

# The Islamic Tale of Solomon and the Angel of Death in English Poetry: Origins, Translations, and Adaptations

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**Abstract** This paper argues that the story of Solomon and Azrael is originally Arabic. This story, transmitted in the West through translations, (so to speak) invades even English-language poetry. Surprisingly, seven English-language poets in the nineteenth century either translated or adapted this story. Neither this story nor those poets have been considered by Edward Said although they played a major role in the transmission of this story in the West. Therefore, this paper aims at tracing, identifying, and classifying the Islamic versions of the story; tracing the English translations and adaptations of the story; and finally examining the relationships between those English poems and the Islamic texts in ways identifiable as motif-based.

**Key words** Solomon; Azrael; Ibn Hawshab; Ibn Abi Hind; Attar; Rumi; English-language poetry; the Grim Reaper; Thanatos.

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The story of Solomon, which is originally Arabic, recounts the story of a mortal who escapes from the Angel of Death to the place where he is predestined to die. It is considered as an unauthentic *hadith* because its narration does not reach the Prophet Mohammad. Arabic primary sources and two major commentaries on *The Quran* include this story in order to emphasize that death is inevitable. This story so to speak invades even English-language poetry. Surprisingly, seven English-language poets in the nineteenth century either translated or adapted this story. One poet is anonymous; Leigh Hunt, Edwin Arnold, and James William Redhouse are from England; Richard Chenevix Trench is from Ireland; and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Edward Willard Watson are from the US. Surprisingly, neither this story nor those poets have been mentioned by Edward Said in *Orientalism* although they played a major role in the transmission of this story in the West. Therefore, the aim of this paper is three-fold: first, it traces, identifies, and classifies the Islamic versions of the story. Second, it traces the transmissions and translations of the story in the Anglophone world in the nineteenth century. Third, it examines the connections and relationships between those English poems and the Islamic texts in ways identifiable as motif-based.

This study is of great significance for the following reasons. First, some poems such as Arnold's "Azrael and the Indian Prince," Longfellow's "Azrael," and Trench's "Solomon and Azrael" are included in *A Hebrew Anthology* as Biblical poems (Kohut 220-22).<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Maxim, in his introduction to the same anthology, argues that those poems are instances of "[t]he effect of Hebrew literature on English letters" (Ibid, xvi). In response to those claims, it can be emphasized that these three poems along with "Destiny: From Al Beidawi," Hunt's "The Inevitable," Watson's "Azrael," and Redhouse's poem are poetic renderings of the Islamic story. Further, it cannot be said that those seven poems are influenced by the Babylonian Talmud narrative (Sukkah 53a) because some elements recur only in the Islamic versions and those seven poems.<sup>2</sup> One cannot, moreover, deny the influence of the Islamic story as acknowledged by the poet of "Destiny," Arnold, and Redhouse. Second, this paper traces and documents the Arabic origins of the story along with its English adaptations and translations. In so doing, the paper uncovers the impact of the Islamic story on Anglophone poetry. It is acknowledged that Anglophone Orientalists have been preoccupied with *The Arabian Nights*, Omar Khayyam, and Pre-Islamic Poetry. However, the story of Solomon has been left out of account although it allures seven English poets. Third, the paper rediscovers English poets such as Watson and Redhouse; it uncovers

connections among those poets saturated with the Orient. Finally, this paper takes a first step in establishing the beginning of an archive of this story in world literature — an archive that is fundamental in building a motif-index of this story.

### **The Story in the Islamic World**

As a point of departure, it is important to trace the story in Islamic sources. All Islamic versions are traced back to two narrators of *hadith*: Shahr Ibn Hawshab and Dawood Ibn Abi Hind. Those scribes indicate that the tale is considered as *hadith* whose narration ends at Ibn Hawshab without reaching the Prophet Mohammad, so this *hadith* is not authentic. All versions of the story can be classified into four models: (a) Ibn Hawshab's Model, (b) Ibn Abi Hind's Model, (c) the Egyptian Model, and (d) the Persian Model. The tale is attributed first to Shahr Ibn Hawshab, who died in 730. As a reliable narrator of *hadith* and one of the eminent Muslim scholars, known as Followers, he narrated *hadith* through other reliable narrators. The story he narrates can be summarized as follows: the Angel of Death enters Solomon's council and keeps gazing at the mortal. When the mortal recognizes him, he asks Solomon to bid the wind to waft him to India where he is predestined to die.

Most Arab scholars acknowledge Ibn Hawshab as the first narrator of this story. For instance, Abu Bakr Ibn Abi Sheebah (776-850), born in Iraq, was the Master of Memorizers, eminent commentator of *The Quran*, and a reliable narrator of *hadith*. One of his interesting books is *Al-Mussannif*, which compiles about 37251 *hadith* and tales — one of which is the tale of Solomon (Ibn Abi Sheebah 70). Like Ibn Abi Sheebah, Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (780-855), born in Iraq, is better known as the Shaykh of Islam and the Imam of Sunni Muslims. In search of *hadith* and narrators, he toured Iraq, Syria, Arabia, and Yemen. His book, *Kitab Al-Zuhd (The Book of Abstinence)*, which is an anthology of *hadith*, includes the tale of Solomon (Ibn Hanbal 146-7). Like Ibn Hanbal, Abu Al-Shaykh Abdullah Al-Asbahani (887-979) wrote many books — among which is *Al-Adhamah*. It includes Quranic verses and *hadith*, transmitted by Muslim scribes. The second story in this book, based on Ibn Hawshab, explains in detail how Solomon bids the wind (Al-Asbahani 917-18).

Ali Ibn Hasan Ibn 'Asakir (1106-1176), born in Syria, toured Baghdad, Mecca, and Al-Medina. He devoted his whole life to writing, *Tarikh Madinat Dimashq*. It is an eighty-volume book, which traces the history of this city and alludes to some kings, rulers, prophets, poets, historians, philosophers, and writers who lived there. This book includes two versions of the story — the first of which, based on

Ibn Hawshab, focuses on Azrael's smile (Ibn 'Asakir 289-90). Another scholar is Jalal Al-Din Al-Suyuti (1445-1505), who was born in Suyut, Egypt. His interests include history, Islamic law, theology, and exegesis. He visited Al-Hijaz, Syria, Yemen, Morocco, Tunisia, and India. Among his 700 hundred books is *Al-Haba'ik fi Akhbar Al-Mala'ik*. This book is devoted to stories of angels based on *The Quran* and *hadith*. The first version of this story included in this book is attributed to Ibn Hawshab (Al-Suyuti 14).

