

AN
HISTORY
OF
Muhammedanism :

COMPRISING
THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE ARABIAN PROPHET,
AND SUCCINCT ACCOUNTS OF THE
EMPIRES FOUNDED BY THE MUHAMMEDAN ARMS;
AN INQUIRY INTO
THE THEOLOGICAL, MORAL, AND JURIDICAL CODES
OF THE MUSELMANS,
AND
THE LITERATURE AND SCIENCES OF THE
SARACENS AND TURKS;
WITH
A VIEW OF
THE PRESENT EXTENT AND INFLUENCE
OF THE
MUHAMMEDAN RELIGION.

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TO
*
COLONEL SIR JOHN MALCOLM,
*
K. C. B., K. L. S.,

THIS WORK

ON

MUHAMMEDANISM

IS INSCRIBED,

AS A TESTIMONY OF GRATITUDE FOR THE PATRONAGE

WHICH IT HAS RECEIVED FROM HIM,

AND OF

RESPECT FOR HIS GREAT ATTAINMENTS IN THE

LANGUAGES AND HISTORY OF THE EAST,

BY

HIS OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

CHARLES MILLS.

4, Sloane Street, January 1817.

P R E F A C E.

WITH Asia the most interesting ideas are associated ;—that original seat of population, religion, and letters, that parent of numerous sciences, and inventress of so large a portion of useful and elegant arts. Every page of her records is filled with splendid and awful scenes. The history of the monarchies of old relates principally to the East, and the annals of the middle ages of Europe are by no means so rich and momentous, as the contemporaneous annals of Asia. In a favourable crisis, in one of those periods of civil and religious discord, when a new direction could be given to the human passions, an obscure individual appeared on the theatre of fanaticism and ambition, assumed the office of Prophet and Legislator, and changed the political and moral face of the world.

The history of the promulgation of the Mohammedan religion, — unfolding as it does so many scenes interesting to the moralist and the philosopher, and involving the social relations of countries, whose extent and population will startle a mind comparing the influence of Christianity and Islamism,—has often engaged the reflections of the wise. The life of the author of a mighty revolution, the reigns of the Caliphs, and of the Tartarian Princes, are subjects worthy the study of men, who delight in the contemplation of the rise and fall of Empires. The Koran, or book accounted sacred by the Muselmans, has been translated into most European languages, and its theological and ethical system can be placed on the same rank with the codes of Solon, and Numa ; of Brahma, and Zoroaster. The histories of letters abound with notices respecting the literature, of the Saracens, curious to those who mark the progress of mind ; and as Religion forms a prominent feature in character, the attention of the observer of human nature is drawn to those portions of the works of travellers, which describe

describe the great extent and influence of the Muhammedan delusion. But no attempt has been hitherto made to extract the substance of the different volumes on the subject of Muhammedanism (many of them elaborate and rare); to collect to one point the principal lights which writers have thrown upon it, and to form a connected and concise account of the religious, political, and literary history of the disciples of the Arabian Prophet.

In an age when the attractions of Science are generally and powerfully felt, it is difficult to draw the attention of the world to matters entirely historical and moral. But although MAN, and not NATURE, is the subject of the present undertaking, yet a hope for the curiosity of the studious is encouraged by the reflection, that the greatest historian in modern times has classed “the character and religion of Muhammed, and the conquests of the Saracens and Tartars,”* among the circumstances most interesting in human annals.

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AN
HISTORY
OF
MUHAMMEDANISM.

CHAP. I.

THE LIFE OF MUHAMMED.

BOUNDED on the north-west by Syria and Palestine; on the north-east by the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates; on the south-east by the Indian Sea; and on the south-west by the Red Sea; Arabia is, with some propriety, called an island, or peninsula.* But this country, though extending fifteen hundred miles, from the northern point of Beles on the Euphrates, to the straits of Babelmandel, vies not in richness of the bounties of nature with other extensive regions of the east. Its division by the Greeks and Latins, into the stony, the sandy, and the happy Arabia, expresses with sufficient accuracy for a general description, the nature of the soil, and climate. Immense plains of sand, unfreshed

Description
of Arabia.

B

* D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 208-231.

CHAP. I. *freshed by the appearance of vegetable or animal life, and mountains, where the tamarind or the acacia alone can grow, characterize the two first divisions of the country. But among the hills of stony Arabia, the sacred eminences of Horeb and Sinai are traced, and in the midst of Arabia deserta, where the sand is agitated into storms, like the sea into billows, Mecca and Medina appear. But the great city of Mecca draws its riches, and even its subsistence, from spots more favoured by nature.* The shores of Arabia deserta on the gulf of Persia, have rendered the isle of Tylos, and the town of Gerra or El-Katif, famous in ancient as in modern times; the one for its pearl fishery, and the other for its commerce in the perfumes which were brought from the Sabian country, transported up the Euphrates to Thapsacus, and across the desert to Petra. The fertility in corn and grapes of the mountains near the Indian Ocean, the temperature of the air, the appearance of streams of water, soon lost however in the desert, have procured for the southern country of Arabia, the epithet of happy. The coffee tree will always attract the merchant to the province of Yemen, the Arabic name for this portion of the country. The regularity*

* Abul-Pharajius, de origine et moribus Arabum, Arab. Lat. cum notis Ed. Pocockii, p. 125—128, 4to. Oxon. 1650.—Shaw's Travels, p. 383.

gularity of the climate, the elevation of the land, and the moisture of the soil, are more favourable to the growth of the plant, than the situation of any other country where it has been hitherto cultivated.* From the shores of the peninsula, the Egyptian merchants, whose jealous policy excluded foreigners from their own coasts, exported gold and incense, and Arabia enjoyed an exclusive reputation of possessing commodities, which the more fertile land of India in reality produced. Gold mines never existed, or have long since disappeared, and it is from the Indian Archipelago, that the Arabians draw the greatest part of their aromatics, and export them into Turkey, through the gulfs of Arabia and Persia.†

In a country, where the means of subsistence are few, population can never be great. In speaking of the Arabs, a distinction must be made between the husbandmen and the shepherds; the former description always live on the same soil, and submitting themselves to regular government, enjoy a social state like ours. Such are the inhabitants of Yemen, and the descendants of the ancient Arabian conquerors, who partly constitute the population of Syria,

The inhabitants.

B 2

of

* Niebuhr attributes the badness of the American coffee tree to its growth in sultry, dry situations.

† D'Anville, ubi supra; and Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, passim.

CHAP. I. of Egypt, and of the Barbary states.* The tribes of the desert, like the Scythian hordes, wander incessantly with their sheep, their horses, and their camels, in quest of the few spots of pasturage, with which nature occasionally mitigates the dreariness of the plains, and the Ichthyophagi have in every age sought a miserable and precarious livelihood, on the shores of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Ocean. But the Arabs are spread over the Asiatic and African worlds, and like the Jews, preserve among every nation, their own peculiar language and customs. From the river Senegal to the Indus, from the Euphrates to Mosambique and Madagascar, tribes of Bedoweens (the term meaning a man of the desert), or pastoral Arabs, exist, and maintain the character of their ancestors, for fierceness and rapacity. In every country of the east where Arabians live, they form a striking contrast to the native inhabitants. Their eyes are full of vivacity, their speech voluble and articulate, their deportment manly and dignified, their apprehension quick, their minds always present and attentive, with a spirit of freedom appearing in the countenances of even the lowest among them.†

In

* Abul-Pharajius, p. 2—5.—Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, tome 1, p. 345, &c.

† Niebuhr, and Jones on the Arabs.

In the sixth century of the Christian æra, the Jews and the Christians had their synagogues and churches in this land of freedom: the Magians revered and practised the doctrines of Zoroaster, and the Sabians adored their planetary deities. The worship of the sun, moon, and fixed stars, was the primitive religion of the Arabs, and was a system naturally formed and adopted by a people, who in travelling through their immense deserts, contemplated, and were guided by the regularity of the motions of the heavenly bodies. The purer and more sublime principle of religion, the existence of a future state, was shewn in their fancies respecting the transmigration of souls, and the camel left to perish near the tomb of his master, testified their belief of a general resurrection.*

CHAP. I.

Their religion.

The kingdom of Yemen has been successively subdued by the Abyssinians, the Persians, the Sultans of Egypt, and the Turks. Mecca and Medina have often been the prey of a Scythian tyrant, but the country at large has never been conquered.

Politics and government.

B 3

quered.

* Abul-Pharajius, p. 5—17, et notæ p. 89, 150. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, partie 1, tom. 2. The idolatry of the Arabs and the Sabians was not the same their systems spring perhaps from the same principles and causes, and some parts amalgamated. Sale, in the first section of his Preliminary Discourse, correctly describes the ancient idolatry of the Arabians, but erroneously calls it Sabianism. For a description of Sabianism, the curious reader may consult the Specimen Historiæ Antiquæ of Pocock, p. 138—146. D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient. tom. 3, p. 145—6. 4to. edition, 1777.

CHAP. I. quered. Its peninsula situation defended the southern, eastern, and western sides: the armies, which constituted the strength of the Assyrian and Persian empires, would, from ignorance of the situation of the springs of water, have perished in the desert in the centre of the country, and even the victories of Trajan, though celebrated by flatterers, as followed by the conquest of Arabia, were not heard of, except at some of the most northern parts. The form of government among the Arabs, is purely patriarchal. A family of a tribe exercises the office of sovereignty; it is true that the order of succession is frequently violated, but the reciprocal duties of allegiance and protection are indissoluble.* “The cities of Mecca and Medina,” says Mr. Gibbon in the fiftieth chapter of his history, “present in the heart of Asia, the form, “or rather the substance, of a commonwealth. “The grandfather of Muhammed and his lineal “ancestors, appear in foreign and domestic “transactions, as the princes of their country; “but they reigned like Pericles at Athens, or “the Medici at Florence, by the opinion of “their wisdom and integrity: their influence “was divided with their patrimony, and the “sceptre was transferred from the uncles of the “Prophet, to a younger branch of the tribe of
“ the

* Sale's Prelim. Discourse, sect. 1.

“ the Koreish. On solemn occasions, they con-
 “ vened the assembly of the people, and since
 “ mankind must be either compelled or per-
 “ suaded to obey, the use and reputation of
 “ oratory among the ancient Arabs is the clear-
 “ est evidence of public freedom. But their
 “ simple liberty was of a very different cast,
 “ from the nice and artificial machinery of the
 “ Greek and Roman republics, in which, each
 “ member possessed an undivided share of the
 “ civil and political rights of the community.
 “ In the more simple state of the Arabs, the
 “ nation is free, because each of her sons dis-
 “ dains a base submission to the will of a mas-
 “ ter. His breast is fortified with the austere
 “ virtues of courage, patience, and temperance ;
 “ the love of independence prompts him to
 “ exercise the habits of self-command, and the
 “ fear of dishonour guards him from the meaner
 “ apprehensions of pain, of danger, and of
 “ death.”

Of all the various tribes of the Arabians, that of the Koreish held the most distinguished rank. From Adnan to Ishmael the son of Abraham, and patriarch of the nation, the Arabians confess, that the genealogy of this tribe is involved in fable. But the pedigree from Adnan to Muhammed, preserved with all the care which can be bestowed upon an historical document (and

Family of
 Muham-
 med.

CHAP. I. in Asia, pedigrees form the histories of nations), presents a long line of illustrious ancestors.* To this family had been consigned the honourable office of guarding the Caaba, or square temple at Mecca, and their supremacy in religious affairs in this metropolis of Arabia, was accompanied with submission or respect to their temporal sway. Haschem, the reigning pontiff and prince, at the commencement of the sixth century, raised the city under his government to a state of activity and opulence, by the establishment of two caravans of commercial produce; one for Syria, and the other for South Arabia. His son Abdol-Motaleb delivered his country from the yoke of the Christian princes of Abyssinia. His patriotism was gratified by the political and commercial aggrandisement of Mecca, and his domestic life was cheered by the Asiatic felicity and honour of a family of six daughters and ten sons.* Of this numerous progeny, Abdallah was his youngest and best beloved; and the marriage of this youth with Amina, the fairest ornament of the noble tribe of the Zarites, gave birth to the victorious enthusiast of the East. The dawn of Muhammed's fame was overspread by many clouds, which the co-operating power of genius and opportunity enabled him to dispel. The patrimony of Abdallah

Birth of Muhammed, A.D. 569.

* Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tome 32, page 406.

dallah was small, and had not been improved CHAP. I.
 by commerce into wealth. His death hap-
 pened in the early infancy of his son; and His youth.
 on the division of his inheritance the share
 of the future lord of Arabia consisted only
 of five camels and one Ethiopian female
 slave.* His childhood was soon deprived of
 maternal

* Gagnier, *vie de Mahomet, traduite et compilée de l'Alcoran; des traditions authentiques de la Sonna et des meilleurs auteurs Arabes.* Amsterdam, 2 tom. 8vo. introd. part 2. et livre 1. chap. 1. All the Arabian and Persian MSS. on the history of the Saracens, contain accounts of Muhammed. None of them are of great antiquity. The industry of D'Herbelot discovered and used the Saracenic histories by Novari and Mircond, writers of the eighth and ninth centuries of the Hegira. These books formed the basis of the article Muhammed in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*. The best Life in Arabic of Muhammed that has yet been discovered is by Abulfeda, a contemporary writer with Novari, and who was an Emir at Hamah in Syria. Abulfeda is a judicious and candid writer; his work bears internal testimony of truth. Pocock (from whom it is not often safe to differ) gives him unqualified praise—See Pocock's Preface to his translation of *Abul-Pharajius*. About the commencement of the last century, Abulfeda was translated into Latin, and illustrated by valuable notes, by John Gagnier, the Arabic professor at Oxford; a Frenchman by birth, of a Calvinistic family. See *Dic. Hist. Lyons, 1804*. Gagnier also published a *Life of Muhammed*, the basis of which was a book by Al-Jannabi, a writer of the sixteenth century of our æra. Al-Jannabi, and the other writers who contributed to this latter work of Gagnier, disgust the reader by their fables. Of the lives of Muhammed compiled from various authors, and not mere translations from one manuscript, that of Savary is the best. It will not be easy to apportion the quantum of merit in Prideaux and Maracci. Savary is sensible, mild, and impartial; Maracci is violent, Prideaux is dull, and both are always prejudiced. There is a well written paper on the establishment of the religion and empire of Muhammed, by M. Brequigny, in the 32d volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres*. From the translations by Gagnier, from Savary's Life, and from M. Brequigny's

Written
 Lives of Mu-
 hammed.

CHAP. I.

maternal solicitude, and the care of the orphan was consigned to his venerable grandfather, Abdol-Motalleb. This faithful protector soon sunk under the weight of years, and Muhammed became a member of the family of his uncle Abu-Taleb. By this royal merchant, who in the quality of eldest son of Abdol-Motalleb, enjoyed the dignity of pontiff of the Temple and prince of Mecca, he was instructed in the arts of war and trade; he accompanied him in his journies to the fairs of Syria, and fought with him, in the conflicts between the Arabian tribes.* But he remained in comparative obscurity till the age of twenty-five, when the office of factor to Kadajah, the widow of a wealthy trader (for an application to commerce was accounted honourable among the Arabians), and the possession of her hand and fortune, with which she soon rewarded his fidelity, raised him to an equality with the proudest merchants of Mecca.†

His marriage.

His youth had been always remarkable for a serious deportment, and for strict attention to devotional exercises; and so general was the reputation

Paper, with occasional references to D'Herbelot, and to Gibbon, (the latter of whom seems in his remarks on Muhammed always to have Savary in view) the following sketch of the life of Muhammed has been drawn.

* Abulfeda, de vita et rebus gestis Muhammedi. Ar. Lat. a J. Gagnier, ch. i —vi. fol. Oxon. 1743. Gagnier, tom. 1, ch 4.

† Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. 32, p. 413. Abul-Pharajius, p. 6.

reputation of his piety, that on the finding in the well Zemnen, of the black stone, which, it is said, the angel Gabriel brought to Abraham, when he built the Caaba, the people unanimately declared, that the grandson of ~~Abul~~ Motalleb alone was worthy of the honour of replacing it in its station. In a life of leisure and independence, he indulged the fancies of his genius, and every year in the month of Ramadan, he retired for the purposes of fasting, of prayer, and meditation, to the cave in Mount Hara, near Mecca. His charity, his frugality, procured for him universal respect, and these periodical retreats exalted the feelings of the Arabians into veneration. This mode of life could not fail to increase the fanaticism of an imagination naturally sanguine. The ardour of his enthusiasm, nourished for fifteen years, by pious practices and solitary meditation, prompted him to proclaim himself a prophet, sent by heaven to preach the unity of the Godhead, and to restore to its purity the religion of Abraham and Ishmael.*

He proclaims himself a prophet.

A pretended intercourse with the deity is the surest proof of fanaticism. When the year of his mission was come, his family accompanied him to the place of his retirement. In the night, he affirmed, that the angel Gabriel had appeared

A. D. 609.

* Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. 32, p. 413—414.

* **CHAP. I.** appeared to him, and had proclaimed him to be the apostle of God. Kadijah declared, that he was the prophet of her nation, and her kinsman Waraka, son of Nawfali, recognized him as a messenger from heaven predicted by Moses.* The infusing of the spirit of fanaticism into his wife, was followed by the conversion, though of suspicious sincerity, of his slave Zeid; and the youthful ardour of Ali, the son of Abu-Taleb, embraced with credulity the opinions of his friend and cousin. At the end of three years, Abubeker listened to the voice of reason or enthusiasm, and fourteen proselytes, among whom were six of the principal men of Mecca, admired the sublime simplicity of the creed of Muhammed. His pretensions were now developed; at an entertainment given by Ali to the family of Haschem, the prophet declared to his assembled friends, that it was in his power to bestow upon them the most precious of gifts, happiness in the present, and in a future life. "The Almighty," he continued, "has commanded me to call you unto him. Who then among you will assist me to support my burthen? who among you will be my brother and my vizier?" The assembly held a silence of astonishment and contempt. But his cousin Ali, who had paused in expectation that some chief

Muhammed preaches at Mecca, A.D. 609.

* Abulfeda, Vita. Mahom. ch. 7. Gagner, ch. 8.

chief of the family would have embraced the offer with transport, frantically exclaimed, "O " Apostle of God, I am the man; and I will " beat out the teeth, pull out the eyes, rip up " the belly, and break the legs, of all that op- " pose you; I will be your vizier over them." The prophet threw his arms round the neck of his fanatical proselyte, and blessed him as his brother, his ambassador, his deputy. In vain did Abu-Taleb, by exhortation and reproof, attempt to dissuade, or prohibit his son and his nephew, from a continuance in their enthusiastic folly. "No," said the fanatic Muhammed, "though the sun were set against me on my " right hand, and the moon on my left, I " would not swerve from my course." The venerable patriarch deplored the errors of his relatives, but resolved to protect their persons from the malice and animosity of his tribe.*

Having once declared himself a delegate from God, Muhammed was not of a disposition indolently or indifferently to await his acceptance or rejection by his countrymen. He laboured incessantly to convince them of the reality of his mission. In his public harangues upon the mysteries and duties of religion, he called upon them to renounce their idolatry, and to embrace the more pure, simple, and reasonable

* Abulfeda, chap. 8.

CHAP. I. **reasonable belief of the unity of God. By the promise of a paradise, filled with gratifications of the senses and the imagination, he endeavoured to captivate the fancy of a people, attached, above all others, to the charms of women and nature. His discourses on religion, formed, when collected, the body of that volume, distinguished by the appellation of the Koran.**

Progress of his religion.

The work of conversion advanced with tardy steps. When he argued from the excellency of his doctrine to its divinity, when he dwelt upon the inimitable beauty of the language of the Koran, the people called aloud for miracles. The prophet told them, that though Moses and Jesus had proved the heavenly origin of their missions, by the exhibition of supernatural powers, yet that the world was lost in unbelief, and that miraeles were fruitless. “ Let the “ angel Gabriel make delicious gardens for us “ in the midst of the desert,” said his taunting enemies, “ let the powers of heaven transport “ us and our merchandize in a moment to the “ fairs of Syria.” “ No,” said Muhammed, “ though a Koran were revealed, by which “ mountains could be removed, or the earth “ travelled as quickly as the wish was formed, “ or if the dead should be commanded to “ speak, it would be in vain.” “ All things “ are

“ are in my power,” he continued, “ but in-
 “ credulity to the evidence of miracles is an
 “ unpardonable offence: my affection for you
 “ exceeds my wishes for your conversion, and
 “ will not permit me to risk the salvation of
 “ your souls, by offering you a testimony,
 “ which your present sceptical habit of mind
 “ makes me think, it is possible you may
 “ reject.*”

Still the people were importunate: and the apostle of God, though he had too much policy to endanger the credit of his cause, by prophecies which were to be speedily fulfilled, or by commanding the obedience of the powers of nature, yet presuming on his reputation for veracity, solemnly assured his disciples, that the veil between him and the Almighty had been removed, and that he had been transported to the heaven of heavens. On a white beast, less than a mule, but larger than an ass, Muhammed was conveyed from the temple of Mecca to that of Jerusalem; with his companion Gabriel he successively ascended the seven heavens, and received and repaid the salutations of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the angels, in their respective mansions. Beyond the seventh heaven, Muhammed alone was permitted

* Herbelot, Bib. Orient. Art. Aiat. Koran, chap. 13, 17, and Sale's Notes.

CHAP. I. ted to proceed : he passed the veil of unity, approached within two bow shots of the throne, and felt a cold that pierced him to the heart when his shoulder was touched by the hand of God. The deity commanded him to pray fifty times a day. By the advice of Moses, he applied for an alleviation of this intolerable burthen : the obligation was gradually relaxed, until the number was settled at five. After this familiar, though important conversation, he descended to Jerusalem, and remounting the mysterious animal returned to Mecca : thus performing in the tenth part of a night, the journey of many thousand years. The venerable Abubeker vouched for the authenticity of the story, and the people were either silenced or convinced.*

The Korreish persecute Muhammed.

Tales of this marvellous nature were well adapted to the imagination of an ignorant, unphilosophical Arab. The votaries to the new religion gradually increased, and persecution assisted the progress of a revolution, which enthusiasm

* D'Herbelot's Bib. Orient. articles *Merage* and *Borak*. *Abulfeda*, ch. 18, 19. *Gagnier*, lib. 2, ch. 14 ; and *Gibbon*, ch. 50. The disciples have not imitated the modesty of their master. They have attributed to him more than three thousand miracles. *Maraoci*, tom. 1, p. 22—64, refutes them in his usual ridiculous manner of mixed gravity and indignation. But it does not appear that the faith of the learned doctors among the Muselmans is so general and unlimited as that of the vulgar. See *Pocock's Notes, Specimen Hist. Arab.* p. 190—194. *Wary's Life of Muhammed*, p. 37.

had founded, and fraud had enlarged. The Koreish persecuted the new sect with the bitterest hate, and persecution had its usual effect of strengthening the numbers and energies of the oppressed. personal animosity against an enemy of Muhammed induced Hamza, an uncle of the Prophet, to embrace cause,* and his zealous opponent, Omar, was changed into one of his firmest friends. His fame extended to Medina, and three nocturnal conferences with his new disciples secured their allegiance and fidelity. The people of Medina offered him an asylum, inquiring however, whether, if he was recalled by his countrymen, he would not abandon his new allies? "All things," replied the admirable politician, "are now common between us: your blood is as my blood, your ruin as my ruin. We are bound to each other by the ties of honour and of interest. I am your friend, and the enemy of your foes." "But," said his trembling disciples, "if we are killed in your service, what will be our reward?" "Paradise," cried Muhammed. The martial spirit of his hearers was roused, their sensual passions were inflamed, and their faith was confirmed.†

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Abu-

* Abulfeda, ch. 9.
ch. 15, 16.

† Idem. ch. 30, 33, 40, 86. Gagnier, l. 1,

CHAP. I.

Abu-Taleb himself endeavoured to repel the attempt at religious innovation, and urged the citizens of Mecca and the pilgrims of the temple, to adhere to the worship of Al-Lata and Al-Uzzah. Yet by the protection which Abu-Taleb, in his high situation of prince and pontiff, afforded to the prophet and his followers, the two parties were equally balanced, till the Koreish pledged themselves to have no social nor commercial transactions with the family of Haschem, while Muhammed remained unpunished, as the violator of the national religion. Eighty-three men and sixteen women fled for refuge to the King of Ethiopia,* who generously protected the strangers, while the bolder party at Mecca were sinking under persecution. By the death at this period of the faithful Abu-Taleb and the generous Kadijah, Muhammed was deprived at once, of his chief political support and his only domestic solace. A member of the house of Ommyiah, a declared enemy of the family of Haschem, succeeded to the guardianship of the Caaba; and the Koreish resolved on the extermination of the new religion, by the murder of its author; but the secret of the plot was divulged, and Muhammed with his friend Abubeker escaped in the silence of the night. The confederated murderers surrounded the house, but their

Flight from Mecca. A. D. 622.

* Gagner, liv. 1, ch. 10.

their generosity was appealed to and awakened, by the reclining figure of Ali on the bed, clad in the prophet's green garment, and calmly awaiting that death which was meditated for his friend. In the morning when they discovered the flight of the object of their hate, they quitted the house and took the road to Medina. In the recesses of a cave near Mecca, Muhammed and Abubeker eluded for three days the pursuit of their enemies. "There are only two of us," said the disciple, in apprehension that the searching eyes of his foes would penetrate the retreat. "There is a third," replied his master, "even God himself, and he will defend us." The protecting favour of the angel Gabriel, say the Arabian writers, shrouded the fugitives, and after a perilous journey along the sea-coast, they reposed themselves at Koba near Medina. On the succeeding morning, five hundred of the richest inhabitants of this second city of Arabia advanced to meet him. Seated on a camel, under the shade of a parasol of palm leaves, with a turban unfolded for a standard, and cheered by the plaudits of his admiring friends and converted idolaters, his entry into Medina, though a faint representation of the pomp and pride of kings, was no feeble proof of the sincerity and devotion of his disciples.*

Entry 1
Medina,
A D. 62

c 2

In

* Abulfeda, ch. 24. Gagnier, liv. 3, ch. 1. The Hegira, or flight

The dat
the heg

CHAP. I

In the city of Medina, he assumed the sacerdotal and regal office. In the mosque, with his back against a palm tree, or in a rough unadorned pulpit, he declaimed against the idolatry of his nation; and in the camp without the walls, the ambassadors from Mecca remarked that he was treated with more respect than the Chrosoes of Persia, or the Cæsars of Constantinople. But armed with the terrors of the sword and the devotion of a numerous band of enthusiasts, the mild voice of persuasion accorded not with the ardour of his bigotry and fanaticism. The angel Gabriel commanded him to propagate his religion by warfare. The eighth and ninth chapters of the Koran, preached for the

He propagates his religion by the sword and retaliates on the Koreish.

of Muhammed from Mecca to Medina, is the epoch of the Muhammedan nations. Omar, the second Caliph, insituted the hegira in imitation of the Christians, who counted their years from their persecution by Diocletian (A. D. 284) and who called it the era of the martyrs. Thus the Muselmans wished to commence their calculation of time from the period of the most memorable persecution they had suffered. The learned Muselman astronomers have been divided in opinion on the exact year of the Christians, which corresponds with the hegira. But the generality of writers place this epoch on Friday, the 16th of July, A.D. 622. The ancient Arabs counted time by solar months, these months always returned in the same season, and their names corresponded with the employments which the seasons rendered necessary. Since the epoch of the hegira was fixed, the Muselmans count time by lunar months; the Arabian year consisting of 354 days, 8 hours, and 48 minutes. The intercalary days are adjusted by a cycle of 30 lunar years, of which 19 are of 354 days, and 11 of 355 days. The years of excess are in the following order —2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29. D'Herbelot's *Bib. Orient. Art. Hegira*. De Guigne's *Histoire Génér. des Huns*. tom. 1, p. 43. Marsden on the *Hegira*, p. 8.

the first time at Medina, breathe the strongest spirit of pride, power, and rancorous intolerance; and liberty of conscience was no longer granted, except on the severe and degrading terms of a heavy pecuniary tribute. The injuries with which the Koreish had afflicted the new religion, could never be forgiven, and of all the people of the east, the Arabs are those who are most addicted to retaliation and revenge. Their predatory disposition was encouraged by the prospect of spoil; one-fifth of the captured property was appropriated to the service of the altar, and the remainder was faithfully distributed among the soldiers; but as the strength of an Arabian army consists in its cavalry, a double portion of the booty rewarded the toils of the horseman. The grossness of their sensuality was encouraged by the promise of the possession of the female captives, and their religious enthusiasm was preserved by the prospect of a crown of martyrdom. “The sword,” exclaimed the Prophet, “is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent under arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer: whosoever falls in battle his sins are forgiven: at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk,

CHAP. I. “ and the loss of his limbs shall be replaced by
 “ wings of angels and cherubims.”*

Wars with
 the Arabi-
 ans and
 Jews.

A.D. 623-
 625.

Battle of
 Beder.

Impelled by these principles of courage, the soldiers of Muhammed were invincible. The caravans of merchandise which the Koreish transported from Syria to Mecca, were insulted and plundered, and the indignation of his former persecutors was raised to the highest pitch, against the rebel and fugitive. The numerous bands of the Koreish and their allies were directed against him; but the battles of Beder, Ohud, and the Nations, proved, that enthusiasm is undismayed by any disparity of numbers, and that the power of Muhammed could not be shaken. Detailed accounts of his engagements would, to most readers, be void of interest; but the event of that of Beder was so entirely dependent on his enthusiasm, or exquisite artifice, that the circumstances must be shortly noticed. His army was far inferior to the forces of the Koreish, and as the enemy descended into the valley of Beder, he exclaimed, “ O, God! if my
 “ friends are destroyed, by whom wilt thou be
 “ worshipped upon the earth? Courage, my
 “ children; close your ranks, discharge your
 “ arrows, and the day is your own.” With his friend Abubeker he placed himself on a throne of wood, safe from the javelins of the enemy,
 and

* Koran, ch. 3, 8.

and prayed for the power of heaven, in the appearance of Gabriel and three thousand angels. At the very moment, when the courage of his Muselmans was well nigh exhausted, Muhammed left his place of shelter, mounted his horse, and casting a handful of sand in the air, cried aloud, "Let their faces be covered with confusion." His gestures and language roused the enthusiasm of his troops; they shouted the war cry, "Allah Ackbar," and the Koreish were totally defeated.* The pacific Jews of Arabia, who had sought refuge in this land of freedom, were massacred and pillaged; their towns and villages were sacked by the cruel fanatic. Their riches furnished him with the means of arming his followers; and his thirst of blood was gratified by the death and burial of hundreds of these unhappy people, in one common grave.†

A. D. 62:

To the capture of Mecca he was invited by rapacity and pride. A truce for ten years‡ betrayed his own weakness, and the power of the Koreish. His hands, however, being strengthened by new converts, the truce was violated, and at the end of seven years from his flight, the prophet was acknowledged in his native city,

Re en
Mecca
A.D 6

as

* Abulfeda, ch. 27. Koran, ch. 8. † The wars of Muhammed with the Arabians and Jews are detailed in Abulfeda, ch. 27 to ch. 42, and ch. 45, 51, 56. ‡ Gagner, liv. 5, ch. 4.

CHAP. I. as the chief ecclesiastical and civil magistrate.*

The idols which disgraced the Caaba were destroyed; an irreversible law was made, that no unbeliever should ever enter or dwell in Mecca, though he might pass as a traveller through the province of Hedsjas, in which the towns of Mecca and Medina are situated†. He pitied the fallen grandeur, or respected the valour of the Koreish. "What mercy can you expect from the man whom you have wronged?" said Muhammed to his prostrate enemies. "We trust to the magnanimity of our kinsman," was the answer of the suppliants. "Nor shall you trust in vain," said the apostle of a merciful God. "Begone, you are safe, you are free." The tribes of the desert sent their submission to the conqueror; the Hawazanites, and the citizens of Tayif (one of the most fertile spots in all Arabia) asserted their independence; but their lives and property were sacrificed, their idols were destroyed, and their acknowledgment of Muhammed completed the uncommon spectacle, of unity in religion and government in Arabia.

A. D. 632.

Wars with
the Ro-
mans, A. D.
629.

While established in sovereignty at Mecca and Medina, the prophet had endeavoured to impart the light of divine truth to the princes of
the

* Abulfeda, ch. 51.

† Reland, Dissert. Misc. tom. 3, p. 21.

the adjacent kingdoms.* But his messenger to the governor of Bosra, near Damascus, was taken and murdered by Sherhiel, an emir of a Christian and Arabian tribe, who were tributary to Heraclius, the Greek emperor. The injury was trifling, but the insult was great. Three thousand men were equipped; the prophet exhorted them to bravery in the cause of the Most High, painted in glowing colours the joys of an earthly and heavenly paradise, the reward of such Moslems who were victorious, or were slain; yet urged them to collect their wealth, not from the tears of the provincials, but from the public treasure of the enemy. “In avenging my injuries,” said he, “molest not the harmless votaries of domestic seclusion; spare the weakness of the softer sex, the infant at the breast, and those who in the course of nature are hastening from this scene of mortality. Abstain from demolishing the dwellings of the unresisting inhabitants; destroy not their means of subsistence, respect their fruit trees, and touch not the palm, so useful to the Syrians for its shade, and delightful for its verdure.” In the village of Mutah, and district of Belka, to the south of Damascus, the band of fanatics met the assembled Roman and Syrian armies. The three

generals

Battle of
Mutah.

* Abulfeda, ch. 46.

CHAP. I.

generals of the Moslems, the manumised Zeid, Jauffer, and Abdallah, appointed by Muhammed to succeed each other in case of loss, were successively slain in this battle, which first tried the valour of the Muselmans against a foreign enemy.* “Zeid,” says Mr. Gibbon, “fell like a soldier in the foremost ranks. The death of Jauffer was heroic and memorable: he lost his right hand; he shifted the standard to his left; the left was severed from his body; he embraced the standard with his bleeding stumps, till he was transfixed to the ground with fifty honourable wounds. ‘Advance!’ cried Abdallah, who stept into the vacant place, ‘advance with confidence; victory tory

Of the terms Eslam, Moslem, Muselman, and Saracen.

* I seize the earliest occasion of stating the acceptation of a few words which are in frequent use in Muhammedan history — Eslam, or Islamism, means the total resignation of body and soul to God. It also means the Muhammedan world. It is, therefore, of the same acceptation among the Muhammedans as the words Christianity and Christendom among Christians. Moslem, or Muselman, is a legitimate or corrupt derivation from Eslam, and is the common name of Muhammedans without distinction of sect or opinion. In grammatical accuracy, Moslem is the singular of the word, Muselman is the dual, and Muselminn the plural. But in conformity with the usage of the best writers, I shall use the words Moslem and Muselman in the singular, and Moslems and Muselmans in the plural. Muselmen is decidedly wrong, and has never been used by any author of note. D’Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* under the different articles, and D’Ohsson, *Tab. Gén.* tom. 1, p. 36.— Of the various definitions of the word Saracen, I prefer the Arabic word Saraini, which means a pastoral people. The corruption from Saraini to Saracini can be easily imagined. See Casiri’s *Bibliot. Arab. Hisp.* tom. 2, p. 18.

“ tory or paradise is our own.’ The lance of
 “ a Roman decided the alternative ; but the
 “ falling standard was preserved by Caled, a
 “ new proselyte : nine swords were broken in
 “ his hand ; and his valour withstood and re-
 “ pulsed the superior numbers of the Chris-
 “ tians.” The night closed upon the enemy
 as masters of the field ; but in the morning, the
 skillful dispositions which Caled made of his
 troops, struck a panic into the Emperor’s army.
 The Moslems were victorious, and returned to
 Medina with the honours, and some of the re-
 wards of conquest.* The Moslem cause was
 highly benefited by the skill and intrepidi-
 ty of Caled, whose zeal and courage procured
 for him the title of *the sword of god*.†

Feelings of ambition or revenge prompted
 Muhammed, in the full possession of power, to
 carry his ravages into the rich and fertile land of
 Syria ; but the public treasures were insufficient
 for the charge of so long and so tedious a march.
 The enthusiasm of his friends could not, how-
 ever, be restrained ; Abubeker appropriated the
 whole of his possessions for the purposes of the
 holy war ; Omar and Othman supplied camels
 and gold ; the women contributed their jewels,
 and sacrificed their vanity at the shrine of pa-
 triotism. An army of ten thousand horse, twenty

Ineffectual
 invasion
 Syria, A.
 630.

* Gagner, lib. 5, ch. 12. † Abulfeda, ch. 48, note b ; chap. 49, note d.

THE LIFE OF MUHAMMED.

CHAP. I. ty thousand foot, and twelve thousand camels,
was collected; the prophet appeared in the field, clad in his green vestment and seated on his white mule; to the charge of Abubeker was intrusted the principal standard, and the intrepid Caled commanded the advanced guard. From Medina, this formidable array of war departed, to exterminate the religion and power of the Greeks. But the fatigue of the march through the desert, in the heats of summer, was insupportable. The pestilential winds raised the sand into clouds, which enveloped and destroyed whole squadrons of the army. The springs yielded not their usual supply, and the camels were put to death for the sake of the store of water which these peculiar animals can contain. "Hell is hotter than the heat of the desert," said the courageous Muhammed to his sinking comrades; but large bodies of the army deserted the standard of the apostle of God, and the constancy of the remainder was preserved by his assurance, that if the deserters had possessed one particle of virtue, they would nobly have met their destiny. Near the grove and fountain of Tabouc, on the confines of Syria, his exhausted army reposed. A council of war was held, and the inspired messenger from heaven deigned to confess, that in the instance of this expedition, his own inclinations,
and

and not* the suggestions of Gabriel, had guided him. His friend and confidant Omar expatiated on the power of the Roman emperor of the east, that it could be ruined only by degrees, and declared, that as the terror of Muhammed's name was extended thus far, the seeds of alarm were sown, which a future war would ripen. The prophet acknowledged the wisdom of this opinion, and a return to Medina was immediately ordered.*

CHAP. I.

During the next two years, he preached his religion at Medina; he accompanied one hundred and fourteen thousand proselytes, in their pilgrimage to Mecca; and he sent his lieutenants to carry on the work of conversion by the sword. To the age of sixty-three years, the strength of Muhammed was equal to the temporal and spiritual fatigue of his mission. His epileptic fits, an absurd calumny of the Greeks,† would make him an object of pity rather than abhorrence; but he seriously believed that he was poisoned at Chaibar, by the revenge of a Jewish female. The health of the prophet declined; his infirmities increased; but his mortal disease was a bilious fever of fourteen days, which deprived him by intervals of the use of reason. As soon as he was conscious of his danger,

Death of Muhammed, A. D. 632
7 June.

* Abulfeda, ch. 56.

† Hottinger, Hist. Orient. lib. i. ch. 2. Harleian MSS. cod. 6189. Sale's notes on chapters 73 and 74 of the Koran.

CHAP. I. danger, he edified his brethren by the humility of his penitence or his virtue. “ If there be any man,” said the apostle from the pulpit, “ whom I have unjustly scourged, I submit mine own back to the lash of retaliation. Have I aspersed the reputation of a Muselman? let him proclaim my faults in the face of the congregation. Has any one been despoiled of his goods? the little that I possess shall compensate the principal and interest of the debt.”—“ Yes,” replied a voice from the crowd, “ I am entitled to three drachms of silver.” Muhammed heard, and satisfied the demand with interest, thanking at the same time his creditor, for having accused him in this world rather than at the day of judgment. “ God,” he added, “ offers to mankind the enjoyment either of this world, or of the world to come. I prefer eternal to temporal felicity.” He beheld with temperate firmness the approach of death; according to the custom of the princes of his country enfranchised his slaves; minutely directed the order of his funeral, and moderated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace. “ Drive the idolaters from Arabia,” said he to his soldiers; “ grant to converts all the privileges of Muselmans, and be constant to your religious duties.” Till the

the third day before his death, he regularly performed the functions of public prayer: the choice of Abubeker to supply his place in the pulpit, appeared to mark that ancient and faithful friend, as his successor in the sacerdotal and regal office: but he prudently declined the risk and envy of a more explicit nomination. It might have been thought, that Ali would have been appointed. But Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, and the best beloved of all Muhammed's wives, prevented all intercourse between the prophet and his earliest proselyte, and the absent friend was forgotten. Motives of female malignity were added to the filial piety of Ayesha. Ali had participated in the discovery of an act of infidelity to her husband, and had severely satirized him for his wilful incredulity to her shame. When his faculties became visibly impaired, he called for pen and ink to write, or more properly to dictate a divine book, the sum and accomplishment of all his revelations. But Omar remarked, that his divine precepts were already engraven on their hearts, and that no further revelation was necessary for their safeguard against the errors of humanity. The matter was disputed in the chamber; the tumultuous clamour awakened the Prophet's indignation, and he commanded them to withdraw, and cease to offend
the

CHAP. I. the ears of the messenger of God, with their indecorous wranglings. If the slightest credit may be afforded to the traditions of his wives and companions, he maintained in the bosom of his family, and to the last moments of his life, the dignity of an apostle, and the faith of an enthusiast : he described the visits of Gabriel, who bade an everlasting farewell to the earth, and expressed his lively confidence, not only of the mercy, but of the favour of the Supreme Being. In a familiar discourse, he had mentioned his special prerogative, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul, till he had respectfully asked his permission : the request was granted, and Muhammed immediately fell into the agony of his dissolution ; his head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha ; he fainted with the violence of pain ; recovering his spirits, he raised his eyes towards the roof of the house, and with a stedfast look, but faltering voice, uttered the last broken, though articulate words, “ O God, pardon my sins. Ah, my companion, “ I attend thee to the realms above,” and peaceably expired on a carpet spread upon the floor. The affection of his friends rendered their minds incredulous to the reality of the loss ; but the gradual dissolution of his body destroyed the hopes that he was wrapt in a holy trance. Their love for him was displayed in the last sad office of

of an honourable interment of his remains ; Medina has been sanctified by his death and burial ; and the innumerable pilgrims of Mecca often turn aside from the way, to bow in voluntary devotion, before the simple tomb of the Prophet.*

CHAP. I.

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The

* Abulfeda, ch. 61—64 ; Gagnier, liv. 6. ch. 18—20. liv. 7. ch. 19 ; Chardin, Voyages en Perse, tom. 2. p. 435, ed 1711, Savary, Vie de Muhammed, p. 207—213, Gibbon, ch 50. I have no inclination to refute one half of the vulgar stories respecting Muhammed, which are to be found in various authors The liberal Reland has answered most of them in his admirable work, De Religione Muhammedica, libri duo, 8vo. Ultraj 1705. Two subjects, however, shall be noticed, 1. Muhammed was buried at Medina, not at Mecca, his coffin is not suspended in the air, by the attraction of loadstones of equal power, but is placed on the ground to the right of those of Abubeker and Omar — See Abulfeda's Description de l'Arabie, in La Roque's Voyage en Palestine, p 30. 12mo. Paris, 1717. Niebuhr, and every other traveller to Medina, mention this circumstance 2 The story of the tame pigeon, which whispered in the ear of Muhammed the commands of God, is a ridiculous calumny. It was a fabrication of Christians, which received credit when Grotius inserted it in his work on the truth of our religion. When Pocock translated this book into the Arabic language, for the laudable purpose of converting the Muselmans, he told Grotius, that there were several things in his work respecting the Muselmans, which were mere popular errors among the Christians, and constantly denied by the Turks Grotius, with commendable candour, acknowledged that he had too hastily imbibed the commonly received opinions, and requested Pocock to make such alterations in the book, as his great knowledge of oriental matters might suggest. Pocock, therefore, very prudently and honestly, omitted in his translation the circumstance of the pigeon, and other falsehoods. Chauffepiè, Cout. au Bayle, art. Pocock, et Pocock Specimen, p 186. Prideaux, Maracci, and many other Christian writers, lose their charity, their candour, and often their love of truth, when the subject is the Muselman's religion. They stand round a cauldron, throw into it all the elements of vice and evil, and the production is a Muhammed. The learned Gagnier has frequently, in his

Vulgar errors respecting Muhammed.

notes

CHAP. I.
Character
of Muham-
med.

His fanati-
cism.

The progress of time changes so materially the mental, as well as the corporeal features of mankind, that it is impossible to give a portrait, which shall delineate an individual in every period of his life. On different occasions, different passions have the ascendancy; and it would be absurd to argue from one series of actions, that only one passion existed in our nature. The germs of character are sown in our constitution, and are ripened into action by opportunity and circumstances. But if there be a master-passion in every man, that passion in Muhammed was religious enthusiasm. It appeared in all his actions; it displayed itself in every stage of his existence; and it is to this disorder of the imagination, that the birth of Muhammedanism, like that of many other systems of error, may be attributed. In his youthful days, he was decent in his morals, pious, contemplative, and retired in disposition. From the age of twenty-five to forty, he industriously pursued his occupation of a merchant, and nursed his genius in solitude. He then started into public life, a wild and clamorous fanatic. One particular train of ideas had fixed his attention; silent speculation had ended in dreams

notes to Abulfeda's life of Muhammed, exposed the prejudices of Prédiaux Gagnier, in his life of Muhammed, drawn from Al Jannabi, refutes with equal candour and ability, the absurd praises bestowed upon Muhammed by Count Boulanvilliers.

dreams of rapture; reason was lost in the wanderings of imagination, and the suggestions of fancy were mistaken for the inspirations of heaven. The first and sublime principle of his religion, the unity of the godhead, was preached by him with all the incoherence, and with all the assumption of authority from the Almighty, which distinguish fanatics of every religion. But intercourse with the world, the silent influence of time, and the occasional suggestions of reason, moderated his enthusiasm. In his transactions with his opponents, he now thought of *consequences*; and to accomplish the schemes which now opened on him, and in his endeavours at conversion, he disgraced the purity of his doctrines, and craftily accommodated himself to the passions and prejudices of his countrymen. With increasing success his hopes expanded. The throne of his country was now the object of his desire, and ambitious views of conquest and of plunder added fresh ardour to his energies. Fanaticism, then, was the original and real character of Muhammed. He had ambition, it is true; for ambition is easily built upon fanaticism. These two powerful passions require nearly the same temper of soul. But, however violent ambition might have been in Muhammed, it was only an accessory

His ambition.

CHAP. I. cessary passion, produced by circumstances, and which was also late in its development.*

His personal and mental qualifications.

On the graces and intellectual gifts of nature to the son of Abdallah, the Arabian writers dwell with the proudest and fondest satisfaction. His politeness to the great, his affability to the humble, and his dignified demeanour to the presumptuous, procured him respect, admiration, and applause. His talents were equally fitted for persuasion, or command. Deeply read in the volume of nature, though entirely ignorant of letters,† his mind could expand into controversy with the wisest of his enemies, or contract itself to the apprehension of the meanest of his disciples. His simple eloquence was rendered impressive, by a manner of mixed dignity and elegance, by the expression of a countenance, wherein the awfulness of majesty was so well tempered by an amiable sweetness, that it excited emotions of veneration and love; and he was gifted with that authoritative air of genius, which alike influences the learned, and commands the illiterate.‡ In the possession of the mind and generous affections of the heart, and in the performance of most of the social and domestic

His private life.

* Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. 32, p. 430.
 † See the 7th, 29th, and 96th chapters of the Koran with Sale's Notes, and Reland, de Religione Muhammedica, p. 236. Pocock, p. 156.
 ‡ Abulfeda, ch. 55, 56.

domestic duties, he disgraced not his assumed office of an apostle of God. With that simplicity which is so natural to a great mind, he condescended to perform the humblest offices, offices whose homeliness it would be idle to conceal in the pomp of diction; even while lord of Arabia, he mended his own shoes and coarse woollen garment, milked the ewes, swept the hearth, and kindled his own fire. Dates and water were his usual fare, and milk and honey were his luxuries. When he travelled, he divided his morsel with his servant.* His generosity to the poor, was not chilled by calculation and prudence. He was affected even to tears, when the sword of the enemy sundered the bands of friendship; and his feelings of gratitude to Kadijah, neither time nor the death of his benefactress could eradicate. After the battle of Mubah, a disciple beheld him in his chamber, weeping with the daughter of his friend Zeid. "What do I see?" said the intruder, in astonishment, that the weaknesses of humanity should dwell in the breast of a messenger from heaven.—"You see," said Muhammed, "a friend who is lamenting the loss of his most faithful companion."† "Was not Kadijah old," inquired Ayesha, with all the haughty insolence of a blooming beauty,

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"and

* Gagnier, liv. 7, ch. 2.

† Savary, Vie de Muhammed, p. 141.

CHAP. I. "and has not God given you a better in her
 — "place?"—"No," exclaimed the grateful
 Muhammed, "there never was a kinder or
 "better woman. She trusted in me, when
 "men mocked at, and despised me: she reliev-
 "ed my wants, when I was poor and perse-
 "cuted by the world: she was all devotion to
 "my cause."* Though his actions as a con-
 queror were frequently stained with the cruelty
 which characterizes the Asiatic mind, yet it
 was the purest humanity which dictated the
 law, that in the sale of captives, the infant should
 never be separated from the mother.† His pro-
 hibition of wine was enforced by his example,
 and so long as the generous Kadajah shared his
 fortune, his conjugal fidelity was unimpeached:
 but when death terminated an union of more
 than twenty-five years duration, and the warm
 aspect of good fortune shone upon him, licen-
 tious passions, until then perhaps unfelt, and
 certainly restrained, contended with enthusiasm
 and ambition for the dominion of his heart. He
 confessed that women and perfumes were his
 chief delights.‡ The angel Gabriel descended
 from heaven to absolve him from those laws on
 polygamy and concubinage, which he imposed
 on his followers, and to reprove him, but with
 mildness

* Abulfeda, p. 12, note b. † Reland, Dissert, Misc. tom. 3,
 p. 24. ‡ Abulfeda, ch. 66, note A.

mildness, for his want of confidence in the goodness of God to himself, the last and most favoured of apostles. Yet, with a harem of seventeen wives, the hopes of Muhammed for a son to support him in the decrepitude of age, and to uphold after his death his dignities of priest and king, were constantly deceived. Most of his wives were childless. Of the progeny of Mary, an Egyptian captive, and of the four sons and four daughters, which his marriage with Kadijah produced, Fatima alone, a daughter of his benefactress, lived to enjoy his paternal tenderness. The father followed his other children to the tomb, and the feelings of human nature were with difficulty restrained, when a satirist inquired, if the eclipse of the great source of light, was occasioned by the death of one of the sons of the Prophet.*

His wives
and chil-
dren.

* Abulfeda, ch. 67. Gagnier, liv. 6. ch. 15.

CHAP. II.

THE UNDIVIDED CALIPHATE; OR, THE HISTORY OF THE RISE OF THE SARACENIAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. II. **H**AD the friends and companions of Muhammed felt the spirit of animosity and rivalry which influenced the successors of Alexander, their empire would not have extended from the Atlantic to the Ganges, and their religion might have been lost in the deserts of Arabia. But a portion of the master's enthusiasm descended upon his disciples, and a zeal for the propagation of the Koran exalted them above every view and thought of personal interest. When the reality of the death of Muhammed was believed by his afflicted friends, the fugitives of Mecca and the auxiliaries of Medina contended for the honour of the appointment of a spiritual and temporal chief.* The claims of their respective cities were urged by the Arabs, with all the force of eloquence and passion; but Abubeker, approving the suggestion of

* The fugitives of Mecca are called the Mohagerians, and their protectors at Medina the Ansars. This last word has been often adopted by Arabic writers, as a surname; for they have been proud of their descent from the friends of their Prophet. D'Herbelot, art. Ansari.

of an inhabitant of Medina, that the power should be enjoyed by two caliphs, declared that Omar and Abu-Obeidah were worthy representatives of their master. The modest and generous Omar confessed his inability for so weighty a charge, and proposed that Abubeker himself should alone direct the energies of the faithful. The whole assembly shouted their acknowledgements of the wisdom of the choice, and saluted the venerable friend of the Prophet, as their supreme lord and judge. But as this anticipation of the wishes of the electors might be drawn into a dangerous precedent, Omar proclaimed from the pulpit, that on any recurrence of the circumstance, he would plunge his sword into the heart both of the elector and the elected. The family of Haschem opposed the people's choice; but the threat of Omar, that he would destroy Ali's house, and the mild remonstrance of Abubeker, that resistance would only renew those tumults which had lately so happily subsided, prompted the cousin of Muhammed to waive his claim, founded on hereditary right.

CHAP. II.

Reign of
Abubeker,
A. D. 632.
June.

In full possession of sovereign power, Abubeker despised the vain epithets of royalty, and shewed his respect for Muhammed by declaring himself his caliph or successor. The great body of the Arabs had accepted their new religion with

CHAP. II. with indifference, and on the death of its author were quickly sinking into their ancient idolatry. "Ye men of Mecca, will ye be the last to embrace, and the first to abandon the religion of Islam?" was the unanswerable appeal of Abubeker to the pride of his incontinent countrymen; and the band of enthusiasts, headed by Caled, the avowed enemy of apostates, defeated the unconnected tribes of the desert, and reclaimed them to the belief of one God, and of the last and greatest of his apostles.*

In

Written
histories of
the Sara-
cens.

* In writing this chapter, I have been principally indebted to the following works. *Histoire des Arabes sous le Gouvernement des Califs*, par M. l'Abbé Marigny, 4 tom. 12mo Paris, 1750.—*Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes* par M. Cardonne, 3 tom. 12mo. 1765.—D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, 4 tom. 4to. Paris, 1777.—Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, 2 vols. 8vo. 3d edit. 1757. Simon Ockley was one of the greatest orientalisists England ever produced, and his termination of a valuable life in Cambridge jail, and not in Cambridge University, is a national disgrace. His history of the Saracens is, as far as it extends, invaluable. His style is nervous and expressive, though fastidious and refined ears may account it coarse. I have used his language when I have had occasion to detail the speeches and letters of Caled and other Saracenic generals.—Abulfeda, *Annales Moslemici*, Arab. et Lat. a J. J. Reiske, edit. J. G. C. Adler, 5 tom. 4to. Haf. 1789—1794. Notwithstanding the imperfections of Abulfeda's work, the total absence from it of all historical matter respecting the Saracenic dynasties in Spain, and other important subjects, yet it is the best general guide to enquiries into Moslem history for the first seven centuries of the hejira, with which we are acquainted. The merit of Abulfeda's life of Muhammed has been already noticed. Reiske, the celebrated professor of oriental literature at Leipzig, collated the various MSS. of Abulfeda, and wrote a translation in Latin. After his death, Adler published the Arabic text, Reiske's translation, and

In the province of Nedsjed, a powerful adversary to the Moslems had appeared. Actuated by enthusiasm or fraud, Moseilama had proclaimed himself a prophet from heaven. He condescended to offer a portion of the world to Muhammed; but his proposal was rejected with ridicule and disdain. On the death of the founder of Islamism, the false prophet hoisted the standard of war, and his army was sufficiently powerful to demand the opposition

and a valuable collection of Reiske's notes. Reiske and Adler rejected, as superficial and useless, some remarks of Abulfeda on the Jews, Persians, Arabs, and other nations. But the learned Sylvester de Sacy, the Arabic professor at Paris, has thought that such of these remarks as relate to the history of the Arabs before the time of Muhammed were worthy of translation, and they accordingly form part of the modern edition of Pocock's *Specimen Historiæ Arabum* by the late professor White. Abulfeda was as eminent a geographer as historian. His treatise on geography has been published in different parts; that which relates to Syria, by Kohler, in 1766, to Egypt, by the great John David Michaelis, in 1776, to Korasm and Mawralnahr, or Transoxiana, by Graves, the Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford, in 1650. Mr. Graves also translated into Latin, Abulfeda's *Arabia*, and after his death it was inserted in the third volume of Dr. Hudson's "*Geographia veteris Scriptoris Græciæ Minoris*." Abulfeda's *Arabia* has also been translated into French by the eminent Galland, and was inserted in La Roque's *Travels in Palestine*. I drew but few materials for the present chapter from *Historia Saracenia* Georgii Elmacini, *Opera et Studio, Thomæ Erpini*, in 4to. Ludg. Batav. 1625. Adler, in his preface to Abulfeda (p. 12), tells us, that Elmacin's book is, speaking generally, a good one; but that the text is faulty, and the translation inaccurate. I received little benefit from another book, which, as well as Elmacin's, is, I believe, more frequently quoted than read. I mean *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiæ ab Abul-Pharajid*, intrepete Edw. Pocockio, 4to. Oxon. 1663;—but, in studying the literature of the Saracens, I found it of the greatest use.

CHAP. II. — opposition of the best general of the Moslems. Caled, at the head of forty thousand soldiers, met him in the field. In the first action, the Moslems were defeated ; but their losses served only to increase their enthusiasm, and to inspire their adversaries with an arrogant confidence. In the next battle, ten thousand infidels were slain, and Moseilama himself received from a javelin a mortal wound.

Conquests
of the Sara-
cens.

The restoration of peace and order in Arabia, was succeeded by the desire of conquest and proselytism. The Prophet had repeatedly urged his disciples, to spread his religion from one end of the world to the other, and his assurance in the Koran, that, “ if twenty of them persevered, two hundred of their enemies should be overcome, and if one hundred were firm, one thousand could not resist them,” checked any appalling comparison, between the greatness of the task, and the littleness of the means.

Invasion of
Syria, A.D.
632.

The rich and well peopled country of Syria invited the rapacity and zeal of the Moslems. On the summons* of Abubeker, a large army

was

Abubeker's
singular
note to the
Arabs.

* These were the words of Abubeker's circular letter to the Arabian tribes. “ In the name of the most merciful God ; to the rest of the true believers, health and happiness and the blessing of God be upon you. “ I praise the most high God, and I pray for his prophet Muhammed. “ This is to acquaint you, that I intend to send the true believers into Syria to take it out of the hands of the infidels. And I would have you know, that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God.” Who is there that does not compare this circular letter, satu-

was assembled round Medina, and Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan received from the Caliph the charge of commander. The successor of the Prophet accompanied on foot the intrepid force of the Saracens part of their first day's march : the generals, in imitation of his humility, wished to dismount, but he declared, that when the purpose was the propagation of religion, those who walked on foot and those who rode, were equally meritorious in the sight of God. At the decline of the day, he left them to pursue their march to the holy war, and mitigated the severity of his exhortation to conquest, by the language of mercy and pardon. " Yezid," said he to the general, " be sure you do not oppress " your own people, nor make them uneasy, but " advise with them in all your affairs, and take " care to do that which is right and just, for " those that do otherwise shall not prosper. " When you meet your enemies, quit yourselves " like men, and do not turn your backs ; and if " you get the victory, kill no little children, " nor old people, nor women. Destroy no " palm trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut " down no fruit trees, nor do any mischief to " cattle, only such as you kill for the necessary " purpose of subsistence. When you make any " cove-

rated with religious fanaticism, with the circular letter which the political enthusiasts of France wrote five and twenty years ago ?

CHAP. II. " covenant or article, stand to it, and be as
 " good as your word. As you go on, you will
 " find some religious persons that live retired in
 " monasteries, who propose to themselves, to
 " serve God that way. Let them alone, and
 " neither kill them, nor destroy their monasteries.
 " And you will find another sort of people that
 " belong to the synagogues of Satan, who have
 " shaven crowns; be sure you cleave their
 " skulls, and give them no quarter, till they
 " either turn Muhammedans or pay tribute."*

In vain did the Greek Emperor Heraclius appeal to the pride and courage of his subjects, by the remonstrance, that a people who had
 suc-

Fanaticism
 of the Sara-
 cens.

* Instances of the fanaticism of the Saracens are innumerable. I will mention two, in addition to those which occur in the regular progress of our history; one of them relating to several persons, and the other to an individual. In the caliphate of Omar, the soldiers indulged in the luxury of wine, which was found in one of the captured cities. The general communicated the news of the offence to the Caliph, and four score strokes on the soles of the feet, was the punishment which Omar and the elders at Medina awarded. The punishment was submitted to with religious resignation, and even many undetected sinners relieved their consciences by revealing their secret offences.—The mother and sister of an Arabian youth accompanied him to the Syrian war. Previously to a combat in which he fell, he embraced his family, and said, " It is
 " not the delicacies of Syria, or the fading delights of this world, that
 " have prompted me to devote my life in the cause of religion. But I
 " seek the favor of God and his Apostle, and I have heard from one of
 " the companions of the Prophet, that the spirits of the martyrs will
 " be lodged in the crops of green birds, who shall taste the fruits, and
 " drink of the rivers of Paradise. Farewell, we shall meet again
 " among the groves and fountains, which God has provided for his elect."
 See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, life of Omar.

successfully resisted the incursions of the Turks and Persians, ought never to be conquered by the poor and pitiful Arabs. The messengers from Yezid to Abubeker, daily announced the success of the army of the faithful on the borders of Syria; and the princes of Arabia, attracted by the prosperity of their countrymen, furnished another powerful force, which was destined for the subjugation of Palestine. The expectations entertained by Caled of the chief command, were disappointed in the nomination of Amrou; but the fanatic declared, that he cared not who had the standard, even an infant or an enemy, for that he was resolved to fight under it in all circumstances, for the propagation of religion. A spirit such as this was fitted for enterprize. Shortly after the appointment of Amrou, Yezid had yielded his charge to the superior claims of Abu Obeidah, one of the fugitives from Mecca, and a companion of Muhammed, but as the conquest of Syria proceeded not with the rapidity which Abubeker desired, Caled was sent to achieve the work.

The city of Bosra, four days journey from Damascus, in the province which the proud Romans had falsely called Arabia, was the great mart for the trading caravans from the desert. By the care of the emperor it had been rendered

Bosra
taken.

