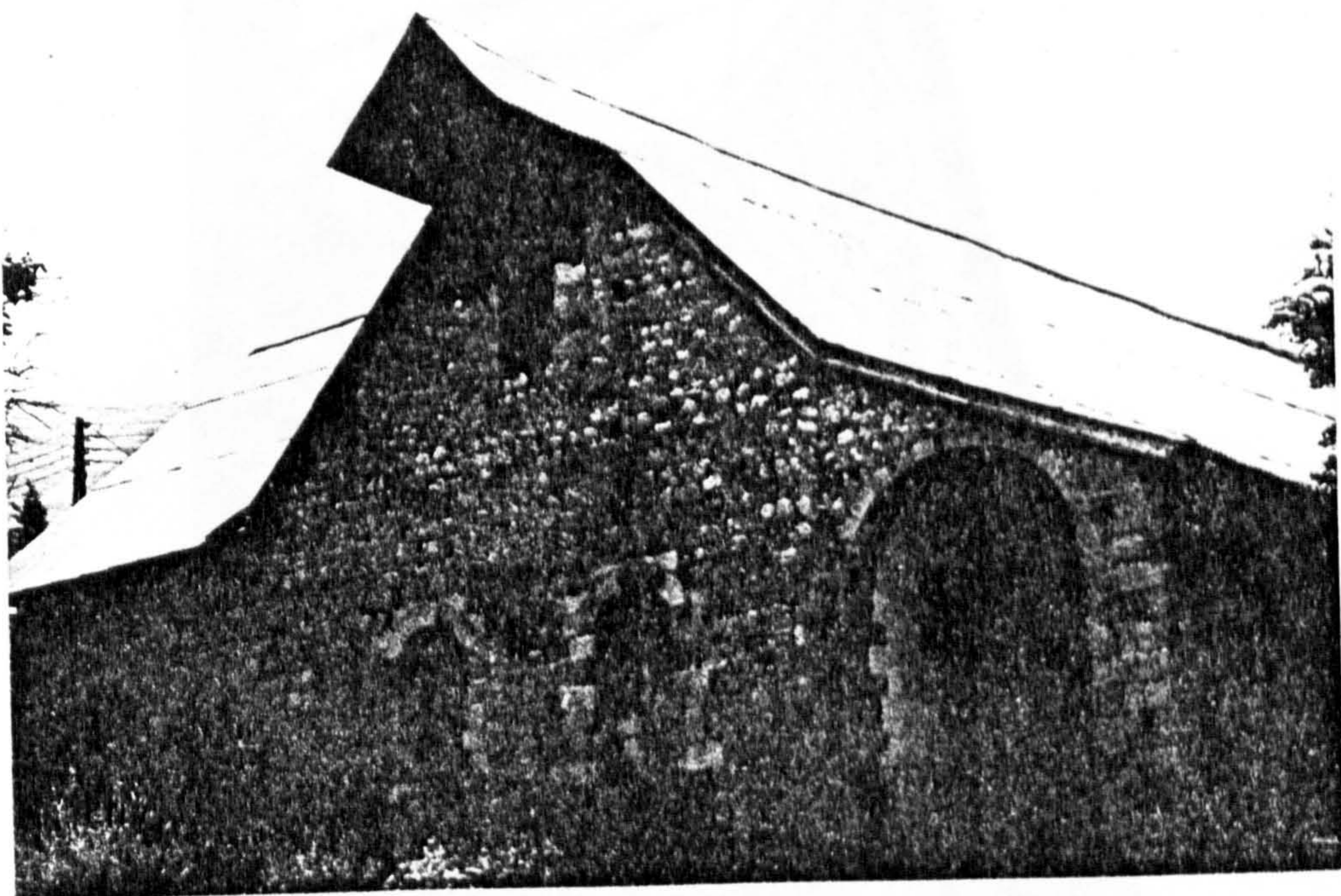
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