Although two Quranic exegeses do not attribute the story to any source, it can be said that they draw on Ibn Hawshab. First, Abu Al-Qasim Mahmoud Al-Zamakhshari (1074-1143), who sojourned in Mecca, was a medieval Muslim scholar. He wrote many books and treatises in philology, rhetoric, grammar, *hadith*, Sufism, geography, and literature. In 1134 he finished his commentary on *The Quran: Al-Kashshaf*. This commentary is based on *hadith*, old Arabic poems, and parables. He uses (250) this story as an anecdote to clarify the last Quranic *ayah* (verse) in *Surah Luqman* (31: 34). Second, Abdullah Ibn Omar Al-Baidawi (?-1292) was born in Al-Baidha'a near Shiraz, Persia. He was a Sunni philologist, theologian, jurist, and authority in Quranic exegesis, jurisprudence, and theology. His *magnum opus* is a commentary on *The Quran*, entitled *Anwar Al-Tanzil wa Asrar Al-Ta'wil*. In copying Al-Zamakhshari, Al-Baidawi (154) refers to this tale when commenting on the last *ayah* in *Surah Luqman* (31: 34).

The second primary source of this story is Dawood Ibn Abi Hind (685-757). His version is apparently longer than Ibn Hawshab's because of the emphasis on the mortal, Azrael, and their relationships with Solomon. The first scholar who draws on this version is Abu Al-Shaykh Al-Asbahani. The first story, based on Ibn Abi Hind, refers to the mortal as Solomon's cousin and to Azrael as Solomon's friend (Al-Asbahani 901-04). Among those who build on Ibn Abi Hind's Model is Abu Nu'aym Ahmad Ibn Abdullah Al-Asfahani (948-1039). He was a historian, traveler, and one of the *hadith* transmitters. He toured many places such as Mecca and Al-Andalus. He wrote *Hulyat Al-Awliya' wa Tabaqat Al-Asfiya'* which is an encyclopedia of the biographies of early Muslims especially Ascetics and Sufis. It compiles various *hadith* and tales transmitted by famous Muslim narrators. It includes a story, which replicates Al-Asbahani's first version of the story (Al-Asfahani 60). Ibn 'Asakir's second story, traced back to Ibn Abi Hind, is similar to Al-Asbahani's first story but without making any reference to how Solomon bids the wind (Ibn 'Asakir 289-90). Similarly, Mohammad Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Manzur (1232-1311) was an Arab poet, historian, and lexicographer. His *magnum opus* is *Lisan Al-Arab (Tongue of the Arabs)* which is a twenty-volume dictionary

of Arabic. Moreover, *Mukhtasar Tarikh Dimashq* summarizes Ibn ‘Asakir’s *Tarikh Madinat Dimashq*. Ibn Manzur’s latter book (148-9) includes this story which is copied verbatim from Ibn ‘Asakir’s second story. Al-Suyuti’s second story (14), traced back to Ibn Abi Hind, is very similar to Ibn ‘Asakir’s second story.

The Egyptian Model of the story is narrated by three Egyptian scholars — none of whom attributes his story to any definite narrator. First, Shihab Al-Din Ahmad Al-Nuwayri (1272-1333) was born in Bani Sweif, Egypt. He was an expert on *hadith*, history, and hagiography. He wrote *Nihayat Al-Irab fi Foonon Al-Adab* — a thirty-volume book divided into five sections: heaven, man, animal, plant, and history. It traces the history of mankind; it summarizes Arabic literature and history. This book includes “The Story of the Mortal who Dies in India” (99). Like Al-Nuwayri, Shihab Al-Din Abu Al-Fatih Al-Abshihi (1388-1448), born in Fayyom, Egypt, studied jurisprudence and Arabic grammar. *Al-Mustathraf fi kulli Fannin Mustathraf* encompasses literary references, biographies of authors, humorous tales, Quranic verses, *hadith*, verses, proverbs, and parables. One parable is the story of Solomon, which refers to the mortal as a pious, Israelite youth (Al-Abshihi 281). Abdul Rahman Ibn Abd Al-Salam Al-Safoori (?-1489), born in Saforiya, was a historian and author. Notable among his publications is *Nuzhat Al-Majalis wa Muntakhab Al-Nafa’is*, which includes the story where the mortal asks Solomon to bid the wind to waft him to India in order to conduct some business (260).

The Persian versions of this story do not attribute it to any specific source. Abu Hamid Mohammad Al-Ghazali (1058-1111), born in Tus, Iran, travelled through Damascus, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Hebron, Alexandria, and Mecca. He was an eminent scholar, known for his deep knowledge in logic, theology, Sufism, and philosophy. He wrote 400 books – among which is *Al-Tibr Al-Masbook fi Nasai’h Al-Molook*. The aim of this book is to advise kings through telling stories such as the story of Solomon (40). The other two poetic versions are of great significance. Abu Hamid Mohammad Ibn Abi Bakr Ibrahim (Known as Attar) was a very eminent Persian Sufi Sunni poet, born in Nisaphur, Iran, in 1142, and who died in Mecca in Saudi Arabia in 1220. He toured many places such as Egypt, Syria, India, and Saudi Arabia. Among his interesting books are *Mantiq Al-Tayr* (*The Conference of Birds*) and *Ilahi-Nama*. The latter, which includes a version of the tale of Solomon, is a poem consisting of 6500 verses. It recounts the story of a Caliph and the demands of his six sons. He tries to belittle his sons’ desires by telling them spiritual stories. In explaining to his second son the inevitability of death, the father narrates “The Story of Azrael and Solomon” (60-1). Finally, Jalal Mohammad Al-Din Rumi (1207-1273) was a Sufi poet. His poetry, inspired

by Attar, deals with mysticism. He is best known for *Mathnawi*, which includes stories, parables, and Quranic advices. One of those stories is “Azrael’s Gazing at a Mortal and His Escape to Solomon’s Palace (pbuh),” which draws on Attar’s *Ilahi-Nama* (Rumi 614-15).