CHAP. II. one of the strongest places of defence in Syria, and even the name Bosra, which signifies a strong tower of safety, was invented or adopted to express the nature of the fortress. Abu Obeidah had commanded Serjabil to attack it. His four thousand Muselmans were defeated by the myriads of Syrians; but the seasonable arrival of Caled, with fifteen hundred horse, restored the courage and discipline of the troops. The purification of the body was performed with sand, the morning prayer was repeated on horseback, shouts of Allah Achbar (God is mighty), and Alhamlah, Alhamlah, Aljannah, Aljannah, (Fight, Fight, Paradise, Paradise) inflamed the enthusiasm of the Saracens, and the inhabitants of Bosra, with the mercenary soldiers of the emperor, were driven to the shelter of their fortifications.

The fall of the city was accelerated by the treachery of the governor Romanus. On the first attack, he had recommended immediate submission; and the indignation of the Syrians at his cowardice, provoked him to espouse the cause of the Muhammedan religion. He conducted a chosen band through a subterraneous passage from his house, under the wall of the city; the whole army of Moslems were admitted, and the victorious Caled imposed an
heavy

heavy tribute upon the Christians, as the price of the enjoyment of their religion.*

CHAP. II,

A march of four days brought the Saracens under the walls of Damascus. But the ancient capital of Syria resisted an army, which had been weakened by the siege of Bosra. After various petty engagements, the forces of the Saracens, dispersed through Syria and Palestine, were collected in the plain of Aiznadin. Seventy thousand of the best troops of the Græek empire appeared against them; Calad rejected the

Siege of
Damascus,
A.D. 632.

E

offers

* There seems to have been a strange mixture of enthusiasm and ambition in the Saracens. The promulgation of religion is declared in every page of the Koran to be the great object of the faithful, and war the instrument. The idolatrous Arabs (those appear to be the unbelievers mentioned in the 48th chapter of the Koran) were condemned to the alternative of death, or the profession of Islamism. The people of the written law, the Jews and the Christians, were allowed the milder choice of conversion or tribute; and enthusiasm was subdued by gold. In the course of time, when the ambition of the Saracens assumed a less questionable shape, the alternative of conversion or tribute was offered even to idolators. Some of the Saracenic laws of war shall be noticed. Before a declaration of war, the Muhammedans invited the infidels to a confession of the true faith. The loss of paradise was the consequence of the omission of this duty. The male captives were put to death; the females sold for slaves; the lives of children and old men were spared. The sanctity of ambassadors was respected, and the wells and springs of water were not to be poisoned, until the last extremity. The gold and silver, the prisoners and cattle, the moveables and immoveables taken in war, were divided into five portions: one portion was applied by the Caliphs to religious and charitable purposes. The centinel of the camp, the soldier who fought, and the widows and orphans of the slain, were entitled to an equal participation of the remainder; but the horseman always received a double portion. Reland, *de jure militari Muham.* dissertationes miscellanæ, tom. 3, p. 3—53. The laws of the Jews against idolators appear to have been still more strict, than were the Muhammedan laws on the same subject.—See Sale's Preliminary Discourse, sect. 6.

Saracenic
laws of
war

CHAP. II. offers of peace, on the mild condition of the return of the Arabs to their native country, and excited his soldiers to desperation, as the only chance of success. "No," said the intrepid Saracen to the messenger of Werdan, the Roman general, "no peace—but either become tributaries or Muhammedans. Your great armies affright not us. We are promised victory by our prophet Muhammed, and we reject with scorn your proffered vests, turbans, and money: We like war better than peace; and however poorly you may think of us, we reckon you no better than dogs." "You behold," said Caled, as he rode among the ranks of his soldiers, "you behold the collected force of the Romans. You cannot hope to escape; but if you are conquerors, all Syria will be subjected to you. Therefore fight in good earnest, take Religion's part, and be sure you do not turn your backs, and so be damned for your pains." An ambuscade was formed for the capture of the best general of the Arabs: but the plan was revealed, the Greeks* were slain, the vanquishers clad themselves in the military habits of the vanquished,

Battle of
Aznadin.

* In conformity with the usage of the best writers, I shall call the soldiers of the Greek emperor, indifferently, Greeks, or Syrians, or Romans. The seat of imperial power gave them the first appellation. They were called also Syrians, partly because it was the place of birth of many of them, and partly because it was the largest province of the empire. The epithet Roman was their title of honour.

quished, and Werdan, deceived by appearances, fell into his own snare. The onset of the Greeks was met with firmness; but the charges of the Saracens were irresistible. The Christian army were either slaughtered or dispersed. The wretched remains fled to Cæsarea, to Antioch, and Damascus; the Saracens adorned themselves with crosses of gold and silver, and the rich armour of the Greeks, and rejoiced in the reflection, that fifty thousand infidels had on that day been sent to hell, and that four hundred and seventy Moslems had received the crown of martyrdom in paradise.

CHAP. II.

A. D. 633.
July.

After the battle of Aiznadin, the Saracens returned to the fertile and irriguous valley round Damascus. Ignorant of the military art, with which the Greeks were so well acquainted, the sieges undertaken by the Saracens were long and tedious.

Deprived of supplies of provisions, by the close investment of the enemy, the Roman forces were compelled to sally upon the besiegers, and were invariably repulsed. The courage of the Damascenes yielded to time and famine; and one hundred deputies from the clergy and people solicited peace and protection, from the mild and venerable Abu-Obeidah. The confidence of the Greeks was invited by the urbanity of this chief, who assured them

Capture of
Damascus,
A. D. 634.

CHAP. II.

that his prophet had commanded him to pay respect to persons of rank and quality, and to perform the covenant which he made. A treaty was concluded, by which all voluntary emigrants were allowed to quit the city with their moveables; the residents were to become tributaries to the Caliphs, and to enjoy their property, and the use of seven churches. Yet at the moment when peace seemed to be restored, a party of Arabs entered the city. "No quarter to the enemies of the Lord," said the furious Caled, and a torrent of Christian blood poured down the streets of Damascus. When he reached the church of St. Mary, his astonishment was excited at the appearance of Abu-Obeidah and his soldiers, with their swords undrawn, and surrounded by an assemblage of priests and monks. Damascus was saved from destruction by the mild firmness of Abu Obeidah. Caled and his followers cried aloud for slaughter; but the friend of Muhammed implored his fellow-chiefs to respect his promise of protection and peace; and enforced the politic consideration, that as there were other cities in Syria still to be reduced, it behoved the Saracens in no case to violate the sacredness of a treaty, lest the inhabitants should be provoked, by despair and distrust, to an obstinate resistance. At length it was agreed, that Caled should have the disposal

posal of that part of the town which he had taken by the sword; and Abu-Obeidah of that, which he had taken upon articles; and the final determination of the fate of the Damascenes was reserved for the Caliph. But, under the guidance of Thomas, a noble Greek, who had performed acts of wonder in the siege, a long procession of patriotic inhabitants, disdaining the offered condition of tribute, left their palaces and homes, to seek in pride and anguish, some more tranquil spot in the heart of the empire. Three days of truce were allowed them; but on the fourth, the sanguinary Caled commenced the pursuit, his cavalry overtook the Christians, already overcome by sorrow and fatigue; and one individual alone of the wretched band escaped the lances and scymitars of the Saracens.

CHAP. II.

The venerable Abubeker lived not to receive the news of the fall of Damascus. In his last illness, Omar performed for him the public prayer in the mosque. The dying Caliph, by his testament and his declarations to the assenting people, appointed Omar his successor in the office of spreading abroad the doctrines of the prophet of mercy. The modesty of his friend would have declined the office, but yielded to the argument of Abubeker, that though he had

Death of
Abubeker,
A.D. 634,
July.

CHAP. II. no need of the place, yet that the place had
 need of him.

Reign of
 Omar,
 A.D. 634-
 644.

The commencement of the caliphate of Omar was remarkable for the deposition of Caled, from the chief command of the Syrian armies, and the appointment of Abu-Obeidah. The new lieutenant of the Caliph received with unwillingness the increase of honours, and delayed the assumption of his power, till the news of Caled's late successes should have reached Medina, and increased the confidence of the caliph in the *sword of God*. But the successor of Muhammed was inflexible, and the humility of Abu-Obeidah was equalled by the loyalty of Caled. "I know," said this intrepid Saracen, "that Omar loves me not; but he is my master, and I submit to his decrees. My zeal shall suffer no abatement: and whenever he chooses to employ me, I will give every possible proof of zeal and devotion to our holy cause." A minute detail of the conquest by the Saracens of Syria and Palestine would be only a repetition of instances of that courage and policy, which they exhibited in the siege of Bosra and Damascus; and without giving a regular and diurnal account of the contest, a rapid survey will be taken of some of the principal military events, which produced the subjugation of this fairest portion of the east.

The cities of Emesa, or Ems, of Heliopolis, or Balbec, gratified the rapacity of the Barbarians, though the fall of these fortifications shook not the power of the Greek emperor. The banks of the petty stream of the Yermouk or Hieromax, which falls into the lake of Tiberias, have been consecrated by the last struggle of the Greeks in the open field, for their valuable province of Syria. Eighty thousand veterans of the armies which were devoted to the service of the Byzantine court appalled the Saracens, and messengers were sent in haste to the caliph, to determine the question of an attack or a retreat. A reinforcement of eight thousand Moslems was more effective, than the prayers and commands of the successor of the apostle of God. In times of difficulty and danger, prescription must yield to necessity, and the dull claims of age and rank be occasionally superseded. Abu-Obeidah obeyed the voice of the soldiers, and resigned the chief command to Caled, whose exhortation of tremendous brevity — that, “paradise was before them, the devil and hell-fire were in the rear,” was as inspiring to the assailants, as the mild assurance of Abu-Obeidah was consolatory to the wounded — “that their enemies partook of their sufferings, without sharing their reward.” The charges of the Roman cavalry had almost routed

CHAP. II.

Capture of
Ems and
Balbec.
A.D. 635.

Battle of
Yermouk,
A D. 636.
November.

CHAP. II. the Saracens, but the blows and reproaches of the Arabian women of the tribe of Hamyarites, (descendants of the Amalekites) who, armed with bows and lances, formed the last line of the army of the faithful, drove their affrighted countrymen again to the combat. The Greeks were either slain or scattered; and in his letter to the Caliph, the General of the Saracens congratulates him on the slaughter of thousands of infidels; that the waters of the Yermouk had drowned a number known to God alone; that the fugitives into the deserts and mountains had been destroyed, and that God had made the faithful, masters of their wives, their children, and their country.

Siege of Jerusalem.

The loss of the battle of Yermouk left the cities of Jerusalem, Aleppo, and Antioch, to their garrisons alone for defence. To Jerusalem the Caliph commanded his general to proceed, as a city held next in veneration to Mecca and Medina. After an ineffectual effort at a surprise of the garrison by five thousand Arabs, Abu-Obeidah invested the city with his whole army, and offered the inhabitants the choice of conversion or tribute. “ From Abu-Obeidah to the chief commanders of the people of Elia,* and to the inhabitants themselves.

* Jerusalem was the sacred, and Elia the profane name of this city. Elia, from Hadrian, who placed a colony there, and whose surname was Elia.—D’Herbelot, Art. Iliia.

“ selves. Health and happiness to every one
 “ that follows the right way, and believes in
 “ God and the Apostle. We require of you to
 “ testify, that there is but one God, and that
 “ Muhammed is his Apostle; and when you
 “ have borne witness to this, it is unlawful for
 “ us, either to shed your blood, or meddle with
 “ your substance and children. If you refuse
 “ this, consent to pay tribute, and be under
 “ us forthwith, otherwise I shall bring men
 “ against you, who love death better than you
 “ do the drinking of wine, or the eating of
 “ hogs’ flesh. Nor will I ever stir from you,
 “ if it please God, till I have destroyed those
 “ that fight for you, and made slaves of your
 “ children.” Four months of a severe winter
 were consumed by the Saracens in the siege,
 and, at length, the patriarch Sophronius agreed
 to capitulate. But, as Jerusalem was a place
 of peculiar sanctity, he proposed to deliver it
 to none, except the Caliph himself.

In the mosque at Medina this strange condi-
 tion was discussed. Othman, indignant that a
 vanquished foe should presume to dictate terms,
 urged the necessity of a denial; but the argu-
 ment of Ali, that the soldiers exhausted by the
 fatigues of a winter campaign, would be refresh-
 ed at the sight of the Caliph, determined Omar
 to accede to the wishes of Sophronius and Abu-
 Obeidah.

CHAP. II.

The Caliph's journey to Jerusalem.

Obeidah. His journey to Jerusalem is so characteristic of the spirit of the times, of a mixture of simplicity and fanaticism, of a contempt of pomp and parade, while pursuing the great objects of earthly ambition, that a brief narrative of it will interest the philosophical observer of man. “ When the Caliph had said his “ prayers in the mosque, (I adopt the simple “ language of Ockley) and paid his respects at “ Muhammed’s tomb, he substituted Ali in his “ place, and set forward with some attendants; “ the greatest part of which having kept him “ company a little way, returned back to Me- “ dina. He rode upon a red camel with a “ couple of sacks, in one of which he carried “ that sort of provisions, which the Arabs call “ sawik, which is either barley, rice, or wheat, “ sodden and unhusked; the other was full of “ fruits. Before him he carried a great leathern “ bottle, (very necessary in those desert coun- “ tries to put water in) behind him a large “ wooden dish. Thus furnished and equipped, “ the Caliph travelled, and when he came to “ any place where he was to rest all night, he “ never went from it, till he had said the morn- “ ing prayer. After which, turning himself “ about to those that were with him, he said, “ ‘ Praise be to God, who has strengthened us “ with the true religion, and given us his Pro-
phet,

“ phet, and led us out of error, and united us
“ (who were at variance) in the confession of
“ the truth, and given us the victory over our
“ enemies, and the possession of his country.
“ O, ye servants of God! Praise him for these
“ abundant favours; for God gives increase to
“ those that ask it, and are desirous of those
“ things that are with him; and fulfils his
“ grace upon those that are thankful. Then
“ filling his platter with the sawik, he very
“ liberally entertained his fellow travellers, who
“ did, without any distinction, eat with him
“ out of the same dish.” On his road, he chas-
tised a muselman for an incestuous marriage
with two sisters, relieved a tributary from the
extortions of some straggling soldiers of Caled,
and corrected their luxury and pride by de-
spoiling them of the rich silks which they had
taken at the battle of Yermouk, and dragging
them on their faces through the dirt. When
he came within sight of the city, he cried aloud,
“ Allah Achbar, and God give us an easy
“ conquest;” and pitching his tent, which was
made of coarse hair, he seated himself on the
ground.

The simplicity of the commander of the faith-
ful did not diminish those sentiments of terror
or respect, which the martial appearance of his
followers occasioned in the breasts of the citizens

of

CHAP. II. of Jerusalem. "Resistance to these men,"
 said the patriarch to his generals, "without
 " miraculous assistance from heaven, will be
 " in vain. Their Prophet enjoined them to
 " exercise the virtues of humility, modesty,
 " and submission; and these qualities lead to
 " greatness. Their laws will soon become ab-
 " solute over all other laws, and their empire
 " will extend from the east to the west."* The
 terms of capitulation were soon assented to and
 signed. A heavy tribute and a perpetual tax,
 protected and secured the Christians in the
 possession of their lives, their fortunes, and
 their churches, and a difference of dress and of
 surnames was for ever to distinguish the con-
 querors and the conquered. "Neither should
 " the Christians (proceeds the treaty) ride
 " upon saddles, nor bear any sort of arms, nor
 " use the Arabic tongue in the inscriptions of
 " the seals; nor sell any wine. They shall be
 " obliged to wear the same sort of habit where-
 " ever they go, and always wear girdles upon
 " their waists. They shall set no crosses upon
 " their churches, nor shew the crosses in their
 " books, openly in the streets of the Muselmans.
 " They shall not ring, but only toll their bells :
 " Nor take any servant that had once belonged
 " to

Capture of
 Jerusalem,
 A.D. 637.

* Murtadi, *Merveills de l'Egypte selon les Arabes*, trad. par Pierre Vattier, 12mo. Paris, 1666, p 201.

“ to the Muselmans.” “ Upon these terms,” observes Ockley, “ the Christians had liberty of conscience ; and Jerusalem, once the glory of the east, was forced to submit to a heavier yoke, than ever she had borne before. For though the number of the slain, and the calamities of the besieged, were greater when it was taken by the Romans, yet the servitude of those that survived, was nothing comparable to this, either in respect of the circumstances or duration. Now it fell, as it were, once for all into the hands of the most mortal enemies of the Christian religion, in which it has continued ever since, excepting only that interval of near ninety. years, in which it was possessed by the Christians in the Holy War.” The gates were opened to the Caliph, and the two patriarchs of Christianity and Muhammedanism entered the city together, in familiar discourse, concerning the religious antiquities of the place. At the hour of prayer, the Caliph humbled himself on the steps of the church of Constantine : he refused to offer up his devotions within the church of the Resurrection ; “ for,” said he, in a noble observance of the spirit of the treaty, “ if I pray within the church, the Moslems will infallibly take it from you, Sophronius, because it is a place in which, I, the object of their
“ imitation,

CHAP. II. “ imitation, have prayed : and as my kneeling on
 “ the threshold of this church, may give rise to
 “ future disturbance, I will command the Mos-
 “ lems not to assemble on the steps.” By the
 order of the Caliph, the ground of the temple of
 Solomon was cleared of its rubbish, and a
 mosque was founded, which soon became more
 splendid and magnificent, than any mosque in
 the east. In a residence of ten days at Jeru-
 salem, he regulated the plans of future con-
 quest ; and his return to Medina removed the
 apprehension of the votaries of Muhammed,
 that his successor had resolved to close his life,
 amongst the sepulchres of the prophets, and at
 the place where all men would be assembled at
 the general resurrection.

Conquest of
 Aleppo,
 A. D. 638.

In the siege of the city, or rather the castle
 of Aleppo, thousands of the Moslems fell.
 Five months elapsed in alternate success and
 defeat, and the Saracens supplicated the Caliph
 for permission, to seek an easier conquest. “ I
 “ am variously affected,” replied Omar, “ ac-
 “ cording to the different success you have
 “ had, but I charge you by no means to raise
 “ the siege of the castle, for that will encou-
 “ rage your enemies to fall upon you on all
 “ sides. Wherefore continue the siege till God
 “ shall determine the event, and forage with
 “ your horse round about the country.” The
 supplies

supplies of volunteers from every part of Arabia enabled the general to recommence his attacks. Yet two months were wasted in a fruitless repetition of assaults, and the Saracens would have been compelled to retire, if stratagem had not effected, what mere bravery could not accomplish. One of the new volunteers, whose name was Dames, a man of gigantic stature and ferocious courage, boldly declared, that he could capture the city with the assistance of thirty companions. It was the character of the times to admire actions of desperate bravery, and the lieutenant of the Caliph viewed with gladness any prospect of success. Caled enforced the self-recommendation of Dames, and Abu-Obeidah admonished his brethren not to despise the former servile condition of the object of his hopes, for he himself, could he relinquish the public care, would cheerfully have served under him in the enterprize. The Moslem army removed from the walls of Aleppo, and the vigilance of the garrison was relaxed by the appearance of a retreat. Six captive Greeks brought Dames intelligence of the supineness in which the garrison were lost; but their ignorance of the Arabic language, and the consequent necessity of an interpreter, provoked from the impatient and illiterate barbarian, the exclamation, " God curse these dogs, what

CHAP. II. “ a strange barbarous language they use.” In the darkest hour of the night, Dames and his thirty associates quitted their ambush behind an eminence, and approached with silence and caution the wall of the castle. Resting his broad and sinewy back against a bulwark which somewhat declined from its perpendicular, he allowed seven of his strongest associates to mount successively on the shoulders of each other and himself; and the seventh and foremost leaped upon the battlements. The drowsy centinels were stabbed, or cast into the ditch, and the remainder of the thirty Saracens, repeating the pious ejaculation, “ O apostle of God, help and deliver us,” were drawn to the parapet by ropes, and the long folds of their turbans. Dames alone explored the tranquil chambers of the castle; in the banquet room he discovered Youkinna, the general of the Greeks, celebrating with riotous festivity the retreat of the Saracens. He returned to his companions, killed the porters at the gates, let down the drawbridge, and retained it, till at the appearance of morning, Caled relieved the exhausted band, and the whole Moslem army entered the castle.

Fall of
Antioch,
A. D. 638.

The fall of Jerusalem, Damascus, and Aleppo, accelerated that ruin of Syria, which the battles of Aiznadan and Yermouk commenced.

Of

Of the proud cities of this valuable member of the Roman empire, Antioch alone remained in the power of the Greeks, as an example to the various provincial towns. Conducted by Youkinna, who embraced the faith and the politics of the Muselmans, the strong castle of Arzaz, and the iron bridge over the Orontes at Antioch, were taken by surprise, and the last of the Roman armies fell before the scimitars of the Saracens. In religious controversies, or in royal pageants, the Emperor Heraclius forgot his dignity and important station, and when his enemies approached the seat of Roman government in Syria, this feeble successor of Constantine fled to Constantinople, and the Greeks resigned for ever the possession of a city, which Cæsar had vainly adorned with the titles of free, and holy, and inviolate. The prudent Obeidah dreaded lest his soldiers should become enervated by the luxury of Antioch, and after extorting, as the ransom of her safety, three hundred thousand ducats of gold, he withdrew his army to the discipline and labour of the camp.

The news of the victory, and the general's apprehensions for the declining virtue of his soldiers, were received by the commander of the faithful, while preparing for a pilgrimage to Mecca. Omar fell on the ground, wept, and

CHAP. II. poured forth thanksgivings to God and his Prophet. In the fervour of his joy and gratitude, he blamed the sternness of Abu Obeidah, which denied to his faithful Moslems the fruits of victory, and replied to his letter, " that God
 " did not forbid the use of the good things of
 " this life to faithful men, and such as per-
 " formed good works : wherefore, the lieute-
 " nant should have given them leave to rest
 " themselves, and partake freely of those good
 " things which the country afforded : that if
 " any of the Saracens had no family in Arabia,
 " they might marry in Syria ; and whoever
 " among them wanted any female slaves, he
 " might purchase as many as he had occasion
 " for." The persecution of Christianity, and the enjoyment of the delicacies of Syria, were equally objects of regard to the Saracens. But a plague was more fatal to their ranks, than the swords of the enemy, or the luxury of Antioch. Twenty-five thousand men fell in this year of destruction, as the Arabians mournfully distinguish the eighteenth anniversary of the flight of Muhammed ; and the public grief was aggravated, that amongst the victims were Abu-Obeidah, Serjabil, and Yezid.

Death of
 Caled, A D.
 642.

Caled, though spared from a species of death so unwelcome to a soldier, sunk at the end of three years under exhaustion, sickness,
 and

and wounded pride. A base charge of appropriating to himself the public treasure, was preferred against him, or encouraged by Omar. The noble Saracen, who had so often devoted himself to his country's cause, was examined with every indignity—the probability even is, with his turban fastened round his neck, in the ignominious grasp of the common crier. He submitted with exemplary moderation, alleging that the dictates of resentment, however just, should not prevail with him to resist the will of his superiors. The imposition of a fine satisfied the public justice; but when his horse, his armour, and one slave, were found to constitute all his wealth, Omar deigned to weep over the tomb, at Emesa, of the injured conqueror of Syria.*

Caled was not the only champion of the Saracens who rendered the caliphate of Omar memorable in the history of fanaticism. Amrou, equal as a warrior to the *sword of God*, and a wiser politician, was one of Muhammed's earliest proselytes. In the battles of the Prophet, and in every war of Abubeker and Omar, he displayed the various qualifications of a commander and a soldier. His satirical verses in early youth upon the Prophet of his country,

F 2

shew

* These circumstances concerning the public ingratitude to Caled were first communicated to the English reader by Major Price, in his Muhammedan history, vol. 1. ch. 3.

CHAP. II.

shew vivacity of talent ; and his observation in riper years has been justly preserved among the sayings of the wise : “ Shew me,” demanded Omar, “ the sword with which you have “ fought so many battles, and slain so many “ thousands of infidels.” Amrou unsheathed his scimitar, and to the Caliph’s ejaculation of surprise and contempt at its common appearance, made reply, “ Alas ! the sword itself, “ without the arm of its master, is neither “ sharper, nor more weighty, than the sword of “ Farezdak the poet.”*

On the death of Abu-Obeidah, Amrou succeeded to the command of the Moslem army, and prepared them for the conquest of the long valley of Egypt. But the council at Medina envied Amrou the glory of the enterprize ; and a letter of Omar to his lieutenant betrayed the fluctuations of his own mind. “ If this epistle,” wrote the Caliph, “ reaches you while you are “ in Syria, return : but if you are entered into “ Egypt when the messenger arrives, advance “ with the blessing of God ; and assure yourself, that if you want any supplies, I will “ take care to send them.” The servant of Omar overtook the Arabians on the confines of Syria ; but Amrou, suspecting the malice of his

Conquest
of Egypt,
A.D. 638.
June.

* Harris’s Philo. Inquiries, p. 350. Farezdak was a poet famous for his fine description of a sword, but not equally famous for his personal prowess. Pocock’s note in *Carm. Tog.* p. 184.

his domestic enemies, pressed forward his army to Arish. His camp was formed, the messenger was admitted, and the letter was opened in the presence of the assembled officers. Assuming the surprise of ignorance, he read aloud the contents, and inquired the situation of Arish. The answer was agreeable to his wishes; and with sorrowful gravity, he declared to his generals, that the commands of the Caliph must be obeyed. Farmak or Pelusium, the key of Egypt, was soon possessed by the Saracens, and a seven months siege reduced Memphis to obedience. The native Egyptians, or Coptic Christians, rejoiced at the appearance of the Moslems. Their religious principles had drawn upon them the tyranny and persecution of the Byzantine emperors, and they joyfully hailed the prospect of happiness in a change of masters. The Coptic inhabitants, exaggerated by the Arabic writers to six millions, paid individually the yearly tribute of two ducats; but the old men, the women, and the children, were exempted from the tax. The Greeks of Egypt, an inconsiderable part of the population of the country, fled to Alexandria; and this second city of the empire might have been preserved, if Heraclius, who had the command of the sea, had recruited it with continual supplies of men

CHAP. II. and provisions. The inhabitants, though un-
 assisted by the emperor, defended themselves
 against the Saracens for fourteen months ; and
 twenty-three thousand of the rovers of the de-
 sert obtained the crown of martyrdom, under
 the walls of Alexandria. The enthusiasm of
 the Saracens at length overcame the patriotism
 of the Egyptians. “ I have taken,” wrote
 Amrou to the Caliph, “ the great city of the
 Capture of “ west. It is impossible for me to enumerate
 Alexandria. “ the variety of its riches and beauty ; and I
 “ shall content myself with observing, that it
 “ contains four thousand palaces, four thousand
 “ baths, four hundred theatres or places of
 “ amusement, twelve thousand shops for the
 “ sale of vegetable food, and forty thousand
 “ tributary Jews. The town has been sub-
 “ dued by force of arms, without treaty or
 “ capitulation, and the Moslems are impa-
 “ tient to seize the fruits of their victory.”
 But Omar commanded that private property
 should be respected, and the conversion of the
 public stores to the pious purpose of furnishing
 the means of promulgating the doctrine of the
 unity of God, and the mission of his apostle.
 Two ducats was the annual ransom of safety
 for every poorer person, whether a native or a
 foreigner ; but a proportion for the benefit of
 the

the state was deducted from the clear profits of the wealthier people, who were engaged in the pursuits of agriculture and commerce. CHAP. II.

The conquest of Egypt occurred at the most fortunate season for the Arabs. Their country was this year afflicted by a famine; but Amrou placed the products of a land, which had once been the granary of the Romans, on the backs of camels; and a train of these useful animals, extending from Memphis to Medina, a distance of one hundred leagues, quickly and completely supplied the wants of his countrymen. The Egyptians under the Ptolomies, and the Romans under Trajan, had fruitlessly endeavoured to open a maritime communication between the Nile and the Red Sea. The increased facility of commerce between Egypt and Arabia, which a measure of that kind would have produced, suggested the experiment to Omar, and his resources were equal to its accomplishment. A magnificent canal of eighty miles in length was opened by the soldiers of Amrou, and it was used and preserved, until, by the removal of the seat of the Caliphate from Medina to Damascus, its great utility to the Saracens was lost, and other nations were deprived of the advantage of a junction of the Mediterranean and Indian seas.*

Canal from the Nile to the Red Sea

F 4

From

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1 p 39 ed Wesselingi. D'Anville, Mémoires sur l'Egypte, p. 108—110, and Ockley.

CHAP. II.

Invasion of
Persia, A.D.
632.

From the conquest of Syria and Egypt, we turn to the conquest of Persia. The Almondars, a dynasty of christian kings, who reigned under the shadow of the Persian monarchy in the cities of Hira and Anbar, near the Euphrates, and westward of the ruins of Babylon, were the first foreign princes who felt the edge of the invincible Caled's sword, and the imposition of an annual tax of seventy thousand pieces of gold, was the earliest source of revenue to the treasury at Medina. But the war in Syria averted the fate of the Persian empire, till in the reign of Omar, prosperity and enthusiasm had raised such formidable Moslem armies, that the successors of Cyrus, as well as the descendants of Cæsar, trembled before a people, until then despised and unknown. An unskilful commander of the Saracenian force lost the fruits of the victories of Caled, and four thousand Moslems were drowned in their retreat across the Euphrates. But disasters served only to quicken the energies of the Saracens. Their armies became more numerous, and better appointed: they despoiled the merchants, who frequented the fair at the village of Bagdad in Assyria or Irak, and the injured traders approached the throne of the Chrosoes for protection and redress. The Persian sceptre was at that time swayed by the feeble hand of a woman.

woman. The nobles and the priests removed CHAP. II.
her from a station unfitted to her sex, but feelings contrary to those of patriotism must have influenced revolutionists, who could entrust the safety of a kingdom, in an hour of danger, to an inexperienced youth. At the age of fifteen years, Yezdegerd, the son of Chrosoes, was drawn from his peaceful retirement at Istakar, the ancient Persepolis in Fars, to succeed the Queen Arzema. The hosts of Persia were as numerous and as feeble, as in the days of Darius. A force of one hundred and twenty thousand of the soldiers of the great king, arrayed for a royal pageant, rather than for a military conflict, met thirty thousand Arabs in the plains of Cadesia, two stations from Cufa. For three days the battle continued with various success, but on the morning of the fourth, the courage of the Saracens prevailed, and the victory of Cadesia was followed by the submission to the Caliph of Irak or Assyria. The Persian army crossed the Tigris, the Moslems pursued them with destruction and slaughter, till their progress was arrested by a city of such mingled luxury and strength, that it had invited the cupidity of the Romans, but resisted the utmost force of their engines of war. “ This is the white palace of Chrosoes, this is the promise of the Apostle of God,” exclaimed the Moslems, in astonishment

Battle of
Cadesia,
A D. 636.

ment

CHAP. II. ment at the riches and magnificence of Madyan or Ctesiphon. The town was sacked, and the Arabic writers are eloquent in their descriptions of the richness and quantity of the spoil. Yezdegerd fled to Holwan at the foot of the Median hills. Another Persian army crowded around him, and he descended to Jalula, again to feel the edge of the Moslem scimitar. The wretched monarch deserted his country, crossed the Oxus, and dragged out a miserable existence under the protection of the Scythian shepherds. But the Persian nation fought for their independence, though the king had resigned his crown. In the battle of Nehavend, one hundred and fifty thousand slaves of Asiatic despotism shewed their abhorrence of foreign dominion ; but the Arabs were victorious, and so great were the consequences, or so tremendous the conflict, that the title of *victory of victories* distinguished the day, which annexed Persia to the Caliphate. The ancient government of the Persians was overturned ; their laws were trampled upon, and their civil transactions disturbed, by the forcible substitution of the lunar for the solar calendar : whilst their language, which the laws of nature preserved from immediate, or ulterior annihilation, became almost overwhelmed by an introduction of Arabic words, which, from that period, religion, authority, and fashion, incorporated

Sack of
Madyan
A.D. 637

Battles of
Jalula and

A D. 640,
&c.

and con-
quest of
Persia.

incorporated with their idiom. The faith of ^{CHAP. II.} Zoroaster had been corrupted by the gross fancies of the vulgar, and to the pure eye of the Arabian Unitarians, the Persians appeared idolaters. The conquerors destroyed the books of the Magi, and the choice of conversion or tribute, which was offered to the Jews and Christians, was to the Persians changed to the dismal alternative, of destruction or conversion. The body of the nation repeated the holy Apothegm, that there was but one God, and that Muhammed was his Prophet, and the small remainder of confirmed enthusiasts sheltered themselves in the mountains of Kuhistan.*

It would be tedious and unprofitable, to detail the different events which attended the submission of the governors of the various provinces of Persia, but a circumstance involved with the fall of the province of Ahwaz and Susa, is so illustrative of oriental manners, that I willingly insert it, in order to relieve the sanguinary uniformity of the Saracenic annals. The Arabs besieged Harmozan, the governor of this province, in his castle at Susa. The fortress soon surrendered, and the Persian Satrap was conducted to Medina, where, at the moment of his arrival, the Caliph was reposing himself amidst
a crowd

* Richardson's Dissertation on the Languages, &c. of the East, p. 22-24, 8vo. 1778.

CHAP. II. a crowd of paupers, on the steps of the great mosque. The Persian, unaccustomed to associate the ideas of simplicity of manners with the power of royalty, demanded to be conducted into the presence of Omar. The Caliph, awakened by the noise, told the Moslems to lead their prisoner into a chamber of the mosque. Seated in the chair of Muhammed, the conqueror commanded his captive to be stripped of his gorgeous habiliments, and asked him, whether he was sensible of the judgments of God, and of the different rewards of infidelity and obedience? "Alas," replied Harmozan, "I feel them too deeply. In the days of our common ignorance, we fought with the weapons of the flesh, and my nation was superior: God was then neuter: since he has espoused your quarrel, you have subverted our kingdom and religion." The Persian complained of thirst, and wished to drink in the presence of his conqueror, since, according to the custom of the orientals, that circumstance would have entitled the prisoner to the privileges of his friendship. "Why do you ask for water?" demanded the Caliph. "My thirst is intolerable," replied the Satrap, "and I ask for water for the preservation of my life." "Your life is in safety till you have drunk the water," said the Caliph. Harmozan, relying upon the
promise

promise of Omar, dashed the vase to the ground. CHAP. II.
 The word of a successor of the Prophet was inviolate, and Omar was gratified by the conversion to Muhammedanism of his crafty foe.

The death of Omar, by an assassin's hand, occurred in the twenty-third year of the Hejira. Death of
Omar, A.D.
644.

The venerable Caliph, in distrust of the merits of his companions, for the arduous office of supreme lord of the Muselmans, left the appointment to the discretion of six commissioners. The haughty spirit of Ali refused to govern with the assistance of two seniors,* but the ambitious though less scrupulous Othman gladly received the office, upon any conditions. Under his reign, the Moslems crossed the Tigris at the bridge of Mosul, and subjugated large districts of Armenia and Mesopotamia. In the reign of Omar they had approached the Caspian Sea, the cities of Balk, Thous, Herat and Nischabour, in the province of Korasan, fell before the generals of Othman, and the rapid Oxus divided the territories of the Saracens and the
Reign of
Othman,
A D. 644-
654.
 Tartars.

* The proposition to Ali was, that he should take the government upon condition of administering it according to the koran, the traditions of Muhammed, and the determination of the two seniors. It is more probable, that the last clause meant the examples of his two predecessors, and not the assistance of two colleagues. In the reign of Othman, no mention is made by the Arabic historians of two coadjutors, though Othman, like all the other Caliphs, invariably consulted the chiefs of the different tribes on the great points of state policy.

CHAP. II.

Tartars. The fondness of Othman for his own family had well nigh lost the Arabs their rich domain of Egypt. The Caliph recalled Amrou from the government of a country, in which he had made himself beloved by his justice, his clemency, and his spirit* of accommodation. On his departure, the regency at Constantino-ple, in the minority of the son of Heraclius, followed the wishes of the people for the recovery of this former granary of the empire, and the city of Alexandria was besieged by the Grecian navy. The christians of Egypt, in apprehension of the punishment they would receive from the Byzantine court for their submission to the Saracens, implored the Caliph to reinstate Amrou. Public necessity was paramount over private prejudices ; the victorious Saracen received his commission from the Caliph, and drove the fleet and army of the Romans from the walls of Alexandria. On the occasion of another attack, Amrou was recalled from the conquest of Africa to defend the capital of Egypt. Enraged at a repetition of the attempt of the Romans, and the obstinacy of their perseverance, he declared, that if God gave him the victory, he would demolish the walls of the town, and make it as accessible as the house of a courtezan. The bravery of his Saracens enabled

enabled him to redeem his pledge, Alexandria was dismantled, but the indiscriminate slaughter of Egyptians and Greeks was stopped by Amrou, and the mosque of mercy commemorated for ages, the spot where the Saracenic hero commanded the scimitar of destruction to be sheathed.

With the sword in one hand, and the Koran in the other, Abdallah, the general of Othman, conducted forty thousand valiant Arabs from the camp at Memphis, to the conversion or subjugation of the unknown regions of the west. The siege of Tripoli was suspended by the appearance in the field of the prefect Gregory, with one hundred and twenty thousand Roman troops, and Moorish or barbarian auxiliaries.*

Invasion of
Africa,
A.D. 647.

The

* The words Moors and Barbarians have been used, however incorrectly, as synonymous terms by almost every writer. The word Moors was perhaps originally the name of the Roman province of Mauritania. It was in time applied to the people of all western Barbary, to the Arabian conquerors of Spain, and to the descendants of the last remains of the Arabs that were driven from Granada into Morocco by Philip the third. In the days of Homer, the imitative sound of Bar-bar was applied by the Greeks and Asiatics to the rude tribes, whose pronunciation was most harsh, and whose grammar was most defective. From the time at least of Herodotus, it was extended to *all* the nations who were strangers to the language and manners of the Greeks. In the age of Plautus, the Romans submitted to the insult, and freely gave themselves the name of Barbarians. They insensibly claimed an exemption for Italy and her subject provinces, and at length removed the disgraceful appellation to the savage or hostile nations beyond the pale of the empire. In every sense it was due to the Africans, and has justly settled as a local denomination (Barbary) along the northern coast. Gib-

On the
names
Moors and
Barbarians.

CHAP. II. The representative of the Greek emperor rejected with disdain the usual choice of conversion or tribute, and the Saracenian general broke up his camp before the walls of Tripoli. In the midst of a sandy plain, the battle was prolonged for several days, from the earliest appearance of light, till a noon-day sun compelled the soldiers of each army to seek the shelter of their tents. But Zobeir, a genius in war, terminated this irregular conflict. A part of the Moslem force had been separated from their general, and the commander of the division sent twelve of his bravest soldiers to penetrate the camp of the Greeks. In the darkness of the night they avoided the enemy, and with a perseverance which despised all refreshment of the senses, reached their Moslem brethren in the battle of the morning. The searching eye of Zobeir met not Abdallah. "Where," said he, "is our general?"—"He is in his tent," was the reply. "Is the tent a station for the general of the Moslems?" indignantly exclaimed the indefatigable Saracen, when he found that Abdallah had really retired from the field. "Nay," replied the chief, when he was discovered by Zobeir, "a price has been set
 " upon

bon, ch. 51, note 162. *Chenier's Recherches sur les Maures*, tom. 1. *Discours Préliminaire*, and Mr. Dupuis' notes to Adams's *Narrative of a Residence at Tumbuctoo*. Mr. Dupuis has most correctly stated the present use of those names.

“ upon my head ; one hundred thousand pieces
“ of gold, and the hand of the daughter of the
“ prefect, have been offered to any Christian or
“ Muselman, who shall take the head of the
“ general of the Saracens into the camp of the
“ enemy. She is fighting by the side of her
“ father, and her incomparable charms fire the
“ youth of both armies. My friends have so-
“ licited me to quit the field, as the loss of
“ their general might be fatal to the cause.”—
“ Retort on the infidels,” said the undaunted
Zobeir, “ their unmanly attempt. Proclaim
“ through the ranks, that the head of Gregory
“ shall be repaid with his captive daughter, and
“ the equal sum of one hundred thousand
“ pieces of gold.” The adventurous Saracen
conceived and executed a plan for the over-
throw of the Greeks. On the following morn-
ing, a part only of the Moslem army commen-
ced the usual desultory conflict with their foes,
and prolonged it, till the excessive heat com-
pelled both armies to retire. The Muselmans,
when arrived at their camp, threw down their
swords, laid their bows across their saddles,
and by every appearance of lassitude deceived
the enemy into security. But at the signal of
Zobeir, a large body of his troops, fresh and
vigorous, sprung from the concealment of their
tents, and mounted their horses. The Romans,

CHAP II. — astonished and fainting with fatigue, hastily seized their arms ; but their ranks were soon broken by the impetuous Saracens, Gregory was slain, and the scattered fugitives from the field sought refuge in Sufetala. But on the first attack, this city yielded ; and, in the division of the spoil, two thousand pieces of gold were the share of every horseman, and one thousand pieces, of every foot soldier. The spirited daughter of Gregory had animated, by her courage and her exhortations, the soldiers of her country, till a squadron of horse led her captive into the presence of Abdallah. The affecting testimony of her tears, at the sight of Zobeir, proved that he was the destroyer of her father. “ Why do you not claim the rich reward of your conquest ? ” said Abdallah, in astonishment at the modesty or indifference of Zobeir, at the sight of so much beauty. “ I fight,” replied the enthusiast, “ for glory and religion, and despise all ignoble motives.” But the general of the Saracens forced upon the reluctant chief the virgin and the gold, and pleased his martial spirit, with the office of communicating to the Caliph at Medina, the success of his faithful soldiers.

Disaffection
to Othman.

The unlimited obedience of the Moslems to Abubeker and Omar, was not continued to Othman. His partiality to his family, his appropriation

appropriation of the public money to the use of his friends, and his presumption to sit in the highest seat of the pulpit, while Abubeker and Omar occupied the first or the second steps, were the real or alleged crimes, which prompted the Arabs to shake off their allegiance. The oppressed and the factious subjects of the Caliph in Egypt, in Syria, and Persia, assembled in the neighbourhood of Medina, and demanded justice. The Caliph satisfied all their requisitions, but the malignant and ambitious spirit of Ayesha was not readily appeased. She wished the throne to be filled by one of her own partisans, and she secretly assisted all the machinations of the rebels. A mandate, forged in the Caliph's hand-writing, for the murder of the Egyptian lieutenant, whom he had been compelled to name, was placed within the reach of the deputies from Egypt; the torch of civil discord was lighted once more, and the insurgents besieged the injured Othman in his palace. Hassan and Hossein, the sons of Ali, protected him awhile, and some remains of respect for a legitimate successor of the Prophet, suspended his fate. But the animosity of the rebels strengthened, the gates of the palace were forced, the chief conspirators entered the apartment in which the Caliph was seated studying the Koran, and the blood of his faithful attendants

CHAP II.

Murder of
Othman,
A D 654.

CHAP. II. attendants was shed in vain, in defending their venerated chief from his enemies.

Reign of
Ali, A. D.
655—660.

On the murder of Othman, twenty-two years after the death of Muhammed, the vast and splendid empire of Arabia, Persia, Syria, and Egypt, was committed to the charge of the son of Abu-Taleb. As the chief of the family of Haschem, and as the cousin and son-in-law of him, whom the Arabians respected almost to idolatry, it is apparently wonderful that Ali was not raised to the Caliphate immediately on the death of Muhammed. To the advantages of his birth and marriage, was added the friendship of the Prophet. The son of Abu-Taleb was one of the first converts to Islamism, and Muhammed's favourite appellation of him was, the Aaron of a second Moses. His talents as an orator, and his intrepidity as a warrior, were grateful to a nation, in whose judgment courage was virtue, and eloquence was wisdom. But the pride and loftiness of his spirit endured not the caution inseparable from schemes of policy, and continually precipitated him into rashness. His opposition to Abubeker would not have ceased, if Fatima had lived ; but on her death, six months after that of her father, the companions of Muhammed relaxed in their friendship to his family. In the reigns of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, a dignified independence

His character.

pendence was preserved by Ali. On the invitation of the Caliphs, he assisted in the councils at Medina ; but he was principally occupied in the tranquil pursuits of domestic life, and the various duties of his religion. On the murder of Othman, the Egyptians, who were at Medina, offered him the Caliphate. Indignant that the power of nomination should be usurped by strangers, Ali declared, that the suffrages of the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina alone could be available. The public voice soon echoed the opinions of the murderers, and the scruples of Ali were removed. In apprehension of the enmity of Ayesha, his relentless foe, and of the whole family of Moawiyah, he declined to receive in private the proffered allegiance of the chiefs. With his accustomed simplicity, he proceeded to the mosque clad in a cotton gown, a coarse turban bound his head, his slippers were in one hand, and a bow, instead of a staff, occupied the other. The assembled chiefs of tribes gave him their hands in token of fealty ; but he declared with sincerity to Telha and Zobeir, two friends of the house of Moawiyah, his willingness to resign his claims to either, or to any other person who might receive the public choice.

The political convulsions ended not with the death of Othman. Moawiyah possessed the

Disaffec-
tion to Ali.

affections of the army of Syria, and the Caliph's refusal of the governorships of Cufa and Bassora, to Telha and Zobeir, converted the precarious friendship of these chiefs into implacable hatred. The various lieutenants scattered throughout the Empire were disaffected to Ali. If the mildness of Othman could not, in the commencement of the rebellion, have stilled the spirit of clamour, it was in vain for Ali to attempt to conciliate men, whose sedition had been encouraged by success. The circumstances of the times justified him in the bold measure, of commanding the governors of the provinces to quit their several stations. But the armies refused their respect to the friends of Ali till the murder of Othman should be avenged. The bloody shirt of the late Caliph was suspended over the pulpit of Damascus, and sixty thousand Saracens were seduced from their allegiance, to become the instruments of faction. Ayesha, who had in reality assisted the murderers of Othman, but whose hatred of Ali was more inveterate than of his predecessor, invited the lovers of justice to assemble at Medina. At the head of three thousand men, and assisted by Telha and Zobeir, she crossed the deserts of Arabia, and encamped near Bassora. The lieutenant of Ali was surprised and overpowered, but the widow of the Prophet was openly reprov'd, for quitting that solitude

solitude which was so becoming to her situation, and exposing her person and character in the tumult of a camp. CHAP II

At the head of twenty thousand loyal Arabs, Ali passed from Medina into Irak, ten thousand men of Cufa asserted the justice of his cause, and under the walls of Bassora he triumphed over rebellion. Telha and Zobeir were slain, and the mother of the faithful was led a captive into the tent of Ali. Seated on a camel, she had in the thickest of the battle, excited the martial ardour of her partisans; the hands of three score and ten men, which conducted the animal, were cut off, and the showers of arrows which pierced the litter in which she rode, gave it the appearance of a porcupine. Round the camel her soldiers continually rallied, but some friends of Ali slew the animal, and the battle was called the Day of the Camel. The widow of Muhammed was received with respect by his successor. He gently urged the propriety of her return to her domestic station at Medina, and his two sons, Hassan and Hossein, accompanied her on her journey. Ali reposed himself in Cufa, a city on the western side of the Euphrates, which the Saracens had built, when they disliked the air and situation of Ctesiphon.

Battle of
Bassora, or
Day of the
Camel

CHAP. II.

Rebellion
of Moa-
wiyah.

Established in Irak, the Caliph received the submission of Egypt, Arabia, Persia and Korasan, and thought that the sword of rebellion was broken. But he was speedily summoned from his tranquillity by a powerful foe. Moawiyah had concealed his ambition under the mask of patriotism, and eighty thousand Arabians and auxiliaries, in the ample plains of Siffin, on the western bank of the Euphrates, between Irak and Syria, acknowledged him to be a more lawful Caliph than Ali, the accused murderer of Othman. In the course of one hundred and ten days, there were ninety skirmishes and battles between the hostile armies. Five and forty thousand of the friends of Moawiyah, and twenty-five thousand of the soldiers of Ali, fell in this civil war. The cousin of Muhammed, with a generosity of soul rare in Asiatic princes, commanded his troops invariably to await the attack, to spare the fugitives, and to respect the virtue of the female captives. Nor was his valour less conspicuous than his humanity. "How long," said Ali to Moawiyah, "shall the people lose their lives in our controversies? I challenge you to appeal to the decision of God and the sword." But his adversary declined this test of their merits, for the personal prowess of Ali was proverbial in the army.

In

In the morning after a nocturnal battle, the victory of Ali appeared no longer doubtful, but a stratagem of Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt and friend of Moawiyah, deceived the soldiers of the lawful Caliph. The Koran was hoisted on the points of the lances of the Syrian soldiers, and the cry was repeated, that that was the book which ought to decide all differences. In vain did Ali represent to his Arabs, the insidiousness of the appeal; their enthusiasm was excited, their allegiance was forgotten, and they bowed in veneration before the word of the Apostle. The battle was suspended, the armies retired to their several camps, and a long negotiation ensued, which weakened the power of Ali, and strengthened the hands of the rebels.

The princes of Persia, of Arabia, and Egypt, were seduced from their allegiance by the powerful associates of Moawiyah, and the cousin of Muhammed lost his life and his empire in repressing the Charegites or Sectaries, whose fanaticism was not regulated by the Koran. In the open field he had defeated their force, but three of the fugitives resolved upon his murder in expiation of the death of their comrades. In the disordered imagination of the Charegites, peace would never be restored to their country during the lives of Moawiyah and Amrou.

Each

CHAP. II. Each of the three confederates chose his victim and poisoned his dagger. The secretary of Amrou received a blow, which was meditated for his master; Moawiyah was severely wounded, but in the mosque of Cufa, the dagger of the assassin was plunged into the breast of Ali, and the generous chief died in the sixty-third year of his age, commanding his son not to aggravate the sufferings of the murderer by useless torture.*

Murder of
Ali, A. D.
660 and

On the death of Ali, his eldest son Hassan was saluted Caliph by the Cufians, but Moawiyah was in possession of Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, and the unambitious son of Ali soon retired to a life of piety and ease at Medina. But the simple recluse was still an object of jealousy in the eyes of Moawiyah, the supreme lord of the Moslem world. Yezid, the son of the Caliph, professed a passion for the wife of Hassan, and instigated her to poison the beloved grandson of the founder of the Saracenian greatness.

of his son
Hassan.

The interest which is naturally attached to the

* In *Alto exemplam spectes boni principis fortis, justitiam amantis, quo meliorem non vidit orbis Muhammedanus, et quem haud incongrue cum M. Antonino philosopho compares, sed quem adversa fortuna et ambitiosae feminae ira, perjurus nixa et sustentata sicariis pessum dabat. Bello vincebat ille semper: et nihilo secius tamen semper succumbebat, nullumque reportabat victoriarum lucrum malis artibus adversarii Moawiae elusus. In hoc pari composito videas luctantem cum calliditate vim, cum nequitia probitatem, et illam semper hac potiore.* Reiske, p. 239, *Abulfeda's Syria*. Version Kohler.

the family of Ali, induces me to overlook the order of time, and narrate the fate of Hossein. The death of Moawiyah renewed the feelings of affection of the friends of Muhammed for the child of his Fatima. The weakness and dissoluteness of Yezid, the second Caliph of the house of Moawiyah, suggested the thought of reinstating the family of Haschem on the throne; and the Cufians and Irakians, to the number of one hundred and forty thousand, swore to support the cause of Hossein. But these auxiliaries were as treacherous to the son, as they had been to Ali. Hossein crossed the desert; but Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, had quelled an insurrection in his province; and the hapless child of Fatima was surrounded in the plain of Kerbela, by the cavalry of his enemy. He attempted to obtain the honourable condition of peace; of a return to Medina; of a safe conduct into the presence of Yezid; or of a station in a frontier garrison against the Turks. But the lieutenant of the Caliph despised an enemy who could not enforce his pretensions by the sword; and the choice of captivity or death, was the only answer he returned to the peaceful propositions of Hossein.

CHAP. II.

 Melancholy fate of Hossein.

Resignation and tranquillity of mind distinguished the son of Ali, as clearly as courage had ennobled the founders of his house. The lamenta-

CHAP. II. lamentations of his sister were loud and frequent. "I wish," she exclaimed, "that I had died yesterday, rather than have lived till to-day. My mother Fatima is dead, and my father Ali, and my brother Hassan. Alas for the destruction that is past, and the dregs of it that remain behind!" "Sister," replied Hossein, "put your trust in God, and know that every thing shall perish, but the presence of God who created all things by his power, and shall make them return to him alone. My father, my mother, my brother, were better than I, and we all have an example in the Apostle of God." His friends would not listen to his suggestions that they should seek safety in flight, and exclaimed against the disgrace of surviving their master. A trench was dug round the flanks and rear of the camp, and the faithful band was secure from the approach of the enemy, except in the front. The night was passed in prayer, and on the morning, Hossein mounted his horse, and appeared before his seventy-two associates, who anxiously expected the joys of Paradise from the swords of their enemies. With the Koran in his hand, he declared that God was his confidence in every trouble, and his hope in all adversity. The enemy advanced with reluctance, and Harro, one of their chiefs, deserted with
thirty

thirty followers to Hossein, to claim the partnership of inevitable death. "Oh, ye Cufians," said Harro, "you invited the son of the apostle's daughter till he came among you, and then you deceived him. You now not only dare to fight against him, but you have hindered him, and his wives, and his family, from the water of the Euphrates, which Jews and Christians and Sabians drink, and where hogs and dogs sport themselves." But the generosity of the Cufians was not awakened, and their base treachery merited the supplicatory expression of Hossein: "let not the dews of Heaven distil upon them, and withhold thou from them the blessings of the earth, for they first invited me, and then deceived me." In every close onset, says Mr. Gibbon (on the authority of Ockley), in every single combat, the despair of the Fatimites was invincible; but the surrounding multitudes galled them from a distance with a cloud of arrows, and the horses and men were successively slain: a truce was allowed on both sides for the hour of prayer, and the battle at length expired by the death of the last of the companions of Hossein. Alone, weary, and wounded, the son of Ali seated himself at the door of his tent. As he tasted a drop of water, he was pierced in the mouth with a dart; and his son

CHAP. II. son and nephew, two beautiful youths, were killed in his arms. He lifted his hands to heaven, they were full of blood, and he uttered a funeral prayer for the living and the dead. In a transport of despair his sister issued from the tent, and adjured the general of the Cufians, that he would not suffer Hossein to be murdered before his eyes; a tear trickled down his venerable beard, and the boldest of his soldiers fell back on every side, as the dying hero threw himself among them. The remorseless Shamar, a name detested by the faithful, reproached their cowardice, and the grandson of Muhammed was slain with three and thirty strokes of lances and swords. After they had trampled on his body, they carried his head to the castle of Cufa, and the inhuman Obeidollah struck him on the mouth with a cane. "Alas," exclaimed an aged Muselman, "on those lips have I seen the lips of the apostle of God." The sisters and children of Ali were brought in chains to the throne of Damascus. The Caliph was advised to extirpate the enmity of a popular and hostile race, whom he had injured beyond the hope of reconciliation, but Yezid preferred the counsels of mercy, and the mourning family were honourably dismissed, to mingle their tears with their kindred at Medina.

A. D. 680.

The

The descendants of Ali, though excluded for ever from the Universal Caliphate, have in all ages of Islamism enjoyed the veneration of the faithful. In every Muhammedan country, they have occasionally filled the throne, and the various offices of life, from the prince to the beggar, have been ennobled by the family of Muhammed. In Arabia, they are called Scherifs or Seids; in Syria and Turkey, Emirs; in Africa, Persia, and India, Seids: and when we consider, that according to the Muselman law, it is sufficient for the ratification of a claim to this distinction, that either the father or mother of a child, should be of the family of Muhammed, we shall not wonder, that the descendants of the Prophet are numerous in every quarter of the Moslem world. Whole villages in Arabia are full of them. In Turkey they constitute a thirtieth part of the nation. The green turban is not always the external sign of a descendant of Muhammed. The beggars often wear it, and one of the Danish traveller's servants carried it without offence to the Arabs. In Turkey, however, it is still the great distinction of the descendants of Fatima.*

CHAP. II.

Posterity of
Muham-
med and
Ali.

From

* Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 10 — D'Ohsson, tom 1, p 211; tom. 4, 556—8 Thornton, Present State of Turkey, p 265 In Arabia the name of Scherif is applied to the descendants of Muhammed who devote themselves to war. The name Seid to those who follow commerce. The word Scherif sometimes means the descendants of Hossein, and Seid the descendant of Hassan

CHAP. II.

Dynasty of
the Ommi-
ades. A. D.
661.—750.

From the middle of the seventh to a like period of the eighth century of the Christian æra, the family of Moawiyah were invested with the regal and sacerdotal office. This dynasty is called the dynasty of the Ommiades, from the Caliph Moawiyah or Ommia, the first of the house, the son of Abu-Sophian, the successor of Abu-Taleb in the principality of Mecca. By Moawiyah important changes were made in the power of election. The choice of the army, and not the choice of the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina, gave him the Caliphate, and he had sufficient power to establish in favour of his own family, the right of primogeniture. The families of Moawiyah and of Muhammed were of the same tribe, but according to the principles of legitimacy, the throne belonged to the descendants of Fatima; and even the children of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet, had a claim prior to that of Moawiyah. The murderers of Ali had enjoyed the Caliphate ninety years, when their subjects relaxed in their allegiance, and thought with veneration of the rightful owners of the throne. The Fatimites had no leader of talents or bravery, but the hopes of the discontented subjects of Marvan, the Ommiadan prince, were fixed on Muhammed, the great grandson of Abbas. The province of Korasan swore allegiance to Muhammed, and
on

on his death, the oath was renewed in favour of his son Ildrahim. The author of the revolution was Abou Moslem, a man of mean extraction, but raised by his merit to the governorship of Korasan. He assembled all his retainers at Meru, the capital of his government; he commanded them to wear their garments of a black colour, in order to distinguish them from the white robes of the adherents of Marvan. A black standard was placed in his van, and its name of Zel, literally expresses shade, and metaphorically, succour and protection. As the ambition of Moawiyah had been masked by the patriotic wish of revenging the murder of Othman, so the unhallowed deaths of Ali and his sons formed the pretext for the rebellion of Ildrahim. The white and the black factions convulsed the wide extent of the Moslem world, with the horrors of civil war. If the exertions of military talents were always crowned with success, Marvan would have retained his throne. In the life of his father he had been governor of Mesopotamia, where the warlike breed of asses, who never fly from an enemy, attach to the word ass, the popular idea of the perfection of a man.* Marvan was honoured with this singular appellation, and his abilities deserved every epithet of praise. Ildrahim and a nu-

H

merous

* Biblioth. Orient. tom. 2, p. 570

CHAP. II.

merous retinue were proceeding on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, in order to restore to the inhabitants of those cities, so venerable in the eyes of the Moslems, their valuable privilege of determining the order of the succession to the Caliphate: but the cavalry of Marvan intercepted the caravans, and Ildrahim was immured in the prison of Haran. His brother Saffah was proclaimed Caliph at Cufa, yet the arms of Marvan were successful in every quarter, and one hundred and twenty thousand soldiers were prepared to deprive the new Caliph of his dignity. The armies met, and the small force of Saffah trembled before their foe. A particular purpose compelled Marvan to dismount. The animal, alarmed at some sudden noise, fled into the ranks of his master's army, and the soldiers, panic struck at the sight of the horse, believed that its rider had been slain. The cavalry of Saffah, conducted by his uncle Abdallah, charged in this moment of dismay, and the soldiers of Marvan were routed and dispersed. The unfortunate hero took flight to Damascus, but the Damascenes despised a vanquished prince. He then fled to Busir, on the banks of the Nile, and in an engagement with his enemy, the lance of an Arab terminated his life. The right of Saffah was acknowledged through all the Moslem provinces.

His

Destruction of the
Ommi-
dan dy-
nasty.

His fears and his hatred of the house of Moawiyah suggested the dreadful idea of exterminating the race; the daggers of the Caliph were plunged in the breasts of thousands of the hostile family; and so remorseless and insatiable was the cruelty of the sons of Abbas, that during a public entertainment at Damascus, the laws of hospitality were violated, and eighty persons, descendants of Moawiyah, who had accepted the proffered protection of the Caliph, were murdered.

The family of Muhammed ascended once more the pulpit of their ancestor, and were lords of the whole, or a part of the Moslem world, during the remainder of the existence of the power of the Saracens. In the early days of the Abassides, the indivisibility of the Caliphate ceased: nominal or real descendants of Ali and Fatima had possessed themselves of the thrones of Africa and Egypt; and a prince of the Omniades, who escaped the general massacre of his family, usurped the power of the Abassides in Spain. The Caliphate, by these means, became divided into three branches;—first, Spain; second, Africa and Egypt; and third, Bagdad. The reign of the four companions of Muhammed, namely, of Abubeker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, is honoured by the title of the Perfect Caliphate, as that of their successors, is called the Imperfect Cali-

Dynasty
the Abas
sides, A
750-1256

Triple di
vision of
the Cali-
phate.

CHAP. II.

A. D. 760

phate. The Ommiades are generally called Caliphs of Syria, because they dwelt at Damascus ; but the Abassides quitted this detested seat of the dominion of their enemies, fixed their court at Cufa, and thence transferred it to Haschemiah, on the Euphrates. Almansor, the second prince of the family of Abbas, erected a spacious and magnificent city, called Bagdad,* on the ruins of the village of that name ; and from the constant residence of the Abassidan monarchs in this abode of peace, as the word Bagdad signifies, they have generally been distinguished by the title of the Caliphs of Bagdad.