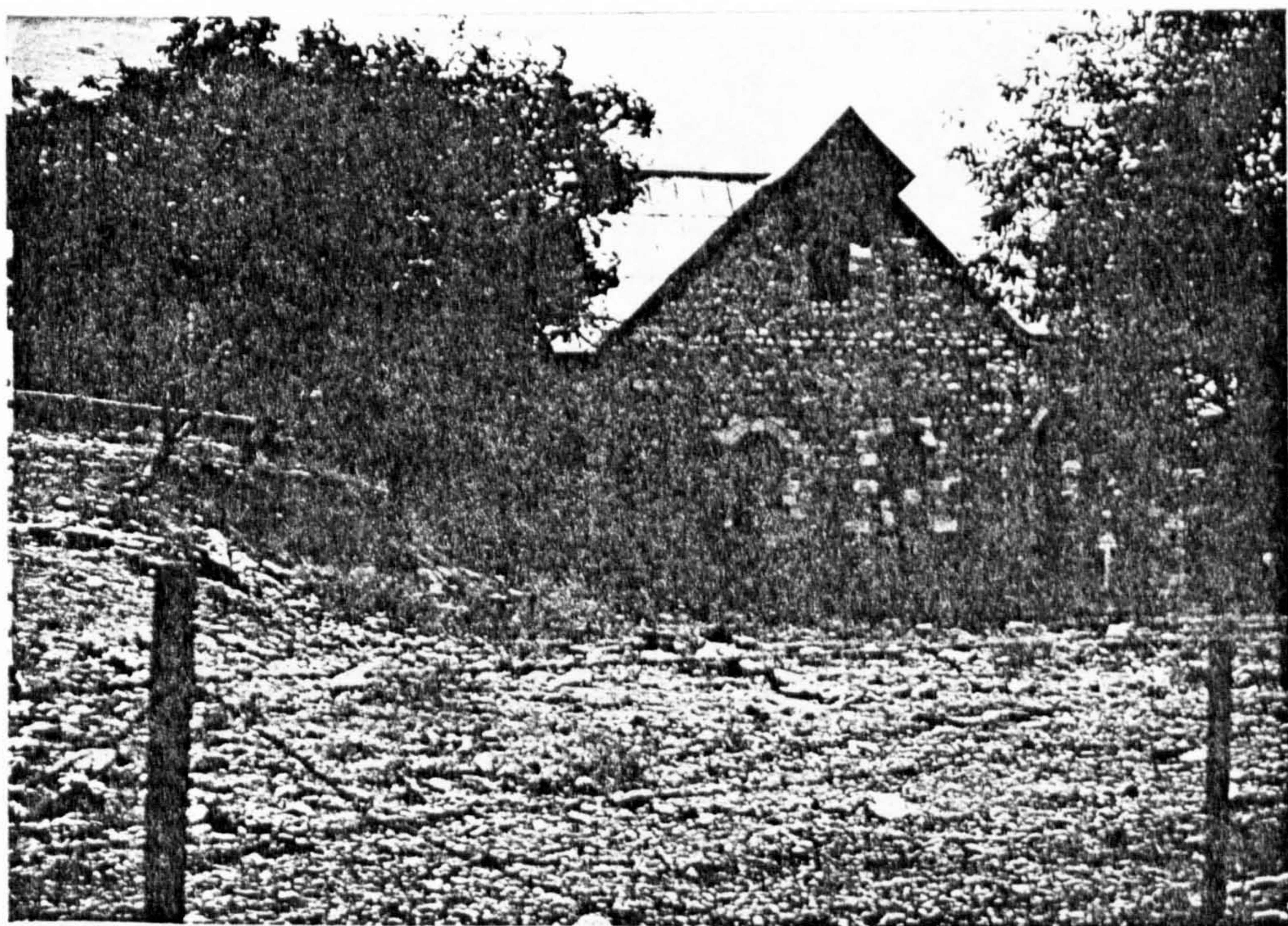
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