### **The Story in the English-Speaking World in the Nineteenth Century**

Few Islamic sources were known in the West in the nineteenth century. Many Islamic manuscripts such as Al-Baidawi’s *Anwar Al-Tanzil*, Al-Ghazali’s *Al-Tibr*, Al-Zamakhshari’s *Al-Kashshaf*, Rumi’s *Mathnawi*, Al-Abshihi’s *Al-Mustatraf*, and Al-Nuwayri’s *Nihayat Al-Irab* were preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge in the nineteenth century (Browne 17, 38, 109, 178, 194, 205, 242, 252, 269). Furthermore, Sale (vii) acknowledges Al-Baidawi’s commentary as a primary source of his translation of *The Quran* (1734).<sup>3</sup> In translating the last Quranic *ayah* of *Surah Luqman* (31: 34), Sale (404) quotes Al-Baidawi’s story:

[A]l Beidâwi relates the following story: The angel of death passing once by Solomon in a visible shape, and looking at one who was sitting with him, the man asked who he was, and upon Solomon’s acquainting him that it was the angel of death, said, He seems to want me; wherefore order the wind to carry me from hence into India; which being accordingly done, the angel said to Solomon, I looked so earnestly at the man out of wonder; because I was commanded to take his soul in India, and found him with thee in Palestine.

Like Al-Baidawi, both Attar and Rumi had been known in the West. For instance. Ralph Waldo Emerson translated some verses from Attar’s *The Conference of Birds* (*Letters and Social Aims* 213, 236-38). Similarly, George Rosen completed the first German translation of Rumi’s *Mathnawi Book I*; Redhouse’s and Edward Henry Whinfield’s English translations of Rumi’s book appeared in the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

The story of Solomon was specifically known in America earlier than 1801. Gregory Sharpe (1713-1771) was a clergyman, writer, and the Master of the Temple Church. He was an expert in Oriental languages, religions, and literatures. He was introduced to this story through Sale’s translation with which he was familiar (Macray 293-94). Sharpe told this story to James Harris (485), who told it to Stewart (597). Emerson, who refers to this story in one of his letters, was familiar with it through Stewart (*The Early Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* 105-06). In the same vein, Frederic William Farrar (329-34) relates this story as an

Eastern analogy; Mary Louise Booth (9) translated Laboulaye's *Abdallah or the Five-leaved Shamrock*, which includes the story of Solomon.

English poetry in the nineteenth century played a major role in the transmission of this story in the West. Surprisingly, seven English-language poets either adapted or translated the Islamic story. Save Hunt and Longfellow who are well-known, the other poets are still forgotten in the West, so it is important to introduce them to readers with reference to their Oriental inclinations. The first poetic rendering of this version is "Destiny: From Al Beidawi" published anonymously.<sup>5</sup> The second poet is Richard Chevenix Trench (1807-1886). He was an Anglican archbishop and poet; he graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1829. Among his works are *Poems from Eastern Sources*, *Poems from Eastern Sources*, *Genoveva*, and *other Poems*, and *Sacred Latin Poetry*. Trench's "Solomon and Azrael," inserted in "Eastern Moralities," is an unacknowledged translation of Rumi's poem (Trench 341-42). Similarly, other poems such as "From the Persian," "The Ballads of Haroun Al Raschid," "Ghazel," "Proverbs, Turkish and Persian," and "From the Arabic" are translated from Arabic, Turkish, and Persian (Trench 271, 281, 287-94, 308-9, 397). Trench's preoccupation with the Orient began after his first visit to Spain in 1830 (Reilly 446). The third poet is James William Redhouse (1811-1892). He travelled through Syria and Turkey in 1826. He worked as an interpreter; he was awarded an honorary doctorate at Cambridge University in 1884. Among his publications are *A Dictionary of Arabic and Persian Words Used in Turkish* and *The Mesnevi*. His translation of Rumi includes the story of Solomon (Redhouse 71).

Edwin Arnold (1832-1904), born in Kent, was a British poet and journalist. While studying at University College, Oxford, he won the Newdigate Prize in 1852 for his poem, entitled "The Feast of Belshazzar." In 1856 he went to India to work as the Principal of the Government Sanskrit College at Poona. As a poet, he was involved deeply in Eastern religions, cultures, and literatures. He is best known for *The Light of the East; or, The Great Renunciation*, which portrays Buddha's life. *Pearls of the Faith* appropriates some Islamic and Quranic stories related to the Beautiful Names of Allah. "Azrael and the Indian Prince," published in *Pearls of the Faith*, draws on Sale's translation without acknowledging that (Arnold 99-102). *With Sadi in the Garden; or, The Book of Love and Potiphar's Wife* are adaptations of some Islamic narratives. For his achievements, he was honoured in India, Persia, Turkey, Japan, and Siam.

Edward Willard Watson (1843-1925), born in Pennsylvania, was an author and physician. He entered the University of Pennsylvania in 1859 to study medicine and

graduated in 1865. He was a member of the College of Physicians and a member of the Clinicological Society of America. As a writer in medicine, he contributed to the *Press of Philadelphia*, the *Philadelphia Medical Times*, *Medical Pickwick*, among other professional journals. He published four collections of poetry: *To-day and Yesterday*, *Songs of Flying House*, *Old Lamps and New and Other Verse*, and *If Love Were King and Other Poems*. The Orient is a trope frequent in those collections. In *To-day and Yesterday*, there are explicit allusions to the Orient as in "Toleration," "The Conqueror," "Brothers of Dives," and "Sphinx of the East" (58, 99, 110, 153). In *Old Lamps and New and Other Verse*, "Old Lamps and New" deals solely with Islam by transliterating some Arabic expressions and phrases such as "Gaza," "Allah il Allah" (3-14, 105-114). In *If Love Were King and Other Poems*, some poems portray Oriental motifs as in "One and the Same," "Cleopatra," "Flowers of the Barren Fields," "The Gods of Ed," "Lost Treasure," and "A Memory" (4, 8, 9, 36, 37, 93-95, 114). "Azrael," published in *Songs of Flying Hours*, presents an American poetic appropriation of the story of Solomon (81-82). Although Watson's some poems are anthologized such as "The Kaleidoscope" in *Pennsylvania's Verse* (122-24), his poetry is still not examined by critics. The only criticism is found in *New York Medical Journal* (762-64). It is emphasized that his poetry, dealing with various topics, "delights with its beautiful and careful form and the authenticity of its inspiration" (Ibid, 762). He was influenced by Dickens, Poe, and Swinburne (Ibid, 762).