The reigns of the four immediate successors of Muhammed claimed a detailed history. By the generals of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, conquests more rapid and extensive than any which the pen of history has recorded, were achieved ; and the life of Ali was memorable for the civil wars, which distracted Syria and Arabia. In reviewing the fleeting dynasties of the Ommiades and Abassides, it would have been tediously unprofitable to connect the military events in the Saracenic history, with the reigns of individual Caliphs. The companions of Muhammed had been distinguished by their courage and abilities

* The situation and description of Bagdad are set down by Niebuhr, with his usual accuracy. Voyage en Arabie, tom. II. p. 239-270.

ties, and in twenty years, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, were subdued; but their numerous successors bore the common stamp of kings, and the progress of conquest was more gradual, than when Caled and Amrou led the Saracenic hosts. From this brief view, then, of the dynasties of the Caliphs, we will return to the military history of the Saracens.

CHAP. II.

Continuation of the conquests of the Saracens.

Subjugation of Africa, A.D. 647-709.

The war of Othman in Africa was an inroad, rather than a conquest; and more than fifty years elapsed before the various Roman provinces, between the Red Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, submitted to the Arabic yoke. A campaign of fifteen months had exhausted Abdallah's army, and those who survived the usual waste of war, returned to Medina laden with spoil, but without a hope or desire of erecting a permanent dominion in the countries they had ravaged. The domestic dissensions in Medina, during the reign of Ali, checked the ambition of foreign conquest. On the departure of the Saracens from Africa, the Emperor of Constantinople, in utter disregard of the wretched state of the provincials, imposed upon his African subjects, new and oppressive taxes. The murmurings of the people against this injustice, and their declared preference of a Saracenic governor, reached the court of Damascus; and the conquest of Africa was resolved upon by

CHAP. II. the bold adventurers of Arabia. In a war of forty years, the Greeks were expelled from their interior provinces, and on the fall of Carthage, all their settlements on the sea coast, from Tripoli to Tangiers, were added to the empire of the Saracens. The Barbarians—the natives of Northern Africa, after some struggles for independence in government and religion, reposed their faith in the unity of God, and the divine mission of his prophet. Between the Bedoweens of Arabia, and the Berebbers or Barbarians of Africa, there was a striking similarity of character. Both nations were wanderers over a sandy ocean, and their government, their national independence, and their mode of life, were necessarily the same.* It was, therefore, a natural and easy circumstance, that when the Africans adopted the religion of the Arabs, they should adopt their name and language also.

The Arabian writers are so general and incorrect in their geographical statements, that it is scarcely possible to trace the limits of the Muselman dominions in the heart of Africa. But some notion of them may be formed from the memorable fanatical conduct of one of the greatest Moslem heroes. Ackbar, the general of the Caliph Moawiyah, crossed the wilderness,

* Chemier's Recherches sur les Maures, tom. i. p. 147.

derness, in which were afterwards erected the magnificent cities of Fez and Morocco, and arrived at the Atlantic ocean, at the mouth of the Susa. He spurred his horse into the waves, and raising his eyes to heaven exclaimed, "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on, to the unknown kingdoms of the west, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations, who worship any other Gods but thee." Even in the Caliphate of Moawiyah, a city was founded fifty miles to the south of Tunis, for the purpose of a refuge to the Moslems, and for a station of power to overawe and controul the surrounding inconstant Moors. Cairon is, in the present day, the second city of Tunis, and the burial place of its kings; but in the bright days of Muhammedan greatness, porphyry, granite, and Numidian marble adorned the mosque which the general of Omar erected; and the professors of arts and sciences were invited to the sandy plains of Africa, by the useful munificence of the Fatimite princes.*

From Africa, the passage into Western Europe was easy; and Spain, which had been successively subdued by the Carthaginians, the Romans, and the Goths, was now doomed to

Conquest
of Spain,
A. D. 709-
714.

* L'Afrique de Marmol, livre vi. c. 24. Shaw's Travels, p. 115.

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feel a Moslem yoke. At the commencement of the eighth century, Roderic, the last of the Gothic kings, was on the throne. In indignation at the private crimes and political profligacy of his predecessor Witika, the people had revolted, and placed the sceptre in the more worthy hands of his relation Roderic. The Count Julian, one of the greatest of the Spanish lords, was the Governor of that part of Spain which is now called Andalusia,* and the province of Mauritania-Tangitana in Africa. In Spain his authority was considerable, but the town of Ceuta or Tangiers was the only possession of the Goths in Africa, which had resisted the assaults of the Saracens. I care not to examine the cause of Julian's treachery to Roderic; whether to adopt the Spanish romantic tale—that the seduction of his daughter Cava, by the King, excited the revenge of the count, or whether the fruitless assistance which Julian afforded to the sons of Witika, in their attempt to recover their inheritance, involved him in the obloquy and danger of an unsuccessful faction. But whatever the motives; whether of a public or a private nature

* The Arabians erroneously applied this word, Andalusia—the province they first conquered, to the whole country of Spain. The word Andalusia appears to be derived from an Arabic word, which signifies the region of the West. See Biblioth. Arabico. Hispana tom 2. p. 327.

ture, Julian crossed the sea, and hastened to the settlements of Mousa, Governor in Africa for Walid, the sixth Prince of the Ommiadan dynasty. He represented to the anxious attention of the Saracen, the degraded state of Spain. The Goths had lost their reputation for ferocity and martial prowess. The mildness of the climate, luxury, and riches, had softened their courage, and corrupted their manners. A country of fortifications had been dismantled by Witika. Jealous of his subjects, more than of the neighbouring princes, and in greater apprehension of rebellion than of invasion, Witika hastened the natural decay of the Gothic military institutions. Roderic's talents for war and politics were lost in the licentiousness of the court of Toledo; and the affections of the nobles and clergy were estranged from his government. In the productions of those mines of gold and silver, which had attracted the cupidity of the Phoenicians, the Carthaginians, and the Romans, the country was rich; and inhabited as it had been, by the most polished people of antiquity, would be considered an acquisition of inestimable value, even to the conquerors of Asia. Astonished at the richness of the prize, Mousa sent the intelligence to the court at Damascus. The Caliph assented to the projects of his governor, and in a descent upon

CHAP. II. upon the Spanish coast, five hundred Arabians and Africans found, that the accounts of the wealth and effeminacy of the people had not been exaggerated.

In the following spring, Tarik, an intrepid Saracen, led seven thousand men into Spain. He formed his first camp on Mount Calpe, one of the pillars of Hercules, and in its modern appellation of Gibraltar, the name of the hero is preserved.* Conducted by Julian, the political apostate, the Moors or Saracens were successful in every quarter; and the court of Toledo, on the defeat of Edeco, their lieutenant, were assured that their enemies were not to be despised. Roderic roused himself from his dream of pleasure, and the princes of the Gothic monarchy furnished him with an army of one hundred thousand men. To this formidable numerical force, only twenty thousand Arabs and Africans were opposed. On the banks of the Gaudalet, near Xeres de la Frontera, in Medina Sidonia, the fate of the kingdom of the Goths was determined.† For seven days, the armies wasted each other's strength, in skirmishes and single combats. On the morning

Battle of Gaudalet, and fall of the Gothic kingdom.

* Calpe was called Gebel-Tarik by the Moors. Gebel is the Arabic word for a mountain, and Tarik the name of the commander. From this name the modern one of Gibraltar is derived. See D'Anville's *Ancient Geography*, and *Bibl. Arab. Hisp.* tom. 2. p. 326.

† *Chenier's Recherches sur les Maures*, liv. 3. ch. 1.

morning of the eighth, Roderic, dressed in his robes of silk, and seated in his car drawn by white mules, harangued his troops on the importance of the objects for which they were contending. The general of the Saracens, simple in his manners, but powerful in his eloquence, recalled to his soldiers recollection their former exploits. "My friends!" continued he, "the enemy is before you—the sea is behind; whither would ye fly? Follow your general; I am resolved either to lose my life, or trample on the prostrate king of the Goths."* The treachery of Oppas, who was the Archbishop of Toledo and Seville, and brother of the late king, gave the victory to the Moors. At the head of his troops, this spiritual and temporal lord quitted the Gothic army, advanced some distance into the field, and then returned and charged his former friends. Roderic in vain recalled his dismayed and flying squadrons. His courage at length deserted him; on one of his fleetest horses he escaped from the field, but perished in the waters of the Boëtis or Guadalquivir.†

Tarik,

* *Bibl. Arab. Hisp. tom. p. 2. 326.* † Such was the manner of Roderic's death, as recorded by the best Arabic historians. *Biblioth. Arab. Hisp. tom. 2 p. 327* D'Anville, *Etats formés en Europe après la chute de l'Empire Romain en Occident*, 4to. Paris, 1777, p. 154. The death of Roderic in this simple manner did not accord with the romantic genius of the Spanish writers. They have invented, therefore, various fables respecting his conduct after his departure from the field of Xeres. Every body knows the curious account that Cervantes has given.

Tarik, by the advice of Julian, sent different detachments of his army to subjugate Cordova, Granada, Malaga, and Tadmir, and he himself marched towards Toledo and the north. In the course of a few months, the general of the Saracens extended his conquests from Gibraltar to Gihon, on the shores of the Bay of Biscay. In this long march, the numerous bodies of Jews dispersed throughout the kingdom, and who had always been persecuted by the Christians, zealously assisted the Saracens in their conquest. The towns of Spain were allowed to retain their laws and their religion, on the payment of a tribute, which, generally speaking, was equivalent to the annual tax to the Gothic kings.

On intelligence of these conquests, Mousa was fired with jealousy of the military renown of Tarik. He crossed the straits with all his army, attacked and subjugated Seville, Merida, and the different towns which had been neglected by Tarik. In the palace of Toledo, the conqueror of Spain was deprived of his dignities by the ungrateful lieutenant of the Caliph, and even insulted by a blow from his whip. The passage of the Pyrenees was soon effected by Mousa, and an obelisk or statue was erected at Carcasson, to mark his progress in Gallia Narbonensis. In his march through Spain, his
soldiers

soldiers desolated the country; churches were pillaged; towns were sacked; and the misery of the vanquished appeared to constitute the happiness of the general.* The complaints of the people, and of the injured Tarik, reached the Caliph. He commanded his lieutenant to repair to the judicial tribunal at Damascus, but Mousa answered not the call. A second messenger entered Mousa's camp at Lugo in Galicia, seized the bridle of his horse, and convinced the astonished auxiliaries of the Arabian army, that services however splendid, or crimes however great, could never dissolve the connexion between the Caliph and his officers. The governments of Africa and Spain were bestowed upon Abdallah and Abdelaliz. The commander himself, and his rival Tarik, departed for Damascus. When Mousa arrived in Egypt, he heard that the Caliph Walid was dangerously ill; and Soliman, the presumptive heir of the crown, wishing to receive himself the rich booty from Spain, requested him to remain in Egypt, till the fate of the Caliph should be known. But Mousa, apprehending punishment for disobedience of orders, if Walid survived, pressed forward to Damascus, where he found Soliman on the throne. The justice of Tarik's

cause

* Ferraras *Histoire Générale d'Espagne*, traduite par D'Hermilly, tom. 2. p. 435.

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cause was acknowledged, and the favours of the court were bestowed upon him. The exactions and rapaciousness of Mousa were punished by a fine of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, and his indignities to Tarik were retaliated, by a public chastisement of the whip. But the weak and cruel Caliph extended his vengeance to the children of the general. Abdallah and Abdelaliz were murdered, and the head of the former was sent to the father, who had been dismissed to Mecca, to drag out in that place of pilgrimage, the wretched remains of his life. "Do you know these features?" tauntingly inquired the messenger of the Caliph. "I know them," replied the indignant father; "I assert his innocence, and I imprecate a juster fate against the authors of his death."

The disgrace of Mousa saved the western world from destruction. He wished to unite the other Saracenic conquests with that of Spain. France was to have been subjugated, his conquering arms were to penetrate through Germany, into Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and through Constantinople, and the Greek empire, to Antioch. But the Caliph was ignorant of the weakness of the monarchies of western Europe, and rejected the plan, as visionary and impracticable.

The

The reign of Walid was illustrated by the valour of his subjects. Tarik and Mousa conquered Spain ; other Muselmans preached the Koran on the shores of the Indus ; and Catabah extended the terrors of the Saracenic name, even into the frozen regions of Tartary.* By these conquests, the Caliphate obtained its largest extent of territory. It has been mentioned in the course of this chapter, that in the Caliphate of Othman, the Oxus formed the boundary of the Saracens and the Tartars. Under succeeding Caliphs, the rapacious Arabs repeatedly crossed the Oxus, and in the reign of Walid, his general Catabah invaded the Turkish territories with a formidable force. The strength of the Tartarian kingdoms had been wasted in civil feuds, and the empire of China had no active military power for the protection of its neighbours. Catabah made himself master of Korasm, and his defeat of a large army of Tartars opened to him the gates of Samarcand. A city of whatever comparative splendour, situated in the plains of Scythia, may seem to claim little attention from the people of western Europe : yet the simple fact, that the art of manufacturing paper from cotton was unknown to the civilized world, till the Arabians

CHAP. II.

Conquest of
Transoxiana,
A.D. 710.

The city of
Samarcand.

* There is an excellent geographical delineation of Transoxiana, and the part of Tartary which the Saracens conquered, in the first volume of Maurice's Modern History of Hindostan, p. 196, &c.

bians received it from the people of Samarcand, gives an importance to this Tartarian city, which mere magnificence never could attain.* Samarcand was famous also as the great resting place for the caravans from China to the west of Asia and Europe. Before the silkworm itself, that "first artificer of the luxury of nations," was introduced into Italy, the Romans received the article of silk from China, and the principal route of the caravans was across the great desert to Kashgar, thence to Samarcand, and through Persia to Syria.† The widely extended region between the Oxus, the Jaxartes rivers, and the Caspian sea, submitted to Catabah. The idols of the Tartarian nations were burnt, or the use of them allowed, on the payment of an heavy tribute. The faith of Muhammed was preached with zeal; and many a Scythian shepherd acknowledged the unity of God, and the divine mission of the Prophet of Arabia.

An embassy from the Saracenian camp reached the Emperor of China. Three successive days they approached the throne, clothed in sumptuous,

* Bibl. Arab. Hisp. tom. 1. p. 209. tom. 2. p. 9, and the citation from Jacutus. The Arabs were also the inventors of paper from luen. The linen manufactories at Valentia suggested the idea of the substitution of linen for cotton, as probably the cotton manufactories in the north-east of Tartary induced the people to make paper from cotton, and not from silk, the substance used by their instructors the Chinese. Andres Hist. Gén. des Sciences, tom. 1. p. 105. Paris 1805.

† Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions. Tom 32. p. 355.

ous, in plain, and in warlike apparel. The Chinese prince received the strangers with distinction, but on the third morning, inquired the cause of their frequent change of dress. "Our robes on the first day," said the chief Ambassador, "are the robes in which we visit our Sultanas. Our second appearance before you was in the simple stile of our master's court. But our present habiliments are those, in which we always shew ourselves to our enemies." The Emperor, alarmed at this language, and at the accounts daily received from the frontiers, of the progress of the Saracens, courted the friendship and alliance of these formidable fanatics, by satiating their cupidity for gold.*

CHAP. II.

In the Caliphate of Moawiyah, when Syria, Persia, Egypt, and Arabia, constituted the Saracenic Empire, the city of Constantinople, was besieged by the Moslems. Seven successive summers witnessed the enthusiasm of their arms and religion, but the courage of the Romans of the republic revived in this instance, in their Grecian successors, and the inhabitants of the metropolis made a nobler defence of their slavery, than the cause deserved. At the close of

Sieges of Constantinople, A.D. 668—718.

I

this

* D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. 1. p. 228. 8vo. edition.

CHAP. II.

 this contest, the Ambassadors from the Emperor at Constantinople appeared at Damascus, as the representatives of a conquering prince, and we behold in the history of the Saracens, the singular occurrence of a payment by them, of a tribute of money and horses to the Greek Emperor, at a time when they were in possession of his fairest territories in Asia. But the proud Abdalmalek, a Caliph of the Abassidan dynasty, refused this acknowledgment of submission, and his son Walid again raised the ambition of his people, by the prospect of possessing the riches of the Cæsars. His death prevented the enterprise, but time strengthened the desires of the Saracens, and in the reign of his successor Soliman, they made their last attempt upon Constantinople. In a thirteen months siege, the natives of Arabia, of Persia, and of Egypt, were slain in thousands before the walls, and their ships were destroyed by the dreadful chemical composition, of liquid bitumen, sulphur, and the pitch which is extracted from ever-green firs ;—a powerful mixture, which was quickened rather than extinguished by the element of water, and which therefore well merited the title of *maritime fire*. The Emperor Anastasius was roused, though not alarmed, by the impending danger, and his reign is memorable for

for the first important resistance which was made by any power, to the tempest of the Saracenic arms. CHAP. II.

A few years after the disaster of the Saracens before the walls of Constantinople, the bold project of Mousa was renewed in the west. The Pyrenees had been crossed by the Moorish governor of Spain, and it is remarkable, that the city of Narbo should be the earliest settlement of the Moslems in the south of France, as it had been several centuries before of the Romans. The whole province of Gallia Narbonensis, the modern Languedoc, was seized by the Saracens, as a part of the Spanish monarchy ; the standard of Muhammed was hoisted on the walls of Bourdeaux, and from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone, the people submitted to the religion or arms of the Moslems. But those narrow limits, says Gibbon, were scorned by the spirit of Abdalrahman or Abderame, who had been restored by the Caliph Haschem to the wishes of the soldiers and people of Spain. That veteran and daring commander passed without opposition the Garonne and Dordogne, which unite their waters in the gulf of Bourdeaux ; but he found beyond those rivers, the camp of the intrepid Eudes, the Duke of Aquitain, who after a bold resistance sustained a defeat, so fatal to the Christians, that, according to their sad confession,

Invasion of
France.
A.D. 731—
732.

confession, God alone could reckon the number of the slain. The victorious Saracen overran the provinces of Aquitain, whose Gaulish names are disguised, rather than lost, in the modern appellations of Perigord, Saintagne, and Poitou : his standards were planted on the walls, or at least before the gates, of Tours and of Sens ; and his detachments overspread the kingdom of Burgundy, as far as the well known cities of Lyons and Besançon. The memory of these devastations, for Abderame did not spare the people, affords the ground work of those fables, which have been so wildly disfigured in the romances of chivalry, and so elegantly adorned by the Italian muse. A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire ; the repetition of an equal space, might have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland, or the Highlands of Scotland. The Rhine is not more impassable, than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed, without a naval combat, into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretations of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to the people of England, the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Muhammed.

From

From such calamities was Christendom delivered, by the genius and fortune of one man. Charles Martel, the mayor of the palace, and consequently minister of the nation, in the time of the dynasty of Merovingian kings, collected the forces of his country, and sought and found the enemy, in the centre of France, between Tours and Poitiers. The nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe, advanced with equal ardour to an encounter, which would change the history of the world. In the first six days of desultory combat, the horsemen and archers of the East maintained their advantage: but in the closer onset of the seventh day, the Orientals were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans, who well asserted the civil and religious freedom of their posterity. After a bloody field, in which Abderame was slain, the Saracens, in the close of the evening, retired to their camp. In the disorder and despair of the night, the various tribes of Yemen and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other: the remains of their host were suddenly dissolved, and each Emir consulted his safety by an hasty and separate retreat. The victory of the Franks was final; the Arabs never re-attempted the conquest of Gaul, and they were soon driven beyond the

CHAP. II.
 Charles Martel defeats the Saracens and saves the Western World.

CHAP. II. Pyrenees, by Charles Martel and his valiant race.*

Wars between the Greeks and the Saracens A D. 781—805.

In the reign of Mohadi, the third prince of the Abassidan dynasty, the wars between the Saracens and the Greeks were renewed, and the loss of some of her fairest provinces induced the Empress Irene to purchase an ignominious peace, from the conquering Harun, the son of Mohadi. The private history of Harun-al-Raschid, or the Just, is familiar to every reader of the Arabian Nights. The people of Constantinople murmured at the payment of the tribute, but the Saracens were always ready to march into Europe, for the purpose of plundering the miserable provincials. Nicephorus, the successor of Irene, sent his ambassador to the Caliph Harun, at his palace at Racca on the Euphrates, whither he had been driven by the vices of the people of Bagdad, and presented him with a bundle of swords, instead of the olive branch. The Emperor proudly says in his letter, “ the queen Irene considered you as a rook, and herself as a pawn. That pusillanimous female submitted to pay a tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from the barbarians. Restore, therefore, the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword.” The epistle of Harun was forcible

forcible, and laconic. “ In the name of the
 “ most merciful God, Harun-al-Raschid, com-
 “ mander of the faithful, to Nicephorus, Dog
 “ of the Romans. I have read thy letter,
 “ thou son of an unbelieving woman : to which
 “ what thou shalt *behold*, and not what thou
 “ shalt *hear*, shall serve for answer.” A war of
 desolation ensued, and the Emperor stipulated
 for the payment of an immense tribute, which
 the succeeding princes of the family of Abbas
 were unable to enforce.

CHAP. II.

In an early period of the Hegira, the power
 of the Saracens was displayed in naval, as much
 as in military expeditions. The various islands
 in the Mediterranean were either conquered or
 devastated, but the third century of the æra of
 the Muselmans is memorable for their capture of
 Crete, Sicily, Syracuse, and Corsica. A band of
 Moors from Spain soon possessed themselves of
 Crete, and the name of Canday, their principal
 fortress, has given to the whole island the name
 of Candia. The Moors from Africa and Spain
 invaded Syracuse and Sicily. In Syracuse, their
 cruelties and exactions were enormous, and in
 Sicily, thousands of the timid islanders submitted
 their children to the Muhammedan faith. From
 the middle of the ninth, to the commencement
 of the eleventh century of the Christian æra,
 the Emperors of Constantinople, the princes of

Conquests
 of the
 Islands in
 the Medi-
 terranean.

A.D. 823.

830—870.

CHAP. II. Beneventum, and the Moslem lords, contended for the dominion of the southern provinces of Italy : but the Normans, who formed a part of the Beneventine army, profited by the general distress, and in conjunction with other adventurers from Normandy, founded the kingdom of the two Sicilies.*

Invasion of
Rome. A.D.
846—850.

In the military history of the disciples of Muhammed, few subjects are so well calculated to excite our astonishment, as their invasion of the Roman territories. In full possession of Sicily, these sons of Satan, as the indignant librarian Anastasius called the Saracens, sailed up the Tyber, and encamped before Rome. Having pillaged the church of St. Peter without the walls, they raised the siege of the sacred city, in order to give battle to an army of the Emperor Lothaire, which was sent to its succour. In the field, the Saracens were upon this occasion, as they had been upon most others, irresistible. But the Romans within the walls recovered from their alarm, and the bad conduct of the invaders saved the city from destruction. “ Ils revinrent
“ bientôt après avec une armée formidable, qui
“ semblait devoir détruire l’Italie et faire une
“ bourgade Mahométane de la capitale du Chris-
“ tianisme.

* The history of the Saracens in Sicily and Magna Græcia may be studied in Carusi. Bibl. Hist. Siciliæ. tom. 2. Panorm. 1723 . and to most advantage in Gregorius, rerum Arabicarum, quæ ad historiam Siculam spectant ampla collectio. fol. Panorm. 1790.

“ tianisme. Le Pape Léon IV. prenant dans ce
 “ danger une autorité que les généraux de l’Em-
 “ pereur Lothaire semblaient abandonner, se
 “ montra digne, en défendant Rome, d’y com-
 “ mander en souverain. Il avait employé les
 “ richesses de l’église à réparer les murailles, à
 “ élever des tours, à tendre des chaînes sur le
 “ Tibre. Il arma les milices à ses dépens, en-
 “ gagea les habitans de Naples et de Gaiette à
 “ venir défendre les côtes et le port d’Ostie,
 “ sans manquer à la sage précaution de prendre
 “ d’eux des ôtages, sachant bien que ceux qui
 “ sont assez puissans pour nous secourir, le sont
 “ assez pour nous nuire. Il visita lui-même tous
 “ les postes, et reçut les Sarasins à leur descente,
 “ non pas en équipage de Guerrier, ainsi qu’en
 “ avoit usé Goslin, Evêque de Paris, dans une
 “ occasion encore plus pressante, mais comme
 “ un Pontif qui exhortait un peuple Chrétien,
 “ et comme un Roi qui veillait à la sûreté de
 “ ses sujets. Il était né Romain. Le courage
 “ des premiers âges de la république revivait
 “ en lui dans un temps de lâcheté et de cor-
 “ ruption, tel qu’un des beaux monumens de
 “ l’ancienne Rome, qu’on trouve quelquefois
 “ dans les ruines de la nouvelle. Son courage
 “ et ses soins furent secondés. On reçut les
 “ Sarasins courageusement à leur descente ; et
 “ la tempête ayant dissipé la moitié de leurs
 “ vaisseaux,

CHAP. II. “ vaisseaux, une partie de ces conquérans, échappés au naufrage, fut mise à la chaîne. Le Pape rendit sa victoire utile, en faisant travailler aux fortifications de Rome, et à ses embellissemens, les mêmes mains qui devaient les détruire.*

* This is Voltaire's animated picture of these interesting events. *Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*, tom. 1, ch. 18, edition, 1756. The principal facts are recorded by the librarian Anastasius in his *lives of the Popes*, p. 165—6. Paris, 1649.

CHAP. III.

THE DIVIDED CALIPHATE; OR, THE HISTORY
OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE SARA-
CENIAN EMPIRE.

WE have seen that at the close of the first ^{CHAP. I}
century of the Hegira, and in the reign of
Walid, the seventh prince of the Ommiadan
dynasty, the empire of the Saracens was more
than commensurate with the most potent mo-
narchies of ancient times. The power of the
Caliphs was preserved under the Ommiades
without any sensible diminution. In the reign
of the second prince of the family of Abbas,
the division of the Caliphate commenced, and
the successful revolt of Spain was the earliest
appearance of insurrection. Princes of different
merits and pretensions claimed the thrones of
the various governments, and during the period
from the 288th to the 391st year of the Hegira,
the annals of the Caliphate are filled with details
of the revolts of ambitious or discontented sub-
jects. The rise of the empire of the Saracens
might be viewed only from the pulpit at Damas-
cus, but its decline and fall is a divided subject.

Adhering

CHAP. III. Adhering to that triple division of the Caliphate which we mentioned in the last chapter, we will continue our history of the Muhammedan world, and consider the fortunes,—I. Of the Caliphs of Spain,—II. Of Egypt and Africa, and III. Of Bagdad.

I. CALIPHS OF SPAIN.

A.D. 755. A royal youth of the name of Abdalrahman or Almansor, escaped the massacre of his family, which the stern and cruel Saffah, the Abassidan prince, had commanded. The descendant of Moawiyah, with his child and his brother, concealed himself in a forest near the Euphrates. Their persecutors discovered them, the child was killed, and the two brethren plunged into the river. One of them fainting with fatigue, accepted the proffered mercy of his foes, and returned to the shore : but with a baseness, unworthy the supporters of a royal cause, they instantly slew him. The stouter Abdalrahman effected the dangerous passage, and was hunted from the banks of the noblest river of Syria, to the vallies of Mount Atlas in Africa.

The Moors of Spain had always been zealously attached to the Omniades, and on the news that a prince of that family was at Tekvaré, they immediately tendered allegiance and submission to the wandering exile. Abdalrahman, dazzled by the splendour of a crown, and dread-
ing

ing the probability of falling into the hands of the Abassides, received the deputies with joy. He foresaw the danger of the enterprize, the battles he should have to fight, and the horrors which are inseparable from a great political revolution. But in the possession of the throne, his ambition and his revenge would be gratified. Royalty in Spain, or obscurity in Africa! who could hesitate in the choice? And a noble mind not merely despises, but is even excited by the difficulties which lie in the road to power. He was saluted with acclamations upon landing on the coast of Andalusia, and the cities of Malaga, Sidonia, and Seville, opened their gates to the hero. In a reign of thirty years he achieved his arduous task, and founded the dynasty of the Spanish Omniades (or Caliphs of the West, in distinction from the Caliphs of Bagdad and the East), which existed for the period of three centuries. The luxury, the tyranny, and the negligence of the last princes of this house, lost them those conquests which had been won by the valour of their ancestors, and were the causes of passing this fine kingdom into other hands. The governors of the provinces, the ministers of state, and the nobility, became independent sovereigns, and there arose as many principalities as there were towns. Cordova, Toledo, Seville, Jaen, Lisbon, Tortosa, Valentia, Murcia,

CHAP. III.

Spanish
Omniades.

A.D. 1034

CHAP. III. cia, Almeria, Denia, and the Balearic Islands, had each its separate monarch.*

Rise of the
Christian
kingdoms.

Such Gothic nobles as disdained submission to the Moorish yoke fled for refuge to the inaccessible mountains of Asturias, and comforted themselves with the practice of the Christian religion, and with the maintenance of their ancient laws. By short excursions of plunder and revenge into the Moorish territories, they stimulated their martial prowess. Their strength gradually increased, their views enlarged, a regular government was established, and permanent conquests, instead of predatory warfare, became their object. The Christians were animated by the best principles of action, by zeal for their religion and their country ; and their minds acquired the passive virtues of fortitude and resignation, in the school of poverty and affliction. But the prosperity of the Moors was fatal to the cause of Muhammedanism. The force of their military institutions became relaxed, and the vigour of their warlike spirit abated. They, however, continued still to be a gallant people, and possessed great resources. According to the magnificent style of the Spanish historians, eight centuries of almost uninterrupted war elapsed, and

* Cardonne, tom. 1, page 180, &c. and that splendid and useful work of the librarian Casiri, Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, tom. 2, under the proper titles.

and three thousand seven hundred battles were fought, before the last of the Moorish kingdoms in Spain submitted to the arms of the descendants of the country's ancient possessors. As the Christians made their conquests upon the Muhammedans at various periods, and under different leaders, each formed the territory he had gained from the common enemy, into an independent state. Spain was divided into as many separate kingdoms as it contained provinces, and in every city of note a petty monarch established his throne, and assumed all the ensigns of royalty. In a series of years, however, by the usual effects of inter-marriages, or legal succession, or conquest, these inferior principalities were annexed to the more powerful monarchies of Castile and of Arragon; and at length, by the fortunate marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, the former the hereditary monarch of Arragon, and the latter raised to the throne of Castile by the affection of her subjects, the Christian states were united, and descended in the same line.*

A.D. 1492.

Castile, Arragon, Navarre, and Portugal, had been wrested from the Muhammedans, and Granada and its territory were the only remnants of their once splendid settlement in Europe.

Expulsion
of the
Moors from
Spain.

* Robertson's Introduction, and Chenier's Recherches sur les Maures, liv. iii. ch. 2.

CHAP. III. rope. In the possession of this rich and extensive country, the Moors or Moriscoes, supported by their brethren in the faith in Africa, long resisted the power of Ferdinand. But civil discord prepared the way of the conqueror, and the Christian prince received the submission of the Moors of Granada. The treaty of peace recognized the equality of the various subjects of the Spanish kingdom, and toleration of the Muhammedan religion was solemnly promised. The happiness of mankind has been wounded as deeply by bigoted Christians, as by fanatical Muselmans. The just indignation of the Moors, at the infraction of the treaty, by that high priest of bigotry, Ximenes, the Archbishop of Toledo, was declared to be a rebellion; thousands of zealous and conscientious followers of the Arabian prophet were put to the sword, and their weaker brethren were intimidated, into an acknowledgment of the truth of Christianity. Through the long period of the sixteenth century, the Catholic princes of Spain forgot the mild character of their religion in their attempts at the conversion of the Moors. Charles the Fifth, in violation of his coronation oath to protect his Muhammedan subjects, issued a proclamation, that all the Moslems should submit to the Christian rite of baptism. Thousands sacrificed their principles to this mandate

date of oppression. The vengeance of the inquisition was gratified. On the appearance of any signs of attachment to Islamism, this ferocious tribunal treated the Moors, as apostates from the Christian faith. The animosity of the general body of the clergy was kindled against them. The Pope of Rome censured the remissness of the Missionaries; but the acquirement of the Arabic language was too difficult a task for indolent Monks, and the religious spirit of the Muselmans was not readily subdued. The revenues of the Catholic hierarchy were diminished by the erection of churches for the conversion of the Moors. The Christian clergy proposed the bold, but ruinous measure, of the total expulsion of the infidels from Spain. The barons shewed with great power of argument and eloquence, that this detested people were the most valuable part of the Spanish population. Frugality, temperance, and industry, were their characteristics. The manufactures of Spain, equally necessary for internal consumption and for foreign trade, were understood by them alone. Without their skill and labour, it was an unquestionable fact, that a great part of the kingdom would lie waste, and innumerable families of the highest rank, who entirely depended on the rents of their lands, would be

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reduced

CHAP. III. reduced to indigence. But a proud and avaricious priesthood were deaf to the voice of wisdom and policy. The sacred scriptures themselves were invoked to justify their cause; and it was represented to the monarch, that the extirpation of the Moslems was a duty as much incumbent on a Catholic king, as the rooting out of the heathens from the promised land, had been obligatory on the kings and captains of the Jews.

The cause of the clergy gained strength in the reigns of Charles the Fifth, and Philip the Second; and in the reign of the timid Philip the Third, it triumphed over the opposition of the barons. A royal decree was passed, commanding the Moors of Valentia, and of every quarter of Spain, to repair to the southern coast, and depart for Africa in the king's fleet. A small portion of their property was allowed to be carried away by them, and the remainder was declared to be the fortune of the lords of the soil. But the generous barons refused so base an acquisition; and they mitigated, by various means, the severity of the edict. Many of them accompanied their vassals to the sea-shore, and remained at the ports, during the whole time of embarkation. On the inhospitable plains of Africa, the Moors were plundered by the Bedoween Arabs. Fatigue and hunger diminished the

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the number of the wretched exiles in their march to the principal Moslem towns in Africa, and more than one hundred thousand men suffered death in its most hideous forms, within a few months after their expulsion from Valentia. The page of the Spanish history of this period is written in characters of blood. Many of the bravest of the Moors had fled to the mountains of Spain, and vainly hoped by force of arms to maintain their independence. But the power of the crown was irresistible; their property was seized by the rapacious favourites of a weak and profligate prince, and a price was set upon their heads. Some of them were taken and transported to Africa; others, without distinction of age or sex, were butchered; and those who exhausted the patience of the Spaniards, were hunted like beasts of prey, and perished of cold and hunger in the rocks and woods. The Muhammedan empire in Spain was, by these atrocious measures, totally annihilated. The Catholic bigots rejoiced, but the loss of a numerous, industrious, and skilful people, was a blow to the greatness of the nation from which the Spanish monarchy has never recovered.*

A.D 1609.

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From

* Watson's Philip the Second, book 9th, and Watson's Philip the Third, book 4th. I observe that Dr. Watson's account of the expulsion of the Moors from Spain is principally taken from an excellent essay upon the subject, in the first volume of Geddes' Miscellaneous Tracts.

CHAP. III.

State of
Spain un-
der the
Moors.

From a view of fields of blood, and of such is the history of nations, we gladly turn our eyes, to behold the wealthy and prosperous state of Spain under the Omniadan dynasty. While the greatest portion of the western world was buried in darkest ignorance, the Moors of Spain lived in the enjoyment of all those arts, which beautify and polish society. Amidst a constant succession of wars, they cast a lustre upon Spanish history, which the nerveless natives of these days, may look back upon with shame and envy. In Cordova, and in every other city, schools were founded, and the numerous public libraries invited the curiosity of the studious. Letters were patronized by the Caliphs of the west, with the same liberality, which distinguished and ennobled the characters of the Caliphs of the east. Cordova became the centre of politeness, taste, and genius; and tilts and tournaments, with other costly shews, were long the darling pastimes of a wealthy, happy, people.* During the course of two centuries, this court continued to be the resort of the professors of all polite arts, and such as valued themselves upon their military and knightly accomplishments. The early princes of the Omniadan dynasty erected a mosque at Cordova, which vied with those at

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My usual Moorish guide, Chenier, is, on this interesting point of history, superficial and unsatisfactory.

* Swinburn's Travels through Spain, p. 280.

Damascus and Jerusalem, in size, beauty, and grandeur. Six hundred feet measured its length, and fifty its breadth. Its roofs were sustained by more than a thousand columns of marble, and eighty doors of bronze received, and poured forth, the votaries of the false religion. The riches of the state were applied to the purchase of oriental perfumes; and four thousand seven hundred lamps were burning every night. This capital of the Omniadan dynasty contained two hundred thousand houses, six hundred mosques, and nine hundred public baths. Eighty great cities, and three hundred towns of the second and third order, were distinguished in Spain; and twelve thousand villages and hamlets were seated on the banks of the Guadalquiver. In the decline of the Moorish power, when Cordova had been taken by the Christians, Granada became a splendid city. For population, and wealth, and agriculture, Granada and its territory were eminent. Geometry, astronomy, and physic, were as regularly studied and practised, as they had been at the former seat of Moorish grandeur; and of the public taste and magnificence, the ruins of the palace of Alhambra, built in the midst of aromatic trees, with noble views over beautiful hills and fertile plains, are a splendid monument.† Independently of the taxes

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which

† Swinburn's Travels through Spain. See, also, Cardonne's Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. 1. p. 330, 335, for a description

CHAP. III. which were paid in kind, the revenues of the successors of Abdalrahman amounted to the astonishing, and almost incredible, sum of twelve millions and forty-five thousand dinars, or pieces of gold, about six millions of sterling money. The commerce of the country was great. Raw silks, oils, sugar, iron, and the manufactures of silk and lace, were the chief articles. Spain was the arsenal of the Muhammedans of Africa. Thence they drew their lances, their bucklers, their coats of mail, and sabres. The richest commercial speculations of the Moors of Spain were made with the people of Constantinople. The Emperors of the east, and the Caliphs of the west, were united in hatred against the Caliphs of Bagdad. The Levant was open to the Spanish merchants, and the luxurious inhabitants of Constantinople consumed the produce of their manufactories.*

II. AFRICA AND EGYPT.

Half a century after the bond of unity of the Saracenic empire had been broken, by the successful revolt of Spain, Ali Ildrahim, who, in the name of the Bagdad Caliph, governed the northern

of the city and palace of the Zehra, three miles from Cordova. It was built by the favourite Sultana of a Moorish prince. Spain, as well as France, is indebted for many of its most splendid edifices, to the taste and prodigality of royal mistresses.

* Cardonne, tom. i. p. 337 et seq. Agriculture was better understood by the Arabs of Spain, than by any other people. Andres, Hist. Gén. des Sciences, tom. 1. p. 73, Paris 1805.

Muham-
medan Dy-
nasties of
Africa.
A.D. 812.

thern states of Africa, including the ancient kingdoms of Mauritania and Massylia, and the republic of Carthage, changed his government into an independent kingdom. The princes of this family reigned with undiminished power for more than ninety years; and Aglabite, the father of Ildrahim, gave his name to the dynasty. Muhammed Obeidollah then seized the throne. He was the founder of the Fatimite dynasty in Africa, who assumed the title of Mihidi, or directors of the faithful. The countries of Fez and Tangiers had been already wrested from the Caliphs of Bagdad, by some real or pretended descendants of Ali; but Muhammed Obeidollah terminated this dynasty, and became the sovereign of the northern territories of Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to Egypt. The capitals of himself and his successors were, successively, Cairon and Mohadia. Moez, the last of the race of princes, subjugated Egypt, and became the first Caliph, in that country, of the descendants of Ali and Fatima.* The public prayers for the Abassidan family were suppressed; and when his government was settled

A.D. 972.

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* This descent from Muhammed is doubtful. One of the Thabatheban princes of Arabia, unquestionably sprung from Ali and Fatima, demanded of Moez, from what branch of the family he drew his title. "This," exclaimed Moez, shewing his scymitar, "is my pedigree; and there," throwing some gold among his soldiers, "and these are my children."

CHAP. III. in peace, he founded the modern city of Grand
 Cairo.* He bestowed his kingdom of Africa
 upon one of his generals, to be holden as a fief
 of the Caliph of Egypt. For five centuries, a
 succession of fleeting dynasties ravaged and dis-
 tracted Africa. Various kingdoms were formed;
 Morocco. and those of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, were
 the most considerable.† The kingdom of Mo-
 rocco, including Fez, was possessed by the
 Merinian dynasty; but in the fifteenth century
 the Sheriffs or descendants of Muhammed as-
 cended the throne, and it was transmitted, with-
 out interruption, to the present possessors.‡

A D 1516.

Tunis and
 Algiers.

In an age fertile both in great and singular
 characters, the two sons of a potter in the isle
 of Lesbos became formidable as pirates, from
 the Dardanelles to Gibraltar. Barbarossa and
 Hayradin carried their prizes from the coasts of
 Spain and Italy into the ports of Barbary, and
 enriching the inhabitants by the sale of their
 booty, and the thoughtless prodigality of their
 crews, were welcome guests at every place they
 touched. A permanent establishment in a coun-
 try opposite to the shores of the greatest com-
 mercial states, was the natural object of their
 ambition. In a desultory war between the
 Spanish and Algerine monarchs, Barbarossa ap-
 peared

* D'Anville's *Mémoire sur l'Égypte*, p. 132.

† D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient. Articles Moez, Obeidolla, and Fatimah*,

‡ Cardonne, tom. ii. p. 346.

peared as the ally of the African King, but he murdered the monarch whom he came to protect, and seated himself on the thrones of Algiers and Tremesan. The victorious arms of the generals of the Emperor Charles the Vth were directed against the usurper, who infested the coasts of Spain and Italy with fleets, which resembled the armaments of a great potentate, rather than the light squadron of a corsair, and after a brave resistance, Barbarossa was slain. The wars with the Christian princes of Europe diverted the military operations of Charles from Africa, and profiting by the absence of the Imperial forces, Hayradin assumed the sceptre of Algiers, regulated with admirable prudence the interior police of his kingdom, carried on his naval operations with great vigour, and from apprehension that his continual depredations would, one day, draw upon him the arms of the Christians, he put himself under the protection of the Grand Seignior, and received from him a body of Turkish soldiers, sufficient for his security against his foreign, as well as his domestic enemies. At last, the fame of his exploits having considerably increased, Solyman offered him the command of the Turkish navy, as the only admiral qualified, by his personal valour, and skill in maritime affairs, to be opposed

to

CHAP. III. to the Genoese patriot Andrew Doria. Proud of this distinction, Hayradin (Barbarossa was also his name) repaired to Constantinople, and with a wonderful versatility of mind, mingling the arts of a courtier with the boldness of a corsair, gained the entire confidence both of the Sultan, and his Vizier. Assisted by Solyman, he formed and executed a plan for the subjugation of Tunis, a kingdom which already tottered from intestine divisions. But the indignation of Europe was roused at the Muselman and robber. Against him were united the King of Tunis, whom Barbarossa had exiled, the knights of Malta, and the great European states of Germany, Italy, and Spain. Francis the first was the only continental prince, who assisted not the common cause of Christendom.

A. D. 1535. Successful expedition of Charles 5th to Tunis. The Emperor Charles the Vth commanded in person, the Goletta was taken by storm, and in the deserts of Africa, the Christian army conquered the Moorish troops. The injured and insulted African monarch was restored to his throne, Tunis was declared to be a fief of Spain, and many wise regulations were made by the Emperor, for curbing the power of the African corsairs. Barbarossa eluded the vigilance of his enemy, and frequently re-appeared in his piratical enterprises, or as the ally of Francis the first ;

first; and the Italian coast was spoliated from CHAP. III.
Nice to Naples.*

Algiers, the third of the great states of northern Africa, was saved from the power of the Christians. Haschem Aga, a renegado eunuch, had been appointed by Barbarossa to be the director of the predatory wars of the Algerines. These barbarians rivalled in boldness and cruelty the freebooters of Tunis. Moved by the intreaties of his subjects on the coasts of Spain and Italy, and inflamed by the desire of military renown, the Emperor Charles summoned to his standard, all the champions of Christianity. The ardour of enterprize was not checked by the mild remonstrances of the Pope, or the energetic counsel of Andrew Doria, not to expose his whole armament to almost inevitable destruction, by venturing to approach, during the prevalence of the autumnal winds, the dangerous coast of Africa. Though the advice of the experienced and cautious Genoese was rejected, yet to his skill the guidance of the fleet was committed. Part of the Imperial navy sailed from the Gulf of Genoa, and joined the squadrons of the various other powers at Sardinia, the general rendezvous. Twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, headed by the flower of the Spanish and Italian nobility, and a
numerous

A. D. 1541.
Unfortunate attempt of Charles on Algiers.

* Robertson's Hist. of Charles the Vth, books 5 and 6,

Christian name. *The event justified the prediction of Doria. Storms of no common violence scattered and weakened the fleet, but the resolution of the Emperor was unconquerable by fortune. He pursued his way to the African coast, and landed near Algiers. Numerical forces, and military skill, do not always determine the fate of war. The army of the Governor of Algiers would soon have been swept from the face of the earth, had not the elements themselves destroyed the hopes of the Christian world. On the second day after the landing of the Imperial forces, the clouds began to gather, and the heavens to appear with a fierce and threatening aspect. Towards evening the rain descended in torrents, accompanied with violent wind, and the tempest increasing during the night, the soldiers, who had brought nothing on shore but their arms, remained exposed to all its fury. On the dawn of the morning, the enemy sallied from the shelter of Algiers, and made dreadful havoc among the exhausted Christians. The sea presented a more awful, as well as a more affecting spectacle. The ships, on which the army knew that their safety and subsistence depended, were seen driven from their anchors, some dashing against each other,*
some

some beat to pieces on the rocks, many forced ashore, and not a few sinking in the waves. The shipwrecked mariners and soldiers were murdered, or plundered by the Arabs. All was desolation. The defeated and baffled Emperor embarked the wretched remains of his once splendid and formidable equipment, on board the remnants of his fleet, and after passing through various difficulties and dangers, they landed in various parts of Italy and Spain.*

CHAP. III.

It would be an unprofitable employment, to pursue further the history of the north of Africa. Scenes of horror and bloodshed fill its pages. The Barbary states of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, have been always claimed by the Grand Seignior as fiefs of Constantinople, and the proud list of his titles is swelled by their names. But the thrones have been occupied by Turks, Africans, and Moors, by whoever could ascend them through seas of blood, without regard to justice, hereditary right, or the nomination of the Othman Porte.

In the regular course of Saracenic history, Egypt next claims our notice. To that country the African Caliphate passed, when Moez established in Grand Cairo the dynasty of the Fatimite princes. Large tracts of Syria, and the whole of Palestine, owned their authority.

A. D. 972
Fatimites
of Egypt.

But

* Robertson's Charles the Vth, book 6th.

CHAP. III. But the sovereignty over these territories was occasionally lost and won, by these, their legitimate masters, by the Crusaders from Europe, and the Seljuk Turks. Already potent in Syria, the Crusaders penetrated into Egypt, in the reign of Adhed, the last descendant of Moez. Pressed on every side by his enemies, the Caliph and his ministers purchased peace by a tribute of a million of dinars, about five hundred thousand pounds sterling money. When the Franks entered Cairo for the exaction of this sum, the inhabitants cast their eyes upon Prince Nouredin, the general and minister of the Caliphs of Bagdad, for protection from their Christian spoliators.* The Prince sent his armies to the defence of his Moslem brethren, and the danger was averted. The people of Egypt were nerveless and effeminate, the Caliph was sunk in idleness and luxury, and the domestic officers exercised all the functions of royalty.

A.D. 1160.

In

* Noradinus was a Prince of such exemplary virtue, that even his enemies praise him. "Noradinus maximus nominis et fidei Christianæ persecutor, princeps tamen justus, vafer, providus, et secundum gentis suæ traditiones religiosus." William of Tyre, lib 20. 33 in *Gestis Dei per Francos*. I cannot refrain from subjoining an anecdote, illustrative of his virtue and simplicity. His favourite Sultana thought that the royal treasures were at his command, and requested some object of magnificent expence. "Alas," replied the lord of Syria, "I fear God, and am no more than the treasurer of the Moslems. Their property I cannot alienate, but I still possess three shops in the city of Hems; these you may take, and these alone can I bestow."

In the civil factions which consumed the strength of the Egyptian Lords, the Caliph of Bagdad was often called upon by the weaker party, and the instability of the government became known. CHAP. III.

The active Turks round the throne of Bagdad proposed the re-annexation of Egypt to its parent stock. Among the generals of Nouredin were Shiracouch and his nephew Saladin, men of the pastoral tribes of the Curds, a savage and rapacious race of people who dwelt in the hilly regions behind the Tigris. These valiant leaders of the Syrian force appeared in arms in Egypt. After many a well fought field, the Fatimites of Egypt, and the Franks, enemies to both sects of Muselmans, were conquered by the professors of the orthodox Moslem faith. The Caliph Adhed, a venerable phantom of power, died in ignorance of the fate of his country, and Nouredin and Saladin proclaimed in the mosque of Cairo, the civil and ecclesiastical supremacy of Mosthadi, the thirty-third Caliph of Bagdad.

In the lifetime of Nouredin, the Curds were exemplary in their obedience to the throne. But on the death of this minister, Saladin was relieved from submission to an ascendant genius. By a series of wise measures, he became absolute master of Egypt. From the Atabeks of Syria

CHAP. III. Syria he wrested Damascus and Aleppo, and even in Arabia, his name was inserted in the public prayers. From the Indian Ocean to the mountains of Armenia, from Tripoli to the Tigris, his power was felt and acknowledged. The battle of Hittin near Tiberias, and the siege of Jerusalem, made him dreaded by the Christian Princes. Richard Plantagenet recovered however Acre, and the sea coast. But the enthusiastic spirit of the Crusaders had been calmed by time, the power of Saladin was shaken yet not overcome, and at his death, he left a fair and ample inheritance to his children.* While subjugated armies were melancholy proofs of his superior military talents, a confession of his virtues is freely made by his enemies, by the Christian historians of the Crusades.† When Jerusalem yielded to his troops, he allowed the Knights of that city to attend the sick in the public hospitals, though some of their brethren were fighting against him. A liberal distribution of alms mitigated private misfortune amidst public calamity, and he remitted a considerable portion of the stipulated ransom for the safety of the city. More than fourscore years before Saladin's time, the Crusaders, when they took Jerusalem,

* See D'Herbelot's *Bib. Orient.* articles *Nouhredden* and *Saluhedden*, and de Guigne's *Hist. Gén. des Huns*, liv. 13.

† See particularly the *History of the Patriarchate of Alexandria* by Renaudot.

Jerusalem, had murdered every Muhammedan whom they found in the place. But Saladin generously refrained from retaliation, and left them a temple for the performance of their worship.* His ear was accessible to the complaints of the meanest of his subjects, and the various duties of his religion were performed by him, with a scrupulosity worthy of a companion of Muhammed. A determined Sonnite himself, yet too good a politician to attempt a change of opinions by persecution, he founded colleges and schools for the teaching of the orthodox Muselman faith, and wisely endeavoured, by reason and conciliatory measures, to change the religious sentiments of the Fatimites of Egypt. His revenues were spent in charity or in public works, and at his death, his treasury, exhausted by his liberality, could not furnish the small sum of money that was wanted for his unostentatious funeral. Though the lustre of his youth had been tarnished by some amatory follies, yet in his mature age, his temperance and charity were admired even by Christian monks. While the Emperor of Germany was proud of his friendship, and while the descendants of the great Seljuk conducted his horse, he was simple in his deportment, and gentle in manners. His robe was of the coarsest cloth,

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his

* Harris's Phil. Inquiries, p. 339—340.

CHAP. III. his drink was water, and the power of his name was so transcendent, that he needed not those trappings of royalty, which are used for the concealment of the vices and the weaknesses of effeminate and luxurious princes.

From the word Aioub, the surname of Saladin, the princes of Egypt, his successors, have received the title of the Aioubite dynasty. But the children and brothers of Saladin disputed the inheritance, and all the territories, except Egypt, were torn for ever from the Fatimite Caliphs. Syria had scarcely revived from the desolation which the crusaders had made, when these fair countries became the theatre of the most sanguinary calamities which the history of conquerors has recorded. From the Jihon to the Tigris the land was filled with blood. The Mogul Tartars, under Zingis and his successors, weary with slaughter, had crowded their camp with thousands of Tartarian slaves of both sexes, whom they sold to the merchants of Asia. The feeble Egyptians could afford no defence to the throne, and the successors of Saladin, for

A.D. 1230.

protection from foreign and domestic foes, purchased twelve thousand Turks, and educated them for military service. Like the prætorian guards at Rome, these Mamlouks,* or military slaves,

* The word Mamlouk is the participle passive of the word malac, to possess, and means a slave. The word Abd distinguishes the black or domestic slaves.

slaves soon became masters. At the end of twenty years from their first introduction into Egypt, they murdered the last successor of Saladin, and placed one of their own chiefs, with the title of Sultan, on the throne. For more than two centuries and a half the Mamlouks reigned in Egypt. There were two races of them; the Baharites, who enjoyed supremacy till the middle of the fourteenth century, and the Circassians, who flourished till their dethronement by Selim. These two dynasties furnished forty-seven Sultans; and the average period of each reign being only five years, and hereditary succession being disregarded, it is not difficult to conceive how sanguinary must have been the annals of Egypt, during this period. The government was aristocratic, and the turbulent nobility elected a Sultan, who enjoyed the civil and military authority of the state, or was deposed and murdered, according to the preponderance of the different factions. Happily for Egypt, a change of masters terminated this scene of anarchy and bloodshed. Among the conquests which illustrated the reign of Selim the Second, Emperor of Constantinople, the subjugation of the Mamlouk kingdom was not the least memorable. Egypt then became a province of the Othman empire. Agreeably to the principles of Turkish policy, the con-

CHAP. III.
Mamlouk
kingdom of
Egypt

Subjuga-
tion by the
Turks, A.D.
1517.

CHAP. III. queror should have exterminated the whole body of Mamlouks; but more refined views induced him, in this instance, to depart from that sanguinary custom. He was sensible that if he established a Pacha, or viceroy, in Egypt, with the same authority as the Pachas in other Turkish provinces, the distance from the capital would be a strong temptation to revolt. For the prevention of this inconvenience, he projected a form of government, which distributed the power among the different members of the state, and kept them all dependent on himself. Selim, therefore, preserved the Mamlouks, and divided them into seven military corps. For the government of the kingdom, he appointed a Pacha and a divan, or military council, composed of the Pacha and the chiefs of the military corps; and the kingdom was partitioned into twenty-four provinces, under the direction of as many beys, who were always to be chosen from, and by the Mamlouks. The office of the Pacha was to notify to the council the orders of the Porte, to expedite the tribute to Constantinople, to watch over the safety of the country against foreign enemies, and to counteract the ambitious views of the different parties in the country. On the other hand, the members of the council possessed a right of ratifying all civil and political ordinances, of
rejecting

rejecting the orders of the Pacha, and even of CHAP. III. deposing him, when they were all agreed, that a measure of that violent nature would be beneficial to the state.

As there have been Mamlouks in Egypt for six centuries, we should be led to imagine that their race was preserved by the ordinary means ; but if their first establishment was a singular event, their continuance is not less extraordinary. During this long period, no Mamlouk has left subsisting issue. There does not exist a single family of them in the second generation. All the children die in their infancy. Nearly the same thing happens to the Othman Turks ; and it is observed, that they can secure the continuance of their families by no other means than marriages with native women ; a practice which the Mamlouks have always despised. Let the philosopher explain the reasons why men and women are unable to naturalize on the banks of the Nile, a race born at the foot of Mount Caucasus ; and let it be remembered, that the plants of Egypt are in Tartary equally unable to continue their species. It seems that the only means of naturalizing animals and plants, would be to contract an affinity with the climate, by alliance with the native species. As the Mamlouks have always refused this alliance, they are perpetuated and multiplied

Peculiarities of the Mamlouks.

CHAP. III. multiplied by the same means, by which they were first established ; that is to say, when they die, they are replaced by slaves brought from the original country, from Georgia, Mingrelia, and other parts of Tartary. At Constantinople there is a regular slave market, and the agents of the beys of Egypt purchase the requisite number of male and female slaves. Let their religion be what it will, they are immediately educated in Muhammedism. They are trained to the art of war, and taught the Arabic and Turkish languages.*

III.—BAGDAD.

Fall of the
Abassidan
Caliphs of
Bagdad.

The words of Montesquieu, when he arrived at the history of the last years of the Eastern Roman Empire, “ Je n’ai pas le courage de parler “ des misères qui suivèrent,” will be adopted by every writer whose office it is to treat of the history of the Abassides, after the great triple division of the Caliphate. For five centuries the family of Abbas reigned with various degrees of authority over the Moslem world. Foreign wars and domestic revolts gradually dissolved the empire, and Radhi, the twentieth Caliph of the Abassides, was the last who was invested with any considerable spiritual or temporal power ; “ the last,” says Abulfeda, “ who ha-
“ ranged

A.D.940.

* See Volney’s Voyage en Syrie et en Egypt, tom. i. c. 7, and Savary’s Lettres sur l’Egypte, tom. ii. lett. 15.

"rangued the people from the pulpit, who
 "passed the cheerful hours of leisure with
 "men of learning and taste; whose expences,
 "resources, and treasures, whose table or mag-
 "nificence, had any resemblance to those of
 "the ancient Caliphs." For the next three
 centuries, the successors of Muhammed swayed
 a feeble sceptre. Sometimes their state was so
 degraded, that they were confined in their pa-
 laces like prisoners, and occasionally were al-
 most reduced to the want of corporeal subsis-
 tence. At length, towards the middle of the
 seventh century of the Hegira, the venerable
 city of Bagdad fell into the hands of Houlagou
 Khan, the grandson of Zingis Khan, and Em-
 peror of the Moguls and Tartars, who, as we
 shall have occasion to shew in the next chapter,
 reigned at that period, with absolute and un-
 mixed despotism, over every nation of the
 east. The Caliph Mostasem, the thirty-seventh
 of his house, was murdered under circumstan-
 ces of peculiar barbarity, and the Caliphate of
 Bagdad expired.*

CHAP. III.

Termination
 of the
 Caliphate,
 A.D. 1258.

Though the dignity and sovereignty of the
 Caliphs were lost by this fatal event, yet the
 name existed for three^{*} centuries longer in the
 eighteen descendants of Mostanser Billah, a
 son, or pretended son, of Daher, the last but

* Marigny, Histoire des Arabes, tom. iv. p. 391-440.

CHAP. III. one of this race of princes. Mostanser Billah, and his successors, to the number of eighteen, were called the second dynasty of the Abassides, and were spiritual chiefs of the Muhammedan religion, but without the slightest vestige of temporal authority. When Selim, Emperor of the Turks, conquered Egypt, and destroyed the power of the Mamlouks, he carried the Caliph whom he found there a prisoner to Constantinople, and accepted from him a renunciation of his ecclesiastical supremacy. When the Caliph died, the family of the Abassides, once so illustrious, and which had borne the title of Caliph for almost eight hundred years, sunk with him from obscurity into oblivion.*

Causes of the fall of the Caliphate.

At the close of the first century of the Hegira, the Saracenic empire embraced the fairest and largest portion of the civilized globe, and for the next hundred years the power and influence of the Caliphs appeared to be undiminished. When the successors of the Prophet had been despoiled of Africa, of Egypt, and of Spain, their inheritance increased not in concentration of strength, by the loss of these distant provinces. In Arabia, the Caliphs had but little weight in temporal affairs. Perhaps in the very early days of the Caliphate, and certainly

Dismemberment of the Empire.

* Marigny, tom. iv. p. 440. Harris's Philol. Inquiries, p. 387-8, and Abul-Pharajius Hist. Compen. Dynast. Prolegom. p. 32.

tainly when the seat of government was removed from Medina to Damascus, the various princes of Arabia gradually procured their independence, and regarded the Caliphs, merely as the chiefs of the Moslem religion.* These dismemberments shewed the weakness of the centre of the government, and the unwieldy fabric was soon dissolved. For the preservation of the empire, the lieutenants of the provinces were invested with imperial command; but the degenerated state and remote situation of the royal family enabled them to make their governments hereditary, and to assume every thing except the name of kings. The revenues were detained under the pretence of keeping a force to defend the provinces against foreign enemies, when they were actually designed, to strengthen the rebellious viceroys against their lawful sovereigns. The Taherites, Saffarides, and the Samanides,† successfully overthrew the power of each other, and of the Caliphs in Transoxiana and Korasan. The politician may censure Muhammed for not having formed a system of government as well as of conquest; but the reproach may be extended to the Macedonian hero and the Roman conquerors.

Rebellion
of the Go-
vernors.

* Niebuhr. † For the particular histories of these three dynasties, the curious reader will be satisfied with the articles in D'Herbelet.

CHAP. III. querors. The rise of the empire of the Romans was far less strikingly grand, than the rise of the power of the Saracens. Fraud, and every species of treachery, co-operated with the sword of the republicans. But by one great effort of arms, the world was compelled to acknowledge the might of the Commanders of the Faithful. When the Roman power reached its meridian, how few moments did it endure! Its fine machine of state was admirably adapted for the acquisition of empire, but not for its preservation. The philosopher smiles, however, at the folly of ambition; and points at the short duration of its splendid acquisitions, as a mockery of its value.

Luxury of
the Ca-
liphs.