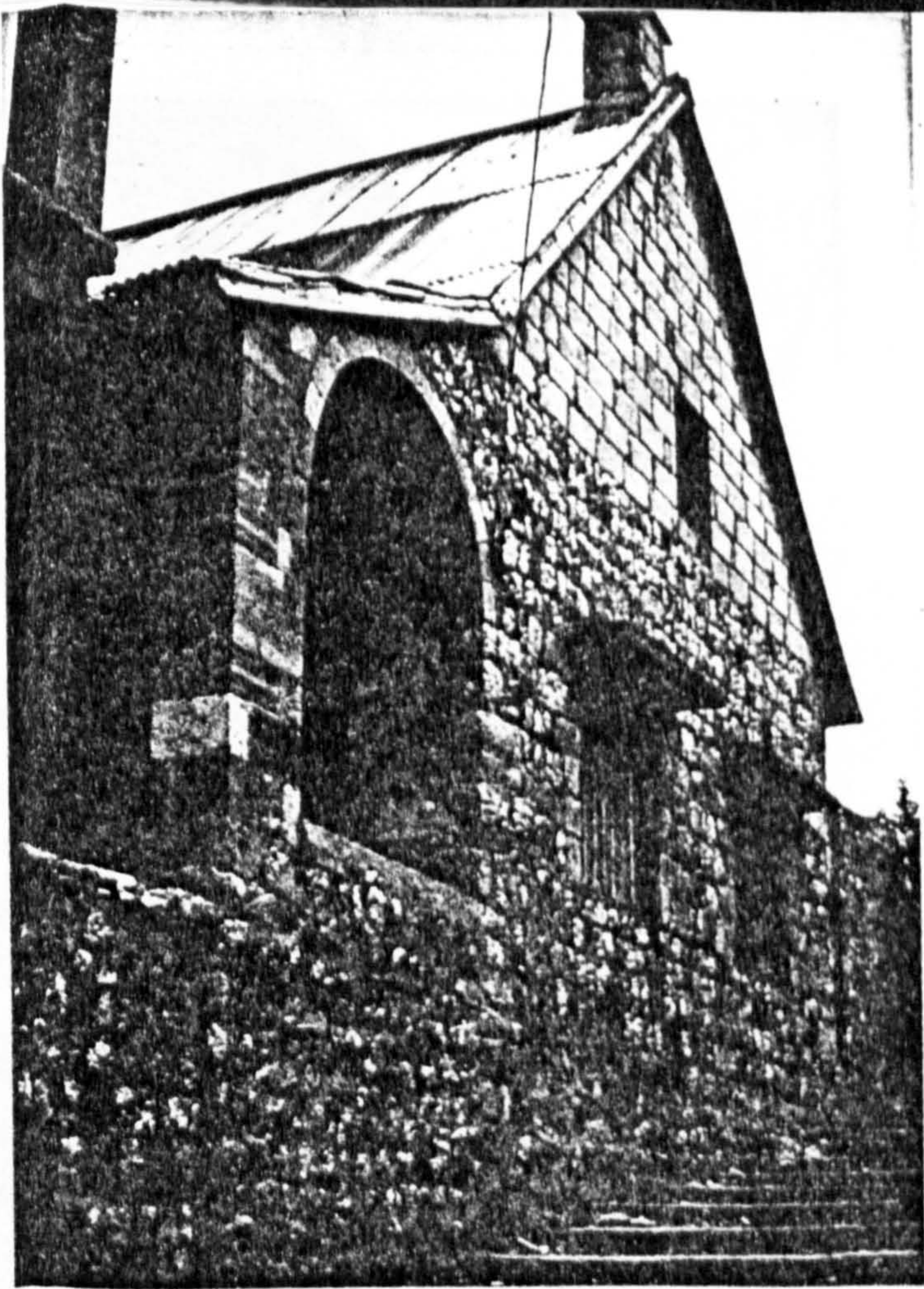
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