Although the Orient figures eminently in the poetry of those poets, only few studies examine their poetry from an Oriental perspective. However, the poetic ground of other poets such as Redhouse and Watson remains untilled. British poets' Orientalism is examined with more emphasis on *The Arabian Nights*, Persian literature, and India. For instance, Al-Musawi (5-51) focuses on Hunt's evaluation of *The Arabian Nights*, especially his short summary of the major attributes of the collection. Like Al-Musawi, Al-Dabbagh (34) praises Hunt's description of *The Arabian Nights* as "the first summing up of the total effect of the work [...] that has been echoes in the descriptions of innumerable other commentators ever since." In the same vein, Khan (350) claims that Hunt's poems such as "Abou Ben Adam, (*sic*)" Mahmoud," "Jaffar," and "The Bitter Gourd" benignly describe Islamic characters. With respect to Trench's Orientalism, Javadi (153) argues that Trench finds Sufism in harmony with Christian ethics; he suggests that *Poems from Eastern Sources* is translated or adapted from German Orientalists. Lovelock and Lowbury (53) suggest that Trench, a forgotten Victorian poet, inherits from his involvement in Oriental literature the monorhyme of the ghazal. Few studies examine Arnold's



Orientalism. According to Spivak (199) and Gibson (159-64), Arnold is better considered as an Anglo-Indian poet.

It is believed that American Orientalism is involved more in Japan and China than in the Middle East. For Americans, the Orient is the Far East (Roan 4). In this sense, Schueller (142) notes: “The sheer magnitude of interests in the Far Eastern Orient suggests that the literary of the mid-nineteenth century was more than simply a secondhand imitation of European Orientalism.” However, this is not always the case. Many American Orientalists such as Longfellow and Watson have been preoccupied with the Middle East. Longfellow (1807-1882) alludes to the Middle East in many poems such as “Sand of the Desert in an Hour-Glass” and “The Leap of Roushan Beg.” “The Spanish Jew’s Tale, Azrael,” published in *Tales of a Wayside Inn, Part Three* is a poetic adaptation of the story of Solomon. Yohannan (199), in examining Longfellow’s Persian inclinations, suggests that Longfellow “took his first cue regarding Persian Literature from Emerson,” who was introduced to Hafiz through German translations. Yohannan (199) notes that Longfellow’s “library contained anthologies of Oriental and Persian poetry, an English version of the story of *Leila and Majnoun*, the *Gulistan* of Sa’di.”

With respect to Longfellow’s poem which appropriates the story of Solomon, Yohannan (200) argues that this poem “reveals something more than a romantic interest in derring-do and exotic allusions to Ispahan of Samarkand.” It is surprising that Yohannan does not mention anything about the poem’s possible source. This poem is of great significance because it is the first American poetic rendering of this story although Longfellow does not attribute this poem to any Oriental source. Harmon (37-38) suggests that Longfellow’s poem is influenced by the Talmudic version without even making any reference to any influence of any Islamic version. A motif-based analysis of the seven poems therefore shows their connections with the Islamic versions of the story of Solomon and the Angel of Death.

### **The Angel of Death**

Death studies (such as Frank’s *Representations of Death in Nineteenth-Century US Writing and Culture* and Teodorescu’s *Death Representations in Literature Forms and Theories*) have left out of account the representations of death in those seven poems. All the texts portray the Angel of Death as the personification of inevitable death.<sup>6</sup> It is notable that all the Arabic narratives mention the Angel of Death in lieu of Azrael. A possible interpretation for this is the adherence to *The Quran* and the Correct Traditions of the Prophet Mohammad. In supporting this, Abu Zaid emphasizes that the name, Azrael, must not replace the Angel of Death (Ibn Kathir

173). Al-Zabidi (Vol 19: 19) and Ibn Kathir (163) mention that Azrael is the name of the Angel of Death who takes souls. Azrael is not mentioned in *The Quran*; the only Quranic reference to the Angel of Death is in *Surah As-Sajdah* (32: 11) as *Malak Al-Mawt* (the Angel of Death): “Say, The angel of death, who is set over you, shall cause you to die: then shall ye be brought back unto your LORD” (Sale 404-05). In his commentary on this *ayah*, Al-Qortobi (18) suggests that Azrael means Abdullah, which denotes the slave of Allah. Like Al-Qortobi, Davidson (64-5) thinks that Azrael is a compound noun which consists of *Azr*, meaning helper, and *ael*, meaning God. If so, the name could be originally Arabic. *Azara* and *aazara*, in Arabic, are verbs, which mean helped, and *eel* is one of God’s names according to Al-Zabidi (vols 13, 15, 28: 25, 42, 45-6). In deviating from the Arabic narratives, Attar, Rumi, the poet of “Destiny,” Longfellow, Arnold, Trench, and Watson use Azrael. Surprisingly, Hunt and Redhouse do not, however, refer to Azrael.

It is important to note that Azrael, in all texts, appears in the shape of a man (El-Shami, *Types of the Folktales in the Arab World: a Demographically Oriented Tale*, 1186). The Islamic texts do not detail his appearance, although in *Surah Fatir* (35: 1), Allah says: “PRAISE be unto God, the Creator of Heaven and earth; who maketh the angels his messengers, furnished with two, and three, and four pairs of wings” (Sale 426). Mohammad said that Gabriel, he saw during his journey to heaven, had six hundred wings, the distance between a wing and another is equal to that between the East and the West (Ibn Kathir 263). In particular, the Angel of Death appeared to Adam in the shape of a black ram whose head was white. He had four wings and many eyes; his chest was imbued with black, white, yellow, red, and green (Al-Asbahani 900, 944). Nevertheless, the English poems surpass the Islamic texts; their adaptations are supposed to be most familiar to their (of course Christian) Western audience. For instance, in his physiognomic way, Hunt explicitly portrays Azrael as:

One of mean sort, a dweller with distress,  
 Or some poor pilgrim; but the steps he took  
 Belied it with strange greatness; and his look  
 Opened a page in a tremendous book  
 He wore a cowl, from under which there shone,  
 Full on the guest, and on the guest alone,  
 A face, not of this earth, half veiled in gloom  
 And radiance, but with eyes like lamps of doom. (Hunt 127)

Hunt sympathizes surprisingly with Azrael who is either a mean stranger, distressed dweller, or a poor pilgrim. However, Hunt describes him as a source of fear and menace, and an omen of death. Although Azrael does not hold a scythe, his black hooded cloak, in the verses quoted above, in one way or another alludes to death as “the Grim Reaper.” Further, Hunt and Trench focus similarly on the blackness of Azrael as a traditional, universal metaphor for death. However, it is surprising that Longfellow (264) describes him as “a white figure in the twilight air.” In ways similar to those of Longfellow, the poet of “Destiny” and Watson make Azrael appear out of a cold, icy wind; Arnold makes winged Azrael appear “on shadowy plumes.”<sup>7</sup> Seemingly, Longfellow’s reference to Azrael’s whiteness might be an echo of Islamic portrayals of angels (such as Gabriel) as white. His appearance in these ways is reminiscent of jin’s appearance. In addition, one might say that the poets, in depicting Azrael’s appearance in the wind and the air, create a supernatural atmosphere that attracts their readers. With respect to winged Azrael, in “Destiny” and Arnold’s poem, those two poets might echo either Islamic portrayals of winged angels (as mentioned above) or winged Thanatos in Greek mythology.