In the primitive days of the Caliphate, the tribute which the Christians paid for the free profession of their religion, the spoils of war, and other sources of revenue, were appropriated by the Commanders of the Faithful to the erection of mosques, to the support of the aged or wounded warrior, and to purposes of charity. Ignorant of the arts of luxury and refinement, the desires of the Caliphs were few and confined; and like the early successors of Saint Peter in the West, their piety and benevolence obtained the admiration and reverence of the world. Water was their only drink, and barley-bread, or dates, their food. The moderate

rate

rate Abubeker received a stipend of only three drachmas^d of gold from the treasury at Medina, and on the weekly return of the sabbath, he distributed the residue of his own, and of the people's money, among the most deserving Moslems ; first to the soldiers, and then to the people. His coarse woollen garment (the Asiatic symbol of spiritual power) descended to Omar ; and a courtier, seeing its tattered condition, observed to the new Commander of the Faithful, that the plainness of his exterior did not correspond with the dignity of his character. " Nay, my friend," replied the lord of the east, with unaffected simplicity, or with a generous contempt of the pride of kings, " the religion with which God has honoured me is the finest garb, the most magnificent ornament, and the most brilliant decoration."* This virtue soon was lost ; and in proportion to the increase of the wealth and power of the Saracens, the splendour and magnificence of the courts of Persia and Greece, while they adorned, corrupted the cities of Damascus and Bagdad. The arts of peace slackened and enervated the hands of the government ; and the luxurious Caliphs were ill capable of maintaining the submission of an extensive empire. " The Caliph Moctadi's whole army, both horse and foot," says

* Ockley's History of the Saracens, at the end of the lives of Abubeker and Omar, and D'Olsson, Tableau Général, tom. iv. p. 109. 8vo. edition.

CHAP. III. says Abulfeda, " were under arms, which toge-
 A.D. 917. " ther made a body of one hundred and sixty
 " thousand men. His state officers stood near
 " him in the most splendid apparel, their belts
 " shining with gold and gems. Near them
 " were seven thousand black and white eunuchs.
 " The porters, or door keepers, were in number
 " seven hundred. Barges and boats, with the
 " most superb decorations, were swimming on
 " the Tigris. Nor was the palace itself less
 " splendid, in which were hung thirty-eight
 " thousand pieces of tapestry, twelve thousand
 " five hundred of which were of silk, embroi-
 " dered with gold. The carpets on the floor
 " were twenty-two thousand. An hundred
 " lions were brought out, with a keeper to each
 " lion. Among the other spectacles of rare and
 " stupendous luxury, was a tree of gold and
 " silver, which opened itself into eighteen
 " larger branches, upon which, and the other
 " less branches, sate birds of every sort, made
 " also of gold and silver. The tree glittered
 " with leaves of the same metals, and while
 " its branches, through machinery, appeared to
 " move of themselves, the several birds upon
 " them warbled their natural notes."*

Turkish
 Guards.

In considering the dissolution of the fabric of Saracenic greatness, the mind dwells upon the circumstance

* I have adopted Mr. Harris's translation of this remarkable passage. See his *Philological Inquiries*, p. 363—364.

circumstance of the introduction of the Turkish guards, as a strong and active cause. The city of Bagdad was distracted by revolts; all ties between sovereign and subject were dissolved; and the native troops were more frequently partisans of a faction than soldiers of the state. For the defence, therefore, of his person and government, the Caliph Motassem, the eighteenth of the Abassides, formed a militia from the Turkish and Tartarian youths, that he purchased in the various slave-marts of the east. But from protectors, they soon became lords of the Commanders of the Faithful. Bagdad became the melancholy arena of their violence, their massacres, and their rapine; and like the Janizaries of Constantinople, the Mamlouks of Egypt, and the prætorian guards of Rome, they governed with military despotism. Two races of these Turks, the Toulonides, and the Ikshidites,* devastated Egypt and Syria; and the power of the Caliphs was almost annihilated. The Hamadanites, an Arabian tribe, raised a transient empire in Mesopotamia; but the Bowides separated Persia for ever from the Caliphate.

A.D. 840—
870.

A.D. 860—
970.

A.D. 890—
1000.

Religious
Discord.

Religious controversies and wars precipitated the ruin of the empire. The Fatimites of Egypt revived the disputes which agitated the faithful on the foundation of the Ommiadan and Abassidan

* De Guignes Hist. Gén. des Huns, liv. 9.

CHAP. III.

The Carmathians,
A.D. 900,
&c.

sidan dynasties; and the blood of many a Moslem was shed, in settling the portion of merit which was due to the four companions of Mūhammed. The Carmathians, a sect of fanatics, declared eternal enmity to the pomp of the court of Bagdad. They altered all the forms of worship, permitted the use of wine and pork, and preached against the utility of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Into every quarter of Syria and Arabia, these daring enthusiasts carried their ravages; and at the head of only five hundred horsemen, Abu-Taher, the successor of Carmath, appeared before the gates of Bagdad. "Your master," he exclaimed to the general of the Moslems, "may have thirty thousand *soldiers*; but three such *men* as these are still wanting in his host." On receiving the signal, one man plunged a sword into his own breast, another leapt into the Tigris, and the third threw himself down a precipice.* From the walls of Bagdad, the Carmathians crossed the deserts to Mecca. The holy city was plundered by them, the temple was mutilated, and thousands of pilgrims and citizens were murdered. For two centuries the Carmathians were the scourge of the Caliphate; the state was convulsed to its centre, and never again became perfectly settled in peace.†

* De Guignes Hist. Gén des Huns, tom. 3, p. 222.

† D'Herbelot, Art. Carmath. D'Ohsson, Tableau Gén, de l'Empire

A DISSERTATION
ON THE
CAUSES OF THE SUCCESS
OF THE
MUHAMMEDAN ARMS AND RELIGION.

WITH the sword in one hand, and the Koran CHAP. III.
in the other, Muhammed and the Caliphs com-
menced their war against the religious and civil
institutions

Ottoman, tom. 1, p. 104, 8vo.; and Davy's Institutes of Timur, p. 185, 4to. 1783

These Carmathians, after an obscurity of a few years, appeared in The Assas-
the north of Persia, under the title of Hussnees (from Hussan Subah, sins.
their founder), and have obtained eternal infamy, by the introduction
of a corruption of their name (Assassius) into most of the modern Eu-
ropean languages.—Menage Dictionaire, fol Paris, 1694, article Assas-
sins The leader of them was, from his residence, correctly called the
Chief of the Mountain, and vulgarly, *the Old Man of the Mountain*.
The foundation of their religion was Muhammedanism, and the visionary
doctrines of the Sooffees of Persia were maintained. But the principal
dogmas of the Assassins were the metempsychosis, and the descent into
the persons of their Imans of the Holy Spirit. A blind obedience to the
will of their leader was therefore naturally their first principle of action,
and the passport to future happiness. He sent them into foreign courts, in
order to kill the objects of his hate. Other princes hired them for the same
purposes. Their murders and pillages have filled many a dismal page of
Oriental history. The historians of the Crusaders in the "Gesta dei per
Francos," make frequent mention of them. The sect existed for more than
two centuries, but Houlagou Khan commenced, and Tamerlane com-
pleted their destruction. De Guignes, Hist Gen. tom. 3, p. 221—247
tom. 4, p. 128, tom. 5, p. 32. The history of the Assassins has been
completely exhausted by the learned Mons Falconet, in two disserta-
tions in the 17th vol. of the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions.

CHAP. III. institutions of the world. The kingdoms which filled the ample space between the Ganges and the Atlantic were overthrown, anew religion, new politics, and new manners, were introduced, and the character of man was changed. But for what reason should we wonder at the successful efforts of fanatics? "I will rouse," exclaimed Peter the Hermit, "the martial nations of Europe in the cause of Christ," and Europe was obedient to his call. Mankind, and particularly the Asiatics, have ever been credulous to narratives of those communications from Heaven, which enthusiasm or fraud have imagined or invented. A bold and eloquent reformer, whether of politics or of religion, will never be without disciples; and as an able Orientalist has observed, "the example of Mo-
 " seilama, the rival of Muhammed, proves how
 " easily the Arabians admitted, and how zeal-
 " ously they defended, the groundless claims of
 " every daring impostor."* The care of religion had for years been the duty of the ancestors of Muhammed, and no wonder, therefore, that attention should be given to any member of the family, who assumed the charge of correcting the abuses, which disfigured the established faith of his country.† The Arabian Prophet sincerely,

OR

* White's Sermons at the Bampton Lecture, note to page 87, edition, 1784.

† Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. 32, p. 414.

or artfully acknowledged the divinity of the Jewish and Christian dispensations, and praising the general intention and devotional spirit of his auditors, he only offered to correct the errors of their judgment, and to dispel the cloud of superstition, which their forefathers had formed. His system is a mixture of truth and error, but that circumstance had no tendency to diminish its credit with mankind. If pure, simple, abstract truth, suited the grossness of men's understandings, genuine Christianity would be the religion of the world. If success be a criterion of merit, we must acknowledge that the systems of heathen superstition were more consonant with sound theology, than were the systems of heathen philosophy. In every religious code, some resemblance may be traced between its doctrines, and the character of those who formed them, or for whom they were formed. The intercourse of conversation and friendship, and the contemplation of truth, constituted some of the chief pleasures in the elysium of the ancients. The sensual paradise of Muhammed was well adapted to the character of the Orientals, and his religion was in general accordance with their opinions ; but the offer of this sensual paradise alone, would never have formed a band of fanatical proselytes. The moral constitution of our nature requires, that religion should be addressed

CHAP. III. to our fears, as well as to our hopes; and if we look at the various systems of superstition, both in the old, and in the new world, we shall find, that although there is every thing in them that can shock and disgust human nature, yet that their votaries have been more numerous, than the worshippers of truth.

But if Muhammed had not appealed to arms, and if the Asiatic world had not been in a state of unprecedented military inactivity, the history of the religion of the Koran would have scarcely filled a page in the ecclesiastical annals of the world. The success of Muhammedanism is a tremendous exception to the general truth, that persecution does not produce conversion. It was not reason or persuasion, but it was the arms of the commanders of the faithful that established the doctrines of the Prophet, and changed the face of the globe. The remark of Machiavel that, "no man can make himself a Prince, and found a state without opportunities," was never more fully realized, than in the instance of Muhammed and the Caliphs. In no period of the world had the tottering, and powerless condition of its empires been such as in the seventh century. The military virtues of the heroes of antiquity disappeared in their descendants, political wisdom no longer guided the public councils, and there existed
neither

neither talents nor courage to retrieve the errors, or restore the fortunes of the state. The names of the Persian and Byzantine Emperors were heard through every part of the Asiatic world, but the internal vigour of Persia had for years been gradually decaying, and her wars with Constantinople shook the very basis of her power. The Byzantine empire embraced fair and spacious territories, but it was divested of its strength and splendour, by its wars with the Persians, and by the inroads of the Goths and Huns. Moreover it was distracted by civil revolts, the people were harassed and oppressed by the tyranny and extortion of the great, and the descendants of the Cæsars and the Antonines, abandoned to sensuality and sloth in the palaces of Constantinople, were lost to the honourable ambition of preserving the dominion of the world.

But the men who enlisted under the banners of the Prophet of Mecca and his successors, were capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx itself; and viewing the character of the different Asiatic nations, we can no more wonder at the political revolutions which the Arabians effected, than at the various empires which the Tartars have raised. Both races of men were, in every point of military character, precisely the same. Savageness, ferocity, con-

CHAP. III. tempt of danger and death, self-denial, and energy of soul, distinguished as strongly the shepherds of Arabia, as those of Tartary. Numerous causes rendered the Arabians a warlike people. They thought that, in the division of the earth, the rich and fertile climates were assigned to the other branches of the human family, and that the posterity of the outlaw Ishmael might recover, by fraud or force, the portion of inheritance, of which he had been unjustly deprived. Robbery, therefore, became a national principle. The country was divided into various governments, and the domestic wars in Europe, during the middle ages, may furnish a faint image of the distracted state of Arabia. The malignant temper of revenge, that remarkable characteristic of the Asiatic, is peculiarly strong among the Arabs. Blood alone can atone for an injury or an insult, but by a singular law of retaliation, the head, not of the murderer, but of the most distinguished individual of his tribe, is the penalty. Revenge is perpetuated for ages, and we need no clearer proof of the general hostile state of the land, than the fact, that by universal consent, two months were annually consecrated to peace.*

But in addition to, or in supercession of, the
common

* Niebuhr's *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 26—30. Sale's *Prelim. Discourse* sec. 7.

common feelings of warriors, the prosperity of the Saracens was ensured by still more powerful motives. A glowing and impetuous spirit of religious enthusiasm prompted their exertions. The Muhammedans were as fanatically devoted to the establishing of their religion, as the Crusaders from Europe, four centuries afterwards, were resolved upon its extirpation. Secular principles might have influenced the hearts of both, and self-illusion would give to ambition the name of virtue. But the blessings consequent to martyrdom were equally anticipated by the Saracen and the Crusader, and perhaps the preceding narrative of the Saracenian wars, when compared with a history of the Crusades, will authorize the conclusion, that enthusiasm animated the Muhammedan, more strongly than the Christian mind.

The success of the religion of the Saracens, and of their arms, kept equal pace. “The circumstance,” says the sagacious Paley, “that Muhammed’s conquests should carry his religion along with them, will excite little surprise, when we know the conditions which he proposed to the vanquished; death or conversion was the only choice offered to idolaters. To the Jews and Christians was left the somewhat milder alternative of subjection and tribute, if they persisted in their own religion,

CHAP. III. “ religion, or of an equal participation of the
 “ rights and liberties, the honours and privileges,
 “ of the faithful, if they embraced the religion
 “ of their conquerors.”* And if the political
 imbecility of the Eastern and Persian empires
 facilitated the progress of the arms of Muham-
 med, the religious disputes among the Chris-
 tians of the east, and the prevailing state of
 darkness and ignorance, were not less favourable
 to the advancement of his religion. In the
 very early ages of Christianity, the corruption of
 the simple doctrines of the seven churches of
 Asia commenced. Mankind, always more dis-
 posed to speculation on religion, than to the
 practice of virtue, have attempted the investi-
 gation of subjects, which Providence has pur-
 posely hidden from their view. With the humble
 acknowledgment of the connection of divinity
 and humanity in the person of Christ, the Asi-
 atic Christians were not contented to rest: and
 they fearlessly enquired into the nature and
 essence of that mysterious union. The discus-
 sion of matters so far above, though not contrary
 to reason, involved them in endless controver-
 sies. No certainty or satisfaction could, from
 the nature of the subject, or the imperfection of
 the human intellect, ever be obtained; the con-
 gregated wisdom of the church endeavoured to
 restore

* Paley's Evidences of Christianity, vol. 2, sec. 3.

restore tranquillity by the proclamation of *orthodox* opinions, but the zeal of sectaries mocked this assumption of superior knowledge : innumerable parties distracted the Christian hierarchy, animosity was fomented, the savage spirit of persecution dwelt in every breast, and peace and good-will to men were banished from the earth. At the time of the appearance of Muhammed, literature was but little cultivated ; the barbarians of the north had destroyed all the monuments of science, the horrors of war prevented the provincials from thinking of the embellishments of life, while philosophy and the liberal arts could not find patrons, among the indolent and luxurious emperors and nobility. Into this state of darkness and delusion superstition naturally entered. The fears of men, not duly moderated by a correct knowledge of the scriptures, prompted the practice of idle, unnecessary, and uncommanded ceremonies ; the Virgin Mary was more highly revered than Christ himself ; saints and martyrs, nay, the relics of their bodies and clothes, were worshipped ; with the doctrine of purgatory, which by supposing men capable of propitiating their own sins, renders nugatory the atonement made by Christ, were a few of the manifold superstitions* which terror and credulity produced.

CHAP. III.

Permanency of Muhammedanism.

The churches in the various captured cities, were changed into mosques; colleges and schools were founded by the conqueror, and motives of worldly interest would occasion the conversion of thousands of weak or ambitious Christians. Their children were born and educated in the faith of Muhammed, and perhaps exceeded their apostate fathers in sincerity. Islamism became the established religion of the Asiatic world. Jurisprudence, morals, and all the minute decencies of life, were regulated by the Koran, or by the received expositions of it. Every thing in Asia is a matter of regulation, and freedom of opinion being but little permitted or encouraged in the despotic government of the east, Muhammedanism when once received, became stationary. The human code is mingled with the divine, and the ideas of change and of profanation are inseparable.

One circumstance of difficult solution still remains. Korasim and Transoxiana were conquered by the Saracens, but some Turkish and Tartarian tribes soon recovered the independence of their country. Islamism was preached by the Saracens, and the idols of the nations were destroyed. Yet in reading the history of the Tartarian people, it will not be found, that the new religion made a very great impression on these boundless regions. Now although it may

may not excite astonishment, that when the Arabians were expelled from the country, or became lost amidst the general Tartarian population, their religion was not extinguished ; yet it is singular, that almost all these invaders from the north, immediately on their descent into the south, and without waiting for the gradual influence of education, embraced the prevailing religion of the people, whose lands they had invaded. The Tartars of all ages possessed their systems of superstition, but which were instantly abandoned, when found to be any obstruction to their views of conquest. The Arabs forced their religion upon their enemies, and other nations of conquerors have permitted matters of a sacred nature to remain at rest. The conduct of the Tartars was unquestionably politic and wise, but we are not accustomed to attribute the finest motives of policy, to the actions of these barbarians.

CHAP. IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE MUHAMMEDAN TARTARIAN EMPIRES.

CHAP. IV. **A** sufficiently accurate notion of Tartary will be obtained, by drawing an imaginary line along the northern shores of the Euxine and Caspian seas, and thence by the eastern side of the Caspian towards the south to Korasan. If this line be extended eastwards by the borders of India, of the countries between India and China, of China itself, and of the kingdom of Corea to the Eastern Ocean, the southern limits of Tartary are defined. On the east, it is bounded by the Eastern Ocean, on the north, by the Frozen Ocean, on the west, by an imaginary line from the western extremity of the Euxine to the place where the River Ohi enters the sea. Tartary may be divided into eastern and western Tartary, by a line drawn from the meridian of Pekin to the Frozen Ocean. The territory to the east of this line may be called eastern Tartary, the country to the west may be stiled western Tartary.

Geographical limits of Tartary.

The

The ancient Greek geographers knew but CHAP. IV.
 little of these vast tracts. Of Siberia, they
 were in total ignorance: the Imaus or Caff, a
 mountain between Samarcand and Cashgar,
 bounded their knowledge of the north east of
 Asia, and their inquiries had never passed the
 frozen regions of Caucasus. In the proud days
 of the republic, Tartary was unknown to the
 Romans: they thought not of the seats of the
 tribes, from whom the conquerors of their
 children would proceed, and they could not
 foresee this disgrace to their posterity, that the
 smiling plains of the south would be desolated
 by the Scythian savage. To the whole of this
 immense country, the Greeks, and the later
 Romans, gave the denomination of Scythia.
 In modern times, and in the western world, it
 has been generally called Tartary, from the name
 of a nation subjugated by the tribes of the
 Moguls. The Muhammedans frequently extend
 to all the northern wilds, the name of Turkes-
 tan, a territory which, by reason of its adjacen-
 cy to Persia, is better known to them, than the
 rest of the Tartarian region.*

The shepherds of the north of Asia afford
 no countenance to those descriptions of poets,
 which The charac-
 ter and
 mode of life
 of the Tar-
 tars.

* De Guignes, *Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mogols, et des autres Tartares occidentaux*, tom. 2, p. 1, &c. 5 tom. 4to. Paris, 1758. D'Herbelot's *Bibl. Orient.* vol 4 p. 46, &c. D'Anville, *Nouvel Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise, et du Thibet*, fol. Haye, 1737.

CHAP. IV. which would identify the ideas of peace and innocence, with the occupations of a pastoral life. However infinite in variety may be the shades of the moral character, and social habits of a people scattered over so large a portion of the globe; yet one great feature of humanity is common to them all, for the records of time present the Tartars to our view, as insatiably ambitious. In the cold region of the north of Tartary, nature is sparing of the bounties, and the ungrateful soil refuses the labours of agriculture. The advantage of the genial situation of the southern territories, especially those to the south of eastern Tartary, is not experienced, by reason of the great height of the plains, some of them half a mile above the level of the sea. Destitute, therefore, of corn and fruits, the people are reduced to their flocks and herds for subsistence, and to roam abroad for pasturage. In tents, and in covered waggons, they dwell during their short attachment to any particular spot. In the summer they fly to the north, in the winter they seek in the south, but often in vain, shelter and retreat from a rigorous clime. Bound by no ties to their native lands, all the delights which domestic associations present to the mind, are found in the camp. If discontentedness prompts a wish of change, or if the spirit of conquest seizes them, whether

whether they move as an army or as a company CHAP. IV. of herdsmen, they feel no reluctance at quitting the place where they had dwelt, nor concern for its future lot. A disposition of aggrandizement is natural to man in all countries, and at every period it has actuated alike the citizen, and the savage, the Athenian, and the Tartar. The richness and fertility of territories which heaven has blessed with plenty, invited the rapacity of the northern shepherds: they quitted their inhospitable climes, overwhelmed their enervated foes, and thus, for ages, the tide of emigration and conquest flowed and ebb'd, through the most sterile and the most productive regions of the earth. The history of Tartary is closely interwoven with the history of the great ancient and modern empires. The proud fabric of Roman grandeur was shaken by domestic corruption, but its ruin was hastened and effected, by the barbarians of the north. The political revolutions which distracted northern Asia compelled such tribes of Tartars as had been conquered by their braver countrymen, to descend to the confines of the Roman states for safety and repose. But in a state of peace, they could not long remain. From the character of neighbours, they changed to that of invaders, and the conquest of the Roman world ensued.

The

CHAP. IV.

—
 Their inva-
 sions of the
 countries
 conquered
 by Muham-
 med and his
 disciples.

The Tartarian irruptions into the south since the days of Muhammed, and as connected with the propagation of his religion, have been five. An history of these irruptions will comprehend a view, I, of the Muhammedan dynasties in Hindustan. II. Of the reigns of Zingis Khan and his successors. III. Of the empire of Tamerlane. IV. Of the Seljukian dynasties. And V, Of the rise of the Othman, or present Turkish power. The mighty effects of the transcendent skill in war and politics of the favourites of nature, are strikingly exemplified in the lives of the Asiatic heroes ; but the empires which they raised, however splendid or potent, were of a transient nature, for the very names of Mahmud, Seljuk, and even Zingis, soon were lost, and the posterity of Tamerlane preserved in India, and in India alone, the memory of their ancestor. Nor will it be found, that the history of the present Othman Turks, the descendants of a Tartar tribe, which constituted a part of the army of Muhammed of Korasm, is any exception to the remark on the instability of Asiatic imperial greatness ; for the empire of the Othmans flourished with splendour only for a period comparatively brief, and it has for years been sinking to dissolution.

TARTARIAN EMPIRES.

I. THE MUHAMMEDAN DYNASTIES IN HINDUSTAN.

CHAP. IV.

A. D. 874.
The Mu-
hammedan
dynasties in
India
founded by
Mahmud,
Sultan of
Gazna.

When the Caliphate of Bagdad was crumbling into ruin, a race of princes, called in Eastern history the Dynasty of the Samanides, despoiled the legitimate Commanders of the Faithful of some of their valuable territories, and exercised kingly authority over Bokharah, Korasan, a great part of the Persian empire, Candahar, Zabolistan, Cabul, and the mountains of the Afghans or Patans. A Turkish slave, by name Alpteghin, ascended the gradations of honourable offices, military and civil, and in the reign of Abdalmalec, the fifth king of the Samanidan dynasty, was appointed governor of the vast province of Korasan. On the death of his master, he endeavoured to wrest the sceptre from the feeble possession of Mansour, the infant son of the late prince; but the Emirs of the country rallied round the throne, and Alpteghin quitted the royal city of Bokharah. To the town of Gazna, situated on the westernmost parts of the Cowmul, one of the numerous rivers which are tributary to the Indus, the aspiring governor, and the admirers of his courage and ambition, retreated. Mansour strove in vain to terminate his power; and for sixteen years, Alpteghin increased his dominions and his fame.*

Sabacta- A.D. 995.

zin,

* D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. vol. 1, p. 203.

CHAP. IV. zin, at once his son-in-law, his general and counsellor, became also his successor. Although master in Gazna, he was for some time regarded by the Samanides, only as the governor of a province. His exact military discipline, and his liberality to officers, gained him the love and admiration of his subjects. He established peace and good order through every part of his dominions ; carried his arms and the Muselman faith into India ; destroyed the monuments of Pagan superstition ; ravaged the Panjab, and built the town of Bost and that of Kosdar, near the Indus. Noh, the son of Mansour, treated Sabactazin as an ally, rather than as a subject. The King of Turkestan threatened the extinction of the Samanidan dynasty ; but the courage of the Gaznavides supported the throne, and the Turks were driven from the invaded provinces.*

On the death of Sabactazin, his youngest son Ishmael, in pursuance of his father's wishes, was recognized as king ; but Mahmud, who had already distinguished himself in assisting his father in the war with the king of Turkestan, took up arms against his brother, and asserted with effect his right of primogeniture. Mahmud may be considered the first prince of the Gaznavide Sultans, and made a lofty superstructure

Reign of
Mahmud.

* De Guignes, Hist. Gén. vol. 3, p. 156-159.

ture on the foundation of power which Sabacta- CHAP. IV.
 zin had laid. The kingdom of the Samanides
 was annihilated, and the public prayers for the A. D. 999.
 family of his ancestors' masters were blotted
 from the service books of the mosque. Irak
 Persia submitted to his yoke, and even the
 humble independence of the little territory of
 Gaur, which under the descendants of a branch
 of a Persian dynasty, had long enjoyed tran-
 quillity amidst surrounding calamities, was of-
 fensive to his insatiable ambition. In fact,
 from the Caspian to the Ganges, from Transoxi-
 ana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, no tyrant
 but Mahmud reigned.

But it is by this Sultan,* as the founder of His twelve
expediti-
ous into
India.
 the Muhammedan power in India, that our
 interest is excited. Before his reign, the in-
 cursions into this interesting country by other
 Muselman princes had been few and partial,
 but the prospect of plunder inspired the sol-
 diers of Mahmud with courage against the
 elephants of war, and in twelve expeditions
 into Hindustan, his conquests far surpassed
 those of the Macedonian hero. The town of
 Kinnoge, on the Upper Ganges, the cities of
 N Lahor,

* Mahmud was the first Muhammedan prince who bore this name. The previous title had been malek or king. By the application of this title of sultan to Mahmud, a governor of Segistan, flattered the vanity of Mahmud, and saved himself from the penalties of rebellion.

CHAP. IV. Lahor, Delhi, and Muttra, became his tributaries, and his troops rioted in the spoils of the wealthy kingdom of Guzarat. In the course of his incursions into the west of India, he discovered one of the most splendid objects of Indian superstition. Two thousand Brahmins, and numerous bands of dancing girls and musicians, were devoted to the service of the Pagoda of Sumnaut. The lofty roof of this temple supported by fifty-six pillars, overlaid with plates of gold, and incrustated at intervals with rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones. One pendant lamp alone illumined the spacious fabric, whose light, reflected back from innumerable jewels, spread a strong and refulgent lustre throughout the temple. In the midst, stood Sumnaut himself, an idol composed of one entire stone, fifty cubits in height, forty-seven of which were buried in the ground; and on that spot, according to Brahminical tradition, he had been adored between four and five thousand years. His image was washed every morning and evening with fresh water brought from the Ganges, at a distance of twelve hundred miles. Around the dome were dispersed some thousands of images, in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions, so that in this consecrated place, as in a grand Pantheon, seemed

The Pagoda at Sumnaut.

seemed to be assembled all the deities venerated in Hindustan.* The priests invoked, without effect, the wrath of their chief God upon the disturber of their worship. The blood of fifty thousand worshippers was shed in vain for the defence of their idol. A treasure of money and jewels, equal to ten millions sterling, was offered by the Brahmins for the preservation of its sanctity, but at the command of Mahmud, whose religious zeal was shocked at being thought a merchant of idols, the statue was broken into pieces, and a quantity of diamonds and rubies, far greater than the ransom proposed by the crafty priests, fell at his feet. The Gaznavide Sultan treated the Hindus with all the rigour of a conqueror, and with all the fury of a converter, not only plundering treasures, but demolishing temples, and murdering idolators throughout his route.† His enthusiasm for Muhammedanism was as strong, as that which inflamed the breasts of the primitive supporters of that religion, and the title of Protector of the Faithful, which the Bagdad Caliph Caderbillah gave him, by way of investing him with the kingdom of Samania, was well merited by his bigotry and intolerancé.

CHAP. IV.

Mahmud's
character
and death.
A.D. 1030.

N 2

stern

* Maurice's History of Modern Hindustan, vol. 1, p. 295.

† Orme's Preliminary Dissertation to his Coromandel War, p. 9, vol. 2, 4to. London, 1763.

CHAP. IV. stern martial virtues of the conqueror, and his excellent qualities as prince, were degraded by the low passion of avarice. In the hour of dissolution, he commanded his spoils of India to be brought before him. Lamentations fell from his tongue, and tears started into his eyes, on beholding the baubles: he offered not to bestow, what it was beyond his ability to keep, and his attendants were compelled to remove them from his sight, as their view served but to increase the anguish of his death.*

Fall of the
Gaznavide
Empire and
successors
of Mahmud
in India.

During the reign of his son and successor Masoud, the Gaznavide empire became more potent, by the addition of the remainder of Persia, (except the province of Fars) and of the territory of the Bowides, on the banks of the Persian Gulph. But the Seljukian Tartars, whose history will hereafter be detailed, availing themselves of a predatory expedition of Masoud into India, conquered from him Korasan. The loss of this province was soon succeeded by the total dismemberment of the Gaznavide empire. Kosrow Shaw, the last prince of this dynasty, was deposed by Houssain Gauri, a native of Gaur, who became possessed of a large portion of the western part of the Gaznavide empire, while

A. D. 1160.

* D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* vol. 2, p. 517—525. De Guignes, *Hist. Gén.* vol. 3, p. 160—173. Dow's *Hist. Hindustan*, vol. 1, p. 34—39. 4to. edit. 1768.

while the descendants of Mahmud retained for a few years, the provinces contiguous to both shores of the Indus. But the Gaurides wrested the sceptre of these territories from their weak possessors, and established the seat of Muhammedan power in India at Lahor. The Gaur Sultans adopted the religious zeal, as well as the military spirit of the Gaznavides. Muhammed Gori plundered Benares, the chief city of the Indian religion, and destroyed the idols with circumstances of cruelty, worthy of a successor of Mahmud.* The death of this emperor occasioned a new division of the Gaznian empire. Eldoze retained the Persian part, and the Indian territories were enjoyed by Cuttub, the friend and servant of the late emperor. By Cuttub, the Patan or Afghan dynasty in Hindustan was founded. The Afghans originally inhabited the mountainous tract lying between India and Persia, or the ancient Paropamisus. Cuttub, prior to his elevation to the throne, had carried his arms under Muhammed Gori, into Agimul and Guzarat. Until the completion of his conquests, Lahor was his capital, but the ne-

CHAP. IV

A.D. 1184.

1194.

1205.

N 3

cessity

* Benares was regarded as the principal seat of Braminical learning, and we may conclude that about this period the Sanscrit language, which was before the common language of Hindustan, began to decline in purity, by the admixture of words from that of the conquerors. In the course of time a new language (the Hindustanee now in use) was formed, and the Sanscrit in its original purity existed only in ancient writings. *Bennell's Memoir to his Map of Hindustan. Introd. p. 47.*

CHAP. IV. necessity of fixing the imperial residence near the centre of his dominions, occasioned his removal to Delhi. His successor the emperor Altumsh conquered the vast province of Bengal, and established in it the Muhammedan religion. The Persian or Tartarian parts of the Gaznavide or Gaur territories were, at this period, added to the empire of Zingis Khan.*

Timour's
invasion of
India.
A.D.1399.

Through the next two ages, nothing can be found in the annals of Hindustan, important to an history of Muhammedanism. But at length the mighty Tamerlane descended into India, and renewed with dreadful effect the irruptions of the Moguls. Ninety thousand horse crossed near Kawuck, the Hindu Kho, or Indian Caucasus. The passage of these mountains demanded the courage of an enterprising chief. The snows yielded not to the influence of the summer season, and the natural difficulties of the ascent of the mountains were aggravated by the incessant attacks of the Siahposhians—fierce and rapacious highlanders. In the descent, thousands of men and horses were precipitated from the eminences that intervened between the extreme summit of the mountain and the level land. Tamerlane himself was placed on a raft, to which by means of rings, cords of one hundred and fifty cubits in length were attached. His soldiers

* Rennel's Memoir. Introd. p. 48, et seq.

diers guided it over the snow, or lowered it through the air, till it reached the foot of the mountain.*

CHAP IV

It was at the passage of Attok, that the Macedonian hero crossed the Indus.† The Tartarian chief directed his march through Cabul: thence to Irjab, Shenuzan, Nughz, Bunnoo, and passed the Indies at Reishi; a town some distance below Attok.‡ In pursuing the course of the Panjab, or five tributary streams of the Indus, which give the name of Panjab to the frontier province towards Tartary, he followed the footsteps of Alexander. On the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, generally called the fourth of the Panjab rivers, and on the borders of the desert, Alexander halted, wept, and abandoned his enterprize. Timour passed the Dena; one of the four branches of the Setlige, crossed the desert, destroyed the fortress of Batnir, and thence

N 4

by

* De Guignes, Hist. Gén. book xx. † Rennell's Memoir, p. 121.

‡ Very seldom can an error be detected in Mr. Gibbon's Geography. But that great historian is incorrect in stating, that Timour and Alexander crossed the Indus at the same place; viz. at Attok. That Alexander crossed at Attok is agreed on all hands. Now there is a ridge of snowy mountains between Bunnoo and Attok; and Sherefeddin, and other accredited historians of Timour, do not relate that his route lay through these mountains—a circumstance which they would have noticed, if such had been the fact; for the passage is very difficult and dangerous. Timour, therefore, must have crossed the Indus at the south of this ridge.

CHAP. IV. by the road of Samanah he arrived at Delhi.*

But during his route, the number of his prisoners became formidably great. His release of them would have been impolitic, and in the event of the loss of a battle, their revolt was to be dreaded. The cruel nature of Tamerlane easily suggested an expedient, and in less than an hour from his brief discussion of the subject with his officers, an hundred thousand Indians were slaughtered.†

The wealthy city of Delhi was too far sunk in sloth and luxury, to make a powerful resistance to the Tartars. The Sultan Mahmood arrayed a force of elephants with poisoned daggers affixed to their tusks; but they either perished in the ditches which Timour prepared for them, or fell in the general destruction of men and horses. The principal Muhammedan city of India opened its gates to the conqueror; and the pillage and massacres in the streets of Delhi satiated the avarice and cruelty of the troops.‡

Zeal for Muhammedanism was not absorbed by the spirit of ambition. But in the true character of a conqueror, he resolved that the sword should exterminate, rather than that preaching should convert

* Rennell's Memoir of his Map on Hindustan, p. 92-121.

† Petit de la Croix's Hist. de Timour Bec. liv. iv. c. 18.

‡ P. de la Croix, liv. iv. ch. 20. Dow's Hindustan, vol. ii. p. 7-9.

convert the inoffensive Gentoos. To the place CHAP. IV.
where the Ganges issues from the mountains, and where the natives resort at certain seasons to purify themselves in that sacred stream, the Mogul army proceeded; and the massacres which Tamerlane commanded, fully justified the title which the people gave him, in the midst of their horror and sufferings, of "*the destroying Prince.*" From this place, turning to the north west, along the foot of Mount Sewalick, he continued his devastation, though not without opposition, until he arrived on the frontiers of Cashmere;* and so ardent was his desire, to extend his conquests to the extremities of Asia, on the north and west, that scarcely six months had elapsed, between the time of his crossing and recrossing the Indus. This Scythian savage was the robber, rather than the conqueror of Hindustan. He executed no measures to ripen a Mogul invasion into a Mogul government, and even disturbed not the order of succession to the imperial throne.

Long before the days of Timour India had been a scene of universal disturbance. The governors of the different provinces into which it was divided, frequently deserted their allegiance to their prince, and the wars consequent on rebellion desolated a land, which, in the language

* Rennell's Memoir, Introd. p. 55.

CHAP. IV. guage of Major Rennel, seems destined to be the paradise of the world. With the death of
 A.D. 1413. Mahmood, the emperor who reigned at Timour's invasion, the Patan dynasty terminated. Chizer, a Seid, (that is to say, one of the race of the prophet Muhammed) succeeded him, and his posterity enjoyed the imperial dignity, till Belloni of the Afgan tribe of Lodi took possession of it. But the government of Hindustan was too nice and difficult a task for the Afgan Prince. Sovereignty was assumed by the rulers of the provinces, among whom a potentate, stiled King of the East, whose residence was at Jionpour, in the province of Allahabad, became the most formidable.

1450.

Political revolutions and civil discord in Hindustan presented to Sultan Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane, a tempting field for ambitious projects. The northern part of his dominions was invaded by the Usbecs. He quitted his provinces between the Indus and Samarcand; all India obeyed his summons of submission; and at Agra, he received the title of Emperor of Hindustan. With this sovereignty, the empire of the great Moguls commenced. The glory of the house of Timour soon increased. Ackber, the grandson of Baber, left behind one of the fairest characters which the pen of the historian has ever drawn. The title

A.D. 1530.
Mogul empire.

Ackber.

1605.

title of the Guardian of Mankind was not a mere expression of Asiatic subserviency. From Agimere to Bengal he restored peace to the distracted people. Rulers, celebrated for their judgment and moderation, were appointed, the manners of the Hindus were respected; no narrow bigotry in the government checked the exercise of conscience among the people; and so liberal were his sentiments on the propriety of a free and full discussion of doctrines, that the Christian missionaries aspired to the honor of his conversion.* By Ackber Hindustan was divided into eleven soubahs; each of these into circars, or counties, and these divisions into pungunnahs, or hundreds. Under the auspices of Shah Jehan, the grandson of Ackber, Delhi became once more the metropolis of the empire, and was restored to magnificence and splendour.

But domestic wars disturbed the regular course of Muhammedan succession. The imprisonment of his father, Shah Jehan, and the murder of his brothers, who were seniors to himself, left the throne vacant for Aureng Zib. By this prince, a monster of fanaticism and ambition, the Mogul empire was raised to its meridian of power. His authority extended from the 10th to the 35th degree of latitude, and nearly

Aureng Zib

* De Guignes, Hist. Génér. vol. v. p. 99.

CHAP. IV. nearly as much in longitude; containing, at
 — least, sixty-four millions of inhabitants; and the
 annual revenue of the crown exceeded thirty-
 two millions sterling, in a country, where the
 products of the earth are quadruple as cheap
 as in England. But in the instance of Aureng
 Zib, the moralist will remark the incompatibility
 of human happiness with the attainment of the
 objects of human ambition through seas of blood.
 In speaking of the feelings of Aureng-Zib, in the
 awful hour of dissolution, Major Rennel* uses
 these judicious expressions: “ Two letters,
 “ written by him to two of his sons, a few days
 “ before his death, furnish this striking lesson to
 “ frail mortality, that however men may forget
 “ themselves during the tide of prosperity, a
 “ day of RECOLLECTION will sooner or later ar-
 “ rive. Here we are presented with the dying
 “ confession of an aged monarch, who made his
 “ way to the throne by the murder of his bre-
 “ thren, and the imprisonment of his father;
 “ and who, after being in possession of it, per-
 “ secuted the most inoffensive part of his sub-
 “ jects, either through bigotry or hypocrisy.
 “ Here we behold him, in the act of resigning
 “ THAT, to obtain possession of which, he in-
 “ curred his guilt; and presented to us a mere
 “ sinful

* Memoir to a Map of Hindostan, Introd. p. 63; and Maurice's His-
 tory of Modern Hindostan, vol. 2, p. 494.

“ sinful man, trembling on the verge of eternity, CHAP. IV.
 “ equally deploring the past, and dreading the
 “ future. How awful must his situation appear
 “ to him, when he says: “ *Wherever I look, I*
 “ *see nothing but the Divinity.*”

The difference of the talents of monarchs in despotic governments, has been the main cause of the transient duration of the various eastern empires. In all well-formed kingdoms, institutions, rather than princes, are the support of the state. But on the decease of an Asiatic despot, the proud fabric of his wars and politics begins to totter. From the death of Aureng Zib, commenced the fall of the Mogul empire. His great qualifications for the exercise of so vast a power descended not with the succession, and the magic of his name was no more. Factions among the royal family instigated the rebellion of the Soubahs of provinces. The officers of state ruled the country; and the descendants of Tamerlane were mere shadows of royalty, except in the Seraglio. Virtue fled from the land; no principles of honour or patriotism remained; great abilities produced nothing but great crimes; and the eyes of individuals being wholly intent upon private advantage, the affairs of the public fell into ruin and confusion.*

A.D. 1707.
 Fall of the
 Mogul Empire.

Ly

* Dow's Hist. of Hindustan. Orme's Pichin. Dissertation, p 20.

CHAP. IV.

Nadir
Shah.

Massacre
at Delhi.

In the year 1740, the conspirators against the house of Tamerlane, invited Nadir Shah, the usurper of the Persian throne, into Hindustan. The emperor yielded, and the invader made a triumphal entry into the city of Delhi. The murmurings of the inhabitants at the payment of an immense tribute, exasperated the barbarian: the signal of death was given, and the metropolis of the Mogul empire became once more the scene of tumult, massacre, and rapine. At this ever to be noted desolation of the venerable city of Delhi, the lust of the conquerors, both for treasure and blood, was ferocious, unsparing, and insatiable. So great were the panic and confusion of the inhabitants, that instead of bravely meeting death in manly contest, the men threw down their arms, and with their wives and children, submitted themselves to the slaughter. The Hindus, according to their barbarous custom, shut up their wives and daughters, set fire to their apartments, and then threw themselves into the flames. Thousands plunged headlong into wells; death was seen in every horrid shape, and at last appeared rather to be sought, than avoided. At the solicitation of the emperor Muhammed, the scene of blood was closed. "Spare my people;" cried the wretched monarch; and the conqueror of India replied: "The Emperor of India must never ask

" in

“in vain.” Nadir Shah reseated him on his throne; “and this destructive comet,” to use the expression of the Persian author translated by Dow, “rolled back from the meridian of Delhi, burnt all the towns and villages, and marked his route with devastation and death.” He left the country to its enjoyment of repose, which soon however was disturbed by the civilized plunderers from Europe, who rivalled in rapacity the Tartarian freebooters. Seven centuries had elapsed from the reign of Mahmud, to the invasion of Hindustan by the usurper of the throne of Persia. Numerous had been the dynasties, and various the revolutions of the Muhammedan empire during this long period. Here, however, its termination may be dated; and the religion of the Arabian prophet was supported no longer in India by imperial power. Several emperors, it is true, successively ascended the throne; but so completely nominal was their authority, that if it belonged to the purpose of these sheets to bring the history of India down to later times, the rise of the British government would be the leading subject.*

II.—THE REIGNS OF ZINGIS KHAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

IN the spacious highlands, which are bounded on the east by Eastern Tartary, on the west by the

* Dow's History of Hindustan, vol. 2, p. 19—25. Fraser's History of Nadir Shah, p. 184, &c.

MAP. IV. the great desert, on the south by the Chinese wall, and on the north by the Kalkas and part of Eastern Tartary, the ancestors of Zingis had long supported an imperial title. The ideas of Scythian and savage can never be separated, in considering the character of these Moguls. Nature has denied them all beauty of form, and their manners are offensively gross. Their existence is preserved by eating the flesh of horses and domestic animals, and drinking the milk of the goat and cow. Their only luxury is a distillation from mare's milk, called Cosmos. A deity named Natagai, the creator of all things, is acknowledged, but not adored. The heavenly bodies attract their worship, and scarcely a tent is without its idol. Their confidence in sorceries knows no limit, and the predictions drawn from the flight of birds, fix their decisions on military enterprises. Their submission to their prince is as great, as is their disdain of a foreign yoke. In their domestic intercourse, their conduct is free from the vices of thieving, envy, and lying, while hospitality, the virtue of savages, renders them accessible by strangers.*

th and
ly life of
gis.

An origin perfectly human, was inconsistent with those ideas of greatness, which the exploits of Zingis formed in the fancy of the conquering Tartars. His origin was traced to the sun himself,

* De Guignes, *Hist. Gén.* vol. 4. p. 19.

himself, and from the immaculate conception CHAP. IV.
of a virgin, his seventh ancestor, it was thought
that he proceeded ; while signs in the heavens,
and prodigies on earth, marked the important
hour of the birth of the destroyer of Asia. A.D. 1154.
For the commemoration of a victory over the
Sou Moguls, Behadour, the father of Zingis,
called him Temudgin, the name of the con-
quered Khan. The premature death of Beha-
dour left Zingis an orphan, and the powerful
chiefs of the empire disdained submission to a
boy of only thirteen years of age.* The friend-
ship felt by Oung, the Khan of the Kareits, for
the father of Zingis, was extended to Zingis
himself, and in the city of Karakorum, (after-
wards his capital) his talents became matured.
His abilities were rewarded by several civil and
military charges. But the courtiers envied the
honours of the stranger, and the credulous
Khan listened to their tales of his projects, for
obtaining imperial power. To avoid death from
an assassin's dagger, Zingis fled with a few
faithful adherents, and by the sacrifice of an
horse, and drinking from a river, he displayed
his resolution to share with his friends, both
the sweets and the bitters of life.

Fortune followed Zingis through all his en-
terprises. The haughty chieftains of his native
land

o

CHAP. IV. land submitted, or were conquered, and in a general diet of Mogul and Tartar princes, held at Thamankohrah, near Deylun Yildak, he displayed the standard of his power. The proud were humbled, the politic yielded, and a hired impostor, who could rise to heaven on a flying horse, awed the imagination of the superstitious people, by proclaiming, that Temudgin was Zingis, or the *greatest* ;* and was lord of all the world.†

Called the
Great
Khan.

A. D. 1206. A Tartarian prince, who had subjugated an arrogant and powerful nobility, could not in the moment of prosperity, remain at peace. To the empire of China, the ancestors of Zingis had for ages paid a tribute of wealth or of respect, but 1210-1214 the time of independence and of power was now arrived. The great wall presented no resistance, the Tartars poured into the country : the transient beauty of a Chinese princess, and the solid enjoyment of an immense treasure, deferred for two years the worst consequences of war ; but the ambition of Zingis was quickened, rather than sated, the Tartars were again in arms, and the five northern provinces were dismembered from the vast fabric of the Chinese monarchy.

His inva-
sion of
China

From

* In the Mogul language, the word Zingis is the superlative of greatness, and is applied to the heavens, the sea, as well as to a great conqueror.

† Pince's Muhammedan History in Hindostan, vol. 2. p. 486.

From the Persian gulph to the borders of India and Turkestan, the sultans of Korasin, once subjects of the Seljuks, reigned over the vast intermediate territories. The prince upon the throne, whose name was Muhammed, violated the laws of nations, rejected with disdain the friendly offers of Zingis for a commercial intercourse between the two nations, and murdered his ambassadors. Atonement for the injury and insult was refused, and the bannèr of war was again unfurled. "I call God to bear witness to the justice of my cause," said Zingis to his soldiers, "and I swear that I take arms only for the support of those laws of nations, which have been violated in the murder of my representative." The armies of Zingis, which, to use an eastern hyperbole, outnumbered the drops of rain, met and overthrew the four hundred thousand soldiers of Muhammed in the plains at the north of the Sihon or Jaxartes. The consequences of this victory were most eventful. Bucharia, Tukestan, Korasm, and even the vast empire of Persia acknowledged the power of Zingis, and from the Caspian Sea to the Indus, the Mogul savages committed such violations of humanity, that even Zingis pretended to mourn the misery of the conquered.

In the solitude of a desert island in the Caspian Sea, Muhammed perished, unpitied by the

CHAP. IV.

A D
1218-1224.

And of Korasm and Persia.

CHAP. IV.
 Fate of Ge-
 laleddin.

world. But the heroism of his son Gelaleddin, though productive of no great issues, has been proudly celebrated by the most distinguished Persian poets. From the ruins of his father's army, he raised a brave and numerous troop, and in his well measured retreat to the province of Gazna, many of the Moguls fell before the steadiness and spirit of his attacks. But the bands of the Tartars were innumerable. The friends of Gelaleddin, despairing of success in arms, implored the clemency of the conqueror: the hero himself was driven to the banks of the Indus. He spurred his horse into the rapid stream, and crossed it, unhurt by the arrows of the Tartars. His ferocious enemies called for the signal of pursuit, but with a magnanimity rare in Asiatic warriors, Zingis shewed his admiration of his foe, by commanding his retreat to be unmolested.*

The subversion of the Korasmite empire did not close the career of glory of Zingis. His generals subdued the rebellious western provinces of Persia, took the city of Derbend, passed the Volga and the Desert, and traversed the banks of the Caspian Sea. In his Tartarian dominions, and perhaps in his chief city of Kara-Korum, or Holim, at the mouth of the Onguin in Kalkas Tartary, Zingis reposed awhile

* D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient. vol. 2. p. 82—88.

awhile from slaughter and desolation. But a sickness at length seized him, which he foresaw would be fatal. He exhorted his sons to unanimity, and expired, while urging them to complete the ruin of the Chinese empire.*

CHAP. IV.

Death of
Zingis.
A. D. 1227.

Of the numerous progeny of Zingis, and his harem of five hundred wives and concubines, four sons were distinguished with particular marks of the emperor's regard. In the city of Kara-Korum, the three younger brothers resigned all pretensions to the throne, and saluted Oktai, as the great Khan. The Zingishanidan dynasty lasted through thirteen princes, and expired with Abousaid. During the space of a century, which intervened from the death of Zingis to the reign of the last potent monarch of his house, the page of the annals of blood is full of events of a magnitude and variety seldom seen.

His succes-
sors.

A.D. 1335

The northern division or dynasty of China soon became a province of the Mogul empire. The dynasty of Song, the native and ancient sovereigns of all the Chinese lands, survived about forty-five years the fall of the northern usurpers, and the perfect conquest was reserved

Conquest of
China.
A. D.
1234-1279.

o 3

for

* De Guignes, Hist. Gén. vol. 4, book 15 In addition to my two chief oriental guides, D'Herbelot and De Guignes, I have received great assistance from a spirited and well written life of Zingis by M. de la Croix, senior, in one volume duodecimo, printed at Paris 1716. The obligations of oriental literature to the two M. de la Croix are great.

CHAP. IV. for Cublai, the general, and then the successor of Mangou, the fourth emperor in succession from Zingis. During this interval, the Moguls were often diverted by foreign wars, and if the Chinese occasionally dared to meet their victors in the field, their passive courage presented an endless succession of cities to storm, and of millions to slaughter. In the attack and defence of places, the engines of antiquity and the Greek fire were alternately employed: the use of gunpowder in cannon and bombs appears to have been familiar,* though perhaps its recent discovery in Europe, had been transmitted to China by the caravans of the fourteenth century. After passing the great river, the troops and artillery were conveyed along a series of canals, till they invested the royal residence of Hamcheu or Quinsay, in the country of silk, the most delicious climate of China. The emperor, a defenceless youth, surrendered his person and sceptre, and before he was sent an exile into Tartary, he struck nine times the ground with his forehead, to adore in prayer or thanksgiving, the mercy of the great Khan. Yet the war (or as it was now styled, the rebellion) still existed in the southern provinces from Hamcheu to Canton; and the obstinate remnant of independence and hostility was transported

* De Guignes, Hist. Gén. vol. 4. p. 86.

ported from the land to the sea. But when the fleet of the Song was surrounded and oppressed by a superior armament, their last champion leaped into the waves, with the infant emperor in his arms. "It is more glorious," he cried, "to live a prince, than to die a slave." An hundred thousand Chinese imitated his example; and the whole empire from Tonkin to the great wall, submitted to the dominion of Cublai. His boundless ambition aspired to the conquest of Japan: his fleet was twice shipwrecked, and the lives of an hundred thousand Moguls and Chinese were sacrificed in the fruitless expedition. But the circumjacent kingdoms, Corea, Tonkin, Cochinchina, Pegu, Bengal, and Thibet, were reduced to different degrees of tribute or obedience, by the effort or terror of his arms. He explored the Indian Ocean with a fleet of a thousand ships. After a voyage of sixty-eight days it reached the isle, most probably, of Borneo, under the equinoctial line; and though this unusual armament returned not without spoil or glory, the emperor was dissatisfied that the savage king had escaped from his power.

The reign of Houlagou Khan, the grandson of Zingis, the brother and lieutenant of the two successive Emperors, Mangou and Cublai, was rendered memorable in the history of the

CHAP. IV.
 Subjugation of the Persian and Saraceman empires, A.D. 1258.

CHAP. IV. world, by the subjugation of Persia, and interesting to the reader of Muhammedan annals, by the total ruin of the Bagdad Caliphate. Since the fall of their Seljukian tyrants, the Caliphs had recovered their lawful dominion of Bagdad and the Arabian Irak ; but the city was distracted by theological faction, and the court exhibited disgusting scenes of political imbecility, and of the lowest profligacy. After a siege of two months, Bagdad was stormed and sacked by the Moguls, and their barbarian chief pronounced the death of the Caliph Mostasem, the last of the temporal successors of Muhammed ; whose noble kinsmen of the race of Abbas, had reigned in Asia above five hundred years. The Moguls spread beyond the Tigris and Euphrates ; Egypt was lost, had her defence been entrusted to her feeble offspring ; but the Mamlouks had breathed in their infancy the keenness of a Scythian air : equal in valour, superior in discipline, they met the Moguls in many a well fought field, and drove back the stream of hostility to the eastward of the Euphrates. But it inundated with resistless violence the kingdoms of Armenia and Anatolia, of which the former was possessed by the Christians, and the latter by the Turks. In consequence of circumstances of politics, of which we are ignorant, the Greek empire escaped the fury of the Tartars :
for

for had the Scythian shepherds undertaken the siege, Constantinople must have yielded to the fate of Pekin, Samarcand, and Bagdad.

CHAP. IV.

The northern states of Europe and of Asia floated to the abyss. Fifteen hundred thousand Moguls and Tartars were inscribed on the military roll. The civil discord of the great Dukes of Russia betrayed their country to the invaders. They spread from Livonia to the Black Sea, and both Moscow and Kiow, the modern and ancient capitals, were reduced to ashes.* In Poland and the borders of Germany, the cities of Lublin and Cracow were obliterated; they approached the shores of the Baltic; and in the battle of Lignitz, they defeated the Dukes of Silesia, the Polish Palatines, and the great master of the Teutonic order, and filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain. Hungary and the whole country north of the Danube were ruined and depopulated. Even the poor and frozen regions of the most northern parts of Europe and of Asia, attracted the arms of the Moguls. After brushing away the monstrous fables, of men with the heads of dogs and with cloven feet, we shall find, that fifteen years subsequent to the death of Zingis, the Moguls were informed of the name and manners of the Samoides in the neighbourhood
of

Invasion of
the north of
Europe.
A.D.
1235-1224.

* Levesque, Hist. de Russie, tom. 2. p. 78, &c. edition Hamb. 1800.

CHAP. IV. of the polar circle ; a people who dwelt in subterranean huts, and derived their furs and their food from the sole occupation of hunting.

The irruptions into Europe of the Huns, and afterwards of the Arabs, had destroyed the empire of the Romans, and the influence of the Muhammedan religion diffused a general similarity in language, in opinions, and in manners, among the various nations who occupy the ample territory between the Ganges and the Atlantic. If the disciples of the Arabian Prophet oppressed the religion and liberty of the Christian world, it might be apprehended, that the shepherds of Scythia would extinguish her cities, her arts, and all the institutions of civil society. The alarm which the Tartars occasioned was sounded even in the city of Rome.

A.D. 1246. Pope Innocent the IVth attempted to appease and convert these invincible Pagans by a mission of Franciscan and Dominican friars, but he was astonished by the reply of the Khan, that the sons of God and of Zingis, were invested with a divine power to subdue or extirpate all nations, and that the Roman pontiff would be involved in the universal destruction, unless he visited in person, and as a suppliant, the royal horde. But the feuds of the Mogul princes averted the fate of the western world. A native of China ascended the throne of that kingdom. The Khans of

Fall of the
Zingishan-
idan Dynas-
ty, A.D.
1295.

of the different divisions of Tartary, and the Emperors of Persia, became independent, and the empire of the Zingishanidan dynasty was lost.*

CHAP. IV.

III. THE EMPIRE OF TAMERLANE.

But in the fourteenth century, the tempest of Tartarain desolation again arose, and the shipwreck of the nations of the south ensued. The country called by oriental geographers Transoxiana, Zagatai, or Mawralnahr had, from the time of the death of Zingis, until the period of which we are writing, been governed by the descendants of Zagatai, (one of the four favoured sons of Zingis) who acknowledged the supremacy of the great Khans of Tartary. Carascar the vizier of Zagatai left to his family, the lordship of the province of Kesch. In the village of Sebtz near Samarcand, Tamerlane, or Timour Beç was born, and he numbered among his

Birth of Timour, April A. D. 1336.

ancestors, Carascar and some female relatives of Zingis. The successors of Zagatai had been recently hurled from the throne of Transoxiana, and the ambitious Emirs distracted the land with their contentions.† The Khans of Kasghar

with

* De Guignes, Hist. Gén. vol. 4, book 15 —Gibbon, ch. 64 Voltaire, Essai sur l'Histoire générale, tom. 2. ch. 48.

† Timour is the correct name of this Prince Timour in the Turkish language means iron Beg is a lord Lenk signifies in the Persian language, lame. Timour lenk has been corrupted into Tamerlane. See D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient. art. Timour.

‡ De Guignes, Hist. Gén. liv. 17 and 20. D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient' art. Timour.

CHAP. IV. with an army of Getes or Calmucs, seized this moment of weakness, and invaded the kingdom. The disturbed condition of the country rendered resistance fruitless, and the first memorable action in Timour's life marks his policy and address. He defeated by timely submission, the wrath of the Gete Princes, and received from them the government of his own native province of Kesch.

But a state of dependence ill accorded with the proud spirit of Timour. The Emirs of Zagatai pretended to be roused by his exhortations to them to throw off a foreign yoke, but their courage failed them in the hour of danger, and Timour with difficulty saved himself from the incessant attacks of the Getes. The Sultan Houssain was the representative in Transoxiana of the Khans of Kashgar. The Emirs again were animated by the desire of independence, and Timour appeared in the field. In meeting his former confederates, there was a mixture of pathos and of joy. "When," says he, "the eyes of three chiefs of a few horsemen fell upon me, they were overwhelmed with pleasure, and they alighted from their horses: and they came and kneeled; and they kissed my stirrup. I also came down from my horse, and took each of them into my arms. And I put my turban on the head of the first

“ first chief, and my girdle, rich in jewels, and CHAP. IV.
 “ wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of
 “ the second; and the third I clothed with
 “ my own garment. And they wept, and I
 “ wept also; and the hour of prayer was ar-
 “ rived, and we prayed. And we mounted our
 “ horses, and came to my dwelling; and I col-
 “ lected my people, and I made a feast.”*

The contest for empire was long and bloody. But the military genius of Timour triumphed over the Getes; and the dagger of one of his faithful friends removed Houssain from the throne. In a successful rebellion the tyranny survives, though the tyrants are changed. The Emirs could not contend with Timour, and in the spring of the year, at a general diet he clothed himself with an imperial mantle, put the royal crown upon his own head, and accepted the title from his admiring friends, of the Master of the World.† The title of prince or emir was his usual distinction. Even in the plenitude of his pride and power, he never assumed the pre-eminent distinction of Sultan or Khan. The Tartars reflected with veneration on the warlike merits of their departed victorious leader; and fancied that Timour acknowledged the superiority of Zingis and his family

His as-
 sumption
 of the im-
 perial dig-
 nity.
 A.D. 1370.

* Davy's Institutes of Timour, p. 53-55, 4to. 1783.

† Petit de la Croix's Hist. Timour Bec. (4 vol. 12mo. Paris, 1722.)
 liv. 1. and liv. 2, c. 1

CHAP. IV.

family in not using their name of honour.

This was a prejudice harmless in its nature; and as it formed no impediment in his career of ambition, he permitted his subjects its indulgence. On the throne of Samarcand, he meditated the conquest of the world. His expedition into India has been already detailed. Round the standard of Tamerlane the Mogul nations flocked: the prudent joined him through fear, but the great body of the people admired an hero, who invited them to the possession of countries, which nature had blessed with her choicest gifts. The infirmities of human nature, and the crimes of nations and of men, will always present sufficient occasions or pretexts for wars and animosities. The Tartars of Kipjak traversed the shores of the Caspian sea, crossed the Jihon, and contended with the greatest Scythian prince of the age, for Samarcand itself. The invader was driven back to his northern regions, and Timour resolved on revenge. With an army occupying a space of thirteen miles from wing to wing, he left his capital. Through the snows and deserts of the north, a march of six months brought him to his foe. Powerful was the resistance of the Kipjak Tartars, but havoc, fury, and desolation, were at the command of Timour. The hostile nations submitted; almost every nation of Tartary trembled

Conquests
of Tartary,
A. D.
1370-1396.

bled at, or respected his authority, and the name of the hero of Samarcand was repeated with dread even in Moscow. CHAP. IV.