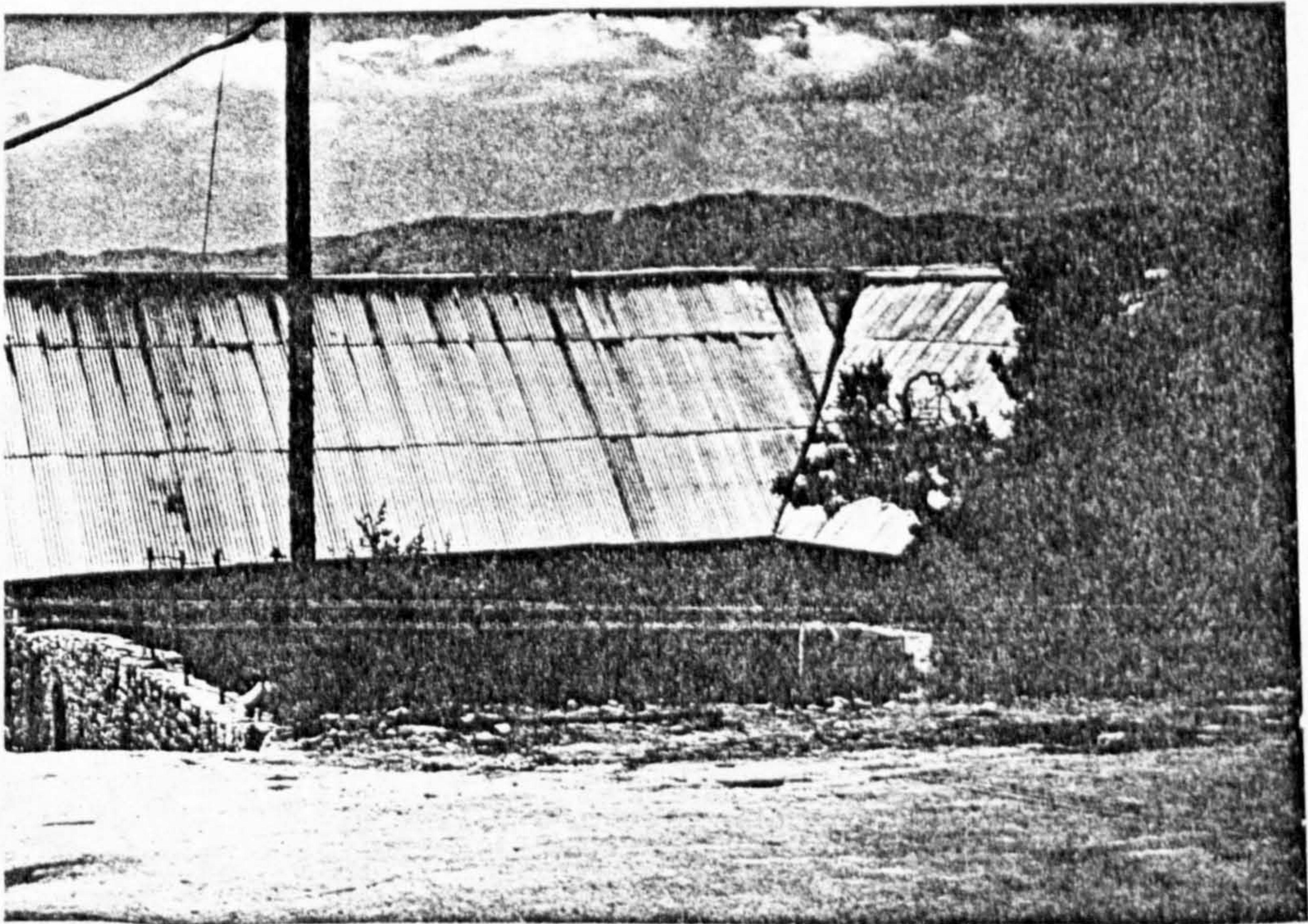
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