It is important to suggest that Azrael’s gaze in all texts symbolizes death. Hunt (127), for instance, describes Azrael’s huge, fearful eyes as “the lamps of doom.” Keeping in mind that lamps stand for lightness and doom for darkness, it can be suggested that Hunt, in this phrase, offers an explicit (yet confusing) binary opposition of light and dark and life and death. He depicts Azrael’s eyes in this way in order to conform to his native culture. In Ireland, it is common that death is personified as Dullahan, whose eyes are very large (Pettigrove 35). Added to this, Hunt’s phrase might be an adaptation of Jewish lore which refers to Death as the Angel of Dark and Light. Similarly, Arnold’s depiction of Azrael’s eyes is significant. Consider the following excerpt:

Presenteth how there sate with Solomon  
 A prince of India, and there passed them by  
 Azrael, Angel of Death, on shadowy plumes;  
 With great eyes gazing earnestly, as one  
 Who wonders, gazing. And, because the Prince  
 [...]
 Fixing on him those awful searching Eyes. (Arnold 99)

In those verses, Azrael’s great menacing eyes act as a metaphor for death.

At this stage, it is important to examine Azrael’s astonishment when he sees

the mortal. The poet of “Destiny” expresses Azrael’s astonishment by drawing confusingly on *The Quran*. Azrael addresses Solomon: “‘Twas Allah’s behest, O king,”/That Asuf’s soul from the centre of Ind/“Before his throne I should bring”(81). In *Surah An-Naml* (27: 38-40), there is an explicit allusion to the story of Solomon and Bilqis. Solomon asks if anyone can bring her throne before him. A genius one (Sale points he is Ifrit 372) says he will bring it before Solomon arises from his place. Another one, acclaimed to be Asaf, Gabriel, or al-Khidr, brings it before the twinkling of Solomo’s eyes. The Quranic story runs as follows:

And *Solomon* said, O nobles, which of you will bring unto me her throne, before they come and surrender themselves unto me? A terrible genius answered, I will bring it unto thee, before thou arise from thy place: for I am able to *perform* it, and may be trusted. *And one* with whom was the knowledge of the scriptures said, I will bring it unto thee, in the twinkling of an eye. (Sale 372)

It seems apparent that the poet imitates this story in his own way. Other echoes of that *Surah* appear in Longfellow’s and Watson’s poems. In the former, Azrael wonders in this way:

Then said the Angel, smiling: “If this man  
lie Rajah Runjeet-Sing of Hindostan,  
Thou hast done well in listening to his prayer ;  
I was upon my way to seek him there.” (Longfellow 264)

Similarly, in the latter, Azrael wonders as follows:

But Azrael smiled: “O king, behold how thou  
Obeyst, unwitting, His almighty will  
Who sent me for thy fellow even now  
To India, tho’ he sat upon thy hill;  
And as I passed I wondered, seeing below  
The soul I seek in India, where I go.”  
(Watson, *Songs of Flying Hours* 82)

What those quoted verses have in common is the focus on Azrael’s smile. This act of smiling links these two poems with Al-Safoori’s tale and Ibn ‘Asakir’s first

story. Smiling in those four texts echoes Solomon's smiling when he hears the ant as narrated in *Surah An-Naml* (27: 18-19). Apart from smiling, there is another Oriental echo inferred from Azrael's response in Trench's poem, in which Azrael wonders if the mortal had a thousand pinions. This response is similar to Azrael's in Rumi's poem.

All Islamic versions and English poems present Azrael, like humans, as neither omniscient nor omnipresent. The seven English poems, like the Islamic narratives, express that Azrael's duty is to take the soul from the body. He has no free will in deciding the time and place of one's death. He acts as a servant who fulfills Allah's behest. The destiny of someone cannot be decided nor deferred by Azrael. As bid by Allah, Azrael, who cannot ordain death on mortals, must comply with Allah's behest by taking the soul from the body. This justifies why he wonders when seeing the mortal.

### Solomon

Solomon serves as a mediator between life and death. He, like Azrael, cannot prevent death.<sup>8</sup> In Islam, Solomon is a Prophet (not a Messenger), in whom Muslims must believe (Salloom 63). *The Quran* alludes to Solomon seventeen times in seven *Suwar*: *Al-Baqarah* (2: 102), *An-Nisa'* (4: 163), *Al-Ana'm* (6:84), *Al-Anbiya'* (21: 78-79, 81), *An-Naml* (27:15-18, 30, 36, 44), *Saba'* (34:12-13), and *Sad* (38: 30-34). In complying with the Quranic attitude towards Solomon as a Prophet, Al-Safoori, Al-Abshihi, Al-Ghazali, Al-Nuwayri, Ibn 'Asakir, and Ibn Manzur allude explicitly to Solomon as a Prophet. It is, nevertheless, surprising that Al-Asbahani's first story refers to him as the Messenger of Allah. In other Arabic narratives, Attar's and Rumi's poems, there is no reference to him as either the Prophet or the Messenger of Allah. In Islam, there is a difference between a Messenger (Arabic: *Rasul*) and a Prophet (Arabic: *Nabi*). There is a specific message for a Messenger, who has a mission to complete. A Messenger is a lawgiver, whereas a Prophet is not. A Messenger sees and speaks to Gabriel, whereas a Prophet sees revelation in a dream or a vision.