From the Oxus to the Tigris, Persia had been in a state of disorder since the death of Abou-said, the last descendant of the great Houlacou, the destroyer of the Caliphate of Bagdad. Various independent governments presented no united body of strength. It is in Asia, as in Europe, “dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur,” and the petty tyrants and emirs of Persia were trampled in the dust. But a prompt submission was honoured by reward. Ibrahim, prince of Shirvan, or Albania, kissed the footstool of the imperial throne. His peace offerings were of slaves, horses, silk, and jewels, composed, in deference to Tartarian respect for the number nine, of nine of the quadrupeds, and of as many of each of the two latter articles of tribute. But a critical spectator observed, there were only eight slaves. “I myself am the ninth,” replied Ibrahim, who was prepared for the remark; and his flattery was rewarded by the smile of Timour, and his confirmation in the principality of Shirevan.* The island and commercial city of Ormuz, on the Persian Gulph, followed the fate of the empire, while the cities of Aleppo, Damascus, Bagdad, and every

Of Persia.
A.D. 1380,
&c.

* De Guignes, Hist. Gén. tom. v. p. 23.

CHAP. IV. every town on the shores of the Tigris and Euphrates, paid a tribute of their blood and treasure.

And of Syria, A. D. 1400.

Timour's victory over Bajazet.

The conquest of Bajazet was worthy the military genius of Tamerlane. Between two jealous and haughty neighbours, motives of quarrel will seldom be wanting. The Mogul and Othman conquests now touched in the neighbourhood of Erzenem and the Euphrates, nor had the doubtful limit been ascertained by time or treaty. Each of these ambitious monarchs might speciously accuse his rival of violations of territory; of threatening his vassals; or protecting his rebels; and by the name of rebels, each understood the fugitive princes, whose kingdoms he had usurped, and whose life or liberty he implacably pursued. Disturbances on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia

A. D. 1400. produced a correspondence between the two monarchs. The first epistle of the Mogul emperor, far from reconciling, must have provoked the Turkish Sultan, whose family and nation it affected to despise. “ Dost thou not know, that the greatest part of Asia is subject to our arms and our laws? That our invincible forces extend from one sea to the other? That the potentates of the earth form a line before our gate? And that we have compelled fortune herself to watch over the prosperity

“sperity of our empire? What is the foundation
 “of thy insolence and folly? Thou hast fought
 “some battles in the woods of Anatolia; con-
 “temptible trophies! Thou hast obtained some
 “victories over the Christians of Europe; thy
 “sword was blessed by the Apostle of God; and
 “thy obedience to the precepts of the Koran,
 “in waging war against the infidels, is the sole
 “consideration that prevents us from destroying
 “thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the
 “Moslem world. Be wise in time; reflect,
 “repent; and avert the thunder of our ven-
 “geance, which is yet suspended over thy
 “head.” In his replies, Bajazet poured forth
 the indignation of a soul, which was deeply
 stung by such unusual contempt. After retort-
 ing the basest reproaches on the thief of the
 desert, the Othman recapitulates his boasted
 victories in Iran, Touran, and the Indies; and
 labours to prove, that Timour had never tri-
 umphed unless by his own perfidy, and the
 vices of his foes. “Thy armies are innumerable;
 “be they so: but what are the arrows of flying
 “Tartars against the scymitars and battle-axes
 “of my firm and invincible Janizaries? I will
 “guard the princes who have implored my
 “protection: seek them in my tents. The
 “cities of Arzingin and Erzeroum are mine,
 “and unless the tribute be duly paid, I will
 ‘demand

CHAP. IV. “demand the arrears under the walls of Tauris
“and Sultania.”

For two years, the conquest of Syria by Timour, and the siege of the Christians in Constantinople by Bajazet, suspended the dreadful conflict. Four hundred thousand soldiers of the Othman were at length arrayed near the ruins of Suvas. Timour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia; his boldness was rendered conduct by the wisest precautions; his speed was guided by order and discipline; and the woods, the mountains, and the rivers, were diligently explored by the flying squadrons, who marked his road, and preceded his standard. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Othman kingdom, he avoided their camp, dextrously inclined to the left, occupied Cæsarea, traversed the Salt Desert, crossed the river Halys, and invested Angora: while the Sultan, immoveable and ignorant in his post, compared the Tartar swiftness to the crawling of a snail: but on learning his fatal error, he returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of the invested city: and as both generals were alike impatient for action, the surrounding plains became the scene of a battle, which has immortalized the glory of Timour, and the shame of Bajazet.* In the heat of the
conflict,

Battle of
Angora
A.D. 1402.
July

* Gibbon, ch 65, and those two learned Frenchmen, De Guignes and D'Herbelot.

conflict, the Tartarian troops in the army of Bajazet went over to Timour, and the faithful Janizaries could not alone withstand the torrent of Moguls. The Othman armies were routed, and the person of Bajazet, and the kingdom of Anatolia, were the fruits of the victory to Timour.

Nine months intervened from the capture of the Othman Sultan, to the day of his death. Whether the Mogul emperor's treatment of him was magnanimous or barbarous, has been long a controverted point. In the life of Timour, drawn from his own memorials, and published twenty years after his death, by Sherefeddin the Persian historian, Timour's behaviour to his prisoner is stated to have been generous and noble. Almost all other histories of Timour are mere transfusions of the text of Sherefeddin, an historian whose work is a laboured panegyric of its hero. The greatest part of this performance was composed under the inspection of Tamerlane himself, and received only the polish of language from the pen of Sherefeddin. Another original source of Tamerlane's biography is an Arabic work, in which he is severely censured upon every occasion. D'Herbelot rejects the tale of the iron cage, adducing as his reason, the silence in this respect of the Arabian historian, who never omits an opportunity of de-

CHAP. IV.

Timour's
treatment
of Bajazet.

CHAP. IV. basing the moral character of his hero. But Sir William Jones assures us (*Works*, vol. 5, p. 547), that the learned Frenchman did not examine the subject with accuracy, for in the thirteenth line of the two hundred and sixty-eighth page, the Arabian expressly affirms, that the Tartarian prince inclosed his captive in a cage of iron, in order to retaliate the insult offered to the Persians by a sovereign of the Lower Asia, who had treated Shapor, king of Persia, in the same manner. The Turkish historians too, the enemies of Timour, mention the circumstance of the cage.* Fables indeed are in these historians very much intermingled with facts. Yet in the present case, their narrative may be considered faithful, as it derogates so materially from their hero Bajazet. Poggius the Italian, who flourished in the fifteenth century, and therefore almost contemporaneous with Timour, relates in his celebrated Dialogue, “*de Varietate Fortunæ*,” the unhappy termination in an iron cage of Bajazet’s life of glory;† and indeed there is scarcely a writer of the events of the time, (except the Persian historians, who are mere copyists of Sherefeddin) who does not mention the fact.

At

* *Cant.* p. 55, Pocock, *Proleg.* ad *Abul-Pharajii*, *Dynast.* p. 45.

† *Regem ipsum, ducentis millibus hominum interfectis, vivum cepit (Tamerlanus) caveaque in modum feræ inclusum, per omnem Asiam circumtulit, egregium admirandumque spectaculum fortunæ. Poggius, de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 36.*

At the age of seventy, Timour meditated in his palace at Samarcand the conquest of China. The family of Zingis Khan had been deprived of the sovereignty, and the Moguls were unanimous in seconding the wish of their chief, for retaliation and revenge. Two hundred thousand horsemen were chosen to quell the rebellion and revolt. The passage of the Jaxartes was effected in the depth of winter; but in the field of Otrar, three hundred miles from Samarcand, a fever, and the indiscreet use of iced water, closed the life of Timour, and saved China from desolation.*

CHAP. IV.

Death of
Timour.
A. D 1405.
April.

In reviewing the change of political dominion, and the destruction of social life, which the conquests of Zingis and Timour created, the mind is restless and discontented with a mere detail of the battles which these destroyers fought, and the cities which they plundered. The dominion of Timour embraced an extent of territory, far greater than the provinces pillaged by Zingis; the empire of Timour, reaching as it did from the Irtish and Volga to the Persian gulph, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, fell with its founder. But the sons and successors of Zingis maintained and enlarged their inheritance. The great qualities of the warrior dwelt in both these Tartarian

Comparative view of the characters of Zingis and Timour.

CHAP. IV. heroes. Courage unrelaxed by prosperity, and invincible by misfortune, minds fertile in resources, and undeviating from their march of ambition, presented fair claims to the conquest of the world. When once the banner of war was unfurled, Timour was inexorable in his purpose of destruction. The fourth law of Zingis declares that peace should not be granted, unless to a suppliant enemy. The book of nature alone was open to both barbarians, since neither could read or write. Zingis knew the Mogul dialect alone, but Timour spoke the Persian and Turkish languages with fluency, and delighted in the conversation of the learned.* When the city of Shiraz submitted to his arms, he commanded Hafiz, the celebrated Persian poet, to appear before him. In pleasant allusion to a most beautiful stanza, he enquired by what right the author had declared, he would give the royal cities of Bokhara and Samarcand for a mole on the cheek of his mistress? "Can the gifts of Hafiz ever impoverish Timour?" was the reply of the Anacreon of Persia; and the Prince of Scythia, touched by the elegance of the compliment, rewarded him with protection. In the city of Karakorum, Zingis and his successors partook

* Sir W Jones's Dissertation on the Tartars. He has amply proved, in opposition to Major Davy and Professor White, that the Institutes of Timour were not written by the emperor, but by his secretary Hindu Shah.

partook of the simple fare of Scythian huntsmen, CHAP. IV. the roasted sheep and the milk of the cow or mare, and at the same time distributed to their soldiers, the gold and silver of the subjugated nations. In Timour's palace at Samarcand, sometimes were seen the Scythian festivities of Attila and Zingis ; at other times the richness and magnificence of the Othman court. In his pauses from the great work of destruction, he invited to Samarcand the professors of the elegant arts, who exhausted their genius in embellishing a city in the wilds and deserts of Tartary.* To the court of the successors of Zingis, ambassadors from the princes of Europe and Asia deprecated the vengeance of the great Khan, and the fate of the representative of St. Peter was decided in a town, on the northern borders of China. Round the throne of Samarcand, were assembled the ministers of the trembling kings of Russia, Tartary, India, Egypt, and Arabia ; and the present of tapestry from Henry III. king of Castile, exceeded in elegance and beauty the works of Asiatic artists on the silk of Arten†. In the code of laws of Zingis, we may admire the care that is taken to preserve the public peace, by confining the election of the Khan to the princes of the royal family, and the

P 4 chiefs

* P. de la Croix, liv. 3, ch. 71, liv. 6, ch. 24.

† P. de la Croix, liv. 6, ch. 24, and Mariana, Hist. Hisp. hb. 19, ch. 11, tom. 2, p. 329, et seq.

CHAP. IV. chiefs of the tribes ; and the savages of Scythia were held in social order, by the dread of the punishment of death, on the commission of the crimes of murder, adultery, perjury, and the theft of an horse or ox. In the intervals of war, Timour redressed the complaints of the aggrieved, removed oppressive governors, and commissioned the doctors of the law and church into all the provinces of his empire, to distribute the blessings of his justice and beneficence.* The religion of Zingis was the purest deism, yet the Christians, the Jews, the Muhammedans, and the Idolaters, preached and prayed in undisturbed security ; and exemption from taxes and war distinguished the Rabbi, the Imam, and the Priest.† Timour was a Muselman of the sect of Ali ; his scrupulous attention to the external rites of his religion, and his habit of retirement for purposes of devotion, made him respected by the people as an instrument of Providence.‡ In honour of the God of battles who had overthrown the idolatrous nations of Scythia, Timour built a magnificent mosque in Samarcand. In the course of an audience, with which in Aleppo he honoured the Sonnite doctors of the mosque, he enquired who were the truest martyrs, the followers

* De Guignes, *Hist. Gén.* tom 4, 72. P. de la Croix, liv. 3, ch. 65, liv. 6, ch. 10, and *Timour's Institutes*, *passim*—a book worthy the study of the philosopher, the statesman, and the soldier.

† De Guignes, tom 4, p. 72

followers of Muhammed, or the disciples of Ali? CHAP. IV.
 A dextrous casuist avoided the question, by replying in the language of the Koran, that the motive, not the ensign, constitutes the martyr, and that the Moslems of either party, who fight only for the glory of God, may deserve that sacred appellation. He affected that his religious zeal was shocked at the devotion to pleasures of the emirs of Syria, and at their neglect of honours due to the dead. A mausoleum of marble, adorned with sculptures, was immediately raised in Damascus over the tombs of the holy wives of the prophet.* So dreadful were the massacres and cruelties of Zingis, that the historian eagerly casts over this part of his subject the pall of oblivion, and leaves it to the general conception of his readers. “You behold me here,” exclaimed Timour to the prostrate citizens of Damascus, “a poor, lame, decrepid mortal. I am not a man of blood, and God knows that in all my wars I have never been the aggressor.” Millions of miserable victims, however, were sacrificed at his command, and every great city of the East felt for years the loss of population. Human bodies, curiously piled to an immense height, marked the progress of his conquests; and two several pyramids on the road to Delhi, of one hundred thousand, and on the ruins of the venerable city of

* P. de la Croix, liv. 4, ch. 34, liv. 5, ch. 27.

CHAP. IV. of Bagdad, of ninety thousand heads, gratified his unnatural ferocity. The indignation of the Persians against these invaders, occasioned the murder of a few Moguls in the streets of Ispahan. But the conquered people repented their imperfect submission, and the skulls of seventy thousand Persians were piled in the form of towers, in the principal squares of the city.*

IV. THE SELJUKIAN DYNASTIES.

A. D.
1038, 1092.

The lords of a great part of Asia which lies between the Indus and the Bosphorus, the conquerors of the Gaznavide empire both in Tarty and in Persia, proceeded originally from the nation which dwells in the Khozzer or Khozzez plains, at the north-east of the Caspian sea. They were called Turks or Turkmans, and their first important emigration took place in the tenth century. The counsels of the monarch were guided by the talents of his Emir, Vekauk. On the death of the minister, his son Seljuk headed the armies of the sovereign. But the too anxious curiosity of the general into the secrets of the Harem, and of the nursery of the royal children, provoked the indignation of the Princesses, and the anger of a woman caused the rise and fall of empires. Stimulated by one of his most favoured wives, the king withdrew his countenance from Seljuk, and the injured

* P. de la Croix's Hist. de Timour Bec, liv. 2, ch. 53, liv. 4, ch. 18.

injured officer, with his family and friends, fled CHAP. IV.
 from the court into the territories adjacent to Samarcand. These Tartars, like most others of their nation in their emigrations to the south, embraced, whether from the conviction of the understanding, or from motives of ambition, the Muhammedan religion. The followers of Seljuk increased, his residence became the asylum for the fugitives from all the neighbouring kingdoms, and the peculiar characters of different races of men were lost in the common desire of conquest and of plunder.

The ambitious projects of Seljuk died not with him. The wars which his two grandsons, Togrol Bec, and Techegher Bec, maintained with the princes of Transoxiana, extended the renown of their prowess to the remotest limits of the east. The Sultan Mahmud of Gazna, from motives of fear or curiosity, expressed a desire to know the strength of their armies and resources. Israel, a son of Seljuk, and uncle of the young Princes, experienced a distinguished and honourable reception at the Sultan's court. On this occasion, placing the illustrious stranger near him on the throne, Mahmud demanded, in the event that an emergency might arise in which he should require it, what number of cavalry the Seljukian Princes could send to his assistance. Israel, who had a couple of
Reign of
Togrol,
A. D.
1038-1063.
 arrows

CHAP. IV. — arrows in the quiver suspended to his shoulder, laid one of them before the monarch, and told him, that if he transmitted that arrow to the residence of his tribe, his orders would be attended by one hundred thousand horse. “And “if that number,” continued Mahmud, “should “not be sufficient?” “This,” replied the son of Seljuk, placing the second arrow in the Sultan’s hands, “will bring fifty thousand more to thy “support.” “But,” said the Gaznavide, dissembling his anxiety, “if I should stand in “need of the whole force of your kindred “tribes?” The Seljukian laid his quiver on the footstool of the throne, with the assurance to the Sultan, that if he sent that last article of his equipment into Turkestan, the summons would be obeyed by a cavalry of two hundred thousand. The possibility of preserving friendship with so potent a neighbour, was an object of apprehension, and the Sultan, in the impatience of his vexation at the news of the existence of such a multitudinous force, commanded the perpetual imprisonment of his unoffending guest.

The power of Mahmud was so transcendent, that the Turkmans dissembled their desire of revenge. His son and successor Massoud too long neglected the advice of his wisest Emirs. “Your enemies,” they repeatedly urged, “were “in

“ in their origin a swarm of ants, they are now
 “ little snakes, and unless they be instantly
 “ crushed, they will acquire the venom and
 “ magnitude of serpents.” Alarmed, however,
 at their repeated passages of the Oxus, and
 descents into Korasan, the Sultan warned them
 not to appear again within the range of his au-
 thority. But an ambitious foe can never be
 repulsed by threats. After some alternatives of
 truce and hostility, and the repulse or partial
 success of the lieutenants of the Sultan, the
 battle on the field of Zendecan, a village near
 Meru, the town celebrated for cotton, decided
 the pretensions of the Turkmans and Gaznavi-
 des. “ Massoud,” says the Persian historian
 Ferdoushi, “ turning his horse to that part of
 “ the plain, where he beheld the torrent of
 “ gleaming arms rolling on, plunged singly to
 “ oppose the stream, and exhibited such acts
 “ of gigantic force and valour, as never king
 “ had before displayed. A few of his friends
 “ roused by his words and actions, and that
 “ innate honour which inspires the brave, se-
 “ conded their lord so well, that wheresoever
 “ he turned his fatal sword, the enemy was
 “ annihilated, or retreated before him. But
 “ now, when victory seemed to blow on his
 “ standard, misfortune was active behind it;
 “ for

CHAP. IV.

Defeat of
 the Gazna-
 vides, and
 the subju-
 gation of
 Persia,
 A.D. 1038.

CHAP. IV. “ for when he looked round, he beheld almost
 “ his whole army, excepting that body he com-
 “ manded in person, devouring the paths of
 “ flight.” The memorable day of Zendecan
 founded in Persia the dynasty of the shepherd
 kings of Tartary. The conquering Turkman
 immediately entered the ancient city of Nischa-
 bour, publickly assumed the sovereign dignity,
 and introduced his own name and titles into
 the coinage of the country, and into the Khot-
 bah, or public prayer of the Mosque.*

The death of the Sultan Massoud soon suc-
 ceeded. The city of Balk, and the province of
 Korasm, were overrun by the Turkmans; and
 the whole of Persian Irak was subdued. The
 Commander of the Faithful at Bagdad had sunk
 under the tyranny of the Bowides, the Fatimite
 Caliphs of Egypt, and of the Emirs of Syria.
 The strong arm of power was requisite for the
 protection of the capital of the Moslem world,
 and the piety of a prince, who shewed that his
 respect for religion exceeded his love of magni-
 ficence, by erecting in all the cities which he
 conquered, a temple to the honour of the God
 of the Muselmans, before he laid the founda-
 tions of a palace for royalty, induced the Caliph
 Cayem

The Seljuk
 Turks sup-
 port the
 Caliph of
 Bagdad.
 A.D. 1055.

* D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient. tom. 3. p. 293 Price's Muhammedan
 History, vol. 2. ch. 8. Dow's Hindustan, vol. 1. part 2. sec. 6.

Cayem to nominate Togrol his temporal vicegerent over the dominions of Islamism. The Persian Sultan marched his armies into Syria, and established the Caliph in the enjoyment of the honours of his station. The greatest event in the temporal history of the Christian church, namely, the Pope's investiture of Charlemagne, with the dignities of the Emperor of the West, and Protector of the Church, has its parallel in this period of Muhammedan annals. Togrol embarked on the Tigris, landed at the gate of Racca, and made his public entry into Bagdad on horseback. At the steps of the palace he dismounted, and walked into the audience chamber, accompanied by his Emirs without arms. The Caliph was seated behind his black veil, on his shoulders hung the sable garment of the Abassides, and in his hand was the staff of Muhammed. On approaching the throne, the Sultan of the Turkmans kissed the floor, remained some time in a posture of respect, and then walked to the Caliph, followed by a vizier and an interpreter. After Togrol had seated himself on another throne, the appointed officer read to him the public act, by which the Pope of Asia recognized him as master of the Moslem states, and governor of all the Muselmans. The principal compliment of Asiatic respect, the frequent change of garments, was paid to Togrol.

CHAP. IV.

Togrol appointed vicegerent of the Moslem world.

With

CHAP. IV. With seven robes of honour he was successively clothed, and he was presented with seven slaves, the natives of the seven countries of the empire of the Caliphs. On his head was placed a veil perfumed with musk, and two crowns, emblems of the power with which he was invested over Arabia and Persia. The Caliph then girded to his side a sword magnificently adorned. The Sultan was prevented from prostrating himself a second time, but he twice kissed the hands of the Commander of the Faithful. Another sword was given to him by the Caliph; and his investiture was concluded, by the voice of the heralds proclaiming him king of the east and of the west.* The marriage of Togrol's sister to the Caliph, and the introduction of the Sultan's name into the public prayers, cemented the union. But the subsequent departure of Togrol from Bagdad to Persia, was the signal for the rebellion of the Caliph's subjects. The Commander of the Faithful was driven from his capital, and the name of Mostanser Billah, the Fatimite Caliph of Egypt, was introduced into the public worship. The family of the Abbassides were compelled to confess, that all the qualities necessary for the supreme Muhammedan Pontiff were to be found in Mostanser: but in a second visit to Bagdad, the Persian Sultan again rescued the

* De Guignes, Hist. Gén. liv. 10.

the Caliph Cayem from the hands of his enemies; and devoutly on foot led his mule by the ~~the~~ ^{the} bridle from the prison to the palace.*

CHAP. IV.

The Scythian prince aspired to the honour of marriage with a daughter of the successor of the apostle of God. But the pride of birth and of dignity opposed the match. Remonstrances and replies succeeded; the Sultan, at length poured into his own treasury the revenues of the Caliphate; and the proud lord of Islamism yielded to the wishes of his rebellious subject. The contract was made at Tauris. The celebration of the marriage at Bagdad was quickly followed by the death of Togrol; and his public character as a prince, is well defined in the expression of the Saracenian historian: “rex To-
 “ grolbrecus fuit clemens, prudens, et peritus
 “ regnandi, cujus terror corda mortalium inva-
 “ serat, ita ut obedirent ei reges atque ad ipsum
 “ scriberent”†

His Death.

Alp Arslan his nephew succeeded to the dominion over the country between the Jihon and the Tigris. The subjugation of the kingdom of Jund, in Transoxiana, was one of the first acts of ambition of this successor of Seljuk. But his war with the Greek emperor is peculiarly deserving of attention. Incursions of a predatory

A.D. 1063.
Reign of
Alp Arslan.

e.

nature, War with
the Greek
Empire.* De Guignes, *Hist. Gén.* liv. 10.† Elmacin, *Hist. Saracen*, p. 342 vers Erpinu.

CHAP. IV.

1068.

nature, transient, though destructive, had been made by the Turks in the reign of Togrol into Georgia and Armenia, but the entire conquest of these countries was achieved by his nephew. The kingdom of Armenia was annihilated, and the effeminate Christians of Georgia exchanged their golden collars and bracelets, for an ignominious band of iron. The Roman emperor Diogenes was resolved to drive these Scythian savages from his states. In three successive campaigns, many of the dismembered Grecian provinces were restored to the parent stock. Alarmed at length, for the safety of his own hereditary dominions, Alp Arslan took from his Emirs, the charge which their cowardice and supineness had disgraced, and with thirty or forty thousand horsemen, marched into Armenia, against the very superior forces of Diogenes. The emperor had the imprudence to break his army into various detachments, and the defeat of Basilicus, one of his principal generals, and the desertion of the Uzi, a Moldavian horde, presaged his final ruin. These disasters diminished not the contempt of Diogenes for his enemy. He might have retreated with honour, for the sultan offered him advantageous terms of peace : but persuaded that this measure of Alp Arslan had been prompted by fear, he dismissed the envoy with the reply, that if the barbarian desired peace, he must evacuate

his present position, and surrender his city and palace of Rei, (the capital of the Seljukian monarchy) as a pledge of his sincerity. The Sultan irritated at this insult, prepared for battle. The day was the Sabbath of the Muselmans, and in the public prayers, he shed some tears for the blood of the Moslems who must be slain in the approaching conflict. He proclaimed permission to all who wished to leave the camp, he threw aside his bow and his arrows, took his sword and his mace, and tied up his horse's tail. He cloathed himself in a robe of white, and exclaimed, that if he were conquered, that place should be his tomb. The solid phalanx of the Greeks penetrated the Turkish cavalry, but the Emperor's camp was not fortified, and he apprehended the predatory attacks of the flying squadrons of horse, who had avoided the shock of his charges. The troops near the Emperor retired with steadiness, but the distant parts of his army, ignorant of the motives of the retreat which was sounded, fled in confusion. Andronicus, a prince of the royal family of Constantinople, but an enemy of Diogenes, encouraged the disorder. The Turks poured a cloud of arrows on their foe in this moment of confusion and lassitude, and the horns of their formidable crescent were closed in the rear of the Greeks. The Emperor defended

CHAP. IV.

Defeat and capture of the Greek emperor Diogenes. A. D. 1071.

CHAP. IV. fended himself with desperate courage, till he was oppressed and bound by the strength of multitudes. The glory of this illustrious prize was disputed by a slave and a soldier ; a slave, who had seen him on the throne of Constantinople, and a soldier of such extreme deformity, that at a general muster of the troops on the morning of the battle, he would have been refused admission on the roll, if one of the sultan's lieutenants had not, seriously or jocularly, prophesied that the Emperor would fall into his hands. Alp Arslan could scarcely believe the reality of his good fortune, but the identity of the emperor's person was ascertained by the recollections of some Turks who had been ambassadors at Constantinople, and by the more pathetic evidence of Basilicus, who embraced with tears the feet of his unhappy sovereign.

Magnanimity of Alp Arslan to Diogenes.

Whether or not the Turkish sultan omitted the practice of his nation, of placing the foot on the neck of a royal captive, is a point on which the Greek and the Arab historians disagree, but they are unanimous, that Alp Arslan descended from his horse, and thrice clasping the Emperor's hand with tender sympathy, assured him that his life and dignity should be inviolate in the hands of a prince, who had learned to respect the majesty of his equals, and the vicissitudes of fortune. In a free and familiar

familiar communication of eight days, not a word, not a look of insult, escaped from the conqueror; but he severely censured the unworthy subjects who had deserted their valiant prince in the hour of danger, and gently admonished his antagonist, of some errors which he had committed in the management of the war. In the preliminaries of negotiation, Alp Arslan asked him, what treatment he expected to receive, and the calm indifference of the Emperor displayed the freedom of his mind. "If you are cruel," said he, "you will take my life; if you listen to pride, you will drag me at your chariot wheels; if you consult your interest, you will accept a ransom, and restore me to my country." And what," continued the Sultan, "would have been your own behaviour, had fortune smiled on your arms?" The reply of the Greek betrays a sentiment, which prudence and even gratitude, should have taught him to suppress. "Had I vanquished," he fiercely said; "I would have inflicted on thy body many a stripe." The Turkish conqueror smiled at the insolence of his captive; observed that the Christian law inculcates the love of enemies, and forgiveness of injuries; and nobly declared, that he would not imitate an example which he condemned. The marriage of the Emperor's daughter to Malek Shah, the son of Alp Arslan, the payment of a million of pieces

CHAP. IV. of gold, and the return of all the Moslems in the power of the Greeks, were the terms of liberty and peace.

After the signature of this treaty, the Emperor received all the honours of royalty. The Sultan seated him on a throne; presented to him gold for the expenses of his journey to Constantinople; restored to him several of the noble captives, and clothed them with robes of honour. But the ill fortune of Diogenes rendered fruitless the generosity of his conqueror. The dastard Greeks had disclaimed their allegiance to a captive, and placed another member of the royal family on the throne. Two hundred pieces of gold were with difficulty collected, and sent to the Sultan, as the only payment which the fallen majesty of Diogenes could enable him to make. On his journey to Constantinople, he was ignominiously treated, and imprisoned in a monastery till the day of his death, by the King of Armenia, a former dependant on the bounty of the Cæsars, and for the defence of whose dominions, Diogenes had engaged in hostilities against the Turkish Monarch.

The Sultan Alp Arslan had contributed his portion to the prosperity of the house of Seljuk. The fairest part of Asia was subject to his laws: twelve hundred kings or chiefs stood before his throne, and two hundred thousand soldiers
 matched

marched under his banners. The complete subjugation of Turkestan, the original seat of the Seljukian dynasty, was now the noble object of Alp Arslan's ambition. The war with the Greeks was concluded, and his name at the capital of Islamism, as the vicegerent of the Caliph, was respected with silence and submission, by the proud Emirs of Syria. From Bagdad he moved to the Oxus, and twenty days were consumed in passing his army over a bridge, to the northern banks of the river. The possession of a castle called Berzem was necessary for the Sultan. The owner and governor, Joseph the Korasmian, defended it with a valour that could only be subdued by hosts of enemies. But the castle was razed to the ground, and the governor was produced as a prisoner before the Sultan and his assembled army. Alp Arslan, irritated at his long resistance, severely reproached his obstinacy, and the passionate replies of the governor, policy would condemn. When the sentence was pronounced of exposition to death upon four sharpened stakes, the desperate Korasmian drew a dagger from his boot, and rushed towards the throne. The Sultan checked the ardour of the guards, whose battle-axes were uplifted to defend him. In reliance on his own remarkable skill in archery, he shot an arrow from his bow, but his foot slipped, the royal shaft which hitherto had

CHAP. IV.

His expedition into Turkestan.

A.D. 1072.

CHAP. IV.

Death of
Alp Arslan.
A. D.
1072.

never erred, now flew wide of its object, and the Sultan received in his heart the dagger of Joseph, who passed unmolested through the ranks of the astonished soldiers, but was afterwards slain by an inferior attendant of the camp. The last words of Alp Arslan present a fine moral lesson to kings. "I this day," said he to his surrounding friends, "recollect, that in my youth, I was "advised by a sage to humble myself before "God ; to distrust mine own strength, and "never to despise a foe, however contemptible "might be his appearance. I have neglected "this advice amidst the prudence and gravity "of my age, and my neglect has been severely "punished. Yesterday, the number and power "of my armies raised me to an eminence, "loftier than that of any Asiatic potentate ; to- "day, in the confidence of mine own personal ad- "dress, I have fallen by the hands of an assassin. "Kingly power, personal strength, and skill, can "in vain be opposed to the decrees of destiny, "and I perish for my presumption." The sepulchre of the Seljukian dynasty at Meru in Korasan received his ashes, and the inscription on the tomb warned the traveller of the instability of human greatness. "YOU, WHO HAVE "SEEN THE GRANDEUR OF ALP ARSLAN RAISED "TO THE HEAVENS, REPAIR TO MERU, AND YOU "WILL BEHOLD IT BURIED IN THE DUST."

The

The appellation, Alp Arslan, which signified in the Tartar language, the great lion, correctly designated the Turkish Sultan. In his wars, he displayed the fierceness, and in his clemency to Diogenes, the generosity of the royal animal. Nature had gifted him with a formidable exterior, which was rendered more imposing, by a beard of singular growth and thickness, and a tiara of such extraordinary height, that the length from the apex of his coronet to the point of his beard, measured four feet. To the courage of a Turk, he joined the zeal and devotion of a Muselman. By his justice and liberality, he acquired the esteem and love of mankind. While he was extending the limits of his dominion, his minister Nedham-il-Moulk, so highly celebrated in Asiatic histories, enlarged those of the human mind. He became the protector of the learned, and founded colleges in the great cities of Syria and Persia, where the name of Alp Arslan was heard with reverence and submission.*

CHAP. IV.

His character.

In

* For this account of Alp Arslan, I have consulted Elmacin, Hist. Saracen, and Mr. Gibbon's History. But I did not commit a sentence to paper, without considering what had been written on the subject by De Guignes and D'Herbelot. I can truly say with Mr. Gibbon, that "without these two learned Frenchmen I should be blind indeed in the "Eastern world." For the reign of Malek Shah, I am solely indebted to De Guignes and D'Herbelot. The former of these historians possessed all the industry of the latter, and far greater accuracy. Whenever they differed in a point of history, I always found the statement of De Guignes more satisfactory than that of D'Herbelot. The general merit

Remarks on De Guignes and D'Herbelot.

CHAP. IV.

Reign of
Malek
Shah.

A. D.
1072-1092.

In a moment of victory, when all hearts were devoted to his service, Alp Arslan had obtained from his Emirs, their pledge of allegiance to his youngest son, Malek Shah, as the immediate successor to his dominions. On the death of the sovereign, the influence of his Vizier secured the fidelity of the nobles, and Malek Shah, at the head of his armies, was proclaimed Sultan, and accepted from the legates of the Caliph, the investiture of his office of Protector of the Muhammedan Religion, and the title, until that time never applied to any Moslem prince, of Commander of the Faithful. But the voice of the people, and the approbation of the Pontiff, could not prevent rebellion. Cadedered, the uncle of the Sultan, and governor of the province of Kerman, unfurled the standard of revolt, and appeared in considerable force in Kurge. Commanding the veteran troops of Korasan, who had immortalised the name of his father, Malek Shah,

of the Bibliothéque Orientale, is acknowledged on all hands. Yet who does not wish to expunge the repetitions and superfluities? The alphabetical arrangement can never be endured. “*Congessit illuc eruditissimus iste Francus insignium quorumque casuum et optimarum rerum ex præstantissimis scriptoribus farraginem, quam ipsis eorum verbis apponit. Dolendum, quod res gestas non ordine temporum perscripserit, sed discerpserit coherentes, ut vix possit inde continuata historię orientalis notitia comparari. Quod ipse sibi passim contradicat, id condonandum viro præclaro. Ex aliis atque aliis tradebat auctoribus, et obrutus rerum multitudine non poterat omnia simul animo habere præsentia, non poterat non labi.*” J. J. Reiske, p. 227 of Abulfeda's Syria. vers. Koehler, 4to. Lipsæ, 1766.

Shah, in one of the most sanguinary battles which the Persian historians have recorded, established his own reputation, and took the person of his antagonist. But the veterans, in arrogance of their power, murmured at the smallness of their pay, and threatened to release the captive prince, and place him on the throne. In the dark councils of an Eastern court, the dagger of the assassin is more efficacious than the arts of the politician. The murder of his uncle was easily performed by Malek Shah, and the soldiers returned to their allegiance.

This Turkish Sultan was the greatest prince of his age. Persia was his, the emirs of Syria paid their submission of tribute and respect, and the appearance of the Governor of Transoxiana, as a prisoner at Ispahan, the metropolis of the Seljuk princes, and the Sultan's name on the coins of Kashgar, shewed the extent of the power of Malek Shah in Tartary. Daily prayers were offered for his health in Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Bagdad, Rhei, Ispahan, Samarcand, Bokharah and Kashgar. But the reign of this sovereign is interesting to the philosopher, as well as to the historian of blood. From a detail of the changes of empires, we turn with pleasure to illustrations of life and character. In the exercise of hunting, he dissipated the cares of government; forty-seven thousand

CHAP. IV.

Extent of his power.

His character character and conduct of his minist Nedham.

CHAP. IV. thousand horses formed his train, and for every beast which was slain by his own hand, he recompensed the owner. In twelve journies, he encompassed twelve times the whole of his vast territories, dispensed the benefits of justice, and shewed himself the father of his people. The pious Muselman, in his pilgrimage to Mecca, blessed the Sultan's name, for the places for relief and refreshment which cheered the Arabian desert, and the afflictions of human nature were soothed and mitigated, by the hospitals and asylums which he built. Under his patronage, the astronomers of the east engaged in the reformation of the Calendar. From the days of Muhammed the lunar course had measured the Persian year, but the intercalation had been neglected, and the vernal equinox was removed from the sign of Aries, to that of Pisces. But a new æra was now introduced into Muhammedan chronology, and the Gelalæan stile* is scarcely inferior in accuracy to the Gregorian calendar. Since the brilliant days of the Caliphate of Bagdad, letters had not been encouraged by a more enlightened patron than Malek, and an hundred poets sounded his praises in the halls of his palace at Ispahan. Mosques and colleges displayed his love for religion and literature

* The Gelalæan stile, so called from the name Gelaeddin, or glory of the faith, one of the titles of Malek Shah. It commenced the 15th of March, A. D. 1079. A. H. 471.

literature, and his useful magnificence was seen in his spacious high roads and bridges, and in the number of his artificial canals and navigations.

The magnanimity of the prince, and the flattery and address of his minister Nedham, are worthy of record. On the eve of a battle, which terminated the feeble pretensions to the throne of a brother of the Sultan, he prostrated himself, with his minister, before the tomb of the Imam Riza, at Thous. The devotions being concluded, Malek asked his faithful servant, what had been the subject of his secret petitions? "I have prayed," said the Vizier, "that your arms may be crowned with victory." "For my part," observed the disinterested Sultan, "I have implored, that the favour of God may be shewn to him, who is most worthy to govern the Moslems." The charge of the passage of his army across the Oxus was defrayed by orders on the revenue of Antioch. The murmur of the boatmen at this apparent evasion of their demands, reached the ears of the Sovereign. "It was not to postpone their reward, that I selected those remote places," said the flattering Vizier to his angry master, "but in order to shew to your posterity, that under your reign, Antioch and the Oxus were subject to the same king." The Sovereign

CHAP. IV. Sovereign smiled at the artful compliment, and the Vizier in secret compensated the boatmen.*

In an excursion from his camp, which was opposed to that of the Emperor of Constantinople, the fortune of war threw the Turkish Sultan into the hands of the enemy. Their illustrious prisoner was clothed with simplicity, his rank was therefore unknown by his enemies, and politically unnoticed by his friends. A fugitive from the Sultan's party told the tale to Nedham. The skill of the minister was now severely tried in averting ruin from the house of Seljuk. The usual guards were posted at the Sultan's tent, the discipline of the camp proceeded in its usual order, and the next morning, Nedham appeared before the throne of the emperor, with overtures of peace. In the course of the interview, the affair of the prisoners was mentioned by the Emperor. But the minister affected indifference to the matter, and declared his Sultan's contempt for so trifling a loss. The Emperor commanded the captives to be brought before him, and as a pledge of the sincerity of his wishes for peace, he generously delivered them to Nedham. During subsequent hostilities, the same prince of the Greeks was led as a captive into the presence of the Sultan.

The

The courage of the Greek was unshaken by chains; and he haughtily exclaimed, "If thou art a king, thou wilt freely forgive the past; if a merchant, sell me; if a butcher, put me to death." "I am a king," replied the magnanimous Malek, and immediately commanded an honourable return for the Emperor, to the throne of his dominions.* But the mental penetration of the Sultan was not equal to the fine qualities of his spirit, and the fall of Nedham was rendered bitter by the worthlessness of its cause. A wife of Malek plotted an infringement of the sacred right of primogeniture, by attempting to procure for the younger son of the Emperor, a royal declaration in favour of his pretensions to the throne, when it should become vacant by the death of his father. The loyal Nedham frustrated her artifices, but his conduct drew upon him the malignity of a disappointed woman. The princess poisoned the ears of her husband with idle tales of the faithlessness and rapacity of his servant, and the credulous and ungrateful monarch commanded the return of the turban and inkstand, the badges of the Vizier's office. In delivering them to the messenger the veteran minister exclaimed, "It is well that I should be required
" to

* The accuracy of this story of D'Herbelot is questioned by De Gulguès : tom. 3. p. 223. note d.

CHAP. IV. “ to resign power, when the wisdom of my
 “ measures has produced the happiest results.
 “ When the sea was agitated, Malek honoured
 “ me with his confidence ; now all is calm, and
 “ he deigns to listen to calumny. But he will
 “ not long be ignorant, that the eternal decrees
 “ of providence have connected my inkhorn and
 “ turban, with his throne and his diadem.” A
 reply so haughty and imprudent tended not to
 deprecate the wrath of his Sovereign. The
 charge of the empire was committed to a new
 Vizier, who secured himself in his seat, by
 employing the murderous hand of an assassin
 against the faithful minister of Alp Arslan and
 his son. On his death bed, Nedham lamented,
 that a sword should cut the thread of a life,
 which had been extended to a period of ninety-
 three years, and expressed his pleasure, at his
 going to render before the God of Malek and
 himself, an account of his actions. The re-
 mainder of the Sultan’s reign was short and
 inglorious. Isphahan was too mean a city for his
 dignity, and he moved towards Bagdad, which
 he intended should become his capital. The
 venerable phantom on the throne of Muhammed
 obtained a respite from his threatened exile,
 and before the expiration of the term, the Sul-
 tan fell a victim to his favourite passion for the
 chace.

Death of
Malek.

The reigns of four such successive great men, as Togrol, Seljuk, Alp Arslan, and Malek, deserved a more detailed history, than the reigns of their successors merit. From the Caspian sea to Damascus, from the borders of China to the Persian gulph, the Seljukian princes would suffer no tyrants but themselves. But the greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah. The vast fabric fell to the ground, and after a series of civil wars, four dynasties, contemporary, and not successive, were formed; namely, that of Persia at large; that of Kerman, a province of Persia; that of a large portion of Syria, including Aleppo and Damascus; and that of Rhoum, or Asia Minor. The existence and even the name of the first three of these dynasties soon expired, but the Seljukian kingdom of Rhoum had a longer, and more important duration. The conquest of Rhoum or Anatolia had been effected in the life of Malek, by Suliman, a prince of his family, and the generous policy of Malek allowed him to enjoy it. The loss of Anatolia was the greatest misfortune which the church had sustained, since the early days of the Caliphs. The kingdom of Rhoum extended from the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the confines of Syria to the Black Sea. The Sultan fixed his residence at Nice, once the

CHAP. IV.

 Division of
the Selju-
kian em-
pire.

 Dynasty of
Rhoum.

CHAP. IV. metropolis of Bithynia,* and this city, which had been so famous for its orthodoxy in the early history of the Christian church, was now polluted, by the preaching of the divinity of the mission of Muhammed. A lieutenant of Malek Shah, Atsiz the Korasmian, had carried the arms of his master beyond the confines of Egypt, but the inhabitants of Cairo rallied round the Caliph, and the invader was repulsed into Syria. On their return, the Seljuks plundered Jerusalem, and a brother of the Sultan established in that city the government of the shepherd kings. But at the end of four years from the death of Malek, the Emir Ortok availed himself of the feuds of the Seljukian sovereigns, and the command of Jerusalem became hereditary in his family. But the children of Ortok were dispossessed by the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt, who, in their turn, yielded to the Crusaders and fanatics of Europe. The Seljukian Sultans followed, what Mr. Gibbon calls, “the common law of the Asiatic dynasties, the unceasing round of valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decay:” their spirit and power were unequal to the defence of religion, and in his distant realms of Persia, the Christians were strangers to the name and the

arms

* Iconium was afterwards their capital, and the Sultans of this branch of the Seljuk family have therefore been generally called Sultans of Iconium.

arms of Sangiar, the last hero of his race. The scattered fragments of the Seljukian empire in Tartary, were collected and organised by the successors of Zingis Khan, and the territories in Syria, belonging to the various princes and Emirs of the family of Seljuk, were devastated and convulsed by the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt, the Crusaders, and the Othman Turks. The political revolutions of which the successors of Zingis Khan were the authors, have been already shewn. An accurate narrative of the Crusades, (a desideratum in literature) would form a part of Christian, rather than Muhammedan history ; but the subject of the rise to power of the Othman Turks, is the last, and a very important link, in a history of the establishment of the Muhammedan religion.

V. THE OTHMAN, OR PRESENT TURKISH POWER.

The obscure fathers of the Othman Turks dwelt originally at the north of the Caspian sea, on the plains of Kipjak, or Cumania, and were called Kipjaks, Oghousian, or Gozz Tartars. In the middle of the twelfth century they descended into Korasan, and finally became subject to the Sultans of that country, and formed the main strength of their armies. The defeat of Muhammed by Zingis Khan, and the subsequent retreat into India of Gelaeddin, broke, but did

Origin of
the Oth-
maus,
A. D. 1240.

CHAP. IV. not destroy, the Korasmian power. In the passage of the Indus seven only of his followers escaped with Gelaleddin from the arrows of the Tartars ; but the routed Turkmans soon rallied round his standard, and in two years his name was formidable in India. When Zingis and his Moguls had crossed the Jihon, Gelaleddin re-passed the Indus, and received the homage of the governors and people of the Persian provinces of Fars, Irak, and Adherbigian or Media. The effeminate Georgian nations were easily conquered by his hardy Turkmans, but Octai, the immediate successor of Zingis Khan, poured his subjects into Persia, and overwhelmed the force of Gelaleddin. The Korasmian hero long bore up with exemplary fortitude against the torrent that had overwhelmed his father ; but he was at last subdued by the vicissitudes of fortune, and from having been an object of universal love and admiration, he became one of detestation and contempt. The hero who, by swimming the Indus after the most gallant efforts to defeat his enemies, had extorted the applause of Zingis, became in the close of life remarkable for indolence and excess ; and the termination of his career was as inglorious as its commencement had been noble and heroic. He fled before a small detachment of Moguls, and took refuge in the hills in the north-west of Persia, where he was

was slain by a barbarian, whose brother he had before put to death. His army was dissolved, and in various bodies, and on various expeditions of plunder and pillage made incursions into Armenia, Syria, and Asia Minor.* Some of these Turkmans engaged in the service of Aladdin, the Seljuk Sultan of Iconium.† The Korasmian Turks, under the command of Soliman Schah, passed into Asia Minor at the commencement of the fourteenth century. His son Orthogrul declined not to become the subject and soldier of Aladdin, and with their united forces the Sultan and his captain preserved Iconium from the ravages of the Moguls.‡ The Seljuks of Iconium and the Korasmian Tartars became one people. In history they were known by the common name of Othman Turks, and the sword and sceptre of power were transferred from the sluggard Seljukian princes, to their ambitious and enterprising generals.

The son of Orthogrul was the celebrated Othman, the real founder of the Turkish greatness; and if we describe that pastoral chief as a shepherd and a robber, we must separate from those characters all ideas of ignominy and baseness. Othman possessed, and perhaps surpassed, the ordinary virtues of a soldier; and the circum-

Reign of
Othman.
A.D. 1299-
1326.

R 3

stances

* D'Herbeldt, *Bib. Orient.* tom. 2, p. 82-88. Malcolm's *Perisia*, vol. 1, p. 381.

† De Guignes, *Hist. Gén.* tom. 5, p. 329-338.

CHAP. IV. stances of time and place were propitious to his independence and success. The Seljukian dynasty was no more ; and the distance and decline of the Mogul Khans soon enfranchised him from the control of a superior. He was situated on the verge of the Greek empire ; the Koran sanctified his holy war against the infidels ; their political errors unlocked the passes of Mount Olympus, and invited him to descend into the plains of Bithynia. Till the reign of Palæologus, the Emperor on the throne of Constantinople in the days of Othman, those passes had been vigilantly guarded by the militia of the country, who were repaid by their own safety, and an exemption from taxes. The Emperor abolished their privilege, and assumed their office ; but the tribute was rigorously collected, the custody of the passes was disregarded, and the hardy mountaineers degenerated into a trembling crowd of peasants, without spirit or discipline. The passage of these mountains being completed, the fall of the cities of Nicomedia and Nice shook the power of the Greeks in Bithynia ; and the capture of Prusa placed on a basis of richness and strength the power of the house of Othman. But seven and twenty years had been occupied in the inroads and victories, which terminated in the fall of Prusa. The Othmans, though active and enterprising, were not numerous,

His invasion of Bithynia

Rise of the Othman empire

merous, and the army of the Sultan was recruited, not like that of Zingis, from the innumerable hordes of Tartars, but from the casual resource of captives and volunteers. At the close of a life of sixty-nine years, Othman received the welcome news of the surrender of Prusa to the arms of Orchan, his son and successor in the royal dignity. The lives and possessions of the Christian subjects were redeemed by a tribute or ransom of thirty thousand crowns of gold; and the city, at the command, and by the labours of Orchan, became the metropolis of the Othman monarchy, and assumed the aspect of a Muhammedan capital. It was decorated with a mosque, a college, and an hospital, of royal foundation; the Seljukian coin was changed for the name and impression of the new dynasty; and the most skilful professors of human and divine knowledge attracted the Persian and Arabian students, from the ancient schools of oriental learning. The office of Vizier was instituted for Aladdin, the brother of Orchan; and a different habit distinguished the citizens from the peasants, the moslems from the infidels. All the troops of Othman had consisted of loose squadrons of Turkman cavalry, who served without pay, and fought without discipline: but a regular body of infantry was now established and trained, by the prudence of his

CHAP. IV.

A. D 1326.

Reigns of
Orchan.
1326-1360.

CHAP. IV. son. A great number of volunteers were enrolled with a small stipend, but with the permission of living at home, unless they were summoned to the field. Their rude manners and seditious dispositions disposed Orchan to educate his young captives as the soldiers of himself and of the prophet; but the Turkish peasants were still allowed to mount on horseback and follow his standard, with the appellation, and the hopes of *freebooters*.

The son of Othman subdued the whole province of Bithynia, as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont; and by his conquest of Gallipoli in the Chersonesus, the passage from Asia into Europe was at his command; but his marriage, so scandalous to the church and the people, with a daughter of the Greek emperor Cantacuzene, shewed the greatness of his power, and silenced for awhile the voice of his ambition. The Turkish scymitar was wielded with the same spirit by Amurath the First, the son of Orchan, and third sultan of the Othman dynasty. By the pale and uncertain light of the Byzantine annals, we can discern, that he subdued without resistance, the whole province of Romania or Thrace from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus, and the verge of the capital; and that Adrianople was chosen for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe.

And of
Amurath.
1360-1389.

A D. 1358.

Europe. Constantinople, whose decline is almost coeval with her foundation, had often, in the lapse of a thousand years, been assaulted by the barbarians of the east and west ; but never till this fatal hour, had the Greeks been surrounded, both in Asia and in Europe, by the arms of the same hostile monarchy. Yet the prudence or generosity of Amurath, postponed for a while this easy conquest ; and his pride was satisfied, with the frequent and humble attendance of the Emperor John Palæologus and his four sons, who followed at his summons, the court and camp of the Othman prince. He marched against the Sclavonian nations, between the Danube and the Adriatic, the Bulgarians, Servians, Bosnians, and Albanians, and these warlike tribes who had so often insulted the majesty of the Roman empire, were repeatedly broken by his destructive inroads. Their countries did not abound in gold or silver ; nor were their rustic hamlets and townships enriched by commerce, or decorated by the arts of luxury. But the natives of the soil have been distinguished in every age, by their hardiness of mind and body ; and they were converted by a prudent institution, into the firmest and most faithful supporters of the Othman greatness. The vizier of Amurath reminded his sovereign, that according to the Muhammedan law, he was entitled

CHAP. IV. titled to a fifth part of the spoil and captives ;
 and that the duty might easily be levied, if vi-
 gilant officers were stationed at Gallipoli, to
 watch the passage, and to select for his use,
 the stoutest and most beautiful of the Christian
 youths. The advice was followed ; the edict
 was proclaimed ; many thousands of the Euro-
 pean captives were instructed in the Muhamme-
 dan religion, inured and trained to obedience
 and martial skill, by severe discipline, and war-
 like exercises ; and the new militia was conse-
 crated and named by Haji Bektash, a dervish,
 celebrated for his miracles and prophecies.
 Standing in the front of their ranks, he stretch-
 ed the sleeve of his gown over the head of his
 foremost soldier, and his blessing was delivered
 in these words. “ Let them be called Janiza-
 ries, (Yengi cheri, or new soldiers) let their
 countenance be ever bright ! their hand vic-
 torious ! their sword keen ! let their spear
 always hang over the head of their enemies !
 and wheresoever they go, may they return
 with a white face !”* The most honourable
 military distinctions that the favour of the prince
 could confer, were employed in order to ani-
 mate this body with martial ardour, and with a
 consciousness of its own pre-eminence. The
 Janizaries

Formation
 of the Jani-
 zaries.
 A. D 1362.

* The terms white or black face are common terms of praise or dis-
 praise among the Turks. Cantemir, p. 41, note 20.

Janizaries soon became the chief strength and pride of the Othman armies ; and by their number, as well as reputation, were distinguished above all the troops, whose duty it was to attend on the person of the sultan.* Their valour has declined, their discipline is relaxed, and their tumultuary array is incapable of contending with the order and weapons of modern tactics ; but at the time of their institution, they possessed a decisive superiority in war, since a regular body of infantry, in constant exercise and pay, was not maintained by any of the princes of Christendom. The Janizaries fought with the zeal of proselytes against their *idolatrous* countrymen ; and in the battle of Cassova, the league and independence of the Sclavonian tribes was finally crushed. As the conqueror walked over the field, he observed that the greatest part of the slain consisted of beardless youths ; and the reply of his vizier was gratifying to his vanity, that opposition to the invincible sword of the Othmans is more characteristic of the rashness of youth than the
prudence

* The number of Janizaries, at the first institution of the body, was not considerable. Under Solyman in the year 1521 they amounted to twelve thousand. Since that time their number has greatly increased. Though Solyman possessed such abilities and authority as to restrain this formidable body within the bounds of obedience, yet its tendency to limit the power of the sultans, was, even in that age, foreseen by sagacious observers. Robertson's Charles V. vol. I. sec. 3. note 43.

CHAP. IV. **prudence of age.** But the sword of his Janizaries could not defend him from the dagger of despair ; a Servian soldier started from the heap of dead bodies stretched upon the plain, and Amurath received in the belly a mortal wound. The grandson of Othman was mild in his temper, modest in his apparel, and a lover of learning and virtue : but the Moslems were scandalized at his absence from public worship ; and he was corrected by the firmness of a Mufti, who dared to reject his testimony in a civil cause.

Reign of
Bajazet
A.D
1389-1403.

The character and actions of Bajazet, the son and successor of Amurath, accorded with his surname of Ilderim, or lightning. His brother Geme appeared in arms against him, but he soon was compelled to own the ascendancy of Bajazet ; and the prince, dreading that his ally, the Fatimite Caliph of Egypt, would sacrifice him as a peace-offering to the victorious Sultan, fled to Rhodes, and thence, by the advice of the Grand Master, to Rome, where Alexander the Sixth entertained him with distinction in the palace of the Vatican. Instigated, however, by the bribes of Bajazet, the Pope kept the Turkish prince in a splendid captivity, and at length consented to, or procured his destruction. In the fourteen years of his reign, Bajazet moved at the head of his armies, with as much rapidity

as

as his illnesses, the consequences of fatigue and excesses, would allow; from Boursa to Adrianople, from the Danube to the Euphrates; and though he strenuously laboured for the propagation of the Koran, he invaded, with impartial ambition, the Muhammedan dominions in Asia Minor, and the Christian territories in Europe. The Turkish historians have dignified every prince of the Othman dynasty with the title of Sultan. But in truth it was not used till the days of Bajazet. The humble title of Emir was no longer suitable to the Othman greatness; and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of Sultan of Romania, Greece, and Thrace, from the Caliphs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamlouks: a last and frivolous homage that was yielded by force to opinion; by the Turkish conquerors to the house of Abbas, and the successors of the Arabian Prophet. The ambition of the Sultan was inflamed by the obligation of deserving this august title, and he turned his arms against the kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of Turkish victories and defeats. The cause of the Hungarians was that of Europe and of the church: the bravest knights of France and Germany marched under the standard of Sigismond and the cross; but in the battle of Nicopolis, Bajazet defeated a confederate army of an hundred thousand Christians,

CHAP. IV. tions, who had proudly boasted, that if the sky should fall, they could uphold it on their lances. The far greater part were slain or driven into the Danube; and the Hungarian prince, escaping to Constantinople by the river and the Black Sea, returned, after a long circuit, to his exhausted kingdom. In the pride of victory, Bajazet threatened that he would besiege Buda; that he would subdue the adjacent countries of Germany and Italy; and would feed his horse with a bushel of oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome. "His progress was checked," says Mr. Gibbon, "not by the miraculous interposition of the apostle—not by a crusade of the Christian powers, but by a long and painful fit of the gout. The disorders of the moral, are sometimes corrected by those of the physical world; and an acrimonious humour falling on a single fibre of one man, may prevent, or suspend, the misery of nations." Yet with the recovery of his health, his ambition revived. The Papal empire, though a splendid, was a remote conquest; but the richness and grandeur of the city of Constantinople were always present to his mental vision. His ambition aspired to the overthrow of Constantinople, but yielded to the politic remonstrance of his Vizier, not to provoke the indignation of Europe by an attack upon the metropolis of the eastern church. The ambas-

ambassadors of the Turk terrified, however, Pa-
CHAR. IV.
 læologus into the payment of a tribute, and the
 toleration within the walls of his city, of the
 Muhammedan religion; and Timour's descent
 into the dominions of Bajazet gave it a long re-
 prieve from final destruction. The life and the
 empire of the Turkish Sultan were ended and
 dissolved by the Tartarian hero: and had the
 successors of Timour, like those of Zingis
 Khan, been worthy of the name of their an-
 cestor, a new Tartarian empire would have
 been founded on the ruins of the Othman mo-
A. D. 1403.
 narchy.

The Turkish annals are full of disgusting de-
 tails of civil wars among the children of Bajazet,
 but the youngest (his name was Muhammed)
1421.
 Successors
 of Bajazet.
 restored the unity of the empire. Romania and
 Anatolia formed its principal strength; and those
 countries were enjoyed in the fulness of power
 by his son Amurath II.

Under Muhammed II. the next prince in the
 succession of the Othman kings, and as Bayle
 justly says, one of the greatest men recorded in
 history (if the qualifications of a conqueror con-
 stitute true greatness), the Morea was subju-
 gated, and the Greek empire, which had been
 so long shaken by internal dissensions, and tot-
 tering to dissolution with luxury, was trampled
 in the dust by the Moslem conquerors. The
Capture of
 Constanti-
 nople by
 the Turks.
 A. D. 1453.
 venerable

CHAP. IV. venerable city of Constantinople, the metropolis of Christianity, and the Roman empire, was taken by the Muhammedans. Prusa and Adrianople, the ancient capitals of the Othmans, sunk into provincial towns; and Muhammed the Second established his own residence, and that of his successors, on the same commanding spot which had been chosen by Constantine.* The Euphrates and the Adriatic bounded the conquests of Muhammed II.: but under his successors, the Turkish power continued to increase. Without entering into an history of the contests of the Turks with the European and Asiatic princes, a detail of war and truce, crowned with final success, the historian may generally remark, that every portion of continental and insular Greece was joined to the Turkish empire; that the whole of Syria paid its contribution of tribute to these freebooters
from

* For this view of Turkish history, from the reign of Othman to that of Muhammed, I am indebted to the articles under the names of the different Sultans in D'Herbelot, to the 64th, 65th, and 68th chapters of Gibbon's History, to the *Histoire de l'Ordre de Malthe* par l'Abbé Vertot, Prince Cantemir's *Hist. of the Othman Empire* (a work, however, of little value), to D'Anville, *l'Empire Turc considéré dans son Etablissement et dans ses Acroissemens successifs*, 8vo. Paris, 1772, to Voltaire, *Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*, chap. 76, 78, 79, and for the verification of all my facts to M. de la Croix, *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire Ottomane*, 2 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1768. Those persons only who have toiled through the ponderous volumes of oriental history, can estimate the value of the comprehensive brevity of this work of De la Croix.

from the north; and that the rich country of Egypt was annexed to the Othman monarchy.*

CHAP. IV.

From Muhammed II. who took the city of the Cæsars, to Solyman the Magnificent, a rare series of active and warlike princes ruled over the Turkish empire. By their great abilities, they kept their subjects of every order, military as well as civil, submissive to government; and had the absolute command of whatever force their vast empire was able to exert. Solyman in particular, who is known to the Christians, chiefly as a conqueror, but is celebrated in the Turkish annals as the great law-giver, who established order and police in their empire, governed during his long reign, with no less authority than wisdom. He divided his dominions into several districts; he appointed the number of soldiers which each should furnish; he appropriated a certain proportion of the lands, in every province, for their maintenance; he regulated, with a minute accuracy, every thing relative to their discipline, their arms, and the nature of their service. He placed the finances of the empire in an orderly train of administration; and though the taxes in the Turkish dominions, as well as in the other despotic monarchies of the east, are far from being

A. D.
1453-1566.

Character
of the Oth-
man Sul-
tans.

s

ing

* There is an excellent dissertation of M. Tercier on the conquest of Egypt by the Turks, in the 21st volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions.

CHAP IV. ing considerable, he supplied that defect, by an attentive and severe economy. Instead of wasting their talents in the slothful luxury of the seraglio, the heirs of royalty were educated in the council and the field. From early youth they were entrusted by their fathers, with the command of provinces and armies; and this manly institution, though often productive of civil war, must have essentially contributed to the discipline and vigour of the monarchy. The sovereign's person is less sacred than the right of succession. A weak and vicious sultan may be deposed and strangled; but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an idiot: nor has the most daring rebel presumed to ascend the throne of his lawful sovereign. While the transient dynasties of Asia have been continually subverted by a crafty Vizier in the palace, or a victorious general in the camp, the Othman succession has been confirmed by the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkish nation.*

On the ruins of the Seljukian and Zingishanidán dynasties, the Turkman shepherds reared a solid fabric of strength and grandeur. By a long line of illustrious princes it was supported and adorned, and the Othman monarchy held an high and distinguished station among the

* Robertson's Charles V. vol. 1. sec. 3. Gibbon's Hist. ch. 65.

the powers of Europe and of Asia. But immediately after the reign of Solyman the magnificent, that last great representative of the Tartarian kings, the Turkish empire began to fall. Its history from that period to the present time presents nothing that is in any degree important or interesting, to an inquirer into the progress of the Muhammedan religion. The sultans were lost in the dull inactive pride of ancestry, or in the luxury of the harem. The nation kept not pace with the Europeans in the gradual advancement of letters and science. The Turkish troops had once possessed every advantage, which arises from superiority in military discipline. The most intelligent, as well as impartial authors of the sixteenth century, acknowledge and lament the superior attainments of the Turks, in the military science. Guicciardini informs us, that the Italians learned the art of fortifying towns from the Turks. Busbequius, who was ambassador from Ferdinand to Solyman, and who had an opportunity to observe the state, both of the Christian and the Turkish armies, published a discourse concerning the best manner of carrying on war against them, in which he gives an elaborate description of the immense advantages which the infidels possessed, with respect to discipline, and military improvements of every

CHAP. IV. kind.* The Christian armies did not acquire
— that superiority over the Turks which they now possess, until the long establishment of standing forces had improved military discipline among the former, and until the ancient warlike institutions of the latter had been corrupted or abolished.