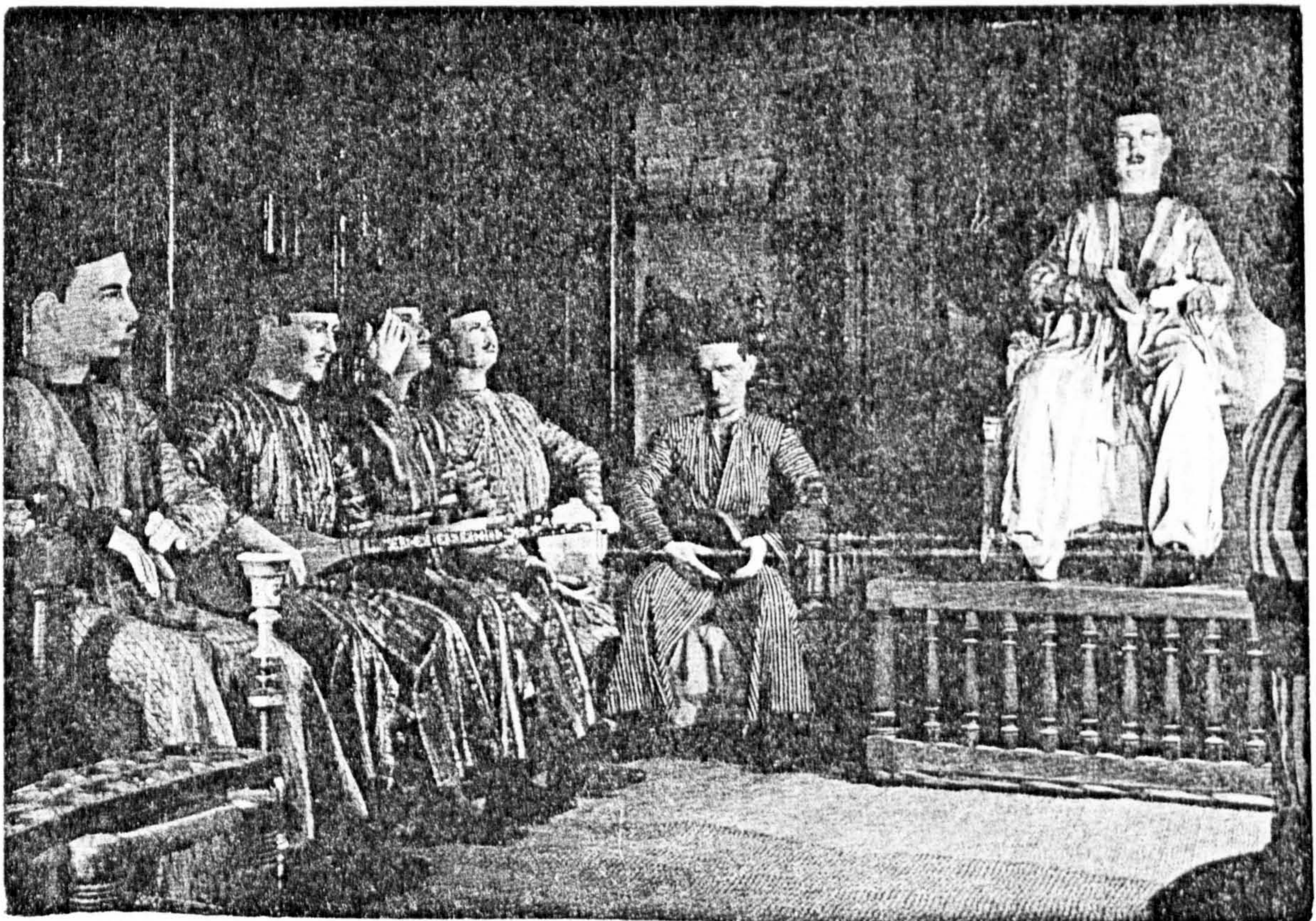
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