It is notable that the English poets refer to Solomon neither as a Prophet nor as a Messenger. Instead, they, like Attar and Rumi, allude to him as a King. In this sense, it is apparent that the English poets adopt a political dimension rather than a religious one. Those poets target a Biblical audience, so they renounce an Islamic attitude to a certain degree and adopt a Biblical one. That is to say, King Solomon, whom those poems celebrate, recurs in Deut (17: 14-20), 1 Kings (1: 13, 17) and 2 Chronicles (9: 9). The poet of "Destiny," Longfellow, Arnold, and Watson —

each alludes to Solomon as a King three times. Hunt likewise describes him as a King and sage whose wisdom evokes deity and spiritual knowledge as revealed in 1 Kings (3:1, 4:29, 4:30, 4:34, 5:12, 7:14, 10:4, 10:23, 10:24, 11:41), 2 Chronicles (1:1, 1:11, 9:3, 9:22, 9:23), Matthew (12:42), and Luke (11:31).

It is apparent that the Islamic versions of the story similarly celebrate Solomon's mastery over the wind as a miracle. This mastery is derived from *The Quran*, which does not explain how Solomon can subdue the wind. In particular, three *ayat* (verses) in three different *Suwar* iterate Solomon's subjection of the wind, which he could use for different purposes. In *Surah Al-Anbiya'* (21: 81), Allah says: "And unto Solomon *we subjected* a strong wind; it ran at his command to the land whereon we had bestowed *our blessings*" (Sale 323). In *Surah Saba'* (34: 12), Allah says: "And *we made* the wind *subject* unto Solomon: *it blew* in the morning for a month, and in the evening for a month" (Sale 420). In *Surah Sad* (38: 36), Allah says: "And we made the wind subject to him; it ran gently at his command, whithersoever he directed" (446). The wind, upon Solomon's command, could be strong, gentle, and speedy. Solomon could use it for conquering, trading, and as a means of transportation. For instance, he could fly a month's journey in the morning and another month's journey in the evening.

Like all the Islamic versions, Trench, Longfellow, Redhouse, and Watson imitate Solomon's subjection of the wind as a means of transportation. What is surprising in this sense is a similarity between Rumi and Trench. Consider the following verses from Trench's poem:

Oh, bid the storm-wind, gracious mighty lord,  
That it to farthest India waft me straight;  
[....]

The storm-wind swept him over sea and Land. (Trench 341)

In imitating Rumi, Trench makes a reference to the sea. Furthermore, Longfellow and Trench, who similarly portray the wind as strong and mighty, echo *Surah Al-Anbiya'* (21: 81), which alludes to the strong wind that Solomon can subdue. More importantly, these four poems, in diverging from the Islamic versions, details Solomon's sigils that enable him to subdue the wind.

Although the Islamic versions (save Al-Asbahani's first story) do not refer to Solomon's sigils by which he controls the wind, four English poems identify Solomon with specific occult symbols that he uses as talismans or as variants of the Seal of Solomon. The first symbol is a talisman by which Solomon can subdue the

wind and summons jinn. Talisman is “an object, esp. a figure carved or cut at a time regarded as astrologically favorable, supposed to have magical protective qualities” (*New Webster’s Dictionary* 1009). This English word, talisman, is originally an Arabic word. Al-Zabidi (vol 33: 24-5) suggests that the Arabic word, *tilasm* (plural: *talasim*) is a name suggestive of a secret. This concept is common among Sufis, who often say: “*sirrun mutilsam*” (secret) and “*hijabun mutilsam*” (mysterious amulet) (Al-Zabidi vol 33: 24-5).<sup>9</sup> From an Arabic semantic perspective, *tilasm* centers on mystery and secrecy. This Arabic notion of mystery is emphasized by the poet of “Destiny” and Longfellow who refer similarly to Solomon’s talisman. Consider the following excerpt from “Destiny”:

Then Asuf said to Solomon-  
 “By the might of thy talisman,  
 “transport me far from Azrael’s power  
 “To the depths of Hindoostan.”

Three words the king of the Genii spake,  
 And through the fields of air  
 In a moment Asuf to India flew,  
 And the Afrits left him there. (82)

In the lines quoted above, the talisman is not specified and the three words are mysterious, but the talisman is the Seal of Solomon, which is an interlaced triangle as suggested by number three. Moreover, it is feasible to mention that the three words that Solomon utters might be a Quranic phrase in *Surah Sad* (38: 36) “*Rukha’an haithu asab*” (“whithersoever he directed”) (Sale 446). What this phrase might mean is Solomon’s ability to command the wind as he pleases. In this context, it is significant to refer to Al-Asbahani’s first story (904) in which Solomon utters this Quranic phrase which enables him to command the wind. This similitude reveals that the poet of “Destiny” might be familiar with Al-Asbahani’s narrative.

Longfellow, in his own way, describes Solomon’s way of controlling the wind as follows:

The king gazed upward at the cloudless sky.  
 Whispered a word, and raised his hand on high  
 And lo! the signet-ring of chrysoprase  
 On his uplifted finger seemed to blaze

With hidden fire and rushing from the west  
 There came a mighty wind and seized the guest  
 And lifted him from earth, and on they passed,  
 His shining garments streaming in the blast,  
 A silken banner o'er the walls upreared,  
 A purple cloud that gleamed and disappeared. (Longfellow 264)

Longfellow's representation of Solomon as a religious believer, who communicates directly with God, echoes a submerged Islamic sense of Solomon's prayer. It is reported that the Prophet Mohammad said that when Solomon hopefully looked at the sky, he was granted whatever he asked for (Ibn 'Asakir 274). Further, Solomon whispers a mysterious word, which might be decoded as Allah's Greatest Name. If one utters that Name, he can perform miraculous powers. This Name might be engraved on Solomon's signet-ring of chrysoprase, which enables Solomon to control the mighty wind. Added to this, if Solomon utters the following words: "in the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful," he can subdue anything no matter what it is (Al-Nuwayri 73).

Like Longfellow, Hunt refers to Solomon's Magic ring which grants Solomon's power over jinn:

"O royal master! Sage! Lord of the Ring,  
 I cannot bear the horror of this thing;  
 Help with thy mighty art. Wish me, I pray,  
 On the remotest mountain of Cathay."  
 Solomon wished, and the man vanished. (Hunt 127-28)

In an occult way, "the Ring" enables Solomon to have the mortal disappear. More importantly, there is a reference to the five-pointed star, also known as the pentagram, pentacle, or pentangle. Solomon, in Watson's poem, is portrayed magically:

Then the king stooped and drew upon the sand  
 A magic figure, like a five-fold star,  
 And all the powers of air the dread command  
 Obeyed, and bore the Tyrian swift afar.  
 (Watson, *Songs of Flying Hours* 81)



In the verses quoted above, Watson establishes a relationship between drawing on the sand as a magical practice and Solomon's magic figure, which is like a five-pointed star. Such a practice enables Solomon to perform miracles.