* See note 44 to the 3d section of the first volume of Robertson's Charles V.

CHAP. V.

THE KORAN; OR, THE THEOLOGICAL, MORAL, AND JURIDICAL CODE OF THE MUSELMANS.....MUHAMMEDAN SECTS.

THE abolition of idolatry and superstition, and the restoration of religion to what he called its pristine purity, were the avowed and plausible objects of the Arabian Prophet. The unity and indivisibility of the Godhead formed the basis of his creed, while the promise of rewards and the threat of punishments, both temporal and eternal, secured the virtue of his followers. But their reliance upon the divinity of his own pretended mission in the cause of reformation, was incontestibly necessary for the support of his system; and therefore, the discordant names of God and Muhammed are united in the confession of the Moslem's faith :

CHAP. V.
Principles
of Muham-
medanism.

“ ALLAH IL ALLAH, MUHAMMED RESOUL AL-LAH”—

“ THERE IS ONE GOD, MUHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD.”

Without discussing the merits of the different
s 3 notions

Origin of
the Koran.

CHAP. V. notions of the Muselmans with respect to the
 — origin of their sacred volume—the opinion of the orthodox Sonnites, that the Koran was uncreated, and stored in one of the seven heavens from all eternity; that copies of it on paper, bound in silk and adorned with gems, were brought from its celestial abode to earth, by the angel Gabriel, and delivered to Muhammed, in the month of Ramadan; or the more mild and moderate idea of the Mottazalites,* that this word of God had no claim to eternity; it is sufficient for us to observe, that the volume generally known by the title of the Koran (or the book fit to be read, as the word signifies)† contains the substance of Muhammed's pretended revelations from heaven. Whenever enthusiasm suggested, or passion and policy required it, a portion of the divine commands was proclaimed by the preacher to his auditory of fanatics, and registered by them in their memories, or inscribed on the more durable materials of the leaves of the palm-tree, and the skins of animals.‡ A copy of these fragments was entrusted to the charge of one of his most favoured wives; and although Abu Beker, the first Caliph, methodized them into a volume, yet in the course

* D'Herbelot's *Bib. Orient.* art. *Alcoran*; and D'Ohsson's *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othman*, tom. 1, p. 84—95. 8vo. edition.

† See Maracci, *Prod. de Alc.* chap. 1.

‡ Savary's *Preface to the French Translation of the Koran.*

course of a very few years, so many errors had crept into the sacred text, that Othman, the third Caliph, called in the various manuscripts, and assured the faithful that he would rectify them from the original. But so manifold were the various readings of these copies, that, as the least difficult task, this successor of the prophet destroyed the volumes themselves, and published a new Koran, which is the same that we now read. CHAP. V.

To the Sanscrit language alone the Arabic is inferior in copiousness. But as the people of the desert are divided into various tribes, estranged from each other, so it naturally happened, that each tribe should have forms of speech peculiar to itself. Its literary merits. Indeed, in no language are there so many dialects as in the Arabic: so great is their difference, that we can with difficulty trace them to a common source. In the idiom used at Mecca the Koran was written: that idiom is, therefore, from sentiments of reverence to religion, more highly esteemed by the Arabs, than the language of any other part of their country. But in the present times, our most enquiring travellers can find little or no resemblance between the words used in the common intercourse of life in Arabia, and the words of the Koran. Time, and communication with strangers, have been followed

CHAP. V. by their usual consequences. The Arabic of the Koran is taught in the colleges at Mecca like a dead language. The dialects in the numerous provinces of Arabia are as various as those of Italy, while in Syria, Egypt, and other Muselman countries, the resemblance which the Spanish, Portuguese, and Provençal languages bear to the Latin, will suggest an idea of the affinity between the real Arabic and the modern idioms. The style and composition of the Koran are esteemed by the doctors of the Mosque, to be inimitable, and more miraculous than the act of raising the dead: and the proudly acknowledged illiteracy of Muhammed, was proclaimed by his followers, as the grand argument in favour of its divine origin. In the spirit of enthusiasm or vanity, the prophet rests the truth of his mission on the merit of his book, audaciously challenges both men and angels, to imitate the beauties of a single passage, and presumes to assert, that God alone could dictate this incomparable performance. An argument of this nature is powerfully addressed to a devout Arabian, whose mind is attuned to faith and rapture, whose ear is delighted by the music of sounds, and whose ignorance is incapable of comparing the productions of human genius. The harmony and copiousness of style will not reach in a version the European infidel; he will peruse with impatience

tiënce, the endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, that does not in the extreme of grovelling, crawl in the dust, or on the wings of bombast, become lost in the clouds. The divine attributes exalt the fancy of the Arabian missionary, but his loftiest strains must yield to the sublime simplicity of the book of Job, composed in a remote age, in the same country, and in the same language. The reader of the Koran will be struck with many beautiful and expressive combinations of thoughts and words ; the power and majesty of the deity are displayed with no common magnificence and sublimity ; and its high tone of morals, if not in perfect accordance with the rigidity of the Academy or the Portico, yet is salubrious in its tendency, and honourable to its author. But the ardour of the mind is repressed, when we find the Almighty described as descending to the meanest and most contemptible employments, prescribing laws, which minister more to the appetites, than to the interests of men ; and regulating with the same care, at one moment the order of a secret and impure intercourse, and in the next, the discipline in which men are to be trained for eternity. The writings justly considered sacred by the Jews and Christians, furnished the author of the Koran with a large portion of his theological and

CHAP. V.

and

CHAP. V. and ethical system. The heavenly inspired warnings of the prophets of Israel, and the strong and solemn precepts of Christ and his Apostles, will frequently rise in the mind, on perusing the Muhammedan standard of religion and morals.*

Its division
into chap-
ters and
verses.

The Koran is divided into one hundred and fourteen chapters or suras, an Arabic word which signifies a connected portion, and these suras again into verses. The suras are of very unequal length, titled, but not numbered; some containing three hundred, and others only three or four verses.† In reverential and superstitious attention to the Holy Word, the Jews have been equalled by the Muselmans. In imitation of the labours of the Masori, the admirers of the Koran have computed every word and every letter contained in it, and for the purpose of supplying the want of vowels‡ in the Arabic character, have

* Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 72, &c. Maracci de Alcorano, p. 43-44. Gibbon, chap. 50. White's Sermons at the Bampton Lecture, Sermon the sixth. And Pocock's *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, p. 150, 152, 191. On the excellence of the style of the Koran, consult Meninski, *Thesaurus*, vol. 1, p. 16-24

† Maracci (*Prod. de Alc.* chap. 2,) remarking on the circumstance of the inequality of the length of the chapters, pleasantly and classically remarks, Nil æquale homini fuit illi—habebat sæpe ducentos, sæpe decem servos. Horace, lib. 1, sat. 3.

Vowel
points.

‡ The antiquity of the vowel points or signs in the Arabic language has been much disputed. Hottinger (*Clavis Script.* p. 403, Tig. 1651), maintains that the language was never without them; although their shape and position have occasionally varied. Adler (*Museum Cuficum Borgianum Velutis*, p. 34-37, 4to. Rom. 1782) strenuously contends for the same opinion. Gregory Sharp (*Dissertation on the Original Power of Letters*, p. 87) says, that the vowel points were not in use till several

have introduced vowel points, which ascertain CHAP.
both the pronunciation and meaning of the text.

The Muhammedans never read or touch the object of their veneration, without the legal ablutions having been performed. The Othman Emperors, in imitation of the ancient Caliphs, generally consider it a religious duty to adorn their exemplars of the Koran with gold and precious stones. It is the comfort of the Muselmans amidst the busy duties of the camp, and it forms the great solace of their domestic toils. Verses from it on their banners incite their martial spirit; and its principal sentences, written on the walls of their mosques, remind them of their social duties. The most ancient manuscripts which are known, are on parchment, in the Cufic character of the Arabic language. The modern manuscripts are in the Niskhi mode of writing, on paper curiously prepared from silk, and polished to the highest degree of beauty.

The Muhammedans' respect for it.

MSS of the Koran.

years after the time of Muhammed, for it is certain, that the first copies of the Koran were without them. This assertion of Sharp's appears to be well founded, for Niebuhr in his Description de l'Arabie (planches 6, 7, and 8), gives us copies of some monumental inscriptions in the Cufic or some other ancient Arabic character, in which there are no vowel points. The Turks affirm (Tödmiri sur la Litt. des Turcs, tom. 2, p. 165 Cournaud's French trans.) that Ali, the fourth Caliph, was the inventor of them. The vowel marks certainly changed their appearance in the course of time. The writer of these sheets has seen MSS of the Koran in the Cufic character, and written on parchment, in which the vowel marks are not merely points, but are the same, or nearly so, as those which appear in the modern Arabic character. In addition to these vowel points small lines were placed by the consonants. They were first used by Huggias, who died 95, A. H.

CHAP. V. ty.* The copy which is most admired for the character of its writing and embellishments formerly belonged to the Turkish Sultan Solyman

Cufic MSS. * D'Ohsson, tom. 1, p. 88, and Sale's Preliminary Discourse, sec. 3. The ancient Arabs had various dialects and characters of writing. Shortly before the time of Muhammed, the character called the Cufic, was invented by Moramer Ebn Morra, of Anbar, in Arabian Irak. It was introduced into Mecca, the Koran was written in it, and it was in the course of time diffused through all the Moslem world. There seems to be a great resemblance between the Cufic and Syriac characters. The Cufic was used for three hundred years; but in inscriptions on stone and metal, it was common until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the Christian æra. Even in the present day it is sometimes used in Africa on public monuments, because the magnitude of the letters seems well adapted for such purposes. Adler. Mus. Cuf. Borg. p. 11. Perhaps it would be more correct to call these African inscriptions, Mauritanic. There is some difference between them and the genuine Cufic. They are both derived from the Syriac, as the keen and indefatigable Benedictine monks have demonstrated. The Cufic appears to have been the eastern, and the Mauritanic the western character of the Arabic tongue. From the latter were derived two other characters, the African and the Spanish. Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie, tom 1, ch 14, 3 tom 4to Paris, 1750-65. Towards the close of the third century of the Hegira, the Niskhi character was formed from the Cufic. It underwent several changes, and did not receive its present form till the days of Yakut, secretary to Mostasem, the last caliph of Bagdad Pocock, Specimen, p. 158. and Elmacin Hist Sarac cap. 3, p 205 A few canons shall be proposed for determining the age of the Cufic manuscripts 1. The most ancient ones are in large, rude characters, without points. 2. Those next in antiquity have points. 3. The third class are those with points, and also with lines. 4. The remaining Cufic manuscripts have lines, vowel points, and other vowel marks.—The older the manuscript, the larger and more rude is the character The vowel points in the old manuscripts are red; the points and marks in the other manuscripts are of different colours. Such of the Cufic manuscripts as I have seen, are on parchment or vellum. No Cufic MS. of any antiquity on paper has yet been discovered; for although paper was introduced into Mecca at the commencement of the eighth century of the Christian æra, yet it does not appear that it came immediately into common use. The oldest cotton MS. of any sort that is known, has no antiquity beyond the eleventh century, but from the twelfth, paper was more common than

man the Great, and is preserved in the Museum CHAP. V.
Kircherianum, at Rome. Every public library
in Europe is in possession of manuscripts of the
Koran: as the Muselmans have generally pro-
hibited the Christians from the use of this sacred
volume, most of these manuscripts have been
taken in battle. Many of them belonged to
princes, and are therefore of exquisite beauty.
Some of those which formerly belonged to Tip-
poo Sultan are of peculiar elegance.

Erpenius, Golius, Zechendorfius, Clenardus, Its literary
history.
Ravius, Pfeifferus, and Danzius, have edited
parts of the Koran. The first edition of the
entire work in the Arabic language was publish-
ed at Venice in the year 1530, by Paganinus, of
Brescia. The Pope of Rome was alarmed for
the safety of Papal superstition, and all the
copies were committed to the flames. The next
complete edition of the Arabic Koran was pub-
lished in quarto by Hinckleman, at Hamburgh,
in

parchment, at least in the Grecian world, for the Latins did not so
readily receive it. But as the Saracens had cotton paper before the
Greeks and Romans, and as the Koran might have been copied upon it,
there may yet exist paper MSS. of the Koran older than any paper MS.
at present known. Montfaucon, *Palæographia Græca*, p. 18, &c. fol.
1708. *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, tom 1, chap 7, and p 111 of
the present work. The Cufic MSS are perhaps of various coloured
parchment. The people of old times frequently dyed their materials of
writing. Ovid addresses his book, "nec te purpureo velent vaccinia
fuo." *De Tristibus*, lib. 1, eleg. 1. The parchment of the MSS. on
which the New Testament has been written, is either of a purple or of
its natural appearance. Wetstein, *Proleg. in Nov. Test.* p 3, ed.
Semler, Halle, 1764.

CHAP. V. in 1684.* The last and most celebrated Arabic edition, was printed at St. Petersburg some years since, under the auspices of the late Empress Catharine. Scholia in the same language accompany this edition. The benefit of such of her Tartarian subjects as were Muselmans, was the object of the Empress : and in order not to offend their prejudices against printed books, the types were cast in such a manner, that the impression had every appearance of a manuscript.

Among the various versions of the Koran, those into the Persic and Turkish languages are held in the highest estimation. It has been transfused also into the Javan and Malayan dialects. These translations are interlineary and have been made in different periods of the Muselman annals, and even subsequently to the time, when in consonance with the principle, that the progress of languages and conquests is generally commensurate, the Caliph Walid issued a decree, that the language of Arabia should be the universal language of the Muhammedan world. The laudable curiosity of Peter Abbot of Chuni, a monk of the fourteenth century, prompted him to command a Latin translation of the Koran to be prepared. It was published by Bibliander in the year 1550.

Translations

* Ricciocci, *Historia Alcorani*, sec. 8, 9, 10, Lipsiæ, 1721.

Translations in every European language have appeared, but the French version of **Andreas du Ryer**, published for the first time at Paris in 1647, and often re-published, had the greatest credit, till the appearance of the Latin translation of **Father Lewis Maracci**, the confessor of **Pope Innocent the eleventh**, and professor of Arabic in the College of Wisdom at Rome. His celebrated edition contains a life of **Muhammed**, a refutation of the Muhammedan religion, the Arabic text of the Koran, a Latin translation of it, and a vast collection of notes. **Pope Innocent the eleventh** was the liberal patron of this undertaking. It was the result of forty years labour, and was published at Padua in two volumes folio, in the year 1698: a work of such prodigious learning, as to merit a place in the same rank, with the fruits of the toilsome researches of the Benedictine monks. **Maracci's** elaborate dissertations on the truth of Christianity, and his laboured refutations of Muhammedanism, are better adapted for the conversion of Muselmans, than for the instruction of Christians. He is one of that numerous class of writers, who make no distinction between forms and substances, and he pours as great a torrent of learning and argument upon the unimportant, as upon the important parts of the Muhammedan code: the minuteness of his

CHAP. V. his investigations is curious. He is more skilled in oriental, than in Christian literature. His knowledge must obtain the respect of his readers, but his mode of reasoning will frequently excite their ridicule. Maracci's Prodomi, Refutationes and Notæ, are a mine of learning on Muhammedan subjects. England may well be proud of her scholars in Asiatic literature. Sale maintained her character, which Edward Pocock had formed. The translation of the Koran into the English language has received the approbation of every master of the Arabic. Mr. Sale's Preliminary Dissertation and Notes are admirable. Every writer on this interesting topic gratefully acknowledges his obligations' to them.* The modern translation of the Koran into the French language, is by M. Savary. It was made by him while he was in Egypt, and after he had become well acquainted with the manners of the Arabs, and the genius of their language. The excellence of the life of Muhammed, which precedes the work, has been already

* Much of the apparent merit of Sale is due to Pocock. Speaking of the *Specimen Hist. Arabum*, Reiske in his *Observations* (p. 228) on *Abulfeda's Geography of Syria*: remarks, "Ex hoc libro (this libellus incomparabilis, as Reiske calls it in another place) Salius concinnavit illa decantata sua prolegomena ad al Corani suam Anglicam versionem." White in a note under the Preface to the last edition of Pocock, says the same thing.

already noticed. M. Savary's notes are neither CHAP. V.
numerous nor valuable.

The Pentateuch was the repository of the theology, the morality, the jurisprudence, and the early history of the Jews. The Koran contains, 1st, the theology, 2d, the morality, and 3d, the fundamental principles of the jurisprudence of the Muhammedans.

THEOLOGY OF THE MUSELMANS.

I. In opposition to the general idolatry (and but for the Persians, who worshipped the Creator under the faint image of fire, we might say the universal idolatry) of mankind, the adoration of one only God was the grand foundation of the Mosaic legislation. But Muhammed falsely asserted, that in his days this pure doctrine had been mixed by the acknowledgement of Ezra, as the son or companion of God.* At the time of the appearance of the Arabian prophet, the various systems of idolatry and superstitious credence shocked the moral sense of every philosophical mind, while the false interpretations which the Christian divines of that day, gave of the Scriptural doctrine of the Trinity of persons in one divine essence, too well countenanced the assertion of the Arabian preacher, that a plurality of Gods were worshipped. In order then to banish tenets so absurd, and to settle as a

Theological principles of the Koran One God.

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matter

* Koran, chap. 9.

CHAP. V. matter of fact, and without reference to metaphysical disquisition, the doctrine concerning the nature of the object of all our hopes and fears, Muhammed proclaims, in every page of the Koran, the unity, holiness, infinity, and eternity, of the deity. "The prophet of Mecca," says Mr. Gibbon, "rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle, that whatever rises, must set; that whatever is born, must die; that whatever is corruptible, must decay and perish. In the author of the universe his rational enthusiasm confessed and adored an infinite and eternal being, without form or place, without issue or similitude, present to our most secret thoughts, existing by the necessity of his own nature, and deriving from himself all moral and intellectual perfection. These sublime truths, thus announced in the language of the prophet,* are firmly held by his disciples. A philosophic theist might subscribe the popular creed of the Muhammedans, a creed too sublime, perhaps, for our present faculties. What object remains for the fancy, or even the understanding, when we have abstracted from the unknown substance, all ideas of time and space, of motion and matter, of sensation and reflection. The first principle of reason
" and

* See particularly the 2d, 57th and 58th chapters of the Koran.

“ and revelation, was confirmed by the voice of CHAP. V.
 “ Muhammed : his proselytes, from India to
 “ Morocco, are distinguished by the name of
 “ Unitarians ; and the danger of idolatry has
 “ been prevented by the interdiction of ima-
 “ ges.”*

The unknown qualities of the spiritual state, Angels.
 and the inability of man to account for various
 appearances in the natural and moral worlds,
 have induced him to imagine the existence of
 races and gradations of spiritual agents. Hence
 the systems of demonology among the philo-
 sophers and poets of Greece and Rome, and of
 angels among the Persians. The latter doc-
 trine was adopted by Muhammed, and accord-
 ingly the existence of angelst or beings of a
 pure and aerial nature, who neither eat nor
 drink, and whose species is continued by crea-
 tion, who minister at the throne of God, and
 who watch the conduct of men, and record
 their actions for judgment, is an article of high
 import in the Muselman's creed. Four angels
 appear to be held in high respect. The angel
 Gabriel, called the holy spirit ; Michael, the
 angel of revelation, and friend of the Jews ; Az-
 riel the angel of death ; and Israfeel, the angel
 of the resurrection. A race of beings termed
 jin, or genii, are fancied to exist ; but they are
 T 2 less

* Gibbon, chap. 50.

† Koran, chap. 11.

CHAP. V. less pure than the angels* though aerial, they live like men, and will be judged at the last day. On the creation of mankind, pride and envy seized the hearts of Eblis,* and of a numerous band of followers, who, in the regions of hell, have since mourned the loss of their high estate.

Eternal decrees

On one of the most abstruse subjects, upon which man has, ever exercised his faculties, and which has, more than any other, displayed both the strength and weakness of the human intellect, Muhammed has pronounced with a positiveness, consonant with the character of an ignorant impostor, or worthy of a messenger from heaven: for, feeling no timidity or shame, at leaving unreconciled, the responsibility of men, and the absolute necessity of their actions, he lays down the doctrine of eternal decrees and absolute predestination, in the strongest and strictest terms.†

Prophets and Scriptures

The fact that the Creator had from the earliest stages of the world, declared his will to his creatures, is readily allowed; and the Koran also declares, that one hundred and four books were given to the different prophets. But it is asserted with equal confidence, that all written memorials of his will, except the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and Gospels, have been entirely lost

* Koran, chap. ii. and vii.

† Koran, chapters iii. iv. xvii. &c.

lost. And in order to prove the necessity of a new revelation of the commands of Heaven, and to support the tenet, that the genuine scriptures inspired by the Almighty, predicted the appearance of the Arabian prophet, the Muhammedans assert, that the sacred books, both of the Jews and Christians, became so materially corrupted in the course of ages, that scarcely any portion of the originals remained at the time the Koran was written. By a narrative of Christ's mission, falsely attributed to St. Barnabas, and in which our Saviour is made to speak of Muhammed as the Paraclete or Comforter, they are taught to believe, that Jesus the Son, not of God, but of Mary, (for an acknowledgment of our Saviour's divinity would be inconsistent with their creed) was the last prophet of the Jews, the true Messiah, the worker of miracles, and preacher of righteousness; but the crucifixion is denied, for the opinion of some early heretical Christians is adopted,—that Jesus escaped from the Jews, and was caught up into the third heaven. In the present times, however, truth has prevailed over bigotry, and the most intelligent doctors of the mosque reject this narrative, and listen to the language of the canonical gospels. Although they deny his divinity, yet they admit that he was born in a miraculous manner at the

CHAP V. **command of God.*** As the guilt and ignorance of mankind produced the necessity of frequent communications from heaven, so, a long succession of prophets and apostles, among whom Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Christ, are the most eminent, from time to time appeared, till at length the spirit of revelation ceased in the person of Muhammed, the last and greatest messenger from the Almighty. †

Intermedi-
ate state of
the soul.

The dissolution of the body at the hour of death is palpable to our senses, and the separation from it of the immortal part is consonant with the soundest philosophy. But while reason on the one hand rejects the idea, that the soul can die in consequence of its separation from its corporeal frame, she feels some difficulty in being able to assign it energies and operations, unless it is clothed with the organs of

* Reland, de Religion, Muhammedica. Prefat libri ii 8vo. Ultraj, 1705. The Muselmans are a sort of heterodox Christians. They are Christians, if Locke reasons rightly, because they firmly believe the immaculate conception, divine character, and miracles of the Messiah; but they are heterodox in denying vehemently his character of Son, and his equality as God, with the Father, of whose unity and attributes they entertain and express the most awful ideas. In point of sanctity, Christ is held by them in a rank next to that of their pseudo-prophet. Persian and Turkish authors invariably mention Christ with veneration. It has happened, that a Turk in common life has been bastinadoed almost to death for uttering disreputable words against the Messiah. He might have called Christians dogs as long as he pleased.—Sir W. Jones on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India, and Sir W. Ouseley, Oriental Collections, No. 1, p. 41

† Sale's Preliminary Discourse, section iv.

of sense. From the incertitude of our knowledge, and the restlessness of man's curiosity, we can account for all the fables of the Greeks and Hebrews upon the subject. The writers among both these people assign to departed souls, a common mansion in the inner parts of the earth. This, the writers of the most early date represent to us, as a place of impenetrable obscurity. But in the course of ages, the opinion of the world on this matter underwent some change. The Greeks and Latins who lived about the time of Christ's appearance, treated this spiritual abode as a place where the souls of the bad and good met with due rewards and punishments.* The Jews considered it an intermediate state, where pleasure or pain were experienced. Thus, as the Greeks and Latins had their places of blessedness and woe, their Tartarus and Elysium, so the Jews held out their Gehenna and Paradise. In the Greek Testament, the word *αιδης* is used to express the intermediate state. Etymologically (ab *ειδω* video and *α* priv.) it means a place of darkness, and corresponds with the Latin term, Inferus.† In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, where both persons are described as being in *αιδης*, in

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one

* Lowth, de Poesi Hebræorum, Prelec. vii. and Michaelis' Notes, and Pearson on the Creed, art. v. and his admirable notes.

† Schleusner, Lexicon, in Nov Test in loco, and Rosenmuller, Scholia in Nov. Test. in Luc. chap. 16. ver. 23.

CHAP. V. — one common place where they were near each other, and in Christ's promise to the penitent thief on the cross, the author of our religion recognizes and sanctions the belief, that the human soul, in the state between this life and the next, does not remain inactive, but dwells in a condition of misery or happiness. The sleep of the soul is not a principle of Islamism, but from certain passages in the eighth, the forty-seventh, and the seventy-ninth chapters of the Koran, it should seem to have been the doctrine of Muhammed, that the intermediate state would, like the future world, be a place of rewards and punishments. The angels Munnker and Nekir enter the tomb, and ask the deceased person the names of his Lord, his religion, and his prophet. The faithful answer, God is my Lord, Islam is my religion, and Muhammed is my prophet. Frightful torments will be the lot of the infidels, and the angels will announce to the Muselmans, the nature and degree of the felicity they will hereafter enjoy.* The doctors of the mosque have exercised their ingenuity, and amused their fancy, in describing the various employments and abodes of the soul in this condition of wretchedness or joy;† but so numerous and so fanciful are these opinions,

* D'Oheron's Tab Gén. de l'Emp. Ottoman, tom. 1. p. 136-7.

† Sale's Prelim. Disc. sec. iv.

nions, and so little credit is attached to them by the more learned Muselmans, that their description would be useless. These opinions were formed, it should seem, for the satisfaction of the illiterate. It is the character of philosophers to pause and doubt on matters of such extreme obscurity as the nature and employments of the soul, while to vulgar minds, any fable, however gross, is more acceptable than ignorance.

CHAP. V.

To rewards in another life, as well as to sensual pleasures, and the mental gratification of the performance of virtue in the present, the faithful are urged unceasingly to look; but the exact time of final remuneration of obedience, neither the angel Gabriel, nor Muhammed pretended to know. But the disciples of the prophet, arrogating more knowledge than their master had assumed, have ventured to prophecy the signs which will forewarn the world of the coming of the last great day. A general decay of virtue, and a proneness to idolatry; wars, universal distress, and awful appearances of nature will declare the necessity and certainty of some wondrous approaching change. Accordingly Christ will descend on earth, in order to calm the agitated elements of the natural and moral world, and to establish universal tranquillity. At the end of forty years, creation will

return

The future state.

CHAP. V. return to its pristine chaos; but the “blast of
 “resurrection” from the great trumpet shall
 be sounded, and a perfect restoration of angels,
 genii, men, and even animals, will ensue. The
 Resurrec- bodies of mankind, scattered over all the earth,
 tion. and perished into impalpable dust, will then be
 re-formed, and at the command of the Almighty,
 will be reanimated by their union with the soul.
 “On the day wherein the earth shall be changed
 “into another earth,”* and “when the hea-
 “vens shall become like molten brass, (it is the
 “Koran that now speaks) and the mountains
 “like wools of various colours, scattered abroad
 “by the wind,”† the final judgment of man-
 kind will take place. The unbelievers in Isla-
 mism will be condemned to the torments of
 everlasting fire: the abodes of misery for the
 Eternal Christians, the Jews, the Sabians, the Magians,
 punish- and the Idolaters, are each, in the succession of
 ment of in- their names, more dreadful than the other;
 fids. while, with laudable justice, the extreme of
 punishment is reserved for the hypocrites and
 nominal professors of every religious system.
 The doom of the infidel part of the world
 having thus been sealed, the piety of the
 Muselmans

* Koran, chap 9. For my account of the resurrection, and the subjects connected with it, I am indebted to the Koran, to Mr. Sale, to Maracci, and to Reland. Consult these authorities under their proper titles.

† Koran, chap. 7.

Muselmans will be examined. But as the justice of the speculative tenets of a true believer, concerning God and his Apostle, is, as it were, implied in the very name of Muselman, so his actions alone, and not his opinions, will be examined. In a balance sustained by the angel Gabriel, one scale over Paradise, the other over hell, and sufficiently capacious to contain both heaven and earth, the actions of the faithful will be weighed. But as in every false religion, the characters of its author and of the persons to whom it is addressed, are mixed with, and appear through the code; so, in the present case, a transaction will occur, which strongly marks the dark revengeful nature of the Asiatic mind. Retaliation of injuries will be made, and in the absence of all other modes of satisfaction, the injurer will forfeit a proportionable part of his good works to him whom he has injured, and in case of any moral deficiency, the aggressor's weight of guilt will be burthened with a portion of the crimes of his wronged brother in the faith. On the preponderance of virtue or vice, will hang the lot of happiness or woe of every individual.* To the bridge Al Sirat, finer than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword, both the guilty and the virtuous Moslems will then proceed; the guilty will sink into hell that

CHAP. V.

Judgment
of the Mos-
lems.Retalia-
tion.

is

* Koran, chap. 23. 7.

CHAP. V. is gaping beneath them: yet, as it is a great doctrine of Islamism, that no unbeliever will ever be released, nor any person who in his lifetime, has professed the unity of God, be condemned to eternal punishment, so, those, to whom the passage of the bridge has proved too difficult, will remain in misery for different periods of time, and until “the crimes done in their days of nature shall have been burnt and purged away.” The virtuous Muselmans, under the guidance of the prophet, will with the swiftness of lightning, pass the abyss in safety, and reach the groves and gardens of the seventh heaven, or Paradise, where palaces of marble, and all the idle toys of worldly luxury, await them. But their most exquisite pleasure will consist in their constant society with never fading beauties, formed, not from clay, but from the purest musk, and the fire of whose large black eyes is so sweetly tempered by modesty, that, to use the expressive language of the Koran, “they resemble pearls hidden in their shells.”* Seventy-two houries will be the lot of the meanest believer. All his desires will be gratified at the moment of their formation, and the songs of the daughters of paradise will add to his delights. Of the reality of these pleasures the Koran speaks decisively,

Paradise of
the Mos-
lems.

* Koran, chap. 56.

decisively, and we cannot, without a violation of sense, turn them into allegories. The more pure, however, of the Muselmans, those who have been exalted in this life for eminence of virtue and learning, will be rewarded with higher gratifications, than those of luxury and appetite.* Such mean pleasures will be lost in the mental felicity of eternal truth, and in the daily contemplation of the Deity. CHAP. V.

Our knowledge of the degraded state of women in the east has given rise to an opinion, not very honourable to the intellectual character of the sex. But Muhammed has pronounced them to be both immortal and responsible; and has declared that, “ whoso worketh righteousness, whether they be males or females, and are true believers, we will surely raise them to a happy life, and we will give them their reward, according to the utmost merit of their actions.”† Their felicity will not be so exquisite as that of the men; for their actions in this life cannot have been equally important and meritorious; neither are the declarations of the Koran positive, that the sexes will dwell together. Muhammed, therefore, has not specified the male companions of the female elect, lest, as Gibbon shrewdly says, “ he should

Responsibility of women.

* Reland, de Religione Muham p 199—205.

† Koran, chap. xvi.

CHAP. V. " should either alarm the jealousy of their
 " former husbands, or disturb their felicity, by
 " the suspicion of an everlasting marriage.*"

II. Prayer to the object of their faith is the
 most

Resem-
 blance be-
 tween the
 Zend
 Avesta,
 Vedas, Ed-
 da, and Ko-
 ran.

* Muhammed did not often exercise his own imagination in forming his religion, and in planning his paradise he had the Persians and Hindus constantly in mind. The Magi had peopled the region of beatitude with the Hooran Behesht, or the hourie of paradise, who are the black-eyed virgins of the Koran. The wonders of the Hindu abode of bliss appear almost literally copied. Its celestial gunga, or sacred stream; its \AA psaras, or heavenly nymphs, its tarucalpa, or tree of desire, dispersing delicious fruits, exquisite viands, and rich vestments; all find their place in the paradise of the Arabian prophet. Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. II. p. 330. A general resemblance has been fancied between Islamism and the Hindu Mythology. In the brilliant days of the Mogul Empire, when philosophy had almost superseded theology, the Muhammedans of India, perplexed by the subject of Monotheism, went to the sacred books of other people for instruction. The Vedas were concealed with the utmost care by the Brahmins, and no translations existed. But the Upaneshad, or paraphrase of and commentary upon them, was procured and translated from the Sanscrit into the Persian language, by order of Sultan Dara Shekoh, eldest son of the Emperor Shah Jehan. The endeavour was made to reconcile the Muhammedan and Hindu religions, and it was affirmed, that the theological doctrines of the Koran were to be found in the sacred books of the Hindus. The antiquity of the Vedas was acknowledged, and as most of the Moslems thought that the Koran was coeval with Heaven itself, and that a copy only was given to Muhammed, so the equal value of all these scriptures was maintained. Dara Shekoh's Preface to the Upaneshad. Halhed's Translation. Brit. Mus. Additional MSS 5658. The Eblis of the Muhammedans is precisely the same as the Satan of the Jews, and the Arimanius of the Magi. The Muselmans are not more vehement against image worship, than were the ancient Magians. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 247. The similarity between the Edda of the Scandinavians, and the Zend Avesta of the Persians, has been frequently noticed. Warton, in the first dissertation prefixed to his History of English Poetry, remarks a few points of singular resemblance between the Edda and the Koran.

most important practical duty of the Muselmans. “Glorify God,” saith the Koran, “when the evening overtaketh you, and when you rise in the morning; and unto him be praise in heaven and in earth; and at sun-set, and when you rest at noon.*” Prayer is pronounced in the Koran, to be the pillar of religion, the key of paradise. Five times in the course of every day, in the morning before sun-rise,—at noon,—immediately before sun-set,—in the evening after sun-set,—and again just when the night has commenced, the cryers from the minarets,† or summits of the mosques, are commanded to proclaim to the people, in the very words which Muhammed spoke, when he entered the city of Medina, that the hour of prayer is arrived. The Muselman, whether he be at home, or in the public walks, (for every place applied to the service of the Almighty is equally pure) is in a brief, but earnest supplicatory address, to pour forth his soul to heaven. His attention is not exhausted by the length of his prayers, and the few words of that petition, which is accounted

most

CHAP. V.

Moral principles of the Koran.

Prayer.

* Koran, chap xxx. The expression “sun-set,” in this passage has been always interpreted to mean, the afternoon, as well as the evening prayer.

† The first minarets, or lofty towers, were built by Walid, a Caliph of the Ommiadan dynasty, on the superb mosque at Damascus. Bibl. Orient. tom. 3. p. 365.

CHAP. V. most efficacious, are strongly expressive of self abasement, of praise to God, and of reliance on his mercy.* Various ceremonies are prescribed for the due performance of the rite of prayer, but the doctors of the mosque with truth maintain, that it is to the devotional state of the heart, and not merely to the attitude of the body, that the searcher of spirits looks. The wisdom of one of their ceremonies, is sanctioned by the experience of the world. When the Persian turns his face to the east, which he considers to be peculiarly sacred to the sun, and the Sabean beholds, to use the beautiful language of Job, “the moon walking in brightness,” or directs his eye to the northern star, the view of the objects of their worship kindles the fire of devotion, and checks the wanderings of their fancy. To the holy city of Jerusalem, the Jews constantly looked in the hour of prayer, and to the Temple of Mecca, every follower of Muhammed in the seasons of adoration religiously bends his knee.† In imitation of the old Jewish custom, or rather in consonance with the general feeling of the Asiatics against all indiscriminate intercourse between the sexes, women are prohibited from attending the service of the mosque in the presence of the men.

The

* *Bibl. Orient.* tom. II. p. 332.

† *Al Ghazali*, cited by Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, sec. 17.

‡ *Bibl. Orient.* article *Keblah*.

The devoting of particular days to more serious religious offices than at ordinary times, and the ensuring by such means, improvement to the soul and refreshment to the body, was an institution so beneficial to the spiritual and temporal welfare of mankind, that Muhammed could not fail to observe it. A servile imitator of the Jewish and Christian systems, he disdained to be considered, and therefore Friday was fixed upon to be the sabbath of the Muselmans. On that day, solemn prayers are to be offered to God in the mosques, and the Koran is to be expounded by some appointed preacher. But the general observance of the day is not prescribed with that character of strictness, which distinguishes the Jewish sabbath. For the Koran says * that, “in the intervals of preaching and of prayer, believers may disperse themselves through the land as they list, and seek gain of the liberality of God,”—by pursuing worldly occupations and innocent amusements, as the context shews us is the meaning.

CHAP. V.

The Moslem's sabbath.

Frequent ablutions are essential to the health, and grateful to the senses of men in the heat of an Oriental clime; and to the mind of an Asiatic, external purification presents a lively image of the internal purity of the heart. The cleansing of the body is pronounced by Muhammed,

Ablution.

U

ammed,

* Chap. 62.

CHAP V. hammed, to be the key of prayer, without which it cannot be acceptable to God ; and in order to keep the mind attached to the practice, believers are enjoined to pour fine sand over the body, when pursuing their journies through the deserts of the east.* But as a^a Muhammedan writer has observed, after describing the variety and the manner of performing the legal lustrations, “ the most important purification, “ is the cleansing of the heart from all blame- “ able inclinations, and odious vices, and from “ all affections which may divert their atten- “ dance upon God.”† And although Muhammed well knew, that substances must be preserved by the means of ceremonies, yet he has exhorted his disciples not to attach too much consequence to mere external rites, and in a strain of admirable morality, has declared that, “ it is not righteousness that you turn your “ faces in prayer towards the east and west, but “ righteousness is of him who believeth in “ God, and the last day, and the angels, and “ the scriptures, and the prophets : who giveth “ money for God’s sake unto his kindred, and “ unto orphans, and the needy, and for re- “ demption of captives : who is constant at “ prayers, and giveth alms ; and of those who “ perform

The ritual inferior to the moral law.

* Koran, chap. iii. and v. Chardin’s *Voy en Perse*. tom. 11. ad finem. D’Ohsson’s *Tab. Général.* tom. 11. chap. 5.

† Al Gahazali cited by Sale. *Prel. Dis.* sec. 4.

“ perform the covenant which they have cove- CHAP. V.
 “ nanted, and who behave themselves patiently
 “ in adversity and hardships, and in times of
 “ violence: these are they who are true, and
 “ these are they who fear God.”*

Of all the misconceptions and false applica- Fasting
 tions of salutary principles, none have been
 more fully fraught with misery than the opinion
 and principle, that to the moral restraints on
 our passions, imposed by reason and revelation,
 voluntary corporeal mortification must be su-
 peradded. But however prone the weakness of
 human nature may have been to vitiate what is
 meant for its benefit, yet the principle of self-
 denial, accompanied with a caution against the
 destruction of mental and bodily energies, stands
 independent of the gloom of fanatics, and the
 frightful superstition of ascetics. The legiti-
 mate purpose of fasting is the prevention of
 offences, and not their punishment; for reason
 and revelation tells us, that the present life is
 one of trial; that the future life is one of re-
 tribution. Muhammed should consequently have
 enjoined a regular and diurnal subjection of the
 body, and not a particular fast at a certain sea-
 son of the year. But the month of Ramadan
 was distinguished for the purpose of abstinence,
 and in the revolutions of the lunar course, the

CHAP. V.

Muselman is compelled to bear the heat of summer, and the cold of winter, without mitigation or refreshment. "O, true believers!" says the prophet, "a fast is ordained you, that you may fear God; the month of Ramadan shall ye fast, in which the Koran was sent down from heaven. Therefore, let him among you who shall be at home in this month, fast the same month; but he who shall be sick, or on a journey, shall fast the like number of other days."* During this consecrated period, no gratification of the senses, or even support of the body, are allowed from morning until night. At night, however, the corporeal frame may be renovated, the spirits recruited, and nature may resume her rights.

Alms-giving

Prayer carries us half way to God; fasting brings us to the door of his palace; and alms procure us admission, was a saying of one of the early Caliphs.† A tenth part of the property which has been for a twelvemonth in the possession of an individual, is the demand on his charity of the Muhammedan law; but the duty of alms-giving is not considered to be performed in all its extent, unless in addition to the legal alms, he makes donations to the poor. But the tax (for in no other light can the prescribed alms-giving be considered) has been discontinued long since in most

* Koran, chap. 11.

† D'Herbelot, tom. 3, p. 71.

most Muhammedan countries, and the practice of charity has become entirely a subject of conscience. Hassan, the son of Ali, and grandson of Muhammed, twice in his life divided his goods between himself and the distressed; and the Caliphs, Omar and Abubeker, every week distributed abroad in charity, the difference between their expenses and revenue.* The productions of corn-fields, olive grounds, and vineyards, are not gathered in the East with minute scrupulosity. To the poor were assigned the gleanings: Job describes them as gathering the harvest-dew even in the vineyard of the unjust: † Muhammed permits his disciples to enjoy corn, dates, pomegranates, olives, and all other divine blessings, but commands, that in the harvest and vintage, the poor shall have their right. ‡

To the Temple of Mecca, so sacred and inviolable (perhaps the temple which Diodorus§ remarks as being revered by *all* the Arabians, and certainly of such antiquity that its origin is lost in fable||), the Arabians had long been zealously attached. They annually crowded from every part of the land to perform in it their Pagan rites, and to worship the different deities,

Pilgrimage
to Mecca.

U 3

whose

* Ockley's History of the Saracens, in loco.

† Michaelis on Mosaic Law, vol. 2, p. 257.

‡ Koran, chap. 6.

§ Diod Sic lib. 3, cap. 44.

|| See William Jones's Dissertation on the Arabs.

CHAP. V. whose images they had placed in this pantheon, as it might be called. Three hundred and sixty idols of men, and of various animals, formed the objects of adoration. In the centre of the city, and within the area of a noble portico or piazza, adorned with cupolas and minarets, stands the quadrangular Caaba, or part of the building most highly venerated. Its length from north to south, is twenty-four cubits, its breadth from east to west, twenty-three cubits, and its height twenty-seven cubits. Through a door and a window, the light enters. The Caaba has a double roof, supported by three pillars of aloes wood of an octagonal form. A golden spout discharges to the ground the rain water from the roof. The well Zemmen, esteemed by the Arabians as the spring which gushed out for the relief of Ishmael, when his mother Hagar wandered with him in the desert, is defended by a small cupola from any mixture with water from the clouds. But the great object of respect is the black stone, which, its worshippers affirm, having fallen from heaven to earth in the life of Adam, was restored to Paradise at the time of the deluge, and brought to Abraham, when (as the fable runs) he erected the Caaba. It is set in silver at the south-east corner of the temple, and is kissed by every pilgrim. The idolaters, in performance of the end of their pilgrimage,

age,

CHAP. V. **declaration, that he who did not perform it once in the course of his life, might as well die a Christian or a Jew : and in the same strain, the Muhammedan doctors tell us, that the mere view of this temple by a true believer, without the performance of any rites of prayer, is as meritorious in the sight of God, as the regular exercise of pious duties for a whole year in any other place of worship.* It may not be inapposite to remark, that the Temple held next in esteem to the Caaba, is the Mesged (or Temple) al Nabi, built by Muhammed at Médina. In this consecrated spot he offered public prayers, preached, and was buried. The Muhammedan pilgrims commonly visit this temple after the conclusion of their devotions at the other. These temples at Mecca and Medina are called, for the sake of distinction, Haramain, or the two sacred places, and the title of their minister or attendant, stands amidst the list of splendid distinctions of the Sultans of Constantinople.†**

Circum-
cision

**As a sign of the covenant between the posterity of Abraham and the one true God, the rite of circumcision was adopted. It may be fairly contended, that the antiquity of this ceremony is of higher origin, than even the days of this Father of the Faithful. The testimonies of
ancient**

* D'Herbelot, Bib Orient. art. Caaba.

† D'Herbelot, ubi sup.

ancient authors are unanimous in proof of the fact of its existence in Egypt, Abyssinia, Ethiopia, and other countries to which the laws of the Jews did not extend, and in modern times it is used (for medical purposes of cleanliness, which perhaps first gave rise to the custom) in Egypt, where even Muhammedan females are subjected to the operation, a measure neither prescribed by the Koran, nor sanctioned by the Turks.* The Coptic Christians too, submit their children to this painful ordinance. In the Koran there are no positive injunctions on the performance of circumcision, but as it had been invariably practised in Arabia by the Ishmaelitic Arabs, the descendants of Abraham, Muhammed speaks of it as a matter in universal use, and apparently as not wanting the sanction of a legislator to ensure its continuance.

CHAP. V.

Among the laws of Muhammed, which, by reason of their opposition to the usages in this western world, are to the unphilosophical observer questionable in policy, none have this appearance more than the prohibition of the use of

Prohibition
of wine.

* See Niebuhr's very curious remarks on and facts relating to circumcision, in his *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 67—71. Michaelis, *Questions à Niebuhr*, p. 185—192, 12mo., and also on the circumcision of females, note 160 to 47 chap of Gibbon. Circumcision is common in Africa among the Pagans as well as among the Muhammedans. See note 27 to Robert Adams's *Narrative*, 4to. page 112. On the Turkish practice of circumcision, read Hyde, *Opera*, tom. 2, p. 286, 4to Oxon,

CHAP. V. wine.* But the precepts of Muhammedanism on this subject were neither new nor extraordinary. For ages before the preaching of the Prophet of Mecca, wine was but little drunk either in Egypt or Arabia. In the former of those countries vineyards are seldom seen, because the level nature of the land is uncongenial to the growth of the vine, which always delights in hills. During those months also when the grapes would approach to maturity, the country is overflowed by the Nile, which would cause their inevitable destruction. Some places indeed are favourable to the cultivation of the plant,† but they are not sufficiently numerous or extensive, to justify giving this land of general fertility, the appellation of a wine country. The Egyptian lawgivers called in the aid of religious imposture to make efficacious their advice to the people, of contentment with the various preparations and distillations from grain. Wine therefore was declared to be an abomination to the Gods, and the *blood* of the ancient enemies of Egypt. From Egypt, that parent of philosophy, superstition, and the sciences, these principles spread abroad. Even the Manicheans in Persia held wine to be the blood, or rather the gall, that is, the poison of their supposed evil principle, and prohibited its
use

* Koran, chap. 2 and 5.

† The Alexandrian or Marecotic wine is praised by Horace, lib. 1. Odarum, ode 37.

use among the elect; and hence the Manichean Christians forbade the use of wine in the Lord's supper.* To a very remote period in the history of Arabia, we can trace the abhorrence of wine, and we may remark that Jeremiah, who lived twelve hundred years before Muhammed, mentions an Arabian family that entered Palestine with the Israelites, and after a residence there of at least eight hundred years, continued sacredly to adhere to the injunctions of their ancestor Jonadab, "not to build houses, but to dwell in tents, not to sow, nor to plant, nor to possess any vineyards, nor to drink wine."† These customs of the people and sanctions of lawgivers, are well suited to the East. "In warm countries," says Montesquieu, "the aqueous part of the blood loses itself greatly by perspiration, it must therefore be supplied by a like fluid: Water is therefore of admirable use; strong liquors would coagulate the globules of the blood that remain after the transuding of the aqueous humour. The law of Muhammed is, therefore, proper to the climate of Arabia."‡ In southern countries too, drunkenness is attended with far more formidable consequences, greater passion, violence and bloodshed, than in northern

* See Michaelis's Commentaries on the Mosaic Law, vol 3, art 190 Smith's Translation, and authorities therein referred to

† Michaelis, vol. iii, p. 128.

‡ Montesquieu, l'Esprit des Loix, livre 14, chap. 10

CHAP. V. northern climes, and must consequently be re-
 garded by a legislator in a different light.

Gaming. The moral principles which are applicable to the last matter under discussion, lose none of their force, when referred to in arguing the propriety of another subject of Muhammedan regulation. Amidst the cares and calamities of life, it is natural to add physical aids to our moral consolations, but the abuses of the auxiliary are so detfimental to society, that religion and laws loudly proclaim against them. Chance and risk must enter into all our projects, whether of public or domestic concern, but the extension of the principle to cases where the necessary purposes of life do not require it, fills the land with vice, and crushes families with ruin. The passion of gaming, that offspring of avarice, indolence, and restlessness, has consequently met from the moralist the severest reprobation. But in the East, where most of the passions are fierce in their nature, and dreadful in their energies, the laws have sanctioned the efforts of the preacher. In the Institutes of Menu, and in the general body of Gentoo laws, so highly venerable for their antiquity and authority, gaming is prohibited.* In the progressive depravity of ages, the necessity of the Cornelian laws upon the subject, the “*vetita legi-*
 “ bus

* See Halhed's translation of the *Gentoo laws*, chap. 21. sec. 1. and Jones's *Institutes of Hindu Law*, chap. 9. sec. 221—225.

“bus alea,”* proportionably increased, and the strictness of Christian morality induced the Emperors of Constantinople, to forbid all amusements of chance to the clergy, and to allow them to the laity, only during the times of general festivity.† The Talmūdists too have reprobated the vice, and Muhammed has fulminated against it the strongest denunciations of heavenly wrath.‡ But a well measured distinction has saved the pastime of the wise from these rigorous ordinances. From the west of India, the game of chess travelled to Persia, and was introduced into Arabia about the æra of Muhammedanism. Whatever might have been the cause of the invention, or the purpose of its founder, yet the beautiful simplicity and extreme perfection of the game as played in western Europe, and the fine political lesson it gives to kings, that although the person of a monarch is sacred, yet his political existence depends upon his wise government of the people,

* Horat. lib. 3. ode 24.

† The Roman laws on gaming are Dig. lib. 11 tit. 5. cod. 3. tit. 43. Justinianus in jure civili, Laicis aliquando permittit *Tabulam*, si modice fiat. Sed Clericis plane interdicit *ad tabulam ludere* (quippe in qua sit alea) aut cum aliis ludentibus participes esse, aut inspectores fieri, aut ad quodlibet spectaculum spectandi gratia venire. Et si aliquis in hoc delinqueret per triumvirum erat ab officio suspendus. Alias vero apud Romanorum magnates et doctos jurisconsultos sine scrupulo exercere solebat. Hyde, de Ludis Orient. p. 115. 12mo. Oxon. 1694.

‡ Koran, chapters 2 and 5.

CHAP. V. ple, place it in a very honourable rank among the productions of science. The mighty conqueror Tamerlane studied the art of war and politics from the movements of chess-men, and the acuteness and address of the doctors of the Mosque in secular affairs are exercised and improved in this mimic field of worldly conflict.*

Besides

Chap. 5.

* As chess depends wholly on skill and management, and not at all on chance, the Muhammedan doctors allow it to be lawful. Sale's *Piehm.* (Dissert. sec. 5) The Arabic writers inform us, that chess was invented in a time of public convulsion by a Brahmin, as a lesson to a profligate and unpopular prince, that he could neither attack his enemies, nor defend himself against them, without the assistance of his subjects. *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscript.* tom. 5 p 253. Sir Wm. Jones countenances the opinion of the Hindus, that the game of chess was invented by a Hindu woman—by the wife of Ravan king of Lanca, in order to amuse him with an image of war while his city was closely besieged by Rema, about four thousand years ago Sir W. Jones's *Works* vol. 1. 4to ed.—Daines Barrington attributes the invention to the Chinese he satisfactorily proves that chess was unknown both to the Greeks and to the Romans. The Italians first received it from the modern Greeks. Boccaccio speaks of it as a common amusement at Florence in the fourteenth century. From Italy it soon proceeded to every country of the west. Consult Barrington's *Essay* on the subject in vol. 9. of the *Archæologia* The Moors of Spain greatly contributed to its general usage Jones is certainly wrong in his notion, that "the game was invented by one effort of some great genius, and not completed by gradual improvements." He founds his opinion on the perfection and simplicity of the game, as it is commonly played in Europe and in Asia. Now it appears, that the old and original Hindu game of chess is extremely complicated, and is essentially different from the modern Hindustanee mode both these modes vary materially from the Chinese game, and that again from the Burhman. The modern Persian and the modern Hindustanee modes are the same. The English game of chess differs from them all. See Captain Cox's curious *Dissertation* on the subject in the seventh vol of the *Asiatic Researches*, and some admirable remarks on the history of chess, by that great man Dr. Hyde in his *Historia Shahiludu*, p. 53—68. 12mo. Oxon. 1689. The common

Besides these specific regulations for moral conduct, the exhortations to virtue are numerous in the Koran. “ Deal not unjustly with others, and ye shall not be dealt with unjustly.”—“ Covet not that which God hath bestowed on some of you preferably to others.”—“ Shew kindness unto parents, relations, orphans, and the poor ; and also to your neighbour, to your friend, the traveller, and the captives whom your right hand shall possess : for God loveth not the proud or vain glorious who are covetous, and recommend covetousness unto men, and conceal that which God of his bounty hath given them ; and who bestow their wealth in charity to be observed of men.”—“ O true believers ! observe justice when ye appear as witnesses before God, and let not hatred towards any individual induce you to do wrong.”*

CHAP. V.
General exhortations to virtue.

III. A large portion of the jurisprudence of the Koran has already been detailed : for so close is the connection between ethical and civil institutions, that many subjects may be considered with equal propriety, under the title either of morality or of law. Some ordinances

Jurisprudence of the Koran.

game of chess was not sufficiently difficult for a genius like Tamerlane's. He added several pieces, and altered the game by various complications. See the interesting Portrait du grand Tamerlan, traduit de l'Arabe, par. Vattier, p. 8. 4to Paris 1658.

* Koran, chapters 2, 4, 5.

CHAP. V. yet remain to be mentioned.* Muhammed appears to have legislated solely for Arabia. His system therefore was adapted only to a rude people, and the other Muhammedan nations are as superstitious in making the Koran the rule of jurisprudence, as the Christians are in referring civil matters to the decision of the municipal institutions of the Jews. If Muhammed be censured for the partial nature of his laws, Solon and Numa must partake of the reproof. Their codes were formed for their own times and people. Morality is immutable and universal: but laws are made to meet the circumstances of society as they occur: they must follow, and not lead the manners. A system of *a priori* legislation made without reference to opinions and prejudices, may be the dream of a philosopher, but can never be the deliberate scheme of a practical politician.

Polygamy. By the laws of the Jews the practice of polygamy was at least tolerated, if not openly allowed. But it ceased entirely after the return of that people from the Babylonish captivity; and indeed in earlier times, it was not very common among them, for Solomon,† in his description of that wife, whom he accounts a blessing to her husband, represents her entirely as a *mater*

* The military laws of the Munammedans have already been stated in a note under our History of the Undivided Caliphate.

† Proverbs, xxxi, 10, 31.

mater familias, that is, the mistress and ruler of the whole household; which a wife in the state of polygamy can never be, as she is destined solely for her husband's pleasures, and has no permission to concern herself at all about domestic economy.* The lawgivers of Greece and of Rome expressly prohibited polygamy. Plato was a strenuous defender of the practice, but the polite states of Greece paid not to him that reverence as a lawgiver, which they did as a philosopher, and regarded polygamy as a custom fit only for Barbarian and Asiatic governments.† From our notions of the Muhammedan institutions we conclude, that no limits are set to personal indulgence, but in truth, sensuality in either sex is punished by the civil magistrate; and the Koran is decisive, that every man must confine himself to the society of four women, whether they be wives or concubines.‡ This limitation was in consonance

x

with

* Michaelis, Commentaries on the Mosaic laws, vol. 2. art. 95.

† Taylor's Elements of Civil Law, p. 342 Read Cicero's reprobation of polygamy in his treatise, de Orat 1, 40.

‡ Koran chap. 4. Reland, de Relig. Mhham. p. 243 Many of the laws of Muhammed betray the shortsightedness of their author to the extensiveness of their influence. The practice of polygamy would never be permitted by the founder of a general religion Nature and policy are united against it, and although it is in accordance with the licentious manners of one part of the world, yet mankind at large hold it in abhorrence. Silence upon the subject, or an absolute prohibition of it, would have been the course of a man who wished to legislate for all people and all times.

CHAP. V. with the ancient usage of the patriarchal families, and we find in the works of the Talmudists and Rabbins, cited in Selden, de Uxore Hebraica, that the Jewish doctors also reduced the general permission of polygamy to the same number. In the countries of the west, since the establishment of Christianity, the only honourable connection between the sexes is that of marriage. But under the Mosaic law, the state of concubinage was recognized, and the violation of the greatest of female duties was punished less severely in the case of a concubine, than of a wife, the former with stripes, the latter with death;* and we find both by the Pandects and the Koran, a state mediate between those of marriage and prostitution was sanctioned by Justinian and Muhammed. The laws of Rome were in accordance with public opinion. Many of the best and wisest among the Romans tried the fidelity of their female companions, before they exalted them to the proud character of a Roman matron. But from the moment of the celebration of the marriage rites, the children became legitimate, they were placed on a level with issue born in wedlock; and while the fruits of casual prostitution were scarcely allowed a miserable pittance out of their father's estate, the children of concubinage

* Leviticus, chap. 19. ver. 20.

age shared equally with those of marriage.* CHAP. V.
 The sole privilege which the laws of Muhammed give to a wife, but deny to a concubine, is that of dowry. In respect to reputation, their characters are without distinction, and the laws and opinions hold the children of both in the same consideration.

We shall look in vain among the laws of nature, for prohibited degrees of marriage. Prohibited degrees of marriage.
 The doctrine of the *horror naturalis* is a fiction: it was raised by those moralists, who were unable to mark the difference between nature and custom, or to discover the real policy of legislative enactments. The history of mankind confutes the doctrine. Nations the most polished, such as the Phœnicians, Egyptians, Persians, Athenians, and Lacedæmonians,—people the most savage, the North American Indians, for example, have been accustomed to marriages among the nearest relations. Could Moses, who expressly informs us, that the author of nature (in whose power it was to have created the first married pair without any previous relation) did purposely create them in the closest possible connection, could he have thought that God had implanted in man any natural aversion from a marriage with her who is his relation, and a

* Taylor's Elem. Civil Law, p. 273, and Harris's Justinian, lib. 1. tit. 10.

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part of his flesh ? But the reason why marriages in certain degrees is prohibited, are derived from the care of men for the preservation of purity of manners : for if a common intercourse of love was introduced between near relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate conversation, especially during early youth, would introduce an universal dissoluteness and corruption. But as the customs of countries vary considerably, and open an intercourse, more or less restrained, between different families, or between the several members of the same family, we find that the moral precept, varying with its cause, is susceptible without any inconvenience, of very different latitude, in the several ages and nations of the world. The lawgivers of Rome were never tempted by interest or superstition, to multiply the forbidden degrees : but they inflexibly condemned the marriage of sisters and brothers, hesitated whether first cousins should be subjected to the same interdiction, and revered the parental character of aunts and uncles. Upon this subject, the Mosaic and Muhammedan laws have a strong affinity ; and as among the Romans, the right or privilege of kissing, which was only permitted among the nearest relations, once formed the distinguishing boundary ; so among the Arabians, probably the veil, which might be dispensed with in the intercourse

course between some relations, answered the same purpose.* “Marry not women,” says Muhammed in the fourth chapter of the Koran, “whom your fathers have had to wife. Ye are forbidden to marry your mothers, and your daughters, and your sisters, and your aunts, both on the father’s and on the mother’s side, and your brother’s daughters, and your sister’s daughters, and your mothers in law, and your foster sisters, and your wives mothers, and your daughters in law, and the wives of your sons; and ye are also forbidden to take to wife two sisters.”

The power of the married pair to terminate their nuptial contract, should seem to be absolute and unlimited. But considerations of humanity and policy in favour of the offspring, and the circumstance that the privilege of separation for every cause, real or imaginary, tends to mutual distrust and general licentiousness, have called upon the legislator to regulate and restrain the right. By the legal institutions of the Roman republic, the husband’s prerogative of divorce was without control. In the early ages the manners corrected the laws; but with the gradual decline of purity of morals, the obligation of the marriage rite was proportionably relaxed

x 3

relaxed

* Paley’s Moral Phil book 3. chap 5 Hunt’s England, reign Henry VIII. Michaels on Mosaic Law. vol. 2 chap 7. Sale’s Prelim. Disc. sec. 6. and Taylor’s Elements of Civil Law p. 314—339.

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relaxed. The Christian emperors, alarmed at our Saviour's explanation of the Mosaic law upon the subject, endeavoured to define and limit the grounds for divorce,* and the reproach of the Roman satirist† was removed. By the laws of Moses and of Muhammed, fancifulness as well as reason, justified the husband in dissolving the tenderest of all human connections: but as a singular method of preventing the too frequent exercise of this power, the Koran, while it permits the Muselman to retake his wife a first and even a second time, denies the privilege again, without her previous marriage to, and divorce from, another man.‡ Unlike the Romans and Athenians, who gave to both sexes equally the power of separation,|| the Arabian Prophet indulges not the capriciousness of woman, and allows her to part from her husband, only for the solid causes of his gross misconduct, and absolute neglect of her. But as it rarely occurs, that in the instance of a divorce at the instigation of the wife, the law permits her to enjoy her dowry, she is compelled to bear her unhappiness, until she can persuade or provoke her husband to terminate their union.¶

It

* Taylor's Elements of Civil Law, p. 349—363.

† ——— Sic fiunt octo mariti

Quinque per autumnos. Juv Sat 6, 20

‡ Koran, chap. 2 Savary's Koran, tom 1, p. 39, n. 2.

|| Montesquien, L'Esprit des Loix, liv 16, chap. 16.

¶ Chardin's Voy. en Perse, tom. 1, p. 169 Koran, chap. 4,

It appears that the old Arabs punished an CHAP. V.
Adultery. adultress by immuring her till she died. Muhammed commanded that she should be stoned to death: the evidence of four witnesses is necessary for her conviction. No satisfactory commentary has yet been made upon a regulation, that is apparently so absurd. It is singular, that in Arabia the act of adultery is not considered to reflect so much disgrace upon the husband, as upon the parents and brothers of the woman. It is said that an husband may resort to the civil remedy of a divorce, but that the relation of consanguinity is perpetual. Public opinion, therefore, allows a parent or brother to kill his offending daughter or sister, but the husband is never permitted to vindicate his rights. In the Turkish empire, the Mufti never punishes a man who kills his wife and her lover in the commission of this domestic offence.*

The nature of the climate of the east has rendered the use of certain meats detrimental to health. Legislators have, therefore, either divided beasts into the clean and the unclean, that is to say, those that are proper, and those that are not proper, food; or, they have specifically prohibited some, and left the people to their discretion with respect to their use of the rest. Of the former description of lawgivers,

Interdic-
tion of
meat.

* Arvieux, Voyage en Palestine, chap. 19 Niebuhl, Description de l'Arabie, p. 39, and D'Ohsson, tom. 4, p. 347.

CHAP. V. was Moses; of the latter, was Muhammed.

That swine's flesh engenders cutaneous disorders, more especially in warm countries, is a well-known fact: the filthiness of the quadruped is sufficient to give a distaste for it; and accordingly we find, that the Egyptians, Arabians, and almost all the oriental nations abhorred it.* The necessity of the case dictated the prohibition; and the language of the Koran therefore is: "Ye are forbidden to eat what dieth of it-
 " self, and blood, and swine's flesh, and what
 " has been offered to any idol, or strangled, or
 " killed by a blow or a fall, or gored to death
 " by another horned beast, or what has been
 " torn by a wild beast, unless you yourselves
 " shall still find life in it, and kill it †"

Inheri-
 tance,

Before the days of Muhammed, the property of a deceased Arabian was divided between such of his relations as were able to bear arms; and the equitable share of the widow and orphan was unjustly taken from them by their ferocious brethren.‡ The dowry of a woman was also frequently seized. Muhammed vindicated the rights of the female sex, and appeared in this instance a wise and humane legislator. The laws of inheritance, succession, and dowry, are stated in the following terms in the fourth chapter

* See the Abbé Guence's Jew's Letters to Voltaire, vol. 2.

† Chap 2

‡ Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum. p. 337.

ter of the Koran : “ Give women their dōwry CHAP. V.
 “ freely : and give not unto those who are weak
 “ of understanding the substance which God
 “ has appointed you to preserve for them ; but
 “ maintain them thereout, and clothe them, and
 “ speak kindly unto them. And examine the
 “ religious state of the orphans, and their ca-
 “ pacity for the management of their affairs,
 “ until they attain the age of marriage and ma-
 “ turity (fifteen) : but if ye perceive they are
 “ able to manage their affairs well, deliver their
 “ substance unto them, and waste it not extra-
 “ vagantly or hastily, because they will soon be
 “ of age. Let him who is rich abstain entirely
 “ from the orphan’s estate ; and let him who is
 “ poor, take thereof for the trouble of their edu-
 “ cation what shall be reasonable. Men and
 “ women ought to have a part of what their
 “ parents and kindred leave behind them when
 “ they die. Surely they who devour the posses-
 “ sions of orphans unjustly, shall swallow no-
 “ thing but fire into their bellies, and shall broil
 “ in raging flames. God hath commanded you
 “ in the following manner respecting your chil-
 “ dren : A male shall have as much as the share
 “ of two females : but if your children are fe-
 “ males only, and more than two in number,
 “ they shall have two third parts of what the
 “ deceased shall leave ; and if there be but one,
 “ she

CHAP. V. “ she shall have the half: (and the remaining
 “ third part, or the remaining moiety of the
 “ estate, which is not here expressly disposed
 “ of, if the deceased leaves behind him no son,
 “ nor a father, goes to the public treasury).
 “ And the parents of the deceased shall have
 “ each of them a sixth part of what he shall
 “ leave, if he have a child ; but if he have no
 “ child, and his parents be his heirs, his mother
 “ shall have one third part, and his father two
 “ thirds. And if he have brethren, his mother
 “ shall have a sixth part, after his bequests to
 “ charitable institutions* and his debts are paid.
 “ Ye know not whether your parents or your
 “ children be of greater use unto you. More-
 “ over, ye may claim half of what your wives
 “ shall have if they have no issue ; but if they
 “ have issue, then ye shall have the fourth part
 “ of what they shall leave after their debts and
 “ charitable bequests are paid They also shall
 “ have the fourth part of what ye shall leave, in
 “ case ye have no issue : but if ye have issue,
 “ then they shall have the eighth part of what
 “ ye shall leave. And if a man’s or woman’s
 “ substance be inherited by a distant relation,
 “ and he or she have a brother or sister, each
 “ of them shall have a sixth part. But if there
 “ be

* The testator has absolute power only over a third part of his property. The other two-thirds must be divided among his family. Jones’s Commentary on Al Sirajyyah, p. 557. Works, 4to edition.

“ be more than this number, they shall be equal CHAP. V.
 “ sharers in a third part. If a man die without
 “ issue, and have a sister, she shall have the
 “ half of what he shall leave: and he shall
 “ be heir to her, in case she shall have no issue.
 “ But if there be two sisters, they shall have
 “ between them two third parts of what he
 “ shall leave; and if there be several, both
 “ brothers and sisters, a male shall have as
 “ much as the portion of two females.” In
 the fifth chapter, the power of testamentary
 disposition is acknowledged, and several direc-
 tions are given for “ making of the will,” in a
 solemn and decorous manner.*

In connection with these wise regulations for Prohibition
of female
infanticide.
 the distribution of property, we may notice the
 humanity of Muhammed in preserving the lives
 of

* Such are the principal passages in the Koran on the law of succes-
 sion. The importance of the subject in the estimation of Muhammedans,
 must apologize for the length of the extracts “ Learn the laws of In-
 heritance, and teach them to the people, for they are one half of judicial
 knowledge ” The Muselman law of succession has been illustrated by
 Sirajuddin and Shanif, the Coke and Littleton of the east Their works
 were translated from the Arabic into the Persian language, by order of
 Mr. Hastings and this interesting part of knowledge has been opened
 to the English reader by Sir William Jones in a book called *Al Sirajy-
 yah* He has compressed the diffusive learning of his originals, and im-
 mortalized himself by his commentary on them. But this work, admi-
 rable as it is, has not superseded the necessity of further aid to the study
 of the Hindu law of inheritance. See Mr. Colebrooke's *Digest of the
 Hindu Law on Contracts and Succession*, 3 vol 8vo, 1801, and his two
 treatises on the last of these subjects, printed at Calcutta in 1810. The
 Turkish laws of inheritance are set down by Todeimi in the first volume
 of his book on Turkish Literature.

CHAP. V. of children. Infanticide is a vice, from which scarcely any nation has been free. The Egyptians and Thebans were perhaps the only people who carried not to this abominable excess, their exercise of parental power.* Even in Rome the law of nature was violated, until it was vindicated by the enactments of the Cornelian code. Before the days of Muhammed, the birth of a female child was accounted a misfortune by an Arab, and the feelings of the father were not shocked by inhuming his daughter alive. Muhammed is energetic and eloquent against this barbarous practice, and with all the collected authority of a divine, a moralist, and a legislator, he commands the preservation of all children that may be born.†

Usury. The Koran is positive in its prohibition of usury.‡ The permission which Moses granted to the Jews, to take interest from strangers, shews that his general laws against usury were mere civil regulations. Reasons of policy might induce the proscription among the people whom he governed, but profit or inequality of dealing, which alone can render commerce advantageous, required its allowance in their transactions with other nations. No such exception occurs in the Koran, and the legislator of the Arabs may, in

* *Died. Siculus*, lib. 1, cap. 80. *Ælian*, Var. Hist. lib. 2, cap. 7.

† *Koran*, chapters 6, 16, 17, and 81.

‡ *Chap. 2.*

in this instance, be justly charged with short-sightedness. The prohibition of usury in the Koran, is followed by the exhortation, that, CHAP. V.
 “ If there be any debtor under a difficulty of Debts.
 “ paying his debt, let his creditor wait till it be
 “ easy for him to do it. When ye bind your- Contracts.
 “ selves one to the other in a debt for a certain
 “ time, write it down, and let a writer write
 “ between you according to justice. And take
 “ witnesses when ye sell one to the other.”

The laws of Muhammed respecting murder, Murder.
 deserve consideration. In the infancy of society, when the civil magistrate has but little authority, private retaliation is necessary. The *Goel*, or blood avenger, existed therefore among the Jews before the days of Moses, and the *Tair* in the Arabic language, means the nearest relation of a person murdered, whose right and duty it was to avenge his kinsman's death with his own hand. Among the Arabs, whose national spirit may be said to dwell in their poems, the finest and most sublime pieces of sacred verse are devoted to the praises of the blood avenger ; and wherever the poet means to celebrate the virtues of his hero, he never fails to dwell upon the apparently incongruous topics, of his hospitality, and his thirst of revenge. The *Tair* was under no necessity of sending the murderer a challenge : for artifice, treachery,
 and

CHAP. V. and even assassination, were lawful in avenging blood. The Arabian legislator endeavoured to mitigate this horrible custom. He acknowledges this right of retaliation, but recommends to the blood avenger to be satisfied with a moderate compensation in money. This enactment reflects no praise to Muhammed. He ought, like Moses, who legislated for a people that very much resembled the Arabs, to have recognized the privilege of the Goel, but have commanded that a judicial enquiry should always precede the exercise of his revenge. Justice would by these means have been satisfied, and civil laws would have prevented moral evil. This command of Muhammed has never been observed. The recommendation of the acceptance of a sum of money, was so great an opposition to the national maxims of honour, that like the laws in Europe against duelling, it totally failed.* Involuntary man-slaughter is punished according to the Muhammedan code, by the infliction of a fine of one hundred camels,† on a rich man, and of two months rigorous penance on the meaner Arabs. This legislative provision was equally inefficacious as that against murder. Moses, on the contrary, knowing that if the manslayer were allowed to retain his liberty, his
blood

* Michaels on the Mosaic Laws, chap. 10, art. 134.

† Sale's Prelim. Disc. sec. 6.

blood would be shed by the Goel, wisely and humanely permitted him to live in a consecrated city of refuge, till the death of the high priest, by which time it was hoped, the revenge of the Goel would have subsided.*

The laws of Muhammed against the crime of theft are few and impolitic. "If a man or woman steal," says the Koran,† "cut off their hands, in retribution for what they have committed." But this punishment, according to the Sonna, is not to be inflicted, unless the value of the stolen articles amounts to five dinars, or forty shillings. In this respect, the laws of Justinian are far more wise than those of Muhammed. The Novells, from a wise consideration that poverty is the general temptation to the crime, and that maiming would deprive the man for ever from all possible exertions of industry, have expressly forbidden the amputation of the offending part.‡ By the Roman laws, simple theft was always treated as a mere private injury, but the Jewish, the Athenian, and the Roman legislators, authorised the putting to death of the nocturnal robber.

The principle of retaliation for personal injuries, has been adopted by people in days of refinement, as well as in their night of barba-

ism.

* Numbers, chap. 35, vers. 9, &c

† Chap 5

‡ Novells, 134, cap 13

CHAP. V. **rism.** The laws of Moses acknowledge retaliation to be consuetudinary, and approve of its application to various cases.* Solon declared that, whoever puts out the eye of a one eyed person, shall forfeit both his own.† The language of the twelve tables is, “ Si membrum
“ rupsit, ni cum eo paicit, Talio esto.” But in the course of ages, the lex talionis became obsolete, and the institutes of Justinian approved the adjudication of a pecuniary equivalent for a personal injury.‡ In the second and fifth chapters of the Koran, retaliation is allowed: but in most Muhammedan countries, the spirit, rather than the letter of the law, has been followed; and the expression of, “ eye
“ for eye, and tooth for tooth,” has received the plain and rational construction, that every man shall be punished according to the extent of his guilt.

General reflections on the Koran.

A successful promulgation to the world of speculations, which heaven never authorised or revealed, upon the state of man with his creator, excites the ridicule of the philosopher, at the credulity of the vulgar, and the indignation of the moralist at the audacity of trifling with mankind, upon matters of an importance, so high and solemn. But a system of religion,
although

* Exodus, chap. 21. ver. 24, &c.

† *Petitæ leges Atticæ*. lib. 7. tit. 3. Paris 1635.

‡ *Institut.* lib. 4. cap. 4. sec. 7.

although its claims to a divine origin are false, may contain many wise and salutary truths in theology and morals. *Nulla falsa doctrina est, quæ non aliquid veri permisceat.* In the Koran, we find the acknowledgement of a deity, to whom are attributed those perfections which reason faintly imagines, and which Christianity revealed. The object of a Muhammedan's adoration is pure. No "elegant mythology," as Mr. Gibbon, with his usual sneer against Christianity, calls the abominable system of heathen superstition; no cælestial personifications of the human passions sully the holiness of the Moslem's faith. A few ceremonies, however trifling and absurd they may be, are less disgusting to our feelings, and degrading to our nature, than the immolation of men, or the exposition of their children. The Paradise offered to the Arabian was sensual, it is true, but it could not be attained without the previous practice of morality. If with the doubts of the sages of antiquity on the immortality of the soul, if with the dismal prospect of annihilation presented to us by some of them,* and the idea of its short-lived duration entertained by others,†

Y

if

* By Cæsar and M. Porcius Cato, for example see Sallust. Bell. Catalin. chap 51 and 53.

† Even by the Stoics—*du mansuros aiant animos semper negunt*—Read Cicero, (the chief of the academic-) particularly the first book of

CHAP V. if with this system of philosophy we compare the Muhammedan scheme of eternal rewards and punishments, the mind will have no hesitation in confessing the superior conduciveness to virtue of the Arabian theology. The beauty of virtue, and the necessary and eternal fitness of things, may appear in the calmness and solitude of the closet inducements to morality sufficiently powerful; but a descent into the world humbles the pride of the wisest, and draws the unwelcome confession, that the still small voice of reason cannot abate the storm of the passions, but that passion must be conquered by passion, and that our hopes for pleasure in this life, can only be effectually opposed, by hopes for happiness hereafter. The moral and legal system of the Koran is, as we have seen, a mixture of folly and wisdom, of impolicy and prudence. The social and domestic duties of man are stated with justness and precision, or referred to as generally known and practised. But in vain shall we search that volume for an acknowledgment of a fraternal connection between all the human

his Tusculan questions, and mark the conflict between the warm wishes for immortality of an aspiring soul, and the melancholy reflections of a mind unsatisfied with conjecture and the uncertain deductions from reason. The sentiments of the Peripatetics on this subject, are totally unintelligible. Cudworth's Intellectual System, tom. 1. p. 66, 500 and tom. 2. p. 1171. Pythagoras, and his follower Plato, taught that the soul was eternal. Cicero. Tusc. Quest. 1. 17.

human race, and for exhortations to universal love and charity for man. Implacable hatred of infidels is a primary duty of a zealous Muselman;* and the result of an attentive perusal of the statement made in this chapter of the Muhammedan laws, I think will be, that considerable praise is due to their author, when considered as a theologian or a moralist, but that he was an indifferent legislator. CHAP. V.

Neither the terrors of the sword, nor the thunders of the pulpit, could establish that unanimity of religious sentiment, which Muhammed professed so ardently to desire. If the various characters of the human mind produce so many different views of the same appearances, and so many interpretations of the same truths, we cannot wonder at the diversities of error and the wanderings of fanaticism. The sects of Muhammedanism have been as numerous as those of Christianity, and the history of the Mosque presents as melancholy a view of the Muham-
medan
sects.

Y 2 weakness

* Some superficial writers on the subject of the Muhammedan religion have commended Muhammed for his toleration! A few passages in the Koran might indeed make bigotry blush but such passages do not accurately represent the character of the religion. The truth is, that (like all other reformers) while Muhammed was an humble preacher he granted liberty of conscience, but when he became a powerful prince, the only choice to those to whom his religion was offered, was submission or tribute. Those portions of the Koran, therefore, which were revealed at Mecca, breathe the language of toleration, while those which were revealed at Medina, speak nothing but persecution

CHAP. V. — weakness of the human intellect, and the pride of the human heart, and the same moral lessons on the necessity of charity and mutual respect, as are afforded by the annals of the church. A detail of the history and different systems of these sects might be extended through volumes ; but since, in considering the Jews and Christians at large, we regard the former under the two general denominations of Pharisees and Sadducees, and the latter under the titles of Catholics and Protestants ; so with equal propriety, we may take a general view of the Moslem world in its two great divisions, of Sonnites or traditionists, and Shiites or sectaries. The Sonnite has in most ages of the Hegira, and in most Muhammedan countries, been the orthodox or established religion. The spirit of discord appeared in Arabia immediately on the death of Muhammed : schisms multiplied in every quarter ; but the great mass of believers agreed at last in recognizing the authority of four eminent doctors of law, Haneefa, Malik, Shaffei and Hanbal. These sages lived in the first and second centuries of the Hegira, and have been acknowledged as Imams or high priests. They are called the four pillars of the Sonnite faith, and each has a separate chapel in the temple of Mecca. Although their followers differ

differ in various points of morality and forms of worship, yet their dogmatical religion is the same, and they tolerate and respect each other.*

The high title of Imam is given by the Persians, only to Ali, to Hassan, to Hossein, and the nine following immediate descendants of Muhammed. The last of these, the Imam Mehdy, is supposed by them to be concealed, (not dead) and the title which belongs to him, cannot, they conceive, be given to any other person. But among the Sonnites it is a dogma, that there must be always a visible Imam, a father of the church, or a spiritual and temporal chief of Islamism.† It was long maintained, that the Imam must be descended from the Arabian tribe of the Koreish; but the Emperors of Constantinople have for three centuries been the Muhammedan Imams, and the want of heritable blood was supplied by the renunciation to Selim the first, of the dignity, by Muhammed the twelfth, the last Caliph of the house of Abbas; and by the delivery to the Sultan of the keys of the temple of Mecca by the Scheriff. Both the Caliph and the Scheriff were of the tribe of the Koreish, the former of the Abasidan, the latter of the Fatimite branch.‡

Y 3

The

* D'Ohsson, Tab. Gén. de l'Empire Othoman, tom. 1. p. 25.

† The word Imam, is also applied to the readers of divine service, and the preachers in the Mosque.

‡ D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient. art. Imam,—Malcolm's Hist. of Persia,

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The fundamental religious doctrine of the Shiites is the all sufficiency of the Koran, as the revealed will of God : but the book called *Sonna*, or the collection of the traditions of Muhammed, is received by the Sonnites.* They also

vol. 2. chap. 22. D'Ohsson, Tab. Gén de l'Empire Othoman, tom. 1. p. 270.

The *Sonna*.

* Two hundred years after Muhammed's death, Al Boukari, a sage of the law, selected seven thousand two hundred and seventy-five genuine traditions, from one hundred thousand of a doubtful, and two hundred thousand more of a spurious character. These traditions were made by the early converts to Islamism, and relate to the actions, the sayings, and even the silence of Muhammed. His taciturnity, like that of the ladies, was full of eloquence, and most important inferences have been drawn from it. This work was compiled at Mecca. Each day, the industrious and pious author prayed near the gate of Abraham and performed his ablution with the water from the well *Zemzen*. Absorbed in veneration for the prophet, he took his book to Medina, digested it into chapters, placed them both in the sepulchre and pulpit of Muhammed, and in the moderate time of sixteen years his work was finished. His collection is called the *Sahih*, or genuine : it has been received by the four orthodox sects of the Sonnites, and innumerable commentaries on it have been published by the *Muselman doctors*. *Bib. Orient art* Bokari and *Sahih*. The marvellous ceremonies which attended the compilation of the *Sonna*, are not unparalleled. The epistle of Leo the Great to Flavianus, upon the Incarnation, is well known to every biblical scholar. John Moschus informs us in his *spiritual meadow*, that he was told by Abbot Menas, who was told by Abbot Eulogius, who was told by Archdeacon Gregory, that the Roman church had a written tradition, that Pope Leo, when he had finished this letter, laid it on the tomb of the Apostle Peter, and besought him to correct it, wherever it was erroneous or imperfect. After he had prayed, fasted, and lain on the ground, a decent time (about forty days ; for the Apostle was somewhat shy, like Milton's Eve, *who would be wooed, and not unsought be won*), Peter appeared to him, and said, " I have read and corrected ;" upon which Leo takes the letter from the tomb, opens it, and finds that the Apostle had been as good as his word. *Person's Letters to Travis*, p. 379.

also acknowledge the authority of the Idiamay-umeth, or the glosses and legal decisions of the first disciples of the Apostle of God ; and the Keyass, or collections of canonical decisions made by the Imams—mudjhtihhids, or interpreters of the first ages of the Muhammedan religion : like the Sadducees, they utterly reject and despise the traditionary law, but the Sonnites, in a pharisaical conformity, place its value and importance on a level with the “ sure and “ written word of prophecy.” The real or fancied union of church and state among Christians, has not produced more internal warfare and distress, than the misery which has resulted from the close and intimate connection of political and spiritual concerns in the Mosque. The high doctrine of indefeasible and hereditary right is upheld by the Shiites, in all the pride of bigotry. In consonance with this principle, Ali, the fourth Caliph, the cousin and son in law of Muhammed, ought to have been the immediate successor of the prophet, and the three Caliphs preceding him in time, Abu-Beker, Omar, and Othman, were therefore usurpers. But the Sonnites maintain, that the nomination of spiritual and temporal chiefs is a power, which can only reside in those who are to be governed. The Persians, who are Shiites, call Ali the Vicar of God, and estimate his authority as of equal

CHAP. V. weight with that of Muhammed himself. The Persian creed therefore declares, that God is God, Muhammed is the prophet of God, and Ali is the Vicar of God. But the Turks, who are Sonnites, insist on the supremacy of Muhammed over all created beings, and on the merit of the four first Caliphs, Abu-Beker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, in the order of their several reigns. No wars which ever desolated the Christian world have caused half the bloodshed, or been so strongly stamped with the character of implacable animosity, as have the religious and political controversies of these Muhammedan sectaries. The history of every age of the Hegira teems with details of horror, and the Turks and Persians, the representatives of the Sonnites and Shiites, emulate each other in their mutual detestation and hatred. They agree only in a principle of discord. Reciprocal anathemas are poured forth. In the rancour of their feuds, not only are the Christians and the Jews held in comparative esteem, but the destruction of a single individual of the adverse party has been accounted a more meritorious action, than the slaughter of seventy individuals of any other description.* In the present days however, the Persians have mitigated their religious

* See Chardin, *Voyage en Perse*, tom. 2. p. 314, 336, &c. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arable*, tom. 2. p. 208, &c. D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient.* tom. 3. p. 264, and D'Ohasson, tom. 1. p. 95.

gious prejudices, and cease to call their erring brethren, infidels. “ They are believers,” they say, “ because they recognize the holy mission of Muhammed, and worship God ; but they have forfeited their claim to be denominated faithful, by their adoption of those who refused allegiance, and acted with cruelty towards the cousin, the daughter, and the lineal descendants of the holy prophet.” The Sonnites are not equally charitable in their sentiments of the Shiites, and a few only of the ablest Sonnite doctors have acknowledged the followers of Ali to be Muhammedans.*

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* Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. 2, p 321.

CHAP. VI.

THE LITERATURE AND SCIENCES OF THE
SARACENS AND TURKS.

CHAP VI.
General
remarks
on Oriental
literature

WHOEVER travels in Asia, especially if he be conversant with the literature of the countries through which he passes, must naturally remark the superiority of European talents: the observation, indeed, is at least as old as Alexander; and though we cannot agree with the sage preceptor of that ambitious prince, that “the Asiatics are born to be slaves,” yet the Athenian poet seems perfectly in the right, when he represents Europe as a sovereign princess, and Asia as her handmaid: but if the mistress be transcendently majestic, it cannot be denied, that the attendant has many beauties and some advantages peculiar to herself. If reason be the grand prerogative of the people in the Western world, the Asiatics have soared to the loftiest heights in the sphere of imagination.* When we read the praises which Eastern scholars so warmly

* Jones's Dissertation on the Literature of Asia.

warmly bestow upon the heroic verses of Fer- CHAP. VI.
dousi, the didactic strain of Sadi, and the lyre of
Hafiz, who is there that does not lament his ig-
norance of the great originals, and think with
regret, that most of the translations which we
possess of oriental poetry, have been performed
by men of little genius or taste? Yet even
through the dark medium of a wretched version,
we can often discover an animation of descrip-
tion, a boldness of metaphor, and a strength of
expression, which nothing but a mind prejudiced
by one standard of excellence can fail to admire:
and if the manuscripts repositied in the libra-
ries of Paris, Leyden, Oxford, Vienna, and Ma-
drid, were stripped of their thick coat of fable,
and published with the usual advantages of il-
lustrations and notes; and if the oriental lan-
guages were studied in our universities, a new
and ample field would be opened for specula-
tion: we should obtain a more extensive insight
into the history of the human understanding;
we should acquire a new fund of images and
similitudes; and a variety of excellent compo-
sitions would be brought to light, which future
scholars might explain, and future poets imi-
tate.*

If the Asiatic nations of the present day ap-
pear to be overspread with the shade of igno-
rance,

* *Traité sur la Poésie Orientale.* Jones's Works, vol. 5. p. 447, 4to.

CHAP. VI. rance, the times have been, when many parts of our boasted science were familiarly taught in Egypt and in Hindustan. It is true that the results of the Calcutta Society have shewn, that many of the received opinions on the merit of oriental literature were erroneous; yet it should be remembered, that the expectations of the world had been unlimited, and that the history of the philosophy and religion of Asia is still incomplete. Yet some facts appear to have been established. The systems of the philosophers of old were not originally formed in Greece. The six philosophical schools, whose principles are explained in the Dersana Sastra, comprise all the metaphysics of the old Academy, the Stoa, the Lyceum. Pythagoras and Plato penetrated into the mysteries of the priests of Egypt, and the Magi of Persia.* The works of the Sage, which are said to contain a system of the universe, founded on the principle of attraction, and the central position of the sun, are well known by the learned Hindus.† The annals of Asiatic philosophy, and particularly

* Cicero Tusc. Quest. 4. 19, 25. De Fimibus, 5 25. The Pythagorean, Manichean, and other famous systems of religion and philosophy, may clearly be deduced from the Hindus. See Mr. Halhed's translation of the Upaneshad; or Commentaries upon, and Paraphrases of, the Vedas. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 5658; and also Bartholomæus, Musei Borg. Velitris Codd. MSS. Romæ 1790, p. 186, 197.

† As we learn from Cicero that the old sages of Europe had an idea of *centripetal force*, and a principle of *universal gravitation* (which they never indeed attempted to demonstrate), so I can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a leaf from the never-fading laurels of our

cularly in their connection with Grecian letters, are still incomplete; and the labours of orientalists might be well employed in the filling up of this chasm in our knowledge. But the history of literature abounds with rich and interesting subjects. The torch of science has been frequently rekindled in Asia, and the stern fanaticism of the Saracens yielded to the mild influence of letters. In former parts of this work, we beheld the disciples of Muhammed in the character of religious and political fanatics. Great and splendid were the events which we detailed, and tremendously important were their consequences. But it is on, what Mr. Burke with so much poetical beauty calls, “the soft green of the soul,” that the mind delights to dwell; and we gladly turn from fields of blood, to behold the followers of the Arabian Prophet, as the cultivators of the gentle arts of peace.

Rude and unlettered people have generally been the founders of empires; and certainly the Arabians possessed in a high degree this claim
to

immortal Newton, that the whole of his theology, and part of his philosophy, may be found in the *Vedas*, and even in the works of the *Sages*. The *most subtil spirit*, which he suspected to pervade natural bodies, and lying concealed in them to cause attraction and repulsion, the emission, reflection, and refraction of light, electricity, calcfaction, sensation, and muscular motion, is described by the Hindus as a *fifth element*, endowed with those very powers, and the *Vedas* abound with allusions to a force universally attractive, which they chiefly attribute to the sun. See Sir William Jones on the Philosophy of the Asiatics. Asiatic Researches, vol. 4, p. 169

CHAP. VI. to the inheritance of the world. Their history is divided into the two periods of ignorance and Islamism, and the division may include the literary, as well as the religious state of the country.* “The people of the book,” was the honourable title of the Christians and Jews. The barbarous natives despised not the want of letters in the great Prophet of Mecca. Yet the spirit of Muhammed was liberal. In a noble admiration of science, he could exclaim that, “a mind without erudition, was like a body without a soul,” and that, “glory consists not in wealth, but in knowledge.”† Absorbed, however, with the ideas of the conquest, or conversion of the world, the early successors of the Prophet held in equal contempt the learning and the religion of their new subjects and tributaries.‡ When, however, the ages of violence and

* Pocock says, that so great was the ignorance of the Arabians, that at the time of the promulgation of the Koran, there was not a person in the province of Yemen who could read or write. But I think that this remark is only correct so far as it relates to the Cufic characters of the Arabic language. This style had been invented a short time before the birth of Muhammed, and the Koran was written in it. We can readily conceive, that the Cufic character was unintelligible to a people who had always been accustomed to the Hamjarik mode, the latter of which is also unintelligible in the present days to the Muhammedans themselves. Pocock Specimen, p. 153 Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 83, 84, note.

† Meninski, Lexicon, tom. 1, p. 38, fol. Vienna, 1780.

The fable
of the de-

‡ I am strongly inclined to treat as fabulous the story of the destruction of the Alexandrian library by Amrou, the general of the Caliph Omar.

and ~~rapine~~ were concluded, and Bagdad arose a fair and splendid city, the muses were courted from their ancient seats on the shores of Greece to illustrate the reigns of the Abassides.

Almanson, the second prince of this dynasty, enriched his mind by the study of jurisprudence and astronomy. Harun-al-Raschid was equally curious, but in both Caliphs this desire of knowledge was aided by adventitious causes. In the simple mode of life of the Arabs, a healthful frame of body was preserved, and their knowledge of medicine was limited to their occasions. But in the luxurious courts of Damascus and Bagdad, new vices engendered new diseases. The Caliphs resorted to the Christian professors of the healing art, and the ignorant Arabians beheld with astonishment, the cure of apoplexy by

Introduction of learning among the Arabians, A.D. 758.

I estimate more highly the silence of Abulfeda, Elmacin, and Eutychius, than the language of Abul-Pharajius. The "elegantæ regum curæque egregium opus," had been destroyed in the first Alexandrian war, and though restored by Cleopatra, it had disappeared in the days of the historian Erpemus. At all events, the tale can only relate to the books in the church of Alexandria *an de his historia intelligenda sit non multum interest, nam habet ἀπίστον ut Arabibus familiare est. Eam alibi huc usque non reperimus*. Renaudot, Hist. Pat. Alex. p. 170. Only a few years before the subjugation of Egypt by Amrou, the Muselmans had been commanded by their Prophet "to search for learning, even in the remotest part of the globe." Their destruction of the Alexandrian library is not, therefore, a very probable story. It is true, that for more than a century, the Saracens were an ignorant people; but it is absurd to argue, that because a duty was neglected, a crime was openly and daringly committed

struction of the Alexandrian library.

CHAP VI. by bleeding.* The disciples of Esculapius have in all ages been distinguished for their general learning. Established in reputation at Bagdad, they enforced by precept and example, the studies of literature and philosophy. The Muhammedans, now inflamed by the love of letters, as much as their ancestors had been by the desire of military renown, lamented the insufficiency of their own treasures of knowledge. But the funds of the Greeks were inexhaustible. In the reigns of Almansor, of Raschid, and of Almamon, the second Calph in succession to Raschid, and seventh of the Abassides, the Christians resident at Bagdad and at Cairo, transfused the philosophy and science of Athens into the copious language of Arabia. Yet in the true spirit of barbarism, many of the Greek originals were destroyed, immediately after the translations had been made.† But this instance of illiberality must not be extended to general character. Almamon was a liberal and enlightened prince. “He was not ignorant,” says one of our guides in the history of literature, “that those persons are the elect of God, his
“ best

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758—830.

* Elmacin. Hist. Saracen, lib ii, cap. 3. 6. Abul-Pharajius, dynast. 9, passim.

† Epistola Renaudoti ad A Dacerum. in Fabricius. Bibl. Græc. tom. 1. p. 861, &c. Abul-Pharajius, dynast. 9. The merit of these translations is maintained by Casiri, and denied by Huet. See Meninski, Lexicon. tom. 1. p. 42.

“ best and most useful servants, whose lives are CHAP. VI.
 “ devoted to the improvement of their rational
 “ faculties. The mean ambition of the Chinese
 “ or the Turks may glory in the industry of their
 “ hands, or the indulgence of their brutal appe-
 “ tites. Yet these dexterous artists must view
 “ with hopeless emulation, the hexagons and
 “ pyramids of the cells of a beehive: these
 “ fortitudinous heroes are awed by the superior
 “ fierceness of lions and tygers; and their plea-
 “ sures of sense are less exquisite than those of
 “ the most sordid quadruped. The teachers of
 “ wisdom are the true luminaries and legislators
 “ of a world, which, without their aid, would
 “ again sink in ignorance and barbarism.” Ap-
 pointed by his father to the dignity of Governor
 of Korasan, Almamon collected from every
 quarter, the expert in art, and the learned in
 science. But his nomination of Messue, a
 Christian physician of Damascus, to the high
 office of president of the college, shocked the
 orthodoxy of his father Raschid. Almamon
 remonstrated in a noble strain. “ I chose,” said
 he, “ this learned man, not to be my guide
 “ in religious affairs, but to be my teacher
 “ of science; and it is well known, that the
 “ wisest men are to be found among the Jews
 “ and Christians.”*

* Abul-Pharajius, p. 160. Leo, de Viris illustribus Arabum, cap. 1.

CHAP. VI.

Literary
Institu-
tions

The Saracens became a literary people. The prosperity of meridian empire did not relax their ardour, and subsequent political distractions interrupted not the acquisition of knowledge. The arts and sciences were patronized by the Caliphs of the East, of the West, and of Africa. At one period, six thousand professors and pupils filled the college of Bagdad. Twenty schools made Grand Cairo a chief seat of letters, and the talents of the students were exercised in the perusal of the royal library, which consisted of one hundred thousand manuscripts. The African writers dwell with pride and satisfaction on the literary institutions which adorned the towns on the northern coast of their sandy plain. The sun of science arose even in Africa, and the manners of the Moorish savage were softened by philosophy. Their brethren in Europe amassed numerous and magnificent collections; two hundred and eighty thousand volumes were in Cordova; and more than seventy libraries were open to public curiosity in the kingdom of Andalusia.*

Yet

p. 260, &c. in the thirteenth volume of the second edition of Fabricius *Biblot. Græc.* 4to. Hamburg, 1718—1728.

* Leo, *Hist. Africæ*, lib. 1, p. 33 lib. 2, p. 60 lib. 3, p. 110 lib. 8, p. 267, 272. *Gregorius, Rerum Arabicarum quæ ad historiam Siculam spectant ampla collectio.* p. 233—240 fol. Panorm. 1790. *Casiri Bibl. Arab.—Hisp.* tom. 2, p. 38, 71, 201, 202, and every page of the *eximius libellus* of Leo, on the philosophers of the Arabs. These are the authorities which the reader may consult, who is curious for more

Yet if we compare the real progress of the Saracens in letters and science, with their splendid literary apparatus, we shall find, that the actual advancement made was by no means commensurate with the facilities afforded. No new paths of knowledge were discovered or formed. A grateful respect for antiquity was corrupted into a superstitious reverence, which checked all originality of ideas, and freedom of thought. Philosophy was considered merely as auxiliary to Islamism, and the subtle system of the Stagirite was well adapted to the Saracens. When pressed by the Jews and Christians, with solid arguments against the truth of the Koran, the early followers of Muhammed silenced their antagonists by an appeal to the sword. A barbarous people may conquer, a literary nation alone can convince. The Saracens met their adversaries in the fields of learned controversy. But the Koran in its simple state was indefensible. The sacred book of the Muhammedans was therefore considered as an allegory. Spiritual meanings were discovered in every word, and the theologians were obscured in the clouds of metaphysics. In these controversies, the real object of

CHAP. VI.

Actual state
of know-
ledge.Philosophy
of Aristotle.

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dispute

knowledge of the state of literary institutions among the Saracens. See also the third volume of Brucker's History of Philosophy. In the library at Caro, the first place was given to exemplars of the Koran, and interpretations of it the next to the writings on the traditions of Muhammed. Books on natural and civil law succeeded. Philology, poetry, and science, had their respective places. Renaudot, Hist. Pat. Alex. p. 536.

CHAP. VI. dispute was soon lost sight of, and the dexterous Saracens so successfully used the Syllogism of Aristotle, that they never appeared to be defeated. When any particular passage of the Koran was attacked, the doctors of Bagdad argued not upon the passage itself, but upon the general subject in which it was involved, or with which it was connected. They fled to unsatisfactory generalities, that citadel of sophistry, or detected the illogical reasoning of their adversaries. The philosophy of the Saracens was called *Al Calam*, the wisdom of words, or the science of reason. The opinion, in most cases illiberal and false, of the incompatibility of philosophy and piety, is embraced by the devotees of all religions. The orthodoxy of the plain and humble Muselman was offended by the intermixture of profane and sacred literature, and an ignominious and painful death was declared to be the deserved fate of those, who resigned themselves to barren speculations. The literal sense of the Koran was congenial to the gross conceptions of the vulgar, and they would rather have opposed the Christians by indifference and contempt, than by the refined arguments of reason.*

But

The Druses.

* Maimonides, *Mora Nevrohim*, p. 133. Pocock, *Specimen Hist Arabum*, p 166-7, 194—197, 209. Bayle, article *Takeddin*. The legitimate descendants of one of these sects of philosophical enthusiasts, are the Druses of Mount Libanus and certainly they do not disgrace their ancestors by the practice of superstition. The elect lead a contemplative life, but the vulgar Druses are neither Christians nor Muhamme-

But the philosophy of Aristotle was not the only adventitious mixture, which the theology of the Muselmans received. The speculations of the Egyptians had been hidden from the eye of the vulgar, in symbols. This ideal system passed to the learned Hebrews, who being prohibited from the fine arts of sculpture and painting, preserved it in enigmatical language. In every age of the Caliphate, the Jews had been protected by the Muselmans, and when Bagdad became a seat of learning, the Commander of the Faithful patronised the Jewish students at Sora and Pundebita. The Jews no longer despised profane science; but embraced the knowledge of the Greeks, which the Arabic versions offered them. In return for these acquisitions, the Jews presented to the Saracens the philosophy of Egypt. The fundamental principles of this system were in accordance with those of the philosophers of Greece, and therefore the new disciples of the Stagirite willingly received them. But the superadded parts, the Egyptian and Jewish Cabbala, were vain and fanciful. The ingenuity and imagina-

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tion

dans. When requested by the Turks, they will enter into a mosque, make their ablutions and pray. In the company of the Maronites, they will visit a church. The eloquence of a Missionary has often made them submit to baptism, and they have shortly afterwards been circumcised at the solicitation of the Turks. Volney, tom. 2, p 32—57. These vicars of Bray have placed the four Gospels among their sacred books, but have disfigured them with very irrational and unchristian explanations. Marsh's Michaels, vol. 2, part. 1, p. 85.

CHAP. VI. tion of the doctors of the Mosque were exerted in drawing recondite meanings from the words of the Koran, or in applying those words in such combinations, as were supposed to give the student an acquaintance with the good and evil spirits of the invisible world. They became bewildered in the profundity of their researches into the names of God and his Angels, and a knowledge of heavenly matters was, they believed, to be attained by an arbitrary usage of letters and numbers.* †

Mathematics.

Though to the higher branches of the Mathematics the Saracens did not ascend, yet in the other divisions their knowledge must have been considerable, for trigonometry received from them the form in which it is at present studied. † The art of arithmetical analysis draws its name, Algebra, from the language of Arabia. The Saracens illustrated and enriched it with numerous refinements, but Muhammed al Buzjani, the translator of Diaphantus, modestly disclaims the merit of the invention, and attributes it to the learned Grecian. ‡ To the Moors of Spain, Europe

A. D. 970.

* Kircher, *Œdipus, Ægypt.* vol. 2. pars. 1. p. 360—400, Rom. 1654, and *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. 9 p. 53.

† Montucla, *Histoire des Mathématiques*, tom. premier, p. 373

Algebra.

‡ *Bibliot. Arabico Hispana*, tom 1. p. 370, 371. Abul-Pharajius, 89, 222, and Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* tom. 4 p. 14 Algebra can be traced to a much more remote antiquity than the days of Diaphantus. In India it was known even with many of the modern improvements, which are thought to be original. *Hutton's Tracts*, vol. 2. p. 176. The positive

Europe stands indebted for the knowledge of the *decimal scale*. In India however, not in Arabia, the digits, erroneously called the Arabic digits, were invented.*

CHAP. VI.

Astronomy is naturally the study of a pastoral people, and the serene unclouded atmosphere of the east is favourable to the cultivation of this sublime science. The contemplation of the celestial bodies led the primitive inhabitants of the earth to a belief that these luminaries, so regular in their course, and of an appearance so grand and solid, ruled the affairs of this lower world. Muhammedanism was the declared enemy to Idolatry, and when letters were patron-

Astronomy.

z 4

ized

assertion of the Arab, that he derived his knowledge of Algebra from the Greeks, destroys the opinion of Dr. Hutton, that he had it from the Indians. The Arabian and Alexandrian systems possibly in many particulars are different, yet the germs of the former may be contained in the latter.

* Beveridge, *Arithmet. Chronolog.* lib. 1. cap. 3. 4, and Wallis, *Opera Mathematica*. vol 1 p 46—49. fol. 1695 This opinion is now generally received, though various system-makers have ascribed the honor to other nations. The writers of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie* have stated the different arguments in support of the received, and the rejected hypothesis, with their usual perspicuity and learning, tom. 3 chap. 9 art. 2 The Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans, used alphabetical letters for the representation of numbers, and this simple and natural method was perhaps the common practice of nations. Montucla, tom. 1 p. 46. Some ingenious attempts have been lately made to prove, that the Arabic digits are the results of different combinations of simple strokes. See the second part of the supplement to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article *Arithmetic*. But it appears, that the original numerals of the Hindus (of which the Arabic digits are only an abridgement) may be considered as primitive words. They are evidently letters, and not the combination of simple strokes. Wilkins's *Sanscrit Grammar*, p. 521.

Arabic Digits.

CHAP VI. ized by the Caliphs, the planets were studied, though not adored. Yet a lurking spirit of superstition urged the Saracens to attempt to read the decrees of fate in the movements of the stars, and the system of many a great astronomer was debased, by a mixture of astrology. Although the discovery of the solar system was reserved for a later age, yet the knowledge which the Saracens possessed of astronomy was considerable. Under the patronage of the Caliph Almamon, and in the spacious plains, both of Sengar and of Cufa, a degree of the circle of the earth was measured, and the entire circumference of the globe was proved to be twenty-four thousand miles.* We owe to Albatenius, an observation on the obliquity of the ecliptic, which corrected of refraction and parallax, gives $26^{\circ} 2182$, for this obliquity. He found also the annual movement of the Equinoxes, equal to $168,^{\circ} 3$, and the duration of the tropical year equal to $365,^{\circ} 24056$. The first of these calculations is an excess of $14''$; in the second, there is an error of a minute and a half; but these inaccuracies are owing to the preference which Albatenius gave to the system of Ptolemy, above that of Hipparchus. This great man improved also the theory of the solar orb. His works confirm

* Abulfeda, tom. 2. p. 239—241 : where the process of the measurement is minutely described.

firm that diminution of the eccentricity of the sun, which the theory of gravity, and the secular equation of the moon, have since demonstrated. Three eclipses of the moon, observed by Ibn Junis, have served to increase our knowledge of the acceleration of the lunar movements.*

The knowledge which the Saracens possessed of medicine is a subject of curious inquiry. In the anatomical branch of this science, they did little more than translate and paraphrase the Greek writers. The errors which their originals had made in anatomy became sacred, and if the Arabs have described certain parts of the body with more exactness than Galen has done, these descriptions were only conjectures, or the consequence of the study of some Greek authors who have not descended to us. The Muhammedan laws prohibit dissections, because in the opinion of the Muselmans, the soul does not depart from the body at the moment of death.

* La Place, Exposition du Système du Monde, tom. 2 p. 239—242. The most accurate view of the astronomy of the Arabs was taken by Bailly. Histoire de l'Astronomie Moderne, p. 214—250. It seems probable that the Pendulum was in use among the Arabs. Bailly argues that it was of still greater antiquity. The subject of the Saracenic astronomy has been ably treated by Montucla in the first volume of his history of the Mathematics, and by Assemanus in his Globus Cælestis, Cufico Arabicus, Veluterni Musei Borgiani illustratus Patav. 1790. The piercing eye of Halley saw the merit of the Arabs. Philosophical Transactions, vol. 17 p. 913.

CHAP. VI. death. It passes from one member to another till it centers in the breast, where it remains for a considerable time. The examination by the Angels, of the deceased person in his tomb, could not be made on a mutilated corpse. The physicians of the Arabs studied therefore only skeletons in the cemeteries.* In most surgical cases, the Saracens implicitly followed the ancients, but one of the great disputes in the Arabic schools of medicine, was the propriety of the novel doctrine of Avicenne (a Spanish Moor), which opposed the recommendation of Galen and Hippocrates, that in case of pleurisy, the patient should be bled in the arm of the side which was affected.†

* Surgery.

Chemistry

For their knowledge of Chemistry, so great a part of the basis of medicine, the Saracens have been deservedly applauded. We have no evidence that chemistry was cultivated by the Egyptians, as a separate branch of science, or distinguished in its application from a variety of other arts which must have been exercised for the support and convenience of human life. All of them had probably some dependence on chemical

* Encyclopédie Méthod. tom. 2. p. 623-4. Paris 1790. Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine, traduit par Jourdan, tom 2. p. 262—342. Paris 1815.

† Le Clerc, Histoire de la Médecine, p. 779. In the Escorial MSS. there is in the Cufic character, a treatise on Surgery, with a collection of plates of surgical instruments. Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana. tom. 1. p. 296.

chemical principles, but they were then, as they are at present, practised by the several artists, without their having any theoretical knowledge of their respective employments. It is not known to what nation ought to be attributed the art of transmuting metals into gold. But by way of distinction, this branch of knowledge was called *Al-chemia*, as the sacred book was called *Al-Koran*. Chemistry, with the rest of the sciences, being banished from the other parts of the world, took refuge among the Arabs. Geber, in the seventh or eighth, and others in the ninth century of the Christian æra wrote several chemical, or rather alchymical books, in Arabic. In these works of Geber are contained such useful directions, concerning the manner of conducting distillation, calcination, sublimation, and other chemical preparations, and such pertinent observations respecting various minerals, as justly seem to entitle him to the character, which some have given him, of being the father of chemistry, the discoverer of the key to the richest treasures of nature ; though he himself modestly confesses, that he has done little else than abridge the doctrine of the ancients, concerning the transmutation of metals. He mentions several mercurial preparations ; such as the corrosive sublimate and red precipitate ;

CHAP VI. **tate : nitric acid, muriatic acid, and many other**
 — chemical compositions.*

Botany.

The herbal of Dioscorides was enriched by the Saracens with additions of two thousand plants, and their knowledge of the vegetable world enabled them to insert in their pharmacopœia, several remedies which had been unknown to the Greeks. One great difference between the Grecian and Saracenian dispensatories was, that the medicines in the latter were of a milder nature than those in the former. Another difference was the common use of sugar in lieu of honey. Dioscorides, speaking of the various species of honey, says, that there is a kind of it in a concrete state, called Saccharon, which is found in reeds, in India and Arabia Felix. He also describes its medicinal virtues. Galen writes upon it nearly in the same manner. But the history of the artificial preparation of sugar, by boiling, or other means, is very imperfectly known. The Saracens appear, however, to have understood the art, for by a mixture of sugar, with other ingredients, they made various medicines with which the ancients were unacquainted. The labours of the Arabs might,
 even

* Watson's *Chemical Essays*, vol. 1. p. 9, 16—19, third edition. Sprengel, p. 263. Kircher, *Cædipus, Ægypt. tom. 2. pars. 2. p. 389—433.* The art of obtaining, by distillation, spirituous from fermented liquors, it is said, was discovered by the Arabs. Murray's *Chemistry*, vol. 4. p. 411.

even in the present day, be of service, if our CHAP. VI.
Physicians would study the Arabic language,
and the medical writings of Messue, Geber,
Razis, Averroes, and Avicienne.*

The theory of medicine was refined by the Medicine.
Saracens with various subtleties: the philosophy of Aristotle was introduced; and if we cannot remark in it the beautiful simplicity of Hippocrates, we find the doctrines of Galen, though strangely disfigured. In their practice, the physicians shewed no reserve, no circumspection, no simplicity. The popular taste for the marvellous induced them to resort to every means of imposing on the vulgar. Astrology was introduced. Particular positions and appearances of the stars were studied in dangerous cases; and amulets were in the possession of every successful and popular practiser of medicine.†

Such was the general state of philosophy and the mathematics, of astronomy and medicine, in
the

* Scuderi *Introd. à l'Histoire de la Médecine*, traduit par Billardet, p. 53—55 Paris, 1810 Sprengel, p. 313. Le Clerc, p. 780 Dr. Falconer's *Sketch of the History of Sugar*, *Memoirs of the Manchester Society*, vol. 4, p. 291—301 *Bibliot. Arab. Hisp.* tom 1, p. 275. Beithar was the name of the Spanish physician, in whose work on simples are to be found more than two thousand which are not contained in the book of Dioscorides His MS. is No 834 in the Escorial Catalogue. The first Pharmacopœia that was ever published under the authority of the government of a country, was made by the Saracens at the close of the ninth century. Sprengel, p. 264.

† Sprengel, p. 264, 313. Scuderi, p. 53. Kircher, *Œdipus Ægypt.* vol. 2. pars. 2. p. 377.

CHAP. VI. the most flourishing days of the Saracens. The historians of these people furnish us with no specific information, respecting their knowledge of the other branches of letters and science. As all merit is relative, no accurate notions can be obtained from general epithets of praise: but a less fanciful estimate may be formed of their attention to philology, from the circumstance that the Escorial catalogue alone presents us with a list of two hundred and one works on Arabic grammar. The language, the purity of which was by these means so carefully preserved, was the prevailing tongue through the Moslem world;* but in Bagdad, that seat of learning as well

The influence of conquest on language.

* The decree of the Caliph Walid for the use of the Arabic language throughout the Muhammedan world has been already mentioned. From the Indian Archipelago to Portugal, it became the language of religion, of literature, of government, and generally of common life. The Syriac and Coptic dialects ceased to be spoken, and the devout Moslems of every country of Asia cherished the language of the new religion. The Greek tongue was no longer that of the government in the Grecian provinces conquered by the Saracens, and though it had been corrupted by the Latin followers of Constantine (he preserved it as the language of state), and was afterwards still further injured by the various people who went to Constantinople in the time of the Crusades, yet the capture of that city by the Turks was the principal event that caused the creation of the Romeika or modern Greek. In the north of Africa the Arabic language became universally spoken, and every vernacular idiom was saturated with the idiom of the Koran. The Romans were equally sensible with the Saracens of the important influence of language over national habits of thinking. But in their eastern conquests, the republicans established not so fully the use of the Latin tongue as in the western. A generous, enthusiastic love of letters made the Romans respect the idiom of Greece, and it was spoken in common life. In the proud days of the republic, the language of Rome was that of the government, even in the Grecian

well as of empire, the *attic* dialect, as it might be called, was spoken.* Necessity compelled the Saracens to consult the ancients on the abstract sciences; but their general contempt for *Infidels* and *Barbarians*, kept them from a knowledge of the historians, the poets, and the moralists of Greece and Rome. CHAP. VI.

As discoverers and inventors, the Saracens have few claims to praise: but they formed the link which unites ancient and modern literature; and since their relative situation with Europe somewhat resembled the relative situation between Egypt and Greece, they are entitled to a portion of our respect and gratitude. When the princes of the West began to emerge from barbarism, they correctly acknowledged the Moors to be the great depositaries of knowledge. Many useful treatises, now lost in the original; for example, the fifth, sixth, and seventh books of the conic sections of Apollonius Pergæus, and some of the commentaries of Galen on Hippocrates, were preserved in the language of the Saracens. Through Italy the sciences travelled

The Saracens the introducers of learning into Europe

to and Asiatic colonies; and Cicero, in his visit to Sicily, was reprehended by the Prætor for speaking Greek in the Sicilian senate. The charge was a ridiculous one in the peculiar circumstances of the case, but it exhibits the popular feelings. The people of Gaul, of Spain, of Africa, and other western provinces had no arts or letters to attract the respect of their conquerors; and they accepted the civilization and refinement which the Romans always gave in exchange for freedom.

* Meninski, Lexicon, tome 1, p. 42.

CHAP. VI. to the other European states. The Provençal and Castilian poets owe some of their most beautiful images to their acquaintance with the poetry of the Saracens; and rhyme, the great characteristic of modern verse, was derived by these bards from the Arabic measure.* The Romance of the dark ages was embellished by oriental fictions; and the literature of the Arabians was well known in Europe before the Christian armies invaded Asia. The establishment of the Saracens in Spain was in the eighth century; and no wonder, therefore, that the elder Spanish romances have professedly more Arabian allusions than any other.†

By the command of Charlemagne, the principal Arabic books, both originals and versions, were translated into Latin, for the use of the people in the various provinces of his empire. The philosophy of Aristotle was diffused through Western Europe. In the dialectics of the Stagirite, the Muselmans had found the keenest weapons

Rhyme.

* *Traité sur la Poésie Orientale*. Jones's Works, 4to. vol. 5, p. 435, and *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tome 4, p. 470. Yet another source of modern rhyme may be found in that species of verse which was called by the Greeks *ομοιτελευτα*, and by the Romans, *similiter desinentia et eodem modo declinata*. In the decline of Latin letters, the inclination for rhyme was common, and we have evidence of its use in the seventh century. It did not acquire the name of Leonine verse till the twelfth century, when the celebrity of Leoninus, a monk of Mar-seilles, gave his name to the measure. This subject has been well discussed by Moreau in his *Prolegomena to the Salernitan school*.

† Warton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. 1, p. 111.

weapons of dispute, and the Monks, in their controversies with heretics and Jews, formed from the writings of the same Græcian sage, that wonderful system of ingenious folly—the Scholastic Divinity. CHAP. VI.

To the rich and fertile country of Naples and Magna Græcia, the followers of the Arabian Prophet, in Sicily and Africa, had often been attracted; and the page of the Italian historian is full of the wars which these invaders occasioned. But the maritime city of Salernum seems to have been a favourite object of their attention. The coffers of the Salernitans were exhausted in the purchase of peace, the Muselmans and the Christians gradually intermixed, and the literature of the Saracens was insensibly communicated to the Italians. So early as the ninth century, a college was founded in Salernum by Charlemagne, and this was the first Christian university where medicine was taught. For the next three centuries, Salernum, the fountain of physic, as it was called by the old writers, was the celebrated school to which the students of medicine resorted from every quarter of Europe, and the works of Galen and Hippocrates became known to the Christians.* School of Salernum.

2 A the

* Muratori, *Antiquitates Italæ Medi Ævi*, tom. 3. p. 395—6. Gian-neac's History of Naples, book 10. chap. 11. sec. 2 and 3. *Schola Salernitana cum comm. Villanova et animad. Moreau. Prolegom.* Paris, 1625. Eloy, *Dict. Hist. de la Med* article Salerne, 4to. Mons. 1726.

CHAP. VI. the physicians of Salernum were addressed to
 — Robert Duke of Normandy, son of William the
 Conqueror, and agreeably to the practice of an
 age when poetry was made the vehicle of theo-
 * logy and rhetoric, these medical precepts were
 written in verse.

Literature
 of Turkey

In considering the literary history of the world,
 Turkey is generally thought to deserve but little
 attention. Yet it will be found, that a view of
 the state of letters in this great Muselman
 power of the East is not devoid of interest. A
 knowledge of the Arabic and Persian languages
 is essentially necessary to men who wish to pe-
 netrate into Turkish science, or to write with
 elegance and correctness the Turkish language :
 and so close is the affinity between these various
 instruments of thought, that the learned Reviczi
 assures us, that a Turk cannot study the books
 which have been written in his vernacular idiom,
 if he has not some acquaintance with the lan-
 guages of Arabia and Persia. The contempt of
 the Muselmans for the professors of any system
 of faith, but that of Muhammed, has prevented
 them from keeping pace with Europe in know-
 ledge. But a spirit of liberality has occasionally
 mitigated this proud feeling, and many a learned
 Moslem adds to his literary acquisitions the lan-
 guages of Europe.* The study of the logic of
 Aristotle

Languages

Rhetoric.

* Toderni, *Littérature des Turcs*, traduit par Courmand, tom. 1. p. 7. 8.

Aristotle is ardently pursued, and the art of reasoning is learnt on scientific principles. The rhetoric of the Turks is divided into three parts. The first consists of etymology; the second, the knowledge of tropes, figures, and other combinations of thought and language; and the third teaches the choice and mode of expression in discourse, in prose, and in poetry.* Morality forms a great part of their literature. In the Koran, the Sonna, and in the works of the various commentators on those books, the general principles of ethics are stated: but in some of the Turkish treatises on morality, all the minute decencies of life, and even the forms of politeness, are laid down with as much precision, as they are in the Essayists of England. The Proverbs of Solomon, the Ethics of Aristotle, and the Gulistan of Sadi, are the favourite books of the Turks.†

CHAP. VI.

Morality.

In arithmetic the accuracy and quickness of the Othmans are constant subjects of wonder to Europeans. Algebra and geometry are parts of education; and the sentiment of Plato, that no man without a knowledge of the mathematics can make a progress in philosophy, is a favourite opinion

Mathematics.

2 A 2

* Toderini, tom. 1. p. 70—73.

† Toderini, tom. 1. p. 75—86. The moralist of any nation will be enlightened by the ideas of virtue with which the Gulistan of Sadi abounds. It was translated into French by Du Ryer, and published at Paris in 1634, in one volume, octavo. Gentius also made a Latin version of it, which appeared at Amsterdam, 1667, in one volume 12mo.

CHAP. VI.

Philoso-
phy.

Science

opinion of the Turkish scholar.* The metaphysics of Aristotle are held in as high esteem in the present day at Constantinople, as they were seven centuries ago at Bagdad, at Cairo, and at Cordova. The Turks have added little to the knowledge which the Saracens possessed of medicine, anatomy, chemistry, and botany: and the low state of science and natural philosophy in Turkey is sufficiently proved by the fact, that the search for the philosopher's stone is in the present times as great a delusion to the people of the East, as it was some centuries ago, to the nations of the West.†

Astro-
nomy.

The Turks still follow the Ptolomean system of astronomy.‡ The astronomical tables of Lalande have been translated into their language, but they have not elevated the mind of the Muselman to correct notions of the sublime science to which they relate. Of some of the instruments of natural philosophy they are in utter ignorance, and others are known only as childish playthings. The telescope, the microscope, the electrical machine, are not applied to their real purposes. Even the compass is not universally employed in their navy.§

Astrology.

The Arabian Prophet, knowing that where
fanaticism

* Toderini, tom 1, p. 90, 99, 100. † Ibid. tom. 1, p. 106—138.

‡ Ibid. tom. 1, p. 143.

§ Toderini, tom. 1, p. 164. Thornton's Present State of Turkey, p. 13.

fanaticism dwells, impostors will arise, and in apprehension of the existence of his own religion, strongly prohibits astrology : but it is the favourite superstition of the Turks, and the motions of the stars are still consulted by the Grand Sultans on important public occasions, with as much mental anxiety, and as many external ceremonies, as disgraced the great nations of antiquity. No dignity of state is conferred, the foundation of no public edifice is laid, except at the time recommended by the astrologers. The people are constantly the dupes of these impostors. Many personages of rank support them, and the more enlightened part of the community exclaim in vain, that astrology is a false science.*

CHAP. VI.

Of polite literature and the liberal arts little can be said. Turkish poetry has no peculiar and distinct character, but is generally an imitation of the Arabic and Persian muse, and possesses the same excellencies and defects.† The Prophet's stern interdiction of image worship has been deeply injurious to the fine arts. Painting, as an art belonging to the powers of the imagination, or what is commonly called *genius*, appears, as Sir William Jones says, to be yet in its infancy among the people of the East. The Turkish

The fine Arts

2 A 3

pictures

* D'Ohsson, *Tab Gén.* tom. 1, p. 333, 416, 420 The same proverb which recommends the study of the Koran is dissuasive from astrological pursuits. Schultens, *Anthologia Sententiarum Arabicarum*, p. 95, 4to.

† Thornton, p. 14.