In this sense, these references to Solomon's sigils echo Arabic accounts of Solomon's Ring. Allah bid Gabriel to give the Ring of Caliphate on Earth from Paradise to Solomon. The Ring blazes like a star and smells like musk. It is engraved with "There is no god save Allah, Mohammad is the Messenger of Allah." When Solomon saw the Ring, he said "I certified that there is no God save Allah, and Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah" (Al-Nuwayri 73). It is interesting to observe that Solomon, in the poems, is explicitly treated as a magician — a stereotype common in the West. From an Islamic perspective, dealing with magic is a sign of faithlessness. Accordingly, Solomon is portrayed as an unbeliever because he is a magician. This stereotype of Solomon is condemned in Islam for Solomon is not a magician as mentioned in *Surah Al-Baqarah* (2: 102).

All Arabic narratives do not refer to Solomon's sovereignty over jinn, though *The Quran* does so in three *Suwar*. It is believed that Solomon can control both good and evil jinn who perform different tasks for him as stated in *Surah Saba'* (34: 12-13), *Surah Al-Anbiya'* (21: 82), and *Surah Sad* (38: 37-38). Surprisingly, one might realize that four English poems, based supposedly on Al-Baidawi's story and Rumi's poem, deal with Solomon's subjection of jinn and confusingly specify some types of jinn. Jinn can be classified into 'Amir, Ruh, demon, Marid, and Ifrit (El-Zein 142-43). Arnold highlights Solomon's ability to control demon ministers and jinn whom he can also see along with the angels. Unlike the Islamic classification, demons and jinn, in Arnold's poem, are considered different. In "Destiny," Solomon is portrayed as "the Genie-King." This evocation of Solomon's ability to subdue jinn is ambiguous because it can be understood that Solomon is considered a jinni.<sup>10</sup> Trench (342), in imitating Rumi, treats Solomon as the King, who regularly meets the Spirits: "But when the Spirits met another day./To the Death Angel Spake the Monarch," whereas Redhouse (71), in translating Rumi, describes Solomon as the "King of sprites and men!" Neither Trench nor Redhouse is faithful to Rumi, who does not refer to spirits nor to sprites.

### **The Mortal**

The mortal, in all narratives and poems, predestined to die in India or Cathay, unwittingly seeks refuge from death by hiding in that place. This becomes a common motif as suggested by El-Shami (*Types of the Folktales in the Arab World: a Demographically Oriented Tale* 177). That the mortal is unable to escape death

is stated in *Surah Al-Jumu'ah* (62: 8): "Say, Verily death, from which ye fly, will surely meet you" (Sale 535). This idle mortal, in the English poems, is presented in ways similar to and different from those in Islamic versions. In some Arabic narratives, the mortal is ethnically, religiously, and politically depicted. In Al-Abshihi's version, he is an Israelite, pious youth; in Ibn 'Asakir's second tale, and Ibn Manzur's story, he is an Israelite, wise shaykh and Solomon's consultant; in Al-Asbahani's first tale, and Al-Suyuti's second version, the mortal is a shaykh who regularly attends Solomon's council; and in Rumi's poem, the mortal is a nobleman. In Al-Asbahani's second tale, Al-Asfahani's, and Ibn 'Asakir's first story, the mortal is Solomon's cousin. In imitating (yet in a unique way), the narratives drawn on Ibn Abi Hind, the English poems portray the mortal ethnically and politically. In "Destiny," he is Solomon's servant; and in Hunt's, Longfellow's, and Watson's poems, he is Solomon's guest. In Longfellow's poem, the guest is an Indian, learned man and Rajah of the realms of Hindostan. In Arnold's and Trench's poems, he is a prince. Longfellow's and Arnold's presentations of the mortal as an Indian politician might be interpreted in these two ways. First, it suggests a kind of cooperation between Solomon's kingdom and India. Second, it justifies why the mortal asks Solomon to waft him to his home country instead of any other country. Unlike the other poets, Watson, in choosing the mortal from Tyre, surpasses other poets from a historical perspective. He highlights the trade cooperation between Solomon and Hiram King of Tyre. They signed a treaty which involved acts of cooperation. Workers from Jerusalem and Tyre participated in building the temple, Solomon's palace, among other projects as suggested by Sweeney (98).

The mortal is nameless in all texts save in "Destiny" and Longfellow's poem. In "Destiny," the mortal is given a Quranic name, Asaf. The poet of "Destiny" acknowledges that his poem is based on Al-Baidawi, to which he might be exposed through Sale. Neither in Al-Baidawi nor in Sale is the mortal given this name. Asaf Ibn Burkhiyya is believed to be an Israelite scientist. It is believed that he was Solomon's scribe or prince. He knew Allah's Ineffable Name, so he could perform any task, especially bringing Bilqis' throne from Sheba in Yemen to Solomon in Jerusalem in a very short time. There is an implicit reference to him in *Surah An-Naml* (27: 40): "And one with whom was the knowledge of the scriptures said, I will bring it [Bilqis' throne] unto thee, in the twinkling of an eye" (Sale 372). "Destiny" misrepresents Asaf.

Thou can'st not hear what I can hear,  
Nor see what I can see,

But he beckons with his giant hand,  
And he tells that he comes for thee. (82)

If the poet is aware of these Islamic details about Asaf, he satirizes his miraculous capacity. In case he is unaware, he either misunderstands or distorts Sale's explanatory information concerning Asaf. In Longfellow's poem, the mortal's name is Runjeet-Sing, which might surprisingly echo Maharaja Ranjit Sing (1780-1839), who was the founder of the Sikh Empire, which was a major power in the Indian subcontinent. Longfellow, in selecting such a name, might intend to describe this person, like Solomon, as strong, wise, and royal.

### **India as the Place of Death**

If one considers that China which replaces India in Hunt's poem is a deviation from the Arabic narratives, it can be mentioned the texts show a relationship between the place of Solomon and India. That is to say, those narratives might suggest a possible interaction between India and the Middle East during the reign of Solomon and mainly before the advent of Islam. Wink argues that India interacted with the Middle East after Islam reached India with Arab traders during the seventh century AD. All Arabic narrative versions (save Attar's) do not encompass any reference to the exact location of Solomon in which he meets the mortal and the Angel of Death. There is no reference to any specific country, city, town, or village. The case is so because Palestine is implicitly understood as the country. However, Attar's and the seven English poems make explicit references to the location of Solomon where he and the mortal encounter Azrael.

All texts (whether in Arabic, Persian, or English) refer to India as the place of death. However, Hunt's poem refers to Cathay in lieu of India. Cathay is the poetic form of China. One might wonder why those texts refer to India or even to China. One possible answer is the distant location according to the Islamic narratives. Four Arabic narratives and four English poems explicitly stress the notion of distance. Specifically, Trench's and Watson's poems refer to farthest India. "Destiny" refers to the depths of Hindoostan. Arnold's poem indentifies the place in India as Coromandel.

One might wonder if distance is the only reason for choosing India or Cathay. To answer such a question, one cannot deny other religious and mythical justifications. It is believed that Adam, grasping leaves from the Tree of Life, landed in India after being dismissed from Paradise (Ibn Kathir Vol 1, 100-01). India is believed to be the place of immortality or longevity. It is possible that in

Arabic collective consciousness India is the place of immortality because of the elixir of life, soma, amrita, and peaches of immortality. It is believed in India and China that drinking any of these liquids or eating peaches can grant immortality. Further, Hunt's reference to Cathay might be explained in this way. It is believed that in China there is a river named *Aab Hayah* (Water of Life) according to Al-Zabidi (vol 35: 318). Drinking from its water lengthens one's life. Arnold's poem surpasses other texts by making this point more explicit. Consider the following verses:

[...]Solomon  
 Issued command, and a swift Djin sprang forth  
 Bearing the prince aloft, so that he came  
 To Coromandel, ere the fruit — which fell  
 Out of the fig — had touched the marble  
 Floor. (Arnold 101)

In the verses quoted above, Arnold's references to a fig tree and Coromandel bear a religious and mythical import. Arnold might mean *Ficus religiosa*, sacred fig, or Peepal, which are synonyms. This tree is considered sacred by the followers of some Indian religions such as Buddhism. They consider meditating under it sacred because gods reside on its leaves. It can be inferred that this tree is identified with immortality for it grows in Coromandel, to which the mortal is wafted.

## Conclusion

In summary, it is noted that scholars of English and Arabic literatures have surprisingly ignored the story of Solomon. It is included in some Arabic primary sources as a *hadith*, two Persian poems deal solely with it, and seven English-language poems are either adaptations or even translations of this Islamic story. The Islamic versions are classified into four models: Ibn Hawshab's Model, Ibn Abi Hind's Model, the Egyptian Model, and the Persian Model. This story might have been introduced to the West through Arabic manuscripts preserved in the libraries of Western universities such as that of Cambridge. The first English translation of the story is included in Sale's translation of *The Quran*. Afterwards, few English translations appeared in prose. Surprisingly, in the nineteenth century, English-language poets (from England, Ireland, and US) have adapted or translated this story in ways that conform to their Western readers. In so doing, they have played a very major role in introducing this story to the West, who was obsessed with

translating Oriental literary masterpieces such as *The Arabian Nights* and Pre-Islamic poetry in the nineteenth century. Those poems follow the same structure of the Islamic version, but diverge in characterizations and setting in order to meet the expectations of their Western audience. Solomon is presented as a magician; Azrael, who personifies inevitable death, is depicted in various ways. Nevertheless, some poets draw on *The Quran* and Islamic lore. Out of seven poems, only three are attributed to specific Islamic sources. Trench's and Redhouse's poems are translations of Rumi's poem, although the former does not acknowledge that. "Destiny" and Arnold's poem are adaptations of Al-Baidawi's version – to which they might have been introduced through Sale's translation of *The Quran*. Interestingly, this study rediscovers some poets such as Watson and Redhouse who are still forgotten by their native readers although their poetry can offer deep (perhaps unprecedented) insights into their Orientalism.

## Notes

1. The title of Longfellow's poem is "The Spanish Jew's Tale, Azrael" (Longfellow 264).
2. The story "Appointment in Luz" is worth quoting: "There were two Cushites that attended on King Solomon, Elichoreph and Achiyah, sons of Shisha, who were scribes of Solomon. One day, Solomon noticed that the Angel of Death looked sad. Solomon asked him: Why are you sad? He replied: Because they have demanded from me the two Cushites that dwell here. Solomon had demons take them to the city of Luz [a legendary city where no one dies]. However, as soon as they reached the gates of Luz, they died. The next day, Solomon noticed that the Angel of Death was happy. He asked him: Why are you so happy? He replied: Because you sent them to the very place where they were supposed to die" (Sukkah 53a).
3. All Quranic quotations are from George Sale's *The Koran and Sale's Preliminary Discourse*.
4. In Whinfield's *Masnawi I Ma'navi: The Spiritual Couplets of Maulana Jalalu-'D-Din I Rumi* (17), the whole story is narrated in two sentences. Other translations which do not include this tale are Edward Henry Palmer's *The Song of the Reed and Other Pieces*; Charles Dudley Warner's *The Library of the World's Best Literature: Ancient and Modern*; Richard Gotteil's *Persian and Japanese Literature, in Two Volumes*; Nathan Haskell Dole's *Flowers from Persian Poetry*.
5. In this essay, I have used Al-Baidawi instead of Al-Beidawi which is an incorrect transliteration; Anonymous, 'Destiny', *The Calcutta Magazine*, 14 (1831), 82.
6. For more details, see El-Shami, *Folk Traditions of the Arab World: a Guide to Motif Classification*, Vol 1. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995, 187.
7. For more details, El-Shami, *Folk Traditions of the Arab World: a Guide to Motif*

*Classification.*, Vol 1. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995, 148.

8. He is Sulaiman Ibn Dawood Ibn Afsha Ibn 'Owaid Ibn Na'ar Ibn Salamon Ibn Yakhshon Ibn 'Aminadhthb Ibn Arm Ibn Khathron Ibn Fariss Ibn Yahoda Ibn Yaqoob Ibn Ishaq Ibn Ibrahim Abu Al-Rabi' Nabiyyo Allah Ibn Nabiyyo Allah (Ibn 'Asakir 230).

9. I have translated those phrases.

10. Asaf is another transliteration.

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