CHAP. VI. pictures, limited to landscape or architecture, have little merit, either in design or in execution: but the sculptured ornaments in the houses of the Turks shew dexterity, and even taste. The Sonnite clergy appear to hold the fine arts in abhorrence, but the court of Constantinople is not equally barbarous, for the imperial navy, and the ensigns of military war, are adorned with carved figures of animals.* In the seventeenth century, music was studied in Turkey on principles of science: and Prince Cantemir wrote the airs of his nation in European notes. But the usage of these notes has been abandoned, and arbitrary signs adopted. The Turkish music is founded on fixed principles and rules. Melody is better understood than harmony and counterpoint. Most of the people of distinction study music as a part of education, but the practice of the science is generally left to slaves.†

Printing. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the art of printing was introduced into Constantinople, and was pronounced by the Mufti to be a lawful institution. A royal edict sanctioned the wisdom of the law and church. But the same high authorities declared, that it was contrary to the religion and dignity of the Muselmans, to permit the Koran to be printed, or

* Toderini, tom 3. p. 57. Thornton, p. 26.

† Toderini, tom. I. p. 219—223. D'Ohsson, Tab. Gen. tom 4. p. 419.

or any work which related to the religious, moral, and judicial system of the Prophet. The types were cast at Constantinople, and accord admirably with the Arabic characters in manuscript. A few dictionaries and historical works were printed. The professor of the art died in 1755, and so apathetic in the cause of literature are the Turks, that thirty years elapsed before an individual appeared to request a royal edict for the establishment of another press.* The transcribers of manuscripts are still able to satisfy the demands of the studious. Every mosque in the large towns of Turkey has a public library and college attached to it, in which young men are prepared for the professions of the church and law. In Constantinople there are thirty-five public libraries, which are always open to the studious. The number of books in each varies from one thousand to two thousand five hundred. They are generally written with great elegance and beauty, are bound in green or black morocco, and enclosed in a case of the same materials and colour.

2 A 4

* Toderini, tom. 3, chap. 2. D'Ohsson, tom. 2, p. 495. and Dallaway's Constantinople, sec. 25.

CHAP. VII.

THE PRESENT STATE AND EXTENT OF THE
MUHAMMEDAN RELIGION.

CHAP. VII. **T**HE sword of the Muhammedans has long since ceased to alarm the world, and the fury of their fanaticism has been exhausted; but their religion has suffered no visible diminution of followers: for although the Christians have triumphed over the Moors in Spain, and have checked the advancement of Islamism in Siberia, yet in the middle and lower Asia, and also in Africa, the professors of the Moslem's creed have gradually increased. It is impossible to estimate, with any approach to accuracy, the number either of Muselmans or of Christians; but considering for a moment the subject of religion in a geographical sense, it may be generally remarked, that as Christianity has unlimited influence in Europe, so Islamism is the dominant religion in Asia: and that as the Christian faith has considerable weight in America, Muhammedanism has its proportionate sway in Africa,

In the extensive regions of Tartary, the joys of a sensual paradise are not expected by so many myriads of men, as formed the armies of the conquering Muselman Tamerlane. The Grand Lama of Thibet, and various national idols, have innumerable votaries; and happily the Christian churches of Russia and of Greece, have even in these inhospitable regions preached the Gospel to the Gentiles. The Circassians, and many other races of Tartars, seem to have no religion at all. In the Crimea the people are Muselmans, and maintain the doctrine of predestination with more than Turkish obstinacy. In the country called by modern geographers Independent Tartary, extending from the Caspian Sea on the west, to the mountains of Beluc on the east, eight hundred and seventy British miles, and from the mountains of Gaur on the south, to the Russian boundary north of the desert of Issim, a distance of fifteen hundred British miles, that immense tract, which from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries was so fruitful in conquerors of the Muselman world, the Muhammedan religion appears to be the system of devotion among the people.*

CHAP.VII.
 Muham-
 medanism
 in Tartary.

In

* Reully's Voyage en Crimée, p. 158. Paris, 1806. *Choix des Lettres Edifiantes*, tom. 5, p. 406—411. Paris, 1808. Tavernier's *Voyages*, tom. 1, liv. 3, ch. 11. Paris, 1679. Tavernier and the Jesuits are authorities somewhat old for a delineation of the present extent of Islamism. But the notices of more modern travellers into Tartary are few and ge-

CHAP. VII.

In China.

In the vast empire of China, which in these days embraces so large a portion of ancient Tary, the religion of Muhammed is tolerated. The irruption of the Saracens into the Chinese territories during the Caliphate of Walid, assumed not the decisive character of conquest; yet when the successors of Zingis Khan possessed themselves of the throne of Peking, they pursued not the system of jealous policy of the Chinese, but opened the country to an intercourse with the world. The Arabians had long indeed carried on a commercial correspondence with the sea-ports on the south of China. Access to the capital of the empire became now unrestrained; and the Muhammedans were useful in adjusting the chronology of the nation, and in making the necessary calculations for the calendar. They acquired the language, and adopted the dress and manners of the people. As their power and influence increased, a desire of proselytism arose. Their measures of conversion were wise and humane. If the present generation were too stubborn to yield to their exhortations to virtue, they tried the more pliable temper of youth. They received into their protection the children whom the inhuman Chinese parents had

had
 neral on the subject of the Muhammedan religion. With some allowance for the progress of Christianity, by means of the Greek and Russian churches, the representation of Tavernier and the Jesuits, though made a century ago, may be relied upon.

deserted, and educated them in Islamism. The CHAP.VII.
 Muhammedans are tolerated in China, for in general they are mild and peaceable subjects; but an unsuccessful rebellion in the years 1783 and 1784, enables us to form some notion of their numbers; for in those years one hundred thousand were put to death by order of the Emperor Kien Long.*

In an early age of the Caliphate, the Saracenic conquerors of Persia passed into In Hindustan.
 Hindustan. Few settlements, however, were made; and it was not till the time of Mahmud the Gaznavide, that Muhammedanism was established. But the sword did not, as in brighter days of Moslem history, destroy the religion as well as the lives of the conquered. The population of India is both numerous and devout. It soon recovered from the loss of the hundreds of thousands who had perished by the arms of the Tartars. Muhammedanism was the religion of the court and the government; but the policy, the indifference, or timidity, of the successors of the invader kindled not the torch of persecution, and the idols of the nation were gradually restored. Although in the twelfth century Muhammed Gauri succeeded in capturing Benares, the ancient seat of Braminical learning, and the chief

* Barrow's Travels in China, 4to p 442. Choix des Lettres Edifiantes, tom. 1, p. 296. Paris, 1800. De Guignes, Voyage à Peking, tom. 2, p. 342, Paris, 1800.

CHAP.VII. chief city of the Indian religion, and destroyed the images of popular adoration; yet in the reigns of his successors, the particular and distinguished sanctity of the place was regarded. The Gentoos, who in general consider a visit once in their lives* to this consecrated metropolis, as much a matter of obligation as the Muhammedan deems his performance of the pilgrimage to Mecca, were allowed to celebrate their fancied religious rite; the very government of the sacred city was reserved to the natives; and none of the Muselman conquerors, even in the plenitude of their pride, power, and bigotry, thought of suffering their magistrates to enter the place. The Muhammedan princes of India, and the millions of Tartars, Persians, and Arabians, who at various periods of the Hegira have quitted their native seats for the enjoyment of the riches of India, have always formed the bulk of the Muhammedans in Hindustan. The propinquity of the north, and north-western parts of this vast region to the original abodes of these invaders, has filled them with Muselmans.† The Bohrahs, a people so remarkable for their exclusive

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. 3, p. 255, 4to. edition.

† Elphinstone's Caubul, chap. 5. Captain Wilford's admirable Dissertation on Mount Caucasus, in the Asiatic Researches, and Pottinger's Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde. It is singular that Nepal should be the only country in the neighbourhood of Hindustan that has never been disturbed, much less subdued, by any Muselman power.—Kirkpatrick's Account of Nepal, p. 185. 4to. London, 1816.

clusive devotion to trade, are numerous in the Indian Peninsula, and in most of the great cities of Hindustan. If it should be found, that this well regulated people are descendants from the remorseless Carmathians and Assassins, our history of the human mind will be enriched by a new and wonderful fact. The Aliilahaiahjahs are numerous, and indeed every sect of Muhammedanism has its members dispersed over the Indian territories.*

But the religion of the Arabian prophet has made little impression upon the natives. Exceeding the Muhammedans nearly ten-fold, all the various Hindu tribes, except the Seeks,† have adhered to their monstrous superstition, and exhibited to the world, a spectacle as wonderful as that of the Jews, a people, who have retained through every age and every vicissitude of fortune, the same manners and religious sentiments, not altered or even affected, in any particular, by the customs, habits, or creeds of the different races of men, who have so often disturbed the repose of the country. Writing on the subject of the great Muhammedan invasion, a judicious author observes, “ of the
“ whole

* Asiatic Researches, vol 7. p. 336—342.

† The Bohrahs form perhaps another exception, for there is some reason to think, that they are natives of Gujrat, and converted to the Muhammedan religion about five hundred years ago.

CHAP.VII. “ whole Hindu population, the soldiers only were
 “ displaced. The land continued to be cultiva-
 “ ted, the houses to be occupied, the arts and
 “ trades to be exercised, by the same classes of
 “ men as before. The Muhammedan conquer-
 “ ors were not so ignorant as not to perceive, that
 “ their own interest was promoted by the pro-
 “ tection of a people, whose labours were the
 “ source of their opulence and power, and they
 “ established in their new dominions, a more
 “ perfect system of administration than the
 “ knowledge of the Hindus had ever enabled
 “ them to devise. The texture of Hindu
 “ society remained entire. In the provinces
 “ of Agra and Delhi, the seats of the Moslem
 “ power, the number of the Muhammedans
 “ was insignificant, compared with that of the
 “ Hindus, who still constituted the population
 “ of the country, and were marked by the same
 “ opinions, manners, and customs, which dis-
 “ tinguished their forefathers.”*

The history of the Seekhs, or Sikhs, who inhabit the provinces of the Panjab, situated between the rivers Jumna and Indus, is a memorable proof that the native population of India are not absolutely unchangeable in religion, and in social and political institutions. In the religion of this people, the fables of Muhammedan-

ism

* Edinburgh Review, vol. 21. p. 434.

ism are united with the absurdities of the Hindu superstition, for Nanac Shah, the founder of the nation, wished to harmonize both. Born in a province on the extreme verge of India, at the very point where the religion of Muhammed, and the idolatrous worship of the Hindus appeared to touch, and at a time (the middle of the fifteenth century) when both tribes cherished the most violent rancour and animosity against each other, the great aim of this benevolent fanatic was to blend these jarring elements in peaceful union. He therefore respected the religious books of each people. He called upon the Hindus to abandon the worship of idols, and to return to that pure adoration of the deity, in which their religion originated. He exhorted the Muhammedans to abstain from practices, (such as the slaughter of cows) which were offensive to the Gentoos. The doctrines of the Muhammedan Sooffee were also inter-mixed. Wherever the religion of the Sikhs prevails, the institutions of Brahma must fall. The admission of proselytes, the abolition of the distinctions of cast, the eating of all kinds of flesh except that of the cow, the form of religious worship, and the general devotion of all the people to the use of arms, are ordinances altogether irreconcilable with Hindu mythology, and have rendered the religion of the Sikhs

CHAP.VII. — as obnoxious to the Brahmins, and higher casts of the Hindus, as it is agreeable to the lower orders of that numerous class of mankind. Closely as the religion of the Sikhs appears to be connected with Islamism, the true Muselmans who dwell in the Panjab are injured and insulted by every means, that an inventive cruelty can suggest. They are compelled to eat hogsflesh, and to abstain from circumcision. Dogs and other animals, accounted abominable by the Muhammedan law, are frequently cast into their place of worship, and they are prohibited by the haughty and intolerant Sikhs, from proclaiming the hour of prayer to the faithful.*

In the East-
ern Islands.

From the southernmost point of Hindustan, Muhammedanism may be traced in an eastern, and south easterly direction, to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and to the Manillas, or Phillipine islands, and the Celebezean islands. The little isle of Goram, one of the Spice or Molucca isles (between Ceram and Papua), in which there are thirteen mosques, appears to be the eastern boundary of the Muhammedan world.† In this Asiatic

* Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs, sec. 2—3. 8vo. 1812. Asiatic Annual Register, 1812, p. 8.

† For the state of Muhammedanism in these islands, I consulted principally Sonnerat's Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée; Paris, 1776. Forrest's Voyage to Guinea and the Moluccas, from Balambangan. 4to. London, 1779; the admirable work of Marsden on Sumatra, and Thunberg's Travels, vol. 2, p. 213—220.

Asiatic Archipelago, Christianity, and most systems of religion, have root. Muhammedanism prevails on the sea coast. The military spirit of the Saracens established their religion in most parts of Asia, but their commercial spirit seems to have carried it to these remote regions.

The established religion of Persia is Muhammedanism of the sect of Ali. In a former chapter it has been mentioned, that on the conquest of this country by the Saracens, the religion of Zoroaster was almost destroyed. The zealous worshippers of fire retired to the mountains, or fled into the western parts of India. In the present day, a few thousands of them live under a precarious toleration in the city of Yezd. But their numbers daily diminish. Some turn Muhammedans, and others join their brethren in the faith in the East. These Persians in Bombay, and in other parts of India, are a wealthy and honourable class of planters and merchants. They form a distinct community, for the purposes of religion, and for the support of their own poor ; but they freely intermingle with the Hindus, the Christians, and the Jews, in social intercourse.* From the time of the introduction of Muhammedanism down to the fifteenth century, the Persians fluctuated between

2 B

the

* Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. 2, cap. 22. Morier's Journey through Persia, p. 234. Richardson's Dissertation on the Languages of the East, p. 24, 8vo. 1778 Niebuhr, tom. 2, p. 36. 4to.

CHAP. VII. the Sonnite and Shiite sects. In the year 1499, Ismael, the first king of the Suffavean race, proclaimed the Shiite faith to be the national religion of Persia ; and from that time to the present, a regard for its tenets has either been the cause or the pretext of almost every war in which Persia has been engaged. Surrounded by nations who profess the Sonnite doctrine, whether the Persian has been called upon to invade the territories of the Turks, the Affghans, or the Tartars, or to repel the attacks of those nations, he has been always summoned by the same watchword ; and the belief that the Shiite faith was in danger has never failed to rouse him to action.* When Nadir Shah was ruler of Persia, he endeavoured to convert his subjects to the Sonnite faith, the generally received system of the Muselman nations. He knew that a similarity of religion would facilitate the execution of his scheme of universal conquest : but the attempt failed, and the attachment of the people to the memory of Ali continues as decided as ever.† “ May this arrow go to the heart of Omar,” was a frequent expression of the Persians on drawing the bow,‡ and when a modern traveller in this interesting country conversed with a very sensible and moderate native upon

* Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. 2, chap 22.

† Sir W Jones's History of Nadir Shah, tom. 2, passim.

‡ Voyages de Chardin, tom. 2, p. 240.

upon Moslem history, and praised Omar as the greatest of the Caliphs, the Shiite, overcome by the justice of the observation, yet adhering to his rooted prejudices, replied, "This is all very true, but he was a dog after all."* CHAP. VII.

In all treaties of peace between the Turks and the Persians, liberty for the sectaries of Ali to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca is solemnly granted.† But as this pilgrimage cannot be made without the display of some reverence for the three first Caliphs, the conscientious Persians decline the journey, while a few bigots, thinking that an outward respect to their enemies is less criminal than the neglect of a religious obligation, mingle the sinful and the virtuous acts. The mass of the Persian population are satisfied with a pilgrimage to the tomb of Ali, at Meshed-Ali, near Cufa, and to the tomb of his son, Hossein, at Meshed Hossein near Kerbelah, within thirty miles of Cufa. These sepulchres were lately, and perhaps are still, in the hands of the Turks, who impose a heavy tax upon the pilgrims. An annual festival has been consecrated to the martyrdom of Hossein, and the Persians reverence his name, with a fervour which approaches to adoration. The tombs of these, and other saints of Shiite worship,

§ B §

* Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. 2, p 377, note.

† Sir James Porter's Observations on the Turks, chap. 1, 2d edition, 1771.

CHAP VII. ship, have been enriched with the most magnificent presents by religious devotees. Over the shrine of Ali, the dome of copper, with its massy gilding, in the midst of a town in an elevated situation, glitters to the sun at the distance of five or six German miles, a resplendent testimony of the principles of a Persian king. Every monarch of the family of Ali has added to the sepulchral revenues.*

In Africa. In the states of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, on the long coast of Northern Africa, Muhammedanism is the religion of the different governments, and generally of the people. From Arabia and Egypt it spread to the eastern and southern parts of Africa, and it was communicated to Madagascar. It is the established religion of the empire of Morocco. In the other districts of Western Barbary, and in several of the kingdoms of the interior of Africa, the Arabic language is spoken, and the Koran believed.† Except in some parts of the south of the western portion of Africa, the Moors have in very few instances established themselves southerly of the great rivers. In the western and central portions of this quarter of the globe, the line between

* Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. 2, chap 22 Sir W. Jones's History of Nadir Shah, tom 2, p. 155 Niebuhr, Voyage en Arabie, tom. 2, p. 210—220. Otter, Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, tom. 1, chap. 15. iris, 1748.

† See the Travels of Niebuhr, Jackson, Lempriere, and Barrow.

tween the Muhammedans and the Pagans extends up the river Senegal to the small Moorish state of Gedumah, lat. 14° , $20''$. Its course thence to the northward of east, through Nigritia and Nubia to the Nile, is not yet correctly known. It is a matter of doubt whether Timbuctoo, the great emporium of central Africa, be a Moorish or a Negro town. But Muhammedanism, if not the dominant, is certainly a tolerated religion.* It appears probable, that the sovereigns of the great empires of Bornou and Kassina are Muhammedans, but that most of their subjects are Pagans or Negroes.

In all these vast territories, it is in the descendants both of the Moors from Spain, and of the tribes of Arabs who have in every period of the Hegira emigrated from the Arabian to the African deserts, that the Muhammedan population consists. A zealous Muselman must mourn over the corrupted state of his religion among the Moors. Its persecuting spirit alone is preserved. Lustrations of the body are not performed with oriental scrupulosity, inebriating drinks, and the flesh of swine, are freely indulged in, and the unity of the Godhead is often confounded with, or resigned for, the polytheistical notions of the descendants of the original

2 B 3

inha*

* Jackson's Morocco, ch. 13. Park's first Mission, 4to, p. 213, and Robert Adams's Narrative, 4to. 2nd edit. p. 112, 113, 168—180.

CHAP.VII. inhabitants of the country, In point of moral character, the Muselmans are unquestionably more depraved than the Pagans. The latter class of men may be called the Hindus of Africa : but it would be libelling the Muhammedans of India, immoral as they are, to compare them with the African Moors. Our travellers in Africa have been fond of dwelling upon the subject of the hospitality, which the negroes invariably shewed them. The Muselmans constantly insulted them, on account of their religion.*

In Arabia. In the cities of Mecca and Medina, the Sonnite Muhammedans abound. The Shiites are numerous on the borders of the Persian Gulph. Various systems, emanating from these two great divisions of Muhammedanism, are embraced by other Arabian citizens ; but the Bedoweens are as licentious in their religion as in their politics. On the Turkish frontier they keep an appearance of respect for God and his Prophet ; but their doctrine and morals are so greatly relaxed, that the Turks upbraid them, with apparent justice, for infidelity. In pleasant indifference about the matter, the Bedoweens say, “ the religion of Muhammed could never have been intended for us. We have no water in the deserts, how then can we make the prescribed
“ ablu-

* Park's first Mission. 4to. Appendix, p. 89—92. Robert Adams's Narrative. 4to. p. 74—126

“ ablutions? We have no money, how then
 “ can we give alms? The fast of Ramadan is
 “ an useless command to persons who fast all
 “ the year round; and if God be every where,
 “ why should we go to Mecca to adore him?”* CHAP.VII

The martial spirit of the Arabians has again been sanctified by the cloak of piety. In the province of Nedsjed, the sect of Moseilamites had threatened the extinction of the religion of the Koran in the life-time of Muhammed. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, Shaikh Muhammed, the son of Abdol Wahab, appeared in the same province, and threatened the extinction of the Turkish creed of Muhammedanism. Through the efforts of this saint, and the aid of the temporal power of Ebu-Saoud, the prince of Nedsjed, and his son and successor Abdol Aziz, the tenets of the Wahabees became established over all the peninsula of Arabia. The unity of the Godhead is their fundamental principle. Muhammed is respected as a good, though not an inspired man; and the Koran and traditional law are therefore human compositions. The ceremonial rites of Muhammedanism are thought of little moment. In the purity of their faith, they hold it a species of abominable idolatry to erect magnificent tombs to the memory of

The Wahabees.

2 B 4 men

* Niebuhr's Description de l'Arabie, 4to. 16—24. Volney, Voy Syrie et en Egypte, tom. 1, p. 380.

CHAP. VII. men; and they readily persuaded themselves, that the destruction of the shrines of Muhammedan saints in Arabia and Persia would be an action acceptable to God. With the ardour of the early Saracens, they assumed a military appearance, and commenced their holy war equally against Muhammedans and Christians. The Pachas of Bagdad, and the Scheriff of Mecca, in vain attempted their destruction; the cries of the Provincials pierced the Seraglio, and the Sultan trembled at the name of Abdol-Aziz. The caravans from Damascus no longer performed their usual jounies; Constantinople was deprived of her supplies of coffee from Arabia; and the pious Muselman heard with horror that the mosques at Mecca had been plundered, and the shrine of Ali insulted. But the army of the Othmans recaptured the sacred city; and the appearance at this critical conjuncture of the plague and small-pox among the Wahabees saved the mighty fabric of Islamism. The venerable Abdol Aziz was assassinated; and perhaps the timid and cruel court of Constantinople instigated the murderer. The death of Abdol broke the martial and fanatical spirit of the Wahabees, who are now but little dreaded as a race of plunderers, though their religious opinions are either secretly held or openly professed.*

In

* Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 296—302. Malcolm's History

In Egypt, Syria, and every part of the vast Turkish empire, though the Greek Church exists, Muhammedanism is the established and prevailing religion. It is there, indeed, that Muhammed has his most sincere and zealous disciples. It would be foreign to the purpose of these sheets to attempt a delineation of the character of the various people who constitute the population of the Othman empire. The task never has been, and perhaps never can be, well executed. "Every universal proposition," says an admirable author, "is suspicious and liable to error, more especially when we speak of the general character of a nation, the shades of which are always much diversified, according to the station, rank, temper, and profession of every individual. Each province of an empire is as different from the next, as either of these differs from the capital, and the capital from the court; where also each family has a peculiar tint, by which the individuals of it are divided into various classes. If in a wood there are not two leaves which bear a strict resemblance; if in the world there are not two faces perfectly alike, nor two men of exactly the same way of thinking on every subject, how is it possible to give

" the

CHAP. VII.
 Muhammedanism in the Othman Empire.

CHAP.VII. "the moral picture of a nation with one
 "dash of the pen."* But without attempting
 its actual state in Turkey. a complete development of the national character of the Turks, it will be proper to make a general comparison between Muhammedanism in Turkey, (as exhibited by the most judicious observers) with the religion itself, as represented in our chapter on the Koran.

Faith. The belief of the Turks in the unity of God, and the divine mission of the last and greatest of his Prophets, is general and unreserved; for since in the opinion of the Muselmans, the simple assent of the mind to these two great dogmas will be followed by the possession of heaven, immediately or remotely, according to the degree of virtuous conduct in the believer, we can readily conceive, that infidelity to a creed so consolatory and so easy must be rare.

Predestination. Among the controversies on the minor points of theology, which this general admission includes, those respecting predestination have been most numerous and unsatisfactory. Fatalism, in its unlimited extent, was a great engine by which Muhammed established his religion, but the doctors of the Mosque in these days affirm, that predestination to life eternal regards only a certain

* Letters from certain Jews to Voltaire (written by the Abbé Guénéé) vol. 1. p. 30. English Translation.

certain portion of the faithful, and that it has no relation to the moral, civil, and political state, because man is never deprived of his liberty. Supported by the authority of the ancient Imams, the Muftis declare, that whoever denies the free agency of man sins against religion, and is worthy of death. But in defiance of these sage decisions of the church, the doctrine of predestination has great practical influence among the Muhammedans. It unnerves the soul for generous and manly enterprises, it casts a lethargy over the whole Turkish nation, it checks the exertions of reason, and makes men wait for the sensible operations of the deity. In some cases, it is considered to relate to the foreknowledge, in others to the positive agency of God. The Turk is keen, and wise in his ordinary worldly transactions, and exercises the powers of his mind in promoting his interest. But when he is oppressed with difficulty and doubt, when a new and troubled scene is opened, he makes no effort to disperse the cloud of his misfortunes, but considers it impious to oppose the decrees of heaven. Fatal as this doctrine is to all improvement, yet it is practically useful in the hour of adversity. Does the Muhammedan suffer by any misfortune? Is he plundered? Is he ruined? He calmly says, "It was written," and submits

CHAP.VII. mits without a murmur, to the most unexpected transition from opulence to poverty. Even on the bed of death nothing disturbs his tranquillity; he makes his ablution; repeats his prayers; professes his belief in God and his Prophet; and in a last calm appeal to the aid of affection, he says to his son, “turn my head towards “Mecca,” and dies in peace.*

The respect
of the Turks
for Reli-
gion.

A regard to the established forms of devotion is observed by the Turks, and the neglect or contempt of them is not deemed a mark of wit, or superior understanding. Hence public decorum is preserved, and although religious as well as moral precepts may be too often violated, yet they are always spoken of with respect. To defend his principles, the Muhammedan is never ashamed; and the firmness of his faith is testified by his earnestness in its vindication. Indeed they speak incessantly of their religion, and often interrupt conversation by repeating their creed. The ears of a traveller from Europe are astonished at the reiterated cries in the streets of every Turkish town, of the phrase, “Allah Acbar,” and the name of God is as familiarly used by the Moslems as it is by fanatical Christians.†

The

* *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, par M. D'Ohsson, tom. 1. p. 166—177, 4 tom. 8vo. Paris 1788—1791, and Russel's *History of Aleppo*, vol 1 chap. 6.

† Volney, tom. 2. ch. 40. It is no uncommon thing in the East, for

The purifications prescribed by the Muham- CHAP.VII.
 medan law are performed by the Muselmans of Purifica-
 tion
 every nation in Turkey, with all possible strict-
 ness. No religious act is praiseworthy with
 God, unless the body is previously placed in a
 state of purity. But it is calumniating the
 Turks to say, that the external ablutions super-
 sede the necessity of internal purification. The
 professed object of the ceremonial is, the ren-
 dering of the body fit for the decorous discharge
 of religious duties, and so scrupulous are the
 Turks, that if in the course of their daily
 prayers, they chance to receive any pollution
 from dirt, they suspend their devotion, until the
 impurity is removed by water, or other neces-
 sary means. The fountains which are placed
 round all the Mosques, and the baths which
 crowd every city, enable the Muselmans to pre-
 pare themselves for the five daily prayers.

At the appointed time, the Maazeen, with Prayer
 their faces generally turned towards Mecca,
 with closed eyes, and upraised hands, pace the
 little gallery of the Minarets, and proclaim in
 Arabic, (which is also the Muselman's language
 of

young persons to know the whole of the Koran by rote When this
 labour is accomplished, their relations borrow a fine horse and furniture,
 and carry the young theologian about the town in procession, with the
 book in his hand, his friends following, accompanied by all sorts of the
 music of the country. Harmer's Observations, vol 2. p 113. Lond
 1803

CHAP.VII. of prayer) that the hour of devotion is arrived.* The profound humility of the Turks is testified by every traveller. Immediately that the clear and solemn voice of the crier is heard, the Muselman, whatever may be his rank, or employment of life, gives himself up to prayer. The ministers of state suspend the transaction of public business, and prostrate themselves on the floor. The tradesman forgets his dealings with his customer, and converts his shop into a Mosque. "He is a good Muselman, he never fails in the performance of his five Namazs every day," is the highest praise which a Turk can receive; and so prejudicial in its consequences is the suspicion of irreligion, that even libertines neglect not attention to these external rites. Twice, or thrice, in the course of the day, these devotions are performed in the Mosque. In a prostrate or erect position, they offer up their prayers, and Christians might be edified by the simple gravity and decorum of the Turks in the hour of devotion. Seldom do the Muselmans lay aside their turbans even in the Mosque, and the women in the

* These are the words of the Maazeen, "God is great, God is great, God is great, God is great, I declare that there is no God but God, and that Muhammed is his Prophet Come to prayer, come to prayer, come to the temple of health. Great God, great God, there is no God but God" In the morning the crier adds, "prayer is better than sleep, prayer is better than sleep." D'Ohsson, tom. 2. p. 110.

the seclusion of their chambers cover themselves with a veil in these moments of communion with their God.* Verses of the Koran, the names of God and his Prophet, of Ali and his sons, are inscribed in letters of gold round the walls of places of public worship. Persons of every rank and degree cast themselves indiscriminately on the carpeted floor, exhibiting by this voluntary sacrifice of worldly distinction, their belief in the equality of all mankind in the sight of the Creator.† Infidels are prohibited from entering the Mosques, and the order of the Grand Sultan, or chief magistrate, can alone suspend the operation of the law.

CHAP.VII.

Friday, the sabbath of the Muselmans, is observed in a less rigorous manner, than Sunday is by Protestant Christians. This consecrated period commences on the Thursday evening, when an appearance of festivity is given to the cities, by the illuminated Minarets and colonades of the Mosques. At noon on Friday, every species of employment is suspended, and the faithful repair to their Temples. Prayers of particular importance and solemnity are read, and sermons are preached by the Sheik or Vaiz. Points of morality, and not of contro-

versial

The Tur-
kish Sab-
bath

* D'Ohsson's Tab. Gén. tom. 2 p. 52—68, 98, 128, 158, &c. and Russel's Hist. of Aleppo, vol 1. ch 4

† D'Ohsson, tom. 2. p. 168—172.

CHAP. VII. versial theology, are the general subjects of their discourses. In the warmth of their sincerity, they will often declaim against political corruption, and the depravity of the court. In times of public commotion, they irritate or appease the popular tumult, and the eloquence of a preacher in the Mosque of Saint Sophia has made a weak and voluptuous Sultan tear himself from the silken web of his Harem, and lead his martial subjects to the plains of Hungary. The prayers and the preaching being concluded, every body returns to his ordinary occupations or amusements. The day is however observed in the manner prescribed by the law, by all ranks of persons, and the words of the Prophet are never forgotten, that he, who without legitimate cause absents himself^{سنة} from public prayer for three successive Fridays, is considered to have abjured his religion.* The Namaz, the prayer in general use, is chiefly a confession of the divine attributes and of the nothingness of man, a solemn art of homage and gratitude to the eternal majesty. The faithful are forbidden to ask of God, the temporal blessings of this frail and perishable life ; the only legitimate object of the supplicatory part of the Namaz is spiritual gifts and the ineffable advantages of eternal felicity.†

No

* D'Ohsson, Tab. Gén. tom. 2. p. 192—222 369—373.

† Thornton's Present State of Turkey, p 253.

No religious institution is more strictly and generally observed by the Turks than the Fast of Ramadan. A violation of it by any individual subjects him to the character of an infidel and apostate; and the deposition of two witnesses to his offence renders him worthy of death. Perfect abstinence from every kind of support to the body, and even from there freshment of perfumes, is observed from the rising to the setting of the sun. The rich and pious Moslem passes the long hours in meditation and prayer; the luxurious grandees sleep the tedious time away; but the industrious mechanic feels in his daily labour the rigour of the fast. When the month of Ramadan happens in the extremities of the seasons, the prescribed abstinence is almost intolerable, and the business of worldly traffic is suspended through the day. At night, however, the Bazaars are lighted with innumerable lamps; and travellers to Constantinople have expressed much admiration of the generally splendid appearance of the streets. The coffee-houses are not shut till the morning; and as both Christians and Jews conform to this midnight revelry, the streets are filled with a mixed concourse of people. Every night of this consecrated season is some appointed feast among the officers of the court. The Turkish individual divests him-

CHAP.VII.
Fast of
Ramadan.

CHAP.VII. self of his usual reserve; and this is the only season of the year when friends and relations cement their union by social intercourse. Nocturnal banquets of a most sumptuous nature are prepared; and the amenity and sociability would be perfect, if the law for the exclusion of women from the tables of the men were suspended.*

Pilgrimage
to Mecca.

In every quarter of the Moslem world, the pilgrimage to Mecca is esteemed as the most meritorious action of the follower of the Arabian Prophet. The weaker sex, the men of rank, and all who cannot desert their official charges, perform the duty by the devotions of an appointed friend; and the legality of the performance of this obligation by a substitute is an unquestionable point. The pilgrimage is made an affair of state; and although every individual furnishes his own viaticum, yet the grand Sultan preserves the public ways, and the best soldiers of the empire are charged with the protection of the caravans.

Every year from Damascus and Grand Cairo, the devout Moslems depart in solemn and magnificent procession; and the native band of Turks is swelled in the desert by the Moors of every part of Africa and Asia. From the shores of
the

* D'Ohsson's Tab. Gén. liv. 4, ch. 1.—Russel's Hist. of Aleppo, ch. 4.—Dallaway's Constantinople, p. 81.

the Atlantic on the one hand, and from the most remote parts of the east on the other, the votaries of the Prophet are seen advancing towards Mecca.* The common horrors of the desert are despised by fanaticism, but the harassing depredations of the roving Arabs, who respect not the religion nor fear the swords of the pilgrims, almost exhaust the fidelity of the Moslems. Commercial ideas and objects mingle however with those of devotion. The numerous camels of each caravan are laden with those commodities of every country, which are of easiest carriage and most ready sale. The holy city is crowded not only with zealous devotees but with opulent merchants; and during the few days they remain there, the fair of Mecca is the greatest, perhaps, on the face of the earth. Mercantile transactions are carried on to an immense value, of which the dispatch, the silence, and the mutual confidence in conducting them, are the most unequivocal proof. The productions and manufactures of India are the important articles in this great traffic, and the caravans on their return disseminate them through every part of Asia and Africa. These Indian commodities

CHAP VII.

2 c 2

are

* “ During my residence in India, the Nabob of Arcot, and other Muhammedan princes, sent ships annually to the Red Sea, in order to accommodate the Meccan pilgrims with a passage to Judda, the port where they usually landed.” Forbes’s Oriental Memoirs, vol. 3. p. 136.

CHAP. VII. are so various as to suit the taste of mankind in every climate and in different stages of improvement, and are in high request among the rude natives of Africa, as well as the luxurious inhabitants of Asia. In order to supply their usual demands, the caravans return loaded with the muslins and chintzes of Bengal and the Deccan, the shawls of Cashmere, the pepper of Malabar, the diamonds of Golconda, the pearls of Kilkau, the cinnamon of Ceylon, and the spices of the Moluccas.*

Interdicted
meats.

The Muhammedans seldom violate the interdictions from certain meats mentioned in the Koran. Their repasts are simple and frugal. The Great Bajazet and some other Sultans scandalised the Moslems by the practice of drunkenness, but such instances of vice have been comparatively rare. The priests and the lawyers are abstemious, but the dervises, though devoted to a monastic life, openly and repeatedly violate the injunctions of the Prophet. Though drunkenness can never be charged against the Turks as a national vice, yet their prejudices against the use of wine are gradually relaxing. The Janizaries upon service drink
without

Wine

* Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et Egypte*, tom. 2, p. 251, &c. D'Ohsson, *Tab Gén.* tom. 3, p. 132, 250, &c. Robertson's *Disquisition on Ancient India*, p. 146, 4to D'Herbelot, *Bib. Orient. art.* Haggi and Haggi; the latter word is an empty title of honour frequently assumed by the pilgrims.

without reserve, and their carousals with the Christians and Jews are notorious. The terrors, with which the civil magistrates are armed against drunkards, drive the man of rank to the secrecy of his harem, and prevent his vice from becoming an example to the people. CHAP.VII.

It is the unchangeable opinion of Asiatics, that the sole pleasure of wine consists in its inebriating effects. The Turk therefore despises the small glasses of the Europeans, and the Persian justifies his occasional excessive intoxication by the remark, "there is equal sin in a flaggon as in a glass."* Strong distilled waters from Zante and Corfu are openly sold, and brandy is common in the Levant. With an admirable casuistry, the Muselman silences his conscience by the remark, that fire which purifies all things, has destroyed and dissipated the impure parts of the wine, and that Muhammed has no where nominally interdicted brandy. The Greeks, who inhabit the isles of the Archipelago so famous in ancient times for the juice of their grapes, make wine the great article of commerce. The vineyards are often the property of the Turks, but they leave to the infidels the task of preparing the wine. The State itself connives at this Jesuitical evasion of the law,

2 c 3

* Russel, vol. 1, ch. 3. Malcolm's Persia, vol. 2, p. 585. Chardin, tom. 2, p. 344.

CHAP.VII. law, and accepts a tax from the cultivator of the soil and the merchant of the wine.

Opium

The intoxicating effects of opium were offensive to the moral purity of the doctors of the mosque: long and vehement have been the disputes respecting its legality; but as the letter of the law opposes not the use of it, the Muselman indulges his passion for this substitute for the juice of the grape. And although an opium eater is a word of contempt for a person of an irregular and extravagant turn of mind, yet it is the great and general luxury of the

Gaming.

Turkish nation.* The Muhammedan precepts against gaming are observed in Turkey. Chess is their favourite amusement, but other motives than those of gain must have occasioned their singular proficiency. Wagers on any trial of skill, or common event, are deemed unlawful.†

Proselytism.

The zeal of the Muhammedans for proselytism has for ages been exhausted, and so perfect is the contempt of the Turk for the professors of every religion but his own, that he thinks their conversion not worthy his endeavours. Sometimes, however, a pious Muselman, instigated by zeal or personal attachment to a Christian or a Jew, lifts up his hands and exclaims, “ Great God, enlighten this infidel, and graciously
“ dispose

* Russel's Aleppo, vol. 1, ch. 3. D'Ohsson, Tab. Gén. tom. 4, p. 22—76. Porter's Observations on the Turks, ch. 14.

† Dallaway's Constantinople, page 81.

“ dispose his heart to embrace thy holy religion.” When devout persons propose their faith to the acceptance of a youth, whom they esteem for his talents or his knowledge, they do it with an air of urbanity, and in language of persuasion. The zeal of the missionary is bounded by the rules of good breeding, and a vague answer, or silence, is received as an indication that the subject ought not to be continued. Though a Muselman may pray for the conversion of infidels, yet he is forbidden to implore the divine blessing upon them.* “ Pray not for those whose death is eternal,” is a precept of the Muhammedan church ; and “ defile not thy feet by passing over the graves of men, the enemies of God and his prophet.”

In every part of Turkey, Christianity is tolerated on certain pecuniary conditions, and the insatiable avarice of the Turks is the potent preservative of those Christians and Jews that dwell among them. These infidels are an inexhaustible treasure to the government and to powerful individuals, and protection is dearly purchased. The first effort of Muhammedan education is to root in the minds of children an abhorrence of Christians and Jews ; and infants are taught to distinguish them by the

2 c 4

name

* D'Ohsson, *Tab. Gén.* tom. 4, p. 275. Thornton, p. 282.

CHAP. VII. name of Ghiour. The Christians are treated by the Muhammedans with a cruelty, which varies itself in a thousand forms. They are interdicted from the pomp of processions, the sound of bells or of psalmody, and every public demonstration of worship. They must erect no new churches, and heavy fines to the government increase the expence of repairing the old. Their public and private buildings are measured by a diminutive standard;* in the streets and baths they must give way to the meanest of the people; their very dress is commanded to be different from that of the Moslems;† and in but few cities dare they appear on horseback. If a Christian personally chastises a Moslem, his life is forfeited to the laws; but if a Moslem kill a Christian, the murder may be ransomed. In the courts of law, the evidence of two disciples of Jesus is equivalent only to the testimony of one believer in the Arabian Prophet. In the greetings of these different people, the word Salam is carefully avoided by the Turks, on account of its affinity to the sacred words, Eslam and Moslem, and happy is the Christian, if to the most courteous salutation of his Muhammedan lord,

* D'Ohsson, Tab. Gén. tom. 4, p. 235.

† Reland, de Religione Muham., p. 19, lib. 2, 8vo. Ultraj, 1705.

lord, is not added the epithet of infidel or dog.*

CHAP VII:

The religious tyranny of the Turks is however considerably relaxed in favour of one particular sect of Christians. The country of the Maronites extends from the ridge of Mount Libanus to the shores of Tripoli. In the gradual descent each variety of soil and climate is afforded, from the holy cedars erect under the weight of snow, to the vine, the mulberry, and the olive tree of the valley. The name of a monastery, or of a religious devotee, gave an appellation to one of those large bodies of Christians, who in the fifth century distracted the church by their controversies respecting the Incarnation of Christ. The eastern church adopted

The Maronites.

* Volney, Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte, tom. II. p. 367 Le caractère de la multitude n'est pas de garder un juste milieu Superstitieux ou réformateur le peuple multiplie ou anéantit, mais toujours par fanatisme, les cérémonies de son culte. Dans des religions humaines, les prêtres ne manquent pas d'entretenir cet enthousiasme, le plus solide appui de leur autorité C'est ce que le commerce des Indiens, des Parses, et des Mahometanes m'a donné occasion de remarquer.—Mais j'ai trouvé moins de fureur, moins d'inhumanité parmi les ignoians décidés et de bonne foi, que chez les demi-savans Par exemple, rien n'est plus dur dans ses conséquences qu'elle tiré de ses dogmes théologiques, que la religion Mahométane, qui se donne le fléau de l'Idolâtrie Ses sectateurs ont une roideur de caractère qui vient de l'orgueil qu'elle leur inspire Leur zèle resserré dans un petit nombre d'usages, n'en est que plus ardent. Les Indiens, au contraire, livrés au culte d'une multitude de Dieux dont ils n'étudient point la nature, sont généralement plus indulgens et plus sociables. Zend Avesta, traduit par A. du Peron. Vol. II. p. 528. 4to. 1771.

CHAP. VII. adopted doctrines different from the Maronites, and the family of Constantine persecuted them with fire and sword. In the twelfth century, the Maronites renounced the error of the Monothelites, that though there were two natures, yet that there was but one will in Christ, and accepted the protection of the Church of Rome. The supremacy of the Pope is merely nominal, for the clergy elect their own spiritual chiefs, and despise the regulation of the Latin church for the celibacy of the priests. In the ancient monastery of Canubin, the patriarch is called the patriarch of Antioch, the title, which John Maron, the founder of the sect, assumed. All the ceremonies of religion are performed among them without restraint. There are nine bishops, one hundred and fifty priests, and one hundred and twenty thousand secular members. Each village has its chapel and priest, and each chapel has its bell, a privilege enjoyed by Christians in no other part of Turkey; for the sound of a bell is an abomination to the devout ear of a Muselman. They assume also the right of wearing the green turban, which, except in their territories, would cost a Christian his life.*

The

* There is a college at Rome for the gratuitous education of the Maronite youth. The most distinguished scholar it has produced was JONAS SIMON ASSEMANNIS, the able defender of his sect. See his

The exhortations to pecuniary charity, with which the Koran abounds, have been always observed by the Muselmans, and benevolence is a great characteristic of the Turkish nation. The purse of the wealthy is at the command of relations and strangers, and the infrequent appearance of beggars among an indolent people, where the police is miserably regulated, is a convincing proof of the pecuniary bounty of the Turks. Khans, or caravanserais, for the accommodation of travellers, hospitals, and other charitable institutions, adorn every Turkish city; and on the various high roads of the empire, public and private benevolence has provided for the defence and support of the indigent traveller. The hospitality of Oriental nations is proverbial. It extends, like Christian love, to all persons, without regard to religious distinctions. Its laws give a title, not only to common civility, but to protection. If a man claims the hospitality of an Arab, the savageness of his spirit is softened into peace, and he will risk his life in defence of his guest. "We have eaten bread and salt together," is still

CHAP.VII.

Alms-giving, hospitality, and benevolence.

Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino Vaticano. tom. 1 fol. p. 496 The antiquities of the Maronites are stated at great length in the second volume of *La Roque's Voyage de Syrie et de Mont Liban*, *Niebuhr's Voyage*, tom. 2, p. 346; but the most interesting account is given by the incomparable *Volney*, *Voyage en Syrie et Egypte*, tom. 2, p. 8—32. The cedar trees so often mentioned in the Old Testament as the proud ornament of Mount Libanus are now few in number. When *Volney* travelled only four or five large ones remained, tom. 1, p. 264.

CHAP.VII. still the simple expression of mutual amity, and although the houses of the nobility are not considered as asylums, in cases where the law has been grossly violated, yet in slight offences, a great man will exert his interest in behalf of a person in distress, who has fled to his porch, and claimed the rights of hospitality.

The benevolence of the Muselmans extends to the animal creation, and it is an established article in the Moslem's belief,* that the irrational animals will be judged on the last day, and have mutual vengeance for the injuries they have done each other in this life. From feelings of compassion, hunting is held in abhorrence by the Turks, and birds are seldom deprived of their liberty. According to popular tradition, Muhammed was kind to the domestic animal the cat.† Its gravity of deportment, and independent indifference, well accord with the sullen solemnity and pride of the Turks. Though they are far too cleanly to admit them to touch their persons, yet they are received in their houses : the dog is not treated with the same benevolent attention. The prejudices of the Asiatic against him frequently appear in the Scriptures of the Jews : his touch is deemed contagious, and his very name is the Turk's bit-
terest

* Koran, ch. 6, and Sale's note and Prelim. Disc. sec. 4.

† Labat's Mémoires du Chevalier D'Arvieux, tom. 3, p. 227.

ferest expression of contempt. But although CHAP.VII.
 he is not allowed to approach within the pre-
 cincts of their houses, or the courts of the
 Mosques, yet thousands disturb the peace and
 the cleanliness of the streets. They are fed by
 the liberal inhabitants, and Tournefort even
 assures us, that testamentary donations are often
 made for their support. They are more kindly
 cherished in the country than in the capital, and
 are admitted to a companionship with the shep-
 herds and wandering tribes.*

“In the East,” as Mr. Burke has correctly Polygamy.
Divorce.
 remarked in one of his letters on a Regicide
 Peace, “polygamy and divorce are in discredit,
 “and the manners correct the laws.” The
 wealthy Muselmans are as profligate as the weal-
 thy Christians; but the Turk, in the common
 walks of life, generally attaches himself to the
 society of one woman. His avarice is the surest
 preservative of the union, for if the divorce be at
 his instigation, his wife will reclaim the dowry
 which she brought him at the marriage * The
 two great causes of divorce in other countries,
 incompatibility of temper, and adultery, are not
 much

* D’Ohsson’s Tab. Gén. tom. 2, p. 53, and tom. 4, p. 308. Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, tom. 2. p. 355, Lyons, 1707 Labat’s Mémoires d’Arvieux, tom. 3. p. 223. La Roque’s Voyage en Palestine, p. 181—184. Russel’s Aleppo, vol. 1, chap. 5

* Niebuh, Description de l’Arabie, p. 62—66. Russel’s Aleppo, vol. 1. chap. 6. Labat’s Mémoires d’Arvieux, tom. 3, p. 311 Thoin-
 ton’s State of Turkey, p. 342. Dallaway’s Constantinople, p. 32.

CHAP. VI. much known in Turkey. The little intercourse between the married parties, the seclusion of women from general society, the universality of marriage, are customs which favor not the existence of either of these evils.

The Turk-
ish Clergy.

Of the Turkish hierarchy some ideas should be formed. As the Koran was supposed to be the treasure of divine and human laws, and as the Caliphs were the depositaries of this treasure, they became at once pontiffs, legislators, and judges, and the sacerdotal, regal, and judicial officers were united in their persons. We have mentioned in another chapter, that the title of Caliph was acquired by Selim the first. The Grand Sultan is also stiled the *Sultandin*, the protector of the faith, the *Padishah-Islam*, or emperor of Islamism, and the *Zil-Ullah*, or shadow of God. The administrators of the various powers which are centered in the Sultan's person form the body of the Oulema. Three descriptions of persons constitute this assembly. The first are the ministers of religion, called the Imams, the second the doctors of the law, called the Muftis, and the third the ministers of justice, called the Cadis.* The chief Imams are part of the

* Upon the political importance of this body as a barrier between the sovereign and the people it belongs not to the office of a writer to dwell, whose subject is the Muhammedan religion, and the history of its promulgation and establishment. But we may briefly observe, that if the Koran be the rule of the Sultan's conduct, the Oulema are interpreters

the Oulema ; the inferior clergy are not. The immediate ministers of religion are of five descriptions : 1st. The Sheiks, or ordinary preachers in the Mosques ; 2d. The Khatibs, readers or deacons, who, in imitation of the Prophet or Caliphs, and in the name, and under the sacerdotal authority of the Sultan, discharge the function of an Imam or high priesthood, and read the prayers on Fridays ; 3d. The Imams, a general title for the priests, who perform the service in the Mosque on ordinary days, and who consecrate the ceremonies of circumcision, marriage, and burial ; 4th. The Maazeens or criers ; 5th. The Cayims or common attendants of the Mosque.

The numbers of the priests attached to the different Mosques are various. The imperial temples have one Sheik, one Khatib, two, three, or four Imams, twelve Maazeens, and twenty Cayims. Except in the fourteen principal Mosques of Constantinople, the Khatibs enjoy a pre-eminence over the rest of the clergy. The ministers are appointed by the founders of the temple, subject to confirmation by the Muftis in the

of that book, and therefore no measure of state can be executed without the Fetra or decree of that assembly. The Sultan, it is true, may depose their president, the Grand Mufti ; but this power is of little use, for the Oulema being a large body, various parties are formed in it, and the persons of the members being sacred, they can, and frequently do, oppose with impunity the wishes of the Court. Sir James Porter's Observations on the Turks, 2nd edition, 1771, Preface.

CHAP. VII. the capital, and by the representative of Grand Sultan in the provinces. The Oulks enjoy various privileges: for more than three centuries they have been free from taxation and arbitrary confiscation.* The ministers of religion throughout the Turkish empire are subordinate to the civil magistrate, who exercises over them the power of a diocesan. He has the privilege of superseding and removing those whose conduct is reproachable, or who are unequal to the dignified discharge of the duties of their office. The magistrates themselves may perform all the sacerdotal functions, and it is in virtue of this prerogative, joined to the influence which they derive from their judicial power and their riches, that they have so marked a pre-eminence, and so preponderant an authority, as they actually enjoy over the ministers of public worship. The priests in their habits of life are not distinguishable from other citizens; they mix in the same society, engage in the same pursuits, and their conduct is not characterized by greater austerity than marks the behaviour of other Muselmans. Their influence on the secular members of the church is entirely dependent on their reputation for learning, and talents, or gravity, and moral conduct. They are seldom the professed instructors

* Thornton's Present State of Turkey, p. 260. D'Ossuna's Tab. tom. 4, p. 483, 586—600.

Directors of youth, much less of men, and by no means are they considered as the directors of consciences. They merely chaunt aloud the public service, and perform offices which the master of a family can also discharge. The Turks know nothing of those expiatory ceremonies which give so much influence to the Catholic priesthood : all the practices of their religion can be, and often are, performed without the interference of priests.*

CHAP.VII.

In a view of Islamism, the state of its fanatics deserves attention. Under the name of Sooffees, Fakirs, and Dervises, the enthusiasts of Muhammedanism are spread from the Atlantic to the Ganges.† The holy mendicants of the Turkish empire are divided into thirty-two sects. They pass their days and nights in prayer, fasting, and in every species of bodily pain and mortification. Ceremonies, similar to incanta-

Fanatics of
Muham-
medanism.

2 C *

tions

* Thornton's Turkey, p 261.

† Tavernier, Voyage des Indes, liv. 3, ch. 2 and 6, Paris, 1679. Chénier, Recherches sur les Mages, tom. 3, p. 146. Forbes's Oriental Memoirs, vol 2, p. 230 The Arabic word Sooffee, which means wise, pious, and metaphorically used to denote a religious man, is supposed to be derived from the word Saaf, pure, clean, or Sufā, which signifies purity Some have traced it to Soof, wool, or wool bearing, in allusion to the coarse woolen garments usually worn by its teachers. Others from Sufa, one of the stations round the Caaba, and perhaps the Greek word σοφοι was adopted by the Arabs. The word Fakir is the Arabic, and Dervische or Dervise the Turkish and Persian term, for a mendicant. Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. 2, p. 384, note. D'Ohsson, tom. 4, p. 618. D'Herbelot, art. Fakir, Dervische, and Sofi.

CHAP. VII.

Dervises,
Fakirs

tions, violent dances, frightful gesticulations, repetitions of the name of Allah, for hours, nay days together, impress the vulgar with a sense of their spiritual superiority. The Turkish Sultans have attempted their suppression; but a reverence for them is so closely interwoven with the prejudices of the nation, that in this instance it has been shewn, despotism has its limits.* If the subject were to be closely examined, it would be found, that enthusiasm in all religions, and in every system of philosophy, is nearly the same.† Pretensions to a familiar intercourse with the Deity constitute its very essence. The philosophers of Greece, the disciples of mystical theology, and the Muhammedan Fakir, all claim a sublime

* D'Olsson, tom 4, p. 616—686. Voyage de P. della Vallé, Lettre 6.

† Yet if the name enthusiast comprises the idea of an imagination unrestrained by reason, our application of it to persons who spend their lives in meditation should be made with caution. When we are told that there have been men, who were successively, for ages past, in the daily habit of abstracted contemplation, begun in the earliest period of youth, and continued in many to the maturity of age, each adding some portion of knowledge to the store accumulated by his predecessors, it is not assuming too much to conclude, that as the mind like the body ever gathers strength by exercise, so in such an exercise it may have acquired a faculty of abstraction to which they aspired, and that their collective studies may have led them to the discovery of new tracks and combinations of sentiment, totally different from the doctrines with which the learned of other nations are acquainted; doctrines, which however speculative and subtle, still as they possess the advantage of being derived from a source so pure from every adventitious mixture, may be equally founded in truth with the most simple of our own. Mr. Hastings's letter to Mr. Smith, prefixed to Dr. Wilkins's translation of the Bhagvat Geeta, p. 9, 4to. London, 1785.

a sublime spirituality above natural feelings and visible objects. It would be impossible to trace a perfect picture of Muhammedan fanaticism, yet as the disciples of the Arabian Prophet have often adopted the doctrines of the Sooffees of Persia, a general notion of the subject may be gained, by considering the principles of Sooffeism. CHAP. VII.

The necessity of an unceasing adoration of the deity, and an ardent desire of a perfect union with him, are constantly inculcated by the Sooffees. The great Creator is, according to their belief, diffused over all his creation. He exists every where, and in every thing. They compare the emanations of his divine essence, or spirit, to the rays of the sun ; which are, they conceive, continually darted forth and re-absorbed. It is for this reabsorption in the divine essence, to which their immortal part belongs, that they continually sigh. They believe that the soul of man, and that the principle of life, which exists throughout nature, are not *from* God, but *of* God. Hence an equality of nature, between the creature and the Creator. A long course of discipline and contemplation is necessary, before the Sooffee disciple can reach the state of divine beatitude : a strict conformity to the established religion, and the practice of every social virtue, are required of the candidates for initiation.

Sooffees of Persia.

CHAP.VII. When habits of mental devotion have been gained, he may exchange what they call practical, for spiritual worship, and abandon the observance of all religious forms and ceremonies. He afterwards is supposed to become inspired, and to reach the state of the angels. He then arrives at truth, his corporeal veil is removed, and his emancipated soul mixes again with the glorious essence, from which it has been partially separated. A blind submission to inspired teachers (mark the union of enthusiasm and priestcraft) is particularly inculcated, and the possibility, through fervent piety and enthusiastic devotion, of attaining for the soul, even while the body inhabits the earth, a state of celestial beatitude. The life of the Sooffees of Persia, though generally austere, is not rendered miserable, by the practice of those dreadful severities, which are common among the visionary devotees of the Hindus. The most celebrated teachers of the Sooffee tenets in Persia have been famed for knowledge, as well as for their piety. Among the men of genius who have illustrated the sect, poets have been conspicuous. The natives of Persia are enthusiastically devoted to the charms of poetry. The meanest artisan of the principal cities of that kingdom can read or repeat the choicest poems of the most admired writers, and even the rude and unlettered soldier quits his

his tent, to listen with rapture to the minstrel who sings a mystic song of divine love, or recites the tale of a battle of his forefathers. The very essence of Sooffeism is poetry. The extravagant raptures of genius, expatiating on an inexhaustible subject, are deemed inspirations from heaven, by those who believe, that the emancipated soul can unite itself with the Creator. The Musnavi of Jellal-u-Deen, which teaches in the sweetest strains, that all nature abounds with a divine love, which causes even the lowest plant to seek the sublime object of its desire ; the works of the celebrated Jami, which breathe in every line the most extatic rapture ; the moral lessons of Sadi, and the lyric and mystic odes of Hafiz, may, with many other poems, all be termed the scriptures of the Sooffees of Persia. It is to them that they continually refer ; and the gravest writers who have defended their doctrine, take their proofs from the pages of those poets, whom they deem to have been inspired by their holy theme.* The Sooffees inculcate forbearance, abstemiousness, and universal benevolence. They are unqualified predestinarians. They believe that the emanating principle, proceeding from God, can do nothing without his will ; or refrain from no-

* Sir W. Jones's Essay on Mystical Poetry, in his Works, vol. 1, p. 445, 4to. edition.

CHAP. VII. thing which he instigates. Some of them deny the existence of evil, because they say, every thing proceeds from God, and therefore must be good. The doctrine of reward and punishment is denied too by those, who carry to the greatest length the ideas of the reabsorption of the soul in the divine essence.

In every country of the East, where Sooffeism has been preached, the Muhammedan doctors have deplored its influence on the human mind. Those who are in the first ranks of this mystic faith conform to the established religion; and the gradual manner in which men are led into infidelity, is justly stated by Moslem divines to be one of the greatest dangers that attend this delusive doctrine. The important objection against Sooffeism is, that in itself it is no religion; wherever it prevails, it unsettles the existing belief; but substitutes no other of a defined and intelligible nature. Though it professes to leave the mass of the people in the state in which it found them, it never can do so. Their minds are taught to consider an attention to all the forms of religion which they follow as a mere worldly duty, from which they are to be released by an increase of knowledge or of devotion. The Sooffee priest does not deny the mission of Muhammad; but he refines the dogmas of the Koran to a spiritual sense; and while he

he instructs his disciples, to consider the Arabian Prophet and his successors as persons who have been instruments in the hands of Providence for preserving the moral order of the world, he boasts a direct and familiar intercourse with the deity, and claims on that ground their unlimited obedience in all that regards their spiritual interests.*

CHAP.VII.

Such, then, are the delusive and visionary doctrines of Sooffeism. The subject is interesting to the historian, because the veneration which the professors of them received, enabled the descendants of Moosah, the seventh Imam, to ascend the splendid throne of Persia, and to enjoy it for more than two centuries.† It is interesting to the Muhammedan theologian; for Sooffeism was embraced by the Carmathians and Assassins of former ages, and is received by the Fakirs and Dervises of the present day. It is interesting to the Philosopher, also, on account of its striking similarity to some main principles both of the Brahmins of Hindustan, and of the sages of antiquity. The immortality of the soul, her emanation from the celestial mind, her debasement, wanderings, and final union with her source, are the subjects of 'metaphysical' disquisition

Resemblance between Sooffeism and Platonism.

* Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. 2, p. 382—424.

† Ismael the First ascended the throne of Persia in A.D. 1500, and his family was subverted by Nadir Shah in 1736.

sition among the philosophers of India.* The congeniality which is to be found between Sooffeism and Platonism, has caused the works of Plato to be admired by the Persians. Before the days of this philosophical enthusiast, Pythagoras had taught, that the souls of men were emanations from the divine essence. Plato held the same doctrine, and also argued, that the soul, during its continuance in the body, was as it were in a state of imprisonment. From these theoretical principles, he drew the practical conclusion, that we should endeavour by contemplation to release the soul from the body, and reunite it to the divine nature.† One great principle of Sooffeism, namely the identity of God and matter, agrees more closely with the doctrines of the modern Platonists, than with Plato. The philosopher himself unfolds two principles in nature, the one he calls God, the other matter. He holds the coeternity, and coexistence of both; but he carefully separates them. His notions of the Godhead, even Cicero, his translator, could not perfectly comprehend. Yet it is evident from various passages of the *Timæus*, that Plato considered God, as having formed and fashioned the world into its present state. Matter, from which all things are made

* Jones's Dissertation on the Hindus.

† Cicero. Nat. Deor. 1. 11. De Senectute, cap. 21, and Bruckerii, *Historia Philosophiæ*, pars. 2. lib. 2. cap. 6. sec. 1.

made, is perfectly chaotic, yet capable of receiving any impression or change. But the modern Platonists, Ammonius, Plotinus, and others, adopted the creed of Pythagoras and the Egyptian priests, that God and the universe are but one, and that they can be separated only in imagination. But that matter is merely a mental delusion seems to be the opinion of all the Platonists and Sooffees.†

CHAP.VII.

* Timæus sive de universitate, Gr. and Lat. Interp. M. T. Cicerone et Chalcidio, Par. 1578 4to p 16, 33, 118. Cicero Acad. Quæst. 37. Tusc. Quæst. 1 17.

† Cicero. Nat. Deor. 1, 11 Plotini, opera, Basil. fol. 1580, p. 148, 152. Moshemius de Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinam, p. 283—289. 4to 1753.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page	Line	
6,	1,	for peninsula, <i>read</i> peninsular.
77,	19,	for a comma after sea, place a semicolon.
135,	5,	<i>note</i> , for there, <i>read</i> these.
183,	8,	for Indies, <i>read</i> Indus
215,	13,	for to, <i>read</i> at.
308,	2,	reverse the <i>is</i> and <i>are</i> .

